

THE CITIES OF  
THE EASTERN ROMAN  
PROVINCES

BY  
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## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

WHEN I originally wrote this book more than thirty years ago, I was young, and believed that one man could master the historical topography of an area stretching from Thrace to Cyrenaica over a period of more than a millennium. The result was that the book had a certain number of errors and omissions. It has also in thirty-odd years got out of date as more inscriptions and papyri have been published, and further excavation and exploration carried out.

Being older and wiser now, I decided, when I was asked to revise the book for a second edition, that I could not do the work single-handed. I accordingly asked the most eminent authorities in the various areas to correct the errors, supply the omissions, and bring the bibliography up to date. They responded to my request with gratifying willingness, and moreover (all but two, who shall be nameless) fulfilled their tasks within a reasonable time and with great diligence; some indeed did more than I asked, and supplied a bulk of material which I could not utilize within the scale of the work.

The division of the task was as follows. Professor Mihailov covered Thrace, Professor Bean the western coastal area of Asia Minor and Lycia and Pamphylia, Mr. Wilson Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, Mr. Gough Cilicia, Monsieur Seyrig Syria, Dr. Avi-Yonah Palestine, Mr. Thomas Egypt, Miss Reynolds Cyrenaica, Professor Mitford Cyprus. Central Asia Minor, Cappadocia, and Mesopotamia and Armenia I had to cope with myself as best I could.

It is thus clear that, in so far as the second edition is a better book than the first, the credit is entirely due to my collaborators. I thank them most heartily for all the work, much of it tedious and unrewarding, that they have put into it. I also owe much to sundry reviewers and critics of the original book, notably Monsieur Louis Robert, but his corrections were made in such an offensive manner that I find it hard to thank him.

While the credit for correcting factual errors and omissions goes to my collaborators, I remain responsible for the interpretation that I have put on the evidence.

I also wish to thank the Oxford University Press for their skill and patience in handling a very intricate typographical problem.

JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE  
*10 August 1969*

A. H. M. JONES

## PREFACE

THIS book is the product of work spread over many years, and the different sections of it were written at widely different dates. I have endeavoured as far as possible to eliminate the overlappings and inconsistencies which inevitably result from such a method of composition, but there remains, I fear, much inequality of scale between different parts of the work. I hope that my readers will overlook these blemishes, the elimination of which would have involved rewriting the entire book.

In a work containing such a plethora of proper names, many of them extremely obscure, my spelling is certain to cause annoyance to many. I have used the traditional spellings of names sufficiently well known to have one, and have transliterated the rest according to the time-worn conventions, representing *ov* by *u* and *ai* by *ae*, and converting the endings *-ov* and *-os* to *-um* and *-us*, and so forth. But before transliterating I have in very many cases had to choose which form of a name to adopt. There are two principal difficulties in establishing the 'correct' form of an ancient name. In the literary sources—by which I mean anything that has come down to us by manuscript tradition—there are variations due to the caprice of the author and even more to the inaccuracy of scribes. Some of these variations may justifiably be termed 'mis-spellings', but it is not always easy to say which of the variants is the 'correct' form. In the second place even in first-hand official sources—inscriptions, papyri, and coins—there are considerable variations. Fixed spelling, especially for place-names, is a modern fad, and the ancients were quite content to spell a name half a dozen different ways. This applies particularly to Greek transliterations of barbarian names, which often contained phonetic elements for which the Greek alphabet did not cater. It would obviously be impossible in a work already overloaded with proper names to give every variant of each, and I have had to select one. I have endeavoured to the best of my ability, by following the inscriptions, papyri, and coins, to choose the 'correct' or one of the 'correct' forms, but in very many cases my choice has been perforce somewhat arbitrary, especially where a name occurs only in Byzantine sources, which are particularly luxuriant in vagaries of spelling. I can therefore only express my sympathy for the reader who, wishing to find Sillyum (the form

attested by the coins), looks for Syllium (the form used in nearly all the literary authorities), or who, searching for Gdammaua (which is vouched for by an inscription), first tries Gdanmaa (another inscription), Ecdaumaua (Ptolemy), Glauama (Hierocles), Galbana or Galmana (the Notitiae), Gdamautum (the Acta of Chalcedon), or even Egdaua (the Peutinger Table). I may also point out that the terminations of many place-names are unknown, since in the sources the ethnic only occurs, but have for convenience been arbitrarily supplied.

The maps, drawn from the 1:1,000,000 International Survey, are all on a uniform scale. This involves a certain amount of practical inconvenience, but has the great merit of showing at a glance the relative density of cities in different areas. The marking of the height is not uniform, but takes into account the very different physical character of the several districts; in Egypt, for instance, the 100-metre contour, which roughly indicates the cultivable area, is all-important, whereas in Asia Minor the 1,000-metre contour sufficiently differentiates the central plateau from the coastal and river plains. I regard the maps primarily as illustrations to the text and I have therefore put in them as many as possible of the names mentioned in it, marking (with a query) in the general area where I imagine them to have lain places which cannot be precisely located. Names with queries must therefore not be taken too seriously.

I wish to thank Professor Anderson and Professor Last for having read the whole of the completed manuscript, and for having made a number of corrections; Mr. C. W. M. Cox for having read large parts of the work in various stages and having made many valuable suggestions on the topography of Asia Minor; Mr. W. H. Buckler for having read Chapter II and brought to my notice many inscriptions, some unpublished; and Mr. C. H. Roberts for having read and criticized Chapter XI, and allowed me to use an important unpublished papyrus. I wish also to express here my gratitude to many scholars, personally unknown to me, my debt to whom is, I regret to say, inadequately acknowledged in my references. I may allege in my excuse that I have invariably gone back to the original sources; but I am conscious that I ought in many cases to have given references not only to them but also to the work of the modern scholars who first called attention to their significance and interpreted them.

I owe a debt of gratitude to All Souls College for the fellowship which has enabled me to pursue my researches; to the Trustees

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A. H. M. J.

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## INTRODUCTION

THE object of this work is to trace the diffusion of the Greek city as a political institution through the lands bordering on the eastern Mediterranean which were included within the Roman empire. My upper chronological limit naturally varies according to the date when Greek culture first penetrated each district. In some parts Greek infiltration began in the heroic age, in others in the classical period of colonization. With these movements I have dealt summarily, for I conceive my real task to begin with the general diffusion of Greek culture which resulted from Alexander's conquest of the East. I have therefore normally taken as my starting-point the conditions prevailing under the later Persian empire and sought to discover how far the influence of the ancient Greek colonies had already penetrated among their barbarian neighbours and to what extent the native institutions of the several districts were capable of being adapted to the Greek conception of the city. I have next traced the activity of the Hellenistic kings in founding cities and the contemporary spontaneous diffusion of Greek political institutions which was an essential part of the general Hellenization of the East; at the same time I have recorded the restrictive effect of the centralized administrative policy of certain dynasties on the growth of cities in their dominions. As the several districts became provinces of the Roman empire I have described the effect upon them of the annexation. In some, hitherto ruled on a centralized system, city institutions were artificially imposed wholesale, in order to make them amenable to the slovenly system of provincial administration employed by the Roman republic. In others, where local self-government was already the rule, the oppression and confusion which this same slovenly system produced arrested political development. Next comes the principate, under which it is for the first time possible, thanks to the fragments of the Agrippian survey of the provinces preserved in Pliny and to the now abundant coinage of the provincial communities, to attempt a general conspectus of the political geography of at least some regions. During this period the increased efficiency of the central government led to results exactly the opposite of those produced by the administrative incapacity of the republic. The life of the cities was fostered by the establishment of orderly government, and in

such backward districts as were still organized on a tribal or village basis the development of city institutions proceeded apace, stimulated by the general peace and prosperity, and sometimes directly promoted by the imperial government. On the other hand, bureaucratic administration was often retained in districts which had been so governed before annexation, in the hope that the newly created imperial civil service would prove capable of running it successfully. This hope was rarely realized, and in most of the bureaucratically administered provinces the principle of local responsibility had sooner or later to be recognized by the institution of city government. The process can, thanks to the papyri, be most clearly traced in Egypt, when the highly centralized system of government which Augustus inherited from the Ptolemies gradually disintegrated, until Septimius Severus had to create city councils on whose shoulders he could lay a part of the responsibility for the administration of the province, and eventually Diocletian introduced full city government. I have continued my study down to the sixth century, when it is again possible, with the aid of the statistical information preserved by Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius, to attempt a general survey of the political geography of the empire. During all the Byzantine period the decay of civic life which began in the third century was proceeding steadily, but, owing largely to the continual efforts of the imperial government to hold it in check, it was very slow in completing its course. In the reign of Justinian the cities were still, despite their extreme decrepitude, vital cogs in the administrative machine of the Roman empire. The city councils still, through the magistrates which they elected, carried on the local government, organizing the food-supply of the towns, celebrating games and festivals, and administering petty justice. They still also played an important part in the conduct of the imperial administration, collecting the taxes, levying recruits, building roads and bridges, and performing countless other corvées imposed by the central government. During all the Byzantine period, moreover, the geographical diffusion of the city continued, witness the numerous cities named after every emperor from Diocletian downwards and above all after Justinian himself, a fair proportion of which were genuine new creations, superseding bureaucratic government. With the close of Justinian's legislation the history of the city as an institution abruptly ceases. When the last remnants of civic autonomy disappeared we do not know: the titles which regulate the constitution of the cities were

not struck out of the Code till the great revision under Leo the Wise. But they cannot have long survived Justinian. While he yet lived barbarian hordes were wiping out the Greek civilization of Thrace; two generations after his death Syria and Egypt were lost for ever to the Greek world by the Arab conquest; and in Asia Minor the crisis of the double invasion brought about profound social and administrative changes in the course of which the city vanished as a political institution.

The geographical limits which I have set myself require some justification. Since my object is to trace the diffusion of Greek political institutions in barbarian lands, I omit the homelands of the Greek people, Greece itself, Crete, and Macedonia. Seeing that so much of my space is devoted to the political development which preceded the incorporation of the several districts in the Roman empire, it may seem somewhat arbitrary to adopt the boundaries of that empire as my limits, and not to complete my study of the Hellenization of the East by some account of the far eastern satrapies. That I have not done so is due largely to the exigencies of the evidence. It would no doubt be possible to catalogue a number of Hellenistic foundations outside the bounds of the Roman empire and even to give some substantial information about a few. But it would be impossible in the present state of our knowledge to depict the Greek cities in the setting of the general political and social conditions of their districts. Moreover, the Greek cities of the far east were never more than isolated phenomena; deprived of the fostering care of the Roman government, Greek political institutions never achieved outside the Roman empire that universal diffusion which they achieved within it.

The districts into which I have divided my survey also require some justification. Any boundaries are inevitably to some extent arbitrary, and no grouping is quite satisfactory. The general criterion which I have followed is the date of annexation to the Roman empire. This is a criterion of some historical importance, for not only had each district annexed normally been a political entity for some time previously, but the very date of annexation had often an important influence on its subsequent history. Of the three great native kingdoms of Asia Minor, for instance, Bithynia and Pontus, annexed and organized by Pompey, followed a totally different line of development from Cappadocia, annexed under Augustus, though their social and political structure in the regal period was not dissimilar. Some of my districts

are too obvious to need explanation; Thrace, Egypt, Cyprus, and Cyrenaica have coherent histories. Syria has a certain unity in that it was all under Seleucid rule from 200 B.C. and all passed through the same stage of anarchy till it was annexed by Pompey; its history is, however, complicated by the existence of a number of important client kingdoms, in particular the Jewish and the Ituraean. Mesopotamia is peculiar in having passed through a period of Parthian rule and in being to the end of its history a disputed border province, the scene of constant wars; to it I have added Roman Armenia with which it has very little affinity, but which hardly deserved a chapter to itself. Cilicia has a certain superficial unity in having been under Seleucid rule, at any rate nominally, till its annexation by Pompey, but in fact the profound geographical and cultural cleavage between Pedias and Tracheia has led to the bisection of the Cilician chapter. In Asia Minor within the Taurus the Lycians clearly deserve separate treatment for their strong national sentiment and the federal constitution in which they so ably put it into practice. The Gauls were an alien intruded element, and had nothing in common with their neighbours. Bithynia and Pontus on the one hand and Cappadocia on the other form satisfactory units for the reasons stated above. There remain two rather amorphous groups, the province of Asia and the republican province of Cilicia, which corresponds roughly with the imperial province of Galatia, less the Gauls. Asia had a uniform history at any rate from 133 B.C., and before 189 B.C. was all nominally Seleucid territory; in the intervening period it was with the exception of Caria south of the Maeander subject to the Attalid dynasty. The other district was likewise mostly under rather shadowy Seleucid suzerainty till 189 B.C., then under rather more effective Attalid rule till 133 B.C. It then, unlike Asia, passed through a period of anarchy till it was annexed in 100 B.C., and unlike Asia was restored to royal rule for some years under Amyntas.

The detailed survey here published was originally designed to be the groundwork of a study on wider lines of the history of the Greek city in the eastern provinces. In this work, which I hope yet to publish, my aim will be to draw together the scattered threads obscured in this work in a tangle of facts, and to trace the main causes which promoted or retarded the diffusion of Greek political institutions. At the same time I wish to examine the relations in different districts and periods of the cities to the central government, the various methods adopted by the latter

to control them, the use which it made of them as its administrative agents, and, latterly, the efforts it made to check their decay. It will also be my object to evaluate the real significance of the spread of city government, by describing the internal life of the cities. I hope to describe their political life, to ask how far they gave any opportunity for political self-expression to the mass of the provincials, and to account for their eventual decay as political institutions. I hope also to give some account of the part they played in the economic life of the empire and to ask how far they stimulated the economic development of the countryside, how far they were merely an incubus upon it. Finally, I shall describe their cultural life and ask how far they succeeded in what was presumably their primary object, the civilization of the masses of the empire.

Certain general conclusions to which I have come in the course of my study and which I hope to justify in my second book are implicit in this volume. One of these should perhaps, in order to avoid confusion, be set forth here, though I must postpone the exposition of the means which have led me to adopt it. I hold the view that directly administered territory was in principle the property of the crown and that private ownership of land existed in principle only in the territories of cities or other autonomous communities. This rule was, I think, in the Hellenistic period theoretically absolute, such private tenures as existed in directly administered areas being technically leasehold and not freehold. Under the Roman empire the general rule survived, directly administered territory becoming public land, which under the principate gradually became indistinguishable from imperial land, and in the Byzantine period was merged in the *res privata*. The rule was not absolute under the Romans, full private property (in so far as full private property was theoretically possible at all in provincial land) being permitted within directly administered areas, but in general I hold that the bulk of the land within them remained public—or, later, imperial land. I therefore tend to use indifferently such terms as 'a bureaucratic unit of government' and 'an area of public (or imperial) land'. By 'imperial estate', on the other hand, I normally mean a piece of land which originally accrued to the crown as a personal possession of an emperor.

## I. THRACE

THE race of the Thracians is the greatest—after the Indians—of all mankind; and if it should be ruled by one man or should agree together it would be irresistible and by far the most powerful of all races according to my judgement. However, this is unattainable by them, and it is impossible that it should ever occur among them. For this reason then they are weak.<sup>1</sup>

Not long after Herodotus wrote these words, what he had so emphatically declared to be impossible came to pass; Teres, king of the Odrysae, united the Thracian tribes under his dominion. The result which Herodotus had predicted did not follow; Thrace did not become a world power. The judgement of Herodotus would seem therefore to have been doubly at fault. Fundamentally, however, he was right. The potential strength of the Thracian kingdom was, according to the scale of Greek ideas, immense. Its area and population were vast; it stretched from the Danube to the Aegean, and from the Euxine to the Strymon. Its revenues, compared with those of a Greek city, were huge. According to Thucydides, Seuthes, the grandson of Teres, drew an annual revenue in coin of four hundred talents—nearly as much as Athens derived from her empire; and in addition to this regular revenue, the king and his nobles received occasional presents which amounted on Thucydides' estimate to as much again. Its army was not only immense but of excellent quality. Sitalces, the son of Teres, could levy a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and the Thracians were a race of warriors; their military value is attested by the extensive use made of them as mercenaries by the Hellenistic kings and as auxiliary troops by the Roman emperors. But these vast resources could never be mobilized. Even for a single campaign the full strength of the kingdom could not be brought into action. It was a difficult matter to collect an army, and still more difficult to keep it together when collected. Sitalces' enormous expedition against Perdiccas of Macedonia in 429 collapsed of its own weight. It met with no opposition, but after a month's campaign it began to melt away, and Sitalces had to withdraw having achieved nothing. In general it was as much as the Thracian kings could do to hold their unwieldy kingdom together. The race of the Thracians was, as Herodotus said, incapable of unity. It was

merely an ethnological expression. The Thracians shared a common language and culture, but politically they had not risen above the tribal stage, and in some cases had not even attained it. In the mountains of Rhodope the villages of the free Thracians acknowledged no overlord. Elsewhere the villages were grouped in tribes ruled by kings. The only bond which held the kingdom together was the military supremacy of the Odrysian tribe, which enabled its kings to exercise a loose suzerainty over the other tribal dynasties. When that supremacy fell, Thrace split up once again into the medley of tribal kingdoms which it had been before the rise of the Odrysian power.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the savage character of its inhabitants, the coasts of Thrace were planted with a number of Greek colonies. They fell into three main groups, those on the Euxine, those on the Propontis, and those on the Aegean. The first group, isolated as it was from the rest of the Greek world, played no part in history. Apollonia was a Milesian colony, Mesembria was founded according to one account by Chalcedon and its mother-city Megara at the time of the Scythian expedition of Darius, according to another by refugees from Byzantium and Chalcedon, who fled from the cities on the suppression of the Ionian revolt. Between these two cities was Anchialus, a dependency of Apollonia. Further north lay Odessus, a colony of Miletus founded in the days of King Astyages; and further north again a lesser city called the Springs (Cruni), said to be of mixed Greek origins, later called Dionysopolis. All these lay close together at the northern end of the eastern coast of Thrace; for the rest of this coast, south of Apollonia, was harbourless, and its natural dangers were enhanced by the savagery of the natives, who plundered and killed all who were wrecked on their coast. The Aegean group of cities was more important. Abdera, in the land of the Bistones, originally founded by Clazomenae, was destroyed by the Thracians, and refounded by refugees from Teos who abandoned their city rather than submit to Persian rule in 545 B.C. Maronea, a colony of Chios, lay in the territory of the Cicones of Homeric fame. Aenus was an Aeolic foundation, first settled by the Alopeconnesians of the Thracian Chersonese, and later refounded by a joint expedition of Mitylene and Cyme; it lay among the Apsinthii. These three cities all achieved a considerable degree of prosperity by the fifth century, as the scale of their contributions to the Delian confederacy shows. In addition to these there was a fourth very much smaller city, Dicaea, between



Abdera and Maronea. It was a member of the second Athenian league, but is not heard of again. There were also a number of trading-stations between Maronea and Aenus belonging to the adjacent island cities of Thasos and Samothrace. These were gradually annexed by Maronea. Maronea had already established a claim on the westernmost of them, Stryme, a Thasian possession, by the middle of the fourth century. By the beginning of the second century it owned Sale, the easternmost, formerly a Samothracian station.<sup>3</sup>

The cities of the eastern and southern coasts of Thrace derived their prosperity partly from their fertile territories, partly from trade with the interior. The Propontic group of cities owed its importance to the sea-borne trade from the Euxine to the Aegean. By far the greatest of this group was Byzantium, whose control of the Bosphorus more than compensated for the depredations of its savage neighbours, the Astae. Its prosperity can be gauged from its contribution to the Delian confederacy, which ranged from fifteen to twenty-one and a half talents. It was shared in a less degree by its two neighbours on the north coast of the Propontis, Selymbria, like Byzantium a Megarian colony, and Perinthus, a colony of Samos, whose maximum assessments were respectively nine and ten talents. Selymbria was absorbed by its more powerful neighbour Byzantium in the middle of the fourth century B.C. West of Perinthus lay two other Samian colonies, Bisanthe and Heraeon Teichos. Both were of minor importance. Bisanthe issued coins in the third century B.C. but then disappears. Heraeon Teichos was besieged by Philip of Macedon in 352 B.C. and then vanishes from sight. Further west lay Neapolis by the Chersonese, known only from the Athenian assessment and quota lists. At the western entrance to the Propontis there was no city comparable to Byzantium. The Thracian Chersonese was dotted with Greek cities, eleven or twelve in number according to Xenophon. Xenophon's vagueness is excusable, for they were for the most part insignificant places. The quota lists record only seven cities, Limnae and Alopeconnesus on the north coast, Elaeus on the tip of the peninsula, Sestos, Madytus, and Callipolis on the Hellespont itself, and Agora, the market, on the isthmus. Of these only Agora paid as much as one talent in tribute. This list is manifestly incomplete. It ignores several cities which were important enough to issue coins in the fourth century, Agathopolis, Aegospotami, and Crithote, as well as the two cities which guarded the isthmus on

the north and south, Pactye and Cardia. The low assessments of the cities of the Chersonese show that they can have had little share in the trade which passed through the Hellespont; the cities of the Asiatic coast, Lampsacus and Abydus in particular, seem to have kept it entirely in their hands. Strategically however the Chersonese was of high importance, and the weakness of its cities gave an opportunity to foreign powers to control it. Athens, to whose very existence the corn trade from the Euxine was vital, established her hold early and maintained it long. Her first opportunity occurred in the reign of Peisistratus. The Dolonci, the Thracian tribe which inhabited the Chersonese, being hard pressed by their neighbours the Apsinthii, sent an embassy to Delphi to ask for help. Athens welcomed the opportunity and Miltiades went out to assist them. He defeated the Apsinthii, and built a wall from Pactye to Cardia to protect the Chersonese from their incursions. He was chosen by the Dolonci as their king, and succeeded in making himself tyrant of the Greek cities. His dynasty reigned until 494 B.C. when his nephew Miltiades II, having compromised himself in the Ionian revolt, fled before the Persians. After the Persian wars Athens established her control by enrolling the cities in the Delian league, and later, under Pericles, reinforced her hold by planting Athenian settlers. After the battle of Aegospotami the Chersonese was lost to Athens once more, but, as her sea-power revived in the fourth century, she gradually regained her grip, and in 353 B.C. planted it again with Athenian settlers. She maintained her hold against Philip of Macedon, and only lost the Chersonese after the battle of Chaeronea.<sup>4</sup>

On the death of King Cotys in 360 B.C. the Thracian kingdom split into three parts. This circumstance gave Philip of Macedon his opportunity. If Macedon was ever to be secure, it was necessary that it should conquer its barbarian neighbours on its eastern frontier; and if Philip was ever to fulfil his design of a crusade against the Persian empire, it was still more necessary that his communications with the Hellespont should not be liable to be broken. For these reasons Philip determined to reduce Thrace, and he carried out his design with his usual thoroughness. By 356 he had already absorbed the westernmost kingdom, and not long after he established his suzerainty over the two remaining kings. In 342 B.C. he annexed their kingdoms also and set about to confirm his hold on the country by planting in it colonies of Greeks and Macedonians. He seems to have adopted the same

policy which the Tsars followed in colonizing Siberia and the English government in colonizing Australia. According to our authorities his colonies bore such uncomplimentary titles as 'the city of slaves', 'the city of criminals', or 'the city of adulterers'. These can hardly have been their official names, but they were the names popularly applied to them and no doubt expressed their real character. Philip must have found it impossible to secure volunteers willing to brave the danger and hardship of a settler's life in the heart of Thrace, and have been obliged to fall back on condemned criminals and slaves, perhaps war captives. Only one of these penal settlements, officially dignified with the name of Philippopolis, and, according to Pliny, colloquially known as Poneropolis, 'the city of criminals', survived into later times. It was called by the natives Pulpudeva (whence the modern Plovdiv), which is the Thracian for 'Philip's town'. This suggests that it was a new foundation, and that there was no substantial previous settlement on the site. None of Philip's other colonies survived, so far as is known, to the Roman period. Cabyle lasted into the second century B.C., when it issued a few coins; of the rest there is no trace. It is less surprising that the others perished than that Philippopolis managed to survive through the two centuries of barbarism which intervened between the fall of the Macedonian supremacy and the establishment of Roman rule.<sup>5</sup>

Thrace, though conquered, was far from pacified. Alexander at the beginning of his reign had to crush a rebellion of the Maedi, in whose territory he founded a city of Alexandropolis, which did not survive. During Alexander's absence Antipater, the regent of Macedonia, was faced with a revival of the power of the Odrysae, who rebelled under a king named Seuthes. When after Alexander's death Lysimachus succeeded to Thrace, he had a long struggle to reconquer the country. Seuthes was well enough established to build himself a royal capital, laid out on the fashionable grid plan with a central *agora*. It was styled in the manner of the Hellenistic kings Seuthopolis. The city had a short life. By 301 B.C. Lysimachus must have mastered Thrace thoroughly, for he would not have been able to play so prominent a part in the campaign of Ipsus unless his base had been secure behind him, but he left no traces of his rule in the interior. His only recorded foundation in Thrace was his new capital Lysimacheia, which he built on the neck of the Chersonese. He drew its population from various small cities of the Chersonese which

he suppressed; amongst them are mentioned Cardia and Pactye, which had hitherto guarded the isthmus.<sup>6</sup>

Lysimachus was defeated and killed by Seleucus Nicator in 281 B.C., but the Seleucids did not succeed to his dominion in Thrace. In 279 B.C. the Gallic invasion swept over the country and destroyed the nascent civilization of the interior. Only the cities of the Greek coast-line resisted, and these were not held by the Seleucids. Abdera seems to have passed into the hands of the Macedonian kings. The Ptolemies occupied Aenus and Maronea and the Chersonese with Lysimacheia; they did not maintain their hold on the last, for by the end of the century it was a free city and a member of the Aetolian league. Byzantium recovered its independence, and Perinthus amalgamated itself with Byzantium. The Byzantines were reduced to desperate straits by the exactions of the Gallic kings of the dynasty of Tylis who ruled Thrace at this period. To preserve their territory from depredation they paid ever increasing sums in blackmail, amounting eventually to an annual tribute of eighty talents. This burden proved too heavy even for their wealth, and after launching in vain an appeal to the Greek world to rescue them they imposed a tax on the shipping passing through the Bosphorus. The Rhodians, to whose trade this tax would have been injurious, declared war upon the Byzantines and with the aid of Prusias of Bithynia defeated them. Cauares the Gallic king, afraid no doubt that the goose which laid the golden egg might be killed, now intervened as mediator, and arranged a peace whereby the Byzantines recovered their losses in the war but abandoned the toll.<sup>7</sup>

This happened in 220 B.C. Not long after the Gallic kingdom was overthrown by the Thracians—Cauares was at any rate the last of the dynasty—and Thrace split up into a number of tribal kingdoms. The disunion of Thrace encouraged Philip V of Macedon to attempt to renew the former Macedonian supremacy over the country. In 201 B.C. he occupied the free city of Lysimacheia, and took Perinthus from Byzantium. In the following year he attacked the Ptolemaic possessions. He stormed Maronea, occupied Aenus by the treachery of its Ptolemaic commander Callimedes, and captured the three fortresses of Doriscus, Serrihum, and Cypsela. Next he moved on the Chersonese, where the cities of Elaesus, Alopeconnesus, Madytus, and Callipolis surrendered without opposition. He did not hold these conquests long. Lysimacheia was destroyed by the Thracians whilst he was engaged in fighting the Romans, and after his defeat at Cynos-

cephalae the senate ordered him to evacuate his conquests. No mention is made of the Ptolemaic possessions in the terms of peace as recorded by Polybius and Livy, but they were presumably to be restored to Ptolemy; Perinthus was to be evacuated. Scarcely had these terms been accepted by Philip when a new claimant arrived upon the scene. In 197 B.C. Antiochus III, asserting that Thrace was his by the right of his ancestor Seleucus Nicator's conquest of Lysimachus, crossed the Hellespont and received the submission of Sestos, Madytus, and the other cities of the Chersonese, and also of Aenus and Maronea, and proceeded to refound Lysimacheia, collecting its scattered citizens, redeeming those who had been enslaved, and adding new settlers. Antiochus in his turn was soon expelled, and the Romans apportioned the spoils. The Ptolemies had abandoned their claims to Antiochus and were therefore not taken into account. The Chersonese was awarded to Eumenes. Aenus and Maronea seem to have been forgotten, and were occupied by Philip. A few years later, however, the Maronites complained to Rome of the way in which Philip treated them. Philip did not, they alleged, merely maintain a garrison in the citadel, he filled the whole town with soldiers, and thus the pro-Macedonian party had complete control. Moreover, Philip had robbed them of part of their territory. The boundary had been fixed as the royal road to Paroreian Thrace, but Philip had altered the course of this road, which used to run some way inland, bringing it nearer to the coast and so cutting off a large piece of Maronite territory. The senate gave a favourable hearing to these complaints, and ordered Philip to evacuate Aenus, Maronea, and the sea-coast of Thrace, which he did, after first having carried out a vindictive massacre of his opponents in Maronea. The status of the evacuated territory seems still to have been left in suspense, and it seems to have been reunited with the Macedonian kingdom at some subsequent date. After the abolition of the Macedonian monarchy in 168 B.C. Eumenes of Pergamum put forward a claim to Aenus and Maronea, but the senate rejected his claim and declared them free. Abdera was also a free city: an inscription records a frontier dispute between it and King Cotys, in which it appealed to Rome. Byzantium signed a treaty with Rome in 148 B.C., but seems to have lost its federate status later, and received a grant of freedom from the senate and people not long before 56 B.C. The rest of the Thracian coast was attached to the First Region of Macedonia.<sup>8</sup>

The Romans do not seem to have realized at first that the destruction of the Macedonian kingdom would involve them in Thracian affairs. The revolt of the Macedonian pretender Andriscus in 149 B.C. taught them that their supremacy in Macedonia would never be secure unless they kept a firm hand on the Thracian kings. Andriscus launched his revolt in Thrace, and would never have established himself in Macedonia but for support from the neighbouring Thracian kings. The definitive annexation of Macedonia which followed the suppression of the revolt involved the Romans yet more deeply in the affairs of Thrace; they were now directly responsible for the military protection of the eastern frontier of Macedonia, which had hitherto been left to the local levies of the Macedonian republics. The tribes of the southern coast of Thrace were accordingly annexed to the province, and a military road, the Via Egnatia, was constructed as far as Cypsela on the Hebrus. This road acquired a much greater importance after the annexation of the Pergamene kingdom, for it afforded the only overland communication with the Thracian Chersonese, now a Roman possession, and with the province of Asia. Over the rest of Thrace the Romans exercised a vague suzerainty, enforced from time to time by punitive expeditions. They had formed alliances with some of the Thracian tribes as early as 172 B.C., when they were strengthening their position in preparation for the coming war with Perseus. After the defeat of Perseus, Cotys, king of the Odryseae, who had supported Macedonia during the war, made his peace with Rome and was received into alliance. The Dentheletae had according to Cicero long been faithful allies of Rome when Piso, as governor of Macedonia, wantonly attacked them and drove them into rebellion. Cicero also represents Rabocentus, the chief of the Bessi, as being at this time a faithful ally of Rome. The Bessi had as a matter of fact hitherto been particularly troublesome. Marcus Lucullus had fought them in 72 B.C. and Gaius Octavius, the father of Augustus, in 60 B.C.<sup>9</sup>

In the latter part of the reign of Augustus, Thrace was consolidated into a single kingdom under the rule of the royal house of the Sapaiei. This tribe lived in the part of Thrace annexed to the province of Macedonia. The first member of the family to appear in history was a certain Rhascuporis, son of Cotys, who sent troops to assist Pompey against Caesar, and later aided Brutus and Cassius against Antony and Octavian. He did not as yet even possess the royal title; that honour was probably reserved for the

chiefs of the free Thracian tribes. He was, however, a powerful prince; for he seems to have ruled not only his own tribe but the adjacent tribe of the Corpili, thus embracing all Roman Thrace in his dominion. Seeing that on both the occasions on which he intervened in Roman politics he backed the losing side, it is surprising that he survived, and not only survived, but obtained the royal title, as is proved by an Athenian inscription. He was succeeded as king by his son, Cotys.<sup>10</sup> Cotys paved the way to the unification of Thrace by arranging a matrimonial alliance with the other most powerful royal family of Thrace. It is not certain which tribe this family, in which the names Cotys and Sadalas alternated, originally ruled, but as Bizye was its later capital it was probably the Astae. King Cotys of this family in 57 B.C. added the Bessi to his kingdom by bribing Piso to execute their prince. He sent his son Sadalas to support Pompey, but was pardoned by Caesar. Sadalas, who shortly succeeded him, was murdered not long before the battle of Philippi, and his widow, Polemocrateia, entrusted his infant son, Cotys, to Brutus, who seized the royal treasure but promised to restore the boy to his kingdom when he came of age, entrusting him in the meanwhile to the Cyzicenes to be educated. It was to this Cotys, who had apparently been restored to his kingdom, that Cotys the Sapaean married his daughter; as Cotys was still a boy, his father-in-law seems to have acted as regent. Cotys the Sapaean was succeeded in his kingdom by his son, Rhoemetalces, who also acted as guardian to his nephews, the sons of Cotys, when the latter died. Under Rhoemetalces the union of Thrace was completed. In 11 B.C. the Bessi, who, having broken free during the civil wars, had recently been subdued by Marcus Lollius and placed once more under the rule of the royal house of the Astae, broke into revolt under the leadership of a priest called Vologaeses and killed Rhascuporis, the only surviving son of Cotys. The Roman government quelled the revolt and awarded the kingdom to Rhoemetalces, Rhascuporis' uncle and guardian. Rhoemetalces now ruled all southern Thrace in his own right. By the time he died, according to Tacitus, the whole of Thrace was subject to him.<sup>11</sup>

On his death Augustus divided his kingdom between his son, Cotys, who received the more civilized coastal area, and his brother, Rhascuporis, to whom was given the barbarous interior with the title of dynast only. Rhascuporis was discontented with his portion and in A.D. 19 kidnapped Cotys and killed him. Tiberius deposed him and divided the kingdom once more

between his son, Rhoemetalces, with the title of dynast, later raised to king, and the sons of Cotys, to whom he assigned as guardian a Roman, Trebellenus Rufus. One of these sons, another Rhoemetalces, was made sole king of Cotys' portion by Gaius in A.D. 38. The kingdom was probably shortly afterwards reunited; for when, in A.D. 46, Rhoemetalces—which, is not known—was murdered by his wife, his kingdom became the province of Thrace, being placed under a procurator.<sup>12</sup>

The kingdom of Thrace included districts north of the Haemus line. A decree of Odessus honours a *strategus*, appointed by King Sadalas, who ruled the neighbouring area, and at Dionysopolis King Rhoemetalces was honoured by Pharsalus, son of Bithys, who was probably *strategus* of the district. Inland an inscription at Abrittus records a *strategus* of King Rhoemetalces II. This man, Apollonius, son of Heptacenthus, of Bizye, is recorded on three inscriptions, from which it appears that he governed first the district of Anchialus, then Selletice, and finally Rhysice, the district round Abrittus. It would seem then that the kingdom was divided into administrative districts governed by *strategi*. These *strategi* were not local chiefs, but career officials who were moved on from post to post by the king.<sup>13</sup>

Other inscriptions prove that this system was maintained by the Roman government down to the reign of Trajan, in which a *strategia* is last mentioned. Tiberius Claudius Theopompus, son of Theopompus, ruled Astice around Perinthus, Mountain Selletice, and Dentheletice of the Plain. Dizalas, son of Cotys, ruled as his second *strategia* Asutice. Flavius Dizalas, son of Ezbenes, governed no less than eight *strategiae*, Olynthia, Rhoemeletice, Dresapaice, Thucysidantice, —seletice, Zraice, Athiutice, and Bioletice. Finally in the early years of the province, probably in Nero's reign, the *strategi* of Thrace united to honour the procurator of the province, Marius Vettius Marcellus, at Topirus. Their names are all inscribed on the monument and they number thirty-three.

These inscriptions show that the Romans not only continued the royal system of government, but employed men of the same type as *strategi*. The majority have purely Thracian names, a few have Greek names, which may in some cases mean that they came from the local Greek cities. A high proportion were given the Roman citizenship. On the Topirus monument no less than fifteen, nearly all with Thracian names, are Tiberii Claudii, six



Gaii Julii, mostly with Greek names, and one has adopted the procurator's name.<sup>14</sup>

Geographically the inscriptions are not very useful. The Topirus monument does not record the districts of the *strategi*, and the others give the districts that a man had ruled in chronological order. It may, however, be assumed that a *strategus'* inscription was normally set up in the last district recorded, which he was ruling at the time. On that assumption Asutice (no doubt identical with Athiutice) was about fifty miles west of Philippopolis, Bioletice round about Nicopolis ad Nestum, Dentheletice of the Plain about forty miles north-west of Serdice. The inscriptions of Apollonius son of Heptaecenthus are an exception to the rule. The first, recording his governorship of Anchialus, was put up in his native town of Bizye. The second and third, both recording three posts, Anchialus, Selletice, and Rhysice, are on the Black Sea coast south of Anchialus, and at Abrittus, north of the Haemus. It may be suggested that the second was put up when he was promoted from Selletice to Rhysice, and that Selletice included the area round the gulf of Burgas.<sup>15</sup>

Pliny says that Thrace was divided into fifty *strategiae*. As it is unlikely that any of the *strategi* failed to contribute to Vettius Marcellus' monument, the figure must be a rhetorical exaggeration, and not derived from any official source. Otherwise Pliny says nothing of *strategiae*, though he mentions an *Astice regio* and a *Caenice regio*, which correspond to two *strategiae* of Ptolemy.<sup>16</sup>

Ptolemy gives quite a different picture from what has appeared hitherto. 'The *strategiae* in the province are as follows: towards the Moesias and around Mount Haemus starting from the west, Dentheletice, Serdice, Usdicesice, Selletice; towards Macedonia and the Aegean Sea likewise the *strategiae* of Maedice, Drosice, Coel(al)etice, Sapaice, Corpilice, Caenice; above Maedice Bessice, above which Bennice, then Samaice; and along the sea coast from the city of Perinthus as far as Apollonia the *strategia* of Astice.'<sup>17</sup>

Ptolemy's map of Thrace appears to date from the reign of Trajan, for he marks all Trajan's new cities except Augusta Trajana and Marcianopolis, which were perhaps the last; he also omits Hadrianopolis. It has accordingly been maintained that his fourteen *strategiae* were all that remained of the earlier thirty-three when many had been absorbed into the territories of

the new cities. This view is not tenable. Ptolemy clearly envisaged his *strategiae* as covering the whole of Thrace from the Haemus to the Aegean and from the Macedonian frontier to the Black Sea, and in so far as they can be placed on the map, they do, as will be seen, cover that area. Moreover some of Trajan's cities demonstrably correspond exactly with Ptolemy's *strategiae*: the most obvious case is Ulpia Serdice and the *strategia* of Serdice.

The Roman inscriptions record several *strategiae* which are subdivisions of Ptolemy's, Astice about Perinthus, Denthetice of the Plain, Mountain Selletice. A royal inscription mentions undivided Selletice. This suggests that under the kings the country had been divided into large circumscriptions, which had been subsequently subdivided, and that Ptolemy was using an early list of *strategiae*. His names correspond, so far as they can be identified, with the major tribes of Thrace: there is only one striking omission, the Odrysae, who were certainly still a powerful tribe in Roman times. The later subdivisions sometimes, as we have seen, retained the old name with a qualification, but more often they were given new names, possibly derived from a clan of the tribe concerned, or sometimes from a locality. Olynthia was probably named from the Olynthus which Pliny records east of the mouth of the Hebrus; it would have been a subdivision of Sapaice. The Odrysae may have been early split into two, and be represented by two of Ptolemy's unknown *strategiae*.<sup>18</sup>

It thus appears that Ptolemy mechanically reproduced an obsolete list of *strategiae* without making any attempt to correlate it with his later information. His list may, however, be accepted as good evidence for the early administrative system of Thrace. Ptolemy's information on the geographical distribution of the *strategiae* is unfortunately very vague, but with the aid of incidental evidence from elsewhere a rough picture of the system can be formed. The six *strategiae* which he places along the frontier of Macedonia and the Aegean are, from west to east, Maedice, Drosice, Coelaetice, Sapaice, Corpilice, and Caenice. All these names, except the second, which is otherwise unknown, are derived from tribes. The Maedi are frequently mentioned as turbulent neighbours of Macedonia. Philip V made several punitive expeditions against them; in 210 he captured their chief town Iamphorynna; in 187 he made another campaign against them, using Stobi of Paeonia as his base. According to Pliny and Strabo they lived on the Strymon. These pieces of evidence

accord with Ptolemy's statement, and they may be placed on the upper Strymon, on the eastern frontier of Paeonia. The Sapaei are also well known. They lived on the coast, according to Strabo, behind Maronea. They also were neighbours of Macedonia; their king, Abrupolis, raided Amphipolis about 170 B.C. and was in consequence ejected from his kingdom by Perseus. The Corpili were their neighbours on the east; their home was according to Strabo on the lower Hebrus behind Aenus. The Caeni lived east of them, between the Aegean and the Propontis. They bordered on the Chersonese; Attalus II fought and subdued their king, Diegylis. The Sapaei, Corpili, and Caeni thus occupied the southern coast of Thrace from the Macedonian frontier to the shores of the Propontis. Drosice and Coelaetice must then be placed inland on the eastern frontier of Macedonia between the Maedi and the Sapaei. Of Drosice nothing is known, but Ptolemy's order implies that it was in the head waters of the Nestus. The Coelaetae are only twice mentioned outside the text of Ptolemy. According to Pliny they were divided into two clans, the Greater and the Lesser Coelaetae, who lived under Mount Haemus and Mount Rhodope, and Tacitus records that in A.D. 21 they revolted in conjunction with the Odrysaë and other tribes and besieged Philippopolis. Ptolemy's Coelaetice might correspond with Pliny's Lesser Coelaetae, and occupy Mount Rhodope, coming down to the middle Nestus in the south, and overlooking the plain of Philippopolis on the north.<sup>19</sup>

The four *strategiae* on the frontier of Moesia and the Haemus were, according to Ptolemy, from west to east, Dentheletice, Serdice, Usdicesice, and Selletice. Serdice was named after the tribe of the Serdi, whom Crassus subdued in his Moesian campaign of 29 B.C. Its position is definitely fixed by that of the city of Serdice, the modern Sophia on the upper waters of the Oescus. Dentheletice must have lain between Serdice and the Macedonian frontier near the source of the Strymon. This accords with what is known of the Dentheletae, which indicates that they lived on the border of Macedonia. Philip V passed through their territory when marching upon Philippopolis in 183 B.C., and again when returning to Macedonia from his ascent of Mount Haemus. They were allies of the Macedonian kingdom, though they frequently ravaged its territory, and they were later allies of Rome, but ravaged the province of Macedonia when provoked by Piso. An inscription suggests that Dentheletice extended to a point forty miles north-west of the city of Serdice. Selletice is perhaps

derived from the tribe of the Sialeetae, who are recorded to have invaded Macedonia in 11 B.C. An inscription suggests that it came down to the sea. Usdicesice is otherwise known only from a Latin inscription found at Rome. There is no better evidence of its position than Ptolemy's statement that it lay on the Haemus, east of Serdice.<sup>20</sup>

The position of Astice is known. The Astae lived between the Propontis and the Black Sea. They were neighbours of Byzantium and Perinthus, and their territory stretched northwards along the Black Sea coast as far as Apollonia. The capital of their kings was Bizye. On the inland *strategiae* Ptolemy is extremely vague. Bessice, he says, was above Maedice, and above Bessice was Bennice and then Samaice. The Bessi were a famous but rather elusive tribe. According to Pliny, 'the many names of the Bessi' lived between the Strymon and the Nestus. Strabo, on the other hand, locates them in the upper Hebrus valley and in the Haemus to the north. He also says that they were neighbours of the Sapaiei and of the Odrysaes, who occupied the hinterland behind the coast from Cypsela, near the mouth of the Hebrus, to Odessus at the Black Sea end of the Haemus. Nor are the wars of the Bessi very informative. In 183 B.C. Philip V of Macedon marched through the Dentheletae, the Bessi, and the Odrysaes and captured Philippopolis. In 71 B.C. Marcus Lucullus, according to Eutropius, defeated the Bessi in the Haemus and captured their town, Uscudama, identified by Ammianus with Hadrianopolis. Crassus in 29 B.C. compelled the Bessi to surrender to the Odrysaes a piece of sacred land which they were occupying. In 11 B.C. a priest of the Bessi named Vologaeses defeated and killed King Rhascuporis, and chased his uncle Rhoemetalces into the Chersonese.<sup>21</sup>

It is difficult to fit Pliny's evidence into the picture. If he is not merely wrong—and his information on the interior of Thrace is all very vague and muddled—it may be that 'the many names of the Bessi' were detached tribes or clans of Bessic origin or classified as Bessi: they appear to occupy Ptolemy's Drosice. Apart from Pliny, the other evidence is reconcilable on the presumption that the Bessi occupied an unusually large territory, the whole of the upper Hebrus valley from the plain of Philippopolis down to Hadrianopolis. They certainly were a powerful and important tribe.

The other two *strategiae*, Bennice and Samaice, were, according to Ptolemy, above Bessice, that is presumably to the east of it.

Benna is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium as a Thracian city. It was perhaps the capital of the Beni, whom Pliny records among the tribes of the Hebrus valley. This tribe is perhaps, if a corruption of the text may be assumed, identical with the Brenae, whom Strabo puts on the Hebrus between the Bessi and the Corpili. If these identifications are correct, Bennice may be placed in the lower Hebrus valley. The tribe which gave its name to Samaice is unknown. It must presumably have lain north of Hadrianopolis on the Tonzus. It may be conjectured that it was one of *strategiae* into which the Odrysae were divided, the other being perhaps the equally unknown Usdicesice, which must have lain to the north of it.<sup>22</sup>

Certain areas stood outside the system of *strategiae*. Abdera and Aenus are recorded by Pliny to have been free cities. As such they had presumably not belonged to the kingdom of Thrace, and their territories therefore cannot have been included in the *strategiae*. Byzantium is also said by Pliny to have been free, but an inscription shows that it was subject to a monarch of King Rhoemetalces, and after the annexation of the Thracian kingdom it was a stipendiary city at the end of Claudius' reign. It was probably freed again by Nero; Vespasian again deprived it of its liberty, and by Trajan's reign it was part of the province of Bithynia. Maronea also, which had been a free city under the republic, had lost its freedom—Pliny, who is meticulous in noting the privileged status of cities, does not call it free—and had been incorporated in the kingdom; the people of Maronea made a dedication to king Rhoemetalces of Thrace as 'benefactor of the Bistones', by whom are probably meant the Thracian inhabitants of the Maronite territory. The cities which belonged to the kingdom seem to have been brought under the system of *strategiae*; Anchialus and Perinthus were capitals of *strategiae*, 'the places about Anchialus' and 'Astice about Perinthus'. They did not, however, lose their autonomy. The people of Maronea, as has been said, made a public dedication to the king; and, though none of them issued coins under the kingdom, several of them began to coin shortly after the annexation, Perinthus and Maronea under Nero, Anchialus and Philippopolis under Domitian, while the system of *strategiae* was still in force. They must, therefore, while serving as centres for the royal and later imperial administration of the *strategiae*, have retained local autonomy, including probably control over their own territories.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the territories of the free cities one other area

stood outside the system of *strategiae* and never belonged to the kingdom, the Chersonese. Its history presents many problems which are in the present state of our knowledge insoluble. When it was bequeathed with the rest of the Attalid kingdom to the Roman people, it consisted very largely of royal land, which became by Attalus III's bequest public land; Cicero alludes in his speech against the agrarian law of Rullus to the *agri Attalici in Chersoneso* as an important public domain. This royal, later public, domain did not include the whole of the Chersonese. Sestos was certainly an autonomous city both under the Attalids and under the Romans; a long inscription records the measures taken by the city on the dissolution of the Attalid kingdom to secure its safety on this critical occasion, and the city issued coins throughout the principate. Callipolis, although it issued no coins, was also an autonomous city throughout the principate. The council and people, according to an inscription found on the site, honoured a former gymnasiarch of the city under one of the emperors of the Julian house—the former gymnasiarch had been enfranchised by one of them, as his name, Gaius Julius Hymnus, son of Habrus, indicates. A funerary fine was made payable to the city in the third century—the dead man is an Aurelius. Alopeconnesus, Elaeus, and Madytus are recorded in inscriptions of the Flavian period. Lysimacheia was destroyed by Diegyllis, king of the Caeni, in a war with Attalus II, and was apparently not rebuilt; it is recorded as deserted by Pliny. Its territory, and perhaps the lands of the native Thracians in the interior of the Chersonese, may have formed the Attalid royal lands.

The Chersonese, that is presumably the public lands, passed somehow into the hands of Agrippa: Cassius Dio, who records the fact, himself professes ignorance as to how it happened, and the transaction still remains a mystery; presumably Agrippa acquired his title by gift or fictitious sale from Augustus. On his death he bequeathed the Chersonese to Augustus, and the public lands thus became an imperial domain and were governed by a procurator. During the early principate two new cities came into being in the Chersonese. One of them was Coela, on the Hellespont between Sestos and Madytus. It is mentioned as a harbour by Mela and Pliny. The earliest evidence that it possessed the status of a city is a Latin inscription dated A.D. 55 found on the site, dedicating a bath 'to the people and the household of Caesar'. 'The city of the Coelani' is also mentioned in two Greek

inscriptions, one dated by the procurator Flavius Eugenitor, and therefore presumably belonging to the latter part of the first century. The Latin inscription implies that Coela was the headquarters of the imperial administration of the Chersonese, and the town had probably owed its importance to this fact. How and when it acquired the status of a city is not known. Under Hadrian it rose to the rank of a *municipium*, and began to issue coins under the style *Aelium Municipium Coela*. Despite its advance in status Coela continued to be under the authority of the procurator of the Chersonese, who probably still resided there. The other new city is attested by an inscription found near the site of Lysimacheia. This city must have belonged to the 'region' or 'province' of the Chersonese, for the inscription is a dedication to a former procurator of the Chersonese. It was a colony or *municipium*, for the inscription is in Latin, and ends *D(ecreto) D(ecurionum)*. It cannot have been Coela; not only was the inscription found at the other end of the Chersonese, but also it is dated to the reign of Trajan, under whom Coela had not yet acquired Roman rights. It was perhaps the colony of Flaviopolis, recorded only by Pliny. Pliny's reference to it is very confused. He mentions it between the region of Caenice and the colony of Aprus, which was in Caenice, and he states that it was formerly called Coela. It is no doubt conceivable that there were two places in this part of Thrace, Coela in Caenice and Coela in the Chersonese, but it seems more probable that Pliny, in his usual manner, is erroneously combining two authorities, one of which mentioned the town of Coela in the Chersonese, and the other the colony of Flaviopolis in the Chersonese near Caenice. If the colony of Flaviopolis lay on the neck of the Chersonese near where the inscription was found, on the borders of Caenice, it is probably to be identified with the city of Aphrodisias, which lay a few miles north-east of the site of Lysimacheia. It is first mentioned by Ptolemy, but is not proved to have been a city earlier than the Byzantine period. These identifications are, it is true, highly conjectural, but the fact remains that a city possessing Roman rights existed near the neck of the Chersonese at the beginning of the second century A.D., whether or no its name was Aphrodisias and its official style *Colonia Flaviopolis*.<sup>24</sup>

Two cities with Roman rights were thus created during the principate in the region of the Chersonese. Both were presumably allotted territories taken from the imperial lands. The greater part of the Chersonese seems nevertheless to have remained the

property of the emperor. Its inhabitants, who styled themselves 'the Chersonesites by the Hellespont', apparently possessed no regular communal organization. When they wished to make a dedication to their procurator, they could only do so 'by a decree of the council of the Aelian municipality of Coela', and in this dedication they allude to themselves as 'the race' ( $\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ), as opposed to the city of Coela.<sup>25</sup>

Claudius, Nero, and the Flavian emperors maintained the system of government established by the Sapaean kings substantially unaltered. The province was governed by a procurator who was a Roman of equestrian rank; the *strategi* were as before recruited locally. The only innovation was the planting of two Roman colonies in the eastern part of the province. Claudius or Nero founded one at Aprus in Caenice; Aprus was an ancient town—it was mentioned in Theopompus' account of Philip's conquest of Thrace—and had probably been the capital of the Caeni. The colony of Aprus issued no coins; it is mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy and in two inscriptions, which reveal its official name, *Colonia Claudia Aprensis*. Vespasian founded another at Deultum, near the Black Sea coast between Mesembria and Apollonia in Selletice. It bore the style of *Colonia Flavia Pacis* and was settled with veterans from Legion VIII Augusta.<sup>26</sup>

Trajan raised the status of the province of Thrace. It was henceforth governed not by a procurator but by a praetorian legate. This change was accompanied by a thorough reorganization of the internal administration of the province, the final stages of which were carried through by Hadrian. Trajan's object was to abolish the existing centralized system of government, and to entrust the government of the country to local authorities. The tribal organization had probably already been destroyed by a century of bureaucratic administration, and it would in any case have been undesirable to revive the old tribal spirit. Accordingly he determined to base his new system on the city instead of the tribe. As scarcely any cities existed in the interior of Thrace, a necessary preliminary was the creation of a number of new cities. Eight cities bear names or titles which show that they owed their origin to Trajan. Trajanopolis, on the coast west of the mouth of the Hebrus, and Augusta Trajana, on the southern slopes of the Haemus, he named after himself, Plotinopolis, on the lower Hebrus, after his wife, Ulpia Nicopolis on the Nestus after his victories. Four cities retained their native names with the addition of the title Ulpia. They were: Serdice near the



source of the Oescus, Pautalia near the source of the Strymon, Topirus inland of Abdera, and Bizye in the interior of Astice. In addition to these Hadrian founded one other city which he called Hadrianopolis after himself. It lay at the confluence of the Tonzus and the Hebrus. Besides these cities Trajan founded two more in the parts of the province north of the Haemus, Ulpia Nicopolis ad Istrum and Ulpia Marcianopolis, named after his sister. These two cities continued to belong to the province of Thrace until the reign of Septimius Severus, when they were transferred to Moesia, to which they geographically belonged.<sup>27</sup>

In all probability none of the cities was an entirely new creation. Four preserved their native names in official use, and the native names of three out of the five others are known. Trajanopolis occupied the site of the ancient fortress of Doriscus, whose existence can be traced back to the Persian wars; Augusta Trajana reverted in the Byzantine period to its primitive name of Beroe; and Hadrianopolis was the ancient town of Uscudama. The towns which Trajan and Hadrian raised to the status of cities were probably those which were already of importance as administrative centres under the old régime. Some of them are known to have been formerly tribal capitals. Bizye had been the chief town of the Astae; Serdice, or Serda as it is usually called in the inscriptions, must clearly have been the chief town of Serdi. These towns had presumably become the capitals of their *strategiae* when these were formed from the tribal areas, and had retained their importance after the tribal areas were subdivided into several *strategiae*. In all probability the majority of the cities created by Trajan and Hadrian had similarly once been tribal capitals. It is indeed unlikely that in a predominantly agricultural country like Thrace, which had not risen above a village economy, any towns existed except the centres of government: it would certainly be in them alone that a Hellenized population existed, familiar with the routine of administration and capable of running a city government.

The small number of cities which Trajan and Hadrian created is evidence enough that the development of town life must have been very backward in Thrace in their day. In addition to the new foundations, there were three existing cities in the interior, the old Greek city of Philippopolis and the two Roman colonies of Aprus and Deultum. Even including these the cities on which the new administrative scheme was based were not as numerous

as the large *strategiae* described by Ptolemy. This means that the capitals of the smaller *strategiae* of the later system must have been mere villages, and that not all the old tribal capitals had attained to a sufficient size and degree of civilization to be constituted cities. Owing to the obscurity of the political geography of Thrace, it is not possible to assign every city to its proper *strategia* with certainty, but roughly each city seems to have corresponded to a *strategia*, a few *strategiae* being left without cities. The enormous *strategia* of Bessice is an exception; it contained two cities, Philippopolis in its western half and Hadrianopolis in its eastern. No other *strategia* contained more than one city. Aprus lay in Caenice and Deultum in Selletice. Of the new cities, Serdice lay in the *strategia* of that name, Bizye in Astice. Pautalia must have been in Dentheletice, Topirus in Sapaice, and Trajanopolis in Corpilice; Plotinopolis corresponds in position with Bennice, Augusta Trajana probably with Usdicesice. The territory of Nicopolis ad Nestum may have comprised both Drosice and Coelaletice, that of Pautalia have included Maedice as well as Dentheletice, and Samaice may have been subject to Hadrianopolis or Augusta Trajana. It cannot of course be assumed that Trajan followed the lines of the obsolete large *strategiae* in allocating territories to his cities. There is in fact epigraphic evidence that Turres was in Dentheletice of the Plain but later not in the territory of Pautalia but in that of Serdice. Trajan would naturally have used the *strategiae* of his own day; but the old larger tribal *strategiae* were often natural and convenient units.<sup>28</sup>

Trajan made use of the existing cities of the interior for his new administrative scheme. He seems, however, to have neglected the old Greek cities of the coast. The only exceptions are Anchialus and Perinthus. These both adopted the surname of Ulpia, and this implies that they received accessions of territory from Trajan. Anchialus no doubt incorporated the *strategia* of 'the places about Anchialus' and Perinthus that of 'Astice about Perinthus'; the territory of Perinthus seems to have been contiguous with that of Byzantium in the reign of Severus. Mesembria and Apollonia apparently retained only their ancient territories; for they did not adopt a new style. Nor do the cities of the Propontic and Aegean coasts seem to have benefited by Trajan's reorganization. This cannot be proved of Byzantium or Maronea. It is possible that Maronea acquired a portion of Sapaice, and Byzantium a portion of Astice, though there is no evidence of this. Abdera and Aenus cannot have received any accessions of

territory, for Trajan founded a new city in the immediate neighbourhood of either, Topirus a few miles inland of Abdera and Trajanopolis a few miles west of Aenus on the coast. It is at first sight rather curious that Trajan should not have assigned Sapaice, or at any rate the western half of it, to Abdera, and Corpilice to Aenus, when he had such difficulty in finding a sufficient number of towns to convert into cities. One reason is probably that in the southern coastal district of Thrace the difficulty did not exist. It was in the interior that suitable towns were lacking; the southern coast had long been in contact with Greek civilization and contained some well-developed towns, and, this being so, it was better to give these towns autonomy than to overburden the old Greek cities with huge accessions of territory. It may be also that Trajan was influenced by the fact that Abdera and Aenus were free cities. It is evident from his letters to Pliny that he found the privileged status of the free cities an obstacle to good administration, and he may well have hesitated to put additional territory under their jurisdiction and have preferred to entrust it to new cities whose administration he could control and supervise.<sup>29</sup>

The whole area which had been comprised in the *strategiae*, that is the whole of Thrace except the territories of the old coastal cities and the Chersonese, was partitioned among the nine new foundations, the two colonies of Deultum and Aprus, and Philippopolis. The evidence for this is not, it is true, conclusive, but it can be proved that some of the cities ruled vast territories. A petition of the inhabitants of Scaptopara to Gordian III reveals that this village was subject to the city of Pautalia, nearly thirty miles away to the north-west. Dedications by the city of Serdice have been found fifty miles to the north-west of the city and forty miles to the north-east of it, on the northern slope of the Haemus. Philippopolis ruled the villages at the southern foot of the Haemus, twenty-five miles north of the city, and its inscriptions have been found near Trajan's gate, forty miles to the west. Augusta Trajana dedicated the eighteenth milestone on the road to Philippopolis. Its territory extended northwards over the Haemus, where it owned the market town of Discoduratae, forty-five miles north of the city. It probably also ruled Cabyle, forty miles to the north-east, near which one of its councillors made a dedication to Apollo Estraceenus. For the other cities no definite evidence exists. It may be mentioned, however, that an inscription recording that Antoninus Pius repaired the forts throughout the territory of Deultum implies that this city ruled an extensive area.<sup>30</sup>

To the mass of the Thracian people Trajan's reorganization can have made very little difference. They continued to live in their villages, managing their own local affairs, and it mattered little to them whether the officials who supervised them and collected their taxes were, as under the old régime, appointed by the procurator of Thrace, or, as under the new, elected by a city council. They had never seen the procurator, and the majority never saw the distant city which ruled them. The administrative scheme on which the city territories were governed seems to have been closely modelled on the old bureaucratic organization. It is best seen in the territory of Philippopolis. The city territory was divided into a number of tribes. These had no relation to the old Thracian tribes, but were artificial units named either, like the Artemisiad, Heracleid, and Cendriseid, after divinities, or, like the Hebreid and Rhodopeid, after natural features. The tribes were governed by officials called phylarchs, who were probably elected by the city council. They were subdivided into groups of villages called comarchies, named after the principal village of the group. The term comarchy clearly belongs to the bureaucratic terminology—its formation is analogous to that of the hyparchy, eparchy, and toparchy—and the administrative unit was probably taken over bodily from the old régime. The administrative terminology was not uniform through Thrace. In an inscription found in Pizus, probably in the territory of Augusta Trajana, the term toparch is used. It seems to correspond to phylarch—the toparchs were members of the city council. In that case the old administrative scheme would have been *strategia*, toparchy, comarchy. In the new scheme the city territory superseded the *strategia*, or a group of *strategiae*; the toparchy in some cases survived unaltered and in others was renamed the tribe; the comarchy survived unaltered.<sup>31</sup>

The new cities can have contributed very little to the economic development of Thrace. They served as markets only to the country immediately around them, and left untouched the greater part of their vast territories. The Roman government found it necessary to create market towns (*ἐμπόρια*) at posting stations on the main roads to supply the needs of persons travelling by the public post. Pizus, a station on the road between Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis south of Augusta Trajana, in whose territory it probably lay, is recorded to have been founded in A.D. 202 by the gift of the emperors. The inscription gives a list of the original settlers, one hundred and seventy-one

in number, drawn from nine villages, and sets out the privileges granted to them—immunity from the duty of supplying corn to the city, from requisitions of draught-animals, and from the charge of forts and military posts. It also lays down rules for the government of the town. Such towns had apparently hitherto been governed by magistrates taken from the local population—whether elected by it or appointed by the city is not clear. In Pizus jurisdiction was to be exercised by toparchs, who were members of the city council sent from the city, and the toparchs were to appoint the local magistrates, who were, with themselves, responsible to the city for the maintenance of the public buildings, the praetorium and the baths. Another market town, Discoduraterae, lay north of Haemus; it was originally in the territory of Augusta Trajana, but was later (between 235 and 271) transferred to Nicopolis ad Istrum. An inscription records another, the *emporium Piretensium*, west of Nicopolis ad Istrum, and it is probable that two stations on the highway east of Philippopolis and in its territory, Parembolae and Cillae, were market towns; in the latter a long list of names, probably as at Pizus of settlers, has been found.<sup>32</sup>

Trajan's reorganization of the administrative system of Thrace thus did little to develop either the political or economic life of the province. Its principal effect was to transfer the government of the country from a centralized bureaucracy to local authorities, and this was probably its principal object. The Roman government may, as in Egypt, have found difficulty in recruiting its officials, and, as in Egypt, solved the problem by thrusting this duty onto locally elected councils.

The administrative system established by Trajan and Hadrian endured unchanged for a century and a half. Then, under Diocletian, Thrace was reorganized, being split into a number of small provinces. At the same time several new cities were founded in order to reduce the city territories to a more manageable size. So far its development was perfectly normal. The transference of the capital of the empire to Byzantium by Constantine gave a special stimulus to the development of Thrace. The trade which was attracted to Constantinople promoted the prosperity of the towns which lay on the roads that led to it, and these towns were gradually raised to the rank of cities. The influence of Constantinople was, however, very localized; it hardly extended beyond the south-east corner of Thrace.

Thrace in the Byzantine period was divided into four provinces,

and contributed three cities to a fifth. Serdice and Pautalia and a third new city, Germana, which was carved out of the territory of one of them, belonged to the province of Inland Dacia. The remainder of Thrace formed the four provinces of Thrace proper, Haemimontus, Rhodope, and Europe. Thrace probably retained the name of the ancient undivided province because it contained its capital, Philippopolis. It contained one other ancient city, Augusta Trajana, now known by its primitive name of Beroe. It also comprised three new cities, whose territories had been carved out of those of the two older cities. One of them, Diocletianopolis, was founded by Diocletian. The second, Diospolis, was probably due also to him, and was so called after his patron god, Jupiter. Of Sebastopolis nothing is known; it is first mentioned by Hierocles. The site of only one of these cities is fixed; Diospolis lay at or near the ancient Cabyle, and was therefore detached from Augusta Trajana. The capital of the province somewhat inappropriately called Haemimontus was Hadrianopolis. It included also Plotinopolis, and justified its name by taking in the Black Sea coast up to the Haemus. In this district Hierocles records only Anchialus, and, under the corrupt form Derbetius, Deultum. The Notitiae prove that Hierocles' list is defective. Mesembria and Apollonia both survived. Apollonia was known in the Byzantine period as Sozopolis, having, like the other Apollonias of the eastern empire, exchanged its pagan patron for the Christian Saviour. The Notitiae, on the other hand, omit Deultum; but as it is known to have been a see it is probably concealed under the dynastic name of Anastasiopolis. Both Hierocles and the Notitiae give one other city, Tzoides, elsewhere mentioned only by Procopius, who records it among the towns restored by Justinian in Haemimontus. With this exception the Byzantine arrangements in Haemimontus correspond exactly with those of the second century.<sup>33</sup>

Rhodope comprised the Aegean coast. Both Hierocles and the Notitiae record the five old cities of Nicopolis, Topirus, Maronea, Trajanopolis, and Aenus, and one new city, Maximianopolis. Maximianopolis was a station on the Egnatian road, about twenty miles east of Topirus; its native name was Porsula. It had probably been in the territory of Topirus before it was granted city rank by Diocletian. Hierocles gives one other name only, Cereo-pyrgus, which is recorded by Procopius among the new fortresses erected by Justinian in Rhodope. The Notitiae give two, Anastasiopolis and Cypsela, the latter as an archbishopric. Cypsela

was an ancient fortress; mentioned as far back as 200 B.C. among the Ptolemaic strongholds captured by Philip, and an important station on the Egnatian road, commanding the crossing of the Hebrus. It was raised to city rank by Justinian; this fact accounts for its omission by Hierocles. For the position of Anastasiopolis the only clue is the statement of Procopius that it lay on the sea-coast. It may be equivalent to Abdera, which is not mentioned either by Hierocles or the Notitiae or Procopius; it seems unlikely that so important a city should have perished utterly, and possibly it merely changed its name.<sup>34</sup>

Europe comprised the Propontic shore of Thrace. In this province there is a marked divergence between Hierocles and the Notitiae, the number of cities being larger than the number of sees. The explanation of this anomaly is given in the seventh action of the Council of Ephesus, where it is stated that an ancient custom had prevailed in the province of Europe that each of the bishops should have two or three cities under him, and a number of instances of the practice are cited. Under Zeno's constitution each city ought, it is true, to have received its own bishop, but a comparison of the data afforded by the seventh action of the council of Ephesus and the Notitiae shows that the constitution was in fact not strictly enforced.<sup>35</sup>

The metropolis of the province was Perinthus, which in the Byzantine period bore the name of Heraclea. It had apparently adopted this name in the reign of Diocletian—it first appears in a series of dedications by the city to him and his colleagues—probably in honour of Maximian, whose patron god was Hercules; the name had, however, local associations also, for Heracles was the legendary founder of Perinthus. Of the other ancient cities of the district Bizye, Aprus, Callipolis, and Coela are recorded both in Hierocles and the Notitiae; the two last formed a single bishopric in 431 but were later separated. Sestos, Elaeus, Alopeconnesus, and Madytus are absent both from Hierocles and from the ecclesiastical documents and must presumably have been degraded, though Sestos and Elaeus still existed as towns; they are mentioned by Procopius as having been fortified by Justinian. Aphrodisias is recorded by Hierocles, and in the Acta of Ephesus, where it is said to be united ecclesiastically with a city hitherto unknown, Sausadia, which is also recorded in Hierocles' list. Neither city appears in the Notitiae, but probably the double see is identical with the bishopric of the Chersonese given by the Notitiae. Aphrodisias lay on the neck of the Chersonese;

and it may be that Sausadia was the principal town of the imperial estate of the Chersonese, which must have been adjacent to the territory of Aphrodisias. The estate, it may be noted, had been raised to the rank of a city.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to Sausadia a number of other new cities have appeared. Two of these bore imperial names. The ancient Greek colony of Selymbria, which had for centuries been a village, probably of Byzantium, was revived by Arcadius as Eudoxiopolis; the dynastic name, recorded in Hierocles, later dropped out of use in favour of the old, Selymbria, which is given in the Notitiae among the archbishoprics of Europe. Arcadiopolis, on the other hand, founded according to Cedrenus by Theodosius the Great, retained its dynastic title. Its old name was Bergula, and it was a station on the road from Perinthus—Heraclea to Hadrianopolis. In 431 it was subject to the bishop of Bizye, and had perhaps therefore been formerly in the territory of that city. Later it became an archbishopric. Of the other new cities Panium, Orni, and Gannus were in 431 subject to the bishop of Heraclea and had perhaps once been in the territory of Perinthus. All three are recorded by Hierocles, but only Panium later gained the status of a separate see, perhaps from Theodosius II, in whose honour it bore for a while the name of Theodosiopolis, and thus appears in the Notitiae. Hierocles records two other cities, Morizus and Siltice, neither of which is otherwise known. Morizus is probably another of the cities which lacked bishops; its name is perhaps to be connected with the tribe of the Moriseni which Pliny locates on the Black Sea coast. Siltice may, I suspect, be identical with Druzipara, which is recorded as an archbishopric in the Notitiae and was already a see in the middle of the sixth century. Druzipara was a station on the Perinthus—Hadrianopolis road, nearer to Perinthus than was Bergula. Siltice is probably to be connected with Silta, a town which according to Strabo lay behind Perinthus and Selymbria; from its grammatical form it is evidently the name of a district, bearing the same relation to Silta as the *strategia* of Serdice to the town of Serda. Possibly Druzipara lay in the district of Siltice, and when it became a city with Siltice for its territory, the new city was called indifferently by either name; in similar circumstances in Egypt the new cities sometimes adopted the name of the nome, sometimes that of the metropolis—Sethroites or Heracleopolis, Arabia or Phacusa are used indifferently. There remains one bishopric recorded in the Notitiae which Hierocles



omits, Rhaedestus. According to Procopius it was founded by Justinian, and this fact accounts for Hierocles' ignoring it. It occupied the site of the ancient Greek colony of Bisanthe, but even the name of Bisanthe had long perished; the place was already known to Pliny by the name which it bore in the sixth century.<sup>37</sup>

The number of cities in the province of Europe was thus nearly double the number that had existed in the same area in the principate. Of the ten ancient cities, four had, it is true, ceased to exist; their loss was, however, compensated by the creation of nine new cities. With the exception of Arcadiopolis, Eudoxiopolis, and Rhaedestus the origins of these cities cannot be precisely dated. Most, if not all, were already in existence in A.D. 431, and they were probably then about a century old: the 'ancient custom' of grouping several cities under one bishop may have arisen because the ecclesiastical organization of the district had already been crystallized when the new cities were created. Their growth is probably to be attributed to the foundation of Constantinople—or to Diocletian's earlier choice of Nicomedia as his residence—which must have greatly stimulated trade both along the coasts of the Propontis and along the roads which led, by Hadrianopolis and by Aprus, to the west. In the province of Europe a special cause brought about a real growth of city life. Elsewhere, the cities played but a small part in the political and economic life of the country. They were artificial creations, superimposed on the village system native to the country, and were too sparsely scattered to serve as centres of trade. The city territories were too large to be economic or political units, and the economic life of Thrace continued to centre in the market towns, and its political life in the villages. In the decline of the Roman empire the cities of Thrace contributed little to the military protection of the province; for this purpose also they were too few and too widely scattered. The defence of the province against the barbarian invaders, who periodically ravaged it from the third century onwards, was based not on the cities, but on forts scattered over the country. In the review of Justinian's work in strengthening the defences of Thrace given by Procopius, twelve such forts are mentioned in Rhodope, thirty-five in Thrace, and fifty-three in Haemimontus. There were five in the territory of Pautalia, six in that of Germana, and nine in that of Serdica. The cities of Thrace served one purpose only; they supplied the officials who governed the countryside and collected its taxes.<sup>38</sup>

## II. ASIA

THE west coast of Asia Minor was colonized by the Greeks before authentic history begins. Their settlements were divided into three main groups, the Aeolian, the Ionian, and the Dorian. The Aeolians occupied the islands of Tenedos and Lesbos and the coast of northern Lydia south of Lesbos. They founded, according to Herodotus, one city in Tenedos, six in Lesbos, as well as one, Pordoselene, on the neighbouring Hundred Islets, and twelve on the mainland. One of the cities of Lesbos had already disappeared when Herodotus wrote; the people of Arisbe had been enslaved by the Methymnaeans. Five still survived, Methymna, Mitylene, Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha. Of the mainland cities only the southernmost, Smyrna, was ever to be of any importance. Its greatness did not, however, begin till the Hellenistic period, for it was destroyed by Alyattes, King of Lydia, early in the sixth century B.C. and was not revived till after Alexander's conquest: the inhabitants meanwhile lived scattered in villages. It had even before its destruction been lost to the Aeolians; some exiles from the Ionian city of Colophon, who had been received by the Smyrnaeans, turned against their hosts and seized the city for themselves. The Colophonians later seized another of the Aeolian cities, Notium. The other ten cities, which remained Aeolian, were for the most part insignificant. They were Aegae, Aegiroessa, Cilla, Gryneum, Larissa, Myrina, Neonteichus, Pitane, and Temnus. Only Cyme paid nine talents. The Ionians occupied the islands of Chios and Samos and the opposite mainland of Lydia and northern Caria, overlapping with the Aeolians on the north. Their cities were far more important than those of the Aeolians. They were, besides the two island cities, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Erythrae, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, and Ephesus in Lydia, and Priene, Myus, and Miletus in Caria. The third group, the Dorians, comprised six cities, one on the island of Cos, three, Lindus, Camirus, and Ialysus, in Rhodes, and two on the Carian mainland, Halicarnassus and Cnidus.<sup>1</sup>

The quota and assessment lists of the Delian league show that the Greek cities hitherto mentioned by no means occupied the entire coastline. Interspersed between them were scores of other communities, some Greek and some barbarian. This was true of the Carian coast in particular. The two mainland cities of the

Dorian Hexapolis were hemmed in by other cities. On the peninsula on which Halicarnassus stood were, according to Strabo, eight cities of the Leleges, a barbarian people of mysterious origin. Several of these are recorded in the quota lists, Madnasa, Myndus, Syangela, Termera, and Uranium, and, perhaps, Pedasa and Telmessus; the Pedasa and Telmessus of the quota list may, however, be the Carian Pedasa near Miletus and the Lycian Telmessus. Two of these cities, Myndus and Syangela, claimed later to be, like Halicarnassus, colonies of Troezen. Cnidus occupied the neck of its peninsula. In an adjoining peninsula lived the Chersonesii. In one list it is stated: 'Of the cities of the Chersonese which pay jointly these have paid: the Amii, the Le . . .'. At this point the list breaks off, but there must have been at least two more names. Between these two peninsulae, on or near the Ceramic gulf, were at least seven communities, Ceramus, Hydusus, Bargasa, Idyma, Cedrae, Cyllandus, and the Pladasseis. On the southern coast opposite Rhodes were Erinae, Loryma, Tymnus, Caunus, and its neighbour Carbasyanda, and on the Lycian frontier Crya and Calynda. On the Iasic gulf, north of Halicarnassus, there were, besides Iasus, which claimed to be an Argive colony, three Carian cities, Caryanda, Bargylia, and Cindye, and behind them inland Mylasa, Hyde, Chalcetor, and the Euromeis, with whom are assessed the Edrieis and the Hymesseis. North of the Iasic gulf the three Ionian cities of Miletus, Myus, and Priene held most of the coast; Miletus in particular had a large territory, including the whole of the peninsula between the Iasic and Latmian gulfs and the island of Leros. But even here the quota lists record another city on the coast, Latmus, which in the fourth century took the Greek name of Heraclea, as well as at least one community inland, the Maeandrii, who were presumably the Carian inhabitants of the lower Maeander plain, and are perhaps identical with the Pedieis, the men of the plain, mentioned in the inscriptions of Priene. Not far inland of Miletus lay the Carian city of Pedasa, to which the Persians assigned the inland parts of the territory of Miletus in 499 B.C. Of the Carian cities Miletus and Caunus paid ten talents each, the Euromeis and their allies six, Cnidus five, Cindye four, and Iasus and the Chersonesian cities three. About a dozen other cities paid sums ranging from two talents to one. The quota and assessment lists record in Caria, besides the communities enumerated above, upwards of twenty others. Like many of the communities which I have mentioned, they paid

trifling sums in tribute and must have been quite insignificant places.<sup>2</sup>

It thus appears that while there were a few big cities, Greek and barbarian, on the Carian coast, the great majority of the population lived in tiny communities, most of them to be ranked as villages rather than cities. Conditions in the interior were probably similar. There is little contemporary evidence on this point; for the literary authorities, which are here our only source of information, naturally mention the great cities only for the most part. They record three important cities, Magnesia, Tralles, and Alabanda. Magnesia was an Aeolian city, founded by Thessalian and Cretan immigrants. Tralles claimed later to have been founded by Thracian Trallians and Argives; both sets of colonists are probably fictions, the former a product of popular etymology, the latter of civic vanity. Alabanda in Roman times claimed Lacedaemonian blood, a claim which was certainly false. Both were Carian cities. In addition to these Xenophon happens to mention two small neighbours of Magnesia, Achilleum and Leucophrys. Near Mylasa an inscription of the fourth century records the —ogasseis, Naryandeis, and Coarrendeis. Arrian mentions Hyparna as held by Persian troops against Alexander, and Thera as one of the cities held by Orontobates. Alinda, west of Alabanda, was the only city held by Ada. The temple records of its neighbour Amyzon go back to the days of Idrieus the successor of Mausolus. In later times, when fuller information is available, it appears that in the interior, as on the coast, the normal political unit was very small.<sup>3</sup>

The Carian communities were generally republics. The Persians, it is true, here as elsewhere, favoured tyrants, and before the establishment of the Athenian supremacy tyrannies seem to have been the rule. Thus Oliatus son of Ibanollis and Histiaeus son of Tymnes were tyrants of Mylasa and Termera at the beginning of the Ionian revolt, and Aridolis was tyrant of Alabanda under Xerxes. Under the rule of Athens the Carian communities were almost all republican. The few exceptions are carefully noted in the lists. Thus for 'the Syangeleis' is for a time substituted 'Picres of Syangela' or 'the Syangeleis whom Picres rules', and 'the Carians whom Tymnes rules' once appear. In the fourth century, under the Hecatomnid satraps, republican institutions were the rule. The larger cities, at any rate, were by now completely Hellenized. We possess a decree of Mylasa, dated 367, passed in full constitutional form and recorded in Greek. There exists also a fragmentary copy, made in the early Roman period,

of some decrees of Tralles, dated apparently 351; these are also in Greek.<sup>4</sup>

The Carian communities were grouped in a rudimentary federation. An embassy sent by the Carians to the Great King is recorded in the decree of Mylasa mentioned above. A confederation which professed to embrace all the Carians—its known members were all in north-western Caria—still existed in the Hellenistic period, and even in Roman times. It met at the temple of Zeus Chrysaor and called itself the league of the Chrysaoreis. It is interesting that the voting in this league was by villages, despite the fact that most of the villages were by now incorporated into cities. This fact proves the antiquity of the league, and also confirms the conclusion that the village was the normal primitive unit in Caria.<sup>5</sup>

Two important events modified the political structure of Caria as depicted in the quota lists. The first of these was the formation of the republic of Rhodes. The island had been divided between the three large cities of Ialysus, Lindus, and Camirus, and a number of minor communities, the Bricindarii, the Diacrii, the Oeiatae, and the Pedieis. In 408 B.C. these communities united to form the republic of Rhodes. The three cities still preserved their identity in the religious organization, but politically they were merged in the new city, their demes becoming demes of the city of Rhodes. The minor communities of the island became demes of the new city. The Rhodian republic later included, besides the island of Rhodes, a number of neighbouring islands, Chalce, Syme, Telos, and Nisyros to the west and Casos, Saros, and the three cities of Carpathos to the south, and also a large area on the mainland of Caria, the Rhodian Peraea. The islands and the Peraea were not possessions of Rhodes. They were fully incorporated in the Rhodian state: their inhabitants became citizens of Rhodes, their communities became demes of the city of Rhodes on the same footing as the demes of the three Rhodian cities. It is not known at what dates these communities were incorporated in the Rhodian republic. It is very probable that some of the island and mainland communities had been attached to one or other of the three cities before the union, and were incorporated in the original Rhodian republic. Gradually, as more island and mainland communities either voluntarily joined Rhodes or were conquered by it, they were likewise incorporated and distributed among the three cities. By the middle of the fourth century the Rhodian Peraea was a solid and extensive block of territory: it reached

according to Scylax from Cnidus to Caunus. Among the Rhodian demes of the mainland were many that had been independent communities under the Athenian supremacy. Such were the Amii of the Chersonese, the Erinaeis, the Tymnii, the Idymii, and the Cedreatae. Others do not figure on the quota lists but are mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium as cities of Caria. Such were the Bybassii and Euthenitae of the Chersonese, the Physcii, the Cryasseis, and the Hygasseis. It is noteworthy that Loryma, which had been an independent community in the fifth century, did not form a Rhodian deme, although it certainly belonged to Rhodes. It was apparently included in the deme of the Casareis. This suggests that many of the Carian communities were too small to form demes by themselves and were incorporated with others. Similarly among the islands, Syme and Saros do not appear to have been demes, though they figure on the quota lists as independent communities.<sup>6</sup>

The other important change in the political geography of Caria which took place in the early fourth century was the enlargement of Halicarnassus. This was effected by Mausolus, satrap of Caria from 367 to 353. He moved his capital from Mylasa to Halicarnassus, and in order to make the city worthy of its new status not only adorned it with splendid buildings but enormously increased its size by incorporating in it six of the eight neighbouring cities of the Leleges. The two which were spared were, according to Strabo, Myndus and Syangela. He is certainly right. Myndus always remained an independent city. Syangela, or as it was later spelt, Theangela, maintained its independence till the end of the third century B.C. The six towns which were incorporated were according to Pliny, who incidentally attributes the synoecism to Alexander the Great, Madnasa, Pedasa, Telmessus, Sibde, Uranium, and Theangela. The last name is certainly wrong. Two of the others are certainly right. Strabo records that there was a district of the Halicarnassian territory called the Pedasis in his day, and on the imperial coins of Halicarnassus there sometimes appears a figure labelled 'Telmiseus', who is evidently the famous oracular god of Telmessus. The incorporated communities retained a certain autonomy within the city of Halicarnassus; we possess a decree of the Telmesseis in honour of a benefactor of 'the commune of the Telmesseis and the city' (of Halicarnassus).<sup>7</sup>

On the Ionian coast the cities were on the whole larger, and there were few small communities between them. Nevertheless, on the coast south of Ephesus the quota lists record two com-

munities, Marathesium and Phygela, the latter of which claimed as founder Agamemnon himself. On this same stretch of coast was Anaea, a possession of Samos; during the Peloponnesian War it was occupied by exiled Samian oligarchs, and thus became for a time an independent city. Inland of Ephesus Larissa on the Cayster, to judge by its name an Aeolian city, is mentioned in an assessment list. North of Ephesus along the coast the formerly Aeolian city Notium is assessed separately from Colophon, and in the neighbourhood of Teos and Lebedus two other cities are recorded, one very small, Dioshieron, one important, Aerae. On the promontory on which Erythrae stood five small communities, Buthia, Elaeussa, Polichne, Pteleus, and Sidussa, are sometimes assessed separately; they were, however, dependencies of Erythrae. On the gulf of Smyrna only the two Ionian cities of Clazomenae and Phocaea are recorded; Temnus and the Smyrnaean villages were presumably subject to Persia. Near Temnus lay Heraclea and Melampagae. A new city, Leucaea, was founded on this stretch of coast in 383 B.C. by Tachos, a Persian admiral. After Tachos' death Cyme and Clazomenae disputed for its possession, and after some indecisive fighting decided to submit their case to the Delphic oracle, which adjudged the city to whichever of the competitors should sacrifice in the city first. Clazomenae won the race, and Leucaea thus came under the influence of Clazomenae, but does not seem to have been incorporated in it, for it issued its own coins in the fourth century: these coins bear the swan type of Clazomenae.<sup>8</sup>

On the Aeolian coast the quota lists record Elaea, which claimed the Athenian Menestheus for its founder, and, of the Aeolian cities, Cyme, Myrina, Gryneum, and Pitane. The other surviving Aeolian cities, which all lay inland, were held by the Persians. So presumably were Tisna and Boeone, which coined during the fourth century, and Olympus, a city known only from its fourth-century treaty with Aegae.<sup>9</sup>

The Mysian coast seems to have been mostly held by the Persians. In the quota lists no names occur between Pitane and the Mysian town of Astyra on the southern coast of the Troad. It is, however, known that Carene occurred in an assessment list, for Craterus quoted the name in his work on the decrees of Athens. A number of other cities are known from various sources. Autocane on the promontory of Canae, Atarneus, Cisthene, Adramyttium and its neighbours Thebe and Iolla all coined during the fourth century B.C. Thebe was a very ancient town;

it was the home of Chryseis, of Homeric fame. Adramyttium was more modern but of respectable antiquity. It was a Lydian colony, founded according to Stephanus of Byzantium by Adramytus, son of Alyattes, King of Lydia, in the early sixth century. The Persian satrap Pharnaces permitted the Delians expelled by the Athenians from Delos to settle in it in 422 B.C. and it thus acquired a Greek colour; Strabo rather misleadingly calls it an Athenian colony for this reason. Atarneus had a chequered history. It was granted by the Persians to the Chians in about 540 B.C. as a reward for the surrender of the rebel Pactyes, who had taken refuge in Chios. In 410 B.C. it was seized by some Chian exiles and became an independent city for a while. Early in the fourth century a certain Eubulus, a wealthy banker, made himself despot of the town. He was succeeded by his freedman Hermias, a Bithynian eunuch and a pupil and friend of Aristotle. He was eventually captured by treachery by the Persians and tortured to death, and Atarneus thus returned to Persian rule for a brief spell.<sup>10</sup>

Xenophon gives some interesting information about the interior of Mysia in his account of Thibron's campaign of 399 B.C. Two dynasties descended from renegade Greeks here ruled the little principalities granted to their ancestors by the great king. Teuthrania and Halisarna, north of the lower Caicus, were ruled by Procles and Eurysthenes, the descendants of Demaratus, the Spartan king who accompanied Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. Gambrium and Palaegambrium, as well as Myrina and Gryneum on the coast, were ruled by Gorgon and Gongylus, the descendants of Gongylus, the traitor who betrayed Eretria to Darius. The city of Pergamum was already at this date important. It issued coins in the fifth century B.C. and had established republican institutions on the Greek model by the fourth. The fragmentary chronicles of the city record that a certain Archias instituted annually elected *prytaneis*; the date of the event is not given, but it was before the revolt of Orontes, which was in about 360 B.C. Pergamum in the days of its greatness naturally claimed Greek origin. Its eponymous founder Pergamus was alleged to have been a son of Pyrrhus and Andromache, or, according to a yet more romantic version, the Pergamenes were descended from Arcadians who came with Telephus to search for his mother, whom Teuthras, King of Teuchrania, had found washed up on the shore in a wooden chest and had married.<sup>11</sup>

In the Troad the quota and assessment lists give a very com-



plete picture of the coasts and their immediate hinterland. They were thickly dotted with Greek colonies, mostly Aeolian. On the southern coast Antandrus, Gargara, Lamponeia, and Assus are recorded, and behind them inland Cebren, Birytis under Mount Ida, and Scepsis, a Milesian colony. On the west coast the lists include Hamaxitus on the promontory of Lectum, and north of it Larissa and Colonae and, a little way inland, Neandria. North of this Achilleum and Sigeum are recorded, inland of them Thymbra and Ilium, the Greek successor of the Homeric city, and on the Hellespont Rhoeteum, Ophryneum, and Dardanus. The lists do not include two little cities near Ilium, Scamandria, which issued coins in the fourth century, and Gergis, whose inhabitants were according to Herodotus descendants of the ancient Teucrians of Homeric fame. They record two other cities of the Troad, Gentinus and Azeia, whose position is unknown.<sup>12</sup>

Xenophon gives an interesting picture of conditions in the Troad in the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. This district was a subdivision of the satrapy of Dascylium, and was ruled in the fifth century by a certain Zenis, a Greek of Dardanus. On his death Pharnabazus the satrap was about to appoint another governor when Mania, Zenis' youthful widow, arrived at his court, armed with presents for him and his officers and his concubines, and boldly claimed to succeed to her late husband's position. Pharnabazus was charmed with Mania and her presents and consented. He had no reason to regret his decision. Mania not only paid the tribute of her cities regularly, but continued to give him presents when he visited her or she him. Moreover, she got together an efficient mercenary Greek army and with it assisted Pharnabazus in his punitive expeditions against the Mysians and Pisidians and in her own district captured three rebellious cities on the coast, Hamaxitus, Larissa, and Colonae. She continued to rule till she was over forty, when she was murdered by her son-in-law Meidias, who was jealous of her success and resented being subordinate to a woman. He succeeded in seizing the two cities where Mania stored her treasures, Scepsis and Gergis. He then applied to Pharnabazus to be appointed Mania's successor, offering the usual gifts. Pharnabazus was furious and grimly replied that he would come and take the gifts himself. At this point Dercylidas and the Spartan army appeared on the scene, and called on the Greek cities to rebel. Hamaxitus, Larissa, and Colonae immediately rallied to him, and Ilium,

Neandria, and Cocylium soon followed. Dercylidas proceeded to attack Cebren. The commander of the garrison was loyal to the Persians, but the citizens overpowered him and opened the gates. Dercylidas next moved on Scepsis where Meidias was himself; Meidias endeavoured to negotiate, but finding the feeling of the citizens too strong for him had to surrender the city. Dercylidas then took him to Gergis and compelled him to order that city to surrender.<sup>13</sup>

The Milesians early grasped the commercial importance of the Hellespont and colonized its Asiatic shore intensively. Two Milesian colonies, Abydus and Lampsacus, rose to great importance, but several others, Arisbe near Abydus and Paesus and Colonae near Lampsacus are recorded in the quota lists. The lists also record Astyra, inland of Abydus, and Percote and Palaepercote to the east of it. On the Propontic shore also Miletus took the lead. Its most important foundation was Cyzicus, on the neck of the peninsula of Arctonnesus; others were Artace on the same peninsula and Proconnesus on an adjacent island. Priapus also was founded either by Miletus or its daughter city Cyzicus, Parium by Miletus in conjunction with Erythrae and Paros. Other cities on or near the Propontic coast recorded by the quota list include Metropolis, Didymoteichus, Harpagia, Zeleia, and Artaeonteichus on the Rhyndacus.<sup>14</sup> The lists omit several places which are known from other sources to have existed. Placia and Scylace east of Cyzicus were, according to Herodotus, Pelasgian colonies; Placia issued coins in the fourth century B.C. Miletopolis, near one of the lakes of the lower Rhyndacus valley, also coined in the fourth century, and Apollonia, on another of these lakes, claimed to be an ancient Milesian colony. An inscription found at Miletus states that in the second century B.C. the Apolloniates re-established filial relations with the Milesians, who, 'having examined the histories of this subject and the other documents answered that our city was in reality a colony of their city, their ancestors having created it at the time when they sent an expedition to the Hellespontic and Propontic regions and, having subdued the local barbarians with the spear, founded various Greek cities including our own, the expedition being conducted under the auspices of Apollo of Didyma'. Other authorities, however, state that the Apolloniate lake was so called by Attalus II after his mother Apollonis, and from this it might be concluded that Apollonia was an Attalid foundation. The two pieces of evidence are reconcilable on the hypothesis that Apollonia was an ancient

Milesian colony but was given the name of Apollonia by the Attalids.<sup>15</sup>

Of conditions in the interior of Mysia and Lydia and in Phrygia in Persian times practically nothing is known. The Mysians were uncivilized and warlike people. They were highly valued as mercenaries in the Hellenistic period—even in the Egyptian army there was a unit of Mysian cavalry. As late as the Roman period the eastern Mysians lived in villages and were grouped in tribes and not in cities. The Persians never succeeded in subduing them: they lived undisturbed save by occasional punitive expeditions and regularly raided the more civilized regions surrounding them.<sup>16</sup>

The Lydians and the Phrygians on the other hand were civilized peoples. The Lydians in particular are said to have had a great natural aptitude for commerce. One would therefore expect town life to be well developed. The number of towns known is, however, very small. Sardis, the capital of the kingdom of Lydia and later of a Persian satrapy, was by all accounts a great and flourishing town. Its neighbour, Magnesia by Sipylus, which despite its name does not seem to have been a Greek city, is mentioned by Hellanicus. Apart from these the only towns known are those at which Xerxes stopped on his march through Asia Minor in 481 B.C., and those at which the Ten Thousand stopped on their march in 401 B.C. Xerxes halted at Celaenae, Colossae, and Anaua in Phrygia, Cydrara on the Phrygio-Lyidian border, and Callatebus in Lydia. The Ten Thousand halted at Colossae and Celaenae, both of which Xenophon calls large and prosperous cities, Peltae, 'the market of pots', 'the plain of Cayster', both of which, though called cities by Xenophon, were to judge by the names rather unwallied markets, Thymbrium and Tyriaeum. To these towns may be added a few mentioned in the fourth-century campaigns of the Diadochi. At Ipsus was fought the decisive battle at which Antigonos was killed in 301 B.C. Lysimachus occupied Synnada and Dorylaeum in the preceding campaign, and his son Alexander captured Cotiaenum probably on the same occasion. These towns all lay on the great trade routes, Dorylaeum on the road from the Bosphorus to the Cilician Gates, Cotiaenum on the road from Sardis to Ancyra, the others on the road from Sardis to the Cilician gates. It is, of course, to be expected from the nature of our sources that only such towns as were on main roads should be mentioned; but it is inherently probable that most of the big towns did lie on the great trade

routes; and even if we possessed further sources of information, it is doubtful whether many more towns would be recorded.<sup>17</sup>

In general we know nothing of these towns save that they existed. Only at Sardis is there any more detailed information. It seems to have been politically backward. On Alexander's approach 'the most powerful of the Sardians' surrendered the town to him; this phrase of Arrian implies that there were no regularly constituted magistrates. A fourth-century commercial treaty between the Milesians and the Sardians points to the same conclusion. It specifies that in Miletus the *prytaneis* were to protect Sardian merchants; in Sardis 'whomsoever of themselves the Sardians may appoint' were to protect Milesian merchants; at Sardis there were apparently no regular magistrates corresponding to the Milesian *prytaneis*. The names of the Sardians appointed are inscribed at the foot of the text of the treaty; from this fact it may be inferred that they were intended to serve permanently, and were not, like Greek magistrates, elected annually. In Roman times craft guilds played a very conspicuous part in the life of the cities of Lydia and south-western Phrygia, and this suggests that such communal organization as the towns may have had in earlier times was based upon the guild.<sup>18</sup>

Tribal communities existed as late as the Roman period in many parts of the interior of Asia Minor besides eastern Mysia. They are found not only in remote corners, Moxeani, for instance, and the Inner Lycaonians in the central Phrygian mountains and the Cilbiani on the upper waters of the Cayster, but also on the highways of commerce, the Hyrgaleis on the Maeander valley and the Moccadeni on the road between Sardis and Cotiaenum. These tribes are probably remnants of a tribal system that was once far more extensive. Many of the cities of Lydia and western Mysia have names suggestive of a tribal origin. The city of Hyrcanis certainly grew from the tribe of the Hyrcanians whom Cyrus the Great transplanted from the Caspian to the plain of the Hermus. Maeonia was clearly the city of the Maeonians, a remnant of the pre-Lyidian population of Lydia which survived in the mountains of the Catacecaumene. The cities whose names end in the termination -ene, -enum were also probably by origin tribal capitals; Mostene means merely the city of the Mosteni, Poemanenum the city of the Poemaneni and so forth.<sup>19</sup>

In some parts of the country the tribal organization seems to have broken down in face of what may be conveniently if inaccurately called a feudal system. Villages were owned by lords; the

villagers were serfs, bound to the soil and owing rent and services to their lord. This state of affairs is known to have existed in the Hellenistic period, and presumably also in the Persian, in the interior of the Troad and western Mysia and around the great cities of Sardis and Celaenae. A similar state of affairs existed in the territories of some Greek cities; Zeleia, for instance, owned lands for which the native Phrygians paid a rent to the city, and parcels of this land, with their inhabitants and all their households, were sometimes granted by the city to those whom it wished to reward. Serfdom on the territories of the Greek cities certainly arose from the conquest by the city of the neighbouring barbarian communities, and it may be conjectured that elsewhere also it was, in part at least, the product of foreign conquest. The Persian, and before them the Lydian and Phrygian, kings had no doubt parcelled out the land of some of the communities they conquered to their followers, who thus became a feudal aristocracy. But economic causes may also have contributed to produce the feudal system, particularly around the great commercial towns. Fortunes made in trade would be employed in money-lending, and the peasants would by the law of debt become the serfs of their creditors. Certain temples seem to have been feudal landlords on a large scale. They probably accumulated their estates partly by the pious donations of kings and neighbouring landlords, partly by money-lending: temples naturally tended to become centres of commerce, and the priests, like other merchants, invested their wealth in mortgages.

Temples played a large part in the life of the interior, though not perhaps so large a part as is sometimes represented. Not a few of the later cities of Lydia and Phrygia bear names which suggest that they grew up round a temple—Hierapolis, the sacred city, Hieracome, the sacred village, Dioshieron, the temple of Zeus. Some of these were commercial towns which owed their growth to the concourse of pilgrims who frequented the temple, especially at great festivals. Such towns may sometimes have been ruled by the priests, but priestly dynasts are not recorded within the area under discussion. Generally the temple towns seem to have developed an independent organization like that of the other commercial towns. Others of the holy cities seem to have been tribal sanctuaries. The temple of the tribal god was the natural meeting-place of the tribe, and with the progress of urbanization became the city of the tribe.<sup>20</sup>

Alexander established democracies in all the Greek cities when

he conquered Asia and declared them free: this was part of his mission as the champion of Greece against her age-long enemy Asia. The cities were none the less compelled to pay tribute under the euphemistic name of a 'subscription'. This appears from a letter of Alexander to the Prienians. He expressly remits its 'subscription' to the city of Priene, thus implying that the 'subscription' was compulsory: at the same time he clearly distinguishes it from the tribute which was paid by the residents in certain villages which lay on a piece of land which he claimed as his own. Alexander is also stated by Arrian to have freed the Sardians and the other Lydians and to have restored to them their ancestral laws. What this statement means is very doubtful. Lydia still continued to be governed by a satrap, to be garrisoned, and to pay tribute, but perhaps some local autonomy was permitted to the Lydian communities.<sup>21</sup>

As the successor of Agamemnon and Achilles, Alexander took a particular interest in Ilium. He sacrificed at the temple of Athena Ilias before the battle of the Granicus and adorned it with dedications; he also, according to Strabo, declared Ilium a city—this statement is to be discounted as due to Strabo's theory that Ilium was a mere village hitherto—ordered buildings to be erected, and declared the city free and immune; he also later, after the final defeat of the Persians, sent the Ilians a letter in which he promised to make Ilium a great city and its temple most magnificent and to establish sacred games. Strabo implies that all these promises came to nothing. An inscription shows, however, that in the early Seleucid period the Gergithian territory belonged to Ilium: Alexander therefore probably did increase the city territory. Another inscription shows that under Antigonos Ilium stood at the head of a religious league of nine neighbouring cities: this league was doubtless established by Alexander to glorify the temple of Athena Ilias and to celebrate the sacred games which he had promised.<sup>22</sup>

On Alexander's death Lydia and both Hellespontine and Greater Phrygia were assigned to Antigonos, while Caria went to his kinsman Asander. On Antigonos' defeat and death in 301 Lysimachus was allotted the two Phrygias and Lydia, and Caria formed part of Pleistarchus' kingdom. Seleucus crushed Lysimachus in 281 and the Seleucids thus succeeded to the whole area: Pleistarchus had been eliminated before this date. The Ptolemies had, however, already established their hold on parts of the Carian coast, and later acquired various cities on the Ionian

coast and even farther north. Both the Seleucids and the Ptolemies paid lip service to the doctrine of the freedom of the Greek cities and used it as an excuse for capturing one another's cities. A certain number of cities from time to time achieved genuine freedom. The Seleucids nominally ruled West Asia Minor from 281 B.C. to 189 B.C., but during much of the latter part of this period their control over many parts of it was very weak. Seleucid rule was shaken at its very beginning by the invasion of the Gauls and by the contemporary war with the Ptolemies, both on the Aegean coast and in Syria. Antiochus I inflicted a great defeat on the Gauls but was never able to crush them, and they continued for many years to be a thorn in the side of the Seleucid government in Asia Minor. During this initial period of confusion several half-independent dynasties managed to establish themselves, of which the most important was that of Philetaerus of Pergamum. About a generation of undisturbed Seleucid rule followed these troubles. Then domestic strife within the Seleucid house threw things into confusion again. In about 240 B.C. Antiochus Hierax, King of Seleucid Asia Minor, revolted from his brother Seleucus III, his overlord. Seleucus invaded Asia Minor but was crushingly defeated. Antiochus, however, did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory: in about 230 B.C. he was in turn defeated by Attalus of Pergamum, who for several years held all Seleucid Asia Minor. In about 223 B.C. Achaeus recovered western Asia Minor for the Seleucids. Then he also revolted against his overlord, Antiochus III, and another war followed, in which he was finally crushed in 213 B.C.

Antigonus and Lysimachus seem, according to the literary authorities, to have been chiefly interested in the coast. Here their object was to create a number of great cities by the amalgamation of smaller cities. In the Troad Antigonus concentrated the population of several little towns, Coloniae, Larissa, Hamaxitus, Neandria, Cebren, and Scepsis, into a new city opposite Tenedos, which he called Antigoneia. Lysimachus altered the name of the city to Alexandria: he also allowed the people of Scepsis to return to their own city. Antiochus I seems also to have allowed the Cebrenians to secede; for there are coins of his reign with the type of Cebren and the name Antiocheis, which the Cebrenians presumably took in gratitude to their second founder. Scepsis always remained a separate city. Cebren was reabsorbed in Alexandria. It is probable that two other little towns which Strabo does not mention, Cocylium and Birytis, were also absorbed in Alexandria: they are never heard of after the fourth century, and they

lay in the same area as the other towns. In Ionia Antigonus amalgamated Teos and Lebedus: his letter regulating the conditions of the union is extant. This amalgamation was not successful, the two cities parting company after his death. Antigonus also revived Smyrna: his work was carried on by Lysimachus, who renamed the town Eurydiceia after his daughter. The city was built on the most sumptuous scale, with paved and colonnaded streets set out on a chequer-board plan; Strabo, however, notes with disapproval the absence of gutters. Lysimachus rebuilt Ephesus on a new site on an equally imposing scale, renamed it Arsinoeia after his wife and endeavoured to enlarge it by transporting to it the citizens of Lebedus and Colophon. The Colophonians, however, refused to move, and the Lebedians returned to their own city not long after Lysimachus' death. This they did apparently under Ptolemaic patronage; for they renamed themselves Ptolemais. Pleistarchus rebuilt Heraclea by Latmos and renamed it Pleistarcheia. Heraclea was subsequently called Alexandria by Latmus, presumably by Lysimachus after the fall of Pleistarchus. None of these dynastic names, it may be noted, had any permanence, except Alexandria Troas. Alexandria Troas was also the only attempt at amalgamation which even partially succeeded. The others all broke down in face of the obstinate particularism of the Greek cities.<sup>23</sup>

The Seleucids were more interested in the interior. In Mysia Antiochus I founded Stratonicea in the district called Indeipedion. In Phrygia he moved the city of Celaenae down from its hill on to the plain and renamed it Apamea; it is not recorded that he introduced any Greek settlers, but its earliest inscription, a decree passed in the reign of Eumenes II, shows that it had a normal Greek constitution. His son Antiochus II founded the city of Laodicea on the Lycus. It was not a new creation; its former name was according to Pliny Rhoas or Diospolis. Once again there is no record of Greek colonists. Another city in this region, Apollonia on the Maeander, may be a Seleucid foundation. It first appears in the Seleucid period, towards the end of the third century. Its name also suggests Seleucid origin; there were several other Apollonias which were certainly Seleucid foundations, Apollonia in Pisidian Phrygia, Apollonia near Apamea on the Orontes, and Apollonia in eastern Mesopotamia. Apollonia on the Maeander changed its name later to Tripolis. From this it may be inferred that it was formed from the amalgamation of three small cities.<sup>24</sup>



In Caria the Seleucids founded three cities. One of these, Stratonicæa, was peopled with Macedonians: not only does Strabo call it a settlement of Macedonians, but he records that the Stratonicæans were not members of the Chrysaoric league in their own right, since they were not of Carian race, but only in virtue of the Carian villages of their territory. The other two cities, Nysa and Antioch in the Maeander plain, seem to have been formed from the union of Carian villages. The foundation legend of Nysa, preserved by Strabo, was that three Lacedæmonian heroes named Athymbrus, Athymbradus, and Hydrelus founded three cities, which they called after themselves, and that these cities later dwindled in population and united to form the city of Nysa. No mention is made of the Seleucids. Stephanus of Byzantium, however, attributes the foundation of Nysa to an Antiochus, and his statement is confirmed by the inscriptions, which mention an Antiochid and a Seleucid tribe in Nysa. The three Lacedæmonian heroes are, of course, an invention of civic vanity. The three cities, or rather, perhaps, villages, are probably an historical fact: they all three bear good Carian names, and one of them, Athymbra, which apparently lay on the site of Nysa, is attested by an inscription, which records an embassy of the Athymbriani to Seleucus Nicator and his son Antiochus. About Antioch there is much less information: according to Pliny its former names were Cranaus and Symmaethus; this may mean that it was formed from a union of these villages. Another city in the mountainous interior of Caria may be conjecturally attributed to the Seleucids. Its name, Apollonia (under Mount Salbace), is suggestive, and an inscription proves that it possessed a regular Greek constitution and was under Seleucid rule in the middle of the third century B.C. Elsewhere in Caria the Seleucids encouraged the absorption of the smaller cities into the larger. A much mutilated inscription records that a king, whose name has perished but who must from the date of the lettering be a Seleucid, had written to the council and people of a city unnamed that he was attributing to it the people of the Chalctoreis; the Chalctoreis were to be admitted to the citizenship of the unnamed city on equal terms with the old citizens. Chalcteor, which it will be remembered occurs on the quota lists, lay between Mylasa and Euromus, and the city to which it was attributed was therefore presumably one of these. Two ancient Carian cities also received Seleucid dynastic names. Alabanda was called Antioch, and issued coins for a short period at the beginning of the second century

under that name. Tralles was according to Pliny called both Antioch and Seleucia, but the latter name only is attested by the inscriptions and coins, which date from the latter part of the third century. In both cases the dynastic name was dropped directly Seleucid suzerainty ceased.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from the foundation of cities, an extensive colonization of the interior with Macedonian military settlers was carried on by the early Macedonian kings. Antigonus does not seem to have adopted this policy, but to have financed his army by granting villages and lands to his friends, subject to rent charges paid to the various regiments of his army. The more usual method was to settle the troops on the land, granting them lots, either rent free or subject to a tithe. The earliest known colony of this type is that at Thyateira in northern Lydia: it first appears in 281 B.C., when 'the officers and men of the Macedonians round about Thyateira' made a dedication to Seleucus Nicator. The other evidence is all of later date. The colonization must, however, have been due to Lysimachus and the early Seleucids; for it was only they who disposed of large numbers of Macedonian troops whom they could settle on the land. Inscriptions of the middle of the second century B.C. record 'the Macedonians about Acrasus', 'the Macedonians from Doedye' and 'from . . . espura' (near Apollonis), and 'the Macedonians from Cobedyle' and 'the settlers in Adruta' (near Philadelphia): the last were probably Macedonians also, for the tombs of two Macedonians have been found at the same place. To this evidence may be added the imperial coins and inscriptions of the cities of Lydia and Phrygia and the extracts of the Roman official register of the cities of Asia preserved by Pliny. In Roman times the cities in whose territory Macedonian colonists had been settled took a pride in the fact that there was thus Macedonian blood in their veins, and advertised it by adopting the official style of Macedonian. The following cities claimed Macedonian blood: Blaundus and Nacrassa in Lydia, Cadi, Docimium, and Peltae in Phrygia. The Hyrcanians of the lower Hermus valley also styled themselves Macedonian. The Mysomacedones of Mount Mesogis must have been a Macedonian colony planted among a tribe of Mysians. Pliny also mentions an otherwise unknown people, the *Macedones Asculacae*, in the circuit of Adramyttium. The Asculacae may have been a Mysian tribe, or alternatively the text of Pliny may be corrected to *Macedones a Scylaca*, the Macedonians from Scylace, the Pelasgian colony on the coast east of Cyzicus. Inscriptions

record Macedonians from Dechtheira and settlers at Moschacome. It is possible that Synnada also received a Macedonian colony. The statement of Stephanus of Byzantium to this effect is confirmed by a boundary stone near Synnada inscribed 'Of the Eordaeans' and dated apparently 211 B.C.<sup>26</sup>

These settlements were not cities. Their organization was on military lines. This is evident from the wording of the inscription at Thyateira, 'the officers and men of the Macedonians'. It is also proved by a highly interesting inscription found at Smyrna. It is a treaty concluded in about 245 B.C. between the city of Smyrna and 'the settlers in Magnesia and the cavalry and infantry in the camps', as they are called in the preamble, or, in the more accurate language of the text of the treaty, 'the settlers in Magnesia, both those in the city, cavalry and infantry, and those in the camps'. The treaty provides that the settlers should be granted the citizenship of Smyrna, and for this purpose lists of them are to be provided for the city authorities by the clerks of the regiments. The settlers were therefore still grouped in their military units.

Other settlements of Macedonians remained for a long while separate from the cities in whose territory they were planted. Even after the foundation of Apollonis and Philadelphia the bodies of Macedonian settlers in the neighbourhood of these cities retained their separate organization. At Pergamum the military settlers in the city and its territory, amongst whom were included Macedonians, were not admitted by the city to the citizenship until the dissolution of the Attalid kingdom in 133 B.C. The various groups of settlers must eventually have been enrolled in the citizen bodies of the neighbouring cities, and thus have given these the right to style themselves Macedonian.<sup>27</sup>

Of general conditions in the interior almost as little can be said in the Hellenistic period as in the Persian. The Macedonian kings from Alexander downwards seem to have regarded themselves as the sole proprietors of the soil. They recognized no private ownership of land except in the territories of the Greek cities, which were not strictly parts of the kingdom but sovereign states in alliance with the king. How far the theory of the royal ownership of the soil was put into practice it is difficult to say. The Seleucids established no elaborate bureaucratic system like that of the Ptolemies. Western Asia Minor was divided into four satrapies, Lydia, Caria, and Hellespontine and Great Phrygia. The satrapies were subdivided into hyparchies: only one hyparchy, that of Eriza, is known by name, and it is impossible to say

how many there were; but the hyparchy must clearly have been a unit of considerable size. There seem to have been no officials below the hyparch. In these circumstances it is clear that no such detailed exploitation of the land as the Ptolemies practised can have been attempted. The kings probably contented themselves with levying a tithe or a fixed tribute from the tribal communities and the feudal lords, or, when these were dispossessed, from the village communities. The kings no doubt used the theory of royal ownership to provide lands for their military colonists, but in the tribal areas they probably did not otherwise disturb the actual owners of the soil. In the feudalized areas they seem generally to have dispossessed the old owners, but the land rarely remained directly subject to the crown. The kings freely granted and sold villages and lands to their friends and to the cities of their alliance. Grants to cities extinguished royal ownership; the land in becoming part of a city territory ceased to be a part of the kingdom. Grants to individuals were not absolute—the royal ownership of the soil of the kingdom was apparently inalienable—and were in practice revocable. Individuals were, however, often authorized to incorporate the lands granted or sold to them into a city territory, and royal ownership was thus extinguished. As a result of these transactions the royal land near the coast tended to disappear and the territories of the cities to be consolidated. In the interior the theory of royal ownership must gradually have lapsed as the native towns became Hellenized and were recognized as cities. How far this process had gone under the Seleucids it is difficult to say, but before the end of the third century Sardis was recognized as a Greek city by Delphi, and a generation earlier Nacrasa in northern Lydia seems to have possessed a Greek constitution.<sup>28</sup>

The weakness of the Seleucid government encouraged the rise of many local dynasts. The dynasty which achieved the greatest fame in later times was that of Philetaerus. Philetaerus had been governor of the city of Pergamum under Lysimachus, and keeper of the great royal treasure deposited there. When Seleucus Nicator overthrew Lysimachus, Philetaerus transferred his allegiance, but retained control of Pergamum and, what was more important, of the royal treasure. He used the treasure partly in building up an army, partly in winning the goodwill of neighbouring cities: he gave, for instance, fifty talents to Pitane towards the purchase price of the land which it had bought from Antiochus I, and made generous donations to Cyzicus when it was hard pressed by the

raids of the Gauls. Philetaerus maintained his allegiance to the Seleucids: the coins which he issued bore the effigy of the deified Seleucus. His nephew and successor Eumenes began a more ambitious policy. He formed an alliance with Ptolemy II in 263, defeated Antiochus I in the next year, and thus considerably enlarged his kingdom. The exact boundary of his principality is unknown: its limits are roughly indicated in an agreement which he made with his mercenaries, who are stated in this document to be stationed at Philetaereia and Attaleia. The former, which is never heard of again, is stated in the inscription to have been on Mount Ida, and this implies that Eumenes controlled the intervening plain of Adramyttium, and probably the southern coast of the Troad also. Attaleia later developed into a city: it lay a little way north of Thyateira, and Eumenes must thus have controlled the whole of the upper Caicus valley. On the coast his boundary is probably marked by a great rock-cut inscription, 'the boundaries of the Pergamenes', on the promontory south of Myrina.<sup>29</sup>

Attalus, Eumenes' successor, pursued a far more ambitious policy. He took the title of king in about 230 B.C. to celebrate a great victory over the Tolistobogii at the sources of the Caicus. Antiochus Hierax resented this presumption and attacked him, supported by the Tolistobogii and Tectosages. Attalus defeated the coalition. He then fought and defeated Antiochus Hierax in three great battles in Hellespontine Phrygia, at Coloe in Lydia, and by the Harpasus in Caria, and beat him out of Asia Minor. Seleucus III tried to reconquer Asia Minor, but his generals were defeated by Attalus. Attalus now ruled all Seleucid Asia Minor for a few years. Then he was defeated and driven back into Pergamum by Achaeus. Achaeus, however, did not completely crush him. He was ambitious to seize the Seleucid throne for himself and marched eastward against Antiochus III. His army became restive and he abandoned his attack on Antiochus and occupied himself with a campaign in Pisidia. In the meanwhile Attalus with indomitable energy proceeded to reconquer his kingdom. He enlisted a Gallic tribe, the Aegosages, and with their aid reduced a number of Aeolian and Ionic cities, Cyme, Myrina, Aegae, and Temnus, and Phocaea, Teos, and Colophon. Smyrna also allied itself with him. He next subdued the villages of the Mysians on the upper Macestus and marched into the Troad, where Lampsacus, Alexandria, and Ilium allied themselves with them. He gave the Aegosages land in the interior of the Troad. When Achaeus was crushed by Antiochus III in 213 B.C.

Attalus assisted Antiochus and was apparently rewarded by the recognition of his recent conquests.<sup>30</sup>

The political structure of the Attalid kingdom is complicated and obscure. Pergamum itself was a nominally autonomous city. The city government, however, was under strict royal control. The executive board, the five *strategi*, were appointed by the king, and these *strategi* alone possessed initiative in legislation: all decrees of the council and people were proposed by them. There was also a royal governor of the city. The king regulated even the municipal administration of the city; the law defining the duties of the *astynomi*, who were concerned with such matters as the streets and roads and the water-supply, was a royal law. The other cities of the kingdom paid tribute: their autonomy was also doubtless controlled. This does not apply to Smyrna, Alexandria, Ilium, and Lampsacus, which were free allied cities. Besides the cities there were certain 'places' whose status is obscure. They appear in the ephebic lists of Pergamum. In these lists citizens of Pergamum are classed under their tribes; such citizens of the other cities as enrolled themselves in the Pergamene gymnasium are entered under the heading 'foreigners' and classed under their respective cities. Between these two groups is a third 'from the places'. The 'places' bear such names as Masdye, Timnoa, Lycetta, the village of Abbas, the plain of Midas, the field of Apasion. Their inhabitants are never styled by the ethnic but under the formula 'One of those from' such and such a 'place'. From this it may be inferred that the 'places' were not cities and were not in any city territory. They must then presumably have been areas ruled once by feudal lords and later probably the property of the crown.<sup>31</sup>

The other dynasties never achieved such fame as the Attalids. One was a Macedonian family in which the names of Lysias and Philomelus alternated. A Lysias fought as an independent dynast on the side of Seleucus III against Attalus in 229 B.C. and a Philomelus supported Termessus against Isinda in 189 B.C. It is not known when the dynasty established itself, but it is a plausible suggestion that it was descended from the Lysias who was a general of Seleucus Nicator; this Lysias may have made himself independent in the troubled period which followed Seleucus' death in 280. The dynasty ruled in south-eastern Phrygia and there founded two cities, called Lysias and Philomelium. Polybius mentions several dynasts who contributed to the rebuilding of Rhodes after the earthquake of 225 B.C., Lysanias (perhaps a

textual corruption of Lysias), Olympichus, whose principality lay in Caria and who was still reigning in 202 B.C., and an otherwise unknown Limnaeus. Cibyra was in 189 B.C. ruled by a dynast named Moagetes. Cibyra lay in the country of the Cabaleis, but was itself a Lydian colony: according to Strabo Lydian was spoken there long after it was extinct in Lydia proper. Like so many inland cities of Asia Minor, Cibyra claimed Lacedaemonian origin: two Lacedaemonian heroes, Amyclas and Cleander, were honoured as founders, the former having according to the legend dispatched the colony and the latter been its leader. The Moagetids were, according to Strabo, wise rulers, and under their sway the power of Cibyra increased greatly. The three other cities of the Cabalis, Bubon, Balbura, and Oenoanda, united with Cibyra in a *tetrapolis*, in which they each had one vote and Cibyra two. The immediate dependencies of Cibyra extended on the west to the Rhodian Peraea, and on the east to Pisidia, the Milyas, and Lycia.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to these dynasties I infer the existence of two others from the names of two cities, Docimium and Themisionium, which are, like Lysias and Philomelium, derived from personal names. As the Hellenistic kings never named cities after private persons but always after themselves or members of their family, it is to be presumed that Docimium and Themisionium were founded by dynasts named Docimus and Themison: Docimium is actually stated in a metrical inscription to have been founded by Docimus. A Macedonian general named Docimus is known. He first served under Antigonus, but betrayed Synnada to Lysimachus in the campaign of Ipsus. Not far from Synnada he founded his capital, which he named Docimium after himself. Docimium proclaimed itself a Macedonian town in later times, and was therefore presumably colonized with Macedonians: Synnada seems also to have received a Macedonian colony. About the identity of the founder of Themisionium there is more doubt. A Samian Themison is known who was an admiral of Antigonus and a Cypriot of the same name who was a favourite of Antiochus II: there is nothing to connect either with the city, which lay in the extreme south-west of Phrygia north of Cibyra.<sup>33</sup>

In Caria the weakness of the Seleucid government enabled the Rhodians to make considerable additions to their Peraea. The new accessions were not incorporated in the Rhodian republic, like the old Peraea, but were treated as subject tributary districts, and can thus be distinguished from the old Peraea. They included

a number of Carian village leagues north of Idyma, 'the league of the Pisyetae and the Pladasseis who are joined with the Pisyetae' (the Pladasseis are, it will be remembered, recorded in the assessment lists of the Athenian confederacy), 'the league of the Panamareis', and 'the league of the Tarmiani': the last league in the first century included the communities of the Cenendolabeis, Tabeni, Lomeis, Mobelleis, and Mniesytae. These conquests were crowned by the gift to Rhodes of the city of Stratonicea by Antiochus and Seleucus, that is, probably, Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus II while they were joint kings and had not yet quarrelled (about 242 B.C.). Elsewhere in Caria the smaller cities had been yielding to the greater. By the end of the third century Cindye had been absorbed by Bargylia, Theangela by Halicarnassus, Myus by Miletus, Calynda by Caunus, and Leucophrys by Magnesia.<sup>34</sup>

In 201 B.C. Philip V of Macedon invaded Caria. He was supported by Mylasa, Alabanda, and Magnesia, and rewarded the last by the gift of Myus. His principal enemy was Rhodes, from which he conquered Stratonicea and other parts of its Peraea. Some of this territory Philip granted to Stratonicea: a decree of the Panamareis is dated by the twenty-third year of Philip (199-198) and by the eponymous *stephanephorus* (of Stratonicea). He also subdued a number of free cities, amongst which Polybius mentions Bargylia. To these must be added Iasus, Euromus, and Pedasa; for by the terms dictated by the senate after Philip's defeat at Cynoscephalae, Iasus, Bargylia, Euromus, and Pedasa were to be freed by Philip. The terms also included the cession to Rhodes of Stratonicea and other cities in Caria. The Rhodians had already recovered much of the territory they had lost. Their general Nicagoras had, probably in 198, recaptured the Idymian, Cyllandian, and Pisyetic territories. In 197 Pausistratus, with an army including Pisyetae, Tarmiani, and Mniesytae (who were, it would seem, at that date not part of the league of the Tarmiani) occupied Tendeba in the territory of Stratonicea and laid siege to Stratonicea itself. He failed to capture the city, which was only recovered by the Rhodians rather later by the generosity of Antiochus III.<sup>35</sup>

Antiochus III had moved into Asia Minor in 197 B.C. with the object of restoring the Seleucid empire to its ancient extent. He subdued a large number of cities on the south coast which had been subject to the Ptolemies. The Rhodians objected to his occupying the Ptolemaic cities of Caria, Caunus, Myndus, and



Halicarnassus—Amyzon had already been seduced by Antiochus. Anxious to retain the goodwill of the Rhodians, he desisted from attacking their neighbours, and even restored to them the city of Stratonicea. The loyalty of the Rhodians to their ally Ptolemy was not, it may be noted, entirely disinterested: they evidently hoped to gain the Ptolemaic cities for themselves and not long after bought Caunus from Ptolemy's generals for the bargain price of two hundred talents. Though Antiochus in this way conciliated Rhodes, his advance caused alarm to the other independent powers of the west coast, particularly to Eumenes, who had succeeded his father Attalus at Pergamum in 197 B.C. Eumenes succeeded in rousing the fears of the Romans, who protested against Antiochus' occupying the cities of their ally Ptolemy, and also the cities which, having been captured by Philip, rightly belonged to Philip's conqueror, Rome. They also constituted themselves the protectors of the free cities, which Antiochus had been bringing under his suzerainty. Two of them, Lampsacus and Smyrna, had resisted him and had appealed to Rome; they were both allies of Eumenes of Pergamum and there can be little doubt that it was he who suggested their action. Antiochus firmly refused to admit the right of the Romans to interfere in his kingdom, and a deadlock ensued which eventually culminated in war.<sup>36</sup>

By the peace of Apamea, which terminated the war, Antiochus ceded to the Romans all his dominions in Asia Minor. The senate divided these up between its principal allies, Rhodes and Eumenes. Eumenes got both the Phrygias, Mysia, Lydia, and Ionia, including Magnesia by Sipylus, 'the castles, villages, and towns up to (i.e. north of) the Maeander', including Ephesus and Tralles, and 'Caria which is called Hydrela and the land of Hydrela stretching towards Phrygia'. This 'Caria Hydrela' was evidently south of the Maeander, since it is specifically mentioned apart from 'the castles, villages, and towns up to the Maeander'. It was probably the country east of Mount Salbacus which was more usually reckoned part of Phrygia. Hydrela is indeed probably the city of Cydrara, in Phrygia on the borders of Lydia, which is mentioned by Herodotus. The Rhodians received Caria south of the Maeander. Cities which had been free on the day of the battle of Magnesia were excluded from these grants. The other Greek cities, to which the Romans had during the struggle with Antiochus held out hopes of freedom, proved an embarrassing problem now that Antiochus was out of the way. The

Rhodians urged that they ought, in conformity with the declared Roman policy that the Greeks both in Europe and in Asia should be free, all to be made free cities. They represented that Eumenes ought to be satisfied with his vast territorial gains in the interior, where there were no Greek cities. Eumenes objected strongly to this proposal, which was in all probability inspired less by disinterested zeal for the autonomy of the Greeks than by the desire to weaken Eumenes and at the same time give Rhodes the position of champion and protector of the Greek cities. The Romans had not the liberty of the Greeks greatly at heart and wanted to please Eumenes. They first suggested that those cities which had paid tribute to Attalus (presumably in the period which followed the death of Achaeus, and not when Attalus ruled all Seleucid Asia Minor) should be subject to Eumenes, while those which had paid tribute to Antiochus should be free. In the final settlement the senate went yet further, and decided that of the cities which had paid tribute to Antiochus only those which had sided with the Romans in the war against Antiochus should be free. Eumenes had little reason to be dissatisfied with this arrangement; for under it not many cities could claim freedom, and, in fact, a large number of them seem to have lain in the Rhodian sphere. It is difficult to say which cities were free and which were not. In the first place we do not know how many cities were free on the day on which the battle of Magnesia was fought; for Antiochus seems in the preceding years to have subjugated many. For instance, Mylasa was, as far as is known, a free city before Antiochus' arrival in Asia Minor: nevertheless, it was specifically freed after the peace of Apamea by the senate, and must therefore have lost its liberty in the interval. Similarly, Euromus was one of the cities which the senate ordered Philip to leave free in 196; yet it was subject to Rhodes under the arrangements concluded after the peace of Apamea. It is thus impossible to affirm that cities free before Antiochus' arrival in Asia Minor were so later. In Caria it is certain that Miletus was free; the senate rewarded its loyalty by restoring to it 'the sacred land'. This 'sacred land' is perhaps the territory of the destroyed city of Myus, which Philip V had assigned to Magnesia; for Miletus certainly held Myus later. Heraclea by Latmus was also certainly free; the letter of the Scipios granting it its freedom is extant. These two cities demonstrated their independence a few years later by fighting one another. Pedasa was free, for it amalgamated itself with Miletus in 182 B.C. and no suzerain objected.

So, too, was Alabanda, for it, with Mylasa, attacked the Rhodian possessions in 168 B.C. Priene was also free; for a boundary dispute between it and Magnesia in 143 B.C. was arbitrated by Mylasa on the suggestion of the senate and not settled by the Attalid government. For the other Carian cities there is no evidence: it is thus uncertain whether Iasus and Bargyilia, which Philip had been ordered to set free in 196, and Halicarnassus and Myndus, which had been subject to the Ptolemies, were free cities or not. On the Ionian coast, Smyrna and Erythrae and Chios were free: they received accessions of territory from the senate. Clazomenae received the island of Drymussa in addition to immunity. The Colophonians in Notium, who had probably paid tribute to Attalus, were specifically freed by the senate. Phocaea, which had seceded from Rome during the war and had been recaptured, was restored to its old territory and its ancestral constitution, but apparently paid tribute to Eumenes. In Aeolis, Cyme, which had paid tribute to Attalus, was freed for its devotion to the Roman cause. In the Troad, Alexandria and Lampascus, which had stubbornly maintained their independence against Antiochus, must have preserved it after his defeat. The Romans also gave special privileges, in memory of their Trojan ancestry, to Dardanus and Ilium. The former was freed; it had hitherto according to Strabo led a precarious existence, being from time to time incorporated in Abydus by the kings. The latter, already a free city, received Rhoeteum and Gergis. Gergis it had already owned under Antiochus I. When it lost it is unknown, except that it was probably before 217, when Attalus, who was on friendly terms with Ilium, transplanted the Gergithians to a village on the upper Caicus, and probably gave the Gergithian territory to his Gallic allies, the Aegosages: the Aegosages certainly were settled in a region behind Ilium and Abydus, and this was where the Gergithian territory lay. The status of Abydus is uncertain: Philip had been ordered to free it in 196, but it had since been subject to Antiochus. Parium was probably a free city; according to Strabo it curried favour with the Attalids and thus increased its territory at the expense of its neighbour Priapus, which was subject to them; this statement implies that in contrast to Priapus Parium was a free city. On the Propontis Cyzicus was certainly free; it was one of the signatories of the treaty of 179 B.C. between Eumenes and Pharnaces of Pontus.<sup>37</sup>

The Attalids ruled their enlarged kingdom till 133 B.C. They

founded a number of new cities. Shortly before the treaty of Apamea Eumenes had founded Apollonis, not far from Thyateira. An inscription gives some details of the foundation. It is probably (the beginning is lost) a decree of the city: it thanks a brother of the king for 'arranging the foundation of the city and executing satisfactorily the plan of his brother, King Eumenes, and for giving money from his private means to the settlers who were collected'. Apollonis struck *cistophori* under Eumenes, dated 194 B.C. Stratonicea and Thyateira it may be noted struck *cistophori* at the same period, dated 194 and 196; they were probably therefore reorganized or enlarged at the same time. On the upper Maeander Eumenes and his brother Attalus II, who was associated with him on the throne between 164 and 159, founded Dionysopolis; the city was built, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, in deference to an oracle, which the kings had consulted about an ancient cult statue of Dionysus which had been discovered on the spot. Further up the Maeander Attalus II founded a city of Eumeneia in honour of his brother. It is not known if Eumeneia occupied an ancient site. Its people claimed on their imperial coins to be Achaeans, and may in reality have been Achaean mercenaries of Attalus II; but, on the other hand, they may have been Phrygians who had concocted a legend of Achaean descent. Attalus II also founded a city in honour of himself, Philadelphia, so called from his surname Philadelphus. It lay in Lydia, south-east of Sardis. In position it thus corresponds with the city of Callatebus mentioned by Herodotus, and it is possible that it was that ancient city renamed: the fact that the organization of the city was based on the trade guilds suggests that it was an old Lydian town. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions a Eumeneia in Hyrcania and a Eumeneia in Caria, neither of which is otherwise known. The latter was presumably a temporary name of one of the cities in Caria north of the Maeander, the former a temporary name of Hyrcanis in the plain of Cyrus. Possibly it was the Attalids who first built a city for the Hyrcanians, who had hitherto been a tribal community. It has already been said that Apollonia on the Rhyndacus may have been refounded under that name by Attalus II.<sup>38</sup>

There is evidence for city government during the Attalid period in several towns of the interior. There is extant a decree of Hierapolis in honour of Queen Apollonis. Hierapolis, which thus makes its first appearance in history, was an important town in the extreme south-west of Phrygia, or perhaps rather in 'Caria

which is called Hydrela'; its name implies that it had developed from a temple village. Decrees probably of Attalid date from Peltae and Synnada in Phrygia are also extant. An imperial constitution regulating the common frontier of Hierocaesarea (as Hieracome was later called) and Thyateira alludes to earlier royal constitutions on the same subject; it thus appears that both cities had considerable territories as early as the Attalid period at least.<sup>39</sup>

The autonomy of the cities was probably controlled by the royal government. The evidence is not conclusive, but it suggests that the Attalids tended to model the government of their subject cities on that of Pergamum. In a large number of the cities of the Attalid kingdom the executive board consisted as at Pergamum of *strategi*, who in many cases seem also to have possessed the sole initiative in legislation. It is plausible to conclude that, as at Pergamum, this executive board of *strategi* was appointed by the crown. The subject cities naturally paid tribute or taxes. The financial system of the Attalids is obscure. One fact is fairly certain, and that is that it was not the same as the Roman. Antony in a speech to the cities of Asia contrasts the practice of the Romans, who levied a tithe on agricultural produce, with that of the kings, who levied fixed taxes based on assessments. This system was probably applied only to the more civilized parts of the kingdom. In the more remote and backward areas the kings seem to have contented themselves with levying a lump sum of tribute from the communities. Thus the Ambladeis of Pisidia paid two talents a year to the king and this sum was in response to a petition from them reduced to one and a half talents. These sums are obviously lump sums, and not based on any elaborate assessment; they were collected by the local authorities. This rough and ready system of taxation was probably applied to other barbarous areas like northern Phrygia and eastern Mysia. In the more civilized parts of the kingdom, on the other hand, the kings levied specific taxes, probably through their own agents, and not through the city authorities. In Pergamum, Myrina, and Teos, at any rate, the cities controlled only a limited number of taxes: in grants of immunity these cities specify that the immunity applies only to those taxes which the city controlled. The policy of the kings seems to have been to appropriate nearly all the taxes, and then to make grants from the royal treasury to the cities 'for the administration of the city'. The fund 'for the administration of the city' is specifically stated to be a treasury grant in one instance only, at Teos, but funds with the same title, which

probably are treasury grants, are mentioned in several other cities, Temnus, Magnesia on the Maeander, and Apollonia on the Rhyndacus, a fact which suggests that the system was general. Its object is clear; it rendered the cities dependent for their subsistence on the generosity of the king, who no doubt varied the amount he gave according to the loyalty of the city to the crown.<sup>40</sup>

The Rhodians did not hold their Carian possessions for long. Rhodian rule caused deep dissatisfaction in Lycia from the beginning. In Caria the subject cities seem to have submitted quietly until the Rhodians, owing to their equivocal attitude in the war against Perseus, fell out of favour with Rome. Caunus then revolted and Mylasa seized upon Euromus, apparently intending to incorporate it into itself; for an inscription, probably of this period, speaks of the Euromeis as sharing the citizenship of Mylasa. The Rhodians reduced Caunus, despite aid from the Cibyrates, and defeated Mylasa and its ally Alabanda at Orthosia. Their efforts were, however, wasted. The senate in 167 declared the Carians and Lycians free. By this decree the Rhodians lost not only the cities which the Romans had granted them, but others which they had acquired by their own efforts. The Rhodians protested especially against the loss of Stratonicea, which they had received in gift from the Seleucids, and of Caunus, which they had bought from the Ptolemies. Their protests were neglected, and they were ordered to evacuate these cities. They retained only the old Peraea, which formed an integral part of the Rhodian state, and perhaps the Carian communities north of Idyma, the Panamareis, the Tarmiani, and the others. A few years later Calynda, which had been subject to Caunus, revolted. The Rhodians and Cnidians supported it against Caunus, and it was eventually, in 164 B.C., granted to the Rhodians by the senate as a small compensation for their other losses.<sup>41</sup>

The Carian cities celebrated their liberation from Rhodian dominion by an orgy of coining, which continued down to the Mithridatic war. The cities which coined included many which had hitherto not figured in history or which had vanished from view since the days of the Persian and Athenian supremacy in Caria. On the coast, Bargasa, Ceramus, and Hydisus, which figured in the quota lists, now reappear, and Caryanda was renamed Neapolis of the Myndians. In the interior many new cities appear, near Alabanda Alinda, last mentioned in history as the stronghold of Ada, and Euhippe, a city whose name seems to be a Greek version of the Carian Alabanda; further east, in the

valley of the Harpasus, Orthosia, first mentioned as the site of the Rhodian victory over Alabanda and Mylasa in 168 B.C., Harpasa, Neapolis by the Harpasus, and Cys; further east again, in the Morsynus valley, Gordiuteichus, which figures in Livy's narrative of the march of Gnaeus Manlius in 189 B.C., and Aphrodisias and its neighbour Plarasa; in the hills south of Aphrodisias, Tabae, which passed a decree in the 44th year of Kings Antiochus and Seleucus, and resisted Gnaeus Manlius and was forced to pay a heavy indemnity; and on the eastern frontier of Caria, Attuda, Larba, and Cidrama. In addition to these cities, which all issued coins, some others are known from inscriptions. A 'Chrysaoreus from Thera' figures in a second-century inscription; this means that Thera, last mentioned as one of Orontobates' strongholds, was a member of the Chrysaoric confederation. A second-century inscription of Halicarnassus mentions the league of the Hyllarimeis, who lived at the head of the Harpasus valley.<sup>42</sup>

In 133 B.C. Attalus III bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people. One clause of his will is known from an inscription of Pergamum of that very year. This clause declared Pergamum a free city and assigned to it 'cities and territory': the last phrase is mutilated in the inscription and might be read 'a civic territory', but the words of the orator Aelius Aristides, that 'many towns have united' in Pergamum, make the reading 'cities and land' more probable. The 'land' was probably the royal land of the neighbourhood, the 'places' of the Pergamene ephobic inscriptions, the 'cities' small independent communities of the neighbourhood. Gambrium and Palaegambrium, Teuthrania and Halisarna had been independent cities in the fourth century B.C.; Gambrium is known from an inscription to have continued to be a city in the third. They disappear in later times, and the probability is that they were incorporated in Pergamum in 133. The general tenor of the will is unfortunately unknown. The literary authorities are vague in the extreme. It is quite possible that the phrasing of the document itself was vague. The will of Ptolemy the Younger of Cyrene contains no detailed provisions, merely naming the Roman people as the king's heir. Attalus III may similarly have left his kingdom to the Roman people without qualification apart from the grant of freedom to Pergamum, and perhaps some other cities. He may, on the other hand, have left his property only to the Roman people, and granted freedom to all the communities of his kingdom. Whichever he did, the Romans on accepting the inheritance seem, if the words of Livy's

epitomator are to be trusted, to have declared Asia free: according to Antony, as reported by Appian, they even remitted the tribute of the cities. These statements are not wholly incredible. The conquered kingdom of Macedonia was declared free and half the tribute of the cities remitted in 168 B.C., and the Roman government may have intended to treat the kingdom of the Attalids even more generously.<sup>43</sup>

Whatever their intentions they were not fulfilled; for the Romans did not enter into peaceful possession of the kingdom. A pretender, one Aristonicus, an illegitimate son of Eumenes II, arose and, in the words of the epitomator of Livy, 'occupied Asia when it ought, having been bequeathed to the Roman people by the will of King Attalus, to have been free'. He met with considerable success: a large number of the cities rallied to him, and he captured others, amongst which Colophon, Myndus, and Samos are mentioned. This shows that Aristonicus did not confine his ambitions to the Attalid kingdom but attacked the free cities, even in Caria south of the Maeander. Some cities resisted him. Ephesus defeated him in a naval battle, and Cyzicus appealed to the governor of Macedonia for help. The Romans at first did not take the revolt seriously. During 132 B.C. they left the task of suppressing Aristonicus to the neighbouring kings, Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, Mithridates V of Pontus, Nicomedes II of Bithynia, and Pylaemenes of Paphlagonia. In 131 B.C. they sent out a consul, Crassus Mucianus, but with a totally inadequate force. He was defeated and killed by Aristonicus. His successor Perperna at last succeeded in defeating Aristonicus, who took refuge in Stratonicea, probably that near Pergamum. The town was captured by Perperna, and Aristonicus was killed. Perperna died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded in 129 B.C. by Manius Aquilius, who rounded up the remnants of the rebels: a campaign against the Abbaeite Mysians is recorded. He then, with the ten commissioners sent out by the senate, settled the affairs of the province.<sup>44</sup>

The remoter parts of the kingdom were granted to the kings who had assisted Rome against Aristonicus, Lycaonia, and probably also Pisidia and Pamphylia, to the heir of Ariarathes V, who had been killed in the war, and Greater Phrygia to Mithridates V. The latter grant was hotly contested at Rome, where it was alleged to have been due to bribery, and was revoked not long after. A decree of the senate dated 116 B.C. confirming the acts of King Mithridates 'up to the last day' and leaving the other



arrangements to Roman commissioners 'who had crossed to Asia' shows that the Roman government took advantage of the minority of Mithridates VI, who succeeded his father in about 120 B.C., to reclaim Greater Phrygia.<sup>45</sup>

The province of Asia later included, and probably had included from the beginning, not only Mysia, Lydia, and Phrygia but also Caria south of the Maeander. The senate in creating the new province probably drew no distinction between Caria, which it had freed in 167 B.C., and the Attalid kingdom, which it had freed in 133 B.C., and put all the regions in Asia which owed their liberty to Rome under the charge of the governor of Asia. After the revolt of Aristonicus it was presumably only those communities which had opposed him which retained their freedom. There is evidence, it may be noted, that some cities which had been subject to the Attalids were free in the early years of the province: an inscription records a treaty of alliance between Sardis and Ephesus, made under the auspices of Mucius Scaevola, governor in about 98 B.C., the terms of which show that the two cities, both formerly subject to the Attalids, were now free. What proportion of the communities of the province were free it is impossible to say. As Aristonicus seems to have received general support in the interior not only of the Attalid kingdom but of Caria also, there were probably few free cities inland, except in Greater Phrygia; this district profited in a curious way from having been granted to Mithridates, for when it was eventually annexed it started with a clean record and was declared free. On the coast the cities seem in general to have resisted Aristonicus and the majority probably retained their freedom.<sup>46</sup>

The Roman government no doubt reimposed the tribute which it had remitted on the rebellious communities which it subdued. Antony indeed is made by Appian to say that Asia remained untaxed until Gaius Gracchus imposed the tithe in 123 B.C., but this statement is scarcely credible. What Gracchus certainly did was entirely to reorganize the system of taxation. He substituted for the Attalid taxes, which were probably many and various, two uniform taxes for the whole province, a tithe on arable land and pasture dues on grazing land. The new system was modelled on that of Sicily with the important exception that the taxes were farmed not locally but by the censors at Rome. The contracts thus fell to Roman companies instead of to local men, a circumstance which was to prove disastrous to the province. There is evidence that Gracchus not merely altered the system of taxation

but greatly extended its incidence. An inscription records the gratitude of Ilium to Lucius Julius Caesar, censor in 89 B.C., for exempting the sacred land of Athena Ilias from taxation. Ilium had been a free city even before the annexation of Asia, and, since it owed all its privileges to Rome, is most unlikely to have supported Aristonicus. The conclusion seems inevitable that Gracchus imposed the tithe on all the cities, subject and free alike. There was no constitutional objection to this step; for in the view of the Romans freedom was not incompatible with the payment of tribute; and to Gracchus' practical mind it may have seemed unreasonable that some cities by a historical accident should be exempted from contributing to the general expenses of the province. Greater Phrygia, annexed after Gracchus' time, was, if Sulla (as reported by Appian) is to be believed, exempted from taxation.<sup>47</sup>

The Roman government of Asia was certainly, as the Attalid had probably been, based on local self-government. The wide prevalence of autonomy is demonstrated by the large number of communities which issued coins during the first half century of Roman rule. These included not only the cities of Caria south of the Maeander, already enumerated, and the majority of the cities of the coast, but also a great number of communities in the interior of Phrygia, Mysia, and Lydia. Most of the Seleucid and Attalid colonies coined, and most of the other cities whose autonomy is attested in earlier times. In addition to these many new cities appear, in Caria north of the Maeander, Aninetus and Metropolis, in 'Caria which is called Hydrela' Hydrela, in Lydia Blaundus and Clanudda, in Mysia Perperene, in Phrygia Acmonia, Amorium, Appia, Colossae, Eriza, Leonna, Philomelium, Prynnessus, Sanaus, and Stectorium. In Phrygia the league of the Epicteteis, which according to Strabo included the six cities of Aezani, Cadi, Cotiaem, Dorylaeum, Midaem, and Nacoleia, issued a federal coinage. A number of tribal communities also struck coins, the Caystriani and the Mosteni of Lydia, and the Abbaeitae and Poemaneni of Mysia. In addition to the communities which issued coins several others are mentioned by the literary authorities: the people of Hypaepa, and perhaps also the Mysotimolitae, are recorded by Appian to have resisted Mithridates; the Tmolitae and the Loreni are mentioned by Cicero in his speech for Flaccus. These communities were all in Lydia. From Themisonium there is a decree dated the nineteenth year, probably of the province. The Pergamene ephobic lists, which

are mostly of the early provincial period, record citizens of Hierolophus in northern Lydia and of Tiara and Pionia in Mysia.<sup>48</sup>

The autonomy of the subject cities was severely limited. In the administration of justice they seem to have possessed no guaranteed rights. Mucius Scaevola, it is true, in accordance with his liberal and philhellenic policy, allowed the cities to use their own laws and courts, but since this was a special concession made in his edict it is to be presumed that the provincial charter contained no such provision. For judicial purposes the communities were divided into circuits (*dioeceseis* or *conventus*). The system was evidently intended to suit the convenience of the governor rather than that of the provincials. The cities in which the proconsul held his courts were all either in the western coastal district, Adramyttium, Pergamum, Smyrna, Sardis, Ephesus, Tralles, Miletus, Mylasa, and Alabanda, or on the main road to central Asia Minor, Laodicea on the Lycus, Apamea, and Synnada. Litigants in eastern Mysia and northern Phrygia were expected to present themselves before the proconsul at Adramyttium and Synnada: the proconsul himself did not visit these remote regions. The *conventus* of Laodicea, Apamea, and Synnada were for a few years during the middle of the first century B.C. attached to Cilicia instead of to Asia. The reason for this transference was that the governor of Cilicia in any case disembarked at Ephesus and proceeded by land to his province: if he dealt with the *conventus* on the main road from Ephesus to Iconium *en route* the governor of Asia was saved the trouble of travelling inland at all.<sup>49</sup>

It is not known whether the Romans interfered with the internal institutions of the cities in the early period of the province. In Cicero's time the constitutions of the Asiatic cities seem to have been modelled on that of Rome. This appears from his speech on behalf of Flaccus, in which he endeavours to discredit the evidence of certain of Flaccus' accusers by pointing out that they were not members of their city councils: thus he ridicules the Temnian delegation, two of whose members had not succeeded in gaining seats on the council of Temnus, while the third had, after acquiring the rank of councillor, been condemned for peculation and ejected from the council. The council of Temnus, which was apparently a normal Asiatic city, therefore in Cicero's day was not, according to the usual Greek practice, an annually changing body selected by lot, but a permanent body, like the Roman senate, membership of which was a high honour.<sup>50</sup>

The first Mithridatic war marked an epoch in the history of the province of Asia. The cities for the most part hailed Mithridates as a deliverer. They had long been suffering from the depredations of the Roman tax farmers, in whose hands a system of taxation which on the face of it seems equitable and not exorbitant had become an intolerable burden. No relief was to be obtained from the governor; for, even if he were not occupied in filling his own pockets by illegal exactions, he did not dare to check the malpractices of the farmers. The court of extortion at Rome was in the hands of the equestrian order, from which the farmers were recruited, and if a governor ventured to interfere with the farmers, he was accused and condemned in that court, however honest his administration had been. In these circumstances the average governor preferred to leave the farmers alone, especially since by so doing he could make sure of his own acquittal should any of his own extortions be brought to light. Therefore when Mithridates appeared he received an enthusiastic welcome, and when he ordered the massacre of all Italians resident in Asia, the cities co-operated gladly, and 80,000, it is said, were slaughtered in one day.

When Sulla had reconquered the province he reorganized it thoroughly; a large number of cities adopted the date of this reorganization as their era. From now onwards freedom was a rare privilege granted to a few cities which had conspicuously shown their devotion to the Roman cause. Rhodes had put up a vigorous resistance to Mithridates. It was rewarded by Sulla with freedom and with the grant, according to Cicero, of Caunus and some islands. Appian also records that Sulla freed Chios, Magnesia, and Ilium. Chios is known to have suffered severely at Mithridates' hands. Magnesia by Sipylus had beaten off an attack by Archelaus, Mithridates' general. Ilium is not known to have resisted Mithridates. It had, on the other hand, suffered at the hands of Fimbria, Sulla's Roman opponent, and this may have been the reason for Sulla's freeing it. Cicero speaks of Apollonis as being a free city in his day, and from his allusions to its sufferings at Mithridates' hands it may be inferred that it was freed by Sulla for its loyalty to Rome in the Mithridatic war. Inscriptions record that Sulla also rewarded for their loyalty Stratonicea and Tabae in Caria. Tabae was freed. Stratonicea received not only freedom, but accessions of territory and revenue, 'places, villages, and revenues of cities', amongst which Themessus and Ceramus are specified. Another inscription, probably of this

date, records that Alabanda sent a delegation to Rome to renew its existing friendship and bring to the notice of the senate the services it had rendered to the Roman armies, and that it succeeded in gaining alliance with Rome: shortly afterwards it sent another delegation to complain 'about the tribute' and extracted from the senate 'a decree about immunity from tribute'. It may be noted that the cities freed by Sulla all seem to have been granted immunity. A few other cities received their liberty after Sulla's time. Cyzicus was freed by Lucullus, Mitylene and Phocaea by Pompey, Cnidus by Caesar, Aphrodisias and Plarasa, which were by then united into a single community, by Antony in accord with Caesar's papers. Some other cities are known to have been free in the late republican period. Astypalaea seems to have maintained its freedom continuously ever since it first made a treaty with Rome in 106 B.C. Tenedos was free until 54 B.C., when Cicero records that its liberty was taken from it.<sup>51</sup>

Sulla, after the Mithridatic war, exacted an enormous war indemnity, equivalent to five years' tribute and all the expenses of the war. This indemnity he allocated to the several communities in proportion to their wealth. According to a very late authority, the chronicler Cassiodorus of the sixth century, he divided Asia into forty-four regions for this purpose. This statement may, despite its origin, be true; the precision of the number inspires confidence. It would mean that Sulla arranged the communities in groups which were jointly responsible for their quota. The cities were, according to Appian, reduced to the most desperate expedients in order to raise money, mortgaging even their walls and public buildings. They were eventually, according to Cicero, unable to pay without the aid of the farmers. This presumably means that they fell into arrears and were obliged to borrow the money from the farmers, who extracted it, with interest, at their leisure. Sulla's assessment was later used for levying extraordinary taxes. When Pompey levied ship-money for his fleet against the pirates, he allocated it to the communities according to Sulla's scheme, and Flaccus raised ship-money on the same basis, professedly to combat piracy. On the other hand, some governors levied specific extraordinary taxes. Appius Claudius, Cicero's predecessor as governor of Cilicia (which then included Phrygia), levied a poll-tax and a door-tax from the cities. An inscription of Lampsacus, probably of late republican date, makes allusion to a poll-tax: the city was relieved of half its poll-tax by the efforts of one of its citizens. For the regular taxation

the system instituted by Gaius Gracchus remained in force until Caesar abolished both the tithe and the farming-system. He instituted a fixed tribute, less by a third than the average of the old taxation, and entrusted its collection to the city authorities.<sup>52</sup>

The first Mithridatic war led to the addition of a new piece of territory to the province. Murena, Sulla's successor, suppressed the Moagetid dynasty, which had ruled in Cibyra ever since 189 B.C. Murena partitioned the principality. He added Bubon and Balbura and probably also Oenoanda to the Lycian league. Cibyra itself and its immediate dependencies were added to Asia. They were attached to the *conventus* of Laodicea which was henceforth officially called the Cibratic *conventus*; the court was still, however, held at Laodicea, which was far more convenient as a centre for the Roman governor than Cibyra.<sup>53</sup>

A systematic survey of the province of Asia first becomes possible under the principate. A basis for this survey is afforded by the substantial fragments, preserved by Pliny, of the official register of the communities of the province, made apparently early in the reign of Augustus. The official register was arranged by the judicial *conventus* and it will therefore be simplest to adopt this grouping. It is, of course, in many cases impossible to say to which *conventus* a border city which is not mentioned by Pliny really belonged, and the grouping which I give is to a large extent arbitrary. Any other classification is, however, equally arbitrary, and the grouping by *conventus* has at least a substructure of fact. The gaps in Pliny's information can be to a certain extent filled by Ptolemy's extracts from the official register, which are unfortunately not arranged under *conventus*, by the inscriptions and the city coinage, both of which are abundant under the principate, and to a less extent by casual references in the literary authorities.<sup>54</sup>

Pliny begins with the *conventus* of Philomelium. This formed a promontory jutting out of Asia, surrounded on the east, south, and west by Galatia. Philomelium itself had belonged to Asia under the republic. The rest appears to have been under the republic a part of Lycaonia: it was perhaps transferred to Asia when the rest of Lycaonia was given to Amyntas. It was a small area. Pliny gives five communities which belonged to it; Philomelium itself, the Tymbriani, Tyrienses, Leucolithi, and Pelteni. Thymbrium and Tyriaeum were ancient towns: both are mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Philomelium issued coins and Thymbrium appears to have later adopted the name of Hadriano-polis, and issued coins under that style. The other three issued

no coins. Two other communities, the Peiseani and the Seilindeis, are recorded in the inscriptions of the district, but it is uncertain whether they were independent or villages subject to a city. Philomelium, Hadrianopolis, and Tyriaeum appear in Hierocles; the others had disappeared.<sup>55</sup>

The next *conventus*, that of Synnada, was very large. It stretched right up to the border of Bithynia on the north and comprised twenty-two communities. On the northern frontier of the diocese in the Tembris valley Pliny mentions two members of the league of the Epicteteis, Dorylaeum and Midaeum. The *conventus* must both for geographical and political reasons have included two other members of the league, Cotiaeum on the Tembris and Nacoleia in the hill country to the south of the river. For political reasons it probably also included the fifth city of the Epicteteis, Aezani, which lay at the head of the Rhyndacus valley. On the north-west frontier of the diocese Pliny records Appia, at the source of the Tembris. On the eastern frontier the *conventus* must have included the cities of Accilaeum and Amorium and, between them, the tribe of the Trocnades. The name of the Trocnades seems to be Celtic. Their territory is recorded as a 'region' by Hierocles and seems to have been managed by imperial procurators during the principate. It may perhaps be inferred from these facts that the Trocnades were a Galatian tribe whose territory had been confiscated by the Attalids in one of their many Galatic wars. The Trocnades naturally issued no coins. All the other communities mentioned above coined during the principate.<sup>56</sup>

South of these cities, in the Cayster valley, Pliny records the city of Julia. This city, which issued coins during the principate, is generally admitted to be identical with the ancient city of Ipsus, famous as the site of the great battle of 301 B.C.: the old name Ipsus replaces Julia in the Byzantine lists. The other cities of this valley were Docimium, the former capital of the Macedonian dynast Docimus, Prymnessus, and Cidyessus, which Ptolemy read on the register. Immediately north of Synnada lay Palaeobeudus, a little town mentioned as early as 189 B.C. as a station on Manlius' march against the Gauls. These cities all coined under the principate.<sup>57</sup> Pliny records two other peoples, the Lycaones and the Corpeni. The Lycaones, who are also mentioned by Ptolemy as a people of Asia and are styled in inscriptions 'the Lycaones by the Endus', appear to have been an isolated enclave of Lycaonians in the midst of Phrygia. They probably

lived in the south-eastern part of the *conventus*. They issued no coins and are still recorded as a tribal commune in Hierocles. The Corpeni are otherwise unknown. They were perhaps the tribe which occupied the district later shared between four small cities, Eucarpia, Bruzus, Hieropolis, and Otrus, which all issued coins in the second and third centuries A.D. Under Augustus coins were struck with the legend 'of the Eucarpitic (district)'. This suggests that at this date the district was a political unity. Its history may be reconstructed thus. It was occupied by a tribe called the Corpeni, which in the course of Augustus' reign gave to its capital the name of Eucarpia, a Greek name suggested by the tribal name, and began to issue coins with the legend 'of the Eucarpitic (district)'. Later the Corpeni split up into four cities, one of which was the tribal capital and another its religious centre. In the Byzantine period a fifth city, Stectorium, was associated with these four, the five being called the Phrygian Pentapolis. Stectorium lay a little way apart from the other four, and moreover issued coins under the republic as well as under the principate. It therefore was probably not a city of the Corpeni, but it is perhaps to be included in the *conventus* of Synnada.<sup>58</sup> Pliny records no cities south of Synnada in his excerpt from the official register, but it is highly probable that Lysias and Ococlia, two neighbouring cities which Hierocles records between the cities of the Pentapolis and Synnada, were included in the Synnadic *conventus*. Both struck coins under the principate.<sup>59</sup>

I have so far enumerated twenty communities. It is difficult to extend the boundaries of the *conventus* yet further without encroaching on the territories of the neighbouring *conventus*, and no other cities which issued coins existed within these boundaries. It is therefore probable that the remaining two communities were, like the Lycaones, obscure tribes which struck no coins. Two other tribal communes besides that of the Lycaones are recorded by Hierocles in this region, 'the people of Praepenissus' and 'the people of Amadassa'. They may well, like the Lycaones, have existed in the early principate, though they did not happen to catch Pliny's eye as he read the official register. Their exact position is unknown.<sup>60</sup>

The above twenty-two communities may reasonably be assumed to have belonged to the *conventus* of Synnada. I do not claim that the list is exact, but I think that it gives a fair picture of the political geography of eastern Phrygia in the early principate. The area of the *conventus* cannot be much reduced, given



the border cities which Pliny records and the provincial boundary of Asia, which is tolerably certain. As it is known from official sources that the *conventus* contained only twenty-two communities, it follows that they must on the average have been of a fair size, and that some of them must have ruled very large territories: one, Nacoleia, is known to have ruled a large territory, including Orcistus some thirty-five miles away to the south-east. Some of the communities were tribes, the majority were cities. Two of the cities, Lysias and Docimium, were Hellenistic foundations. Many of the others claimed a far more remote antiquity. Some were content with Phrygian heroes for their founders. Midaeum and Prynnessus claimed King Midas; Otrus was named after a Homeric chieftain of the Phrygians, and at Stectorium the tomb of another, Mygdon, was shown; the Phrygian hero Euphorbus is said to have been the first priest and ruler of Aezani. Other cities were more ambitious and made Greek heroes their founders. Heracles is said to have founded Nacoleia; Acamas, son of Theseus, Synnada, whose people on their coins claim to be Ionians and Dorians. Dorylaeum went one better: it not only laid claim to Acamas but asserted that its eponymous hero Dorylaeus was descended from Heracles. In sober fact it is not improbable that many of the cities were towns of great antiquity. The Tembris valley must have been an important trade route from the earliest times, and the Royal Road ran along the Cayster valley. Cotiaenum and Dorylaeum on the Tembris and Synnada and Ipsus on the Royal Road are known to have existed in the fourth century B.C. How early these towns developed city institutions it is impossible to say.<sup>61</sup>

As time went on the tendency was for the number of communities to increase by the fission of the larger units. The Corpeni split up into four cities during the principate. In the Byzantine period this process went further. It was to a certain extent counterbalanced by the amalgamation of some of the smaller cities with their larger neighbours. Accilaeum and Palacobeudus disappear, probably absorbed in Midaeum and Synnada respectively. The other cities and the four tribes all survived in the Byzantine period. Cotiaenum does not it is true appear in Hierocles, but as it is recorded both in the conciliar lists and in the Notitiae its omission in Hierocles must be an error.<sup>62</sup> In addition a number of new cities appear. One, Orcistus, is known to have been under the principate a village of Nacoleia. An inscription of A.D. 237 shows that it had magistrates and a secretary, a council of elders

and an assembly and passed decrees; it was none the less a mere 'people'. We possess a full account of the creation of the city in an inscription found on the spot. The inhabitants appealed to Constantine in about A.D. 325. The beginning of their petition is extant. 'Our native town Orcistus was a most ancient town and from the remotest times, even from its origin, held the rank of a city. It is excellently situated on the middle of the Galatian frontier. For it is at the crossing of four roads, viz. from the city of Pessinus, which is about 30 miles from our native town, also from the city of Midaeum, which is also about 30 miles from our native town, and from the city of Amorium which lies . . .'. At this point the inscription breaks off. The emperor's letter to the praetorian prefect shows what was its drift. 'The inhabitants of Orcistus, now a town and city, have provided a pleasant opportunity for our munificence, dearest and most beloved Ablabius. For to those whose aim it is to found new cities or to improve those that are old or to restore those that are moribund, their petition was most welcome. For they have asserted that their village in times past flourished with the splendour of a town, so that it was adorned with yearly fasces of magistrates and was thronged with curiales and full of a multitude of citizens.' The emperor then notes that it was a road centre and possessed a good water-supply and baths both public and private adorned with the statues of ancient emperors. He goes on: 'they assert that it happened that the Nacoleians demanded in times past that the city be attached to them. It is unworthy of our age that so convenient a place should lack the name of a city and disadvantageous to the population that they should by the depredations of powerful persons lose all their conveniences and profit. To all this is added as a crowning reason the fact that all the inhabitants are said to be followers of the most sacred religion.' There follows a letter to the council of the Orcistenes in which the emperor puts a stop to the wrongful action of the Nacoleians in still trying to collect the tax on cultivated land from Orcistus. It may be noted that all the allusions to the past glories of Orcistus are studiously vague in their chronology. Orcistus is omitted by Hierocles, but there is no reason to doubt that it was a city from the time of Constantine onwards; its bishops appear at the major councils and it is recorded in some *Notitiae*.<sup>63</sup>

Of the other new communities which appear in the Byzantine lists there is little to say. The date at which Meirus was raised to city rank can be fixed with some precision. In a dedication to

Salonina, the wife of Gallienus, the Meirenes style themselves a village. In an inscription of the reign of Constantine or one of his immediate successors they style themselves a city. Meirus had probably been a village subject to Cotiaem during the principate. Soa was still in the reign of Philip a village of Appia. It was, probably not long after, raised to the rank of a city: its council and people are recorded in an inscription which probably dates from the latter part of the third century. Soa does not appear in Hierocles or any ecclesiastical list, but it is perhaps concealed under the dynastic name Eudocias which occurs next to Appia in Hierocles' list. Ambasum had most likely been a village of Nacoleia. It became a city in the Byzantine period under the name of Metropolis. Eulandra, a village in the Cayster valley near Prymnessus and probably subject to it, is presumably identical with the Byzantine Augustopolis. This city is not recorded by Hierocles but certainly existed in the latter part of the fifth century. The two other new cities of the Byzantine period were Polybotus and Claneus or Clanx. The former lay near Ipsus, the latter fifty miles to the east of it. Hierocles also mentions between the Pentapolis and Ocochia and Lysias two imperial estates, 'the Estate of the Civic (land)' and 'the Estate of the Mountain (land)'. The former, to judge by its name, had been the property of a city and had been detached from the city territory when it with the civic lands in general was confiscated. Of the origin of the other estate nothing is known.<sup>64</sup>

The *conventus* of Apamea was much smaller in area than that of Synnada: it comprised sixteen communities. Apamea itself was a very important city. It owed its importance chiefly to its trade. Dio Chrysostom describes it as the market of Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Cappadocia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia; Strabo says that in commercial importance it was second only to Ephesus; and an inscription mentions a guild of merchants. It owed much also to its position as an administrative centre. Dio Chrysostom describes in vivid language the benefits accruing from the assizes. 'A vast multitude is collected of judges, litigants, advocates, governors, officials, slaves, procurers, muleteers, traders, prostitutes, and artisans: nothing in the city lies idle, cabs, houses, or women.' There was a large Jewish element in the population. This was so even under the republic, for when Flaccus confiscated the money which the Jews had collected to send to Jerusalem, a hundred pounds of gold was seized at Apamea, as against only twenty at Laodicea and smaller amounts at Adramyttium and

Pergamum. These amounts probably represent the sums collected from each *conventus*—all the cities mentioned were capitals of *conventus*—but it is likely that the majority of the Jews of the Apamene *conventus* lived at Apamea. It is a very curious fact that the imperial coins of Apamea show Jewish influence. Some of them bear representations of an ark, in which sit two figures; on it perches a bird and above hovers another bird holding a branch; beside it stand two other figures. The group is labelled 'Noe'. It may be noted that Apamea was known colloquially as Apamea Cibotus, Apamea the Ark. Though a Seleucid foundation, Apamea does not seem to have been organized in the regular Greek fashion by tribes. The place of the tribes is taken by streets, which are sometimes named after trades.<sup>65</sup>

Apamea owned a very extensive territory: in the words of Dio Chrysostom 'it has subject to it on the one hand many of the nameless cities, on the other hand many prosperous villages'. Dio also quotes the large amount of the tribute paid to the Roman government as evidence of the size of its territory, which he adds was very fertile and included, besides arable land, pastures for flock and herds. There is no definite information as to its boundaries, but Strabo's statement that the Milyas stretched northwards as far as Sagalassus and the territory of the Apamenes suggests that it must have extended a long way south, perhaps to the lakes of Anaua and Ascania. There are objections to this view. On the north bank of Lake Anaua was Sanaus. This city is probably identical with the city of Anaua beside the salt lake mentioned by Herodotus. It issued coins under the republic. Under the principate it struck no coins, but an inscription orders that a funerary fine be paid 'to the people of the Sanaeni'. It was a bishopric early in the fourth century: its bishop attended the council of Nicaea. And it is recorded as a city by Hierocles. This evidence rather suggests that Sanaus was an independent city throughout its history, but is compatible with the theory that it was during the principate a community subject to Apamea, one of Dio Chrysostom's 'nameless cities'. There was also a city on the north shore of Lake Ascania: its name is unknown but there are inscriptions, apparently of the second century, which mention its council and people. This city may also have been subject to Apamea in the time of Augustus.<sup>66</sup>

To the east of Apamea Pliny mentions two communities which belonged to its *conventus*, Metropolis, which claimed Acamas as its founder, and Euphorbium, named after the Phrygian hero.

The former issued coins in the third century, the latter never. On the west Pliny mentions three communities of the upper Maeander valley, the Sibliani, the Peltenes, and the Dionysopolites. To these may be added Eumeneia, Lunda, Motella, and the Hyrgaleis. I have already dealt with the early history of Peltae, Dionysopolis, and Eumeneia: they all continued to coin in the principate. Lunda and Motella issued no coins, but are mentioned in inscriptions, which prove they were regular cities with council and people. The Hyrgaleis were a tribal commune: they describe themselves in one inscription as 'the league of the plain of the Hyrgaleis'; they issued coins. The Sibliani may also have been a tribal community. They struck coins under Augustus and under Geta, and on the second issue is depicted the head of a goddess wearing a mural crown and labelled 'Siblia'. This proud insistence on the fact that they possessed a city rather implies that it was a new creation.<sup>67</sup>

Pliny records that Acmonia was a member of the Apamene *conventus*. Acmonia was an important city, issuing coins both under the republic and throughout the principate. Like Apamea it had a large Jewish population. An inscription records the erection by Julia Severa of a synagogue in the first century A.D. This Julia Severa was chief magistrate of the city in the reign of Nero. C. Tyrronius Cladus, the chief of the synagogue, also belonged to a family which played a great part in the city life: a Tyrronius Rapon was chief magistrate of the city.<sup>68</sup>

The immediate neighbours of Acmonia may be presumed to have also belonged to the Apamene *conventus*. To the north-west of Acmonia lay Alia, a little city which issued coins during the second and third centuries. To the west lay Grimenothyrae, which Ptolemy records from the official register. Grimenothyrae began to strike coins under Domitian, with the style Flavia: under Trajan it took the name of Trajanopolis. In the mountainous country east of Acmonia lived the tribe of the Moxeani, who are also recorded by Ptolemy from the official register. They later split into two cities, Siocharax, 'the stockade of Sius', and Diocleia, which boasted itself to be the chief city of the tribe. Both cities issued coins in the third century.<sup>69</sup>

The Apamene *conventus* must also have included the cities south of Acmonia, Bria and Sebaste. Bria has an interesting name: it is the Thracio-Phrygian word for town, which occurs in such Thracian names as Mesembria or Selymbria; it issued coins only under the Severi. Sebaste was, as its name implies, a creation

of Augustus. A metrical inscription found on the site gives the following account of the foundation. 'Hither of old came Augustus, when the designs of Phoebus granted an oracle, taking the cities of the men that dwelt around, and in this city he that reigned among the Ausonians caused them to dwell, and called it after this name, Sebaste, after the name of the lords of the Romans, who are called *sebasti*, for greatly he loved our native land and its fair plain.' The epic form makes the sense rather obscure, but it appears from the latter part of the poem that Augustus amalgamated a number of small cities into his new foundation Sebaste, which lay on the plain. It is possible that one of the small cities which Augustus suppressed was Leonna, which struck coins under the republic, and then vanishes from history. The style of its coins suggests that it lay in this district, and it is significant that an inscription of Sebaste mentions a village of the city whose name began with *Le-*. The territory of Sebaste seems to have been large. An inscription of 'the village of the Dioscometae of the most famous city of the Sebastenes' has been found some fifteen miles to the north of the city. Sebaste issued coins from the reign of Augustus till the middle of the third century.<sup>70</sup>

In the *conventus* of Apamea, as in that of Synnada, city life seems to have been well established on the main roads, while tribal or village life survived in the more remote areas. The mountains east of Acmonia were still in the early principate inhabited by the tribe of the Moxeani: the villages of the plain of Sebaste were not amalgamated into a single city until the time of Augustus. In the Maeander valley below Peltae, where it ceases to be a highway and becomes an impassable gorge, some tribal communities, the Hyrgaleis and the Sibliani, still survived under the principate, and two of the cities, Eumeneia and Dionysopolis, were of quite recent formation.<sup>71</sup>

In the Byzantine period there was, as in the Synnadic *conventus*, a tendency to increase the number of communities. Most of the cities of the principate are recorded in Hierocles. Sanaus reappears; the nameless city on the northern shore of Lake Ascania is perhaps his Valentia; the Hyrgaleis are probably represented by Pepuza, their central town. Pepuza was the New Jerusalem of the Montanists and seems to have been destroyed by Anastasius and replaced by a new city named Anastasiopolis. Only Euphorbium has disappeared, presumably absorbed in Metropolis. Motella has vanished from the text of Hierocles, but may be

concealed under one of the corrupt items in his list: it is recorded in the Notitiae. Various new communities appear. The people of Aurocra were probably detached from Apamea. The Aurocreis were probably the people in whose territory lay the famous *Aulocreni fontes*, the reputed scene of the contest between Athena and Marsyas, and as this contest is generally said to have taken place at Celaenae, Aurocra may be presumed to have been in the territory of that city. Aristium seems from its position to have been another city of the Moxeani. Eluza must have been in the territory of Sebaste, Attanassus probably in that of Eumeneia.<sup>72</sup>

In the Cibyritic *conventus* Pliny records Hydrela, Themisonium, Hierapolis, and Laodicea. Hydrela, once the great city of Cydrara, seems to have waned in importance in the principate. It still issued coins during this period, but was quite overshadowed by its neighbour Hierapolis, which seems to have absorbed it in the Byzantine period. Hierapolis, which to judge by its name must originally have been a temple village, was already organized on the Greek model as a city in the early Attalid period. It was a very important place both in the Roman and Byzantine periods. It owed its importance principally to the wool industry. The guilds connected with this industry figure prominently in the inscriptions. 'The most august guild of the wool washers' honoured the 'first president of guild' who also filled high offices in the city. Guilds of the dyers and the purple dyers also appear; the latter was governed by a 'council of the presidency'. Other trades were also organized in guilds, the smiths, the nail-makers, the gardeners. It is curious that there is no record of tribes among the abundant inscriptions of Hierapolis, and it may be that the guilds took their place. Hierapolis seems to have owned a fair-sized territory. An inscription which records a decree of the council of Hierapolis, ordering the city police officers to refrain from illegal exactions from the villages, has been found at Thiunta, a village in the hills south of the Maeander. The coins of Hierapolis during the Severan epoch celebrate the sanctuary of Apollo Larbenus, which lies in the same district. The territory of Hierapolis must therefore have included all the high ground to the north-east of the city up to or almost up to the Maeander. In the northern part of this area were several village communes, Thiunta, in which the inscription is said to have been found, and Cagyetta and Mossyna. The inscriptions show that these communes had a vigorous local life: the people of the Thiunteis was divided into brotherhoods and celebrated festivals to its local Zeus and possessed its own

agonothete, who managed the festival and often provided free oil for the villagers during it. One of these communities which had been subject to Hierapolis later became an independent city. Mossyna appears in Hierocles: it probably incorporated the other village communes of the north-east part of the Hierapolitan territory.<sup>73</sup>

South of Hierapolis lay Laodicea, the actual capital of the Cibyritic *conventus*. Laodicea was the centre of the wool industry. All the products of the industry of the whole region were known to the outside world as Laodicene; Laodicene garments figure prominently in the Diocletianic tariff. The guilds of the fullers and cloak-makers are mentioned in an inscription, but the division of the people was, as might be expected in a Greek foundation, by tribes; of these the Athenais, Apollonis, Attalis, Ias, Laodiceis, and Sebaste are recorded. The territory of Laodicea was divided into districts of which those of the Eleinocapritae and Cilarazeis are known: these districts were communities—a funerary fine is payable to one and the other erected a tomb to one of its members.<sup>74</sup>

East of Laodicea lay the ancient Phrygian city of Colossae. It also shared in the wool industry: Strabo noted the fine black fleeces of its sheep. South of these cities lay Themisonium, once the capital of the dynast Themison, and Eriza, which had been the capital of a hellenistic hyparchy: both these cities are recorded by Ptolemy among the peoples of Asia. To this group also belonged the twin city of Ceretapa Diocaesarea. Further south again was Cibyra, the former capital of the Moagetids. It was still in the principate an important city. It adopted in A.D. 25 the name of Caesarea and a new era in honour of the benefits conferred upon it by Tiberius after the disastrous earthquake of that year. Trade guilds seem to have played a conspicuous part in the life of the city: 'the most august guild of the shoemakers' erected a statue to a prominent citizen 'in accordance with the resolutions of council and people of the most glorious city of the Caesarean Cibyrates'. Tribes, however, existed; they were named in a curious manner after persons, presumably their presidents. Cibyra was a polyglot city; according to Strabo, besides Greek, Lydian—Cibyra was a Lydian colony—, Pisidian, and the language of the original population were spoken.<sup>75</sup>

I have so far enumerated eight cities of the *conventus*; all these issued coins under the principate. Pliny states that there were twenty-five communities in the *conventus*. The remaining seven-



teen must have been either small cities which did not coin or village communes. Some of these can be tentatively identified from the inscriptions. Near Eriza a commune of the Tyriaeitae is recorded. Near the south-west corner of Lake Ascania a commune of the Tacineis is mentioned. In the extreme southern corner of the *conventus* a commune of the Lagbeis is recorded. A silver plaque records a 'people' of Myangla south of Cibyra. Another village community on the eastern frontier was the Ormeleis. This people has left copious epigraphical records of itself. Its land appears to have been the property of a distinguished Roman family. Faustina Ummidia Cornificia, the niece of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, is the first to be mentioned, then follow her daughter Annia Faustina with her husband Tiberius Claudius Severus, then their daughter Annia Aurelia Faustina, then her daughter and son-in-law, Pomponia Ummidia and Flavius Antiochianus. These persons always hold the place of honour in the inscriptions, which begin 'On behalf of the salvation of Annia Faustina (or 'the heirs of Faustina Ummidia Cornificia' or whoever it may be) and the people of the Ormeleis'. The inscriptions are dated first by the Sullan or Cibyatic era, and then by the procurator, agents, and lessees of the owners. The literary sources give the name of another small community in the southern part of the Cibyrate *conventus*. Ptolemy mentions the Phylacenses as a people of Asia and he places Phylacaeum, which is evidently the village of Phylacenses, a little way south of Themisionium.<sup>76</sup>

Hierocles gives all the cities which issued coins with the exception of Hydrela, which was probably absorbed in Hierapolis. He also records Mossyna. He gives no other items save the Patrimonial lands, the Milyadic lands, and a corrupt entry, in which can be detected the element 'estate'.

These items seem to include the seventeen minor communities of the Cibyatic diocese, and provide an explanation for their having issued no coins. They occupied land which belonged to the emperor or more probably in an earlier period to the Roman people. In origin these extensive public lands were perhaps the villages belonging to Cibyra, or rather to its dynasts, which according to Strabo stretched from Pisidia and the adjacent Milyas as far as Lycia and the Rhodian Peraea, and were so numerous as to make the Cibyatic diocese, despite the loss of Bubon, Balbura, and Oenoanda, one of the greatest of Asia. These villages must have been regarded as royal land and been converted

into public land on the suppression of the Moagetid dynasty. Some, like Ormela, passed into private hands. All were eventually absorbed into the imperial patrimony. It may be noted that lessees figure prominently in inscriptions elsewhere than at Ormela. At Alastus nearby an inscription is dated by the lessee; Alastus seems like Ormela to have been privately owned—by a certain Marcus Calpurnius Longus. The Lagbeis do not seem to have owned their own territory: according to the local inscriptions funerary fines are payable to the *fiscus*, the city of Cibyra, and the local lessee of the land.<sup>77</sup>

Pliny does not state the number of communities belonging to the remaining six *conventus* of Asia. He does, however, say that the province of Asia comprised altogether two hundred and eighty-two peoples. If from this figure are deducted the sixty-two belonging to the Cibratic, Apamene, and Synnadic *conventus* and a few more for the Philomelian, over two hundred communities are left for the other six.<sup>78</sup>

The *conventus* of Alabanda corresponded roughly to Caria south of the Maeander. It included the two republican *conventus* of Mylasa and Alabanda. The free city of Mylasa lay some eight miles inland but possessed a port at Passala. Like so many Carian cities it had grown by amalgamation. Inscriptions show that it had, probably early in its history, incorporated the cities of Hyde, mentioned in the Athenian tribute lists, and Olymus and Labraunda, which though politically part of Mylasa still retained in the Roman period religious autonomy. Its neighbour to the north-west, Euromus, was also the product of amalgamation. In the second century Polybius still speaks of the cities of the Euro-meis, and it may be conjectured that the Edrieis, Hymesseis, and Euromeis who are assessed together in the tribute lists had combined to form the city of Euromus: Chalctor was perhaps a later accession. On the coast north of Passala was Iasus, south of Passala the free city of Bargylia, which had incorporated Cindye. Further south Halicarnassus had absorbed the eight cities of the Leleges save Myndus, which seems to have reabsorbed its colony Neapolis. On the north coast of the Ceramic gulf Ceramus was no longer subject to Stratonicea. It was an important city, controlling many votes in the Chrysaoric league in virtue of its many villages. Its neighbours Hydisus and Bargasas were insignificant. Most of the rest of the coast, with the exception of the free city of Cnidus, belonged to Rhodes. Rhodes was a free city except for a period under Claudius and again under Vespasian. It still held

its ancient Peraea but had lost the Panamareis and Tarmiani, probably as a result of its resistance to Cassius: these communities were now demes of its ancient enemy, the free city of Stratonicea. The Rhodians perhaps lost Caunus on the same occasion; for Caunus is reckoned a free city by Pliny. But Dio Chrysostom's statement that the hated Caunians endured a double servitude to Rhodes and to Rome shows that they regained it later. East of Caunus lay Tymnessus, Calynda, and Crya. The last two were transferred to Lycia when it became a province.<sup>79</sup>

Inland the Marsyas valley was shared between the free city of Alabanda and its smaller neighbours Amyzon, Alinda, and Euhippe. Higher up the valley lay Cys and Hyllarima, which had developed from a league into a city. The valley of Harpasus was occupied by Orthosia, Harpasa, and Neapolis, a city formed by the union of three. At the head of the valley lay Xystis. The Morsynus valley was shared between Antioch and the free city of Aphrodisias, with which Plarasa was amalgamated. In the mountains of the eastern frontier lay Tabae, Cidrama, Attuda, and a number of cities first mentioned under the principate, Sebastopolis, which was perhaps only Larba renamed, Trapezopolis, and (Ulpia) Heraclea by Salbacus: Apollonia by Salbacus also reappears.<sup>80</sup>

The *conventus* of Alabanda probably also included the islands off the Carian coast, Cos, granted immunity by Claudius in honour of his Coan doctor, Xenophon, Astypalaea, which still kept the freedom it had gained in 106 B.C., and the three cities of Amorgos, Minoa, Aegiale, and Arcesine. Calymnos was subject to Cos. Most of the other islands belonged to Rhodes: Pliny mentions that Carpathos, Casos, Nisyros, and Syme were Rhodian. A total of forty communities is thus obtained for the Alabandian *conventus*. The list is probably far from complete. There may have been many more small communities which, like Xystis, issued no coins, but which do not happen to have been recorded by Pliny.<sup>81</sup>

By the Byzantine period the process of amalgamation which had been going on in Caria ever since the fifth century B.C. had advanced yet further. Bargasa and Hydisus had disappeared, probably absorbed by Ceramus; Cys, Euhippe, Euromus, and Xystis do not figure in Hierocles; Amorgos appears as one city instead of three.<sup>82</sup>

The *conventus* of Ephesus included the valley of the Cayster, the northern half of the Maeander valley, which had under the

republic been the *conventus* of Tralles, and the lower Maeander plain, which had been the *conventus* of Miletus. Ephesus itself owned a huge territory. On the coast to the south the formerly independent cities of Phygela and Marathesium belonged to it. Marathesium it had obtained by exchanging Neapolis for it with Samos. Both Ephesus and Samos thus consolidated their territories, for Marathesium was adjacent to Phygela and Neapolis to the old Samian mainland possession of Anaea. Neapolis was raised to the status of an independent city by Antoninus Pius, under whom it began to coin under the style Hadriana Aurelia Neapolis, honouring Antoninus Pius as founder. The city of Neapolis seems to have included all the mainland territory of Samos; in the Byzantine period the city was known as Anaea. Inland Ephesus owned a great part of the lower Cayster valley including the old Greek city of Larissa. It is not known how Ephesus acquired this inland territory; it must have happened during the first century B.C., for the community of the Caystriani issued coins in the early provincial period.<sup>83</sup>

Among the members of the *conventus* Pliny cites in the Maeander valley Tralles (under the name of Caesarea which it temporarily adopted), Mastaura, and Briulla. To these must be added the other cities which coined under the principate, Nysa and Aninetus, and in the lower Maeander plain Miletus and the cities of its *conventus*, Magnesia, Priene, and probably Heraclea by Latmus. In the Cayster valley Pliny cites Metropolis, Hypaepa, Dioshieron, and the Lower and Upper Cilbiani. He also mentions the Mysomacedones, who probably lived in the mountains above the sources of the Cayster. With the exception of the Mysomacedones all these communities coined under the principate. The coinage of the Lower Cilbiani forms an interesting study. They style themselves not the Lower Cilbiani, but the Cilbiani about Nicaea; under Septimius Severus they alter this to the Nicaeis Cilbiani or the Nicaeis in the Cilbian (region). This is a well documented instance of the transformation of a tribe with its tribal capital into a city with its territory. The Upper Cilbiani retained their tribal organization throughout the principate; in the Byzantine period their principal village, Auliucome, was converted into the city of Valentinianopolis. Pliny's list of communities can be supplemented from the inscriptions. These mention a city of Coloe and a city of Palaeopolis, both in the upper Cayster valley. Neither of them coined. Titacazus, which issued a few coins, was also probably in this district: its

sole claim to fame was its wine, which Galen mentions. Of the communities of the upper Cayster valley only Hypaepa was of any size or importance. It alone is mentioned under the republic, when it is recorded by Appian to have resisted Mithridates. In the Upper Cayster valley conditions were thus still very backward under the principate; three tribal communities still existed, and the cities were tiny places, little more than villages.<sup>84</sup>

It is not known how far the *conventus* of Ephesus stretched northwards along the coast. It is reasonable to include in it Colophon, Lebedus, and Teos; Teos now owned Aerae. This would bring the total of the Ephesian *conventus* to twenty-three including the free city of Samos, which owned the only other important island in the neighbourhood, Icaria. Neapolis later formed a twenty-fourth city. Except for Titacazus and the Mysomacedones all these appear in Hierocles' list, Neapolis as Anaea, the Lower Cilbiani as Nicopolis (probably a mistake for Nicaea, caused by Palaeopolis in the next line), the Upper Cilbiani as Auliucome (Hierocles does not know that it had been renamed Valentinianopolis). It is probable that Titacazus is concealed under the dynastic name Arcadiopolis. Hierocles mentions several other small communities in this region, Augaza, Algiza, Baretta, and Neaule. It is possible that one of these was the principal town of the Mysomacedones. The others may be tentatively added to the list of the Ephesian *conventus*; for it is more likely that these little communities are a survival from an earlier age than that they were first created in the Byzantine period. The tendency in the Byzantine period was to amalgamate small communities.<sup>85</sup>

Pliny is very brief about the *conventus* of Smyrna. He merely says that it included Magnesia by Sipylus, the Macedonian Hyrcanians, and a great part of Aeolis. On the coast there may be assigned to it, to the south, Clazomenae, Erythrae, and the island of Chios, a free city; to the north, Phocaea, Cyme, and Myrina, which now owned Gryneum. Of the inland Aeolian cities only Aegae and Temnus are known to have survived. Larissa existed, but only as a village. Neonteichus, Titanus, Itale, and Posidea are stated by Pliny to have existed, but whether he is right is doubtful: they issued no coins. In the lower Hermus valley, besides Hyrcanis, Mostene is to be assigned to the Smyrnaean *conventus*. The Mosteni, like the Hyrcanians, seem to have been in origin a tribal community. The name of their city, Mostene, is merely the feminine of the ethnic, 'the

Mostenian city'. The Mosteni were native Lydians, and proud of the fact, adopting the official style of 'Lydian Mosteni' in contrast to their neighbours 'the Macedonian Hyrcanians'. One other community, Caesarea Trocetta, on the northern slopes of mount Tmolus, may be tentatively added to the *conventus*. It issued no coins and is known only from a single inscription, which records the erection by the community of a statue to Apollo the Saviour in accordance with an oracle of the Clarian Apollo. The only reason for thinking that they were an independent community is their title of Caesarea, which seems hardly suitable for a village dependent on a city. Hyrcanis also called itself Caesarea. Thus only twelve communities can be certainly assigned to the *conventus* of Smyrna. Five more can be added if the minor Aeolian cities and Trocetta be admitted, and there may have been more small communities like Trocetta. All the cities which issued coins under the principate except Hyrcanis are recorded in Hierocles, and his omission of Hyrcanis is certainly erroneous; for it figures at the major councils and in the *Notitiae*.<sup>86</sup>

In contrast to the coast *conventus* of Smyrna, the *conventus* of Sardis was very extensive. It reached south-eastwards up the Cogamis valley to the Maeander at Tripolis, which Pliny mentions. In this direction Pliny also records Apollonoshieron, a town near the source of the Cogamis which had evidently once been a temple village, and Philadelphia. Philadelphia ruled an extensive territory, embracing probably most of the Cogamis valley, and extending some distance into the hill country to the north-east. In this region an inscription attests that the village of Castollus, some fifteen miles to the north-east of the city of Philadelphia, belonged to the Philadelphenes. The inscription is interesting in other ways. It illustrates well the vigorous local autonomy which is characteristic of the Lydian villages. It records the decision, by an assembly of the council of elders and all the other villagers, to divide up the mountain land which belonged to them (apparently in common) into private lots. There was a considerable quantity of imperial land in the territory of Philadelphia; the procurators of the Philadelphene region are several times mentioned in the inscriptions. South of Cogamis on the slopes of Tmolus are probably to be placed two communities, the Mysotimolitae, who are recorded by Pliny but issued no coins, and the Tmolitae, who began to coin in the second century A.D. Both were probably tribal communities, 'the Mysians of

mount Tmolus' and 'the people of mount Tmolus'. The Tmolitae developed under Marcus Aurelius into the city of Aureliopolis. Mysotimolus is recorded as a city in Hierocles.<sup>87</sup>

East of Tripolis the boundary of the Sardian *conventus* seems to have been first the Maeander, then its northern tributary the Hippurius. In this quarter lay Blaundus, which coined with the legend 'of the Macedonian Blaundians', and Sala, which began to coin under Domitian with the style Domitianopolis Sala; it later dropped Domitianopolis. Near Blaundus lay Clanudda. Clanudda had coined under the republic but ceased to issue coins under the principate and does not appear in the Byzantine lists; it was probably absorbed by Blaundus. In this district probably lay Tralles. This city is probably meant in an inscription of Iasus of the second century B.C. which records a 'Trallian of Tralles beyond the Taurus'. It is otherwise known only from the Byzantine sources.<sup>88</sup>

In the upper valleys of the Hermus and its tributaries was a group of several cities, which coined under the principate. Maeonia, which alone is mentioned by Pliny, was clearly the city of the Maeones, the tribe which inhabited this district. The others were Saittae, Tabala, and Bageis. East of these lived the tribe of the Moccadenei, cited by Ptolemy from the official register, whose principal cities were Silandus, 'the metropolis of Moccadene', and Temenothyrae, which also claimed to be 'the most glorious metropolis of Moccadene'. Both these cities coined, Silandus from the reign of Domitian, Temenothyrae from that of Hadrian with the style Flaviopolis Temenothyrae. Perhaps the Moccadenei were split into two cities by one of the Flavian emperors. Beyond the Moccadenei to the north-east Pliny records that Cadi belonged to the *conventus* of Sardis. Cadi was probably the border city in this direction; for it lies at the extreme head of the Hermus river-system. Three other cities may be added to the Sardian *conventus*, that of the Loreni, which is recorded on Pliny's list but issued no coins, and Julia Gordus and Flaviopolis or Flavia Caesarea Daldis, which did issue coins. All lay in the valley of the Phrygius. The Loreni are associated in two inscriptions with Gordus and seem eventually to have been absorbed by it.<sup>89</sup>

Hierocles' list of Lydia is very defective. He omits several cities which struck coins in the principate and were bishoprics in the Byzantine period. If, however, his list be supplemented from the conciliar lists and the early Notitiae, it corresponds very

nearly with the list of communities given above. All the cities which coined under the principate are recorded, and also Mysotimolus and Tralles. One hitherto unknown city appears, Satala near Maeonia, which may well, like Mysotimolus, have been a community of the Sardian *conventus*. If it be included, the *conventus* of Sardis would comprise twenty communities. The number is small considering the large area of the *conventus*; there may have been more which, like the Loreni, issued no coins in the principate and had by the Byzantine period been absorbed by their neighbours. The cities must, however, on the average have owned large territories. Although city life was well established in this area by the early principate, except for the Moccadeni on the eastern frontier and the tribes of mount Tmolus, there is no proof that it was of any great antiquity except along the roads from Sardis to Cydrara and Acmonia. Here lay Callatebus (Philadelphia), already a notable town in the fifth century, Apollonia (Tripolis), created in the third century, and Blaundus, which received a Macedonian garrison from the Diadochi. One would expect to find ancient towns along the road from Sardis to Ancyra, but here only one city, Cadi, is mentioned before the Roman period: it received a Macedonian garrison from the Diadochi and claimed to have been founded by King Midas.<sup>90</sup>

The *conventus* of Pergamum does not seem to have covered a very large area. A substantial proportion of this area was the territory of the city of Pergamum. The city had acquired by the will of Attalus III, as I have mentioned above, much of the royal land and some cities of the neighbourhood. In detail there are only two clues to the extent of the Pergamene territory. Galen states that it was contiguous with that of Perperene. Pausanias suggests that it was contiguous with that of Atarneus. He states that Atarneus suffered the same fate in relation to Pergamum that Myus did in relation to Miletus, and he relates how the people of Myus abandoned their city, which had become pestilential owing to the formation of marshes, and migrated to Miletus. The Myusian territory became part of Miletus; so we may presume that the Atarnite territory was added to that of Pergamum, which thus came to reach the sea. The date of the absorption of Atarneus is uncertain. Atarneus issued its latest coins in 79 to 76 B.C. Strabo still speaks of the Atarnites as an independent community; Pliny states that it was in his day no longer a town but a village. No other cities than Pergamum are known to have existed in the Caicus valley between Elaea at the river's mouth



and Stratonicea near its source. It may be presumed that the whole intervening area belonged to Pergamum.<sup>91</sup>

The *conventus* probably included on the seaward side Elaea, Pitane, and Atarneus (as long as it existed), as well as Perperene and Tiara which Pliny mentions. Except for Atarneus and Tiara these all issued coins during the principate. Elaea and Pitane were old Greek cities. Tiara is recorded in the ephebic lists of Pergamum: Perperene coined in the early republican period.<sup>92</sup>

To the east the *conventus* of Pergamum included a district of northern Lydia, which under Caracalla became a separate *conventus* under the leadership of Thyateira. Here Pliny gives a number of cities, Attaleia, Apollonis, Thyateira, Hermocapeleia, Hieracome, and Hierolophus. The first two were Attalid colonies, the others were Lydian cities. Hermocapeleia prided itself on this fact, adopting the official style of 'the Lydian Hermocapelites': its curious name appears to have no connexion with the river Hermus, but to mean the city of Hermes the merchant or the market of Hermes. This implies that it originated as a market town under the protection of a temple. Hieracome was the sacred village of the Persian goddess, and had already issued coins under the republic. In the early principate, probably in A.D. 17, it adopted the name of Hierocaesarea. Hierolophus also possessed a temple of the Persian goddess: its existence can be traced back to the second century B.C. in the Pergamene ephebic lists. Thyateira was already an important town at the beginning of the third century B.C., when Seleucus I settled Macedonian colonists in its neighbourhood; the Attalids appear to have recolonized it. Despite these colonizations it retained the native Lydian form of organization. No tribes are known at Thyateira: guilds, on the other hand, figure very prominently in its inscriptions; they include the potters, the tailors, the dyers, the wool-workers, the leather-workers, the shoe-makers, the linen-weavers, the bakers, the smiths, and the slave-merchants. These guilds were rich and influential bodies: they erected statues and altars out of their own funds to the great men of the city and governors and emperors; the tailors even built a triple gate, colonnades, and shops with rooms for the workmen in them. They seem to have been ruled by annual presidents: the dyers honoured Aurelius Artemagoras, who had been president of the guild of the dyers for the sixth time. Thyateira appears to have owned a considerable territory: the city erected milestones six miles away along the road to Pergamum and about ten miles away along the road to Sardis.

An inscription mentions two villages of the Thyateirene territory; a Thyateirene was honoured by the Areni and the Nagdemi for having given judgement upon the affairs of their villages and made a settlement. The imperial house owned property in the neighbourhood of Thyateira; the 'arca Liviana' and its imperial procurators are mentioned in third-century inscriptions of the city; this 'arca Liviana' presumably collected the rents of property which had once belonged to Livia, the wife of Augustus, and had passed into the imperial patrimony.<sup>93</sup>

These cities all issued coins under the principate except Hieropolus. Four other cities of the neighbourhood not mentioned by Pliny also issued coins, Nacrasa, Acrasus, Came, and Tomara. Nacrasa was already a city at the end of the third century B.C.: both Nacrasa and Acrasus received colonies of Macedonians from the Diadochi; but nothing is known of Came and Tomara till they began to coin under Hadrian and Commodus respectively. Stratonicea at the head of the Caicus also began to issue coins in the reign of Trajan. The coins were at first issued jointly with the Indeipediatae, who also issued coins independently. Under Hadrian the Indeipediatae disappear, and Stratonicea adopts the style of Hadrianopolis. An inscription throws further light on the history of the city. It is a letter from Hadrian to the magistrates, council, and people of Hadrianopolis Stratonicea, dated A.D. 127, granting them 'the taxes from the territory' in accordance with their petition, which is, he says, 'just and necessary for a recently created city'. I have already suggested that Stratonicea had been in 130 B.C. the last refuge of Aristonicus. Its territory had presumably been confiscated at that date and become public land, and the inhabitants of the territory, the Indeipediatae, became a separate community. The two communities, the Stratoniceans of the city and the Indeipediatae of the territory, later formed an alliance and under Trajan issued a joint coinage. They were formally amalgamated by Hadrian, but the territory remained public land. The position of the city must have been analogous to that of the Egyptian metropoleis in the third century. The city was a self-governing community, but its former territory was still public land, and the revenue from it was collected by imperial officials and went in its entirety to the central government. Hadrian raised it to full city status by handing over the taxes from the territory to the city authorities.<sup>94</sup>

Pliny mentions four other communities, none of which coined. They are the Panteenses, the Mossyni, the Bregmeni, and the

Mygdones. The Panteenses have been located at Panda, a place with a famous temple, apparently north of Magnesia by Sipylos. The last three look like tribes; the Mygdones were certainly a Mysian tribe. They might be placed in the hill-country north of the Caicus valley.<sup>95</sup>

Twenty-one, or if Atarneus and the Indeipediatae be included, twenty-three communities can thus be assigned to the *conventus* of Pergamum. There may have been many more, seeing that there were so many small communities which issued no coins in this area. In the Byzantine period the number of cities was considerably reduced. Hierocles records Acrasa, Apollonis, Attaleia, Elaea, Hermocapeleia, Hierocaesarea, Pergamum, Pitane, Thyateira, Tiara, and, under the style of Theodosiopolis, Perperene. He wrongly omits Stratonicea, which appears in the conciliar lists and the Notitiae. He adds one hitherto unknown city, Cerasa, probably the modern Kiresin, north of Stratonicea. It should no doubt be added to the list of the *conventus*; it is unlikely that in this region, where so many small communities were suppressed in the Byzantine period, any new community was formed.<sup>96</sup>

There remains only the *conventus* of Adramyttium. This was one of the largest in Asia, comprising the Troad and Mysia. Adramyttium itself seems to have been its border city on the south. It ruled a large territory embracing the former cities of Thebe and Cilla. To the south of the Adramyttene territory were the mainland possessions of the free city of Mitylene, in which lay the villages of Coryphantis and Heraclea. Mitylene and the other cities of Lesbos belonged to the Adramyttene *conventus*. Of them Pliny mentions Eresus. Methymna also issued coins during the principate. The other two had disappeared; Antissa had been destroyed by the Romans during the Third Macedonian war and its population removed to Methymna, Pyrrha was, according to Pliny, swallowed by the sea. The city of Pordoselene on the islets between Lesbos and the mainland still existed. It changed its name owing to its unpleasant suggestions to Poroselene, and under this name coined from the reign of Antoninus Pius.<sup>97</sup>

In the Troad the number of cities had been substantially reduced since the fourth century B.C. On the south coast only Antandrus, Gargara, and Assus survived. Astyra had been absorbed by Antandrus, whose territory thus now bordered on that of Adramyttium. Alexandria Troas, into which Augustus introduced a Roman colony, occupied most of the interior behind these cities, its territory touching that of Scepsis. These cities all

coined. East of Scepsis lay Polichne and Argiza. Neither issued coins, but the former is mentioned in Pliny's list of the *conventus*, and the latter was certainly a city by the fourth century A.D. On the west coast of the Troad north of the territory of Alexandria lay Achaeum, a mainland possession of Tenedos; Tenedos struck coins under Augustus. North of this came the extensive territory of Ilium, still a free and immune city. Ilium held not only the territory of Rhoeteum and Gergis, which the Romans had granted it in 189 B.C., but also Sigeum and Achilleum, which the Ilians had conquered and demolished at an unknown period. It had also absorbed Thymbra, which Strabo alludes to merely as a plain and no longer as a city. Scamandria seems still to have survived although it issued no coins: Pliny says that *Scamandria civitas parva* existed in his day, in contrast to the many vanished cities of the Troad. North of the Ilian territory along the coast, Dardanus, Abydus, and Lampsacus issued coins. Abydus had absorbed Arisbe, its sister colony on the coast, and Astyra inland; Arisbe had already belonged to Abydus in the late third century B.C. Lampsacus had absorbed Paesus and Coloniae. Next along the coast lay Parium, in which Augustus planted a Roman colony. Parium had greatly increased its territory, chiefly at the expense of its eastern neighbour Priapus, by currying favour with the Attalids. Priapus itself issued no coins under the principate and seems to have been incorporated in the colony of Parium. This was certainly so in the reign of Hadrian; for two identical inscriptions, erected by the colony of Parium to its 'founder' Hadrian, have been found at Parium and Priapus. Strabo, however, still speaks of Priapus as a separate city in his day, and it is possible that Hadrian first incorporated it in Parium: Parium reckoned Hadrian its second founder, as is proved by the inscriptions mentioned above and by the title Hadriana adopted by the colony.<sup>98</sup>

From the boundary of the Priapene territory began the very extensive territory of Cyzicus. As described by Strabo it included the territory of Zeleia and the plain of Adrasteia on the west, and the country round Dascylium on the east. He is rather vague as to how far it extended inland, merely stating that most of the country up to the lake of Miletropolis and Apollonia belonged to the Cyzicenes. There was a time when Poemanenum was a village of Cyzicus; for Stephanus of Byzantium found this statement in one of his authorities. It is not known when and how Cyzicus acquired this huge territory. Strabo merely says that it was partly given to the city by the Romans, probably as a reward for the

resolute resistance of the Cyzicenes to Mithridates in 67 B.C., and had partly been acquired earlier; one may conjecture that some may have been given to it by the Attalids, who would naturally have favoured the native city of Queen Apollonis, and some may have been bought or received in gift from earlier kings, or conquered in war; Pausanias records that the Cyzicenes conquered Proconnesus in war and forced the inhabitants to migrate to Cyzicus. Among the gifts of the Romans may certainly be reckoned Poemanenum; for the Poemaneni were still an independent community in 80–79 B.C., when they sent a force of soldiers to protect Ilium on the orders of the proconsul of Asia. Strabo's account of the Cyzicene territory was out of date in his day. Cyzicus had lost several outlying districts of her territory by the time that Pliny's list was drawn up, that is, early in the reign of Augustus. The Poemaneni appear in the list as an independent community, and Pliny states that the Rhyndacus was the boundary of Asia and Bithynia: Cyzicus had thus lost its possessions around Dascylium east of that river. The most probable date for this loss of territory is 20 B.C., when Cyzicus incurred Augustus' displeasure and was for a time deprived of its freedom. Even after these losses, however, the territory of Cyzicus was considerable. It still included the territory of Zeleia—a boundary stone of Cyzicus has been found about twelve miles south-west of Zeleia—and also Proconnesus, where an inscription of the reign of Antoninus Pius is dated by the hipparch, the eponymous magistrate of Cyzicus. To the east it does not seem to have reached the Rhyndacus. Pliny records among the communities of the Adramyttene *conventus* the *Macedones Asculacae*; if the generally accepted emendation *Macedones a Scylaca* is correct, Scylace on the coast, west of the mouth of the Rhyndacus, must have been an independent community. Inland the Cyzicene territory was bounded by those of Miletopolis and Apollonia on the Rhyndacus and Poemanenum, all of which are mentioned in Pliny's list and issued coins during the principate. Poemanenum must from the form of its name—the neuter of the ethnic—have been the fortress of the tribe of the Poemaneni.<sup>99</sup>

The coastal belt of the Adramyttene *conventus*, from Adramyttium itself round to the Rhyndacus, was thus partitioned into a number of city territories. In the interior it is much more difficult to determine the political geography. Even in the Troad there are areas in the interior which cannot be plausibly attached to any city. The interior of the Troad is sharply cut off by steep

ranges of hills from the coastal belts, and is subdivided by other ranges into well-defined areas. Some of these areas formed city territories. The upper basin of the Scamander was shared between Alexandria Troas and Scepsis, the upper basin of the Aesepus between Polichne and Argiza. The upper basin of the Granicus it is difficult to assign to any city. The territories of the cities on the Hellespont are not likely to have extended beyond the watershed which divides the Granicus valley from those of the streams running westwards into the Hellespont; the inland villages recorded to have belonged to Abydus and Lampsacus lie west of the watershed. The territory of Cyzicus included the lower Granicus valley, the plain of Adrasteia, but is not likely to have extended beyond the gorge which separates this plain from the upper basin of the Granicus. No city is known to have existed on the upper Granicus. The only clue to the political organization of this area is an inscription recording a number of village communities with barbarous names, the Mottiani, Baesteani, Trinoexitae, Ageani, Ilbeiteni, Hychanteni, and five others whose names are defaced. It is possible, therefore, that this secluded valley was divided into a number of independent village communes.<sup>100</sup>

In Mysia conditions are even more obscure. Somewhere behind Adramyttium lay Pionia which issued coins during the principate and is recorded in Pliny's list of the *conventus*. Its exact site is not known: according to Pausanias it lay in 'Mysia beyond the Caicus'. In the middle valley of the Tarsius was a city with the strange name of Pericharaxis, 'the stockade', as it is given by an inscription: Galen appears to refer to the same place as Ergasteria, 'the works'. It was a mining town, and had, to judge by its official name, originated as a mere mining camp. The inscription shows that in the third century it had a proper city organization with an annual *prytanis* and magistracies and liturgies. Somewhere in the same neighbourhood are probably to be placed two cities which issued coins, Germe and Attaus, and a community mentioned in Pliny's list, the Cilicians of Mandacada. How Cilicians came to live here is unknown: they may have been a colony of Cilician mercenaries planted by one of the Hellenistic kings, or perhaps a remnant of the aboriginal Cilicians of the Troad mentioned by Homer.<sup>101</sup>

At the head of the next valley, that of the Macestus, lived the Mysian tribe of the Abbaeitae. They still lived in villages when the Romans annexed Asia: Manius Aquilius campaigned in

'Mysia which is called Abbaeitis' and stormed 'the strongholds of the Mysians which seemed to be difficult to capture'. They retained their tribal organization under the republic; they issued coins in the late second or early first century B.C. inscribed with their tribal name, and after the first Mithridatic war made a dedication in Rome in conjunction with their neighbours the Epicteteis. They prided themselves on their descent from the Mysians of Homer, erecting a statue of their forefather Chromius, who is mentioned in the *Iliad*. Under the principate they were split into three cities, Tiberiopolis, Ancyra, and Synaus. Both Ancyra and Synaus issued coins from the reign of Nero. Ancyra bore the style of Julia, and must therefore have existed since the days of Tiberius at least.<sup>102</sup>

Along the middle course of the Macestus no cities are known to have existed till Hadrian founded the city of Hadrianutherae in the plain of Apia, which adjoins the middle Macestus valley on the west. The name is said to commemorate a successful bear-hunt by Hadrian, and the story is apparently true; for a bear's head is one of the types of the city coinage. The river between the Macestus and the Rhyndacus, whose ancient name is unknown, flowed according to Strabo from Abrettene. The Abretteni Mysi are recorded in Pliny's list of the Adramyttene *conventus*. The only other fact known about them is that the priesthood of Zeus Abrettenus was a lucrative post, once granted to Cleon, the robber-chief of Gordiucome, by Antony. In this region Hadrian founded Hadrianeia. On the southern slopes of Mount Olympus lived a Mysian tribe called, according to Strabo, indifferently the Hellespontine or Olympene Mysians. They appear in the Pergamene ephobic lists and in Pliny's list of the *conventus* of Adramyttium under the former name; in another passage Pliny alludes to them as *Olympena civitas*, and Ptolemy cites the Olympeni among the peoples of Asia. Hadrian renamed them the Hadriani by Olympus and built a city for them down in the Rhyndacus valley which still bears the name Adranos.<sup>103</sup>

From this survey it appears that in eastern Mysia, that is the area drained by the Rhyndacus and its tributaries, city life was developed late. The cities of the Abbaeitae date from the early principate. On the middle courses of the rivers tribal organization survived until Hadrian founded his three cities, one for each river. These cities must have ruled enormous territories. In this they contrast with the older cities, whose territories were of moderate size.

It is difficult to estimate how many communities the *conventus* of Adramyttium comprised. In the coastal area the number of cities is tolerably certain. In the interior large tribal units seem to have been the rule in the eastern part of the *conventus*. In the western part the tribal organization seems to have broken down and the country was split up into small communities, many of them ranking as villages rather than as cities, and very few of them issuing coins. It is impossible to say how many of these little communities there may have been in addition to the few which happen to be known to us. The full list of the *conventus* probably contained many more names than the forty odd which have been enumerated.

In the Byzantine period the *conventus* of Adramyttium was partitioned among several provinces. The nucleus of the *conventus* formed Hellespontus. Tenedos, the three cities of Lesbos, and Poroselene belonged to the province of the Islands; Assus, Gargara, and Antandrus and Adramyttium itself to Asia; Apollonia on the Rhyndacus and Hadriani by Olympus to Bithynia; Tiberiopolis, Ancyra, and Synaus to Phrygia Pacatiana. All these cities are recorded by Hierocles under their several provinces. In the part of Bithynia which had belonged to the Adramyttene *conventus* he gives one additional city, Neocaesarea. This city is sometimes identified with Hadrianeia, which does not appear in Hierocles nor in most of the Notitiae. Hadrianeia does, however, occur in some Notitiae and in some conciliar lists, and it is placed in Hellespontus, not in Bithynia; Neocaesarea must therefore have been a separate city, and probably lay in the Rhyndacus valley like the other cities transferred from Roman Asia to Byzantine Bithynia, Apollonia and Hadriani. It was, as far as is known, a Byzantine creation; its native name was Eriste. Theodosiana in Phrygia Pacatiana perhaps also lay in what had been the Adramyttene *conventus*, on the Macestus below Ancyra.

Hierocles' list of the province of Hellespontus is highly peculiar. It contains the names of seventeen cities which do not occur in the Notitiae or in the conciliar lists and as far as is known were never bishoprics. As every city by Zeno's law had its own bishop, it might be inferred that these places were not, as Hierocles states, cities. It is, however, curious that among the seventeen additional names are several which were cities under the principate, Attaus, Scamandria, Polichne, Ergasteria, and Mandacada, and one, Argiza, which is known to have been a city in the late fourth century A.D. This suggests that in Hellespontus, as in Europe



across the water, Zeno's law was not enforced, and one bishop might have several cities under his rule. If so Hierocles' list is evidence that there were under the principate, as I have suggested, many more communities in the northern Troad and western Mysia, which is the area covered by the Byzantine Hellespontus, than can be traced from the sources available to us.

Hierocles gives all the cities which coined during the principate except Hadrianeia, and in omitting this he is wrong, for it was a bishopric. He also gives the five cities mentioned above which issued no coins, and fifteen others. One of these is Proconnesus, which had been detached from Cyzicus. Another, Baris, lay on the coast between Cyzicus and Parium, and had presumably under the principate been a village in the extensive territory of one of these two cities. It is tempting to identify it with the Baris which is mentioned in the third century B.C. as being in the estate sold to Queen Laodice. This estate seems to have lain on the western border of Zeleia. Antiochus authorized Laodice or her heirs or assigns to incorporate it in whatever city she or they chose, and it may thus have been attached to Priapus, and so passed into the territory of Parium, or to Zeleia, and so eventually have been merged in Cyzicus. Of the other cities nothing is known.<sup>104</sup>

It is difficult to sum up in a single formula the political development of an area in which conditions were as diverse as they were in the province of Asia. The dominant note of its development was its spontaneity. The kings who successively ruled the country did little either to promote or to retard it. None of them attempted to impose a centralized administrative system. They were content to exercise indirect rule through the native local authorities. The natural growth of local self-government was thus not crushed in Asia, as it was in Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, by a bureaucratic system. On the other hand, the kings did not embark on any scheme of artificial urbanization; they did not plant many colonies of Greek settlers, nor did they create many new native cities. On the whole they left the native communities to develop along their own lines. The most that they did was to simplify the political structure of the country by attributing the smaller to the larger cities or amalgamating groups of small cities, and to raise the standard of political life by converting into city-states the loosely knit tribes and the imperfectly organized towns of the interior. In pursuing this policy they were merely hastening the natural course of events. The same processes were everywhere going on spontaneously.

The development of city life being so largely spontaneous was very irregular. On the coast cities had existed from the earliest times. Here the principal development was one of amalgamation and consolidation. Many of the earlier cities were very small. Groups of them were sometimes merged to form a new city on a larger scale; thus the smaller cities of the south-western Troad were amalgamated, by the act of Antigonus, into Antigoneia, the later Alexandria Troas, and in Caria a number were united, of their own free will as far as is known, to form the city of Euromus. More commonly the smaller cities were absorbed by their larger neighbours, either by conquest, by agreement, or by royal decree; Sigeum and Achilleum were, for instance, conquered by Ilium, Pedasa voluntarily merged itself in Miletus, Chalctor was incorporated by royal decree in an unknown city. In the interior commercial towns had existed from a very early date along the trade-routes. These towns developed their peculiar form of self-government, which was based on the trade and merchant guilds, and so rose to the status of true cities. This development seems to have been very largely spontaneous, though in some cases it was artificially hastened by the kings. The renaming of Celaenae as Apamea by Antiochus I probably marks a reorganization of the city as well as a change of site. Similarly the renaming of Callatebus as Philadelphia probably indicates that Attalus Philadelphus reorganized the town: in both cases, however, the reorganization must have followed the traditional lines, for the guilds continued to play an important part in their political life. Except along the trade-routes tribal life seems to have prevailed in the interior during the Persian period. In many parts it continued down into the Roman period. In Mysia the Hellespontii, the Abretteni, and the Abbaeitae, in Phrygia the Moccadeni, the Moxeani, the Inner Lycaonians, the Corpeni, and the Hyrgaleis, in Lydia the Cilbiani, the Caystriani, and the Mysomacedonians still preserved their tribal organization under Roman rule. In other parts the tribes developed into cities. The development was sometimes promoted by the kings. The city of the Hyrcanians was for a time known as Eumeneia, and must therefore have been built by one of the Attalid kings. In most cases, however, the development seems to have been spontaneous. It is in general difficult to trace. In some cases the name of a city betrays its origin as a tribal capital; Mostene and Poemanenum, for instance, betray their origin by the tribal suffix which the name of the city bears, and the city of Maeonia must derive its name from the tribe of the Maeones.

In many cases, however, the city name tells us nothing; there is nothing in the name of Hyllarima to indicate that the Hyllarimeis were once a tribal commune, which was, as an inscription proves, the fact. It is thus possible that many cities whose origins are obscure were tribal capitals. Other tribes again lost their cohesion, neither retaining their primitive organization nor consolidating themselves into cities. Sometimes part of a tribe broke off and formed itself into a city. Sometimes a tribe broke up into a number of small cities.

If the Hellenistic kings did little to promote the political development of the country, the Roman republic did even less. Having established an oligarchic system of government in the communities, it left them to manage their own affairs. It was content to extract from them certain taxes, and to exercise a limited degree of jurisdiction, principally in cases affecting Roman citizens. The communities of Asia were thus left to their own devices for a century. During this century very little political development took place; the people were too much occupied with the effort to make ends meet under the grinding exactions, legal and illegal, of the Roman governors, tax-gatherers, and money-lenders. With the establishment of the principate conditions became more favourable to spontaneous development, and the central government also began to take an interest in the progress of the province. Most of the remaining tribal communities were urbanized during this period. The development seems generally to have needed no encouragement from above. There is no trace of any imperial action in the gradual conversion of the tribal commune of the Lower Cilbiani into the city of Nicaea, nor in the scission of the Moxeani into the two cities of Diocleia and Siocharax. In some cases the imperial government took the initiative, or at any rate lent its encouragement. Augustus created the city of Sebaste by an amalgamation of villages. The Flavian emperors seem to have encouraged the division of the Moccadeni into the two cities of Silandus and Temenothyrae. Hadrian took a particular interest in the backward region of eastern Mysia, where he converted two tribal communities, the Hellespontii and Abretteni, into the cities of Hadriani and Hadrianeia. By the end of the second century tribal organization seems to have been almost eliminated; only a few unimportant communes like the Lycaonians and the Upper Cilbiani still survived in backward districts. But the uniformity thus achieved was more formal than real. Owing to the haphazard way in which they had grown

up, the cities varied very greatly in size. Some cities, like Rhodes, Ephesus, Pergamum, or Cyzicus, had built up enormous territories by the absorption of their smaller neighbours. Others had maintained their independence without increase of territory. Some tribes had maintained their cohesion and been converted bodily into cities; thus the cities of Hadriani and Hadrianeia ruled the entire territories of the Hellespontine and Abrettene tribes. Others had split up into several cities; the Moccadeni and the Corpeni, for instance, had broken up into two and four cities respectively. As a result the distribution of cities was very irregular and their size diverse; in some areas cities were sparse and ruled large territories, in others they were thickly clustered, each ruling a tiny territory.

In the Byzantine period there was a tendency to smooth out this irregularity in the size and distribution of the cities. On the one hand, the government granted city status to villages in the larger city territories; thus, for instance, Orcistus and Metropolis were detached from the territory of Nacoleia and Mossyna from that of Hierapolis. On the other hand, many small communities were suppressed and merged into their neighbours. The second tendency was by far the stronger. The total result of the two processes was to reduce the number of communities in the province from two hundred and eighty-two, the figure given by Pliny, to about two hundred and twenty. Even after this drastic reorganization many striking anomalies survived. The most curious perhaps is the contrast between conditions in the lower Cayster valley, which still belonged almost in its entirety to Ephesus, and the upper Cayster valley, which was still divided among about a dozen small communities.

### III. LYCIA

THE Lycians are remarkable among all the people of antiquity for their political genius; they solved the great problem which defeated the Greeks, the reconciliation of the two ideals of national unity and the autonomy of the city. The ingenious federal constitution whereby they achieved this end in the second century B.C. obviously owes much to Greek ideas and cannot be of any very great antiquity. There are, however, traces of some rudimentary form of federal organization among the Lycians at a far earlier date, when Greek influence had not yet begun to penetrate them, and from the very earliest times the Lycians showed a stronger sense of national unity than did their neighbours.

The earliest evidence of this vigorous national spirit is to be found in the failure of Greek settlers to establish themselves in Lycia in the migrations of the heroic age. The Carians and the Pisidians were both famous as fighting races; they had an even greater reputation as mercenaries than the Lycians. Nevertheless, Ionian and Dorian colonists succeeded in conquering lands and building cities for themselves in Caria, and the Pamphylians in occupying the coast of Pisidia. Between these two areas, in Lycia, they could not gain a footing. There are, it is true, legends of Greek immigration into Lycia. According to Herodotus the Lycians derived their name from Lycus, the son of Pandion the Athenian hero. It is a sufficient refutation of this legend that the Lycians did not call themselves Lycians in their own language, but Termilae; it was only when the Lycians adopted the Greek language that they took over the name which the Greeks had given to them. Several Lycian cities, moreover, had Greek names or names containing a Greek element, and some of these cities had foundation legends which connected them with the great figures of Greek mythology. Theopompus, for instance, states that Amphilochous, the leader of the Cilician migration, founded Rhodiapolis on his way, naming it after his daughter Rhodia. This particular legend cannot be refuted, as we do not know what the Lycian name for Rhodiapolis was. In similar cases, however, it can be proved that the Greek names of the Lycian cities were not used by the Lycians themselves. Xanthus, for instance, was in Lycian called Arna, and the ancient name of Antiphellus was, according to Pliny, Habesos. Many of the Greek names are

obviously fanciful descriptions such as might be invented by travellers, Xanthus 'the yellow', Cyaneae 'the blue', Antiphellus 'the port of Phellus'. It is noteworthy that the Greek historians did not draw the obvious conclusion from the name Rhodiapolis, and deduce that it was a colony of Rhodes. They knew that it was not really a Greek city, and in order to make its supposedly Greek origin more plausible dated it back to the heroic age.<sup>1</sup>

There was, in fact, no Greek settlement in Lycia in the heroic age. The Lycians, as the archaeological evidence shows, preserved their very distinctive national culture, including the national language and script, down to the fourth century B.C., when it was superseded by the Greek language and civilization, which had begun to filter in by the normal channels of peaceable intercourse during the fifth century. The resistance of the Lycians to Greek colonization in the heroic age proves that in this remote period they must have possessed a stronger national spirit than their Carian and Pisidian neighbours, and perhaps even some form of national organization; they were not a more warlike people than the Carians or the Pisidians, and it must have been their political cohesion that saved them.

In succeeding ages they showed the same power of resisting external attack. In the second period of Greek emigration, the age of colonization, no colonies were planted in Lycia. Phaselis, the one Greek settlement on this stretch of coast, a Rhodian colony founded in the early seventh century B.C., did not lie in what was then Lycia; the Lycian league later included cities on the Pamphylian gulf, but this piece of coast was not racially Lycian, and no Lycian inscriptions are found in this area. In the sixth century the Lycians were the only people of western Asia Minor which was not subject to Croesus. They were not strong enough to withstand the Persians, but their heroic resistance to Harpagus, recounted by Herodotus, seems to have won them very favourable terms of submission, as is shown by the fact that their princes were allowed to issue their own coins. These coins also prove the very interesting fact that the princes formed some sort of league; for although they are inscribed with the names of the individual princes, they are of remarkably uniform type, and most of them bear what is evidently a federal symbol, the *triquetra*. The Lycians thus retained their national unity under the Persian empire; the federation of princes was probably responsible to the satrap for the payment of tribute and the supply of troops and

ships to the Persian army and navy; it may be noted that the Lycian contingent to Xerxes' fleet was a single unit, and was commanded by a Lycian prince, Cybernis the son of Cossicas, whose name appears on the coinage of the period.<sup>2</sup>

The Lycians seem to have been well contented with their position. Unlike their neighbours the Carians they took no part in the Ionic revolt, and even after the defeat of Xerxes they showed no great enthusiasm to rebel. Cimon is said to have freed them during the campaign of the Eurymedon, but they do not seem to have appreciated this gift of freedom, and returned to their allegiance. They figure once only on the tribute lists of the Delian league, in the year 446, when 'the Lycians and their fellow contributors' are put down for ten talents. The entry is an interesting one. It gives some support to the hypothesis ventured above that the Lycian league, if it may be so called, was jointly responsible for the Persian tribute; the Lycians must have possessed a common treasury and some regular financial organization, for without this they could not have made an annual payment, or at any rate a payment that was intended to recur annually, of a comparatively large sum like ten talents. The entry also shows that the Lycian league was expanding and was beginning to include communities which were not ethnically Lycian. Other entries in the tribute list roughly define the area of the league. It did not extend eastwards beyond the Chelidonian promontory, for Phaselis was assessed separately. Westwards it did not include Crya and Calynda, two little cities between Caunus and Telmessus, and possibly not Telmessus itself. The last point is, however, doubtful; the Telemessus of the tribute lists may be the Lelegian city near Halicarnassus. Telmessus seems to have been a Lycian city by race, but it is not recorded to have belonged to the league till Pericles, the prince of the Lycians, conquered it in the fourth century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

This Pericles was the last of the native princes of Lycia. Under him the Lycians joined in the Satraps' Revolt, and when it collapsed, Mausolus, the satrap of Caria, who had prudently deserted the rebel cause at an early stage, was granted Lycia as his reward; it continued to be ruled by his line till Alexander's conquest. Under Mausolus the princes finally disappeared. There is evidence that even earlier the larger cities had been establishing republican governments; contemporary with the coins of the later princes are coins which bear the names of the cities of Xanthus, Patara, Telmessus, and T'los. Mausolus no doubt encouraged

the process in the hope that the republican governments set up under his protection would be more amenable than the princes he had subdued. He seems also to have broken up the Lycian league; it had been a league of princes, and doubtless collapsed when they were eliminated. There is at any rate no trace of its existence when Alexander conquered the country, the several cities, which seem to have been republics, surrendering individually.<sup>4</sup>

Lycia was thus a group of city republics under the Hecatomnids. Their constitutional development must have been relatively advanced, for the Lycians were one of the few barbarian peoples whom Aristotle included in his series of monographs on city constitutions. They must, however, for the most part have been very small. Arrian records that in western Lycia alone about thirty cities, besides Telmessus, Pinara, Xanthus, and Patara, which he mentions separately, made their submission to Alexander, and, in addition to these, Phaselis and 'the majority of the lower Lycians' sent envoys to Alexander rather later; if the cities of the 'lower Lycians' were as numerous as those of the western Lycians, the total number of cities cannot have been far short of the traditional seventy. It is obvious from these figures that the majority of them must have been very small, but some were of considerable size and importance. The documents of the Persian period are so scanty that it is impossible to attempt to draw up a complete list of the leading cities. In western Lycia Xanthus, Patara, Telmessus, and Tlos were important enough to issue their own coinage in the fourth century; Xanthus, Tlos, Pinara, and Cadyanda are mentioned in an inscription as having assisted Pixodarus, the brother and successor of Mausolus, in a war against Caunus; and Xanthus, Patara, Pinara, and Telmessus are singled out by Arrian for mention. In eastern Lycia Rhodiapolis was known to Theopompus, and Scylax mentions Phellus, Limyra, and Gagae. The inadequacy of our literary sources is betrayed by their not mentioning Myra, later a very important city, where, moreover, many Lycian inscriptions of the Persian period have been found. Lycian inscriptions have also been found at Arneae, Antiphellus, and Cyanaeae.<sup>5</sup>

On Alexander's death Lycia was assigned to Antigonus. After this its history is very obscure for some years. Eventually, probably early in the third century, it fell into the hands of the Ptolemies, and it remained for nearly a century a Ptolemaic province. The Lycians are numbered by Theocritus among the subjects of



Ptolemy II; Patara was, according to Strabo, renamed by him Arsinoe in honour of his sister and wife; and Lycia is recorded in the Adulis inscription among the provinces inherited from his father by Ptolemy III. There exists more solid evidence of the Ptolemaic supremacy in a number of inscriptions in honour of or dated by Ptolemaic kings and in a papyrus of the late third century. The inscriptions show that the forms at any rate of city autonomy were kept up; they are a decree of Xanthus, dated 257, a dedication on behalf of Ptolemy V and the city of Xanthus, a decree of Araxa, dated by the eighth year of an unknown king, and three decrees, dated 278, 275, and 245, of the city of Lissa on the western frontier. The papyrus, on the other hand, shows that in the sphere of finance the autonomy of the Lycian cities was severely curtailed. They did not pay lump sums in tribute, but various specific taxes, amongst which the purple tax and the octroi are mentioned, were levied, and these taxes were farmed at Alexandria. Telmessus was at about the middle of the third century granted as a separate principality to a certain Ptolemy, son of Lysimachus, probably a cadet of the royal house. An inscription gives some very interesting information about this principality. The Telmessians still preserved their autonomy—the inscription is a decree of ‘the city of the Telmessians’ passed at a ‘regular assembly’—but this autonomy was very formal. The citizens were oppressed by a diversity of taxes, including dues on the produce of fruit-trees, pasture dues, and a tithe on wheat, pulse, millet, sesame, and lupin, and these taxes were farmed by the royal government. The new dynast remitted the first two, and regulated the others more strictly to prevent illegal exactions by the farmers.<sup>6</sup>

It was probably during the Ptolemaic period that the native Lycian culture finally gave way to Greek civilization. The first signs of Hellenization appear in the fourth century, in the adoption of Greek names by some of the Lycian princes; Pericles is the only instance known from the literary sources, but others are known from the coins. Greek also at this period begins to be used side by side with Lycian on the inscriptions. In the third century Lycian inscriptions disappear, and Greek becomes universal. When they adopted the Greek language the Lycians naturally also adopted the name which the Greeks had applied to them, and also the names which the Greeks had given to their principal towns. They did not, however, in being hellenized, lose any of their national pride. They were singularly fortunate in that the

Lycians are honourably mentioned in Homer, for they were thus able to become self-respecting members of the Greek world without abandoning their racial individuality, and they eventually came to be regarded as a branch of the Greek race; Cicero, who pokes fun at the hellenized Mysians, Lydians, and Phrygians, alludes with respect to the Lycians, who are, he explains, 'Graeci homines'. The Lycians naturally adopted with pride the Homeric legends relating to their ancestors, and the principal cities named their demes after the Homeric Lycian heroes, Glaucus, Sarpedon, Iobates, and Bellerophon. They did not, however, abandon their native personal names; even in the highest class of society men were not ashamed in Roman times to be called by such purely barbarian names as Opramoas, although Greek names were commoner.<sup>7</sup>

In 197 Antiochus the Great conquered Lycia, capturing, according to Jerome, Phaselis, Limyra, Patara, Andriace, the port of Myra, and Xanthus; the last he actually failed to take, recognizing its neutrality under the form of dedicating it to Leto, Apollo, and Artemis. Antiochus' rule over Lycia was short. After his defeat by the Romans at Magnesia in 189 B.C. Lycia was granted to Rhodes with the exception of Telmessus, which was given to Eumenes of Pergamum, and the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmessus, which were given to neither Rhodes nor Eumenes and therefore presumably restored to Ptolemy. The Rhodians seem to have proved harder masters than the Ptolemies had been; the Lycians certainly bitterly resented their rule, and made a series of revolts against it, which the Rhodians had some difficulty in suppressing—on their own admission they fought three regular wars to subdue the country. In 178 B.C. the Lycians sent an appeal to Rome, complaining that the tyranny of Rhodes was more onerous even than that of Antiochus III, and the senate, impressed by the evidence produced, informed the Rhodians that the Lycians had been assigned to them as allies and not 'in gift'. This evasive reply naturally encouraged the Lycians, who persisted in their revolt. Finally, in 169 B.C., they obtained their object. The senate, in order to punish the Rhodians for their contumacy during the Third Macedonian War, declared the Lycians free.<sup>8</sup>

Probably from this period comes a long inscription from Araxa in honour of her citizen Orthagoras. He had served as general against Moagetes and the Bubonians, was then elected federal envoy of the Lycians to Cibra and to Moagetes, served

in the cavalry against Cibyra in the ensuing war, helped to suppress two tyrants at Xanthus, serving as divisional commander in the federal army. He then helped in the suppression of another tyrant at Tlos, served in the cavalry in a federal war against Termessus, arranged for the admission of Orloanda to the Lycian league, negotiated with the Roman commissioners Appius and Publius (probably two of the *decem legati* sent to Asia in 189 B.C.), and served as his city's representative at the federal games in honour of Rome. The Lycian league, which had long been in abeyance, thus sprang into life once more with the end of Ptolemaic rule. Its organization is described by Strabo, who derived most of his information from Artemidorus, a writer who flourished about 100 B.C. Since the Lycian cities were of very diverse size and importance, they were graded into three classes, which possessed respectively three, two, or one vote at the federal congress. All federal burdens and privileges were proportioned according to the voting power of the cities. They contributed money to the federal treasury, and also presumably men and ships to the federal army and navy, in proportion to their votes; the jurors in the federal courts and the minor officials of the league were chosen on the same basis. The major officials, including the Lyciarch, the president and general of the league, were, according to Strabo, chosen by the federal congress, which also regulated the foreign policy of the league. The accuracy of this statement has been doubted because the imperial inscriptions mention no congress but distinguish two federal chambers, a council and an assembly, which last is generally styled electoral. The inscriptions, however, make it clear that the assembly was not a mass meeting of all the Lycians, but consisted of a limited number of electors, who were presumably delegates chosen by the cities in proportion to their number of votes. In substance then Strabo's account is correct, in that the election of the major officers of the league and the ultimate decisions on foreign policy rested with a body of delegates; Strabo may have preferred to describe this body as a congress rather than an assembly, because the latter term, though officially correct, would have conveyed the wrong impression to the average Greek reader, to whom an assembly meant always a primary assembly. Strabo's only inaccuracy is his omission of the council, and this omission is pardonable; for the council, since an assembly of manageable size existed, would not have been an important body but merely a committee of the assembly which drafted its agenda and supervised the

executive. If this reconstruction of the constitution of the Lycian league is correct, it shows that the Lycians were far ahead of the contemporary Greek world in political sense. The Achaeans and Aetolians refused to admit the principle of representation for the election of the chief league officers and the decision of major questions of foreign policy and persisted in holding unwieldy primary assemblies for these purposes.<sup>9</sup>

Strabo gives the number of cities possessing the vote as twenty-three. Of these there were six, according to Artemidorus, in the first grade, Xanthus, Patara, Pinara, Tlos, Myra, and Olympus. The names of the other cities are not given by the literary authorities but a large number of them can be recovered from the federal coinage. This was issued sometimes by the federation as a whole, sometimes by the two districts, the Cragus and the Masicytes, into which the federation was divided, and sometimes by the individual cities. The city issues almost invariably bear besides the name of the city that of the federation (ΛΥΚΙΩΝ), and often that of the district also. The names as a result have naturally to be abbreviated, and some doubt often arises as to their interpretation. The principal cities naturally all coined. It is curious that the coins of Olympus, though of federal type, never bear the name of the federation. The explanation seems to be that only cities which were Lycian by race were entitled to put the word ΛΥΚΙΩΝ on their coins; Olympus, which lay south of Phaselis on the Pamphylian gulf, was not by origin a Lycian city. The same applies, as will be pointed out below, to other non-Lycian members of the league. Besides the six principal cities the following can be identified with some degree of certainty: Antiphellus (ΑΝ), Apollonia (ΑΠΟ or ΑΠ), Arycanda (ΑΡΥ or ΑΡ), Cyanae (ΚΥΑ or ΚΥ), Gagae (ΓΑ), Limyra (ΛΙ), Phellus (ΦΕ), Rhodiapolis (ΡΟ), and Sidyma (ΣΙ). These are all cities otherwise well known. The abbreviation ΔΙ is also unambiguous, but it refers to a city otherwise only known from Stephanus of Byzantium, Dias; the coins show that it belonged to the Cragus district. Other abbreviations are ambiguous. ΚΑ might stand for several Lycian cities. Of these Calynda may be ruled out, for it was until 164 B.C. a dependency of Caunus, and after that date belonged to Rhodes; in the first century B.C. it issued autonomous coins of a non-federal type. Cadyanda is unlikely, for it lay north of Telmessus, which belonged to the Attalid kingdom; it, too, issued non-federal coins in the first century B.C. ΚΑ probably then stands for Candyba. ΤΥ is also ambiguous. An inscription has

revealed the existence of a little city of Tyberissus near Cyanaeae. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions a city of Tymnessus; he calls it a city of Caria, but this may be an error for Lycia, for he derives its name from a Lycian word and quotes the Lyciaca of Alexander of Aphrodisias as his source.

The abbreviation TPE or TP also presents difficulties. In imperial times the best-known member of the Lycian league beginning with these letters was Trebenna in the Pamphylian plain. It is very unlikely, however, that the original Lycian league extended so far north; moreover the city which issued the federal coins was a Lycian city by race, inscribing ΛΥΚΙΩΝ on its coins, whereas Trebenna cannot conceivably have been of Lycian origin. The abbreviation must therefore stand for a much more obscure city, Trebenda near Myra, which is only known from a single inscription.<sup>10</sup>

Phaselis issued coins of a federal type, but without the inscription ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, during the second century B.C. It must therefore have belonged to the league at the beginning: the omission of the name of the federation on the coins confirms the theory stated above that non-Lycian members of the league were not entitled to put ΛΥΚΙΩΝ on their coins, for Phaselis was a Greek city; it is not an argument that Phaselis was not a member of the league, for its neighbour Olympus, one of the leading cities of the league, issued coins of an exactly parallel type. Strabo, however, probably quoting from Artemidorus, states specifically that Phaselis was not a member of the league. It is to be presumed, therefore, that Phaselis had seceded before 100 B.C., and it cannot be counted among the twenty-three cities, if Strabo derived that figure from Artemidorus. The coins thus supply only nineteen names out of the twenty-three. Either then some federal issues yet remain to be discovered, or some members of the league issued no coins, or perhaps some of the abbreviations represent more than one name. Numismatists distinguish ΑΠ from ΑΠΟ, interpreting the former as Aperlae, and this process might be carried much further; ΑΡ might for instance not be a variation of ΑΡΥ but stand for Araxa or Arneae, and ΤΡ might stand for Trysa. This explanation is, however, improbable. It is indisputable that several Lycian cities used abbreviations of varying length, according to the space on the coin, and it is arbitrary to regard some of the shorter forms and not others as representing separate cities.<sup>11</sup>

The number twenty-three is surprisingly low. In Alexander's time there had been over thirty cities in the Cragus district alone,

and probably as many in the Masicytes, and in the Roman period many more than twenty-three cities are traceable from the coins and inscriptions within the original area of the league. Two explanations are possible. Strabo's phrase 'cities possessing the vote' may be taken to imply that there were in addition to the twenty-three many subject cities which had no vote. A more probable explanation is that by 'cities possessing the vote' Strabo meant voting units on the league congress, which were generally cities, but sometimes groups of small cities sharing a single vote. Inscriptions of Roman date reveal the existence of several such sympolitias, or groups of three or four small cities. A close parallel to such a system is to be found in the constitution of the Boeotian league, where out of eleven votes Thebes commanded four and other cities two or one each, while other votes were shared between three or more small cities.<sup>12</sup>

The Lycians managed their affairs with prudence, and thus succeeded in preserving their freedom through the successive crises of the second and first centuries B.C. They appear to have taken no part in the revolt of Aristonicus, and thus were not, like their neighbours the Carians, who had also been freed in 169 B.C., incorporated in the province of Asia. They seem to have been put under the authority of the governor of Cilicia when that province was created, but in the first Mithridatic war they withstood Mithridates and were rewarded by Sulla with a restoration of their liberty. They received at the same time several accessions of territory. On the suppression of the Moagetid dynasty of Cibyra some cities of the Cibyrate tetrapolis, Bubon and Balbura and probably Oenoanda, were added to the Lycian league; federal coinage of Bubon is extant, inscribed with the abbreviation BOY but not, since Bubon was a Cabalian and not a Lycian city by race, with the word ΛΥΚΙΩΝ. Telmessus, which had apparently after the dissolution of the Attalid kingdom been attached to Asia, was also at this date reunited with the league, having earned this privilege by the aid which it gave to the Lycians in resisting Mithridates; it issued federal coins during the first century B.C. bearing its initials (TEA) and also the word ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, since it was an old Lycian city.<sup>13</sup>

The Lycians, according to Strabo, never abetted or took any part in the piracy which was the scourge of the south coast of Asia Minor during the late second and early first centuries B.C., but though the league steadily refused to have any dealings with the pirates, one of its most important members was seduced. A pirate chief, Zenicetes by name, whose stronghold was Corycus

in the mountains on the western shore of the Pamphylian gulf, built up during the early years of the first century a substantial principality which included, as profit-sharing members, the cities of Attaleia, Phaselis, and one of the three-vote members of the Lycian league, Olympus. He was crushed in 77 B.C. by Servilius Isauricus, who punished the cities in alliance with him by confiscating their territories. The Lycian league assisted Servilius with its fleet and army, but it went unrewarded; Olympus ceased to issue federal coins in the first century B.C. and it must therefore be presumed that it was not allowed to rejoin the league, but was attached, with Phaselis, to the province of Cilicia.<sup>14</sup>

In the civil wars of the end of the first century the Lycians suffered severely. They put up a determined resistance to Brutus, and were reduced to submission by him with great brutality, Xanthus being destroyed. They had their reward, however, for backing the winning side, for Antony confirmed their freedom and restored Xanthus: Oenoanda, which had fought on Brutus' side against Xanthus, seems to have been expelled from the league—it is counted by Pliny among the cities of the province of Galatia—and the other Cabalian cities seem to have followed it; Bubon began to issue non-federal coins under Augustus, and Balbura under Caligula. The Lycians preserved their freedom under the early principate, but the freedom which they enjoyed at this date was naturally largely a matter of form: the league congress had no longer any foreign policy to debate, and had to confine itself to voting honours to the emperors. The result was that the league, which when it had some real object had worked well and enabled the Lycians to weather many storms, began to break down. The cities, now that they had no common interest to hold them together, began to bicker amongst themselves, until at length their quarrels became such a nuisance to the imperial government, to which the defeated party no doubt always appealed, that in A.D. 43 Claudius deprived the Lycians of their freedom, and formed Lycia and Pamphylia into a province under a praetorian legate. The Lycians were still subject to a Roman governor in A.D. 57, for in that year they indicted him for extortion. They must have been freed again in the latter years of Nero's reign, or perhaps by Galba. Vespasian deprived them once more of their freedom, reviving the province of Lycia and Pamphylia, and the Lycians thus finally lost their long cherished liberty.<sup>15</sup>

The loss of freedom did not involve the dissolution of the

league. Certain federal magistrates, it is true, such as the general, the admiral, and the commander of the cavalry, lapsed, but the federal assembly and council continued to meet, and many federal officers continued to be elected; it is, indeed, from the inscriptions of the principate that the greater part of our knowledge of the constitution of the league is derived. The league was moreover not completely ornamental. The federal courts continued to function, and federal officers appear to have collected the imperial tribute.<sup>16</sup>

The league at this date comprised a far larger area than it had ever done in the days of its freedom. On the east the cities of Olympus and Phaselis were restored to it, and Trebenna in the Pamphylian plain was added. On the north the Cabalian cities, Oenoanda, Bubon, and Balbura, were restored, and some cities of the southern Milyas, including Choma, which had issued an autonomous non-federal coinage in the first century B.C., were added to the league. On the west the league territory was extended up to Caunus, where Calynda and Cadyanda, which had issued autonomous non-federal coinage in the first century B.C., now became members. The Rhodian possessions in this district were now confined to the port of Daedala, which had belonged to them since the beginning of the second century B.C. at least.<sup>17</sup>

It is very difficult to say how many cities there were in Lycia during the principate. Pliny gives the number of Lycian cities in his day as thirty-six. If this is an official figure, it probably represents the number of cities which had votes on the federal assembly of the league as extended and reorganized by Vespasian, for the inscriptions show that there were far more than thirty-six cities in all within the territory of the league. It is impossible to determine for certain which the thirty-six voting cities were. It may be presumed that those cities which issued coins during the provincial period were among them. These include thirteen of the old members of the league, Antiphellus, Arycanda, Candyba, Cyaneae, Gagae, Limyra, Myra, Olympus, Patara, Phaselis, Phellus, Rhodiapolis, and Tlos: all these cities coined under Gordian III. In addition to these, eight new cities issued coins, Araxa under Hadrian, and Acalissus, Aperlae, Arneae, Choma, Corydalla, Podalia, and Trebenna under Gordian III. There were, in addition to these, several important cities, which although they did not coin, must have been among the thirty-six. Xanthus and Pinara, both three-vote cities in the old league, must obviously have still possessed votes. Bubon, Sidyma, and



Telmessus, also, which took part in the federal coinage of the free league, were probably full members of the provincial league. It cannot, however, be assumed that every city which had a vote in the old league had one in the new. Inscriptions prove that Apollonia had sunk to be a minor member of a sympolity led by Aperlae, and including two other cities, Simena and Isinda. Another inscription proves that Trebenda had become one of a group led by Myra. Dias disappears from history after the period of the federal coinage and must also have become subordinate to some other city.<sup>18</sup>

It is a difficult matter to fill the ten remaining places. Of the score of other cities known from the inscriptions, eight are recorded in the Byzantine lists. One of these, Idebessus, is known not to have been a voting member of the provincial league; it belonged with Corma to the sympolity of Acalissus. The presumption, however, is that in general the cities which were still important in the Byzantine period would have been important in the preceding period. One may therefore conjecture that Balbura, Cadyanda, Comba, Myle, Nisa, and Oenoanda were among the thirty-six. Of these Cadyanda and Balbura and Oenoanda had all issued coins before Vespasian's reign. All except Comba and Myle are mentioned in the long list of cities which received benefactions from the Lycian millionaire, Opramoas, in the reign of Hadrian, and Myle is mentioned in the list of cities which honoured another distinguished Lycian, Jason the son of Nicostratus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius. These two lists combined mention every one of the thirty-two names which have been suggested above as voting members of the league except Araxa and Comba, if it be assumed that the Trebendatae in the inscription of Jason are the people of the Pamphylian city better known as Trebenna. They mention only three other names, Calynda, Crya, and Symbra. This strongly suggests that these lists contain only the names of voting cities of the league, and that Calynda, Crya, and Symbra are three missing members.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to the thirty-six, many other cities are known. Some are known to have been minor members of sympolities. As already mentioned Apollonia, Simena, and Isinda were grouped with Aperlae, Idebessus and Corma with Acalissus, and Trebenda with Myra. Arneae is known to have been the head of a sympolity one member of which was Coroa. Onobara was attached to Trebenna. Termessus Minor was probably attached

to its near neighbour Oenoanda, whose fortunes it seems to have shared since the second century B.C.; it had originally, as its name implies, been a colony of Termessus Major in Pisidia, and still maintained friendly relations with it in the second century A.D. There are also several cities whose political connexions are unknown, Arsada, Istlada, Lydae, Trysa, and Octapolis. This last must, to judge from its name, have itself been formed from a union of eight cities. An inscription, probably of the second century B.C., found in the neighbourhood of Octapolis, suggests the names of six of these. It is a decree of Hippocome, which, despite its name, was not a village but possessed magistrates, council, and people and met in a 'regular assembly', recording the names of subscribers for the erection of public baths. The surviving names include the people of the Sestians and some individual Sestians, the people of the Pallenians, some citizens of Lyrna and Castanna, and one citizen of Myndus. As the matter was one of purely local interest it may be presumed that all these cities lay near to Hippocome, and had close relations with it.<sup>20</sup>

The Byzantine province of Lycia which was established early in the fourth century very nearly corresponded with the area covered by the Lycian league during the later principate; the Carian city of Caunus was included in it, and on the other frontier Trebenna had been transferred to Pamphylia, where it is recorded by Hierocles together with its former dependency Onobara, now a separate commune. Hierocles' list of the cities of Lycia is manifestly incomplete. He omits the two important cities of Rhodiapolis and Corydalla, both of which coined in the third century, were represented at church councils in the fifth and sixth centuries, and are recorded in the episcopal Notitiae. He also omits two cities given in the Notitiae, whose names, Zenonopolis and Marciana, prove that they must have existed in his day. His list must therefore be supplemented from the Notitiae. These contain all the thirty-five names given above with the exception of Calynda, Crya, and Symbra. Some of these names are probably concealed under the dynastic names which appear in the lists, Eudocias, Marciana, and Zenonopolis. The Notitiae give another dynastic name, Justinianopolis, which cannot be identical with any of the missing cities, as its original name, Palia, is given in some Notitiae. It perhaps represents the 'region' of Milyas, which appears in Hierocles but in no later sources. The origin of this area of public land is unknown. It might have been part of the royal lands of the Moagetids, whose conquests ex-

tended, according to Strabo, 'from Pisidia and the adjacent Milyas to Lycia'. It might again have been the domain of Zenicetes, from whose castle Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Milyas could be surveyed. The area would, on the theory suggested, have been converted by Justinian into a city after Hierocles' time, or rather after the time of Hierocles' source. The lists give four other names, Idebessus, Acarassus, Ascanda, and Mastaura. The first of these had been a member of the sympolity of Acalissus. The second and third make their first appearance in history in 451 and 458, when their bishops attended the council of Chalcedon and signed the Epistle to Leo respectively; they had also presumably belonged to sympolities. The fourth, as appears from Hierocles, was a village; nothing else is known of it.<sup>21</sup>

Idebessus is the most interesting item in the list. It proves that even in the Byzantine period the smaller Lycian cities, which were for governmental purposes grouped with others, still retained their individuality, and that the Byzantine official list bore as little relation to reality as had the Roman official list. The Lycians seem throughout their history to have maintained side by side with their strong national sentiment an equally strong particularism. There were from the earliest times some large cities like Xanthus and Myra, but the mass of the population was always divided into a multiplicity of small cities. The small city had been the normal unit in Alexander's time, and it remained the real unit throughout the Hellenistic, the Roman, and the Byzantine periods. During the period of the free league the small cities consented to attach themselves to larger cities or to form groups in order to operate the federal machinery, but the large cities did not absorb the small, nor did the groups of small cities amalgamate into larger units. The small cities retained their individuality, and in the reorganization of the Lycian league which took place when Lycia was reduced to a province some of them rose to be voting members, either supplanting the old leaders of groups, or breaking off from the old groups altogether. In the provincial period the Lycian cities were still for purposes of administrative convenience grouped in larger units, but the inscriptions show that the constituent cities of these units retained their separate life; they still possessed their own civic administration, with magistrates, council, and people, and passed their own decrees, and when the unit to which they belonged passed a joint decree they insisted on being named along with the leading city. Even in the Byzantine period they must have retained some separate life, since one of them at this period split off from its group.

## IV. THE GAULS

WHEN in 279 B.C. the Gauls under Brennus invaded Macedonia, two tribes broke off from the main body, and under the leadership of their kings Lutarius and Lonorius moved eastwards into Thrace. Here they established themselves near Byzantium and maintained themselves by raiding such cities as resisted them, and levying tribute from those which preferred to buy them off. The resources of Thrace did not long satisfy them, and hearing stories of the rich lands of Asia, which seemed to offer prospects of more abundant plunder, they determined to try to cross the Hellespont. They accordingly descended upon the Chersonese and captured Lysimacheia. Here they were held up by the lack of ships, and Lonorius, despairing of crossing, led his people back to Byzantium. Lutarius, however, succeeded in capturing five ships, and on them gradually ferried his tribe across. Lonorius meanwhile had been offered an opportunity of crossing the Bosphorus. Nicomedes was at the moment fighting for his kingdom against his brother Zipoetes, and seeing that the Gauls would be valuable auxiliaries he made arrangements for Lonorius and his people to be transported across to Bithynia, where he took them into his service, together with Lutarius and his tribe. With their aid he defeated Zipoetes, and made himself master of all Bithynia.

The subsequent movements of the Gauls are obscure. Livy states that they moved from Bithynia into Asia, and eventually, after ravaging all Asia, took for themselves a home around the river Halys. Justin, on the other hand, says that Nicomedes, having recovered his kingdom with their aid, shared it with them. Strabo's version is that after long wanderings, during which they ravaged the territory of the Attalid and Bithynian kings, they received the country later called Galatia from these kings with their consent. Yet a fourth story, that of Apollonius of Aphrodisias, is preserved in the article of Stephanus of Byzantium on Ancyra. According to this version Mithridates and Ariobarzanes, whose joint reign in Pontus must have ended in 265, granted them the land which was later called Galatia as a reward for their services against a naval attack by Ptolemy, and Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium were founded by the Gauls at this time, Ancyra being so named from the captured anchors of the Egyptian ships, and Pessinus and Tavium from the Galatian chieftains. All four

versions probably contain an element of truth, even the last. The story of the foundation of the three cities by the Gauls is of course fantastic; Ancyra was already an important town in Alexander's day, and Pessinus was a purely Phrygian town down to the first century B.C. But the story of a Ptolemaic naval attack on the shores of Pontus is so unexpected that it can hardly be invented, and is at the same time not impossible; for the Ptolemies were on friendly terms with Sinope, whence it will be remembered Ptolemy Soter obtained the image of Serapis, and Sinope was the victim of constant attacks by the Pontic kings.

All the versions except Livy's state that the settlement of the Gauls was encouraged by various kings who granted them lands. This is inherently very probable. Nicomedes and Mithridates found them useful allies, or rather mercenaries, in their wars, but having used them their next thought would have been how to get rid of them; in peace time they were embarrassing neighbours, since they lived by plunder unless they were fighting for pay. The most obvious way of moving them on was to give them lands in which to settle at a convenient distance, and in return to exact a guarantee of immunity for their kingdoms. The treaty of perpetual alliance between Nicomedes and the cities and dynasts in his sphere of influence on the one hand and the Gauls on the other, which is preserved among the fragments of Memnon, is probably the text of Nicomedes' guarantee. Whether the lands which they granted were, as Justin and Apollonius state, frontier districts of their kingdoms, or adjacent regions conquered for the purpose, and probably with the aid of the Gauls themselves, can hardly be determined, but the latter alternative is more probable. It is unlikely at any rate that the Bithynian kings already owned the districts of Greater Phrygia in which part of the Gauls settled; they were probably still nominally Seleucid. The part attributed by Strabo to the Attalid kings is improbable, as are the long wanderings of which he speaks. The settlement of the Gauls is fixed by the allusion to Mithridates to a date before 265 B.C. and at this time the Attalids still ruled only a small principality round Pergamum, and could by no stretch of imagination be conceived as giving away lands in Phrygia Major. Strabo is probably condensing the history of the Gauls to the detriment of accuracy, and confusing the original settlement of the Gauls in Galatia, in which the Attalids took no share, and the later suppression of their raids from Galatia, in which the Attalids played a conspicuous part.

The Gauls thus settled down in the parts of Greater Phrygia and Cappadocia round about the upper Sangarius and the middle Halys which were thenceforth known as Galatia. The country is not attractive; it is an arid treeless plateau, cold in winter and hot in summer. This fact in itself supports the theory that the Gauls did not choose it for themselves. No doubt, however, it suited them well enough. They were accustomed in their central European home to extremes of climate. They were, moreover, not an agricultural but a pastoral people—Polybius remarks that they ate nothing but meat—and the central plateau of Asia Minor is well suited to raising cattle. Finally, they had no intention of living on the produce of their own land. They made their livelihood by plunder, blackmail, and mercenary service, and their home was to them merely a head-quarters where they could leave their women and children and their accumulations of loot in safety while they were out on their raids. For this purpose the land they had chosen served admirably. The population of Phrygians and Cappadocians was docile and submissive, the district comparatively inaccessible, seeing that on the north it bordered on the territories of the friendly kings of Bithynia and Pontus, on the south on the virtually impenetrable salt desert around lake Tatta. At the same time they were not cut off from the outside world, having easy access to the regions they found it most profitable to raid, the rich lands of western Asia Minor. Incidentally it may be noted that their position was as advantageous to the kings of Bithynia and Pontus as it was to them, since they formed an effective barrier against Seleucid attacks on the two kingdoms. The Bithynian and Pontic kingdoms thus passed outside the Seleucid sphere altogether, and were able to develop unmolested behind the screen afforded by the Gauls. This fact supports the view that Nicomedes and Mithridates had something to do with the settlement of the Gauls in Galatia.<sup>1</sup>

The Gauls, settled in their new home, made their living, as has been said, by plundering, levying blackmail, and hiring themselves out as mercenaries. There were by this time three tribes—the Trocmi, the Tectosages, and the Tolistobogii or Tolistoagii. How or when the third tribe had arrived is not known, but it probably was the Tectosages, who are recorded to have taken part in the raid on Delphi, and therefore parted company with Brennus later than the other two. The Trocmi lived east of the Halys around the town of Tavium, on territory which had probably been granted them by Mithridates. The other two lived west

of the Halys around the upper waters of the Sangarius, the Tectosages around Ancyra, the Tolistobogii around Gordium and Pessinus. Each tribe had its own zone for plundering and levying tribute, the Trocmi the Hellespontine region, the Tolistobogii Aeolis and Ionia, the Tectosages the interior, by which is probably meant Phrygia and Lydia. The fact that the easternmost tribe, the Trocmi, raided the Hellespontine region shows that the activities of the Gauls were confined to western Asia Minor, which was indeed the only part worth raiding; no booty comparable with that of the flourishing cities of Lydia and the western seaboard was to be obtained from the barbarous Pisidian highlanders or the peasants of Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Pontus. Livy's statement that all Asia west of the Taurus was a prey to their raids is therefore probably somewhat exaggerated. But in the west they made their name a terror, and no city or dynast dared refuse them tribute. Antiochus I, it is true, inflicted a great defeat on them, in commemoration of which he took the title of Soter, but he did not crush them, and the later Seleucids, according to Livy, paid them tribute. The statement is confirmed by an inscription of Erythrae, which mentions a special tax collected by the Seleucid kings from the cities for the 'Galatica', no doubt the Danegeld they paid to the Gauls. The first dynast of Asia Minor to defy the Gauls was Attalus of Pergamum, who defeated the Tolistobogii, in whose zone his principality lay, at the sources of the Caicus in about 230 B.C., and the Tolistobogii and the Tectosages, aided by Antiochus Hierax—the Seleucids had thus sunk to the rather ignominious position of allies of the Gauls—near Pergamum itself in about 228 B.C. Attalus took the title of king in honour of the event, and forced the Gauls to form an alliance with himself, thus freeing himself from the payment of tribute. They were, however, still very imperfectly subdued, and when Antiochus the Great moved into Asia Minor and began to reconquer his ancestral kingdom, they deserted Attalus and fought as allies of Antiochus at Magnesia. This proved their undoing, for they thus incurred the displeasure of Rome. In 189 B.C. Gnaeus Manlius Volso invaded them in their own homes, and defeated them in two great battles with enormous slaughter. Polybius and Livy record the outburst of joy with which their conquest was greeted by all the cities of Asia Minor; Manlius was overwhelmed with embassies of congratulation offering him golden crowns, and the victory over Antiochus was quite thrown into the shade by the Galatian campaign. These demonstrations were well justified.

The reign of terror which had lasted nearly a century was now finally broken, and the Gauls sank into insignificance.<sup>2</sup>

The terror inspired by the Gauls during this period is a surprising phenomenon. They were in the first place very few in number. The original body which crossed under Lutarius and Lonorius numbered only twenty thousand souls, of which half were fighting-men, to which another ten thousand or so, including five thousand adult males, must be added for the third tribe. They cannot have increased very greatly in numbers during their sojourn in Asia Minor, for their natural increase, however high, would have been to a large extent counterbalanced by their losses by casualties in war or by emigration. Mercenary service must in particular have been a great drain on the population. We hear of Gallic troops in the pay of all the kings, and many of these adventurers never returned. Some remained permanently in the service of their employers; many Gauls for instance accepted grants of land in Egypt. Very many must have been killed, for they were reckless fighters, and moreover their employers generally put them in the forefront of the battle, caring little that their casualties should be high; for they were difficult troops to manage in peace time. The figures given by Livy of the killed and captured in Manlius' campaign—ten thousand killed and forty thousand captured for the Tolistobogii and Trocni and eight thousand killed for the Tectosages—include not only women and children but the Phrygian serfs and clients of the Gallic nobility. This is proved by the Phrygian names of the 'Galatian' slaves manumitted at Delphi during the succeeding years.<sup>3</sup>

In the second place their political organization, or rather their lack of it, was a great handicap to them. We never hear of the Gauls exerting their united strength. The tribes were, it is true, on friendly terms, as is shown by their amicable agreement to respect one another's plundering grounds, but they rarely co-operated. When Attalus defeated the Tolistobogii, it needed the diplomacy of Antiochus Hierax to induce the Tectosages to come to their support, and the Trocni maintained their neutrality. Even when Manlius marched upon them with the declared intention of rooting them out, no plans for a concerted defence were made. The Trocni, it is true, sent a force to support the Tolistobogii, but the Tectosages sat quietly looking on while Manlius crushed their kinsmen, and were then crushed in their turn. Even the tribes were very loosely knit bodies. Strabo gives a description of the political organization of the Gauls, which,



though it belongs to a very much later period, the beginning of the first century B.C., tallies with what little information we have about earlier conditions and is probably equally true of the third and second centuries. Each tribe was according to him divided into four tetrarchies. Each tetrarchy had its own tetrarch, and under him its judge, its military captain and his two lieutenants. The only link between the tetrarchies was the common council of the three tribes, a body of three hundred elders who met in a sacred oak grove, and its only function was to try capital cases; otherwise the tetrarchs had full authority over their tetrarchies. Livy and Polybius do not use the terms tetrarch or tetrarchy, but their narrative of Manlius' campaign fits in otherwise admirably with Strabo's description of the Galatian constitution. Only one of the Galatian kings or 'kinglets', as Livy calls them, a certain Eposognatus, had refused to ally himself with Antiochus III. He was evidently not king of a whole tribe, since all three tribes were equally involved in the guilt of having opposed the Romans, but seems to have been one among several kings of the Tolistobogii, for on Manlius' approach he begged him not to attack that tribe until he had tried to persuade its kings to submit. He failed in his mission and Manlius prepared to attack. At this point Livy remarks, 'At that time Ortiagon and Combulomarus and Gaulatas were kinglets of the three peoples'. As only the Tolistobogii are in question at the moment, it would appear that the rebellious section of this tribe consisted of three 'peoples' each under its 'kinglet', while a fourth 'kinglet', Eposognatus, with his 'people', remained neutral. Clearly then the *populus* of Livy corresponds with Strabo's tetrarchy, and his *regulus* with Strabo's tetrarch; it may be noted that Livy does not use the term *populus* to describe the tribe as a whole, for which he prefers *gens* or *civitas*. The account of the campaign against the Tectosages reveals a similar organization among them and also confirms Strabo's remarks about the council. The Tectosages, wishing to gain time and also if possible capture the person of the consul by treachery, entered into protracted negotiations for peace. They first asked for a parley between their kings and Manlius. This was arranged, but the kings failed to appear. A parley was then arranged between Attalus and the chief men of the tribe. This also proved ineffectual, because the Gallic nobles declared that they could make no final decision without the kings. It thus appears that the Tectosages like the Tolistobogii had several kings, and that the council of nobles had no executive power.<sup>4</sup>

The essential weakness of the Galatian constitution comes out in their history subsequent to 189 B.C. Before leaving Asia Manlius summoned their kings to the Hellespont and laid down the terms on which they were to keep the peace with Eumenes, the new master of Asia Minor, and warned them that they were to desist in future from their customary raids and keep within their own boundaries. A few years later Ortiagon, one of the Gallic kings, endeavoured to make himself master of all Galatia, and made war on Eumenes. He was crushed, and Galatia became virtually a Pergamene province. The dominance of the Attalids was resented by Pharnaces of Pontus, who having gained the support of two Gallic kings, Cassignatus and Gaizatorix, in 181 launched an army into Galatia. Eumenes promptly expelled the Pontic army and reduced the rebellious Gallic kings to obedience, and in the next year Pharnaces signed a treaty of peace, whereby he engaged not to interfere in Galatia and annulled the treaties he had made with the Gallic kings. For the next ten years Galatia remained quiet: then in 169 a new revolt broke out against Eumenes, and both sides appealed to Rome. Eumenes had now, owing to his attitude in the third Macedonian war, fallen out of favour, and the senate in 167 decided that the Gauls were to be free within their own borders. Eumenes still endeavoured to maintain his influence in Galatia, but the Gauls now found a new champion in Prusias of Bithynia, who encouraged them to make complaints to Rome, and himself denounced Eumenes' intrigues. The senate listened favourably to these complaints and the Attalid supremacy in Galatia was thus gradually undermined. The Gauls were, however, incapable of maintaining their independence. By 133 B.C. they must have been completely under the dominance of Pontus, for, when the Attalid kingdom was partitioned on the death of Attalus III, Mithridates V was granted Phrygia and for ten years actually ruled it. This he obviously could not have done had he not possessed a firm hold over the Gauls, for his only communications with Phrygia were through Galatia.<sup>5</sup>

The Pontic supremacy lapsed during the long minority of Mithridates VI, who later endeavoured to re-establish it in a characteristic manner by a treacherous massacre of the tetrarchs and their families. This massacre was the death blow of the old constitution. When Pompey reorganized Galatia after defeating Mithridates the nobility was so reduced in numbers that he appointed one prince, who still anomalously bore the title of

tetrarch, for each tribe, Brogitarus for the Troceni, Deiotarus for the Tolistobogii, and either Castor Tarcondarius or possibly his father for the Tectosages.<sup>6</sup>

The Gauls were a rustic people and had no taste for town life. Polybius gives a vivid description of the way of life of the Gauls of northern Italy: 'They lived', he says, 'in unwalled villages; they slept on straw and ate meat; their only occupations were fighting and agriculture, their only possessions cattle and gold.' Similar conditions prevailed in Galatia, for when the news of Manlius' advance came, the Gauls, we are told, collected their wives and children and movable property from their villages and retired for safety not to walled towns but to mountain tops. The district which they occupied was however by no means destitute of towns. Gordium and Ancyra are among the few towns of the interior of Asia Minor of whose existence we hear during the Persian period. Gordium is mentioned by Xenophon; it was there that the Athenian envoys to the Great King were detained by Cyrus the Younger in 408. Both towns were visited by Alexander; at Gordium he cut the famous Gordian Knot, and at Ancyra he received the submission of the Paphlagonians. Pessinus and Tavium are not heard of till later, but both probably already existed. These towns the Gauls seem to have left much to themselves. Pessinus was ruled by the high priests of the Mother of the Gods, for whose image and temple the city was famed. These high priests were independent dynasts, issuing their own coinage with the legend 'of the mother of the gods of Pessinus', and maintaining friendly relations with the Attalid kings; it was through the good offices of Attalus that the Romans in 205 B.C. procured the image of the goddess and conveyed it with its attendant priests to Rome; and the temple with its magnificent porticoes of white marble owed its splendour to the munificence of the Attalid kings. In 189 B.C. the priest-dynasts Attis and Battacus were independent of the Gauls, and on Manlius' approach they sent a deputation of priests to him to announce that the goddess had foretold his victory. In the following years they maintained their friendly relations with the Attalids, and fragments of the official correspondence between the Attis of the day and Eumenes II and Attalus II are preserved. In one of these letters a brother of Attis is mentioned named Aioiorix; the name is Galatian, and it thus appears that the high-priestly family had intermarried with the Gallic nobility. The same family long continued to rule Pessinus; another Battacus, priest of the great mother of the gods,

is mentioned about 100 B.C. It probably retained its position until in 58 B.C. Clodius passed a plebiscite deposing the reigning high priest and installing in his stead Brogitarus, tetrarch of the Trocni. Deiotarus, the tetrarch of the Tolistobogii, in whose territory the city lay, did not tolerate its occupation by a rival tetrarch, and ejected Brogitarus, and Pessinus thus fell into his power. It is noteworthy, however, that he did not make it his capital. He resided in the fortress of Blucium, and kept his treasury in another fortress, Peium, thus maintaining the rural habits of his ancestors.<sup>7</sup>

Little is known of the other towns. Livy in his account of Manlius' campaign speaks of Gordium as being not a large town but an important centre of trade. Manlius found it deserted by its inhabitants, but this does not imply that it was inhabited by Gauls, for many of the cities which Manlius occupied, Lagbe and Darsa in Pisidia, for instance, had been abandoned in terror on his approach. Livy also speaks of Ancyra as a notable city of the district; it was apparently still occupied, although the Tectosages in whose territory it lay had vacated their homes, and must therefore still have been a Phrygian town. In the first century B.C. Castor Tarcondarius, the tetrarch of the Tectosages, did not reside there but in the fortress of Gorbeus. Tavium in the territory of the Trocni issued its own coinage in the first century B.C. and must therefore have preserved its independence. These cities seem to have maintained their importance during the earlier period of the Gallic occupation. The Gauls brought a great deal of money into the country by way of plunder and tribute, and the towns of the region must have shared in the general prosperity; the Gauls had plenty of money to spend, and they presumably spent it in the market-towns of Pessinus, Gordium, Ancyra, and Tavium. When, however, they were confined to their own territory and were forced to live on the produce of their own land, the towns of their territory declined. Gordium had sunk by Strabo's day to a large village, and Ancyra he describes as merely a fortress. Pessinus and Tavium still remained commercial centres of some local importance. Tavium like Pessinus probably owed its survival to its being not only a market-town but also a religious centre; it possessed a sanctuary of Zeus with the right of asylum, and the colossal bronze statue of the god was famous.<sup>8</sup>

The history of Galatia for the twenty years which succeeded Pompey's settlement consists largely in the intrigues and murders of Deiotarus, who had set his heart upon ruling the whole country.

After many set-backs he eventually gained his ambition through Antony's favour after Caesar's death. On his death a few years later in 40 B.C. Antony granted the united tetrarchy of the Gauls to his grandson Castor, the son of his daughter and Castor Tarcondarius, both of whom he had murdered in the pursuit of his ambition. Castor died four years later, and Antony then granted Galatia, together with Lycaonia, Pisidia, and parts of Pamphylia to Amyntas, Deiotarus' secretary. Amyntas proved a good king and was confirmed in his kingdom by Augustus on Antony's fall. He was killed however five years later and his kingdom was annexed.<sup>9</sup>

The monarchy having been abolished the three Galatian tribes were organized as separate republics, their national unity being preserved only in a religious league, whose principal function was the worship of the emperor. The Gauls as a whole, and each tribe individually, received the title of Sebasteni in recognition of their loyalty to the imperial house, and the three tribes adopted as their era the year 25 B.C., in which they received their freedom, that is, their republican organization. That organization seems to have been on the lines of the ordinary city state; decrees passed by the council and people of the several tribes are recorded in the inscriptions and the normal magistracies are mentioned. The capitals of the three tribal republics were undoubtedly from the first the principal cities of the region, Tavium of the Troceni, Ancyra of the Tectosages, Pessinus of the Tolistobogii; an inscription of the Galatian league dating from the early first century mentions festivities of the tribes as being held at Ancyra and at Pessinus. From the wording of this inscription it is clear that at this date the tribe was the political unit. During the first and second centuries a gradual change of sentiment is observable in the official terminology of the coins and inscriptions. At first the republics style themselves merely the Sebasteni Troceni, the Sebasteni Tectosages, and the Sebasteni Tolistobogii, ignoring their cities. Then the city name is added to the tribal, and the official style becomes the Sebasteni Troceni Taviani and Sebasteni Tolistobogii Pessinuntii; similarly at Ancyra, where this stage is omitted in the coinage, dedications are made in the name of Sebaste Ancyra of the Tectosages. Finally, the tribal name drops out. Thus the notion of the tribe with its administrative capital was superseded by that of the city with its territory. The process was, it may be noted, more rapid at Ancyra than at remote Tavium, and most rapid at Pessinus, which had never sunk as

low as the other two towns and from the beginning played a more important part in the life of its tribe: as early as Claudius coins were issued in the name of Pessinus alone, though later some were struck in the name of the Sebasteni Tolistobogii Pessinuntii.<sup>10</sup>

It is not known whether the Phrygian and Cappadocian inhabitants of the towns had any part in the republics. At Pessinus they retained a position, and a superior position, in the management of the temple of the Mother of the Gods; in the board of ten priests who, with the high priest, governed the temple, the five senior places were reserved for the indigenous population, and the five junior for the Gauls. The priest had, however, now no secular power, and the respect paid to the vested interests of the old Phrygian families in their ancient temple does not imply that they had any share in the political life of the Galatian tribe whose capital Pessinus was. The dominance of the Galatian element comes out clearly in the above-mentioned inscription of the Galatian league, which records the benefactions of wealthy citizens to its festivities. Some of the benefactors, it is true, have Greek names, but the Galatian nobility had for some time now been at any rate superficially hellenized; already in the first century B.C. Castor and Amyntas had adopted Greek names. The inscription in question shows how quickly Celtic names were being discarded; Gaizatodiastus had called his son Amyntas, Albiorix, son of Aleporix, had named his Aristocles, and there is therefore no reason to doubt that Seleucus, son of Philodemus, Philonides, son of Philon, and so forth, were Gauls. What is more significant is the type of entertainment which they gave. A gymnastic contest is indeed mentioned, and the frequent donations of oil imply that the Gauls were adopting Greek athletic customs. But far more frequent than these concessions to Greek ideas are the public feasts, the bull-fights, the hunts of wild beasts, and the fights of gladiators which betray the primitive barbaric tastes of the Galatian aristocracy.<sup>11</sup>

By the second century the hellenization of the upper classes seems to have been fairly complete. Celtic names are no longer found, although some families still boasted of descent from tetrarchs, and we hear no more of bull-fights and wild-beast hunts. Only in the field of family law did ancient Celtic custom still survive; Gaius notes the survival among the Galatians of the ancient power of the father of the family to execute his children. The official language of the tribes was Greek from the first, and in all probability the upper classes soon abandoned Celtic for

Greek. Hellenization was, however, confined to the upper classes; and the peasantry long continued to speak their ancient language. Alexander, the magician of Abonuteichus, who flourished in the latter part of the second century, was embarrassed by Galatians putting questions to his oracle in their own language. Jerome records that the language was still spoken in his day, and notes that the dialect was akin to that of the Treveri in Gaul. It survived to the end of the fifth century at least. This is shown by a posthumous miracle of St. Euthymius, who died in A.D. 487. A Galatian monk had been struck dumb; he was cured by the saint, but at first, says the chronicler, he could not speak save in his own language.<sup>12</sup>

The territories of the republics naturally corresponded with those occupied by the tribes, and were thus for city territories very large. That of the Trocmi extended westwards to the Halys, which is mentioned on their coins. To the north it touched that of Amaseia, to the south Cappadocia. Tavium retained this territory, or the greater part of it, down to Byzantine times. The only other city which might be placed in this area is Verinopolis, which is not mentioned by Hierocles, but must from its name have been founded between A.D. 457 and 491. Verinopolis has on rather slender grounds been identified with Evagina, about thirty miles east of Tavium. Evagina has, once again on slender grounds, been identified with the fortress of Mithridatium given by Pompey to Brogitarus, tetrarch of the Trocmi. In that case Evagina may have been incorporated in the territory of the Trocmi, or, perhaps more probably, may have been regarded as the royal land of Brogitarus and thus passed into the royal lands of Deiotarus, Castor, and Amyntas, and eventually become public land of the Roman people. Verinopolis would then, on this last supposition, not have been a village detached from the territory of Tavium, but a 'region' of public land raised to city rank.<sup>13</sup>

The territory of the Tectosages was also very extensive. To the north it was bounded by the territory of Gangra and the 'region' of Mnizus, both placed by Ptolemy in Paphlagonia, on the east by the Halys. To the south it extended as far as the north end of Lake Tatta, where it was contiguous with Cappadocia. In this direction it included Aspona, where Ancyra set up a dedication to Salonina. Aspona was later made into an independent city; it already had been promoted in A.D. 333, when it is recorded as a city in the Jerusalem Itinerary.<sup>14</sup>

The boundary between the Tectosages and the Tolistobogii

cannot be fixed. The western boundary of the Tolistobogii is on the other hand fairly certain. It must have run not far west of Pessinus, for the Trocnades and Amorium were both in Asia, and the territory of Nacoleia, also in Asia, included Orcistus. To the north the territory of the Tolistobogii included Germa and also the valley of the Tembris, thus touching Bithynia. How far south it extended into the Axylon is not known.<sup>15</sup>

The territories of these two tribes probably incorporated large tracts of land which had been the estates of the tetrarchs and on the death of Amyntas lapsed to the Roman people. The colony of Germa, founded by Domitian, was perhaps endowed with one of these tracts of public land. The cities of Eudoxias, founded by one of the emperors of the Theodosian house, and of Palia, raised to city rank and styled Justinianopolis by Justinian, perhaps represent others. Another, the 'region' of Myrcia, was still public land in the sixth century.<sup>16</sup>

The invasion of the Gauls had a profound effect on the political and social development of central Asia Minor. For two and a half centuries it held up the development of city institutions, almost destroying the flourishing centres of urban life which had existed in the Persian period. Under the principate three of the towns were revived by making them the centres of the tribal life, and a certain rather limited commercial importance was restored to them by the construction of the military roads which led through them from the Aegean and Propontic ports to the Armenian frontier. The three towns remained, however, mere islands of urban life in their vast territories, where the Gallic and Phrygian peasants still maintained their primitive village economy, hardly affected by Greek civilization. It was only when Constantinople became the capital of the empire and the main road to the east ran through Galatia that urban life began to flourish again and some of the Galatian villages began to grow into towns, eventually to become separate cities.



## V. PAMPHYLIA, PISIDIA, AND LYCAONIA

**T**HE Greek origin of the Pamphylians is well attested alike by tradition and archaeology. The tradition has come down in various forms which are not consistent in detail. According to Herodotus, Amphilocheus and Calchas led a mixed multitude of peoples who had fought in the Trojan war to new homes on the south coast of Asia Minor. An older authority, Callinus, declared that Calchas died at Clarus, and it was Mopsus who led the host over the Taurus. The latter view is supported by Theopompus, who adds that Mopsus called the country Pamphylia after one of his daughters. Local tradition supported Herodotus, at least one city claiming Calchas as its founder. On general lines, however, the traditions were in accord, that the Pamphylians were Greek immigrants who colonized the country in the troubled period after the Trojan war. With this conclusion the archaeological evidence agrees. The Pamphylian dialect, as revealed by the coins and inscriptions, is like Cypriot closely allied to Arcadian, the speech of the pre-Dorian inhabitants of the Peloponnese. The migration must therefore have taken place before or during the Dorian invasions.<sup>1</sup>

The settlers founded a number of cities on the coastal plain; Scylax mentions Olbia, Magydus, Perge, Aspendus, Sillyum, and Side. Of these the two most important were Aspendus and Side, both of which issued their own silver coinage from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Both definitely claimed to be Greek colonies. The Aspendians' claim to Argive origin is first explicitly stated, in the literature which has survived, by Strabo, but it is implicit in Arrian's account of Alexander's dealings with the city. Alexander condemned it, as a penalty for contumacious resistance, to obey his satrap and pay tribute for a limited term, and this implies that otherwise it would have been free and immune, a status granted only to Greek cities. Side's claim to Greek origin can be traced even further back; it is mentioned not only by Arrian, who presumably derived his information from a source contemporary with Alexander, but by Scylax, a generation earlier. The story given by Arrian is peculiar. It is that Side was founded by colonists from Aeolian Cyme, who on their arrival immediately forgot Greek and began to talk a barbarian tongue, which was not however that of their barbarian neighbours but peculiar to the

city; the latter part of the legend is curiously confirmed by the early coinage of Side, which is not, like that of Aspendus, inscribed in a variety of the Greek alphabet, but bears mysterious symbols which have hitherto proved undecipherable. The claim of Side to Greek origin is therefore, despite its antiquity, very dubious. The legend, however, does indicate that the people of Side were foreign immigrants, and they may well have arrived with the Pamphylians, who were, as their name implies, a mixed multitude. It is even possible that they came from Aeolian Cyme, but were not drawn from the Greek colonists of that city, but belonged to the aboriginal population which these colonists expelled. A similar migration of the aboriginal Lelegian population of the Ionian cities is recorded in Greek legend.<sup>2</sup>

The autonomous coinage of Aspendus and Side shows that the larger Pamphylian cities at any rate enjoyed considerable freedom under the Persians. Arrian's detailed account of Alexander's negotiations with the Aspendians throws further light on the conditions prevailing in the fourth century. Aspendus was evidently a republic: the tribute which it paid to the satrap was levied by the city authorities: and it possessed a regularly delimited territory. The last fact emerges from the last clause of Alexander's ultimatum, that the Aspendians should submit to trial respecting the lands alleged to have been forcibly seized from their neighbours. This clause further implies that the Persian suzerainty was laxly enforced, since frontier wars between subject communities could occur, and that Pamphylia consisted entirely of city territories; the encroachments of the Aspendians were at the expense of other cities and not of royal land.<sup>3</sup>

The mountainous country behind Pamphylia was inhabited by two barbarian peoples, the Milyae to the west and the Pisidians to the east, who had no doubt before the Pamphylian immigration occupied the coast also. The Pisidians were a warlike and unruly people, and if they had ever been subject to the Persians they had ceased to be so by the end of the fifth century. The ostensible object of Cyrus the younger in enlisting the Ten Thousand was a punitive expedition against the Pisidians, who raided his satrapy of Greater Phrygia, and Xenophon on several occasions speaks of them as a notorious example of successful rebellion against Persia. Of internal conditions in Pisidia we know practically nothing till the time of Alexander and Antigonus. From the accounts of their campaigns in Arrian and Diodorus it appears that the Pisidians were, at any rate in the southern part of the country, adjacent to

Pamphylia, organized in city republics of a rather rudimentary type, no doubt under Greek influence. The Termessians put up a spirited resistance to Alexander and later to Antigonus; in the latter campaign, the elders, who were evidently the governing body, prudently made submission, but the fighting-men refused to ratify the surrender and fought to a finish. This indicates that the constitution of the city, if it can be so called, was of a loose tribal character. The Selgians, who were the bitter rivals of the Termessians, made their submission to Alexander. They seem to have been the most civilized Pisidian community; they issued a silver coinage modelled on that of Aspendus from the middle of the fourth century, and had by the middle of the third century put forward a claim to Greek origin, alleging that they were colonists of the Lacedaemonians, and even a foundation of Calchas himself. The Greeks, however, refused to accept this legend, firmly classing them as Pisidian barbarians, and they were certainly right; Selge lies too far inland to have been a Greek colony. The Etenneis or Catenneis, who lived inland of Side, were also an organized community and under strong Greek influence, as is shown by their coinage, which begins towards the middle of the fourth century. The only city of northern Pisidia mentioned at this date is Sagalassus, which defied Alexander, but was captured; it was later, like Selge, to claim Lacedaemonian origin, with even less justification.<sup>4</sup>

One other city is mentioned by Diodorus in his account of Antigonus' campaign against Termessus: it bears the curious name of Cretopolis. It is heard of only once again, about a century later, in Polybius' story of Garsyeris' attack on Selge, but it is probably to be identified with the community of the Ceraitae which issued coins in the first century B.C.; for there was a city in Crete whose people called themselves the Ceraitae. It has been inferred from these facts that Cretopolis was a military colony of Cretans planted by Alexander. It is, however, curious that Arrian says nothing about such a colony in his detailed account of Alexander's operations in Pamphylia and Pisidia, and, in view of the common tendency of Pisidian communities to claim Greek ancestry, it seems more likely that the accidental resemblance of the names of two cities in Crete and Pisidia was seized upon by the Pisidian city as evidence of Hellenic origin, and the supposed relationship emphasized by changing the name of the city to Cretopolis, the city of the Cretans.<sup>5</sup>

It is very doubtful whether it is justifiable to generalize from

these special cases. According to Arrian, Alexander after storming Sagalassus 'moved against the other Pisidians and captured some of their forts by storm and reduced others by agreement'. Strabo, speaking of a far later period, regards Selge as exceptional for her well-developed constitution, and declares that the other Pisidians were 'divided into tyrannies'. It is therefore probable that the mass of the Pisidians lived in loosely organized tribal or village units, ruled by chieftains. Even with the better organized communities it is often difficult to say whether they should be described as cities or tribes. The Etenneis are for instance spoken of by Polybius and Strabo in terms which suggest a tribe rather than a city; they inhabit 'the mountainous part of Pisidia above Side'. There was no doubt a town of Etenna, but it was rather the fortified stronghold and place of refuge of the tribe than a city.<sup>6</sup>

North-east of the Pisidians, across the main range of the Taurus, lived the Isaurians. They are first mentioned in history shortly after Alexander's death, when they rebelled against Balacrus, the Macedonian satrap of Cilicia; Perdicas shortly afterwards subdued them and stormed their city, Isaura. Diodorus speaks of them as if they were a city state, but we know from Strabo that even in the first century B.C. they had not achieved that degree of organization. They were like the Etenneis a tribe, living in scattered villages with a central fortified stronghold.<sup>7</sup>

North and east of the Isaurians, along the northern foothills of the Cilician Taurus, lived the Lycaonians. Like the Pisidians they were an independent-spirited people, and, though not protected like them by impenetrable mountain barriers, paid very little attention to their nominal overlords the Persians, raiding the plain which stretches northwards from the Taurus to Lake Tatta; Xenophon mentions the boldness with which they occupied the steep hills standing out of the plain and cultivated the neighbouring ground in defiance of its nominal owners. The Persians do not seem to have troubled about this barren and unattractive country, which towards the north degenerates into a treeless salt desert, and allowed it to be occupied by the Lycaonians; Cyrus treated it as a hostile country and allowed his troops to plunder.

The social organization of the Lycaonians was probably similar to that of the Pisidians. One of their communities, the Larandeis on the northern edge of the Taurus, took part in the Isaurian revolt against Balacrus, and were subdued and their city stormed

by Perdiccas. The only other town of the region mentioned in early times, Iconium, was at this date not reckoned as Lycaonian. It was, according to Xenophon, the frontier town of the satrapy of Greater Phrygia, and its ethnical affinities were apparently also Phrygian rather than Lycaonian, for its legends are connected with Nannacus, a mythical Phrygian king. It claimed in later times a vast antiquity, having been, it was alleged, founded by Perseus or even Prometheus. Both legends are, however, based on the Greek derivation of Iconium from *eikon*, an image—Perseus named it after the image, the Gorgon's head, which he left there, Prometheus from the clay images of men with which he repopulated the earth after the flood—and are not therefore any proof of the antiquity of the town.<sup>8</sup>

After the death of Lysimachus all the regions discussed above passed, at any rate in name, into the hands of the Seleucids. The Ptolemies indeed claimed Pamphylia; Theocritus names the Pamphylians among the subjects of Ptolemy II and the Adulis inscription counts Pamphylia among the conquests of Ptolemy III. Actually, the only substantial evidence of Ptolemaic rule is an inscription of Aspendus, which admits certain mercenaries to citizenship for their good services to the city and to king Ptolemy—apparently Soter, for Leonidas, one of the captains of the mercenaries, is known to have served under him. The Adulis inscription shows that Ptolemy II did not long preserve his father's conquests. Nor was Ptolemy III's reconquest lasting; not a trace of Ptolemaic suzerainty is found in Polybius' narrative of Achaeus' campaign in Pamphylia in 217.<sup>9</sup>

Over most of the region Seleucid rule was very shadowy. Lycaonia they must have controlled, for their only line of communication with western Asia Minor lay through it. The only trace of their rule, however, is the colony of Laodicea, called Catacecaumene or the Burnt, north of Iconium and thus properly speaking in Phrygia rather than Lycaonia. Pisidia they hardly attempted to control: all they did was to secure their military road along its northern frontier by a series of colonies. Only one of these, Seleucia, called Sidera or the Iron, was in Pisidia proper. The others, Apollonia and Antioch, were in the bordering district of Phrygia. We know that Nicator founded Apollonia; the others were probably built about the same time by him or by his son, Antiochus I. Neither Apollonia nor Antioch were new creations. The old name of Apollonia, Mordiaem or Margium, is preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium. There was a great temple of Men

at Antioch which down to 25 B.C. owned extensive sacred lands, and the town was probably therefore originally a temple village, ruled by the priests of Men. Antioch was certainly a genuine colony; the colonists were Greeks, drafted from Magnesia on the Maeander. Apollonia was probably also a genuine colony, and the colonists were perhaps Lycians and Thracians drawn from Seleucus' mercenaries. The evidence for this is, however, very uncertain. A city called Seleucia is recorded in Pamphylia, but it was probably only the dynastic name of one of the old cities.<sup>10</sup>

In inner Pisidia there is no trace of Seleucid rule. By 220 at any rate the Pisidians were quite independent, for in that year Achaeus employed the army he had intended to use against his overlord, Antiochus III, in a punitive expedition against them. Shortly afterwards the mutual feuds of the Pisidians gave him an opportunity for intervening in the south. The Pednelisseis, who were being besieged by the Selgians, appealed for aid to him. He sent one of his generals, Garsyeris, to relieve the city and do what he could to increase his influence in the region. Garsyeris formed alliances with various Pisidian and Pamphylian cities, including Side and the Etenneis; only Aspendus refused to aid him, more from hatred of Side, according to Polybius, than from loyalty to its nominal overlord King Antiochus. The Selgians were alarmed, and, holding an assembly, elected one of their prominent citizens, Logbasis, to treat for peace. Logbasis betrayed his trust and promised to deliver his city to Achaeus, who now took command in person; but despite his treachery the Selgians succeeded in beating off the attack and preserved their independence in return for an indemnity of seven hundred talents. Achaeus subdued the Milyas and most of Pamphylia.<sup>11</sup>

Not long afterwards Achaeus was conquered by Antiochus III. The Pamphylian cities seem to have transferred their allegiance to him, for in his campaign of 197 no city is recorded to have resisted him between Coracesium of Cilicia and Phaselis of Lycia. The Pisidians, however, seized the opportunity to revolt, and as late as 193 the Pisidians of the neighbourhood of Side, that is presumably the Etenneis, were still defying him.<sup>12</sup>

After the battle of Magnesia Antiochus had to surrender all his dominions north of the Taurus. The greater part of them, including Lycaonia and Pisidia, were assigned by the senate to Eumenes of Pergamum. Pamphylia was not mentioned in the decree of the senate partitioning the spoils, and was therefore at

this date presumably regarded as south of the Taurus. The Consul Gnaeus Manlius, however, took a different view. When near Lagbe on his march to subdue the Gauls he received an appeal for aid from the people of Isinda, which was being besieged by the Termessians. He marched upon Isinda and relieved it, but upon payment of fifty talents made peace with Termessus. He then, having received the submission of Aspendus and the other cities of Pamphylia, resumed his march northwards, capturing Cormasa and accepting the surrender of Lysinia on his way, and ravaging the territory of the Sagalassians, who in alarm offered submission, and obtained peace for a payment of fifty talents. When he had reached Galatia a delegation from the Oroandeis, another Pisidian people, approached him, offering their submission, which was accepted on payment of two hundred talents. On his return from the Galatian campaign Manlius ordered the commander of the Seleucid garrison of Perge to evacuate the city. Eumenes now claimed that Pamphylia ought to be granted to him, seeing that it was taken from Antiochus. The matter was referred to the senate, who went back on their former opinion and adjudged Pamphylia to Eumenes.<sup>13</sup>

The value of the gift was considerably diminished by the fact that most of the principal cities had been recognized as free by Manlius, and were therefore excluded from Eumenes' dominions. We know this from the fact that the Pamphylians sent an independent delegation to Rome in 168 B.C. offering a crown of twenty thousand gold staters. Which cities precisely were free it is more difficult to say. Aspendus, Side, Sillyum, and perhaps Perge began to issue their own coinage from this date, and the three first of these boasted later, on their imperial coins, of being friends and allies of the Romans. The freedom of Aspendus, Side, and Sillyum is therefore certain; that of Perge is more doubtful, particularly as it did not make its submission voluntarily with the rest, being then still garrisoned by Antiochus. Be that as it may, practically all the important ports of Pamphylia were outside the Attalid kingdom. This state of affairs was remedied later by Attalus Philadelphus, who either during his co-regency with his brother (165-159) or during his own reign (159-138) built a new port, Attaleia, west of Perge. It is not known whether this city was an entirely new foundation, or had existed previously under another name, nor in the former case to whom the piece of coast on which it lay had previously belonged, but it may be noted that Olbia, which Scylax mentions as one of the principal cities of the

coast, later sank into insignificance; Strabo calls it merely a large fortress, and in Byzantine times it was a village commune. It is possible therefore that Attalus confiscated a large part of its territory, and perhaps moved some of its population to his new foundation. The Attalians on their imperial coins claim kinship with the Athenians. This may indicate that Attalus, who was always on cordial terms with Athens, persuaded the Athenians to send colonists to his new foundation. It may, on the other hand, merely mean that the Pamphylian population had some legendary connexion with Athens, as Side had with Cyme, Aspendus with Argos, and Selge with Lacedaemon.<sup>14</sup>

In the interior there were a few cities exempted from Pergamene rule. Antioch was, according to Strabo, declared free by the Romans. It is not known whether the various cities and tribes whose submission Manlius accepted, Termessus, Sagalassus, Lysinia, and the Oroandeis were treated as free cities. Sagalassus under the empire boasted, like the Pamphylian cities, that she was a friend and ally of the Roman people. Termessus, on the other hand, was declared free by a plebiscite of 70 B.C.; this plebiscite may, however, merely have confirmed an ancient privilege which had lapsed. Selge continued to issue an autonomous coinage, as she had done throughout the third century, and is recorded to have fought a war with the Attalid kings; she may therefore, as she alleged, never have lost her freedom to any conqueror.<sup>15</sup>

We possess one very illuminating document illustrating the political conditions of Pisidia under the Attalids. It is a letter from Attalus, the co-regent of Eumenes II, to Amblada, a city of north-eastern Pisidia now heard of for the first time. The address of the letter 'to the elders and city of the Amladeis' shows that republican institutions were still rudimentary in the more backward Pisidian communities; Amblada possessed no regularly constituted 'magistrates, council, and people', but was still like Termessus in the fourth century ruled by its elders. The text of the letter is equally informative. Attalus remits the fine and releases the hostages which he had exacted as a penalty for the defection of the city in the Gallic war, and furthermore lowers the regular tribute from two to one and a half talents. This shows that the Attalids made no attempt to introduce a centralized administration into Pisidia or to levy specific taxes, but contented themselves with enforcing their suzerainty on the communities, maintaining it by communal fines and hostages, and levying a



lump sum of tribute from each community. The names of the Ambladian delegates who obtained these favours from the regent were Oprasates and Nalagloas, a fact which makes one sceptical of the Lacedaemonian descent later claimed by the city.<sup>16</sup>

When Attalus III bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people, the senate did not think it worth while to annex his poor and unruly eastern provinces; instead it generously gave them to neighbouring kings. Lycaonia was granted to Cappadocia; nothing is said of the fate of Pisidia and Pamphylia in our very inadequate authority, Justin, but they are probably what is meant by 'Cilicia', which was, according to him, also granted to Cappadocia. Cilicia proper had never belonged to the Attalids, and did not therefore now come into question. Justin's mistake is probably due to the fact that the Roman province of Cilicia which was formed shortly afterwards consisted of Pisidia and Pamphylia.<sup>17</sup>

Whether the Pisidians and Pamphylians were handed over to Cappadocia or 'freed', the result was the same. Cappadocia was in any case, after the death of her last able king, Ariarathes V, too weak to enforce her authority, and anarchy prevailed. Piracy was at this date beginning to flourish, and Pamphylia and Pisidia, with the neighbouring district of Cilicia Tracheia, where Seleucid authority had long collapsed, formed an ideal head-quarters for the business. Side became the central dockyard and slave market of the pirates, and throughout the country pirate chiefs established petty principalities. At length the nuisance became intolerable, and Rome about 100 B.C. established 'the province of Cilicia' to deal with it. This seems to have been rather a standing military command to deal with the pirates, who were generally called Cilicians, than a regular territorial province. The regions which came under the authority of the governor were according to Cicero in 80 B.C., Lycia (although the Lycians were at this date nominally a free people), Pamphylia, Pisidia, Phrygia (probably only those parts adjacent to Pisidia), and the Milyad. This last is spoken of not only by Cicero but also in an official document which he quotes as 'commune Milyadum', and must therefore have been at this time organized as a tribal federation. The first governor who seems to have taken his task seriously was Servilius Isauricus. He is recorded to have carried out two campaigns. With the aid of the Lycians he crushed the pirate king Zenicetes, whose stronghold was at Corycus and who ruled the cities of Olympus, Phaselis, and in Pamphylia Attaleia. All three cities

were mulcted of their lands, which became public land of the Roman people. His other achievement, from which he took his honorary cognomen, was the conquest of the Isaurians. In this campaign he seems to have subdued several other neighbouring tribes, amongst them the Oroandais, whose territory he confiscated. Besides the *ager Oroandicus*, Cicero mentions two other regions, the *ager Agerensis* and the *ager Gedusanus*, which Servilius added to the public lands of the Roman people. Both names are otherwise unknown and appear to be corrupt. It is probable that these regions lay in the neighbourhood of Isauria, for no campaigns other than those against Zenicetes and against the Isaurians are attributed to Servilius.<sup>18</sup>

During the period a fair number of cities in Pisidia began to coin. They are mostly already familiar—Antioch, Seleucia, Termessus, Sagalassus, Etenna, Isinda, Amblada, Ceraea, besides of course Selge. Others now make their first appearance in history—Adada, Prostanna, Parlais, Comama, and Cremna; the last often issued a joint coinage with the Ceraitae, and seems eventually to have absorbed them, for they disappear shortly afterwards. Artemidorus, who wrote an account of Pisidia at the beginning of the first century, gives a rather different list of the cities which he considered important in his day. It includes Selge, Sagalassus, Termessus, Amblada, Pednelissus, Adada, and Cremna, and also some names hitherto unknown, Aarassus (probably the later Ariassus), Pityassus (probably the later Tityassus), Timbriada, Anabura, and Tarbassus; the last is otherwise unknown.<sup>19</sup>

Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia remained part of the Roman province of Cilicia until, in 36 B.C., Antony gave them to Amyntas, whom he made king of Galatia in that year. It was a wise step. After years of virtual anarchy these regions needed a strong hand to control them, and a vigorous king like Amyntas was more likely to make his authority felt than a succession of ephemeral Roman governors. Augustus six years later showed his approval by not only confirming Amyntas in his kingdom but adding to it Cilicia Tracheia. Amyntas found many parts of his kingdom in open revolt and had virtually to conquer it for himself. He stormed many cities which had hitherto resisted the authority of the Romans, including Cremna, and crushed Antipater, a brigand chief whom the Romans had allowed to rule a little principality in southern Lycaonia including Laranda and Derbe. He then subdued the Homonadeis but was treacherously killed by their chieftain's wife.<sup>20</sup>

On Amyntas' death the greater part of his dominions were

annexed and formed into the province of Galatia. The central part of Cilicia Tracheia was granted to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia—the eastern part had never belonged to Amyntas but was ruled by princes of the Teucid house of Olba. The fate of the western part of Cilicia and of Pamphylia is uncertain. Cassius Dio states that Galatia and Lycaonia received their own governor, and that the parts of Pamphylia which Amyntas had ruled were reunited with their own province. He thus ignores Pisidia; it certainly formed part of the province of Galatia, for Strabo, a contemporary authority, mentions that Selge and Sagalassus were in the province. Dio is also probably wrong about Pamphylia, for Pliny mentions the Attalenses in his list of the Galatian communities, a list which as we shall see dates from the inception of the province. Pamphylia was probably not detached till A.D. 43 when Claudius took away their freedom from the Lycians, and, according to Dio, added them to the province of Pamphylia. Later the Lycians were freed, probably by Nero during the latter part of his reign, and in 69 Galba put Galatia and Pamphylia under one governor. Vespasian finally took their freedom from the Lycians and reunited Lycia and Pamphylia. This province included the western part of Cilicia Tracheia, which had probably followed the fortunes of Pamphylia throughout all these changes, and much of Pisidia. Meanwhile Galatia had gradually acquired more territory on the north and north-east, Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus, and Pontus Polemoniacus. These districts together with what remained of the original province of Galatia Vespasian united with Cappadocia and the newly annexed Armenia Minor. This arrangement lasted till the latter years of Trajan, who bisected Vespasian's province, leaving only Paphlagonia in its Galatian half. Gaius or Claudius detached southern Lycaonia from Galatia and granted it to Antiochus IV, king of Cilicia Tracheia. On Antiochus' deposition this district was reunited with Galatia, but retained its individuality as Lycaonia Antiochiana. Under Trajan's arrangements it was apparently attached to Cappadocia, till, late in his reign, Antoninus Pius assigned it with Isauria to Cilicia.<sup>21</sup>

Pliny, evidently quoting from official statistics, states that there were one hundred and ninety-five 'peoples and tetrarchies' in Galatia, and a few sentences later gives a short list of Galatian communities, arranged in alphabetical order, which probably comes from the same official source. The date of this official source can be fixed with some precision by internal evidence.

When Augustus annexed the kingdom it seems to have been, despite the violent circumstances in which Amyntas met his end, comparatively well pacified; at any rate no fighting was required. A military colony was, however, planted at Antioch as a precaution. The date of the colonization of Antioch can be fixed with tolerable certainty by the statement of Strabo that the commissioners who took up Amyntas' inheritance secularized the sacred lands of the temple of Men, for it was probably on these lands that the Roman colonists were planted. The Homonadeis were for the time being left unpunished. It was not until about 6 B.C. that Quirinius was appointed governor with orders to subdue them, which he did with great thoroughness, transplanting four thousand of their fighting men into neighbouring cities and leaving the country almost destitute of adult males. In connexion with this campaign, that is in 6 B.C., five more military colonies were planted round about the Homonadeis and in the other turbulent parts of Pisidia, at Lystra, Parlais, Olbasa, Comama, and Cremna. Now Pliny, who normally notes Roman colonies very carefully, mentions only that of Antioch. Moreover he includes the Lystreni and the Comamenses—according to the generally accepted emendation of the text, which gives 'Comenses'—among the ordinary native communities of Galatia. The official list which he used must, therefore, have been drawn up between 25 and 6 B.C. and almost certainly dates from the annexation. The only objection to this view is that a people called the Sebasteni figure in his list, and the only Sebastea known to have ever belonged to the province is that of Pontus Polemoniachus, finally annexed in A.D. 64 though possibly temporarily annexed in 3 B.C., from which year it dates its era. It is, however, quite possible that some other city of Galatia may have borne the temporary title of Sebastea. It is even conceivable that Pliny, reading Sebasteni Trocmi or one of the other Galatian tribes in his list, took the honorific title for a separate community.<sup>22</sup>

Pliny's statement gives us some valuable information on the political conditions of the early province. It shows that the political development of central Asia Minor was still backward; side by side with the self-governing communities there still survived many little principalities. It shows further that besides the cities which coined there must have been very many other communities which did not, whether they were cities, tribes, villages, or petty principalities. In Galatia proper there were, so far as we know, only three communities, the three Celtic tribes. The remaining

one hundred and ninety-two communities of Galatia must all be found in Lycaonia, Isauria, Pisidia, Pamphylia, and the part of Cilicia Tracheia attached to Pamphylia. From the coins we know of less than sixty cities in these regions. One must beware then of over-simplifying the political map of the province.

The part of Lycaonia attached by Antoninus Pius to Cilicia was organized by him as a separate league. Its metropolis was Laranda, still as in the fourth century B.C. the chief city of Lycaonia proper. Six other members issued coins, Barata, Dalisandus, Derbe—or Claudioderbe as it was now styled, Hyde, Ilistra, and Savatra. There were other members which did not coin. Cana, between Savatra and Hyde, and Sidamarium, south of Hyde, are proved by inscriptions to have been cities, and Pliny's official list contains one community, the Thebaseni, which lay in this district, east of Hyde. In the part of Lycaonia which remained in Galatia three cities issued coins, the Augustan colony of Lystra, Iconium, and Laodicea. The two latter both received the honorary prefix of Claudio-, and Iconium was raised to colonial rank by Hadrian. There were probably several other cities in the northern part of Lycaonia; there is epigraphic evidence of two, Cinna and Perta.<sup>23</sup>

Hierocles records many more cities than these. On the northern frontier he gives, besides Cinna and Perta, Petnissus, a town mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy. In the central plain he records Laodicea and Iconium, and in the south he gives all the cities which issued coins under the principate and Cana, and also another city, Corna; both the new cities are recorded by Ptolemy and both were bishoprics in A.D. 381. He does not record either Thebasa or Sidamarium. The later Notitiae, however, record Thebasa, apparently in place of Hyde, which they omit. This suggests that Thebasa had been attached to Hyde, but later became the more important of the two. Sidamarium must similarly have been attached to Hyde and later to Thebasa. Thus in this instance three cities of the Roman period were amalgamated into one Byzantine city. If this was the general tendency in Lycaonia, it may be assumed not only that the cities of Hierocles' list all existed in the Roman period but that there had then been many more cities, which had been absorbed by the Byzantine period. The Notitiae in several instances confirm this conclusion. The earliest of them, that of Epiphanius, adds the name Posala as a note on Derbe. The bishopric therefore consisted of two towns, which probably, like Hyde and Thebasa, had once been separate cities; Posala had its own bishop at the council of Constantinople;

in the later Notitiae it supersedes Derbe. The Notitia of Epiphanius similarly adds Pyrgi and Rhoina as a note to Ilistra; Pyrgi later became a separate bishopric.

The Byzantine authorities mention two cities in Lycaonia which seem to be new creations, Eudocias and Verinopolis, whose native names were Gdammaua and Psibela respectively. Gdammaua is styled on two inscriptions an estate. It was already a bishopric in the early fourth century, and was presumably raised to city rank between 421 and 443; it is recorded by Hierocles under its native name. Verinopolis must have been founded between 457 and 479. It is not mentioned by Hierocles but I suggest that it is represented by the mysterious and apparently corrupt item 'Rignon' at the end of Hierocles' list, which seems to contain the word 'regio'. If this is so, Hierocles was merely, as in many other cases, out of date in his information; this 'region' of public land had already received city status in his day, just as the 'region' of Lagania had already become the city of Anastasiopolis. Eudocias and Verinopolis lay in the steppe west of Lake Tatta, between Petnissus and Cinna on the north and Savatra and Perta on the south. In this district Strabo records that Amyntas kept three hundred herds of cattle; it must therefore have been royal land. On the annexation of Amyntas' kingdom it became public land, and finally in the Byzantine period the two regions into which it was divided were constituted as cities.<sup>24</sup>

Adjacent to Lycaonia on the south-west lived three tribes, the Oroandeis, the Homonadeis and the Isaurians. They were all three uncivilized and turbulent peoples, and had all given trouble to the Roman government. Servilius Isauricus had subdued the Isaurians and the Oroandeis, and confiscated the territory of the latter in 78 B.C. Amyntas had been killed while trying to subdue the Homonadeis, and Quirinius had crushed them about 6 B.C. The Oroandeis lived east of Lake Caralis. Their territory contained, according to Ptolemy, two towns, Pappa and Misthia. Pappa under the principate struck coins; its official style on these coins, the Tiberieis Pappeni, given more fully on an inscription as Tiberiopolitae Pappeni Orondeis, shows that the town owed its city rank to Tiberius. Misthia did not coin, but in an inscription styles itself Claudiocaesareis Misteani Orondeis; it was evidently promoted by Claudius. Another inscription at Pappa records the honours bestowed on an eminent citizen by 'the community of the Orondeis and the council and people'. The community of the Orondeis were perhaps the inhabitants of

the public land, for a part of the *ager Oroandicus* was still ruled by an imperial procurator in the later principate. Hierocles records besides Pappa and Misthia another city, Sinethandus, which probably had been part of the *ager Oroandicus*; it lay a few miles east of Pappa. It is possible also that the city of Atenia, near the north-east corner of Lake Caralis, which Hierocles records, may have been part of the same *ager Oroandicus*. Another possibility is that *Agerensis* in the text of Cicero should be corrected to *Ateniensis*, and that Atenia represents the lands confiscated by Servilius from another tribe, the neighbours of the Oroandeis.<sup>25</sup>

South-east of Lake Caralis lay two cities, Amblada and Vasada. Amblada was of some antiquity; it was already an important city under the Attalids, is mentioned among the chief cities of the Pisidians by Artemidorus and issued coins in the first century B.C. It continued to issue coins under the principate. Vasada is mentioned as a town in the Attalid period. It issued no coins, but inscriptions prove that it was a city in the principate. The territories of the cities did not perhaps occupy the whole area south of Lake Caralis. An inscription reveals the existence of another community, 'the people of the Gorgoromeis', in the same area, north of Amblada, and there may have been other similar tribal or village communities, but whether they were independent or subject to the cities is uncertain. By the Byzantine period they had been absorbed into the cities, which alone are recorded in Hierocles.<sup>26</sup>

These cities cut off the Oroandeis from the Homonadeis, who lived around Lake Trogitis. At the time when the official list which Pliny quotes was drawn up they were still in rebellion, and, if they were entered at all, they probably were one of the tetrarchies, for they were in Amyntas' day ruled by a chieftain, or tyrant, as Strabo calls him. After their reduction by Quirinius, they were broken up into their constituent clans. This is proved by an inscription found east of Lake Trogitis in which 'the people of the Sedaseis' thank a benefactor for his good offices 'to themselves and to their fellow tribesmen'; the Sedaseis were thus one among several 'peoples' of the 'tribe' of the Homonadeis. How many peoples there were we do not know, but Pliny records that the Homonadeis possessed forty-three forts besides their central stronghold, Homana, and each of these forts may have been the centre of a clan or 'people'. In Hierocles' list the Homonadeis form a single city; the clans must therefore have been consolidated into one political unit in the Byzantine period.<sup>27</sup>

South of the Homonadeis lived the Isaurians. They possessed

two principal strongholds, Old Isaura in the western part of the territory and New Isaura further east, not far from Derbe; the eastward extension of Isaurian territory in which New Isaura lay was presumably conquered from the Lycaonians, and New Isaura was a fortress built on the conquered territory. Besides these two principal towns the Isaurians possessed according to Strabo many large fortified villages. The old capital had under the principate, as its coins and inscriptions show, the rank of a city; its coins bear the legend 'of the Isaurians' or 'of the metropolis of the Isaurians'. The Isaurians did not, however, form a single city, but were divided into a number of clans or villages. A letter from Basil to Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, shows that in the fourth century this state of affairs still existed. The question at issue in the letter is the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Isauria, and Basil debates whether it would be sounder policy to appoint a bishop in the metropolis at once, or to wait to find a really reliable man before doing this, and content themselves meanwhile with making appointments in the 'petty communities or petty villages' which possessed episcopal seats. Since the ecclesiastical organization regularly reproduced the civil, it is thus fairly certain that each Isaurian clan or village formed a separate political unit, and that the city of Isaura was merely the most important among a group of Isaurian communities and did not include all Isauria in its territory, just as its bishop was not the bishop of all Isauria, but the chief of the bishops of the region. This state of affairs lasted till the middle of the fifth century, when the emperor Leo raised New Isaura to the rank of a city under the style of Leontopolis and distributed all the Isaurian communities between the two cities. The two cities, by a special exception to Zeno's law that every city was to have its own bishop, formed a single bishopric, called Leontopolis in the Notitiae. Hierocles ignores Leontopolis and gives only Isauropolis.<sup>28</sup>

Georgius Cyprius records in the Byzantine province of Isauria a group of four 'climata', Cotrada, Banaba, Bolbosus, and Casae. Banaba was in the ecclesiastical province of Side (the eastern part of Byzantine Pamphylia) and apparently lay near to Cotenna, with which it sometimes formed one see: Casae is clearly connected with the city of the same name in the north-east corner of Byzantine Pamphylia. Cotrada is recorded in the Constantinopolitan Notitiae as an archbishopric of Isauria, by which must be meant the Isaurian country proper, since the province of that name was in the patriarchate of Antioch. Their title shows that



these areas were public land and their position gives a clue to their origin. They must have lain near the source of the Calycadnus, south and west of the Isaurian country, and they were therefore probably the territories of Isaurian clans or of tribes in alliance with the Isaurians confiscated by Servilius Isauricus. The existence of a 'clima' of Casae side by side with a city of Casae is explicable on the hypothesis that Servilius confiscated half a tribal territory.<sup>29</sup>

The mountainous country behind Aspendus and Side, between the territory of Selge on the west and that of the Homonadeis on the east, was occupied by the Etenneis or Catenneis. The tribe seems under the principate to have split up into three cities. Only one of these, Etenna, issued coins; it was the nearest to the coast and presumably the most civilized. Further inland lay two other cities, Cotenna and Erymna, which though they issued no coins are proved by inscriptions to have possessed fully developed city constitutions. Both must from their situation have been once part of the Etenneis, and the name of one of them is probably merely a dialectical variation of the tribal name. All these cities survived in the Byzantine period. Hierocles it is true omits Etenna and the earlier Notitiae omit Cotenna, but bishops of both cities attended the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.<sup>30</sup>

In the part of Phrygia attached to Pisidia the two Seleucid colonies, Antioch and Apollonia, maintained their importance throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods. Both issued coins during the principate and figure in all the Byzantine lists, the latter under the name of Sozopolis, which was substituted in Christian times for the old pagan name. Antioch had, as has been said, received a Roman colony shortly after 25 B.C., when the lands of the temple of Men were secularized by the Roman commissioners sent to settle the affairs of the newly annexed province of Galatia, and the city preserved a Roman stamp for a century and more, as the abundance of Latin inscriptions on the site proves. The population was divided not into tribes according to the Greek system, but into 'vici' with Latin names, the vicus Tuscus, Velabrus, Germalus, Aedilicium, Patricium, and so forth. The existence of a gymnasiarch besides the usual Roman magistrates shows, however, a concession to Greek ideas, and the city was gradually permeated by the surrounding Greek culture. The temple of Men continued to exist, but was now under municipal management; the inscriptions mention a curator of the chest of the sanctuary. Antioch was the most important of Augustus'

Pisidian colonies; it alone was granted the *ius Italicum*. It must have possessed a large territory, but its limits are unknown. On the north and east its frontier coincided with that of the province of Galatia. On the south it was bounded by the Cillanian plain.<sup>31</sup>

The principal city of this district had been Anabura in the second century B.C.; Anabura was one of the thirteen Pisidian cities mentioned by Artemidorus. Pliny's excerpt from the official list includes Neapolis. Neapolis must then have been already in existence at the date of the annexation: it appears to have been colonized with Thracians at the same time as Apollonia. A third-century inscription records a tetrapolis. One of its members was according to the same inscription Altada. Another was probably Anabura which is still recorded in imperial inscriptions. The capital of the tetrapolis was probably Neapolis, on whose site the inscription was found. Another inscription, a Latin dedication to the Emperor Maximin, also found at Neapolis, records a 'civitas Cillanensium'. This may be the fourth member, but the term more probably indicates the whole tetrapolis of the Cillanian plain. The tetrapolis seems eventually to have been amalgamated into its capital Neapolis, which alone appears in Hierocles.<sup>32</sup>

Apollonia styled itself in the Roman period the city 'of the Lycian and Thracian *coloni*' (the Latin word *colonus* being transliterated into Greek). It certainly was not a colony, and the significance of the curious title is obscure. It may be merely due to jealousy of the colony of Antioch; the Apolloniates may have wished to remind their neighbours that they too were colonists—though not of the Romans but of Seleucus. It may, on the other hand, mean that when Augustus planted Roman colonists in Antioch he also planted Lycians and Thracians—perhaps from Amyntas' army—in Apollonia. The city ruled a very extensive territory. Its western frontier is fixed by a surviving boundary stone, erected in A.D. 135, about half-way between Apollonia and Apamea of Asia. To the east it stretched right round the northern side of the double lake which lies between Apollonia and Antioch and about half-way down its eastern side. This eastward extension of its territory it owed to the Roman government, as appears from a mutilated inscription of Apollonia, which records the reversal in favour of Apollonia of a royal judgement, probably of King Amyntas, which had assigned 'the land of Uramma and the Snake's Head and the valley leading down to Misylus' to Timbriada. The 'Snake's Head' can be identified with great proba-

bility with the long promontory which juts into the eastern side of the double lake, dividing it into its two basins, and the 'land of Uramma' and 'the valley leading down to Misylus' lay presumably north and south of it. The general position of the territory in question is made quite certain by the fact that it was in dispute between Apollonia and Timbriada, which lay at the source of the Eurymedon, south-east of the lake.<sup>33</sup>

Although the territory of Apollonia in 25 B.C. stretched round the north end of the lake, it did not in the second century A.D. include the land immediately between the city and the lake. Here lay Tymandus, which though a mere village was certainly an independent village in the second century, for a dedication of the Tymandeis to Antoninus Pius is dated by the eponymous *strategus* of the village. Tymandus is listed by Hierocles as a city. We are fortunate in possessing in this instance the imperial constitution which raised it from village to city status. The name of the author of the change is lost, but he was probably Diocletian. Some interesting details of the procedure of the transformation are given. The governor is to appoint fifty decurions; the people are to elect magistrates, aediles, and quaestors; then the right of assembling in council, making decrees, and performing other acts permitted by law will be conceded.<sup>34</sup>

The former Apolloniate territory north and east of the lake seems in the Byzantine period to have formed the two cities of Sabinae and Limenae, which are recorded by Hierocles and seem from the order of the names in his list to have lain in this area. As it is unlikely that Apollonia should have continued to hold this area when the independent village of Tymandus practically cut off all access to it, it seems probable that Apollonia was deprived of all its territory round the north end of the lake between 25 B.C. and the reign of Antoninus Pius, and that this territory was constituted into a number of independent villages, three of which, Tymandus, Sabinae, and Limenae, were raised to the status of cities in the late third century. Limenae was already an important place in the fourth century; its bishop attended all important councils from Nicaea onwards.<sup>35</sup>

In northern Pisidia the most important city was in Roman times as in Alexander's day Sagalassus, which boasted itself first of Pisidia and friend and ally of the Romans. It continued to rule the vast territory it had possessed in Manlius' day. Three boundary stones of Nero's day have been found on the lower Lysis, recording that the legate and the procurator had demarcated the

territory of Sagalassus from that of the imperial village of Tymbrianassus, and the city erected a dedication to Diocletian at the same place; Sagalassus must therefore have ruled all the country between the city and the Ascanian lake. Between the Sagalassian territory and the Apolloniate were a number of smaller cities, the old Greek colony Seleucia, now called Claudioseleucia, Conana, Baris, and its neighbour Minassus, and at the south end of the double lake the ancient Pisidian city of Prostanna. All these cities issued coins under the principate, and all except Minassus and Prostanna are recorded in Hierocles, Conana under the style of Justinianopolis. Minassus was probably absorbed by Baris. The fate of Prostanna is mysterious. It continued to be a city of some importance down to the end of the fourth century when its bishop attended the council of Constantinople. Thereafter it vanishes. It is perhaps concealed in Hierocles under the dynastic name Eudoxiopolis, but Eudoxiopolis in its turn is never heard of after Hierocles. Hierocles also records in this area a curious name Themisonius; it is otherwise unknown and probably corrupt but might be connected with the Timonienses whom Pliny records in his extract from the official register. To this group of cities must be added the Augustan colony of Parlais. It was an important city, having issued coins even before its colonization; it lay on the western shore of the double lake. Parlais is omitted both in Hierocles and in the earlier Notitiae, but it certainly existed in the Byzantine period since its bishops attended the councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon; it reappears in the later Notitiae.<sup>36</sup>

South of the Sagalassian territory lay a cluster of small cities around a lake whose ancient name is unknown. This region answers to Strabo's description of the Milyas, and in this group of cities may perhaps be seen the *commune Milyadum* which Cicero mentions. The district was dominated by one of Augustus' military colonies, planted at Comama, which had perhaps previously been the capital of the league; it alone issued coins under the republic. Pogla was also an ancient city; an inscription preserves a Hellenistic decree of the people. Other members of the group were Andeda, Verbe, and perhaps Sibidunda. These all issued coins; two other communities, 'the people of the Hyieni' and 'the people of the Perminundeis', are recorded in inscriptions only. The coinage of this area does not begin till the second half of the second century, and it is possible that the members of the Milyadic league were classed as 'peoples' and not

cities till about then. A highly interesting inscription of Pogla, unfortunately undated, records the transition. It is in honour of a man who 'in the years of the city-constitution' distributed largess to the members of the council and the assembly and all the citizens, and 'in the years of the commune-constitution' was judge in the local courts. The second phrase probably refers to the *commune Milyadum*, not to the local commune of Pogla. Hierocles records all these little cities with the possible exception of Sibidunda. He also probably records in a very corrupt form 'the people of the Perminundeis'. In his day Pogla had fallen from its high estate as a city and become 'the people of Pogla'.<sup>37</sup>

West of this group of cities lay another apparently tribal group in the valley of the Lysis. This district was also dominated by an Augustan colony, Olbasa, which lay in the head waters of the Lysis. Lower down the stream Cormasa, which Manlius had captured, still existed, and somewhere in the area must be placed Colbasa, which issued coins. These cities seem, like Etenna and Cotenna, to bear variant forms of a tribal name. There were two other cities in the group which issued coins, Lysinia on the western shore of Lake Ascania, and Palaeopolis, whose position is unknown. Inscriptions record a city of Hadriani, which issued no coins and 'the people of the Macropedeitae', who apparently occupied the 'long plain' of the upper Lysis. The cities are all recorded by Hierocles except Cormasa and Hadriani, but the latter was a bishopric in the fifth century. The Macropedeitae are omitted.<sup>38</sup>

In south-western Pisidia Termessus was as in Alexander's day the most important city. It maintained and proudly advertised upon its coins the freedom which had been granted or confirmed to it in 70 B.C. Its extensive territory was in Byzantine times subdivided, two new cities, Jovia and Eudocias, being carved out of it; the former perhaps owed its existence to Diocletian, the latter to Theodosius II. Across the Taurus its old enemy Isinda still flourished. Its imperial coins show that it claimed Ionian origin; the claim was probably based on the accident that a city named Isinda had existed in Ionia, and is fairly certainly false, for Isinda is always reckoned a Pisidian city by Greek writers. South of Isinda and Termessus the original province of Galatia probably included the southern Milyas and Cabalis; these districts are discussed under Lycia, to which from Vespasian's time they belonged. To the north-west of Termessus was a large group of cities, the most important of which was Cremna, which had defied every conqueror till Amyntas and was garrisoned with a Roman

colony by Augustus. Other cities of ancient fame were Adada, Ariassus, and Pednelissus, the ancient enemy of Selge. Obscure members of the group were Codrula, Malus, and Panemuteichus. In addition to these cities, which all issued coins, the inscriptions record a 'people of the Sieni'. Hierocles' list includes all these and in addition a 'people of Isbus', a city of Maximianopolis with an estate of the same name, a 'region' of Salamara and Limobrama. Of the city of Maximianopolis nothing is known save what its name implies, that it was founded between 286 and 305; the estate of Maximianopolis was presumably an imperial estate of sufficient importance to be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the city. The 'region' of Salamara was presumably an area of public land, probably confiscated by Amyntas or Augustus—the communities of this area seem to have resisted stubbornly, witness the history of Cremna. Of Limobrama nothing is known; it is perhaps a corruption for 'the people of Brama'.<sup>39</sup>

In the Eurymedon valley lay two Pisidian cities, Timbriada near its source, and Selge on its lower course. Selge was still one of the most important cities of Pisidia and must have ruled a very large territory. Strabo describes it as including fertile lands planted with vines and olives, wide pastures for flocks and herds, and on its edges a forest belt. Timbriada must also have ruled an extensive territory towards the north; its boundary dispute with Apollonia shows that most of the area between the double lake and Lake Caralis must have been subject to it. It must have lost part of this territory by the Byzantine age, for Zorzela on the south-east coast of the double lake was by then a city. Whether Timbriada and Selge shared between them the whole valley of the Eurymedon is difficult to say. No city is recorded between them. The inscriptions mention a 'people of the Mulasseis' but whether it was independent or subject to one or other of them cannot be determined; it is not recorded in Hierocles. Tityassus seems to have lain somewhere in this region, but it was probably farther east, south-west of Lake Caralis; it was an ancient city, mentioned by Artemidorus; it issued coins in the principate and is recorded in Hierocles.<sup>40</sup>

In Pamphylia all the ancient cities continued to flourish. Perge, Sillyum, Aspendus, and Side were all still issuing coins under the principate, and Magydus, which had dropped out of sight since the fourth century B.C., began to coin under Nero. The Hellenistic foundation of Attaleia also issued imperial coins; it would seem that its territory, confiscated by Servilius Isauricus,

had been restored to it. It became a colony in late third century. Its neighbour Olbia, which it had supplanted, still survived, but only as a village; it appears beside the cities in Hierocles as a 'people'.<sup>41</sup>

The foregoing survey of the province of Galatia is far from exhaustive. It nevertheless makes more credible the total figure given by Pliny for the peoples and tetrarchies of the province. I have shown that besides the cities which issued coins there were many which did not, and that in many parts of the province the population did not live in cities but in village or tribal communities. At the time of the Roman annexation only a comparatively small number of large cities had consolidated themselves. On the coast the Pamphylian and Cilician cities had grown to maturity in the Persian period. In the interior only a few Pisidian towns, like Selge, Sagalassus, Termessus had by then reached the status of cities, and the majority of the population lived in villages, loosely grouped in tribes, such as the Etenneis or the Isaurians. During the Hellenistic period the process of consolidation went on. The Seleucids founded a few colonies on the northern fringe of the country, and some of the native tribes began to organize themselves more closely, and to concentrate in their principal fortress, which thus assumed the aspect of a city. This process was in many parts of the country incomplete by the time of the Roman annexation, and was arrested by it. Thus side by side with the larger cities which had achieved their unity before the annexation, there were many small communities, some grouped in tribes like the Homonadeis, the Oroandeis, or the Isaurians, or in looser tribal federations like the 'commune Milyadum'. Such groups the Roman government viewed with disfavour. The Isaurians were broken up into separate clans or villages by Servilius, the Homonadeis by Quirinius, and the league of the Milyadic communities ceased to exist under the principate. In many parts of the country the tribal organization had no doubt broken down in the natural course of events, and no violent measures were needed to suppress it. Some of the small communities were granted the rank of cities. In the northern Milyas and the adjacent parts of Pisidia there were many tiny cities which were little larger than villages and in Lycaonia there were many insignificant cities besides those which were important enough to coin. In other parts of the country, especially in the mountainous area between Lycaonia and Pisidia, the land of the Homonadeis and the Isaurians, the majority of the communities were ranked as villages, and only a very few,

like the tribal capital Isaura, were granted city status. Village communities were by no means confined to the above-mentioned area; they are found also scattered among the groups of small cities, and interspersed between the territories of the great cities.

By the Byzantine period a great process of consolidation had taken place. Notable instances of this process are the formation of the city of Homonada, and the concentration of the Isaurian communities into the two cities of Isauropolis and Leontopolis. The same process, though not on so large a scale, was carried on all over the province. In Lycaonia many small cities or villages were attached to their larger neighbours. In Pisidia and the Milyas small cities, like Minassus, or tribal communes, like the Macropeditae, were attached to existing cities. The result of this process was that the one hundred and ninety odd peoples and tetrarchies which existed in 25 B.C. were reduced to the eighty odd communities which are registered in Hierocles. Yet even so many tiny cities, like Pogla, Andeda, and Verbe in the Milyas, and many village communes like the 'peoples' of the Perminundeis, the Sieni, or the Olbiani, still survived. Even in the Byzantine period there were comparatively few large cities, and a great part of the population lived in small communities, which whether they ranked officially as cities or 'peoples', were in reality merely large villages.



## VI. BITHYNIA AND PONTUS

**D**ARIUS had included all northern Asia Minor in his third and nineteenth satrapies. When, however, about a century later, the Ten Thousand traversed these parts, it is clear that the writ of the Great King had ceased to run. Xenophon in the *Anabasis* gives a vivid picture of conditions on the south coast of the Euxine. He depicts the country as inhabited by a series of independent tribes, of varying degrees of culture, from utter savages like the Mossynoeci to comparatively civilized barbarians like the Paphlagonians. The Paphlagonians were at once the largest and politically the most stable group. They formed a kingdom whose kings, while virtually independent, generally acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Great King. Xenophon's contemporary, Cotylas, nourished the ambition of conquering the Greek cities of the coast. His successor, Otys, was seduced from his allegiance to the Great King by Agesilaus, and although he soon abandoned the Spartan alliance, the Paphlagonians do not seem to have returned to their allegiance; at any rate, when Datames about thirty years later re-established the Persian power in northern Asia Minor, he sent Thys, the rebel king of Paphlagonia, in chains to the Great King. Despite the destruction of the kingdom the Paphlagonians retained their cohesion for a time, and made their submission to Alexander as a nation. Their power was, however, broken, and in the confused periods which followed Alexander's death much of their country was subdued by the rising powers of the kings of Pontus and Bithynia, and they never again achieved national unity.<sup>1</sup>

The other important power of the north coast of Asia Minor was the Bithynians, a warlike Thracian tribe which was a constant thorn in the side of the Persian satrap at Dascylium and the Greek cities of the coast. They too formed a kingdom; we know the names of three of their kings who reigned during the fourth century, Doedalses, Botiras, and Bas. They acknowledged the Persian supremacy from time to time but they never submitted to Alexander; Bas defeated the force which Alexander sent against him and was thereafter left alone.<sup>2</sup>

Scattered along the coast were a number of Greek colonies. One of the most important of these was Sinope, a Milesian colony of great antiquity in Paphlagonia. Sinope had in her turn founded

daughter cities farther east, Cotyora among the Tibareni and Cerasus and Trapezus among the Colchi. These three cities did not enjoy the full autonomy which Greek colonies usually possessed. At Cotyora we find a Sinopian harmost, and all three paid their mother city a tribute which was regarded in the light of a rent for their territories, which she had conquered for them. Sinope also planted colonies to the west; Cytorus was one of her trading stations, and so probably was Abonuteichus. Another important city was Amisus, originally a Milesian colony, but refounded and renamed Peiraeus by Athens during Pericles' supremacy. Farther west lay Heraclea of Pontus, a Megarian and Boeotian colony. This city fell in 368 B.C. into the hands of an able tyrant, Clearchus, who was succeeded by his brother Satyrus, and then by his sons Timotheus and Dionysius. Like Sinope Heraclea possessed a little empire of subject cities. It ruled four small Greek cities on the coast to the east of it, Tieum, a Milesian colony, Sesamus, Cromna, and Cytorus, the Sinopian colony mentioned above, and a small city on the Hypius to the west, Cierus, probably a colony of Heraclea itself. Heraclea also reduced to serfdom the Thracian tribe in whose territory it lay, the Mariandyni, thus becoming a considerable mainland power. Its position was apparently quite exceptional among the Pontic cities. The story of the Anabasis shows that the Greek cities farther east were islets of civilization in a barbarian ocean. They maintained communication only by sea; the land journey between them was an arduous and dangerous undertaking even for a large force like the Ten Thousand. At Trapezus there were villages of free Colchians, where the Ten Thousand billeted themselves, in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and not even the natives of the coastal plain were subject to the city, although they were on friendly terms, unlike the mountaineers of the hinterland. On the coasts of the Propontis similar conditions prevailed; the Greek cities, Chalcedon, and Astacus, both Megarian colonies, Olbia, whose mother city is unknown, and Cius and Myrlea, colonies of Miletus and Colophon respectively, clung precariously to the coast. In the Athenian tribute lists only Chalcedon, which drew its prosperity not from its territory but from the transit trade through the Bosphorus, paid any considerable sum. Astacus, Cius, Myrlea all paid very small amounts and Olbia does not appear at all. Astacus had in 435 B.C. sunk so low under repeated Bithynian attacks that Athens recolonized it.<sup>3</sup>

Alexander showed little interest in northern Asia Minor. His

unsuccessful attack on Bas, king of Bithynia, and his acceptance of the voluntary submission of the Paphlagonians have been noted. Farther east he did not penetrate. Here an enterprising satrap, Datames, had restored the Persian power not long after the march of the Ten Thousand. The satrap of Cappadocia in Alexander's day was Ariarathes, who ruled Cappadocia till 322 B.C., when Perdiccas and Eumenes captured and crucified him, and subdued his satrapy, which was entrusted to Eumenes. Eumenes, however, was soon after eliminated in the struggle for power among the Macedonian generals, and the country seems to have relapsed into anarchy. This state of affairs proved the opportunity of a Persian noble, Mithridates, who after being favoured by Antigonus had incurred his displeasure and fled to save his life. He, in 302 B.C., began to conquer a kingdom for himself at Cimiata, in western Paphlagonia, and was the founder of the kingdom of Pontus.<sup>4</sup>

Farther west meanwhile the dynasty of Heraclea still flourished. Dionysius, who on the death of his brother had become sole tyrant, made a brilliant marriage with a Persian princess Amastris, the discarded wife of Craterus. She succeeded Dionysius on his death, but did not long remain a widow; Lysimachus of Thrace obtained her hand and with it Heraclea and its dependencies. He also, however, later abandoned her in favour of a more ambitious dynastic alliance, with Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy I, and Amastris returned to her Heracleot dominions, where she founded a new city, which she named after herself, by the synoecism of the four little Greek cities of Tieum, Sesamus, Cromna, and Cyturus. Finally, she was murdered by her sons, Clearchus and Oxathres. Lysimachus avenged her by killing them, and bestowed her Heracleot dominions on her supplanter Arsinoe, who put governors in the various towns, Heracleides in Heraclea itself, Eumenes in Amastris. On the death of Lysimachus in 280 B.C. the Heracleots rose in revolt against their governor, and re-established the democracy which had been in abeyance for eighty-four years.<sup>5</sup>

The Bithynian kingdom in the meanwhile continued to increase in strength. Zipoetes, the successor of Bas, successfully resisted Lysimachus, defeating two generals sent against him and finally Lysimachus himself. In 297 he formally assumed the title of king, and, probably in honour of this event, founded a city which he named after himself, Zipoetium. He lived to defeat Antiochus I, but apparently died shortly afterwards. The inheritance

was disputed between his two sons Nicomedes and Zipoetes. Nicomedes by enlisting the aid of the Gauls not only defeated his rival but considerably enlarged his kingdom, particularly towards the south-east. He probably founded Bithynium, which was mentioned by Arrian in the same book of his Bithynian history as the foundation of Nicomedia; Bithynium, whose name implies that it was a colony of Bithynian settlers in an alien land, was probably a military colony to hold territory newly conquered from the Paphlagonians. If, as some authorities imply, Nicomedes settled his Gallic allies on lands which he had conquered, he must further have annexed a large area of Hellespontine Phrygia up to and including the middle valley of the Sangarius. With the Greek cities of the coast he maintained friendly relations. His treaty with the Gauls included among his allies, Chalcedon, Heraclea, Cierus, and Tieu; the last had seceded from Amastris probably after the death of Lysimachus, and for a short while issued coins proclaiming its independence. Later Nicomedes assisted the Heracleots to regain their old dominions, and with his aid they reconquered their native territory, the Thynid land, and Cierus and Tieu. Amastris they failed to recover; Eumenes, its governor under Arsinoe and now its tyrant, rejected their offers of purchase and surrendered it as a gift to Ariobarzanes, king of Pontus. Thus by Nicomedes' death in about 250, Heraclea was the only independent city on the Pontic coast; it was appointed, with Cius on the Propontis, Byzantium, and kings Ptolemy of Egypt and Antigonus of Macedon, guardian of Ziaelas under Nicomedes' will.<sup>6</sup>

It was probably also Nicomedes who incorporated Nicaea in the Bithynian kingdom. This city had been originally founded by Antigonus under the name of Antigoneia and later refounded by Lysimachus and renamed after his first wife. According to Dio Chrysostom its citizens were Greeks, and no mere mixed riff-raff of Greek mercenaries, but 'Macedonians and the first of the Hellenes'; the statement is quite credible, for Antigonus was in a position to order drafts of settlers from the great cities of Greece. The capture of Nicaea by the Bithynian kings is mentioned by no ancient author, but it cannot well have happened before Lysimachus' death, and the most likely occasion is the period of confusion which followed it.<sup>7</sup>

In 264 Nicomedes founded a new city, Nicomedia. It was built on the site of Olbia, a long decayed Greek colony, and its population was supplied by Astacus, a neighbouring Greek colony

which was demolished. Nicomedia was henceforth the capital of Bithynia, superseding Zipoetium, of which no more is heard.<sup>8</sup>

Little is known of Ziaelas, Nicomedes' successor. He extended the kingdom inland, capturing the Paphlagonian town of Cressa, later known as Creteia, and planting in it a Bithynian colony, but seems to have maintained his father's friendly relations with the Greek cities of the coast. This policy was first abandoned by his son Prusias I. He allied himself with Philip V of Macedon against Attalus of Pergamum in both the first and second Macedonian wars, and as a reward for his services in the second war received the sites of Myrlea and Cius, which Philip had destroyed. He refounded the latter as Prusias on Sea; Myrlea was later refounded by his grandson Nicomedes II as Apamea. He next turned upon Heraclea; he captured its dependencies, Cierus and Tieum, the former of which he refounded as Prusias ad Hypium, but he failed to take Heraclea itself, which thus remained an independent enclave in the Bithynian kingdom. He prudently rejected the proffered alliance of Antiochus the Great, but took advantage of the confusion which his conquests caused to pursue his own war against Pergamum, annexing Mysia, and after Antiochus' defeat still carried on the struggle, taking Hannibal into his service. It was during this period that, on Hannibal's advice, he founded the city of Prusa on the northern slopes of mount Olympus. Not long before his death he submitted to the pressure of the Romans, had Hannibal murdered, and accepted the terms dictated by the senate. What these were is unknown, but it may be presumed that in general they followed the decree of the senate in 189, that Eumenes was to have Mysia which Prusias had taken from him. It appears possible that Eumenes also received, perhaps as compensation for his losses in the war, Tieum, the home of Philetaerus the founder of his line. Tieum was at once seized by Pharnaces of Pontus but by the treaty of 179 was restored to Eumenes, who later gave it back to Prusias II in recognition of his services against Pharnaces. There seem to have been no further territorial changes, for the war of 157-5 B.C. between Prusias II and Attalus II was settled by the senate on the basis of the *status quo ante* and we are not told that Nicomedes II received any territory in return for his services to Rome against Aristonicus.<sup>9</sup>

The Bithynian kingdom when it was annexed in 74 B.C. probably therefore had the same boundaries as in the reign of Prusias II. The western boundary can be fixed with some precision.

Apamea and Prusa belonged to the kingdom, as they did to the original province. They were frontier cities, for Apollonia on the Rhyndacus belonged to the Attalid kingdom and later to the province of Asia, the eastern half of Lake Dascylitis and the adjacent country belonged to Byzantium, and the Hellespontine Mysians on the southern slopes of Mount Olympus belonged later to the province of Asia and therefore had presumably belonged to the Attalid kingdom. The southern frontier cannot be so exactly determined. Under the principate the middle valley of the Sangarius was in the province of Bithynia, and if, as is probably the case, Livy's statement that the Tembris and Sangarius united near Bithynia and the united stream thenceforth flowed through Bithynia is borrowed from Polybius, the boundary of the kingdom was the same as that of the province. On the east the frontier is vaguer yet. Tieuin was the easternmost city on the coast, Creteia the easternmost point inland known to have belonged to the Bithynian kings. Exactly how far the kingdom extended into the Paphlagonian mountains it is hard to say, but it seems likely that the upper valley of the Billaeus, at whose mouth Tieuin lay, was Bithynian; it was not, it seems, Pontic.<sup>10</sup> Heraclea remained to the end an independent enclave in Bithynian territory; this is vouched for by the excellent testimony of Memnon, himself a citizen of Heraclea, and is confirmed by the fact that Heraclea sent two triremes to assist the Romans against Perseus. Chalcedon also maintained its independence; it sent four triremes on the same occasion.<sup>11</sup>

Our information on the expansion of the Pontic kingdom is far less abundant, and what little evidence we possess is almost entirely confined to the Greek colonies of the coast. Amastris we have seen was acquired by Ariobarzanes early in the third century. Amisus is found in the possession of his son Mithridates II. Mithridates II made a determined attack on Sinope in 220 B.C., but the Sinopians, with the aid of money, munitions, and supplies from Rhodes, withstood him. It was not till 183 B.C. that his grandson Pharnaces succeeded in conquering the city. He also captured Cerasus and Cotyora, and founded Pharnaceia between them, enrolling the citizens of Cerasus and Cotyora in his new foundation. Inland the Pontic territory adjoined that of the Galatian Trocmi around Tavium and also the kingdom of Cappadocia. This was certainly the case as early as the reign of Pharnaces, and if Alexander of Aphrodisias is right in stating that the lands (or more accurately part of the lands) occupied by the

Gauls had previously been Pontic territory, it was so a century earlier in the reign of Mithridates the Founder. Against the free Paphlagonians the boundary was in the reign of Mithridates VI Mount Olgassys. This boundary probably also went back to the foundation of the kingdom, seeing that Ariobarzanes in the second quarter of the third century was in a position to occupy Amastris. On the east Mithridates VI made large additions to his kingdom. He compelled the dynast of Armenia Minor, Antipater the son of Sisis, to abdicate, and annexed his principality, which included not only Armenia Minor but the barbarous tribes between it and the coast. He also extended his suzerainty over the tribes along the coast east of Trapezus up to the Caucasus. His conquests in the Crimea do not concern us here.<sup>12</sup>

This account of the boundaries of the two kingdoms is in conflict on one point with the very valuable testimony of Strabo. Strabo puts the frontier of Bithynia and Pontus on the coast west of Heraclea, thus including in Pontus Heraclea and Tieum, which he asserts were conquered by Mithridates VI. He also states that Heraclea was the westernmost city of Roman Pontus, and that in their subdivision of the double province of Bithynia and Pontus into its two halves the Romans followed the old frontier of the two kingdoms. The statement that Heraclea belonged to Roman Pontus is certainly right. Not only do the coins of Heraclea, which bear the legend 'Heraclea of (or in) Pontus' in imperial times, support it, but a third-century inscription names Heraclea 'metropolis of the ten cities of Pontus'. I am, however, strongly inclined to doubt the statement that Mithridates' kingdom included Heraclea. We have the very good authority of Memnon of Heraclea that his native city was free up to the third Mithridatic war, when Mithridates seized it by the treachery of some of the citizens on his retreat from Bithynia. On general grounds also it is difficult to see how Mithridates could have been allowed to conquer a part of Bithynia by the Romans, who persistently maintained the *status quo* between Pontus and the protected kingdoms adjoining it, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia. I am inclined, therefore, to regard Strabo's statement, positive though it is, as an inference from the boundaries of Roman Bithynia and Pontus.<sup>13</sup>

Of the administrative system of the kingdom of Bithynia virtually nothing is known. The kingdom was comparatively rich in cities. These usually bore names commemorative of the Bithynian royal family, but comparatively few were new creations:

Nicomedia, Prusias ad Mare, Apamea, and Prusias ad Hypium were, as we have seen, refoundations of old Greek towns; Prusa ad Olympeum and Bithynium were, as far as we know, completely new foundations; Creteia was an old Paphlagonian town colonized with Bithynians. All the cities were of mixed population. The Bithynian kings seem to have freely enrolled their native subjects in the cities under their rule, not only in those which they refounded, but also in those whose names remained unchanged. Thus not only do we find a Prusian (of which city it does not appear) in the second century B.C. bearing a name and patronymic of completely Thracian type, but a Nicaean of the same period, though himself bearing a Greek name, has a Thracian patronymic. None of the Bithynian cities issued coins under the kings, a fact which implies that their autonomy must have been restricted. There were also royal lands, apparently of considerable extent, which Cicero mentions in his speech against Rullus' agrarian bill. In view of the eccentric disposition of the cities—there were none in the whole valley of the Sangarius or of its affluents—it may be presumed that these royal lands were extra-territorial and directly administered by the kings on bureaucratic lines.<sup>14</sup>

The administrative system of Pontus was a centralized bureaucracy of the usual Hellenistic type, the country being subdivided like the neighbouring kingdoms of Cappadocia and Armenia into a number of provinces, called in Strabo eparchies. This fact emerges clearly from Strabo's description of the country. In his day Pontus had been for some time divided into a number of city territories, but he does not think in these units; his description is based on an older set of territorial divisions, whose names, ending in the typical terminations, -ene and -itis, betray their bureaucratic origin. West of the Halys he mentions two eparchies in the interior of Pontic Paphlagonia, Blaene, and Domanitis. On the coast east of the Halys lay Gazelonitis, Saramene, Themiscyra (this district by exception has not a bureaucratic termination), and Sidene. Behind them, along the Halys lay Phazemonitis, Pimolisene, and Ximene, around Amaseia Gazacene, Diacopene, and Babanomus (another non-bureaucratic name), along the Iris below Comana, Dazemonitis, and at the junction of the Iris and the Lycus Phanaroea—again without the typical termination. Finally, on the Cappadocian frontier were, from west to east, Caranitis, Colopene, and Camisene.<sup>15</sup>

Cities were rare in Pontus. Along the coast there were the still surviving Greek colonies, Abonuteichus, Sinope, Amisus, and



Trapezus, and the cities formed from the amalgamation of old Greek colonies, Amastris and Pharnaceia. The status of these cities under the kingdom is obscure, but it may be stated with confidence that whether they enjoyed any degree of autonomy or not they possessed no territory or practically none. This comes out clearly in the case of Amisus. The coast on which it lay was divided into a series of provinces, Gazelonitis, Saramene, Themiscyra, and Sidene. There was thus little room for a city territory. Moreover, it is recorded among the generous benefactions of Lucullus to the city that he gave it a territory, a hundred and twenty stades—about fifteen miles—long. Its territory, then, under the Pontic kings must have been very exiguous. The colonies on the Pontic coast had never, as we have seen, been more than trading stations, owning little land outside their walls, and, if they came into the hands of the kings without territories, there was no reason why the kings should give them any.<sup>16</sup>

In the interior of Pontus urban life was but little developed; the administrative centres of the eparchies were mere villages like Phazemon, or not even villages but fortresses like Pimolisa or Camisa. There were only four towns of any size. Amaseia was the old royal capital and derived its importance from that fact. The other three, Cabeira, Comana, and Zela owed their existence to the great temples of Men Pharnacu, Ma, and Anaitis. These temples each owned large tracts of sacred land and thousands of sacred serfs who lived around the temple. The god was represented upon earth by a high priest, who drew the revenue of the sacred lands, and was absolute master of the serfs except that he could not sell them. At Cabeira, which was a secondary royal capital, the power of the high priest seems to have waned before the royal authority. The high priests of Comana and Zela, on the other hand, were veritable princes; the kings of Pontus, as Strabo explains, treated these towns not as cities but as temples. The high-priesthood seems not to have been hereditary but to have been in the gift of the king, who in this way rewarded his favourites. Although the population of these towns was composed in the main of serfs, it is probable that there were also free inhabitants. At Cabeira the serfs were segregated in a separate quarter, called Ameria, and the town, as a royal residence, must have attracted many outside settlers. All three towns were important markets, as was only natural; the great festivals were at the same time fairs, and pilgrims naturally turned their pilgrimage to practical account by buying and selling. Comana in particular,

according to Strabo, was the market of the Armenians, and was also a much frequented pleasure resort owing to the abundance of prostitutes, most of them sacred serfs who plied their trade in honour of the goddess. Thus trade and the tourist traffic supported large numbers of merchants, innkeepers, and so forth, many of whom were no doubt free settlers.<sup>17</sup>

It is obvious that towns of this type can have enjoyed no kind of autonomy. There is only one piece of evidence which suggests that some degree of local autonomy may have existed and this is the copper coinage issued under Mithridates VI in the names of a large number of towns of the kingdom. This coinage has at first sight the look of autonomous issues, for it bears neither the name nor the effigy of the king, but only the name of the town. A little further study, however, shows that it was a royal issue. In the first place the coins are all uniform not only in fabric and standard but in their types, which mostly have reference to the divine ancestry of the royal house, and, while some issues are peculiar to one or two towns, others are common to practically all the mints; a coin with the head of Zeus on the obverse and a fulmen on the reverse was struck for instance at Amastris, Abonteichus, Sinope, Amisus, Pharnaceia, Amaseia, Gaziura, Laodicea, Cabeira, Taulara, and Pimolisa. In the second place while some of the mints are Greek cities, and important towns of the interior, which might conceivably have enjoyed autonomy, others are merely provincial capitals and others again royal fortresses, such as Gaziura and Taulara. It looks as if Mithridates, as a philhellene, wished to be considered a founder of cities, and he therefore issued a series of pseudo-civic coins in order to create a good impression in the outside world.<sup>18</sup>

The kingdom of Bithynia was left to the Roman republic by the will of its last king Nicomedes III in 74 B.C. The kingdom of Pontus was not annexed till nearly ten years later, after the final defeat of Mithridates VI. Pompey organized both kingdoms as a single province, but it appears that before he arrived on the scene the Roman state was already drawing the revenues of the Bithynian kingdom; for Cicero, in his speech against the agrarian law of Rullus, speaks of the *publicani* already enjoying the royal lands of Bithynia at a date when Pompey's arrangements were still unknown in Rome. This fact is of some importance, for the vested interests of the companies may have influenced Pompey in his organization.<sup>19</sup>

Both kingdoms presented difficult problems to Pompey. In

them the Roman republic was for the first time brought face to face with a system of administration totally alien to its traditions and unsuitable to the scheme of provincial government which it had built up. All the provinces hitherto annexed had consisted of groups of communities, and the Roman government had been able to leave the local administration to them under the general supervision of a Roman governor. In Pontus, on the other hand, the whole administration had hitherto been conducted by the central government and in Bithynia considerable areas at any rate were under the direct rule of the kings. Pompey rightly saw that it would be impossible for an annually changing Roman governor, totally inexperienced in administrative work and unfamiliar with the country and the people, to undertake the direct administration of the country. He therefore determined that the local administration must be entrusted to self-governing local authorities, and that if these did not exist they must be created.

Pontus was the more intractable of the two kingdoms. The only existing communities were the Greek cities on the coast. In the interior two centuries of bureaucratic rule had broken down the old tribal organization, and the rigid centralization of the Pontic kings had not permitted the growth of city communities. In the less civilized parts of the kingdom which Mithridates had only recently conquered Pompey abandoned the attempt to create local authorities. He made a certain Aristarchus prince of Colchis. Pharnaceia and Trapezus, and the savage tribes in the hinterland of these cities, he handed over to a Galatian prince, Deiotarus, the tetrarch of the Tolistobogii, to whom he gave the title of king; the Greeks of the coastal cities would never have been able to keep in order barbarians like the Tibareni, the Chaldaei, the Sanni, the Appaeitae, and the Heptacometae, and the simplest course was to make both the cities and the tribes subject to a prince. Armenia Minor was probably also granted by Pompey to some dynast: it was shortly afterwards added to Deiotarus' kingdom by a decree of the senate, Pompey's nominee having presumably died, probably, to judge by Deiotarus' exploits in Galatia, not by a natural death. Pompey founded one city on the border of Armenia Minor, Nicopolis on the Lycus, to celebrate his victory over Mithridates; it was peopled partly with veterans, partly with natives. The city was attached to the Roman province.<sup>20</sup>

Pompey created another principality, that of Comana, by making the high priest prince of a zone of sixty stades (seven

miles) radius around the town as well as owner of the sacred land. In this he seems to have been actuated merely by personal motives, the desire to reward his favourite Archelaus to whom he gave the high-priesthood and the attached principality.<sup>21</sup>

The rest of the country he divided into eleven city states. On the coast Greek cities existed, Amisus, Sinope, and Amastris. All he had to do was to assign them territories, and this he did with a lavish hand. We have no detailed information except for Amisus, to which he gave not only the province in which it lay, Saramene, but Themiscyra and Sidene to the east and the nearer half of Gazelonitis on the west, the other half of Gazelonitis being presented to Deiotarus. It is likely that with this exception the whole coast was partitioned between the three cities; in the second century we know that the territory of Sinope extended to the Halys, that is right up to Deiotarus' section of Gazelonitis.<sup>22</sup>

In the interior the problem was more difficult. He first took as bases of his scheme the existing towns, Amaseia, Cabeira, and Zela. At Amaseia, the royal capital, there naturally resided a large number of the high officials of the kingdom. These officials were the wealthiest and most hellenized of the population; many of them were of Greek or at any rate partly Greek descent, for the Pontic kings had attracted to their court a host of Greek adventurers, as military, naval, financial, and administrative experts, and many of them had been rewarded with lands and had settled down and founded families; the family of Strabo the geographer is a typical instance. Here then there was the raw material for a Greek city, and in view of the size and importance of the town and the wealth and dignity of the men who were to form its council, it was reasonable to attach to it a very large territory. Strabo's description shows that it was in fact immense, reaching the Halys on the west and bordering on the Trocmi and the kingdom of Cappadocia on the south: it included the provinces of Gazacene, Pimolisene, Diacopene, Babanomus, and Ximene. Cabeira and Zela also had a number of wealthy inhabitants, being important market towns. Pompey formed both into cities, renaming the former Diospolis. Strabo states that he attached many provinces to Zela, but he does not enumerate them; one of them seems to have been Caranitis.<sup>23</sup>

Mithridates had been in process of building a city to commemorate himself, Eupatoria, at the junction of the Lycus and the Iris in the district of Phanaroea. The work was interrupted

by the war, but Pompey completed it, adding fresh settlers and land, and renamed the city Magnopolis after himself.<sup>24</sup>

For the rest Pompey had to create new cities. In the western part of Pontic Paphlagonia he built Pompeiopolis, in the eastern part he converted Phazemon the capital of Phazemonitis, or perhaps rather the neighbouring village of Andrappa, into Neapolis; on the Cappadocian frontier he built the city of Megalopolis, to which he attached Colopene and Camisene.<sup>25</sup>

It is clear from Strabo's account that the territories of these cities were contiguous and between them accounted for the whole of the country. He mentions for instance that the territory of Neapolis was bounded on the north by Gazelonitis, that is Deiotarus' land, and the territory of Amisus, on the east by the Phanaroea, that is the territory of Magnopolis, and on the south by that of Amaseia; on the other side the Halys was the boundary. Similarly, the territory of Amaseia was bounded by the Halys on the west and was contiguous with the territory of Zela and with the kingdom of Cappadocia and the Trocmi on the south and with the territory of Neapolis on the north. The royal lands of Mithridates, which in the view of Rullus ought to have become public lands of the Roman people, were thus alienated at a single stroke.<sup>26</sup>

In Pontus, thanks to Strabo, Pompey's arrangements are comparatively well known. On his organization of Bithynia Strabo is silent, and it can only be tentatively reconstructed from the later history of the province. It does not appear that Pompey founded any new cities. The constitutions of the existing cities were revised on the Roman model, with permanent senates enrolled by censors, and they were granted a larger degree of autonomy. This is evinced by the coins which the majority—Nicomedia, Nicaea, Apamea, Prusa, Bithynium, and Tieum—struck under Papirius Carbo and other early proconsuls. The undated coins of Prusias ad Mare probably also belong to this period: they do not bear the proconsul's name because Prusias had managed by good policy to secure the status of a free city. Chalcedon maintained her liberty; she was still a free city under the principate. Heraclea lost hers by admitting a garrison of Mithridates during the war. Prusias ad Hypium and Creteia were also probably cities of the original province. Creteia is a doubtful case, for its coinage does not begin until the reign of Antoninus Pius, and it is then styled Creteia Flaviopolis. From this it might be argued that it only received city status from one

of the Flavian emperors. The parallel of Bithynium, however, which coined under the republic, and then not till the reign of Vespasian, under the style of Bithynium Claudiopolis, shows that this may not be the case.<sup>27</sup>

The question remains how Pompey dealt with the royal land. An inscription of the reign of Hadrian, if rightly read, shows that Nicaea had a common boundary with Dorylaeum. From the thirteenth action of the Council of Chalcedon it appears that the 'regions' of Tottaium and Doris east of the Sangarius and another 'region' probably at the west end of Lake Ascania were then, and had been at any rate since the fourth century, under Nicaea. The city of Helenopolis on the south shore of the Astacene gulf is stated to have been a village of Nicomedia before its elevation to city rank. From these facts it may be conjectured that Pompey partitioned the royal lands among the existing cities. The assignment of the royal lands to the cities does not, however, seem to have been absolute. Cicero's statement that Roman tax-farmers already enjoyed the public lands of Bithynia is not, it is true, proof of this; Pompey might after Cicero spoke—or at any rate last had news from Bithynia—have handed over the public lands to the cities. Such a step seems, however, unlikely in a champion of the equestrian order, and there is further evidence that the former royal lands, though placed under the jurisdiction of the cities, remained public. In the first place the language of the thirteenth action of the council of Chalcedon is strange if the places in question were an integral part of the territory of Nicaea. The word 'region' in Byzantine Greek means normally an extra-territorial unit, and the 'regions' in question (which are incidentally separately listed by Hierocles) must therefore have been 'under Nicaea' for certain purposes only and not a part of the Nicene territory. It is a far cry from Pompey to the council of Chalcedon, but the gap is to a certain extent bridged by an obscure passage in the speech of Dio Chrysostom to the Nicomedians. He is reproaching them for their feud with Nicaea about empty titles and asks what practical difference they make. In particular he asks, 'Shall we pay them the tithes of the Bithynians any the less?' By 'we' is presumably meant either the cities of Bithynia generally, including Prusa, Dio's own city, and Nicomedia, whose citizens he is addressing, or the Nicomedians, with whom he identifies himself in this passage; the second interpretation does not exclude the possibility that the other cities of Bithynia also paid the tithe to Nicaea. It is inconceivable

that Nicaea can have had the privilege of exacting a tithe from other cities of Bithynia for its own profit. The tithe must have been an imperial tax collected by the Nicenes or more probably, if Dio's words are to be interpreted freely, by officials resident at Nicaea. It is generally agreed that in Dio's day the ordinary tribute was collected by the cities from their own residents. This tithe of the Bithynians must thus have been some peculiar tax, and its nature and name suggest that it was the rent paid by the native cultivators of the once royal and now public lands; the tithe was a normal rent charged on royal lands in the hellenistic kingdoms, and the 'Bithynians', in the mouth of a citizen of one Bithynian city addressing those of another, must mean something else than the inhabitants of the province of Bithynia. An inscription from Prusias ad Hypium which draws a distinction between 'those on the register' and 'those who inhabit the rural territory' suggests that the native cultivators were not citizens of the Bithynian cities; the 'Bithynians', then, in distinction to the 'Hellenes in Bithynia', were perhaps like the Egyptians an inferior class.<sup>28</sup>

These various pieces of evidence suggest that Pompey, while assigning jurisdiction over the former royal lands to the cities, maintained the title of the Roman people to these lands and moreover entrusted the collection of the tithe which the kings had levied on them to a company of Roman tax-farmers. This company probably made Nicaea, the most central city of the province and the city which had the greatest part of the public lands under its jurisdiction, its head-quarters. When under the principate the farming system fell out of use, the tithe was collected either, if Dio's words are to be pressed, by the council of Nicaea, or more probably by imperial officials at Nicaea. The reason why Pompey adopted this curious and anomalous compromise is probably, as suggested above, that he was unwilling to disturb the vested interests of the tax-farmers who had bought the Bithynian tithe, while at the same time he had to provide for the government of the royal lands.

Besides reducing to a province the two kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus, Pompey settled the affairs of the free Paphlagonians. In the mountains south of the Olgassys range, hemmed in between Bithynia and Pontus to the north and the Galatians to the south, a remnant of the Paphlagonians had managed to preserve their independence. They first appear in history under a prince called Morzaeus who sent troops to assist the Gauls against Manlius in 189 B.C. and who was dispossessed by Pharnaces of Pontus in

179 B.C. but restored after the latter had been defeated by Eumenes and Ariarathes. His successor, who took the name of Pylaemenes, the leader of the Homeric Paphlagonians—the dynasty was evidently becoming hellenized—is recorded to have assisted the Romans in the war against Aristonicus in 133 B.C. Paphlagonia was coveted by the kings both of Pontus and Bithynia, and in about 101 B.C. Nicomedes and Mithridates conquered it and partitioned it between them. The Paphlagonians appealed to Rome and Nicomedes and Mithridates were ordered to evacuate their conquests. Mithridates stubbornly refused, alleging that Paphlagonia had been left to his father by the will of its prince, and Nicomedes evaded the commands of the Roman government by naming one of his sons Pylaemenes and setting him up as rightful king of Paphlagonia. The senate later insisted on the two kings evacuating the country, but in order to mollify them did not set up another king but decreed that the Paphlagonians should be 'free'. The natural result was that the country broke up into a number of petty principalities. Pompey gave the country to Attalus, one of the descendants of Pylaemenes, and the country was thus consolidated once more into a single principality. It was divided, on the model of the Pontic kingdom, into a number of hyparchies, which Strabo enumerates, Potamia, Timonitis, Marmolitis, Cimiataene, Sanisene, and Gaezatorigos; the last is an interesting name, indicating that this region had once been the principality of a Galatian chief, Gaezatorix, presumably in the period 95–66 B.C.<sup>29</sup>

The history of Bithynia after its annexation was comparatively uneventful. Caesar planted Roman colonies in Apamea and Heraclea. The former endured; the latter disappeared during the civil wars. Antony gave the non-colonial half of Heraclea to a Galatian chief named Adiatorix, and he and his men, with the connivance it was said of Antony, set upon the Roman colonists and wiped them out. The colony was never restored and Heraclea became once more a simple provincial city. Prusias ad Mare was ruled for a time, probably under Antony, by two queens, Musa Orsobaris, probably the daughter of Mithridates the Great, and Orodaltis, daughter of Lycomedes, also apparently a member of the Pontic royal family; when they were expelled Prusias seems not to have recovered its status of a free city. Two new cities made their appearance in Bithynia during Augustus' reign. One of these was styled Caesarea Germanice, and issued coins with the legend 'Germanicus Caesar the founder'; there are, however,



coins of 'Caesarea in Bithynia' of the reign of Augustus, and it must therefore have been originally founded by Augustus as Caesarea, and refounded with the additional name Germanice by Germanicus, during his mission to the eastern provinces in A.D. 17 to 19. The city lay, we know from Dio Chrysostom, near to Prusa and Apamea. Its coins bear representations of mount Olympus, which implies that its territory extended to that mountain; they also bear representations of a harbour, which must have been Dascylium, the only haven between Apamea and the mouth of the Rhyndacus.<sup>30</sup>

The territory of Caesarea Germanice has an interesting history. Dascylium was an ancient town; it was probably founded by one of the Lydian kings, for the father of Gyges, the founder of the Lydian dynasty, was named Dascylus. It is recorded in the quota lists as a member of the Delian confederacy in the fifth century B.C. and was during the same period, according to Herodotus and Thucydides, the capital of the Persian satrapy of Phrygia. The explanation of this curious contradiction probably is that it was only the port which was in Athenian hands, and that the satrap's residence was a little way inland. Xenophon describes Pharnabazus' palace as lying beside a river and surrounded with villages, parks, and hunting-grounds, a description which does not apply to the harbour of Dascylium, but would suit the neighbourhood of lake Dascylitis, which has now disappeared but lay between lake Apolloniatis and the sea on the course of the river Odryses. After the fall of the Persian empire Antigonos seems to have founded a city of Antigoneia on the site of the old satrapal capital, but it was apparently not a success and the satrapal estates passed into the possession of Cyzicus and Byzantium, presumably by gift or sale by one of the hellenistic kings. Byzantium is stated in 220 B.C. to have long owned a piece of territory, cultivated by native serfs, on the Bithynian border of Mysia. Strabo states that in his day lake Dascylitis was owned half by Cyzicus and half by Byzantium, and also alludes to 'what is now the Cyzicene territory around Dascylium'. These statements cannot be quite up to date, for early in the reign of Augustus the Rhyndacus was the boundary of Asia, and Cyzicus, which was in Asia, must therefore have lost its possessions east of the Rhyndacus. This probably happened in 20 B.C. when Augustus deprived the Cyzicenes of their freedom. It is not recorded when Byzantium lost its Mysian possessions, but it must presumably have happened at the same period. The Cyzicene and Byzantine halves of the region of Dascylium were

then united to form the territory of the new city Caesarea, which was built at a place called Helgas. Its inhabitants were the former serfs, Mysians of the tribe of the Mygdones, the harbour of Dascylium was its port.<sup>31</sup>

The second city created in Augustus' reign was Juliopolis on the upper course of the Sangarius. Its original name was Gordiucome and it received the status of a city and the name of Juliopolis from a certain Cleon whose adventurous career Strabo describes. He was a native of the place and a brigand by profession. He gained the favour of Antony by attacking with his band the tax-collectors of Labienus when he occupied Asia Minor as the leader of the Parthians, and, on Antony's defeat, adroitly changed sides and rendered assistance to Octavian's generals. As a result he was rewarded by both Antony and Octavian in turn, being made high priest of Zeus Abrettenus and dynast of part of Morene by the former and high priest of Comana Pontica by the latter. Juliopolis was, as Pliny the younger remarks, an extremely small city, but had a certain importance as lying on the main road from Bithynia to central Asia Minor. It is stated both by the elder and the younger Pliny to have been a Bithynian city, and is well within the frontier of the Bithynian kingdom. The territory of Gordiucome had presumably been part of the public lands, but to what city it had been assigned is unknown.<sup>32</sup>

Pliny states that Bithynia contained twelve cities. This statement is less instructive than it might have been, as we do not know the precise limits of Roman Bithynia against Roman Pontus. If it lay as Strabo states immediately west of Heraclea, the twelve would be Chalcedon, Nicomedia, Nicaea, Prusias ad Mare (or Cius as it now preferred to be called), Apamea, Caesarea-Germanice, Prusa, Juliopolis, Bithynium-Claudiopolis, Creteia-Flaviopolis, Prusias ad Hypium, and Byzantium, which was in the younger Pliny's time, and probably long had been, attached to Bithynia.<sup>33</sup>

In the Byzantine period the frontier of Bithynia was moved westward to include Apollonia on the Rhyndacus, Hadriani, and another city, Neocaesarea. In addition to this four new cities appeared in the original area of Bithynia, Dascylium, Helenopolis, Basilinopolis, and Praenetus. When Dascylium was separated from Caesarea-Germanice is not known; it first appears as a city in Hierocles. Helenopolis was founded in A.D. 318 by Constantine in honour of his mother, who had according to Procopius been a native of the place. Its original name was Drepane, and it is stated

to have been a village of Nicomedia; its inhabitants were collected from the neighbouring districts. Constantine according to Procopius did no more than give it the titular dignity of a city, and it was reserved for Justinian to erect its walls and public buildings and provide for its water-supply by an aqueduct. Praenetus is first mentioned as a city by Hierocles, and its bishop first appears in the fifth general council. It lay on the coast of the Astacene gulf between Helenopolis and Nicomedia and must therefore have previously belonged to the territory of the latter. The development of these two ports is due to the foundation of Constantinople and the consequent growth in importance of the roads from Bithynia to the east; it appears that travellers preferred to avoid the land journey from Chalcedon by Nicomedia to Nicaea and to take ship directly to one of these ports on the coast of the Astacene gulf and thence begin their land journey to Nicaea.<sup>34</sup>

It is not improbable that Helenopolis and Praenetus had earlier been 'regions' under Nicomedia. Basilinopolis, founded by Julian in honour of his mother Basilina, is known to have been a 'region' under Nicaea, and Julian established the council of his new city by transplanting thither a number of the decurions of Nicaea. These facts are known from the proceedings of the thirteenth action of the Council of Chalcedon, in which the bishop of Nicaea claimed metropolitan rights over Basilinopolis on these grounds. The claim was rejected and Basilinopolis is catalogued among the sees subject to Nicomedia in the Notitiae.<sup>35</sup>

Hierocles, as mentioned above, records separately the two 'regions' under Nicaea mentioned in the proceedings of the council of Chalcedon, and also records under Galatia Prima a 'region' of Lagania, which had belonged to Roman Bithynia: he is incidentally out of date in recording Lagania as a 'region', for Anastasius had raised it to city rank under the style of Anastasiopolis. His list of regions is almost certainly incomplete. The Notitiae record a large number of bishoprics subject to Nicaea. When one recalls the claim made by Nicaea to exercise metropolitan jurisdiction over Basilinopolis on the ground that it had been a 'region' under Nicaea, one suspects that these bishoprics were also 'regions' under Nicaea. This suspicion is raised to a certainty when one finds that one of the bishoprics is called Tottaium. The others are Numerica, Maximianae, Linoe, Gordoserba, and Mela or Modrene. The last was raised to city rank by Justinian under the style of Justinianopolis or Nova Justiniana Gordus, and is the only one of the 'regions' that can be located with any approach to

certainty. The district of Modrene is evidently named after Modra, which lay, according to Strabo, at the source of the Gallus, the principal affluent of the Sangarius, and Mela or Gordus must therefore have lain to the south-west of Nicaea.<sup>36</sup>

The Notitiae also record two or three bishoprics which were not cities in the ecclesiastical province of Nicomedia. They are Daphnusia, an island on the coast of the Euxine west of the Sangarius, Cadosia or Lophi, and Gallus; the two latter are separated in one Notitia only. Gallus presumably lay on the Gallus. Cadosia or Lophi, since it was generally united with Gallus, presumably lay next to it. These bishoprics may have been 'regions' under Nicomedia or some other city of its province. One of them is probably identical with the regio Tarsia mentioned in the fourth century east of Lake Sophon.<sup>37</sup>

Pompey's organization of the kingdoms of Pontus and of Paphlagonia had not the same permanence as had his arrangements in Bithynia: 'Afterwards,' says Strabo, 'the Roman leaders made various different divisions, setting up kings and dynasts, and freeing some cities, and putting others under dynasts, and leaving others under the rule of the Roman people.' The first changes were made by Caesar, only about twenty years after Pompey's settlement. He freed Amisus and planted a Roman colony in Sinope. He took Armenia Minor from Deiotarus and gave it to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, and also deposed Archelaus, the son of the Archelaus whom Pompey had made high priest and dynast of Comana, and installed in his place a certain Lycomedes, at the same time enlarging the principality by adding a further radius of a hundred and twenty stades to the sixty Pompey had given Archelaus. This statement of Strabo can hardly be taken literally, for if Lycomedes' principality was bounded by an exact circle, radius a hundred and eighty stades, centre Comana, it would have come right up to the walls of Magnopolis and Diospolis. In point of fact Strabo does not mention any loss of territory by neighbouring cities except by Zela and Megalopolis, and it therefore looks as if the extension of the principality was not symmetrical but more pronounced on the south, at the expense of Megalopolis, and on the west, at the expense of Zela.<sup>38</sup>

The great majority of the changes were due to Antony, who completely upset Pompey's settlement. He granted the two cities of Pontic Paphlagonia, Pompeiopolis, and Neapolis, to the dynasts of the principality of Paphlagonia, to whom he also gave some districts of eastern Bithynia. These donations were probably

made either in 40 B.C., when Attalus died and Antony gave the united principalities of Paphlagonia and Galatia to Castor, son of Castor Tarcondarius, or on the death of Castor in 37 B.C., when he gave Paphlagonia to his son Deiotarus Philadelphus. He gave Amisus to 'kings'; Amaseia was also, according to Strabo, given to 'kings', presumably by Antony; and Megalopolis seems to have been granted to a dynast. The city of Zela was broken up. A part of its territory had already, as we have seen, been annexed by Caesar to the principality of Comana. Another part, the province Caranitis, was now granted as a principality to a Galatian noble named Ateporix and in Zela itself the power of the high priests was revived. Finally, Antony revived a kingdom of Pontus. This title was first granted in 40 B.C. to Darius, son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates the Great. A few years later Polemo, the rhetorician of Laodicea, is found in possession of the kingdom, to which in 34 B.C. was added Armenia Minor.<sup>39</sup>

Thus by Antony's death hardly a remnant of Pompey's system of city states was left, and practically the whole of the former kingdom of Pontus had come under the rule of kings and dynasts. The process by which republican government was restored was gradual, the old cities being freed or new cities created as the several dynasts died or were deposed, until eventually a system similar in principle to Pompey's, but not identical in detail, was brought once more into being. The first step was taken in 30 B.C. when Augustus deposed Strato the tyrant of Amisus and made Amisus a free city once more. Then in 6 B.C. Deiotarus Philadelphus died and Paphlagonia was annexed. We possess an interesting memorial of this annexation in the oath of allegiance to the emperor taken by all the inhabitants of the principality in 4 B.C. The oath was administered at Gangra, the royal capital, and at the shrines of Augustus in the several hyparchies—the last word is a restoration only, but a plausible one, from the initial letter. The inscription in question was erected at Neapolis, and records the taking of the oath by 'the Phazemonitae who inhabit the so-called Neapolis'. The use of this phrase, instead of 'the people of the Neapolites', as well as the allusion to hyparchies, and not cities, in the preamble, implies that the dynasts had undone Pompey's work and assimilated the two cities of Pontic Paphlagonia to the centralized administrative scheme of the principality. Pompeiopolis and Neapolis were now restored to city status, and later issued coins dated from the era of 6 B.C., the former sometimes under its original name, sometimes under that

of Sebaste, the latter under the name of Neoclaudiopolis. The old royal capital was at the same time raised to city rank, and later issued coins, dated from the era of 6 B.C., under the style of Germanicopolis, with the epithets 'the most ancient of Paphlagonia' and 'the hearth of the gods'. These coins bear representations of the fortress of Gangra and of two river-gods, the Xanthus and the Halys. The territory of the city must therefore have extended to the Halys and been contiguous with that of Amaseia; it probably comprised the whole of the ancient principality of Paphlagonia.<sup>40</sup>

On the western frontier of Paphlagonia, in the upper basin of the Billaeus, a new city appears, named at first Caesarea of the Proseilemmenitae and later Caesarea Hadrianopolis, or simply Hadrianopolis. The original name shows that the district in which it lay was a later addition to some unit. As the city belonged in the second century to the province of Galatia, the district must have been taken from Bithynia and added to Paphlagonia, which formed part of the province of Galatia from its annexation. The most likely author of the transfer is Antony, who no doubt granted an adjacent strip of the Bithynian public lands to the king of Paphlagonia. The city may have been founded by king Philadelphus, or by Augustus on the annexation; it is first mentioned in the early years of Trajan.

Two other cities are found in the same district in the Byzantine period, Dadybra and Sora; both are mentioned in Hierocles' list and Justinian's twenty-ninth novel. Though neither issued coins it is quite possible that they were cities under the principate—Hadrianopolis though certainly a city issued no coins—and Dadybra may have been founded by one of the later kings of Paphlagonia; for it is perhaps identical with the Antoniopolis mentioned by the itineraries on the Creteia-Gangra road. It is possible that the 'region' of Mnizus, catalogued by Hierocles under Galatia Prima, was another section of the Bithynian public lands transferred to Paphlagonia at the same time. The 'region' of Mnizus was contiguous with that of Lagania, which as we have seen was part of the Bithynian public lands, but Mnizus according to Ptolemy was in Paphlagonia.<sup>41</sup>

In 3 B.C. Ateporix died and Caranitis was annexed and transformed into a city, its capital Carana being enlarged and renamed Sebastopolis; it sometimes bears the additional name of Heracleopolis on its coins, which are dated from 3 B.C. Next year the unknown dynast of Amaseia died or was deposed, and Amaseia

regained the status of a city, issuing coins dated from 2 B.C. About the same time Megalopolis passed out of the hands of its dynast, who was perhaps the same as he who held Amaseia, but shortly, as we shall see, was assigned to Pythodoris.<sup>42</sup>

At Comana Lycomedes was deposed by Octavian after Actium. The principality was next granted to Cleon of Gordiucome, the brigand chief whose early adventures have been described above. His tenure of the high priesthood was short; for having impiously defied the local taboo upon pigs he was smitten by the goddess—or possibly, as Strabo sceptically suggests, by the natural effects of over-indulgence—and died within a month. He was succeeded by a Galatian noble named Dyteutus who owed his elevation to the throne to a most romantic incident. He was the eldest son of the Adiatorix who massacred the Roman colony at Heraclea, and after being led in triumph by Augustus had been condemned to die with his father. When, however, the executioners came to execute the sentence, two sons of Adiatorix both claimed to be eldest. The competition in self-sacrifice was finally settled by the parents, who persuaded Dyteutus to allow his younger brother to be executed in his stead, in order that his mother and youngest brother might have the eldest brother to protect them on the father's death. This incident came to the ears of Augustus and he was so much touched by it that he made Dyteutus high priest and prince of Comana. Dyteutus' line died out in A.D. 34, and the principality was converted into a city; Comana issued coins dated from this era. It later took the style of Hierocaesarea, but this change did not prove permanent, and in the Byzantine period it was Comana once more. Amaseia, Sebastopolis, and Comana were known as Pontus Galaticus, presumably because they were the first Pontic cities to be attached to the province of Galatia.<sup>43</sup>

We must now turn to Polemo's kingdom. Augustus allowed Polemo to keep Pontus, but apparently took from him Armenia Minor, which was granted first to Artavasdes, ex-king of Media, and on his death in 20 B.C. to Archelaus of Cappadocia. Polemo died in about 8 B.C. and was succeeded by his widow Pythodoris. Pythodoris seems to have been entrusted with a larger kingdom than her husband had held; for she ruled not only Diospolis, which she renamed Sebaste and made her capital, and Phanaroea and Pharnaceia and Trapezus with the adjacent tribes, all of which she may have inherited from Polemo, but also Zela, which had in Antony's day been a separate priestly principality, and Megalopolis, which had been subject to an unknown dynast who

died between 2 B.C. and A.D. 2. She later married Archelaus of Cappadocia and survived him also—he died in A.D. 17—but for how long is unknown. The fate of the kingdoms of Pontus and Armenia Minor after the deaths of Pythodoris and Archelaus is not known but they were probably annexed according to the general policy of Tiberius. Both kingdoms were revived by Gaius, who in A.D. 38 granted Pontus to Polemo II the grandson of Polemo I, and Armenia Minor to his brother Cotys. Pontus was annexed in A.D. 64, Polemo being deposed. In Armenia Minor Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, who had succeeded Cotys in A.D. 54, was allowed to rule until A.D. 72, when Vespasian transferred him to another kingdom.<sup>44</sup>

Polemo's kingdom, known henceforth as Pontus Polemoniachus, was resolved into its six constituent cities. Trapezus became, according to Pliny, a free city and Pharnaceia adopted now if not earlier the old name of Cerasus; to these cities were probably attributed the savage tribes of the interior, of which nothing more is heard. The old royal capital Cabeira-Diospolis-Sebaste was given yet another new name, Neocaesarea; this last name stuck and still survives as Niksar. Zela became a city once more, and Megalopolis regained its autonomy under the name of Sebasteia. These five cities all issued coins, the first four dated from the era of the annexation, A.D. 64, the last from the era of its first liberation, 2 B.C. to A.D. 2. The sixth city was not Magnopolis of the Phanaroea, as might have been expected. Magnopolis had evidently not proved a success; it may be noted that Strabo, although he records its completion by Pompey, always speaks of the district as the Phanaroea in his account of the contemporary geography of Pontus. Polemo I replaced it by a new foundation on the coast, named after himself Polemonium, to which he probably transferred the surviving citizens. The site of Polemonium raises a difficulty, for Sidene, in which it lay, was in Strabo's day part of the territory of the free city of Amisus. Now in Strabo's time the territory of Amisus included only half of Gazelonitis; in Arrian's time it stretched right up to the Halys. We must therefore presume that Polemo I exchanged the western half of Gazelonitis, which he had somehow inherited from Deiotarus, for Sidene, to the mutual profit of Amisus and himself. Polemonium, although it issued no coins, was certainly a city, for it is so called in Arrian's *Periplus of the Euxine*, which is a semi-official document.<sup>45</sup>

Armenia Minor was a far more backward kingdom than Pontus.



On its annexation it contained one city only, Pompey's foundation of Nicopolis, which issued coins dated from the era of its liberation, A.D. 72. It was the metropolis of Armenia Minor, and had by the third century become a colony with the *ius Italicum*. For the rest Armenia is divided by Ptolemy into a number of districts, Orbalisene, Aetulene, Haeretice, Orsene, and Orbisene. In the Byzantine period the country was partitioned between three cities, Nicopolis, Satala, and Colonia. Satala, which was in Orsene, owed its existence to being a legionary camp; legion XV Apollinaris, which was moved to the Euphrates frontier by Trajan, was stationed there. Colonia was presumably a colony founded for veterans of the legion. The two cities may be presumed to have been founded in the latter half of the second or the first half of the third century, though there is no definite evidence of their city status till the fourth.<sup>46</sup>

We are exceptionally well informed on the political geography in Byzantine times of what had been the kingdom of Pontus and the principality of Paphlagonia, for we possess not only the lists of Hierocles but a really first-class authority in Justinian's twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-first novels. From these it appears that in the main there had been little change since the second century. All the old cities survived, and some new cities have appeared. Sora and Dadybra in Paphlagonia, and Satala and Colonia in Armenia Minor have been already discussed. There remain Ibora, Euchaita, Verisa, and Leontopolis. Ibora is first mentioned as a city towards the end of the fourth century by Gregory of Nyssa. It lay in Dazimonitis near the Iris and must in Roman times have been part of the territory of Comana, or perhaps of Neocaesarea. Ibora is mentioned by both Hierocles and Justinian. Euchaita and Verisa are both omitted by Hierocles. They must nevertheless have existed in his day, and existed for some time, for Justinian catalogues them without comment, whereas he notes of Leontopolis, which must have been founded earlier than 474, that it had recently become a city. Euchaita lay in what had in Strabo's time been the territory of Amaseia, Verisa in what had probably been the territory of Sebastopolis. The last city, Leontopolis, is given by Hierocles under the obsolete name of Saltus Zalichen. It probably lay on the Zalaecus, a stream west of the Halys, and must therefore have been during the principate within the territory of Sinope, which was according to Arrian separated from that of Amisus by the Halys. The imperial estate was apparently of sufficient

importance to be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Sinope in the Byzantine period and eventually to become a separate city.<sup>47</sup>

The urbanization of Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus retained to the end the artificial character which it had had at the beginning. The inhabitants of these regions did not take naturally to city life. The few cities that there were were either Greek colonies or artificial creations of the central government, and these cities ruled enormous territories where the primitive village life of the natives continued to flourish unaffected by them. Pompey had partitioned up the kingdoms into city territories for administrative convenience, and his system was maintained and extended by later rulers for the same motive. It had no effect on the civilization of the district, which remained essentially of a rural type.

East of Trapezus on the coast of the Euxine civilization ceased except for a few scattered Greek colonies. Only one of these survived in the Roman period, Dioscurias on the southern slope of the Caucasus. This city had once been a prosperous centre of trade, frequented by the tribes of the Caucasian mountains; according to some authorities seventy, and according to others three hundred different languages were spoken in its market. By the time that the region came under Roman rule the days of its greatness were past; Strabo is sceptical about the number of languages spoken in it—though there is nothing incredible in the numbers given in view of the amazing multiplicity of languages still current in Caucasia—and Pliny calls it a deserted city. This like so many similar statements in ancient authors is an exaggeration, for in Hadrian's reign Dioscurias, or rather Sebastopolis, as it was called from the reign of Augustus, was still a city. The intervening coast was inhabited by a series of tribes under Roman suzerainty. Arrian's report to Hadrian gives a vivid picture of conditions in the second century. Most of the tribes then paid tribute to the Romans, and their kings had received their crowns from Trajan and Hadrian. The immediate neighbours of Trapezus, the Sanni, were at the moment kingless and had ceased to pay their tribute, but Arrian hoped to subdue them soon. The two tribes next along the coast, the Machelones and the Heniochi, were under a king Anchialus and beyond them the Zydritae were subject to Pharasmanes, the king of Iberia, also a protected kingdom. Beyond them Malassas king of the Lazi, Julian king of the Apsilae, Rhesmagas king of the Abasgi, and Spadagas king of the Sannigae, in whose land Sebastopolis lay, were all nominees of the Roman government. The Romans maintained garrisons at

points along the coast, one at Hyscus on the border of the Trapezuntine territory, a second at Apsarus, a third at the mouth of the Phasis, and a fourth at Sebastopolis itself. The region remained under Roman rule throughout the Byzantine period, and under Justinian very similar conditions seem to have prevailed as did five centuries before. The country was ruled from a series of forts. The frontier had been extended some forty miles, and Pityus was now the last Roman station; Sebastopolis had sunk to be a mere fortress. Justinian raised it to city rank once more, and made Petra among the Lazi into a city. Otherwise the tribal organization still subsisted. Some of the tribes, the Tzani (Sanni), the Lazi, the Apsilae, and the Abasgi had remained unchanged from the second century; others had given place to new-comers, the Suani and the Scymni.<sup>48</sup>

## VII. CAPPADOCIA

THE royal house of the Ariarathids claimed to have been kings of Cappadocia from the days of Darius. This, however, is a fiction of a court historian. In reality Cappadocia was a regular satrapy and the first member of the family to rule the country was Ariarathes, satrap of Cappadocia when Alexander conquered the Persian empire. He did not make his submission to Alexander, but was after Alexander's death conquered and executed by Perdiccas, who installed in his stead Eumenes of Cardia, to whom Cappadocia had been allotted at the conference of Babylon. Eumenes was proscribed after the death of his patron Perdiccas and his satrapy allotted to Nicanor at the conference of Triparadisus. He was not, however, actually dispossessed until some years later, when Antigonus took over his dominions. Antigonus was in his turn eliminated by the battle of Ipsus, and Lysimachus, who had succeeded to his possessions in Asia Minor, was in his turn again conquered by Seleucus Nicator at Corupedion. Thus the Seleucids acquired the rights of the Macedonian monarchy over Cappadocia. Those rights had, however, by this time become rather shadowy. In the northern part of the satrapy Mithridates had already established the kingdom of Pontus. The southern part, Cappadocia Seleucis as it was called in contrast to Pontus, Seleucus and his successors did control for a while. Even here, however, their rule was shortlived, for towards the end of the reign of Antiochus I, or in the early years of his successor, Ariaramnes, a grandson of Ariarathes the satrap, succeeded in conquering a kingdom for himself in southern Cappadocia; his coins, on which he does not claim the royal title, are extant. His son Ariarathes took the title of king about 255 B.C. and further asserted his independent sovereignty by founding the city of Ariarathia. He was apparently recognized by Antiochus II, who gave him his daughter Stratonice in marriage, and ceded to him, perhaps as his daughter's dowry, the province of Cataonia, which included the later Cataonia and Melitene. This Ariarathes, who is usually called the third, since his great-grandfather the satrap is reckoned as founder of the dynasty, was succeeded in 220 B.C. by Ariarathes IV Eusebes, and he in 163 B.C. by Ariarathes V, also called Eusebes. Ariarathes V was an enthusiastic hellenist, a citizen of Athens, a patron of the drama, and

a student of Carneades the philosopher. He did his best to introduce Hellenic institutions into his kingdom and founded several cities. Those which survived to the Roman period, the two Eusebeias and Nyssa, will be discussed later. An inscription, which seems to date from the late second or early first century B.C., has revealed the existence of another which disappeared in later times, Anisa, about fifty miles north-east of Mazaca. The Anisenes call themselves a *politeuma*, that is a self-governing community which was not a full city, but they seem to have possessed a fully developed constitution. The decree is dated both by 'the year seven', which may be the regnal year or the year of the city era, and by the eponymous city magistrate, the *demiurgus*, and is passed in full form by the council and people, on the proposal of the presidents. The subject-matter of the decree also shows that the community had high privileges. It concerns an intestate estate which was disputed between certain citizens and the people, and eventually gained by the latter. This does not prove that the *politeuma* possessed a territory, but it does show that it was a highly privileged corporation; the reversion of the intestate estates of their citizens was a right later denied to most cities of the Roman empire. The case was tried before the finance minister of the kingdom and another official vaguely described as 'in charge of the city in Eusebeia' (the capital). This phrase seems to denote not the royal prefect of Eusebeia—it is difficult to see what concern he can have had in the case—but the prefect of Anisa who resided in Eusebeia. This official represented the royal authority over the corporation; he is the only trace of royal control. The names of the citizens mentioned are nearly all Cappadocian—as indeed are those of the fathers of the royal officials. The community was therefore formed of natives, slightly hellenized, and not of imported Greek colonists.<sup>1</sup>

This inscription reveals how advanced the policy of Ariarathes V was. Despite his efforts, however, Cappadocia remained as a whole a very backward country with a primitive tribe and village economy. The Greek language made very slow headway against the native tongue. In Strabo's day the native language was still dominant; he remarks that there was no distinction between Cappadocian and Cataonian. Even in the fourth century A.D. Cappadocian was still commonly spoken, for Basil observes that the divine providence had saved his countrymen from a somewhat obscure heresy, since the grammatical structure of their native tongue did not permit the distinction between 'with' and

'and'. Cappadocian Greek was very bad; Philostratus in the third century notes 'the thick utterance habitual with the Cappadocians, confusing the consonants, and shortening the long vowels and lengthening the short'.<sup>2</sup>

Ariarathes V was a loyal ally of Rome and met his death fighting Aristonicus, the pretender to the kingdom of Pergamum. He was posthumously rewarded for his loyalty by the grant of Lycaonia and 'Cilicia' from the Pergamene dominions. These regions never seem, however, to have been effectively annexed to Cappadocia, for at his death the affairs of the kingdom fell into great confusion. His widow Nysa exercised a regency in the name of her sons, five of whom she successively murdered in order to retain the power. Eventually the sixth son, Ariarathes VI Epiphanes, succeeded in stemming the flood of assassination and reigned for about fifteen years. He married Laodice, sister of Mithridates the Great, and Cappadocia thus fell under the influence of Pontus. Mithridates in 111 B.C. strengthened his hold on Cappadocia by procuring the murder of Ariarathes by a certain Gordius, and Laodice succeeded as regent for her son Ariarathes VII Philometor. When the latter began to show signs of an independent spirit—he not unnaturally refused the services of Gordius as prime minister—he was murdered by Mithridates, who installed a son of his own as king under the style of Ariarathes Eusebes Philopator. The rightful heir, the younger brother of Philometor, was killed in endeavouring to recover his kingdom, and so the old royal line was exterminated. At this stage the Roman senate intervened, ordered Mithridates to withdraw his son, and proclaimed that the Cappadocians should be free, i.e. have no king. They did not, however, appreciate the favour and asked that a king be chosen for them. The senate accordingly selected a Cappadocian notable, Ariobarzanes. He had an uneasy reign, for during a large part of it Cappadocia was occupied by Mithridates or by Tigranes of Armenia. His line, however, continued to rule under Roman protection with increasing feebleness until in 36 B.C. Antony put Archelaus, the great-grandson of Mithridates' general of that name, on the throne. He seems on the whole to have been an able and energetic ruler, but fell into senile decay at the end of his very long reign. Eventually, in A.D. 17, Tiberius deposed him and annexed the kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

Strabo gives an admirable description of Cappadocia as it was in his day, that is shortly before the annexation. The administration, which was of the centralized bureaucratic type, seems to have

been modelled on that of Egypt. The inscription of Anisa shows that the finance minister bore a title derived from Egypt (*archidioecetes*) and that he had, like his Egyptian prototype, very extensive powers, including jurisdiction in all cases affecting the revenue. The kingdom was divided into a number of territorial units, called, from the title of their governors, *strategiae*. The original kingdom comprised ten *strategiae*, to which Pompey had added a part of Lycaonia, which formed an eleventh *strategia*. Augustus had made further additions to Archelaus' kingdom, Armenia Minor and parts of Cilicia Tracheia, but these were not assimilated to the administrative scheme of the rest of the kingdom, and were not included in the province of Cappadocia established by Tiberius; they will, accordingly, not be discussed in this chapter. The ten original *strategiae* were, along the southern frontier from west to east, Garsauritis, Tyanitis, Cilicia, Cataonia, and Melitene, along the northern frontier, also from west to east, Morimene, Chamanene, Saravene, and Laviansene, in the centre, east of Cilicia, Sargarausene. The eleventh *strategia* lay west of Tyanitis; its capital was Cybistra.<sup>4</sup>

It may be noted that only two of the *strategiae*, Garsauritis and Tyanitis, were named after towns. The other names, with the exception of Cilicia, so-called because it had formed part of the Persian satrapy of Cilicia, are probably tribal in origin. The Cataonians were certainly a tribe and Strabo once alludes to the Morimeni as a people; for the other *strategiae* positive evidence is lacking, but the absence of towns with names corresponding to those of the *strategiae* strongly suggests a tribal origin for the provincial names. The two apparent exceptions, Melitene and Aquae Saravenae, prove the rule, for they are of later origin and their names are clearly derived from the provincial names, since they contain the provincial termination *-ene*. The character of the provincial names thus shows that Cappadocia was a backward country. The population lived in villages and had never risen above a tribal organization, which had been taken over by the royal government to form the basis of its administrative scheme.<sup>5</sup>

There were according to Strabo only two cities in Cappadocia proper, Tyana in Tyanitis, and Mazaca in Cilicia. The former was a very ancient town; it was the capital of a Hittite kingdom in the second millennium B.C. and under the Persian empire it still flourished—Xenophon in the *Anabasis* mentions it under the name of Dana as a large and prosperous city. It owed its prosperity partly to the fertility of the surrounding country,

which Strabo praises highly, but more to its position on the great high road through the Cilician Gates. Mazaca, on the other hand, was comparatively modern; it owed its rise to its having been selected by the Cappadocian kings as their capital. Its site had many natural disadvantages, which Strabo details at great length. It was waterless; the surrounding country was sandy and rocky and mostly uncultivable; in the neighbourhood were marshes which produced an unhealthy miasma. On the other hand, from the point of view of the kings, it had strong countervailing advantages. It possessed an abundance of building-stone, and, what was more important in a treeless country like Cappadocia, of timber from the neighbouring Mount Argæus; the surrounding pastures were admirably suited for the breeding of the horses which formed the principal strength of the army; above all it was centrally placed in the kingdom. The choice of the kings proved wise, for the city flourished and is still an important town.<sup>6</sup>

Both these towns had Greek constitutions. Their official titles under the kingdom, Eusebeia by the Taurus and Eusebeia under the Argæus, show that they received their city status from Ariarathes IV or V, probably the latter in view of his well-known leanings towards Hellenism. The Mazacenes, we are told, used the laws of Charondas; the revival of this antiquated code seems a curious piece of archaism on the part of the royal founder, but may have been quite a sensible step—the Mazacenes were no doubt at much the same stage of civilization in the second century as the Catanians in the seventh. Both Mazaca and Tyana are frequently alluded to as Greek cities in the ancient authors, but it is highly improbable that they contained many citizens of Greek blood. It is significant that at Tyana, which Philostratus, the biographer of Apollonius of Tyana, emphatically calls 'a Greek city in the Cappadocian nation', one of the early gymnasiarchs—under Ariarathes VI Epiphanes—bore the purely barbarian name of Atezoas son of Dryenus.<sup>7</sup>

Beside these two cities of Cappadocia proper, Cybistra, the capital of the eleventh *strategia*, had city status in Strabo's time. Like its neighbour Tyana it was a town of very great antiquity, being mentioned in the Hittite records under the form Kubisna. Like Tyana too it derived its importance from its situation on the great high road through the Cilician Gates.<sup>8</sup>

Strabo's assertion that Tyana and Mazaca were the only cities in Cappadocia proper receives apparent support from the imperial coinage of the province, which is confined to these two mints.



There were, however, undoubtedly other cities in Cappadocia in Roman times. For instance, three Roman colonies existed, Archelais founded by Claudius, Arca, probably founded by Hadrian, and Faustianiana founded by Marcus Aurelius. Moreover, Comana was certainly a city in the days of Hadrian, for an inscription has been found there set up in his honour by 'the council and people of Hieropolis'. Diocaesarea must also, to judge by its name, which can be traced back to the first century A.D., have been a city, and Melitene is stated to have been granted municipal rights by Trajan. The absence of coinage is thus under the principate no proof of the lack of city status. It might be argued that the emperors confined the right of coinage to those cities which already existed when the kingdom was annexed, and refused it to all later creations. An examination of the evidence, however, shows that this explanation will not hold water. Some of the cities of the Roman period can be proved to have possessed city rights before the annexation, and the privileged position of Tyana and Mazaca must have been due not to their seniority but to their commercial importance.<sup>9</sup>

In two cases Strabo's silence can be accounted for by the fact that his information about Cappadocia was slightly out of date when he published his work. Strabo professes to bring his account down to the date of the annexation, which he mentions as having recently taken place. There are, however, various pieces of evidence which show that he had composed his account or at any rate collected his materials some thirty years earlier, and that the passage mentioning the annexation is an additional note which he inserted without revising the text as a whole. For instance, he does not mention that Archelaus changed the name of Mazaca to Caesarea; this, as we know from the coins, took place between 12 and 9 B.C. Nor is he aware of two more important changes—the grant of city rights to Garsaura and Comana.<sup>10</sup>

These were both very ancient towns. Both were capitals of Hittite kingdoms, and Comana also figures in the Assyrian documents. Garsaura had fallen from its ancient greatness by Strabo's time, but was still a place of importance as a station on the road from Iconium to Mazaca and as a provincial capital. Strabo calls it a *comopolis*, i.e. a town too big to be called a village but lacking autonomy. He is unaware that Archelaus had towards the end of his reign renamed it Archelais; the grant of a dynastic name probably implies city status. Comana owed its importance to the great temple of Ma or Enyo which it contained. The goddess

owned extensive sacred lands and huge numbers of sacred serfs—over six thousand at the time of Strabo's visit. The high priest, who drew the revenues of the sacred land and was absolute master, under the king, of the serfs, was second only to the king in the order of precedence of the kingdom; he was normally a member of the royal family. The town, while considerable, was inhabited almost entirely by the sacred serfs and devotees of the goddess. Comana was, in fact, when Strabo was there, a typical priestly principality. Yet there exists a dedication to Archelaus set up by 'the people' of the town. Archelaus must then have converted the priestly principality into a city. He probably gave it the name Hieropolis, which it bore officially under Hadrian; the old name survived, and outlived the rather colourless official title. The people of the city were native Cataonians; how little hellenized they were is shown by the names of the two known *prytaneis* of the city, Mitras Appas (late first century A.D.) and Maebuzanes (early second century).<sup>11</sup>

Strabo's omission of these cities can be accounted for by their having been created after he had finished his Cappadocian chapter. There existed, however, at any rate one city, and possibly two, of far older origin, whose omission must be due to carelessness. Ariarathia in the *strategia* of Sargarausene was founded by Ariarathes III. Its dynastic name is not a proof that it was a genuine city from its foundation: the Hellenistic kings often named towns after themselves or members of their family without giving them city rights. There is, however, better evidence of the status of the town than is afforded by its name. An Athenian decree of the middle of the second century B.C., granting citizenship to a certain man (the name is lost) son of Mithraxides, qualifies him as 'Ariarathes'. The use of the ethnic in an official document of this type is a definite indication of city status. It may be noted that the father of this citizen of Ariarathia had a frankly barbarian name. The only other known citizen of the town, a sculptor who worked at Samos in the late second or early first century B.C., had a Greek patronymic, Menodorus. He may have been a Greek but such theophoric names were very popular with barbarians.<sup>12</sup>

The other city whose early origin is possible is Nyssa, in Morimene. It is first mentioned by Ptolemy, and first proved to be a city in the latter half of the fourth century, when Basil implicitly contrasts Nyssa and Parnassus with the village of Doara. Its name looks like a Cappadocian mispronunciation of Nysa, in

which case it would have been a foundation of that queen, or of her husband Ariarathes V or her son and ward Ariarathes VI in her honour.<sup>13</sup>

There is no evidence for the existence of other cities under the kings. Even towns were uncommon. Parnassus is mentioned by Polybius in his account of the campaign of Ariarathes IV and his ally, Eumenes II of Pergamum, against Pharnaces of Pontus in 183 B.C., but there is no indication that it was a city; the earliest evidence for its city rank is the passage cited above from Basil's letters. There were other great temples besides that of Comana, one of the Cataonian Apollo, another of Zeus Asbamaeus near Tyana, and a third of Zeus at Venasa in Morimene. The last was the most important; the high priest ranked third in the kingdom, and drew a revenue of fifteen talents a year from the sacred land. The temple village, inhabited by three thousand sacred serfs, notwithstanding this never rose to be a city.<sup>14</sup>

When the kingdom was annexed in A.D. 17 it was placed at first under a procurator of equestrian rank; it had indeed already during the latter years of Archelaus, whose advanced age made him incapable of superintending the government personally, been under the charge of a Roman procurator. When in A.D. 72 Vespasian posted two legions on the upper Euphrates, one of them in Melitene, he replaced the procurator by a consular legate, who also ruled Galatia, Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus and Pemoniacus, and Armenia Minor. Trajan bisected this huge complex, leaving Armenia Minor and the Pontic districts under the consular of Cappadocia. This arrangement endured till the Diocletianic reorganization.<sup>15</sup>

During the first three centuries of its existence we know very little of the internal history of the province. Probably the main lines of the royal administration were preserved, as they were in most of the other kingdoms annexed under the principate. In general, the administration remained of a centralized bureaucratic type, and a large proportion of the area of the province, which had been royal land, became public land. The cities which had existed under the kingdom maintained their autonomy, and some of them received additional privileges; Archelais was made a Roman colony by Claudius and Tyana by Caracalla. Gradually additions were made to their number. The town of Nazianzus in Garsauritis received city rights under the name of Diocaesarea sometime in the middle of the first century A.D. The legionary camp in Melitene was given municipal status by Trajan, and

became the city of Melitene. Arca near by was already early in Marcus Aurelius' reign a colony, probably of veterans. Marcus founded another colony, the Colonia Faustianiana or Faustino-polis, at the village of Halala, on the road from Cybistra to the Cilician Gates, at the place where his wife Faustina had died. Parnassus, in Morimene west of Nyssa, must also have received city status sometime during this period, for it was a city by the second half of the fourth century. It may be noted that for the most part the cities were concentrated in the three western *strategiae*. Cilicia, Sargarausene, and Cataonia had one city each, Melitene two, Chamanene, Saravene, and Laviansene had none. The other three, Morimene, Garsauritis, and Tyanitis, had two each. From this it is plain that the city territories cannot have been very large, not larger than half a *strategia* at most. It will later appear that each of the three *strategiae* possessing two cities also contained a 'region' of imperial land, so that the city territories cannot have averaged more than a third of a *strategia*.<sup>16</sup>

In the Diocletianic reorganization of the empire Cappadocia was split into two. The western half continued to be called Cappadocia. The smaller eastern half was for a while attached to Armenia Minor but before the end of the fourth century became a separate province under the style of Armenia Secunda. Armenia Secunda consisted in the sixth century, as we know from Hierocles supported by Justinian, of six cities, Ariaratheia, Comana, Melitene, Arca, Arabissus, and Cucusus. The first four were certainly already cities before the institution of the province. The last is described by Theodoret, in the first half of the fifth century, as a small city, formerly attached to Cappadocia and now to Armenia Secunda. Theodoret is usually accurate in his use of the term city, so we may take it that Cucusus really was a city in his day. Whether it had been a city before the institution of Armenia Secunda, or was raised to that status when the province was formed it is more difficult to decide. Nothing is known of Arabissus. The probability then is that Armenia Secunda was formed from four existing cities and two new cities created for the purpose. It must have included Cataonia, Melitene, and a part at any rate of Sargarausene; Comana, Cucusus, and Arabissus were in the first, Arca and Melitene in the second, and Ariaratheia in the third. The thirty-first novel makes it clear that the province consisted of the six cities and nothing more. Their territories must then have been quite extensive.<sup>17</sup>

The remainder of Cappadocia was divided by Valens in A.D.

371-2 into two provinces, Prima and Secunda. Caesarea remained the capital of Prima; the village of Podandus, just north of the Cilician Gates, was apparently at first intended to be the capital of Secunda, for Valens transplanted thither many of the *curiales* of Caesarea, but the project was soon abandoned, and Tyana was made the capital of the new province. This division of Cappadocia caused intense annoyance to Basil, bishop of Caesarea, for, in accordance with the practice of the day, the ecclesiastical organization followed the civil and Basil thus found himself robbed of half of his metropolitan jurisdiction by his rival Anthimus of Tyana. A bitter struggle between the two metropolitans followed, in which each tried to cajole the existing bishops to his own camp and to consecrate a bishop of his own faction in any see which fell vacant. Basil also tried to strengthen his position by raising certain villages to the rank of bishoprics. As a result of this struggle the boundaries of the civil and ecclesiastical provinces ceased to coincide, for the church maintained the *status quo* when peace was finally restored, and the civil government took no notice of the struggle. Unfortunately, our authorities for the provinces are mostly ecclesiastical—conciliar lists or episcopal Notitiae. We have, however, one secular authority of undoubted authenticity—Justinian's thirtieth novel. This makes it quite clear that Cappadocia Prima—or Cappadocia as Justinian terms it without any qualification—contained one city only, Caesarea, and in addition to it very large areas of imperial lands. Our version of Hierocles assigns Nyssa, which was certainly by this time a city and must therefore have been in Secunda, to Prima. Nyssa appears in all the conciliar lists and the Notitiae in Prima, and we happened to know why it remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Caesarea although in the civil province of Secunda; its bishop during the struggle was Basil's brother Gregory. It thus appears that Hierocles' list is contaminated by ecclesiastical sources; in fact it corresponds exactly with regard to the provincial boundaries with the lists of the council of Chalcedon and the Epistle to Leo. For the civil organization of Cappadocia it is almost useless.<sup>18</sup>

Since Hierocles fails us, we must fall back on arguments of general probability in order to reconstitute the two provinces. Valens' division of Cappadocia is attributed in our sources, which are exclusively ecclesiastical, purely to ecclesiastical motives—the desire of an Arian emperor to diminish the importance of a great champion of orthodoxy. While this desire was no doubt

present in Valens' mind, it can hardly have been his dominating motive; if he had merely wished to injure Basil, he could have found much more summary methods of doing so. The primary object of the division of Cappadocia must have been secular. It falls, of course, into line with the general policy, begun by Diocletian and carried on by the emperors of the fourth and fifth century, of diminishing the size and increasing the number of the provinces, a policy which had the double object of decreasing the power of the provincial governors and of lightening the burden of their administrative work, which, owing to the ever-growing bureaucratization of the empire, became progressively heavier and heavier. For Cappadocia, however, another motive can be suggested in view of the peculiar structure of the province as revealed by Justinian's description of it. Cappadocia contained extensive areas of imperial lands, not subject to any city. These were very largely concentrated in the eastern half of the province, around Caesarea, for in the western half cities were comparatively common, and their territories must have accounted for most of the area of this region. It may, then, be suggested that Valens' object was to separate the urbanized half of the province, and put it under a separate governor, leaving to the governor of the other half of the province Caesarea and all the imperial lands. Valens' attempt to convert Podandus into a city now becomes intelligible; it was an isolated 'region' of imperial land in the area which he wished to make into Cappadocia Secunda, and, with a view to simplifying the administration, he wished to make Cappadocia Secunda a normal province consisting only of cities. The remaining imperial lands, now concentrated in one province, which consisted of nothing but them and the capital Caesarea, he placed under the authority of a special official, the *comes domorum*, who was directly responsible to the *comes rei privatae* or later to the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* and whose authority was parallel with that of the governor of the province. It is significant that this official is first mentioned in a constitution dated A.D. 379, a few years after the separation of the provinces. It is also significant that his full title is *comes domorum per Cappadociam*, not *Cappadocias*, and that similarly in the *Notitia Dignitatum* the imperial estates in Cappadocia are styled *domus divina per Cappadociam*. The implication is that all the imperial estates were concentrated in one province, Cappadocia *par excellence*, that is, as we know from the thirtieth novel, Cappadocia Prima.<sup>19</sup>

In the light of this analysis it becomes easier to understand the

strategy of the ecclesiastical war between Basil and Anthimus, and in particular Basil's motive for creating new bishoprics. Before the division Basil had exercised metropolitan jurisdiction over the bishops of all the cities, and episcopal jurisdiction over Caesarea, and, in addition, most of the imperial lands adjacent. For instance, Venasa, which was in a different *strategia* from Caesarea and therefore very unlikely to have been in the city territory of Caesarea, was under the immediate episcopal jurisdiction of Basil, being ruled by one of his *chorepiscopi*. Basil had, according to Gregory Nazianzen, no less than fifty of these *chorepiscopi*, and while the figure is no doubt exaggerated—it occurs in Gregory's metrical autobiography and allowance must therefore be made for poetic licence—it gives some conception of the vast area of Basil's diocese. Probably, however, not all the imperial lands were under Basil's episcopal jurisdiction. According to the custom of the church they should have been ruled by the bishops of the neighbouring cities, and while no doubt the metropolis Caesarea had the lion's share, the bishops of other cities had established their authority in 'regions' adjoining the territory of their cities. When the province was divided Basil attempted to maintain his hold of as many of the cities as he could, but in this he knew he was fighting a losing battle, and in fact, as we have seen, he kept only one, Nyssa; Anthimus, after all, had the law on his side in claiming jurisdiction over the cities. A more disputable point was the jurisdiction of the frontier districts of imperial land attached to certain cities. These might be claimed by Basil as part of his civil province, or alternatively by Anthimus as belonging by prescriptive right to his cities. Basil attempted to fortify his right by severing their connexion with their cities and making them into independent bishoprics.<sup>20</sup>

We can now attempt to reconstruct the two civil provinces. All the cities except Caesarea belonged to Secunda. Those which already existed were Tyana, the metropolis, Cybistra, Faustopolis, Colonia Archelais (omitted by Hierocles), Nazianzus, Nyssa (wrongly placed in Prima by Hierocles), and Parnassus. Beside these Hierocles mentions Sasima in Secunda and Therma in Prima. With regard to Therma Hierocles must be wrong; either it was not a city, or it was not in Prima. As Therma lay in a part of Cappadocia which on other grounds is to be assigned to Prima—it is identical with Aquae Saravenae of the Itineraries and thus in the *strategia* of Saravene—the former alternative is more probable. Its full name, which it always bears in the Notitiae, Basilica

Therma, confirms the view that it was not a city. It was 'the imperial hot springs', i.e. a spa on an imperial estate. About Sasima Hierocles may be right, though his evidence is unsupported. Sasima was one of the bishoprics which Basil created, consecrating as its first bishop Gregory Nazianzen, who gives a vivid picture of it in his autobiography. 'There is a post station on the middle of the main road of Cappadocia, where it divides into three branches, a waterless, dismal, not altogether free, frightfully abominable, poky little village; nothing but dust and noise and carriages, wails, groans, tax-collectors, torments, and fetters; a population of strangers and vagabonds. This was my church of Sasima.' Such being his feelings, it is not surprising that Gregory soon abandoned his see: Anthimus marched in in triumph, and Sasima became subject to Tyana. It is clear from Gregory's description that Sasima was then a mere village. From the tone of his next remarks it appears that he had not relished his consecration for other reasons than the unpleasantness of his see. He disliked being used as a pawn in Basil's game, which he considered to be, in this instance at any rate, dictated by aggressive ambition. He seems in fact to have thought that Anthimus was within his rights in claiming jurisdiction over Sasima. Sasima was therefore probably the centre of a 'region' belonging to the civil province of Prima but attached in the ecclesiastical organization to Tyana, which was the nearest city to it. According to Hierocles it was in his day a city; if he is right Valens or one of his successors must have granted it that status after Gregory Nazianzen's time, and transferred it to the civil province of Secunda, to which it had belonged ecclesiastically ever since Gregory's withdrawal.<sup>21</sup>

Hierocles mentions only three 'regions', those of Doara and Mocissus which he places in Secunda, and that of Podandus, which he places in Prima. All three were probably, for the reasons stated above, in Valens' province of Prima. Doara was one of the bishoprics created by Basil, in whose interest a certain Eulalius was consecrated by Gregory Nazianzen, then already bishop of Sasima, and his father Gregory, bishop of Nazianzus. It was a border 'region', perhaps hitherto subject to Nazianzus, which Basil wished to secure against the time when he should lose that city. He failed, for Eulalius was expelled and the metropolitan of Tyana asserted his right to consecrate the bishops of Doara.<sup>22</sup>

Mocissus does not appear in either secular or ecclesiastical history till the reign of Justinian, who sometime before A.D. 536 raised it to city rank under the name of Justinianopolis. He made



the new city the ecclesiastical metropolis of Nazianzus, Doara, Parnassus, and Colonia, and presumably transferred it to the civil province of Secunda.<sup>23</sup>

Podandus had a very curious position. Although geographically in Secunda it is attributed by Hierocles to Prima, from which it is separated by the territory of Tyana. Podandus was not a bishopric; it was not represented at any council nor does it appear in the Notitiae. The fact that it is mentioned in Hierocles therefore proves that Hierocles' list was not derived from episcopal Notitiae but merely, in the form in which we have it, contaminated by them. The fact that it is attributed in Hierocles to Cappadocia Prima proves that it belonged to the civil province of Prima; after the failure of the attempt to convert Podandus into a city Valens or one of his successors must have transferred it back to Prima in order to keep all the imperial lands, wherever situated, in the one province. The fact that the detached 'region' of Podandus belonged to Prima is a strong argument in favour of the hypothesis that the 'regions' of Doara and Mocissus, which were contiguous with Prima, also belonged to it in the civil organization despite their belonging to Secunda in the ecclesiastical.

Hierocles' list of the 'regions' is manifestly very incomplete, and for further information we turn to Justinian's thirtieth novel. From this it appears that the imperial lands were very extensive. It is often stated, on Justinian's authority, that more than half the area of Cappadocia was imperial land. This is not, however, what he says. He says that the imperial lands were so extensive and important that the office of the *comes domorum* was not less but even greater than that of the *praeses*. Seeing that the *comes domorum* was a purely financial official, concerned with the business management of the imperial estates, whereas the *praeses* was governor of the whole province, responsible for the administration of justice throughout its borders, as well as, in particular, the collection of taxes in Caesarea and its territory, and the administration of the city, including the maintenance of its public buildings and its food-supply, it follows that the imperial lands were far greater in extent than the city territory. Indeed, unless this territory was exceptionally vast they must have been so, for the province included besides Cilicia, the *strategia* in which Caesarea lay, Laviansene, Saravene, Chamanene less the territory of Justinianopolis, a part of Morimene—the district round Venasa which was in Basil's diocese, a part of Tyanitis—the detached

'region' of Podandus, and perhaps a part of Sargarausene, from which only one city, Ariaratheia, had been detached and incorporated in Armenia Secunda.<sup>24</sup>

According to Justinian the imperial lands were divided into thirteen 'houses' (*oikíai*). These are obviously identical with the *domus* from which the *comes domorum* took his title, and are probably also the same as the 'regions' of Hierocles, to which they seem to correspond roughly in size. The region of Podandus must, we have seen, have been about a third of Tyanitis, since Tyanitis contained two city territories as well. Allowing three regions to one of the old *strategiae*, we get six regions for Lavianene and Saravene and four for Chamanene less the territory of Justinianopolis and Cilicia less the territory of Caesarea, to which must be added one each for the fragments of Morimene and Tyanitis and Sargarausene. This makes thirteen, the number of Justinian's 'houses'. From Hierocles we learn the names of two of these, Podandus in Tyanitis, and Doara in Chamanene, to which we may add Basilica Therma, wrongly called a city by Hierocles, in Saravene. In order to complete the list we must turn to the episcopal Notitiae of Cappadocia. In them we find that a large number of new bishoprics had sprung up, six subject to Caesarea, and one to Justinian's new metropolis Mocissus. All were probably in the area of Valens' Prima; the position of many of them is doubtful, but such as can be placed with some probability fit into this area. It seems very likely that these bishoprics, like the similar late bishoprics of Bithynia, represent earlier 'regions', once directly subject to the bishop of Caesarea, but now, by a movement of devolution, raised to the rank of sees under the metropolitan jurisdiction of Caesarea. The see subject to Justinianopolis Mocissus, Matiane, is to be identified with the modern village of Matchan. It probably is equivalent to the district of Morimene round Venasa, which as we have seen was in Basil's diocese. Of the six new sees subject to Caesarea Ciscisus is placed at Kisken, in the extreme south of Cilicia; this identification incidentally proves that the territory of Caesarea did not include the whole of its *strategia*. The position of the other sees is unfortunately very doubtful. Severias is regarded by Ramsay as a hellenized form of Sibora, which is placed by the itineraries in the north-east of Saravene. Euaesa is identified by the same authority on rather flimsy grounds with the Siva of the Peutinger Table in southern Saravene. Camulianae is similarly identified without very good reason with the Cambe of the Table north of

Caesarea in Cilicia, Aepolii with Eulepa, placed by the Antonine Itinerary twenty-six miles north-east of Caesarea, and Arathia with Arasaxa, a station mentioned by both the Itinerary and the Table, and placed by Ramsay about fifteen miles east by south of Caesarea. These identifications suffer from the disadvantage of concentrating all the doubtful bishoprics in Saravene and Cilicia, and placing three of them in the immediate neighbourhood of Caesarea. Laviensene is thus left empty. It may be of course that the three remaining 'regions'—we have only ten names—were in Laviensene, and on account of their remoteness and backwardness were, like the 'region' of Podandus, not granted bishops. But even so one would expect the bishoprics to be better spaced. It is, however, more easy to criticize than to make any alternative proposal. I would only suggest that Chamurli in the north-east of the province looks suspiciously like Camulianae, and that all that we really know of Euaesa is derived from two letters of Basil, which prove that it was in his diocese and in a mountainous district and imply that it was on its north-eastern frontier. These sees would both lie in the ancient Laviensene.<sup>25</sup>

The administration of the imperial lands as described by Justinian was highly complicated. They were managed by a body called the bureau of the count (*κομητιανή τάξις*), i.e. the staff of the *comes domorum*. Immediately under the count were thirteen *magistri*, each responsible for one *domus*. For reasons which are not clear Justinian added to these a second set of thirteen collectors (*πράκτορες*) who were to do all the work, at the same time abolishing as superfluous various inferior grades, such as the *procuratores* (*ἐπίτροποι*) and *tractatores* (*τρακτενταί*). The administration had got into a deplorable state, when Justinian set about to reform it. Many of the lessees of the estates had formed private bodyguards and become virtually robber barons, with the result that, in Justinian's words, 'the land owned by the treasury has by now become practically all private', and the herds of horses which the state bred had passed into private hands. In the civil service graft was rampant, every official exacting illicit payments from his inferiors and the lowest grades recouping themselves from the unfortunate peasants. This situation had largely arisen out of the conflict of authority between the *comes domorum* and the *praeses*, a conflict which was further aggravated by the fact that much of the city territory of Caesarea was imperial property and thus came under the authority of the count. Justinian endeavoured to improve the situation by greatly increasing

the authority of the governor, raising his salary, giving him proconsular rank, and putting at his disposition not only the old bureau of the *praeses* (ἡ πολιτικὴ τάξις), but the military forces of the province, and the bureau of the count (ἡ κομητιανὴ τάξις). The two bureaux were henceforth to be united under the title of the proconsular bureau (ἡ ἀνθυπατικὴ τάξις) but were still to function separately as before. The governor with these enlarged powers was ordered to reclaim alienated imperial property, 'whether in pastures or ploughlands or vineyards, whether lands or houses', and vigorously to suppress graft of all kinds.<sup>26</sup>

Justinian thus maintained and enforced the existing bureaucratic régime in Cappadocia. Later in his reign he made a small breach in the system by giving city rank to the 'region' of Camuliana. Central Cappadocia as a whole, however, retained to the end the centralized administration it had received from its kings, and remained a country of villages. Only on its eastern and western frontiers did cities form, on the east stimulated by the garrisons on the Euphrates and the business which their provisioning brought, on the west by the roads which radiated north and west from the Cilician Gates and the trade which followed them.<sup>27</sup>

## VIII. CILICIA

THE name Cilicia covers two regions which in their physical characteristics are almost as dissimilar as they could be. The one is a fertile plain, surrounded by a horseshoe of mountains and watered by three great rivers. The other is a tangled mass of mountains, descending abruptly to the sea, penetrated by one important river only. Cilicia of the plain, Cilicia Pedias, as the Greeks called it, was a rich agricultural country; cereals of all kinds, from wheat and sesame to rice, grew in abundance, its vines produced a muscatel which was highly appreciated in the ancient world, and its flax provided the raw material for a flourishing linen industry. The mountains of 'rough' Cilicia, Cilicia Tracheia, or Tracheiotis, were valuable only for their timber. Finally, Cilicia Pedias lay on one of the great trade routes of the ancient world; the easiest and most frequented land route from Syria and the east to Asia Minor and the Aegean crossed the Amanus by the Syrian Gates, and the Taurus by the Cilician Gates, thus traversing the width of the Cilician plain. Cilicia Tracheia, on the other hand, lay off the principal lines of communication; the main road ran north from the Cilician Gates and skirted the northern side of Tracheiotis, traversing the plain of Lycaonia. To this contrast in physical conditions corresponded naturally a contrast in civilization. In Cilicia Pedias trade and industry fostered the growth of towns. In Cilicia Tracheia a primitive tribal life prevailed; only along the coast did a few small towns manage to subsist, as ports of call for the coasting trade and export depots for the timber from the mountains inland.

The name Cilicia first makes its appearance in these regions in Assyrian documents of the eighth century B.C. Before that date, in the Egyptian records, which go down to the thirteenth century B.C., the country is alluded to under a name variously transliterated as Kedi or Kode. It looks then as if in the period intervening between the Hittite and Egyptian domination and the Assyrian, the dark age of the migrations of 'the peoples of the sea', Cilicia had been overrun by an invading people, and it is tempting to see in these invaders the Kelekesh who are numbered with the Dardanians and Mysians by Rameses II among the allies of the king of the Hittites, and the Cilicians who in Homer inhabit the Troad. The theory that the Cilicians were an Aegean people who

had migrated to their later home, probably by sea, in the disturbed period of the twelfth and eleventh centuries is supported by the numerous stories which attributed the foundation of various Cilician cities to heroes of Greek legend, who flourished, according to the traditional chronology, at this very period. Olba was supposed to have been founded by Ajax, son of Teucer; Mallus by Amphiloachus, son of Amphiaraus; Mopsuestia by Mopsus, son of Teiresias; Tarsus by Perseus, Heracles, or Triptolemus. Barbarian cities were, of course, very prone in the Hellenistic and Roman periods to invent for themselves a Hellenic origin by linking themselves with the great figures of the heroic age, and such legends are therefore normally to be regarded with the greatest suspicion. The claim of Tarsus is the weakest. Strabo is the earliest author who mentions the Hellenic origin of Tarsus, and by his time the Tarsians had had three centuries in which to concoct a legend for themselves. Moreover, the diversity of the legends current throws further doubt on their authenticity. According to Strabo, Tarsus was founded by Triptolemus and his Argive followers during their search for Io. Lucan, on the other hand, makes Perseus its founder; Dio Chrysostom hesitates between Perseus and Heracles, and Ammianus Marcellinus between Perseus and an oriental Sandan. The Tarsians had evidently no well-established legend, but only a vague tradition of Hellenic origin, to which any prominent figure of Greek mythology might be attached. Such vague traditions are of very little historical value, especially when they cannot be traced beyond the Roman period, and the claim of the Tarsians must therefore be regarded as not proven. Nor is the claim of Olba much better substantiated; Strabo is again the earliest literary authority for its foundation legend, though inscriptions show that as far back as the second century B.C. the name Teucer was borne by the high priests of Olba, and that therefore the claim of this family to heroic Greek descent was already current by then. The legends of Mopsuestia and Mallus, on the other hand, have a far more authentic ring. The name of Mopsuestia and the legend of its foundation by Mopsus after the Trojan war were known to Theopompus. The claim of the people of Mallus to be an Argive colony was admitted by Alexander himself, who remitted them their tribute on that score. The wanderings of Amphiloachus and Mopsus in this part of the world are a genuine part of Greek mythology. Herodotus knew the story, for he mentions that Posideium on the borders of Cilicia and Syria was

founded by Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus; as far back as the seventh century B.C. Callinus recounted the migration of Mopsus and his followers to Cilicia and Syria; and earlier yet Hesiod knew of a legend which placed the death of Amphilochus at Soli. These legends are further confirmed by a remarkable parallelism in the place-names of Cilicia and of Cyprus, which was certainly colonized in the heroic age. Corresponding to Soli in Cilicia is Soli in Cyprus, and to Aphrodisias of Cilicia answers Aphrodisium of Cyprus. The antiquity of the Cypriot cities is confirmed by Assyrian texts of the eighth century B.C., which further show that they were then ruled by kings with Greek names. If then the Cypriot Soli and Aphrodisium were Greek foundations of the heroic age, the probabilities are that their Cilician counterparts were the products of the same movement.<sup>1</sup>

It seems therefore not unlikely that these legends are founded on a basis of fact. During the period after the Trojan war, the period when, in the words of Rameses III, 'the isles were restless and disturbed among themselves', a mixed horde of Aegean peoples, including the Cilicians, who were to give their name to the whole country, and various peoples of the Greek mainland, 'Argives', 'Achaean', and so forth, invaded the land of Kedi—which is incidentally mentioned by Rameses III among the countries devastated by the sea raiders—and settled down there and built cities for themselves.<sup>2</sup>

This original immigration of Aegean peoples was probably reinforced some four centuries later during the period of Greek colonial expansion by a further influx of Greeks. Eusebius has preserved a curious story, which he found in Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus, of an invasion of Cilicia by the 'Ionians' in the reign of Sennacherib. Sennacherib repulsed this invasion, and in commemoration of his victory built a temple with columns of bronze, on which he inscribed his achievements. He also rebuilt the city of Tarsus in imitation of Babylon, making the river Cydnus traverse the city as the Euphrates traverses Babylon. From the same source is probably derived the often repeated story of the inscription in Assyrian characters on the 'monument of Sardanapallus' at Anchiale, 'I built Tarsus and Anchiale on the same day. But thou, stranger, eat, drink, and be merry; for all else is worthless.' This story has been confirmed by a cylinder of Sennacherib, recording the revolt of the governor of Kue in conjunction with the people of Tarsus and Anchiale, its suppression by his generals, and the triumphal progress of Sennacherib

himself to Cilicia, where, in Illubru, the capital of the defeated governor of Kue, he set up a memorial stele. The date of the event was 698 B.C. A Cilician campaign of Sennacherib, in which Tarsus and Anchiale were concerned, is thus a historical event, and the Greek story is a genuine tradition. This being so there is no reason to doubt the additional fact, vouched for only by the Greek story, that the adversaries of Sennacherib included Greeks. It was probably during this period that Nagidus and Celenderis, both of which claimed to be Samian colonies, were founded, and that Soli was refounded. Soli is stated to have been a colony of the Argives or Achaeans and of Rhodians from Lindus. The vague terms, Argives or Achaeans, probably refer to an earlier settlement, in the period of the migrations; the Rhodians from Lindus were probably later immigrants of the period of Greek colonization. The later settlements are, it may be noted, on the coast of Tracheia or on the extreme edge of Pedias; in Pedias proper the hold of the Assyrians was too strong, as the story of Eusebius shows.<sup>3</sup>

There are several other towns on the Cilician coast which may be of Greek origin. Scylax calls Holmi a Greek city, and Selinus and Zephyrium, which he also mentions, have Greek-sounding names. We have no means of telling whether they dated from the earlier or the later wave of immigration. The coinage of the cities of Cilicia during the Persian period shows how strong the Greek element must have been. While the majority of the satrapal issues of the region have legends in Aramaic, the official language of the Persian empire, the autonomous issues of the cities are almost invariably inscribed in Greek. The prevalence of the Greek language in Cilicia may date from the first wave of immigration. The use of the Greek alphabet, on the other hand, can only date from the second movement of colonization, and is a strong confirmation of its historicity. In Cyprus, where the first immigration was never reinforced, the Greek alphabet remained unknown till the fourth century, and a syllabary derived from the Minoan script was employed.<sup>4</sup>

The invaders, being a sea-faring folk, probably did not penetrate far inland; their known foundations are all on the coast. We should therefore expect to find the original inhabitants surviving in the interior, and there is a certain amount of evidence that this was the case. The name of Cilicia in the Egyptian documents is, as has been said, Kedi or Kode. Now in the Assyrian texts a similar name, Kue, is found, but it is confined to districts beyond



the Cilician Gates. It was ravaged by Mita, King of Mushki, Midas of Phrygia, in the reign of Sargon; its rebellious governor combined with the people of Tarsus and Anchiale in the reign of Sennacherib to bar the Cilician Gates; its capital was at Illubru, which has been plausibly identified with Lyrbe in the interior of western Tracheiotis. It seems then that the Kedi or Kode, who had occupied all Cilicia, had by the Assyrian period been driven back into the mountains of Cilicia Tracheia.

Here their name survived down to Roman times. In the first century A.D. we find in the interior of Tracheiotis a people whose name is strongly suggestive of the Egyptian Kedi, the Cetae or Cietae. The Cetae are a rather elusive people. Tacitus describes them, if his 'Clitae' are, as is generally accepted, a misspelling of the same name, as a turbulent and uncivilized tribe or group of tribes in Cilicia. His allusions to them show that they lived in the western or central parts of Tracheiotis; they were subject to Archelaus II and to Antiochus IV of Commagene, and under the latter besieged Anemurium. In the Byzantine period Basil of Seleucia declares that the Calycadnus rises in the inmost recesses of Cetus, which statement points to the same region. Other evidence is however in conflict with this. Ptolemy assigns to Cetus all the coast from Anemurium to Seleucia and Olba. His testimony is not very valuable as his notions of the geography of Cilicia are fantastic, but it is partly supported by the coins. Not only do two inland cities of western Tracheiotis, Philadelphia and Titiopolis, claim to be cities of the Cetae, but Olba in the extreme south-east styles itself 'metropolis of the Cetae'.<sup>5</sup>

This is all the more curious as the interior of the eastern half of Tracheia is known to have been occupied by two tribes called the Cennatae and the Lalasseis, and Olba on other coins actually assumes the title of 'metropolis of the Cennatae'. The only conclusion which would satisfy all the data is that Cetus is used in two different senses, sometimes as the name of a particular district in western Tracheia, sometimes as a general term covering the whole of the country. All the inhabitants of Cilicia Tracheia were originally called Cetae; later, as the more civilized tribes of the eastern part of the country, the Cennatae and Lalasseis, formed a separate community, the term became restricted to the more barbarous western tribes. The wider extension of the name was, however, still remembered, and the more important cities, searching for a title which would proclaim to the world their supremacy over all Tracheiotis, could find no better common

term for the whole region than the old tribal name, and accordingly styled themselves 'metropoleis of the Cetae', though not in Cetus in the narrower sense. It is noteworthy that they did not attempt to use the term 'Cilicia'. It would have been, of course, a great presumption to put themselves on a level with the metropoleis of Cilicia Pedias, Tarsus and Anazarbus, but such considerations did not generally deter the vanity of the Greek cities of the empire. It is more probable that they did not regard themselves as Cilician. The name was applied by outsiders to the whole province, but the mountaineers of Tracheiotis never adopted it, but preferred to call themselves by the ancient name which the country had borne before the Cilicians ever came.

After the fall of the Assyrian empire Cilicia was independent for a while under a line of kings who bore the title or hereditary name of Syennesis. Cyrus incorporated Cilicia in his empire, but allowed the kingdom to subsist under Persian suzerainty, and it was not till early in the fourth century that the last Syennesis was deposed and Cilicia became an ordinary satrapy. Both under the native kings and under the satraps the cities seem to have maintained a fair degree of local autonomy, as might have been expected in view of their strong Hellenic traditions. The fact is attested by the autonomous coinage issued by many of the important Cilician cities during the fifth and fourth centuries. In Tracheia Nagidus, Celenderis, and Holmi all issued coins inscribed with their names, and a large series of uninscribed coins with Aphrodite types has been attributed with great probability to Aphrodisias; Celenderis was, it may be noted, for a time a member of the Delian League. In Pedias Soli, Tarsus, Mallus, and Issus all issued inscribed coins. We obtain a more intimate glimpse of the position of the cities in Arrian's narrative of Alexander's conquest. From the fact that Alexander settled the political disputes of Mallus and remitted the city its tribute, it may be deduced that the Mallotes possessed some form of republican government and that they were responsible to the satrap for their taxes. The imposition of a fine on the Solians again implies that they were a community possessing revenues of their own; his subsequent grant of a democratic constitution to them implies that they had previously been under an oligarchy. If it is permissible to generalize from these particular instances, we may infer that the cities of Cilicia under the Persians were republics, possessing their own revenues and collecting their own tribute, which they forwarded to the satrap. We may safely assume that

all the cities which issued coinage enjoyed this status. For the other towns we have no evidence. The Periplus of Scylax records Cibyra, Coracesium, Selinus, and Charadrus in Tracheia, Zephyrium, Adana, and Myriandus in Pedias; Myriandus is also mentioned, as a Phoenician colony, in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, and was known to Herodotus, who calls the gulf of Issus the Myriandic gulf. The towns of Anchiale and Magarsus are mentioned by Arrian. The former was, however, probably already a ruin, for Arrian notes it only for its ancient monuments, including the famous inscription of Sardanapallus. The latter was merely the port of Mallus; Scylax ignores it, recording Mallus in its stead. There is no record of Rhosus for the Persian period, but an anecdote in Athenaeus shows that it already existed in Alexander's reign. The only inland towns of which we have any record for the Persian period are Mopsuestia, mentioned by Theopompus, and Castabala, where, according to Quintus Curtius, Alexander camped before the battle of Issus. Both of these are in the plain of Cilicia. In the mountainous hinterland of Cilicia Pedias and in the interior of Cilicia Tracheia conditions are quite unknown to us, but these regions were probably now, as later, inhabited by uncivilized tribes; it is unlikely that the Persian government, at any rate in the days of its decline, had any authority in them. It is possible that the high priests of Olba already ruled the eastern part of Tracheiotis as they did in later times.<sup>6</sup>

Cilicia in the third century B.C. was a debatable ground, disputed between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. The Seleucids were first in the field. In Pedias two new foundations are probably due to Seleucus Nicator, Aegae and Alexandria ad Issum. The former seems to have been a military colony of Macedonians, planted to guard the coast-road round the gulf of Issus; it boasted of its 'noble Macedonian' origin on its imperial coins and its name is clearly borrowed from the old Macedonian capital. It was probably founded by Seleucus Nicator, to whom is attributed a large number of military colonies named after Greek or Macedonian towns. Alexandria was obviously intended to commemorate Alexander's victory at Issus, but no ancient authority ascribes its foundation to Alexander himself, and it is therefore presumably due to one of his successors, most probably to Seleucus Nicator, who, according to Appian, founded many towns in honour of Alexander. It may be noted that both Issus and Myriandus sink into insignificance after the Persian period, and are no more heard of as independent cities. It may therefore

be suggested that Alexandria was formed by a synoecism of these two towns.<sup>7</sup>

Seleucus Nicator must have held not only Pedias but the eastern part, at any rate, of Tracheia as well. Near the mouth of the Calycadnus he founded a city which he named after himself, Seleucia on the Calycadnus. According to Strabo he drew the population from the neighbouring old Greek town of Holmi, which was abandoned. Aphrodisias also, it may be noted, had ceased to be an independent city by the Roman period, and it too may now or later have been incorporated in Seleucia. According to an inscription found at Olba Seleucus Nicator reroofed the temple of Zeus Olbius. This implies suzerainty over the Teucid dynasty.<sup>8</sup>

The Seleucids did not long remain in undisputed possession. Cilicia Pedias was one of the most vulnerable points of the Seleucid empire, since through it passed the one route which linked Asia Minor with Syria, and the Ptolemies were not slow to see its strategic importance and to try to cut the communications of the Seleucids, making use of their control of the sea to seize the coastal towns. Cilicia Tracheia had another attraction for the Ptolemies in its rich supplies of timber: since Egypt itself is entirely deficient in timber, the Ptolemaic fleet had to rely for its supplies on the foreign possessions of the dynasty, Cyprus, Phoenicia, and various regions along the south coast of Asia Minor, among which Cilicia was the most important. Cilicia Tracheia was also a rich source of supply of the mercenaries which formed an important element in the Ptolemaic army; Cilicians are often mentioned among the garrison troops of Cyprus.<sup>9</sup>

Theocritus numbers 'the Cilician spearmen' among the subjects of Ptolemy II. His conquests must, however, have been ephemeral, for the Adulis inscription puts Cilicia among the conquests of Ptolemy III and not among the possessions he inherited from his father. Ptolemy III's conquests were more lasting, for Antiochus III found a large number of cities occupied by Ptolemaic garrisons when he set out to reconquer his ancestral empire in 197 B.C. In Tracheia Livy mentions Coracesium, Selinus, Aphrodisias, and Corycus—the first appearance of this last town in history—and Jerome adds Anemurium. In Pedias Livy mentions Soli and Zephyrium; we have in a papyrus a graphic account of the capture of Soli by the Ptolemaic forces, aided by the treachery of the Seleucid garrison and the citizens,

during the Laodicean war. Jerome adds Mallus. This must have been a Ptolemaic enclave in Seleucid territory, for Cilicia Pedias as a whole remained Seleucid; communications with Asia Minor were never permanently broken and Tarsus bore a Seleucid title, Antioch upon the Cydnus, as early as the third century. Tracheia, however, the Seleucids must have lost entirely, for the Ptolemies in occupying Soli and Zephyrium and Corycus cut off all access to it from the east.<sup>10</sup>

The Ptolemies founded several cities in Tracheiotis. A third-century inscription of Alexandria records a city named Arsinoe in Pamphylia; it is perhaps identical with Strabo's Arsinoe near Coracesium, which is sometimes reckoned as Pamphylian. Strabo also mentions an otherwise unknown Ptolemais on the coast-line of the Cibyrates west of Coracesium, and another Arsinoe near Nagidus, which is recorded in the itineraries as a station on the road between Anemurium and Celenderis. Neither Ptolemais nor the western Arsinoe is mentioned in any document subsequent to Strabo, and it is possible that they were merely temporary names of the cities near which he places them, Cibyra Minor and Coracesium; Strabo had no personal knowledge of this coast, and is combining antiquated authorities. The eastern Arsinoe is similarly perhaps merely Nagidus renamed: by the Roman period it must have been incorporated in the territory of either Anemurium or Celenderis, since it issued no coins and is recorded in no Byzantine list.<sup>11</sup>

Of the internal conditions of Cilicia during the third and early second century practically nothing is known. The coinage of the cities ceased with the Macedonian conquest, except at Soli, which issued autonomous coins throughout the Macedonian period until its destruction in 83 B.C. Soli perhaps owed its privileged position to Alexander, who had granted it a democratic constitution. Its claim to be a Greek city was evidently regarded as more authentic than that of the other Cilician cities, for after the battle of Magnesia the Rhodians urged that the Romans ought to set it free, although it was beyond the Taurus and thus in Antiochus' kingdom, as being a Greek city. The cessation of coinage does not imply the loss of local autonomy, although it probably means some diminution of it, such as was only natural when for the lax control of the Persian government was substituted the efficient and centralized Seleucid or Ptolemaic régime.<sup>12</sup>

The reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes was marked here as elsewhere in the Seleucid kingdom by a revival of local autonomy.

During his reign most of the more important cities of Cilicia Pedias issued a municipal coinage, with the royal portrait on one side and the city's name on the other. The coining cities included the new foundations of Alexandria and Aegae, and the old towns of Tarsus, Adana, Mopsuestia, and Castabala, under the titles of Antioch on the Cydnus, Antioch on the Sarus, Seleucia on the Pyramus, and Hieropolis on the Pyramus. The date when these dynastic names were granted is not known, except that Tarsus was Antioch on the Cydnus before the middle of the third century. The absence of Mallus from the list is remarkable but is probably to be accounted for by its having been Ptolemaic till recently. It may be noted that it was only cities which had been loyal to the Seleucids throughout that received the right of municipal coinage from Antiochus IV; no cities in Tracheia received the privilege, nor did the one city in Pedias which the Ptolemies had held. Mallus, however, or perhaps its port Magarsus, was granted a dynastic name, Antioch on the Pyramus; this is proved by a series of inscriptions found at Magarsus, the earlier of which were erected by the 'people of Antioch', and the later by the 'people of Mallus'; the addition of 'on the Pyramus' is vouched for by an inscription of 172/1 B.C. Another city also received a dynastic name at this period without the right of coinage; Oeniandus, a hitherto unknown town near Issus, was styled Epiphaneia.<sup>13</sup>

After the death of Antiochus IV began the series of dynastic civil wars which gradually reduced the Seleucid kingdom to anarchy. The cities at first profited from the weakening of the royal authority by exacting from the rival pretenders progressive extension of their liberties as a price for their support. From about the middle of the second century a large number of Cilician cities began to issue autonomous coinage, Rhosus, Alexandria, Aegae, Hieropolis, Mallus, Adana, Mopsuestia, and Tarsus in Pedias, Seleucia on the Calycadnus, Celenderis, and Cibyra in Tracheia; Mallus, Adana, Mopsuestia, and Tarsus dropped their dynastic titles and reverted to their native names. Aegae obtained the status of a 'holy inviolable and autonomous' city, and Hieropolis and Rhosus became 'holy and inviolable'. In the early years of the first century Corycus and Zephyrium began an autonomous coinage, as well as two hitherto unknown cities, Anazarbus in the interior of Pedias and Elaeussa on the borders of Pedias and Tracheia, the last with the title of 'holy and autonomous'.<sup>14</sup>

The weakening of the royal power was not, however, altogether advantageous to the cities. The growing anarchy was an opportunity not merely for the cities to throw off the royal supremacy, but for the dynasts of the interior, whom the kings had kept in check, to embark on conquests. It must have been during this period that the ancestors of Tarcondimotus, native chieftains in the northern Amanus, built up the little kingdom in which Pompey confirmed him. In Tracheiotis the rule of the high priests of Olba reasserted itself; many inscriptions of the latter part of the second and the early part of the first century B.C. record various members of this house, who bore the names of Zenophanes and Teucer. Their power was evidently considerable by the middle of the second century, for it was one of them, 'Zenophanes the Cilician', who in 150 B.C. was entrusted by Eumenes of Pergamum with the task of launching Alexander Balas on his career as pretender to the Seleucid throne. Soon, however, the power of the Teucrids of Olba began to wane before a new peril—piracy. Cilicia Tracheia formed an ideal base for pirates, providing an abundance of timber for their fleets and impregnable fortresses for the storing of their spoil, and when, with the break-down of the Rhodian sea-power, piracy became rampant throughout the eastern Mediterranean, it became the head-quarters of the pirate power. Naturally, the cities of Cilicia Pedias suffered severely from the depredations of their neighbours. Their commerce was throttled, and many of them were depopulated by slave-raiders.<sup>15</sup>

The pirate menace became so serious towards the end of the second century that at last, in about 101 B.C., the Romans established a special command, 'the province of Cilicia', to deal with it. It is not known what were the exact territorial limits of the province, but it does not seem to have included Cilicia itself; Cicero enumerates the regions subject to Verres, as legate of Dolabella, as Lycia, the Milyas, Phrygia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia. Possibly the Roman government still felt some scruples about annexing what was nominally Seleucid territory. Certainly no effective occupation of Cilicia was attempted. In Tracheia the pirates lived unmolested, and Pedias was in 83 B.C. conquered by Tigranes, the king of Armenia, who transplanted the people of Soli to swell the population of his new capital, Tigranocerta.<sup>16</sup>

Eventually, in the year 67 B.C., the depredations of the pirates became so intolerable that a determined effort was made to stamp them out. Pompey was by the *Lex Gabinia* entrusted with a large fleet and army and extensive powers to perform the task.

This he did in a few months and definitively annexed and reorganized Cilicia as a Roman province. His arrangements in Tracheia are unknown, but in Pedias they can be reconstructed with some exactitude. The coastal parts he organized, or rather reorganized, as a series of city states. Many of the cities were greatly decayed, and these he repopulated with settlers drawn from among the more respectable of his pirate captives. Adana, Epiphaneia, and Mallus are singled out for mention by Appian, but three other cities, Zephyrium, Mopsuestia, and Alexandria, adopted the year 67 B.C. as their era. Soli was restored two years later, in 65 B.C., after the conquest of Tigranes and the destruction of Tigranocerta, and in gratitude for its refoundation adopted not only a new era but a new name, Pompeiopolis; it was granted the status of a free city by Pompey. Tarsus was made the capital of the *conventus* of Cilicia but does not seem to have been grateful to Pompey for the honour; it was later enthusiastically Caesarean in its sympathies and even temporarily renamed itself Juliopolis. Pompey may also have included in the *conventus* two other cities, Aegae and Rhosus, but as neither adopted the Pompeian era this is uncertain. It is possible that Aegae was subject to Tarcondimotus till 47 B.C., when it started its era. Rhosus dated its era from 42 B.C. and was perhaps subject to some dynast or to another city till then.<sup>17</sup>

Coastal Cilicia was thus organized as a group of city states. In the interior Pompey recognized the rule of a dynast, Tarcondimotus, who continued to rule throughout the troubled period of the civil war until the battle of Actium, when he was killed fighting on Antony's side. His title was at first toparch, as we learn from an inscription of Hieropolis; later—after 53 B.C. since Cicero in an official report as proconsul does not style him king—he acquired the royal title, probably from Antony, and issued coins as King Tarcondimotus Philantonius.<sup>18</sup>

There are only two certain facts about the extent of his principality. One is that he held Castabala Hieropolis; this is proved by an inscription of the people of Hieropolis in honour of Tarcondimotus the son of Strato, the toparch. The other fact is provided by Cassius Dio. Dio states that Tarcondimotus' son on his reinstatement in his father's dominions received back everything except certain coastal districts, which, he adds, were given to Archelaus of Cappadocia. Archelaus ruled two separate districts in Cilicia Tracheia, one in the west, where he succeeded Amyntas, and a smaller one in the east, the piece of coast between Seleucia



on the Calycadnus and Soli, including the two cities of Corycus and Elaeussa. This latter district must then have belonged to Tarcondimotus. Whether it was part of his original dominions we cannot say. At first sight it seems unlikely that he could have conquered it before the Roman occupation, for it was separated from his other dominions by a group of free cities. On the other hand, Tarcondimotus is recorded to have possessed a powerful fleet with which he assisted Pompey against Caesar, and he may thus have conquered Corycus and Elaeussa by sea. In that case he must have had access to the sea from Castabala: a fact which confirms the suggestion that he may have held Aegae until Caesar took it from him. This is all we know positively of the extent of his dominions, but the tone of Cicero's reference to him suggests that he was an important prince. He is likely then to have held as much as, if not more than, his descendants did later.<sup>19</sup>

Another inscription of Hieropolis, which may belong to the latter part of Tarcondimotus' rule, when he possessed the royal title, or to the rule of one of his successors, is an interesting illustration of the relations between the king and the city. It is the inscription of a statue put up by the people of 'the holy, inviolable, and autonomous city of Hieropolis on the Pyramus' in honour of a certain Isidore, son of Nicias, *demiurgus*—that is chief magistrate of the city, one of the first and most highly honoured of the king's friends, general of the city, commandant of the Castabalis, and chief officer of the forces throughout the kingdom. It shows that the city retained the forms of self-government; it had its magistrates and it could pass honorary decrees. On the other hand, it shows the firm hold the king had over the city; the city elected as its *demiurgus* one of the principal ministers of the king, who was, at the same time as he was a city magistrate, also the royal governor of the city, and the commandant of its territory. It is noteworthy that the territory of the city is not called by the same name as the city; the city maintains its Hellenized style, Hieropolis on the Pyramus, the territory has reverted to the native name, the Castabalis. This suggests that the city territory had ceased to be under even the nominal control of the city, and had become a province under direct royal rule.<sup>20</sup>

The subsequent history of the dynasty is somewhat obscure. Certain facts, however, are undisputed. The dynasty was suppressed in 30 B.C. and reinstated in 20 B.C.; King Philopator died in A.D. 17, and on his death the principality was probably annexed. It remains to determine the area over which the dynasty ruled.

It is, in the first place, fairly certain that it ruled Anazarbus; two inscriptions belonging to the dynasty have been found there—a dedication by a freedman of King Philopator, and the tomb of a eunuch of Queen Julia the Younger. In 19 B.C. Anazarbus took the name of Caesarea by Anazarbus and started a new era. It is plausible to suggest that the king who was restored in 20 B.C. celebrated his reinstatement by refounding the city and renaming it in honour of his benefactor. Under Claudius Anazarbus began to issue imperial coins; it must therefore by then have ceased to belong to the kingdom.<sup>21</sup>

The northern part of Cilicia Pedias was later divided up between the territories of three cities, Augusta, Irenopolis, and Flaviopolis. These are all clearly from their names comparatively modern foundations. From their eras we know that Augusta was founded in A.D. 20—it took its name from Livia, or, as she became after Augustus' death, Julia Augusta—, Irenopolis, originally known as Neronias, a name still remembered in the fourth century, in A.D. 52, and Flaviopolis in A.D. 74.<sup>22</sup>

These three cities, Augusta, Irenopolis, and Flaviopolis bear another trace of recent origin. In Ptolemy's *Geography* they are placed in districts, Augusta in Brylice, Irenopolis in Lacanatis, Flaviopolis in Characene. With Irenopolis the same doubt arises as before. Which Irenopolis, the western or the eastern, was in Lacanatis? Ptolemy mentions only one Irenopolis; the position to which he assigns it points rather to the eastern city than the western, but his *Geography* is so fantastically inaccurate in these parts that not much reliance can be placed on this fact. We know, however, that the western Irenopolis was in Cetus; it was founded to celebrate the conquest of the Cetae, and two neighbouring cities, Titiopolis and Philadelphia, state on their coins that they were cities of Cetus. Probably then Ptolemy is right in putting the eastern city in Lacanatis.<sup>23</sup>

In Ptolemy's day, then, it was still remembered that northern Pedias had been divided into tribal districts, which had later become the territories of newly founded cities. There is no positive proof that the Tarcondimotid dynasty ruled these districts, but the probabilities are overwhelming that if they ruled Castabala and Anazarbus, as they did, they also ruled the less civilized hinterland, which still lacked city life. Pompey would then have organized the coastal regions of Pedias, where city life already flourished, as a group of city states, and confirmed the rule of a native dynast in the still backward interior, allowing him to

retain the cities of Anazarbus and Castabala, Corycus and Elaeussa, and perhaps Aegae, which he had already incorporated in his principality. This would make Tarcondimotus prince of a considerable district such as Cicero implies him to have been. Tarcondimotus lost Aegae in 47 B.C., his son lost Corycus and Elaeussa in 20 B.C. Inland, the kingdom remained intact until the death of Philopator in A.D. 17. Whether the dynasty continued after that date or not, one district at any rate was free from royal rule. In Bryclice the city of Augusta was founded three years after the death of Philopator; it was certainly a provincial city from its foundation, for it began to issue imperial coins at once. The two remaining districts passed later into the hands of Antiochus IV of Commagene, to whose kingdom they were adjacent, presumably when he received the rest of his Cilician possessions on his reinstatement by Gaius in A.D. 38. This is proved by the fact that Antiochus struck coins in the name of the Lacanatae. Antiochus built a city in Lacanatis during Nero's reign which he called Neronias. On the annexation of his kingdom Vespasian changed the name of Neronias to Irenopolis—Vespasian's devotion to Peace is shown by the Forum Pacis which he built at Rome—and two years later founded the city of Flavio-polis in Characene, thus completing the urbanization of Cilicia Pedias.<sup>24</sup>

There remain in Pedias only the two cities on its extreme western frontier which had belonged to Tarcondimotus, and were granted in 20 B.C. to Archelaus of Cappadocia. Archelaus rebuilt one of them, Elaeussa, on a magnificent scale and made it his Cilician capital, renaming it Sebaste; it issued coins in his reign under both its old and new names. On his death both cities probably passed to his son Archelaus II. They were next granted to Antiochus IV, under whom they both struck coins, and on the annexation of his kingdom were attached to the province of Cilicia.<sup>25</sup>

The seventeen cities whose history has been traced above formed the Byzantine provinces of Cilicia Prima and Secunda. They are all enumerated by Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius; their bishops all attended the council of Chalcedon. As no other units of government are mentioned in the Byzantine sources, it may be inferred that the territories of the seventeen cities covered the whole area of the provinces. It is difficult to substantiate this statement in detail. We possess only two pieces of evidence bearing on the territories of the Cilician cities. One is a boundary

dispute between Tarsus and Mallus to which Dio Chrysostom alludes in his speech to the Tarsians. It concerned a region by a lake or lagoon, which Dio contemptuously describes as 'the pasture on the sand'. The region meant is evidently the lagoons and sand-hills between the mouths of the Sarus and Pyramus, and the passage shows that the Tarsian territory stretched down to the sea and some way along the coast up to that of Mallus. The other piece of evidence is the fact that both Mopsuestia and Aegae thank the emperor on their coins for a bridge he had built over the Pyramus: this seems to indicate that that river was the boundary between their territories.<sup>26</sup>

Three of the cities are recorded by Pliny to have been free: Tarsus, freed according to Appian by Antony, Aegae, which probably owed its liberty to Caesar, since it used the era of 47 B.C., and Mopsuestia, which may have been free from the date of the annexation, since it continued to use the era of 67 B.C. During the third century Sebaste-Elaeussa also claimed on its coins to be a free city. Pompeiopolis seems to have lost the liberty which Pompey had given to it.<sup>27</sup>

The cities down in the plain were very prosperous. They derived their wealth partly from the trade which passed through the Cilician Gates, partly from the great fertility of the soil, which produced not only cereals and grapes but the flax that provided the raw material for the great industry of the region, linen weaving. Tarsus was its principal centre, and gave its name to products of the whole province; Tarsian linen is given a high place in Diocletian's Edict fixing the prices of commodities. The industry can also be traced at Anazarbus, where there existed a guild of linen workers, and at Corycus, where there was a union of linen sellers.<sup>28</sup>

Like most Greek cities under the empire the Cilician cities expended their wealth and energy in feuds with one another. Dio Chrysostom reproves the Tarsians for their aggressive spirit which had involved them in litigation over trifles, like worthless pieces of land and rights of sacrifice and jurisdiction, with most of her neighbours, Mallus, Adana, Aegae, and Soli. The bitter rivalries of the cities are well illustrated by their coinage, which reveals an unrelenting race for empty titles and honours between the major cities. Adana, Aegae, Anazarbus, Mopsuestia, and Tarsus were the principal competitors. These heaped up honorific titles granted by various emperors, Hadriana, Commodiana, Severiana, Antoniniana, Macriniana, Alexandriana, Maximiniana,

Maximiana, Antoniana, Deciana, Valeriana, Gallieniana, showing an equal enthusiasm for 'good' and 'bad' emperors. They also ran games in competition with one another, Mopsuestia 'holy ecumenical games', Adana 'holy ecumenical Dionysia', Aegae 'holy ecumenical Asclepieia'. Tarsus and Anazarbus were the principal competitors in this field, Tarsus celebrating the Epinicia, Olympia, Actia, Coraea, Demetria, as well as various games in honour of different emperors, Augusteia, Hadrianeia, Commodeia, Severeia, and a great festival called 'In quadrigis in finibus Ciliciae', Anazarbus responding with a rival Epinicia and Olympia, the Sebasmia, ecumenical games in honour of Hadrian and Decius, and the 'Antoniniana, first of the world'. These two cities were in the third century the bitterest rivals. Up to then Tarsus had had the undisputed primacy of Cilicia; she was 'the metropolis of the three provinces' (Cilicia, Isauria, and Lycaonia), 'the free city presiding over the three provinces', 'the first, the greatest, and the most beautiful'. Caracalla, however, granted Anazarbus also the title of 'metropolis of the race', and she boasted like Tarsus of being 'the first, the greatest, and the most beautiful', as well as 'the glorious', 'the most precious', and 'the triumphant' and she also became the seat of the 'free common council' of the provinces. She also scored a point by persuading Caracalla to accept the office of *demiurgus*, to which Tarsus later responded by getting Alexander Severus to pay her the same honour. In Byzantine times the rivalry was settled by dividing Cilicia into two provinces and making Tarsus metropolis of one and Anazarbus of the other. The other cities had nothing to compare with these splendours, but they many of them had their special boasts. Aegae was 'Macedonian, noble, faithful, beloved of the gods, temple keeper (an allusion to the famous temple of the Asclepius which had the honour of being destroyed by Constantine himself), queen of the sea'. Mallus was 'the holy city of the god Amphilochus', until it obtained colonial rights from Elagabalus.<sup>29</sup>

Nothing is heard of a Cilicia Tracheia from Pompey's suppression of the pirates till the time of Antony. The Teucid dynasty had then fallen on evil days. Aba, the daughter of Zenophanes, one of the pirate princes, had married into the family, and Zenophanes, by right of his daughter, exercised a protectorate over the principality. Aba was deposed by Augustus, but the principality remained in the hands of her Teucid descendants. The rest of Tracheia except Seleucia on the Calycadnus, which seems to have been a free city, Antony granted to Cleopatra, to

whom it was valuable for its supplies of timber suitable for ship-building. She perhaps left a memorial of her reign in the two cities of Titiopolis and Domitiopolis, which seem to have been named after two of Antony's prominent supporters, Marcus Titius and Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus. After the battle of Actium Cleopatra was naturally dispossessed but Octavian did not reannex the country. It was still unripe for direct Roman rule, a country of unruly tribes and robber chiefs which needed more constant and more intimate supervision than a Roman governor could give to it. Octavian, accordingly, confirmed the Teucid house, one of whom, Ajax, son of Teucer, is found ruling at the end of his reign, and granted the rest to Amyntas, the energetic king of Galatia. When Amyntas died five years later the western part of his Cilician dominions was attached to the province of Galatia. The rest was assigned to Archelaus of Cappadocia, and on his deposition and death in A.D. 17 passed to his son, another Archelaus, who was still reigning in A.D. 36. In A.D. 38 the principality was granted by Gaius to Antiochus IV of Commagene when he restored him to his kingdom, and after his temporary disgrace at the end of Gaius' reign re-granted to him by Claudius in A.D. 41. Antiochus reigned till A.D. 72 when, according to Suetonius, Vespasian 'reduced to the form of a province Cilicia Tracheia and Commagene, which had hitherto been under royal jurisdiction'. Despite Suetonius, however, Antiochus IV was not the last king to rule in Cilicia Tracheia. According to a plausible emendation of the text of Josephus, Vespasian made Alexander, the son-in-law of Antiochus IV, king of 'Cetis in Cilicia'. Nothing else is known of this little kingdom, which probably included only the barbarous interior.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, in the eastern principality the Teucid line must have died out, for in A.D. 41 the principality was granted to Polemo II of Pontus in compensation for the kingdom of Bosphorus which he lost in that year. Polemo II was deposed from his Pontic kingdom in A.D. 64, but may have continued to reign for a few years in Cilicia. A coin of King Marcus Antonius Polemo of the reign of Galba was perhaps issued by him, perhaps by a son who succeeded him in his Cilician dominions. He or this son was probably deposed by Vespasian on the annexation of Cilicia Tracheia. A certain Marcus Antonius Polemo was also dynast of the principality at some time, but his relation to Polemo II and King Marcus Antonius Polemo and his date are equally obscure. It is conceivable, that he was Polemo II in his youth,

before he received the kingdom of Pontus in A.D. 38. Marcus Antonius Polemo ruled the principality for at least eleven years—his coins are all dated in his tenth and eleventh years.<sup>31</sup>

I must now trace the extent of the two principalities and their development under their princes. The eastern principality consisted of the city of Olba and of two tribes, the Cennatae and the Lalasseis. This we learn from the coins of the various princes. Ajax, son of Teucer, styles himself 'high priest' of Olba, it is understood, and 'toparch' of the Cennatae and Lalasseis. M. Antonius Polemo's titles are more explicit, 'high priest' and 'dynast of the holy city of Olba and the Cennatae and Lalasseis'. King Polemo does not use the title of high priest, or of toparch or dynast; under him the 'community of the Cennatae and Lalasseis' issue coins. The territories of the two tribes can both be determined. In later times both Olba and Diocaesarea claimed the title of metropolis of the Cennatae, and the sites of both cities are known. The Lalasseis must clearly have been adjacent to the Cennatae. The only other evidence about the Lalasseis is the statement of Ptolemy that Ninica was in their territory. This is undoubtedly false, for Ninica is the native name of Claudiopolis in the extreme west of Tracheia. The statement, nevertheless, provides a clue to the real position of the Lalasseis. There were two cities named Claudiopolis in Tracheia, one the above-mentioned Ninica, the other at the junction of the two principal tributaries of the Calycadnus, adjacent to Diocaesarea and Olba on the west. Ptolemy must then have found two cities of Claudiopolis in his authorities, one called Ninica, the other the city of the Lalasseis, and have combined the two into Ninica of the Lalasseis. It may be inferred, therefore, that the Lalasseis lived around the eastern Claudiopolis.<sup>32</sup>

The rule of the high priests of Zeus Olbius over the Cennatae at any rate was of long standing. An inscription of the first century B.C. found at Diocaesarea records the erection of a statue to Zenophanes, son of Teucer, son of Zenophanes, the great high priest of Zeus Olbius, by the people of Olba and the Cannatae (*sic*). From this inscription it appears that the city of Olba had already separated itself from the rest of the tribe. It is a common phenomenon that, with the progress of civilization, a tribe should split up in this manner, one part forming itself into a city and the other maintaining the old village life and tribal organization; the holy town of Olba, as a centre of pilgrimage and therefore of trade, came sooner under the influence of Greek ideas than did

the scattered villages of the rest of the tribe, and the townsmen, more sophisticated than the simple peasants, formed themselves into a separate community on western models. The inscription is also interesting as showing that the priestly kingdom of Olba was quite different from the sacerdotal principalities of Cappadocia. Its subjects were not serfs, but free men with their civic or tribal organization.<sup>33</sup>

The urbanization of the two tribes was probably the work of Polemo II. The city of Claudiopolis among the Lalasseis must have been founded by him; the name of Diocaesarea gives no clue to the date of its foundation. The change from tribe to city was not very great. Each tribe had probably already its communal organization and its chief town; the inscription cited above shows that in the first century B.C. the Cennatae at any rate were an organized community and that their capital was already the town later called Diocaesarea. All that Polemo had to do was to embellish these towns with buildings, and perhaps concentrate some of the rural population in them and reorganize the tribal constitution on more modern lines. The transformation does not seem to have been very complete, for not only during his lifetime, but for some time after the annexation of the principality, coins continued to be issued by the two tribes jointly. Diocaesarea began to coin as a city under Domitian; the only known coin of Claudiopolis was issued under Hadrian. Diocaesarea and Olba seem to have been rivals; both obtained the title of Hadriana, and both called themselves 'metropolis of the Cennatae'. Olba, however, went one better in styling herself 'metropolis of Cetus', and also outstripped Diocaesarea by obtaining the title of Antoniniana in addition to that of Hadriana. Diocaesarea could only reply by putting 'Olbos' (prosperity) on her coins, thus implying that she was more worthy of the name Olba than her rival.<sup>34</sup>

The other principality was much larger, including all the rest of Tracheia up to the boundary of the province of Galatia except Seleucia on the Calycadnus. In Ptolemy the country is divided into a number of districts or provinces. Ptolemy is often demonstrably wrong in his distribution of the towns among provinces, but their names are probably correct. They are Selinitis, Lamotis, and Cetus, to which may be added from Pliny, Celenderitis. Selinitis, Lamotis, and Celenderitis are named from their chief towns Selinus, Lamus, and Celenderis. Selinus and Celenderis were, as we have seen, coastal towns of some antiquity—they are mentioned by Scylax; Lamus lay a little way inland, but was



connected with the sea by its port Charadrus, which is also mentioned by Scylax. These were then coastal provinces. Cetus was named from the tribe or group of tribes which it comprised; it occupied the interior. It was this last province which gave most trouble to the kings. The tribesmen were quite unused to any form of orderly government, and strongly resented the attempts of the kings to introduce it. In A.D. 36 the efforts of Archelaus II to carry out a census and enforce regular taxation provoked a serious revolt of the Cetae, which was only suppressed by the intervention of the Roman government. In A.D. 52 another rebellion broke out, the insurgents laid regular siege to Anemurium, and once again Roman troops had to be called in. This however was their last effort. The suppression of the rebellion was perhaps crowned by the foundation of Irenopolis, the city of peace, in the conquered territory.<sup>35</sup>

Antiochus IV founded many other cities besides Irenopolis. He seems indeed to have been a most enlightened and energetic ruler, and to have carried through his mission of civilizing his kingdom with determination and success. The south coast, partitioned between the two cities of Anemurium and Celenderis, was already civilized. Everywhere else there are marks of his activity. In the south-west coastal districts, Selinitis and Lamotis, three cities owed their existence to him. Antioch in Lamotis, known on its coins as Antioch on Sea, recalled his own name; it lay west of Charadrus, the port of Lamus, on the promontory of Cragus. Iotape, west of Selinus, on the Pamphylian border, was named after his wife. His imperial patron was honoured by the foundation of Claudiopolis at Ninica; it lay inland but had access to the sea through its port of Nephelis. In Cetus he founded besides Irenopolis a Germanicopolis in honour of one of his imperial benefactors, either Gaius, Claudius, or Nero, who all bore the name Germanicus, and a Philadelphia in honour of his wife Iotape Philadelphus.<sup>36</sup>

Under the kingdom Selinus, Anemurium, and Celenderis issued coins. A coinage was also issued in the name of the Cetae. After the annexation a large number of other cities began to coin; in the western coastal districts, Iotape, Antioch on Sea, Lamus, and a hitherto unknown city, Cestrus, in Selinitis; in the interior, Irenopolis, Germanicopolis, Philadelphia, Titiopolis, and another hitherto unknown city, Coropissus, which styles itself 'metropolis of Cetus'. Claudiopolis received a Roman colony from Domitian, and issued coins under the style of Colonia Iulia Augusta Ninica

Claudiopolis. Both the native name and the name which Antiochus IV had given it gradually dropped out of use; the former was probably really obsolete, the latter was inconvenient owing to the existence of a second Claudiolpolis in the province. In their place the official titles of the colony Julia Augusta were used, or rather their Greek equivalent, and so we find Ninica appearing in the Byzantine lists as Juliosebaste or sometimes Sebaste for short; the latter has survived to the present day in the form Sivasti. Domitiopolis, it may be noted, struck no coins, or, at any rate, none of these coins have come down to us; for it must be remembered that several of the issues of the cities of Cilicia Tracheia are very sparse—Claudiopolis of the Lalasseis is represented by a single coin—and it may well be that some issues may have perished altogether or still remain to be discovered. It is thus uncertain whether other cities first mentioned in the Byzantine sources already existed in the principate or were later creations. Whichever is the case it is evident that the development of the western half of Cilicia Tracheia was on very different lines from that of the eastern half. The two tribes of the Lalasseis and the Cennatae retained their cohesion and became the two cities of Claudiolpolis and Diocaesarea. The Cetae split up into a large number of small cities. This development was no doubt to a certain extent natural; the Cetae, it seems, possessed very little political cohesion and were rather a group of clans than a tribe. But probably it was partly the work of the central government. It is possible that some of Antiochus IV's cities were military colonies, peopled by his mercenaries. The native cities probably grew up out of the clans into which the Cetae were subdivided.<sup>37</sup>

The Cetae though reduced to obedience by the kings which Rome imposed upon them, did not change at heart. As long as the central government was strong they remained quiescent; when its hold began to weaken they reverted to their old ways. The story of the later empire is full of the exploits of the Isaurians, as the inhabitants of Cilicia Tracheia were then called. Under Gallienus a brigand chief named Trebellianus proclaimed himself emperor in Isauria, and, though he was lured into the plains and crushed, thereafter the Isaurians were, in the words of the author of the *Historia Augusta*, 'considered as barbarians', and their country was 'though in the middle of Roman territory shut in like a frontier district'. Under Probus a party of Isaurians raided Pamphylia and Lycia and seized the city of Cremna. Probus thereupon attacked the tribesmen in their mountain fast-

nesses and 'freed Isauria, restoring its peoples and cities'. He confirmed his conquests by planting numerous colonies of veterans throughout the country. This pacification seems to have been effective, for the Isaurians are not mentioned again till 353, when they overran Lycaonia and Pamphylia and attacked Seleucia on the Calycadnus. Six years later a general named Lauricius was sent to subdue them. He has left a record of his achievements in an inscription, in which he boasts that he captured a fortress 'long occupied by brigands and ruinous to the provinces', and 'for the perpetual establishment of peace' occupied it with a permanent garrison. He did not establish perpetual peace, for in 368 more Isaurian raids on Pamphylia and Cilicia are recorded. Early in the fifth century the Isaurians broke out again, their raids extending to Cilicia and Syria on the east, Cappadocia and Pontus on the north, Pamphylia and Lycia on the west, and overseas to Cyprus. In the latter part of the fifth century one of their chieftains occupied under the name of Zeno the imperial throne. On his death Anastasius finally crushed the Isaurians, and with characteristic economy diverted the blackmail hitherto paid to them into the imperial treasury.<sup>38</sup>

Of the western portion of Cilicia Tracheia which was attached to the province of Galatia (from the reign of Vespasian Pamphylia), there is little to record. In the interior Ptolemy records four cities, Carallia, Casae, Colybrassus, and Lyrbe, all of which issued coins during the principate. On the coast the ancient city of Coracesium still flourished, and east of it two smaller cities, Syedra and Laerte, began to coin, the former under Tiberius, the latter under Trajan. West of Coracesium Cibyra Minor had mysteriously disappeared. Strabo speaks of the coast-line of the Cibyrites, but in a passage which is obviously derived from antiquated sources. Ptolemy records it as a town; but as it issued no imperial coins and does not appear in the Byzantine lists it had evidently ceased in the principate to be a city. It must presumably have been destroyed and its territory confiscated in Servilius' or Pompey's campaign against the pirates; its latest coins are of the second century B.C.<sup>39</sup>

The Byzantine lists record but little change. In the western district Hierocles enumerates the cities which coined under the principate with one exception, Laerte, which had presumably been absorbed by its neighbour Syedra. In the interior he adds one city, Sennea, which apparently lay near Casae, since the two cities sometimes shared a single bishop. The Notitiae record a

new foundation ignored by Hierocles, Justinianopolis Mylome. It has been suggested that Mylome was the port of Cibyra, which itself according to Ptolemy lay a little way inland. Cibyra was certainly an important naval base in the eighth century, when the principal naval theme of the Byzantine empire took its name from it, and if Justinian rebuilt and fortified its port this fact would account for its later importance. In the eastern district both Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius record Seleucia on the Calycadnus, Olba, Diocaesarea, and Claudiopolis. In the central district Hierocles gives all the cities which issued coins save Coropissus, and Georgius adds Domitiopolis, whose omission in Hierocles is certainly erroneous, and another name, Zenonopolis, which may conceal the missing Coropissus. Coropissus certainly survived into the fourth century, when it was one of the comparatively few Isaurian cities which sent its bishop to Nicaea, and it may have been the birth-place of the Emperor Zeno, who, according to our text of Malalas, was a man of 'Codissus'. Both authorities record six other cities which issued no coins—or rather are not known to have issued any—Hierapolis, Neapolis, Adrassus, Zbide, Lauzada, and Meloe.<sup>40</sup>

## IX. MESOPOTAMIA AND ARMENIA

'MESOPOTAMIA was under the Assyrians all scattered in villages except for Babylon and Nineveh: the Macedonians concentrated it in cities on account of the fertility of the soil.' This bold generalization of Pliny is of course untrue. Other great cities had flourished in Mesopotamia long before the Macedonians were heard of, and some of them had continued to flourish down to the Macedonian conquest: Harran, the home of Abraham, was known to the Greeks as Carrhae, and the Nasabina of the Assyrian records as Nisibis. There is, however, a germ of truth in Pliny's words. Mesopotamia was colonized by the Macedonian kings with remarkable intensiveness. According to our authorities the process was begun by Alexander himself, to whom Isidore of Charax and Pliny attribute the foundation of Nicephorium. Appian, it is true, gives it to Seleucus Nicator, and if it was founded to celebrate a victory, as he states and as its name implies, this attribution seems more probable, for Alexander fought no battle at this point, and Seleucus may have done. Its position, however, is in favour of an early date; it guarded the crossing of the Euphrates at Thapsacus, which had been the most important under the Persians and in Alexander's day, but which was replaced later by Seleucus' new bridge farther upstream. Be this as it may, Macedonian colonization began before Seleucus for in 312 B.C. we hear of Macedonian settlers already established at Carrhae.<sup>1</sup>

Under the Seleucids Mesopotamia assumed a particular importance. It was a key province, the bridge between the western half of the empire, Syria, and later also Asia Minor, with its capital at Antioch, and the eastern half, Babylonia and the far eastern satrapies, with its capital at Seleucia on the Tigris. It was therefore necessary, both for military and for commercial reasons, that it should be strongly garrisoned against the Armenians of the northern mountains and the Arabs of the southern desert. Seleucus Nicator here as elsewhere laid the foundation of the colonization of the country; it is at any rate to him that our authorities attribute most of the Macedonian colonies of the region. His name is connected with the two Antiochs of Mesopotamia, Antioch upon the Callirhoe, and Antioch of Mygdonia. The former was the capital of the Arab tribe of the Osrhoeni; its pre-

Hellenic name Orhai has eventually superseded its Hellenic name and it is to-day called Urfa. It was in classical times normally known not as Antioch but as Edessa. Malalas explains this by saying that Seleucus first called it Antioch 'the half barbarian', and later, after a flood, changed its name to Edessa because the Macedonian Edessa was similarly liable to floods. We know, however, that it was officially known as Antioch in the second century B.C., and it seems therefore much more likely that Malalas has inverted the true order of events, and that in reality, on the analogy of Pella renamed Apamea, the first Macedonian settlement, planted early in Seleucus' reign, was called Edessa, and that later this Macedonian military colony was raised to city rank, perhaps by Seleucus himself, under the style of Antioch. The other Antioch, Antioch in Mygdonia, was the ancient city of Nisibis; its foundation is attributed to Seleucus Nicator by a metrical epitaph of the early second century A.D. Pliny's Antioch Arabis, founded by Nicanor, governor of Mesopotamia, a satrap of Seleucus Nicator, is probably only a duplication of the two already mentioned; Pliny, it is true, records them both separately, but such duplications are very common in Pliny, who never took the trouble to co-ordinate his sources. Antioch Arabis was according to Pliny situated among an Arab tribe known as the Orrhoei or Mardani. The former are, of course, the Osrhoeni. The latter are probably the people called by the Greeks the Mygdones; their real name has survived in the modern town of Mardin about thirty miles north-west of Nisibis. It may be noted that the use of the name Antioch by these two cities is not attested till the second century B.C., in their coinage under Antiochus Epiphanes. This, however, does not prove that Epiphanes first gave them these names. It used to be thought that Tarsus was called Antioch on the Cydnus by Epiphanes because this name was first traceable on coins of his reign. Recently discovered inscriptions have, however, proved that Tarsus was Antioch on the Cydnus as far back as the middle of the third century B.C. There is therefore no reason to doubt the ascription of Antioch upon the Callirhoe and Antioch in Mygdonia to Seleucus Nicator.<sup>2</sup>

Seleucus, as mentioned above, built a bridge across the Euphrates. He secured the eastern bridge-head by a city which he named Apamea on the Euphrates. He also revived the very ancient crossing at Carchemish and here he planted a colony on the east bank, Amphipolis; he later renamed it Nicatoris, a change which perhaps indicates a rise in its status. Far down the

Euphrates his satrap Nicanor founded the colony of Europus. Pliny also mentions a city of Stratonicea in Mesopotamia. It is otherwise unknown, and was probably only a temporary title of one of the known Macedonian colonies. The name, however, implies its foundation or re-foundation by Nicator; for Appian attributes one Stratonicea to Seleucus Nicator, and the only other known Seleucid Stratoniceas, that in Caria and that in Mysia, are certainly not his. Seleucia, opposite Samosata on the Euphrates, may be due to Nicator, but more probably to one of the later Seleucids. Epiphaneia, opposite Urima, must be due to Antiochus IV.<sup>3</sup>

There are a few other Hellenistic foundations in Mesopotamia whose founders are unknown. Anthemus is named after a city of Macedonia, and is called a Macedonian settlement by Tacitus. Ichnae, on the road between Anthemus and Nicephorium, also bears the name of a Macedonian town, and was, according to Isidore of Charax, a Greek city, a foundation of the Macedonians. Both these foundations were probably due to Seleucus Nicator, of whom settlements with this type of name are characteristic. Batnae on the same road, although it bears a native name, is stated by Ammianus Marcellinus to have been founded by 'a company of the ancient Macedonians'. The retention of the native name suggests that like Carrhae it was pre-Seleucid; Seleucus seems nearly always to have given names borrowed from Greece or Macedon to his military colonies. Zenodotium is mentioned in the first century B.C. as a Greek city; neither its site nor the identity of the Zenodotus who presumably founded it are known.<sup>4</sup>

Most of these towns were probably genuine colonies, peopled with settlers of Greek or Macedonian blood. At Europus this is proved by a parchment dated 195 B.C., which reveals that the lands of the citizens were still at that date registered under lots known by the names of their original Greek or Macedonian occupiers, and that the owners of parcels of land in these lots, which had by now been split up, still bore purely Greco-Macedonian names. Elsewhere we possess only literary evidence. Macedonian settlers at Carrhae are specifically mentioned by Diodorus, and Cassius Dio also speaks of the Carrhenes as 'colonists of the Macedonians'. Ammianus mentions 'a company of ancient Macedonians' at Batnae. Cassius Dio speaks of the inhabitants of Nicephorium and the other Greek cities in Mesopotamia as 'colonists of the Macedonians and the Greeks who served with them'. Also the type of name borne by the towns is

an indication that they were genuine settlements of colonists. Amphipolis, Anthemus, Edessa, Europus, and Ichnae are all names of Macedonian towns, and imply colonization from Macedonia.<sup>5</sup>

Few of the towns were entirely new creations. Apamea probably was a new foundation, since the bridge to which it owed its existence was new. We have no evidence for many of the towns, Nicephorium, Seleucia, Epiphaneia, Zenodotium, Ichnae. For a large number, however, we have definite proof that they existed before their colonization. Carrhae and Batnae never abandoned their native names, Nisibis soon dropped its official style of Antioch, and Edessa has reverted to its primitive name of Urfa. Amphipolis was according to Stephanus of Byzantium called Turmeda by the Syrians, and it is the Syrian name which has survived to modern times. Isidore of Charax gives the native names of Europus and Anthemus, Dura and Sidu Charax; the latter name survived among the natives, and reappears in Syriac episcopal lists as Hikla de Sida.<sup>6</sup>

It is not probable that many of these towns were cities in the full sense of the term in the Seleucid period. We have definite proof of city status in two cases only, the two Antiochs, which both issued semi-autonomous coins, with the royal effigy but not the royal superscription, under Antiochus Epiphanes. In view of their dynastic names it is probable that Apamea, Nicatoris, Seleucia, Epiphaneia, and Stratonicea, whichever of the other towns it represents, were likewise real cities, and Nicephorium may also have been so. The towns with names borrowed from Macedonia were probably mere military colonies, enjoying a very limited autonomy and possessing no territory. The latter point is proved by the Seleucid land law of Europus, as revealed by a parchment discovered there. According to this law an estate, if there were no heirs within a prescribed degree of kinship, reverted to the king. The land surrounding the town must therefore have been in law royal land. On the other hand, the settlers formed a community of some sort, for they style themselves in the documents as Europaeans and not as Macedonians from Europus.<sup>7</sup>

Shortly after the middle of the second century B.C. Mesopotamia passed into the hands of the Parthians, under whose rule it remained for about three centuries. Parthian rule was nowhere very efficient and in Mesopotamia its normal inefficiency was accentuated by frequent foreign invasions. The later Seleucid kings made periodic attempts to regain the province, Tigranes of



Armenia overran it for a while, and successive Roman commanders invaded it. It was not until Augustus settled the eastern frontier that Mesopotamia enjoyed any long respite from foreign attack, and by that time the Parthian kingdom was falling to pieces from internal dissensions. In these circumstances the condition of Mesopotamia rapidly became anarchic. The Arab tribes of the southern steppe were allowed to get out of hand and pillaged the fertile lands of the north. What was even more disastrous for the prosperity of the country, they killed the transit trade from Babylonia to the west which had hitherto passed along the Euphrates, for each petty chief levied exorbitant tolls, and merchants finding all their profits swallowed by these exactions abandoned the route. The abandonment of the Euphrates route was to a certain extent compensated by the development of a new route through central Mesopotamia by Rhesaina and Singara, towns which first rose into prominence in the Parthian period, but much of the trade was deflected to Palmyra, which organized a direct service of caravans across the Syrian desert. This route must already have been important in the first century B.C., seeing that the wealth of Palmyra was famous in Antony's day.<sup>8</sup>

The general prosperity of Mesopotamia naturally waned in these circumstances. The Greek cities suffered most, for not only were their territories pillaged and the trade which was their life-blood strangled, but they were regarded with disfavour by the Parthian government. This was not unnatural in view of the political attitude of the cities, which maintained a strong Hellenic sentiment, and welcomed the Romans as protectors of Hellenism; with one exception every Greek city of Mesopotamia sided with Crassus. The distrust of the Parthians may account for the disappearance of the cities of the Euphrates frontier; it was clearly vital to the security of Mesopotamia that the bridge-heads should not be controlled by communities whose loyalty was doubtful. Whatever the cause, these cities disappeared. Seleucia opposite Samosata was a Parthian fortress in Pompey's day; he granted it to Antiochus of Commagene and it seems subsequently to have been incorporated in the territory of Samosata. Apamea was replaced by the fortress of BIRTHA, Amphipolis apparently by that of Hemerium; Epiphania disappeared altogether. Zenodotium also perished during the wars of this period, but not at the hands of the Parthians; it resisted Crassus and was destroyed by him. The majority of the other cities passed eventually into the hands of the native dynasties which sprang up throughout the country.

The oldest and most famous of these is the dynasty of the Osrhoeni, who made Edessa their capital. They themselves dated the foundation of their rule to 132 B.C. The first member of the family who figures in history is the Abgar of the Osrhoeni who betrayed Crassus. Another Abgar, a contemporary of Augustus, has gained an unmerited fame through his spurious correspondence with Christ. In the reign of Claudius a third is mentioned by Tacitus, and in the reign of Trajan a fourth was ruling Edessa. At this period a number of other native princes are mentioned, Sporaces, phylarch of Anthemusia, Mannus, a neighbour of Abgar who perhaps ruled Rhesaina, and Manisarus who was perhaps prince of the Praetavi, whose capital was Singara.<sup>9</sup>

The Romans long respected the Euphrates frontier which had been fixed by Pompey and confirmed by Augustus, but the growing weakness of the Parthian kingdom made Mesopotamia a tempting conquest. Trajan was the first Roman emperor to conquer beyond the Euphrates, but his conquests were abandoned by Hadrian, and it was not till half a century later that Lucius Verus annexed Mesopotamia. The Parthians did not acquiesce in the loss of the province, and further campaigns were required under Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Macrinus to maintain the conquests of Verus. Then, early in the third century, the Sassanian dynasty replaced the effete Arsacids, and renewed the struggle for Mesopotamia with greater energy. Successive campaigns were fought by Severus Alexander, Gordian III, Philip, Valerian, Odenathus, and Carus.

Mesopotamia thus remained throughout this period a disputed frontier province. The constant wars left their mark on its political organization. The large number of colonies planted by successive emperors is notable; they probably were real colonies of veterans—though this can be proved of one of them only, Rhesaina, upon whose coins the name of the third Parthian legion appears—and were intended to serve as permanent garrisons. Six cities are known to have been colonized; the date of their colonization, the evidence for which consists for the most part of the dynastic titles which they bore, is not always certain. Singara is styled Aurelia Septimia: the former title perhaps indicates that the city was first colonized by Verus, the second that Severus re-colonized it. Severus was certainly the founder of Septimia Rhesaina and of Septimia Nisibis, which later took the additional title of Julia in honour of Philip. Severus seems also to have colonized Carrhae, for the title of colony appears on

the city coinage in his reign; the colony seems to have been refounded by Caracalla in whose honour it bore the titles of Antoniniana Aurelia Alexandriana. Europus was refounded by Caracalla, adopting the style Aurelia Antoniniana, and was later, probably under Alexander, raised to colonial rank; it seems to have dropped its Macedonian name on this occasion, becoming officially Colonia Aurelia Dura. Edessa has a complicated history. For a while the native dynasty was allowed to survive. In 213-14 Caracalla deposed the Abgar of the day for his tyrannous rule and the city began to coin using the titles Aurelia Antoniniana, which were replaced by Opellia Macriniana under Macrinus. Elagabalus seems to have planted the colony of Edessa, which bore the titles of Marcia, Aurelia, Antoniniana, and later Alexandria in various combinations. Gordian III revived the native dynasty, but the last Abgar reigned only two years, after which Edessa recovered its colonial status.<sup>10</sup>

Anthemus seems to have been refounded during this period. It issued coins under its old name under Caracalla, but in the Byzantine period was known as Marcopolis, a name which it probably owed to Elagabalus, who bestowed his praenomen Marcus on the colony of Edessa also. One new city was founded during this period; the town of Tela was raised to city rank under the style of Antoninopolis, presumably by Caracalla or Elagabalus. As against this Ichnae is heard of no more and seems to have been destroyed.<sup>11</sup>

Under Diocletian the Persian wars continued. His campaigns were successful and resulted in considerable accessions of territory. Another war under Constantius left the situation unchanged. Julian, after brilliant initial successes, was disastrously defeated and his successor Jovian signed an ignominious peace whereby not only the greater part of Diocletian's conquests but Nisibis and Singara, which had been in Roman hands since the days of Severus and perhaps Verus, were surrendered to the Persians. After this Mesopotamia enjoyed comparative tranquillity until the Persian wars of Justinian, Maurice Tiberius, and Heraclius.

During this period also the history of the cities reflects the general condition of the province. Many cities perished in the wars, and either vanished or were rebuilt by later emperors. Europus was a deserted ruin when Julian passed it on his march to Ctesiphon. Nicephorium is heard of no more during this period and its site was occupied by a military station named

Callinicum, whose name does not go back to Seleucus Callinicus, but was taken from a sophist Callinicus who was killed there. Antoninopolis was twice refounded, once after capture by the Persians, when it was renamed Maximianopolis, again after an earthquake, when Constantius rebuilt and refortified it and gave it the name by which it was henceforth known, Constantia. Rhesaina seems also to have perished, for Malalas records that Theodosius the Great renamed the village of Rhesaina Theodosiopolis and gave it the rank of a city. Another symptom of the disturbed state of the province is the tendency of fortresses to develop into cities: the population evidently tended to take refuge in points of defence. Callinicum became a city under the style of Leontopolis. Circesium, the great fortress built by Diocletian to guard the mouth of the Chaboras, was enlarged and converted into a city by Justinian. Birtha and Hemerium, the old Parthian fortresses on the Euphrates, are also recorded as cities by Georgius. Another example of the predominance of military considerations in the formation of cities is the fortress city of Dara, built by Anastasius on the extreme frontier to cover the Persian fortress city of Nisibis.<sup>12</sup>

Hierocles' list includes besides Edessa, Batnae, Carrhae, Constantia, Theodosiopolis, Leontopolis, and Birtha, one city not hitherto mentioned, Nea Valentia; nothing is known of it save the obvious fact that it was founded by Valens. Georgius adds to this list Marcopolis, Dara, Circesium, Hemerium, and several others of which little is known. Macarta is elsewhere recorded only as a station on the road leading east from Theodosiopolis. Therimachon is perhaps a Greek mis-spelling of Tellmahré, a town and bishopric south of Carrhae. Anastasia was perhaps the official style of Dausara, an important fortress on the Euphrates west of Leontopolis, which was in the sixth century a bishopric. Georgius' remaining two cities, Monithilla and Moniauga, are otherwise unknown and probably corrupt; I suspect that beneath them lurks Thillaamana, a military post recorded in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.<sup>13</sup>

In view of the chequered history of the province it is not surprising that Hellenic culture struck no very deep roots in Mesopotamia. During the Parthian occupation there was extensive inter-marriage between the Greek settlers and the native population. This process is illustrated by the documents from Europus, which show that in the first and second centuries A.D. the names of the men were normally Greek but those of their wives and

daughters Aramaic or Iranian. The result of this fusion was that, though in political sentiment the population remained Greek, in its social customs it became orientalized. In particular the European documents reveal that the practice of brother and sister marriage was already in the second century prevalent even in the best families, which presumably contained the strongest strain of Greek blood. Even after the country became Christian this practice persisted. Justinian issued a severe law prohibiting incestuous marriages among the inhabitants of Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, but, so prevalent was the custom, he was unable to make the law retrospective. This law remained a dead letter; Justin II, when he re-enacted it, again did not make it retrospective. Not only the social customs of the natives but also their language early established its supremacy. Harmonius the son of Bardesanes, an Osrhoenian who flourished in the early third century, laid the foundations of the vernacular literature with his Syriac hymns. In the fourth century Ephraim of Nisibis inaugurated a Syriac prose literature; he was the author of voluminous theological works which were greatly admired for their elegance of style and were therefore presumably read by an educated public. He founded a flourishing school of Syriac literature which endured for several centuries after the Arab conquest. The decline of Greek education which accompanied this rise of Syriac to a literary language is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that Mesopotamian bishops often had to use interpreters at ecclesiastical councils when the proceedings were in Greek.<sup>14</sup>

North of Mesopotamia lay Armenia. The kingdom of Armenia came from time to time under the political suzerainty of western powers. It was for a time tributary to the Seleucids; Pompey made Tigranes a vassal of Rome; and from henceforth the Romans asserted a vague suzerainty over the Armenian kingdom which was a perpetual source of discord with the Parthians and the Persians. But though under the political suzerainty of Rome Armenia remained a purely oriental country, following in its system of government the old Persian tradition. The kingdom was divided into a number of satrapies, ruled by satraps who were practically tributary kings, holding their office by hereditary right and commanding their own armies. The political boundary between Armenia and Mesopotamia fluctuated from time to time, being sometimes the Masius range and sometimes the Antitaurus. Culturally the boundary was the Masius. Greek civilization, and in particular the institution of the city state, did not penetrate the

Upper Tigris valley, which was like Armenia divided into satrapies, ruled by hereditary satraps, usually of Armenian blood, whether they paid their allegiance to the Armenian king, the Great King of Parthia or Persia, or the Roman emperor. The Romans made no lasting conquests beyond the Masius till Diocletian in 297 extorted from the Persians the cession of a number of satrapies on the Upper Tigris. Five of these, Arzanene, Moxoene, Zabdicene, Rehimene, and Corduene, were retroceded to the Persians by Jovian but the Romans retained Ingilene and Sophanene and perhaps another satrapy which Constantius had suppressed when in 341 he founded the city of Amida. In 387 a part of the Armenian kingdom was added to these. King Arsaces of Armenia who died in 384 divided his kingdom between his two sons Arsaces and Tigranes. Arsaces, who received a very much smaller share than his brother, appealed to Rome, whose neighbour he was. Tigranes naturally appealed to Persia. War threatened but was averted by the two great powers agreeing to annex their respective protégés' kingdoms. Rome seems to have acquired by this arrangement six satrapies, Sophene, Anzitene, Balabitenne, Asthianene, Acilisene, and Daranalis. The two last were converted into cities. Theodosius the Great founded at Camacha in Daranalis the city of Theodosiopolis; Leo built Leontopolis at Bazani in Acilisene. Both cities were subsequently refounded, Theodosiopolis by Anastasius, Leontopolis by Justinian. Anastasius' refoundation seems to have amounted to little more than refortification and the name Anastasiopolis was soon dropped. Justinian rebuilt Leontopolis on a new site and the city was thereafter known as Justinianopolis. These two cities with their territories, the former satrapies of Daranalis and Acilisene, formed the province of Inner or, as it was sometimes somewhat inappropriately called, Great Armenia. The remaining four satrapies, with Ingilene and Sophanene, which seem to have been amalgamated into one satrapy, retained their old organization. They were subject to the general military control of an official called the Count of Armenia but continued to be ruled by their own hereditary satraps, who still as before commanded their own armies and administered to their subjects the old Armenian law. They now received their insignia of office, their purple cloak and silken tunic embroidered with gold, golden brooch adorned with precious stones, and purple boots, from the Roman emperor instead of from the Armenian king, but otherwise all was unchanged. Under Zeno they supported the rebels Illus and Leontius, and

as a result they were all, with the exception of the satrap of Balabitenne, deposed. The hereditary principle was abolished, and henceforth the emperor appointed the four remaining satraps, no longer for life, but like other governors during his pleasure. The Armenian law was, however, still preserved and satraps still commanded the local armies and maintained their formal title and insignia. This state of affairs lasted till Justinian's day. He set about to abolish the system whose anomalous character must have grated on his passion for uniformity. He first reorganized the military administration, appointing a *Magister Militum* for Armenia who commanded all the troops not only in Pontus Polemoniaca, Armenia I and II and Great or Inner Armenia but also in the satrapies: the office of Count of Armenia he abolished. He next reformed the Armenian law, bringing its rules of succession into line with Roman law. Finally, he remodelled the civil administration, amalgamating Great Armenia with parts of Armenia I and Pontus Polemoniaca to form the province of Armenia IV. This change can have had very little practical effect. Justinian, as he himself says, gave the new province one city only, Martyropolis. This town, in Armenian Maipherqat, was the capital of Sophanene; it owed its Greek name to the great collection of relics of the Persian martyrs which its bishop Maruthas made at the end of the fourth century. It appears to owe its city status to Justinian, who according to Malalas renamed it Justinianopolis, and seems to have assigned to it as its territory the double satrapy of Sophanene and Ingilene, which do not figure in Georgius' list. The other four satrapies continued to be governed on the same lines, though Justinian abolished the vice-regal pomp of the satraps; Balabitenne, Sophene, Anzitene, and Asthianene all figure as 'climata' in Georgius' list.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, in Armenia the institution of the city state did not to any large extent supersede the native satrapal system. Even where the satrapies were converted into cities one may doubt whether the change was more than formal. It is significant that at the sixth general council the bishops of Theodosiopolis and Justinianopolis signed their names indifferently as 'of Camacha of Great Armenia' and 'of Justinianopolis of Great Armenia' or as 'of the clima of Daranalis' and 'of the clima of Acilisene'.

## X. SYRIA

**S**YRIA consists of a long narrow strip of fertile land, stretching from the Taurus down to the confines of Egypt, and bounded by the Mediterranean on the west and the Arabian desert on the east. This strip is divided into a number of parallel zones. Next the sea is a coastal plain, as a rule very narrow, but widening out in Palestine. Behind this are two parallel mountain ranges, separated by a cleft along which two principal rivers run from a central watershed, the Jordan southwards into the Dead Sea, the Orontes northwards till it breaks through the western chain into the Mediterranean. These two mountain ranges attain their greatest height at their centres, where they form the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. To the north and south of these summits they sink and spread out into broad areas of highland. Thus, the Bargylus and Amanus ranges, and the mountains of Galilee and Judaea form the northern and southern extensions of the Lebanon. The whole forms a well-defined chain but is broken by several gaps, that between the Amanus and the Bargylus through which the Orontes makes its way to the sea, that between the Bargylus and the Lebanon cut by the Eleutherus river, and, the most important of them all, the plain of Esdraelon between the Galilaean and Judaeian highlands. The eastern range is less well defined. To the south the Anti-Lebanon merges into the highlands of Gilead, Ammon, and Moab; to the north it fades away into the tract of irregular hilly country which stretches up to Cyrrhestice and Commagene.

Beyond the mountains comes the desert, bounding Syria on the east from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, and sweeping round in the south to the shore of the Mediterranean. The frontier is ill defined, and has varied considerably within historical times. Where the mountain barrier is low, the desert encroaches upon it. The highlands of Gilead, Ammon, and Moab, and the hill country round Beroea and Chalcis fade almost imperceptibly into desert, and immediately north of the Anti-Lebanon the desert stretches right up to the Orontes itself. But where the mountains are very high, the perennial snows which cap them water tracts of fertile country, which project into the desert like promontories; an instance is the region of Damascus. Elsewhere oases, such as those of Petra and Palmyra, are formed by springs in the desert.



Thus, unlike the sea-coast, the desert coast is highly indented and fringed with islands.

In a country of such a character political unity is difficult to achieve, and has in fact scarcely ever been achieved; Syria has almost always been divided into a number of small states, either independent, or more often subject to a foreign power. For although Syria is so broken up by mountain ranges as to make internal communications very difficult, it nevertheless forms the natural highway between Egypt on the south, and Asia Minor and Mesopotamia on the north. It has for that reason constantly been the battle-ground between the great powers of these regions, and has for the greater part of its history been subject to one or other of them in part or in whole. In these circumstances such faint spontaneous tendencies towards political union as might appear were inevitably crushed.

But if Syria suffered from being the highway of invasion, it benefited from being the highway of trade. Trade routes have always run through it from north to south from the earliest times. These routes naturally avoided the difficult mountainous belt, and followed either the sea-coast, whether by road or ship, or the desert edge by caravan. Seeing that the trade was principally between Egypt and Mesopotamia, at any rate in early times, it was natural that the southern half of the coastal route and the northern half of the desert route should be most used, and that the gaps in the middle of the western mountain barrier, through which there was easiest communication between the coastal and desert routes, should assume great importance. Since trade encourages town life, it followed that there grew up two strings of towns, a string of seaports along the coast, and a string of what may be called desert ports along the desert frontier, and that these two strings should be linked by towns in the mountain passes. These towns came also to serve a transverse trade from east to west. The traders of the coastal towns developed their trade westwards into the Mediterranean, those of the towns on the desert fringe developed their caravan trade eastwards across the desert to Babylonia, and the towns of the passes acted as intermediaries between the two.

I must now endeavour to draw a picture of Syria as it was under the Persian empire, and see how far the documents bear out this analysis. The authorities which bear directly on the Persian period are not very numerous. Among Greek writers there are scattered allusions in Herodotus, a brief reference in Xenophon's

*Anabasis*, the account of the revolt of Sidon and the Egyptian campaign of Artaxerxes in Diodorus, and the various narratives of Alexander's conquest of Syria. To these may be added the *Periplus of Scylax*, which is unfortunately for the Syrian coast more than usually corrupt. Among the oriental sources, the only literary authorities are the books of Ezra and Nehemiah; in addition there is the evidence of the coins, a very few inscriptions, and the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine.

If these were our only sources, our picture of Syria under the Persian empire would be very incomplete. Fortunately, however, they can be supplemented for certain purposes from the information derived from the Egyptian and Assyrian records and the older books of the Old Testament. As these documents are far older than the period with which we are dealing, they naturally must be used with caution; not only the political situation but the economic and social state of Syria underwent great changes during the many centuries which elapsed between the periods which some of these documents depict and the Persian age. But it is a legitimate assumption that a town which is found at any early date and after a period of oblivion reappears in the Hellenistic or Roman age had existed during the interval. The case is most obvious where it bore the same name throughout, but it is more significant when, as often was the case, it bore a Greek name in the classical period, and reverted to its old name after the Arab conquest. This has occurred very often: Hamath, for instance, after having been known for eight hundred years as Epiphaneia, has become Hama once more, Rabbah of Ammon is 'Amman not Philadelphia, Ace Akka not Ptolemais. It has been regarded as a kind of natural law that a Semitic name outlives a Greek one. It is, however, far from being a universal rule. The four great cities of the north Syrian tetrapolis were all known to the early Arab geographers by their Greek names, and the two which survive still bear the names of Antakiya and Lattakiya; the later foundation of Tiberias is still called Tubbariya. In these cases the survival of the Greek name is natural, for they were all new foundations on sites previously unoccupied or marked only by insignificant villages whose names had been forgotten or were only dimly remembered in the classical period. More remarkable is the fact that Strato's Tower and Samaria are known to-day by the names which Herod gave them, Kaisariya and Sebastiya, and Shechem by the name of Vespasian's new town on the site, Nablus (Neapolis). Strangest of all, Jerusalem was known to the

early Arab authors as Iliya—that is Aelia. These were all old towns, and had been towns of some importance, even if at the date of their refoundation two of them, Strato's Tower and Samaria, were rather decayed, and a third, Jerusalem, had been destroyed for over half a century. The supersession of the old name by the new in these cases shows that a Semitic name has no inherent power of survival; for here names with strong religious and historical associations of long standing vanished in favour of new Greek names which had neither. The fact seems to be that an old name survived only if the town and its population remained substantially unaltered; foreigners and the Hellenized upper classes of the town might use the official name, but the lower classes and the surrounding peasantry disregarded the newfangled name which had been given to the town and persisted in calling it by the old name with which they were familiar. If, on the other hand, there was a substantial refoundation and a new population was introduced, all classes would use the new name, and the old one would pass out of common use. The survivals of an ancient name into the Middle Ages after a temporary disappearance in favour of a Greek name thus proves not merely that the town continued to exist from the period when it was last heard of in ancient times till the classical period, but that it was a town of some importance, and underwent no substantial refoundation in the classical age.

This phenomenon of the survival of old names gives us presumptive evidence of the existence before the classical period of some towns which are not mentioned in the ancient sources. The ancient sources are very incomplete and fragmentary, and by no means give an exhaustive survey of the country. There is, moreover, a considerable gap between the latest period covered by them, that of the Babylonian empire, and the Hellenistic period, and during that interval new towns may have risen to importance which were previously insignificant. There would therefore be nothing surprising if important towns of the Persian period should not be mentioned in the ancient records which have come down to us. When a town known to us under a Greek name in the classical period was known by a Semitic name in the Arab period, there is a presumption in favour of its existence in the pre-classical period. This presumption is strengthened into a proof, if there is any evidence, as there often is from the Talmud or from classical authors, that the Arab name was in use before the Arab conquest; but even if such evidence fails, the presumption

is very strong, as the new names given by the Arabs are generally of a quite distinctive type and easily recognizable.

From all these sources a tolerably complete picture of Syria under Persian rule can be drawn. Along the coast there was a chain of cities, many of them of very great antiquity. In the extreme south Raphia is mentioned in the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. Farther north, of the cities of the Philistines, there still flourished in this period Gaza, stated by Herodotus to have been as great a city as Sardis, Ascalon, mentioned by Scylax, and Azotus, noted by Herodotus. In the plain of Sharon, Joppa and Dora are mentioned in a Phoenician inscription of the Persian period, and also in Scylax, while the Old Testament mentions Jabneh, the later Jamnia, and Gezer (Gazara). On the same stretch of coast were two other towns, Apollonia and Strato's Tower, whose existence in the Persian period may be inferred. Apollonia is an interesting example of name survival. It is to-day called Arsûf. Now Resef was a Semitic god later equated with Apollo. The Arabs can hardly have known this, and in any case Apollonia was by the time of the Arab invasion known as Sozusa—the Christians objecting to the pagan associations of the old name. It therefore seems likely that Arsûf was a pre-Greek name, hellenized into Apollonia, but surviving among the native population and rising to the surface again with the decline of the Greek language. It is possible that the name Reseph which occurs in a mythical genealogy of the sons of Ephraim in the Book of Chronicles represents this town. For Strato's Tower the evidence is less convincing; the name may imply that it was a foundation of one of the Stratos who were kings of Sidon in the fourth century B.C.—the plain of Sharon belonged to Sidon at this date—or it may be a hellenization of Migdol Astart, just as the personal name Strato represents 'Abd Astart.<sup>1</sup>

North of Carmel Ace was, as Strabo and Diodorus point out, the principal port used by the Persians for operations against Egypt. Next come the two great cities of Tyre and Sidon, whose importance makes it superfluous to quote evidence, and Berytus, whose later claim to extreme antiquity, as a foundation of Cronos, is substantiated by the Tel el-Amarna letters, next Gebal or Byblus, whose antiquity and greatness require no proof, and Botrys, stated by Menander to have been founded by Ethbaal of Tyre, a contemporary of Ahab, but actually of far greater antiquity as the Tel el-Amarna letters show. North of them lay Tripolis, a joint foundation of the Aradians, Sidonians, and

Tyrians, which dates back at least to the fourth century, as the mention of it by Scylax and Diodorus proves. North of Tripolis were Orthosia, Arca, and Simyra, all mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna letters, Marathus, recorded in Arrian's account of Alexander's conquest, and finally the great city of Arad. North of Arad there is ancient evidence for three towns only, Paltus and Gabala, mentioned by Simonides of Ceos and Hecataeus of Miletus respectively, and Posideium, said by Herodotus to have been founded by Amphiloclus. Posideium was thus a Greek colony of the heroic age, an overflow from the Cilician migration.<sup>2</sup>

On the desert frontier of Syria, by far the most important and most ancient town was Damascus. To the north along the upper Orontes valley lay three towns, Kadesh, Hamath, and Zinzar. The first is not only known from the ancient Egyptian records, but is probably mentioned by Herodotus; for if his battle of Magdolus is identical with the biblical battle of Megiddo, the city of Cadytus which Neco captured after it must lie in northern Syria. It became Laodicea in the classical period, but reverted to Kadis in early Arab times. Hamath is well known both from the biblical and the Assyrian records; it, after becoming Epiphaneia, is now Hama once more. Zinzar is mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence; it too temporarily took a Greek name, Larissa, but returned to its original Semitic name, Shaizar, in the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup>

North of these towns, on the fringe of the cultivated area, lay two cities, one known to the Egyptian and Assyrian documents as Harabu or Halman, to-day Halab, after having been Beroea in the classical period, and the other known to-day as Kinnesrin, and in the Greco-Roman age as Chalcis. That the modern name is a survival is proved by its being used before the Arab conquest in the Talmud. Farther to the north-east lay the oasis town of Bambyce, whose antiquity is proved by the Assyrian records; during the Persian period it is probably mentioned by Ctesias. Another oasis town of the north Syrian desert, Tadmor or Palmyra, is also recorded in the Assyrian monuments; the mistake of the author of Chronicles in attributing its foundation to Solomon shows that it was an important place in his day—probably the fourth century B.C.<sup>4</sup>

Along the Euphrates, controlling its passages, lay a number of important towns. The most famous of these, Carchemish, is often mentioned both in the Egyptian and in the Assyrian records, and is notable for the great defeat of Neco; it took the name of Europus

in the classical period. Farther south Thapsacus is stated by Xenophon to have been in his day a flourishing town. To the north lay Urima, which is probably the classical Antioch on the Euphrates, but was known to the Byzantine writers and is known to-day by its original Semitic name, and, behind it in the mountains and controlling a pass, Marash, the classical Germanicia. Both are mentioned in the Assyrian records.<sup>5</sup>

South of Damascus the desert fringe was probably less developed. We know from the Old Testament of a fair number of towns which later became cities, either with or without a change of name, but our information is so full for this region that it is difficult to say whether they were towns of any importance or merely villages. Rabbah of Ammon, renamed Philadelphia but now 'Amman, Edrei (Adraa), Heshbon (Esbu), Medaba, and Kir of Moab (Characmoba) all occur in the Old Testament, and Bostra probably in the Tel el-Amarna letters. One town was certainly of importance, the oasis city far in the southern desert known to the Greeks as Petra. It may be mentioned in the Old Testament under its Semitic name of Selah, the rock. Its wealth in the Persian period is attested by the persistent efforts made by Antigonus, only twenty years after the Macedonian conquest, to subdue it. It derived its wealth from the south Arabian and Indian trade which came up the Red Sea. Some other towns shared with it the profits of this trade. The prosperity of Elath (Aela), at the head of the gulf of Aqaba, goes back to the days of Solomon. The two Edomite towns of Mareshah (Marisa) and Adoraim (Adora) also probably owed their importance to this trade, acting as intermediaries between Petra and the ports of the Philistine coast. They are mentioned in the Old Testament, but not as places of any great importance, and they probably rose to importance in the Persian period. The correspondence of Zeno shows that by the early third century B.C. they were great centres of trade, and at the end of the century the existence of a flourishing colony of Sidonians is attested at Mareshah by the rich paintings of their necropolis.<sup>6</sup>

In the interior, between these two strings of cities we find very little evidence of the existence of towns, except in the gaps in the mountain barriers through which the trade routes passed. In the northern gap lay Mariamme, mentioned in Arrian's *Anabasis*, in the southern Bethshan, often mentioned in the Old Testament, and Pella, recorded in the Egyptian monuments. Bethshan took a fancy Greek name, Scythopolis, but has now returned to

Beisan. Pella merely modified its spelling in order to acquire a Greek appearance. It is interesting to note that the modern pronunciation has reverted to the pre-Greek form; Fahl, allowing for the regular change of *p* to *f* in Arabic, which possesses no *p*, corresponds exactly to the *PHR* of the Egyptian records—*r* is regularly substituted for *l* in the hieroglyphic versions of foreign names, the sound *l* not existing in Egyptian.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from these exceptions village life seems to have predominated in the interior. The only picture we have of conditions in the agricultural belt is that given of Judaea by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Here we see that the bulk of the population was scattered in villages, and that Jerusalem, in spite of its importance as the religious centre of the country, was a very insignificant place. For the building of the walls Nehemiah had to call in the country folk, and when the town was fortified he had to conscript settlers to occupy it. The same conditions probably applied elsewhere; the only towns which can be traced are religious or administrative centres, such as Shechem and Samaria among the Samaritans. To these may perhaps be added the towns later known as Heliopolis and Chalcis among the Ituraean Arabs of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; both these towns had earlier Semitic names, Baalbek, mentioned in the Talmud, and Gerrha, mentioned in Polybius, which superseded their Greek names after the Arab conquest. As, however, they do not seem to have acquired their Greek names till the second century B.C. at the earliest, this circumstance is no proof of great antiquity. In many parts of the agricultural belt village life continued to be the rule down into and even throughout Roman times—in Judaea, Samareitis, and Galilee, in Gaulanitis, Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and in Commagene.<sup>8</sup>

Such then was the social and economic structure of Syria before the Greek conquest. Its political organization must next be considered. On the coast the city was the unit. Four cities were predominant, Arad, Byblus, Sidon, and Tyre. They were ruled by hereditary kings, who, under the suzerainty of the Great King, enjoyed a considerable degree of independence. They struck their own coins, they commanded the contingents which they contributed to the Persian fleet, and when the Persian power was clearly broken they opened negotiations with Alexander on their own account. They ruled not only their own cities, but other cities, tributary to them. Arad, according to Arrian, owned a large amount of the mainland opposite, including not only

Marathus on the coast but Mariamme inland. Along the coast the territory of Arad reached at least as far as Gabala, which later used the Aradian era. Arad thus controlled a block of territory from the sea to the desert, including stations on both the coastal and desert trade routes and the connexion between them through the pass guarded by Mariamme. There is no evidence for a similar Byblian empire—Byblus was evidently already on the wane in the Persian period, seeing that it took no part in the foundation of Tripolis, and its contingent to the Persian fleet in 480 B.C. is ignored by Herodotus. Sidon had its dependencies. An inscription of one of its kings speaks of the gift of the plain of Sharon, including Dora and Joppa, to the city by the Great King, and Scylax notes Sidonian possessions in this region. Tyre, too, had some external possessions; Scylax speaks of Ascalon as a city of the Tyrians and also of another town on the coast of the plain of Esdraelon—the name is corrupt. In addition to the four great Phoenician cities and their dependencies, some other cities enjoyed autonomy. Gaza issued its own coinage under the Persian empire, and there is one silver coin which has been attributed to Posideium at this period. The Ashdodites are alluded to as a separate political community in the book of Nehemiah.<sup>9</sup>

The city was thus the political unit on the coast. The city states were, it is true, monarchies at this period, but there is evidence to show that they were constitutional monarchies. The king of Sidon in the fourth century B.C. had a council of a hundred notables, and, in the absence of the king, the notables of Tyre negotiated with Alexander, and after the break-down of negotiations organized the resistance of the city. The kingship, moreover, could at times be suspended, and elected 'judges' be substituted for the kings. The existence of a regular citizen body is attested by the wording of the commercial treaty made between Strato of Sidon and Athens, in which the privilege of exemption from taxes is accorded to 'those having political rights in Sidon'. The strong development of civic spirit in the coastal cities is strikingly displayed in the heroic resistance made by the Sidonians to Artaxerxes, and the Tyrians and Gazans to Alexander. For the towns on the desert fringe we have far less evidence. Some were independent communities; the kings of Bambyce, for instance, struck their own coins in the last days of the Persian empire. Damascus, on the other hand, was subject to a Persian governor at the time of the Macedonian conquest.



South of Damascus tribal organization seems to have prevailed.<sup>10</sup>

In the central belt of Syria also it was not the town but the tribe that was the political unit. The Jews, for example, were not only a community, united by the bonds of a common religion and a common race, but also a unit in the administrative system of the Persian empire. They were ruled by a governor, appointed by the Great King, and entitled to exact a salary and maintenance for himself and his household from the community which he ruled. These governors were in some cases Persians, like the Bagoas to whom the Jewish community of Elephantine appealed in distress, and of whom Josephus relates an instructive anecdote: he supported the intrigues of Jesus to wrest the high priesthood from his brother John, and, when John murdered his brother in the temple, avenged his protégé by imposing on the Jews an additional tribute of fifty shekels from the common stock for every lamb sacrificed in the temple. In many cases, however, they were natives: Nehemiah is the most famous example.<sup>11</sup>

Under the governor the community had a certain degree of autonomy, although there is little trace of an organized constitution. We find Nehemiah consulting with the priests and nobles about the rebuilding of the walls, and the Jews of Elephantine couple the nobles with the governor in their petition. On occasion we find general assemblies of the people being held. Nehemiah arraigned the nobles and priests before the people for usury and oppression, and, although the assembly does not seem to have had any formal legislative power, its moral influence was strong enough to enforce a general cancellation of debts and mortgages. Similarly, Ezra's code of laws was submitted to a general assembly for approval, and the prohibition of intermarriage with foreigners was carried by acclamation at a general assembly summoned by proclamation 'according to the counsel of the princes and elders'.<sup>12</sup>

We have less information for other communities. The neighbours of the Jews, except for the town of Ashdod to the west, seem all to have been similar tribal units—the Samaritans to the north, the Ammonites on the east, and the Arabians on the south. The governors of the last two were, to judge by their names, Tobiah and Geshem, local men. The office of governor of the Samaritans seems to have become hereditary in the house of Sanballat; for after his death the Jews of Elephantine appealed to his sons as representatives of the Samaritan community, and according to Josephus another Sanballat was appointed by the

last Darius, and was governor at the time of Alexander's invasion. The name is Babylonian, and the founder of the house may have been a foreign governor sent by the Great King; on the other hand, the family may have belonged to the foreign population transplanted into Samaria by the Assyrians. Outside Palestine and Trans-Jordan we have no evidence at all, but we may assume that the Nabataean Arabs and the Arabs of the Massyas valley formed communities on the same lines, and that in northern Syria similar conditions prevailed.<sup>13</sup>

Such then was the structure of Syria on the eve of Alexander's conquest. It consisted of a number of communities, some urban, and some tribal, in varying degrees of dependence upon the central government, some under native hereditary kings, others under governors, foreign or native, imposed by the Great King. All alike enjoyed a fair degree of internal autonomy, and as long as they kept the peace and paid the tribute regularly, the central government took little interest in their domestic affairs.

In 334 B.C. as a result of the battle of Issus, Alexander occupied Syria. On his death it was assigned at the conference of Babylon to Laomedon of Mitylene, who ruled it during the regency of Perdiccas, and was confirmed in it after Perdiccas' death at the conference of Triparadisus. He did not hold it long, however: Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt, had decided that Syria was a necessary appanage of his satrapy, and in 319 B.C. ejected Laomedon. He thus came into conflict with Antigonos, who aimed at uniting the whole of Alexander's empire in his own hands. During Antigonos' lifetime Ptolemy could secure no firm hold on Syria; he occupied it on several occasions when Antigonos was engaged elsewhere, but made no serious attempt to hold it. When the coalition of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander was formed against Antigonos in 302 B.C., Ptolemy claimed Syria as his share of the prospective spoils, but, as he failed to take any part in the decisive campaign of Ipsus, Seleucus refused to admit his claim. Syria thus became a standing subject of dispute between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. Seleucus Nicator, in view of his personal friendship with Ptolemy Soter, acquiesced in his holding that part of Syria which he had occupied during the campaign of Ipsus, and despite the alternating successes of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid forces in the successive Syrian wars of the third century the partition of Syria thus arrived at was maintained for a century. The Ptolemies ruled Palestine and Phoenicia, the Seleucids northern Syria.

The boundary seems to have varied from time to time, but was usually the river Eleutherus. Syria was not reunited till 200 B.C. when Antiochus III destroyed Ptolemaic rule at the battle of Panium.

Alexander and his immediate successors seem to have maintained the system in its main outlines. Alexander confirmed the three Phoenician kings who made their submission to him in their dominions, and restored the king of Tyre. He rebuilt both Tyre and Gaza and re peopled them from the neighbouring country; no doubt the destruction and slaughter in both cases have been rather exaggerated, and much of the population escaped massacre and returned to their homes, for both cities made a surprisingly rapid recovery. About twenty years later Antigonos ordered the kings of Phoenicia and the governors of Syria to provide ships and corn respectively—that is, the cities of the coast still as in Persian times had their native kings and the interior was still under royal governors.<sup>14</sup>

The colonization of Syria began, if our authorities are to be trusted, under Alexander himself. Stephanus of Byzantium calls Dium a foundation of Alexander. Syncellus and Eusebius attribute to Alexander a military colony of Macedonians at Samaria. A gloss on Iamblichus' commentary on Nicomachus of Gerasa declares that he founded Gerasa, deriving the name of the town from the veterans (*γέροντες*) he planted there. None of these authorities are good, but the story of the colony at Samaria is circumstantial; the Samaritans are said to have revolted in 331 B.C. and killed their governor Andromachus, and a colony to have been planted in order to secure their submission by Perdiccas, one of Alexander's generals, who later became regent. The revolt is also recorded by Quintus Curtius and is probably historical. An inscription of Gerasa of the Roman age suggests that there was a Macedonian element in the population, and another suggests that the city regarded Perdiccas as its founder. An imperial coin of Gerasa celebrates Alexander the Great as the city's founder. An imperial coin of Capitolias also celebrates Alexander as founder. It may be that Perdiccas, as general of Alexander, also subdued a revolt of the people of Gilead and planted Macedonian military colonies to hold the country at Gerasa, Capitolias (whatever it was then called), and Dium (the name is Macedonian).<sup>15</sup>

Alexander's and Perdiccas' foundations were thus more in the nature of garrisons than of genuine city foundations. His

successor Antigonus was the first to found a real city. This was Antigoneia on the Orontes, which he intended to be the capital of his kingdom. He peopled it, according to Malalas, with Macedonians and Athenians. The statement is quite credible. Antigonus was on friendly terms with Athens and may well have persuaded the Athenians to send him a few thousand colonists—the total European population of Antigoneia was according to Malalas 5,300. It is noteworthy that the council of Antioch—the successor of Antigoneia—numbered 600, and the Athenian council was raised to 600 under Antigonus.<sup>16</sup>

After the partition of Syria between Ptolemy and Seleucus a thorough reorganization of the administrative system took place. In the first place the Phoenician dynasties were suppressed. The date of the deposition of the last Tyrian king and the establishment of a Tyrian republic is fixed by the era of 'the people of Tyre', 274 B.C., used in a third-century Phoenician inscription of Tyre. A Phoenician inscription of the Sidonian community at Athens is dated by a similar era of 'the people of Sidon'; there is no means of calculating the exact date in this instance but it must fall sometime in the first half of the third century; Philocles, who seems to have died about 278 B.C., is the last-known king of Sidon. At Byblus Enylus, the contemporary of Alexander, had one successor, Adramalek; the regal coinage ceases after him. The Aradian dynasty was abolished in 259 B.C., the era of Arad.<sup>17</sup>

The deposition of the Phoenician dynasties carried with it the dismemberment of their dominions; the dependent cities were detached and converted into separate republics. This comes out most clearly in the case of the Aradian empire. Twenty years after the fall of the monarchy the Aradians took advantage of the civil war between Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax to wring from the former certain privileges. The most important of these was, according to Strabo, the right of giving asylum to refugees from the Seleucid kingdom; this right proved, Strabo says, very profitable to the Aradians, because the refugees were normally political prisoners of high standing, and they often when restored to power repaid the Aradians for the hospitality which they had received with further privileges. The original privileges also apparently included the right to issue coinage, for the Aradians began to coin in the seventeenth year of their era, 242 B.C. Some fifteen years later three cities of the former Aradian empire, Marathus, Simyra, and Carne, also began to coin, using the same era. These cities must then also have freed them-

selves from Seleucid rule. Gabala, Paltus, and Balaneae also used the Aradian era later, but as they remained subject to the Seleucids far longer, their coinage does not begin till a later age. The Aradian empire was then split up in 259 into its constituent cities, which all became republics using the date of the abolition of the monarchy as their era, and some of these cities threw off Seleucid rule not long after. In the Ptolemaic part of Phoenicia no evidence is available, as the cities did not win their freedom till a far later date, and by that time the original eras of Tyre and Sidon had been abandoned. It may, however, be reasonably assumed that the empires of Tyre and Sidon were similarly broken up. The cities were certainly allowed some form of local autonomy; this is proved not only by the use of the eras of 'the people' mentioned above, but also by a Phoenician inscription of Tyre of the Ptolemaic period which mentions suffetes or 'judges'. The autonomy of the cities was, however, far more restricted than it had been under the kings. The right of coinage was withdrawn, and the tribute was in the Ptolemaic sphere, at any rate, no longer collected by the cities. This is indicated by the story of Joseph the son of Tobias, which, if apocryphal, seems at least to preserve a true picture of the general conditions of the period. According to this story the taxes of the several cities were farmed annually at Alexandria. The contract for each city was normally bought by 'the first men and rulers' or 'the powerful men' of the city; the farmers were, that is to say, as a rule local men, and perhaps, as in Sicily in the first century B.C., the city authorities sometimes secured the contract for the tithes of their own city. This was not a rule, however, for Joseph outbid the lot, and secured the contract for all the taxes of Syria.<sup>18</sup>

In the interior the Ptolemies seem to have applied a bureaucratic system modelled on that which prevailed in Egypt. In the second century B.C. we find that the district of Samareitis was subdivided into smaller units called nomes or toparchies. Both these latter terms were typical of the administrative terminology of Egypt, but alien to the Seleucid empire, where the term *hyparchy* was used for the subdivisions of the satrapy. This organization may then be taken to date back to the Ptolemaic occupation. The grammatical form of the word Samareitis is also interesting. The ending *-ites* or *-itis* was of course one of the regular Greek ways of forming an adjective from a place name. It had, however, become the dominant form in Egypt, where, even in the days of Herodotus, the Greek names of the nomes

were regularly formed by adding *-ites* to the names of their metropoleis. It is therefore significant when we find this termination commonly used in the Ptolemaic half of Syria, and non-existent in the Seleucid half. Some of these names are not heard of till Roman times, as, for instance, Trachonitis and Auranitis. Others, Gaulanitis, Moabitis, Esbonitis, and Galaaditis, can be traced back to the second and first centuries B.C. in the books of Maccabees and the passages of Josephus which deal with the Maccabaeen dynasty. Finally, one can be traced back to the third century B.C.; one of the few Ptolemaic documents which deal with Syria speaks of Birtha of the Ammanitis. Seeing then that this termination is typical of the Ptolemaic administrative terminology, that it occurs only in the Ptolemaic part of Syria and there quite frequently, and that it can be traced in one case back to the Ptolemaic occupation, it is reasonable to assume that all these names belong to the Ptolemaic administrative system, and that the interior of Syria was divided into a number of districts, each no doubt subdivided like Samareitis into nomes or toparchies.<sup>19</sup>

The Ptolemies carried out very little colonization in their half of Syria. It was a mere appanage of their kingdom, and their title to it was none too good, so they preferred to settle their Greek immigrants in Egypt itself. Their few so-called foundations in Syria seem to have been rather renamings of existing cities. Only two cities kept their Ptolemaic names, Ptolemais and Philadelphia. Polybius still uses the old name Rabbatamana instead of Philadelphia; he evidently regarded the change of name as possessing no significance. The other Ptolemaic names vanished utterly. Pella and Elath were renamed Berenice. The very identity of 'Arsinoe in the Aulon' is unknown. If it was a new foundation it disappeared utterly; more probably, however, it was the Ptolemaic title of Damascus. The only Ptolemaic foundation which might have been a genuine colony is Philoteria on the sea of Galilee, mentioned by Polybius as being an important town at the end of the third century B.C. It was destroyed by Alexander Jannaeus and unlike his other victims was not revived by Pompey. Two other foundations may be plausibly ascribed to the Ptolemies, Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Scythopolis (Bethshan). Scythopolis is so called in the story of Joseph, which is set in the reign of Euergetes. The names have a Ptolemaic ring; they fall into the same class as the fanciful names given to the Egyptian metropoleis, Gynaecopolis, Crocodilopolis, and so forth. They do not imply colonization any more

than do these names. It is impossible to say what legend gave rise to the name Scythopolis. There is no reason to prefer the rationalizing explanation of Syncellus, who connects the name with the historical invasion of Syria by the Scythians in the seventh century B.C. to the frankly mythical account of Malalas, who ascribes the foundation of the city to the Scythians from Tauris who accompanied Iphigenia on her wanderings.<sup>20</sup>

It is very questionable if these dynastic names had any constitutional significance. Ace was probably already an autonomous city before it became Ptolemais. Rabbatamana, despite its new name, probably continued to be merely the metropolis of Ammanitis, just as Crocodilopolis remained the metropolis of the Arsinoite when it was renamed Ptolemais Euergetis. There is no reason to think that Berenice-Elath differed from the other naval stations on the Red Sea which received dynastic names. The Ptolemaic government probably here as elsewhere accepted city government where it already existed, that is, along the coastal plain and perhaps in the Esdraelon gap, where Scythopolis, Pella, and Philoteria may have been true cities. But while respecting the autonomy of the existing cities, they did nothing to extend the area of city government, but enforced over the remainder of their territory a centralized bureaucratic administration modelled on that of Egypt.

Strabo, on the authority of Poseidonius, who should have known the facts seeing that he was born at Apamea and lived during the last days of the Seleucid dynasty, states that correspondingly to the tetrapolis—of Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea, and Laodicea—the Seleucis was divided into four satrapies. This seems explicit enough. An examination of the map, however, shows that it cannot have been true, for all the four cities of the tetrapolis are crowded into one corner of the Seleucis. The explanation probably is that the words 'correspondingly to the tetrapolis' are not quoted from Poseidonius, but are an inference by Strabo—the Seleucis was often known as the tetrapolis from its four great cities, Poseidonius says it was divided into four satrapies, therefore each of the four cities was the capital of a satrapy. All that we know from Poseidonius is, then, that Seleucid Syria was divided into four satrapies. An inscription shows that one of these had its capital at Apamea. It is *a priori* highly probable that Antioch was the capital of another. The other two probably comprised the eastern part of Syria. One was fairly certainly Cyrrestice; the name goes back to the beginnings of

Seleucid rule, for it is mentioned by Plutarch in his account of the final struggle of Demetrius Poliorcetes against Seleucus Nicator, and Strabo, once more probably quoting Poseidonius, uses the term to denote a large district comprising several cities. The other might be Chalcidice or Chalcidene; in favour of this hypothesis is Pliny's note on the city of Chalcis ad Belum, 'whence the Chalcidene region', which like his note on Cyrrhus, 'whence Cyrrhestice', may well be drawn from an early source.<sup>21</sup>

North of the Seleucis lay Commagene. Commagene seems to have been a part of the kingdom of Armenia during the late fourth and third centuries. This kingdom was conquered by the generals of Antiochus III—probably early in his reign—and partitioned into two tributary kingdoms, Armenia proper and Sophene, ruled by Artaxias and Zariadris respectively. Later in his reign Antiochus III procured the death of Xerxes, king of Sophene, presumably the son of Zariadris. Either on this occasion or at the time of the original partition Commagene must have been annexed. It was at any rate in the early second century a Seleucid satrapy, and was at this time ruled by a satrap descended from the old Armenian royal house. Whether this was an accident or whether the satrapy of Commagene was hereditary in a junior branch of the old royal family cannot be determined.<sup>22</sup>

The colonization policy of the Seleucids was very different from that of the Ptolemies. For them Syria was the heart of their empire, and they therefore colonized it intensively. The work of the successive kings is difficult to disentangle, but Seleucus Nicator seems to have played the principal part. To him are attributed the four great cities of the tetrapolis, Antioch, Apamea, Seleucia, and Laodicea. These were undoubtedly new foundations; they were known by their Greek names to the Arab geographers and the two which survive are still called Antakiya and Lattakiya. Their citizens were undoubtedly European by blood. Antioch was peopled with the Athenians and Macedonians from Antigoneia, which Seleucus destroyed. To these Antiochus the Great added Aetolians, Euboeans, and Cretans, exiled from their native lands after his defeat by the Romans in 189 B.C. According to Strabo, or rather Poseidonius, whom he is copying, the city consisted of four quarters. The first was built by Nicator, and contained the Antigoneans, the third by Seleucus Callinicus, who therefore presumably enrolled new settlers, the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes: it perhaps accommodated Antiochus the Great's settlers. The second quarter presumably con-



tained the native population. The city also contained a large Jewish community which was, according to Josephus, granted a privileged position by Nicator himself. The population of Apamea consisted of military colonists, many of whom were already settled there before the city was founded; the site had previously been occupied by a military colony named Pella, probably established by Seleucus at the beginning of his reign. Dependent on Apamea were a number of smaller settlements, of which Strabo mentions Larissa, Casiana, Megara, and Apollonia. In these also soldier colonists were planted; Diodorus mentions the Thessalians of Larissa, and Diodotus Tryphon came from one of the settler families of Casiana. They were probably all old native towns. Casiana is a native name, and so, despite appearances, is Megara—it must be one of the several towns in the neighbourhood now called Ma'arra. Larissa is the very ancient town of Zinzar; Stephanus of Byzantium notes that the Syrians called it Sizara and it is to-day Kala'at Sejar. Apamea was, as might be expected from its military population, the central arsenal of the Seleucid kingdom; more than thirty thousand mares and five hundred elephants were kept there according to Strabo, and it was the seat of the military training-schools. Less is known of the two coastal cities. They were primarily intended to be ports to develop the trade of the interior; this part of the coast had been backward hitherto, the trade passing either to the Phoenician cities of the south or the Phoenician colony of Myriandus on the gulf of Issus. Laodicea was apparently a Macedonian city. An inscription dated 175 B.C. records a decree of the 'peliganes', a Macedonian word for elders or councillors. The citizen body of Seleucia, six thousand in number towards the end of the third century, was perhaps drawn from the old Greek colony of Posideium. This is mentioned in a papyrus of about 245 B.C. as a mere fortress, and the natural inference is that its population had been moved to Seleucia, of which it became a village.<sup>23</sup>

Another city which can be attributed with certainty to Nicator is Seleucia on the Euphrates, which he planted at the western end of a new bridge which he built over the Euphrates; it was also known as Seleucia on the Bridge and later simply as the Bridge, Zeugma. Seleucus also revived the old crossing of the Euphrates at Carchemish, planting the colony of Europus on the site of the old town; Carchemish must have been deserted in his day and its name forgotten, for the modern name Jarabis seems to be

derived from Europus. Aelian attributes to Seleucus the renaming of Bambyce as Hierapolis. To Seleucus also I would assign Nicopolis. The comparative proximity of this city to Issus has tempted scholars from Stephanus of Byzantium downwards to connect it with Alexander's victory over Darius. It is, however, curiously placed if it was meant to commemorate the battle of Issus, from the site of which it is separated by the Amanus range. I would therefore follow Appian, who declares that Seleucus founded Nicopolis in honour of one of his own victories. Nicopolis was certainly a new foundation—its Greek name survives in the form Niboli to-day. Nicator's other foundations mostly rest on the authority of Appian, who attributes to him a prodigious colonial activity. Some of them were military colonies planted in older native towns. Halab became Beroea, Kinnesrin Chalcis. Arethusa, which is mentioned by Appian, is probably not a colony but a native town with a superficially hellenized name; the name is given as 'Arastan in the Syriac list of the Nicene council, and it is now Ar Rastan. Cyrrhus, which does not appear in Appian's list, is another doubtful case. Its name is spelt Cyrus in the Byzantine sources and it is Kurus to-day, and this fact suggests that it was a native town which, like Pella of the Decapolis, slightly misspelt its name to make it resemble that of a Macedonian city. Various cities with Seleucid dynastic names may be due to Seleucus Nicator, to whom Appian attributes sixteen Antiochs, nine Seleucias, five Laodiceas, and three Apameas—not in Syria alone but throughout the kingdom. The only one of these of which further details are given—apart from the cities of the tetrapolis—is an Antioch under Libanus; perhaps it was Arca, which was later known as Caesarea under Libanus and used the Seleucid era. Arca was apparently also called Heracleia in Pieria. Laodicea under Libanus was an early Seleucid foundation—it existed already by 217 B.C.—and may be due to Nicator; it was the old town of Kadash renamed. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions an Antioch of Pieria which the Syrians call Aradus; this presumably means that Arad on the abolition of the monarchy was temporarily called Antioch by Antiochus II. Seleucia by the Belus is first mentioned in the Roman period; it has retained its Greek name to the present day, and was therefore probably a new foundation.<sup>24</sup>

It is very difficult to say what all this colonization amounted to in reality. Some of the colonies were completely new creations. The four cities of the tetrapolis were certainly so, and Seleucia on

the Bridge probably was so, because the bridge was new. Seleucia by the Belus and Nicopolis were also in all probability new towns, since their Greek names have survived, and Europus on the Euphrates, although on an ancient site, was, as has been pointed out, a new creation. All these new cities probably contained at any rate a European nucleus to their population. The old towns which were given a name borrowed from Greece or Macedon also probably received a colony of European settlers; it is known that Larissa did contain Thessalian settlers. It is much more doubtful whether the old towns which received dynastic names were genuine colonies at all. They, many of them, dropped their dynastic names with suspicious rapidity, Antioch under Libanus—if it was Arca—before the Roman period, and Antioch in Pieria—if it was Arad—within twenty years. The change of Bambyce into Hierapolis probably means merely the suppression of the priestly dynasty which had ruled it in the Persian period and the grant of a republican constitution to the town; it was a city by the second quarter of the second century, for it issued coins under Epiphanes.

It is also very difficult to say how many of these foundations were genuine cities, possessing autonomy and a territory. A papyrus of the middle of the third century speaks of 'the priests, the magistrates, and the other citizens' at Seleucia, and 'the priests and the boards of magistrates and all the young men of the gymnasium' at Antioch. Further light has been thrown on the constitution of the cities and their relation to the royal power by a recently discovered letter of Seleucus IV to Seleucia in Pieria, and a decree of the city, dated 186 B.C., in response to the letter, granting the citizenship to Amphilochnus, one of the king's 'honoured friends', and erecting a statue of him sent by the king. These documents show that the city was subject to a royal governor; the decree is passed by the people 'on the proposal of Theophilus the governor and the magistrates', and even so trivial a matter as the choice of a place for the statue is to be decided by the governor and magistrates. The importance of the governor's position is emphasized in the address of Seleucus' letter, 'To Theophilus and the magistrates and city of the Seleuceis in Pieria.' The city makes no attempt to conceal its subjection to the royal power; the preamble of the decree begins 'Whereas an order had been received from the king concerning Amphilochnus, one of his honoured friends' and then rather lamely recapitulates the other motives for the decree—the desire of Amphilochnus to

settle in the city, his goodwill towards it, and so forth. But the inscription does prove that Seleucia enjoyed formal autonomy, possessing an assembly which could pass decrees and magistrates who could execute them. It also proves incidentally that, as might have been expected, the citizens were divided into demes and tribes; Amphilochous is registered in the deme Olympieus and the tribe Laodicis. Apamea is known to have possessed a territory in the second century; Tryphon is said to have been born in 'Casiana, a fort in the land of the Apamenes', and Strabo says that Larissa, Casiana, Megara, and Apollonia 'used (in Tryphon's day) to be attached to Apamea'. Generalizing from these facts we may presume that the new cities with dynastic names, and probably Nicopolis, had autonomy from their foundation, and that the grant of dynastic names to old towns and of the name of Hierapolis to Bambyce implies the grant of autonomy. The foundations of the type of Beroea and Chalcis were probably mere military colonies, with some corporate organization perhaps but fairly certainly without territories. It is difficult to form any coherent picture of the Seleucid administration of Syria. Contemporary evidence on it is scarce and no trace of it survived the troubled period of the late second and early first centuries B.C. It seems to have been looser than the Ptolemaic system, following in spirit as terminology the Persian model. The Seleucid satrapies were it is true much smaller than the Persian, and the scale of government was presumably therefore more minute. The Seleucid satrapies were not, however, like the Egyptian nomes and the corresponding units in Ptolemaic Syria, purely bureaucratic, since they comprised cities within their boundaries. How the parts of the satrapies which were not city territories were governed it is difficult to say. There is no trace of any thoroughgoing bureaucratic scheme even here, and the rise of numerous villages and tribal communities on the fall of the Seleucid power suggests that the Seleucid administration had been based on these units.<sup>25</sup>

Two events in the reign of Antiochus III have an important bearing on the history of Syria. The significance of one, the battle of Panium, is obvious; by this victory the Seleucids won southern Syria. One result of the change was the introduction of the satrapal system. We are told, on the authority of Poseidonius, that there were four satrapies in southern as in northern Syria, but what they were is very doubtful. Two were perhaps Phoenicia and Coele Syria, the district to the east of it. Another, in the south-east, was probably called Idumaea. The fourth, whose

official name is unknown, seems to have comprised Palestine. The other event, the battle of Magnesia, has a less direct bearing on Syria, but its effects were, nevertheless, important. In the first place it weakened the dynasty both in prestige and in actual power; in particular the expenses of the campaign and the enormous war indemnity which the Romans exacted crippled the finances of the dynasty. The campaign of Magnesia thus prepared the way for the dissolution of the Seleucid kingdom towards the end of the century. In the second place, the treaty of Apamea finally cut off the Seleucids from the Aegean. Their supply of Greek colonists, which had never been very abundant or steady, finally ceased; the last addition to the Greek population of Syria of which we hear was made by Antiochus the Great himself, who gave a home in Antioch to Aetolians, Euboeans, and Cretans exiled as a result of the war. Henceforth, we can be sure that the foundation of cities means not colonization but the grant of autonomy to native towns.

Under Antiochus Epiphanes the urbanization of Syria received a marked impetus. Antiochus has the reputation of being a keen philhellene and a missionary of Greek culture. It may be doubted, however, whether his sole motive in granting autonomy to so many cities was his desire to promote Hellenism. The Seleucid kings had been in chronic financial difficulties since the treaty of Apamea, as the very impolitic attempts of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV to seize the temple treasure of Jerusalem and Elymais show. Now the author of the second book of Maccabees states that the Jews paid a very large sum for the privilege of having Jerusalem recognized a city. This suggests that Epiphanes may have thought that the sale of charters to towns was a more politic way of raising money than the seizure of temple treasures. The policy also appealed to his rather theatrical philhellenism; the grant of the two cities of Tarsus and Mopsuestia to his concubine Antiochis suggests that he did not really hold city autonomy very sacred.<sup>26</sup>

Be that as it may, his policy was warmly welcomed by his subjects. He was only giving official sanction to a movement which had long been in progress. The beginnings of hellenization date from before the Macedonian conquest of Syria. It was naturally the Phoenician cities, which were in constant contact with the western world and had always been highly receptive of foreign ideas, which were first affected, and in them it was naturally the royal houses that made the first move. The taste of the kings of

Sidon for Greek art is amply demonstrated by their splendid series of sarcophagi, now in the Istanbul Museum; and the predilection of Strato, who reigned in the middle of the fourth century, for Greek dancers and musicians is attested by Ephorus. Incidentally he is the first instance of the practice, which later became universal, of assuming a Greek name in addition to a native one; he was 'Abdastart on his coins, but chose a Greek name superficially resembling it for use among Greeks. Some bilingual inscriptions from Athens illustrate further the practice of adopting Greek names. The Greek name might be chosen merely for its general resemblance in sound to the Semitic name, as in the case of Strato. In other cases it was a rough translation: we find, for instance, Artemidorus for 'Abdtanit, and Heliodorus for 'Abdshemsh, and Aphrodisius is a rival version of 'Abdastart. Sometimes the search for any equivalent either in sound or meaning was abandoned, and any common Greek name—very often one of the dynastic names—adopted; so we find Shem calling himself Antipater. These names incidentally illustrate the religious syncretism that was going on: the old gods and goddesses, Shemsh, Tanit, and Astarte are identified with their Greek equivalents, Helios, Artemis, and Aphrodite. The tendency towards hellenization naturally received an immense impetus from the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander. Already at the end of the third century we find a Sidonian with a Greek name entering a chariot at the Nemean games, and celebrating his victory with a statue by a Greek artist and inscribing beneath it Greek verses. He is proud of his native city, but the way he expresses his pride is significant: it is the part which Sidon plays in Greek legend which interests him. The spread of athletics, an institution as naturally alien to the Semite as it was characteristic of the Greek, is shown by the fact that at the beginning of the second century Tyre was celebrating pentetetic games of her own in honour of Heracles, as Melkart was now called.<sup>27</sup>

The evidence for Syria in general is, it must be admitted, scanty. We possess, however, a vivid picture of the hellenization of one community, the Jews, from which we can reconstruct the general process. We can be certain that the Jews, an agricultural people, inhabiting a mountainous and inaccessible country off the main lines of communication, must have been comparatively backward in assimilating Greek culture, and we may therefore assume that the big trading cities had long ago passed through the stage in which we find the Jews at the beginning of the second

century. Even among them Hellenism had established its hold on the aristocracy. Three successive high priests at the beginning of the century adopted Greek names, Jesus becoming Jason, Onias Menelaus, and Joachim Alcimus. The second of these obtained permission from the king to establish a gymnasium, and introduce the ephebate—measures which proved very popular among some sections of the population. We are told that many of the priests in their devotion to athletics neglected their sacred duties.<sup>28</sup>

Inevitably the spread of Greek culture brought with it the spread of Greek political ideas, and it became the ambition of the native communities to convert themselves into republican city states on the Greek model. The city had long been the regular political unit in many parts of Syria, and the germs of republican institutions had existed before the Macedonian conquest. In these cities the only change required was the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republican constitution, and this change had already taken place in Tyre and Sidon about the middle of the third century, where eras of 'the people of Tyre' and 'the people of Sidon' mark the establishment of democracy. At Bambyce too the priestly dynasty had been deposed by Seleucus Nicator, and the town organized as a city under the style of Hierapolis.

The more important of the native cities and of the Greek colonies received additional privileges from Epiphanes. We have unfortunately no literary record of what they were, save that it was Antiochus Epiphanes who built the council-chamber of Antioch. This can hardly mean that it was he who first granted councils to the cities of the tetrapolis; there is it is true no earlier evidence of city councils—the papyrus of 246 B.C. mentions only the boards of magistrates, and the decree of 186 B.C. speaks only of the magistrates and the people—but other Seleucid foundations, such as Antioch in Persis, already possessed councils under Antiochus III. It was more probably what would nowadays be described as a 'gesture', and implies the grant of wider autonomy to the city authorities. The only privilege of which we can be certain is the right of coinage. Antiochus gave this in two degrees: some cities were allowed to issue coins bearing the royal effigy only, some had to add the royal superscription. In the former and more privileged class were Antioch, Apamea, Seleucia, and Laodicea, and three native cities, Hierapolis, Tripolis, and Ptolemais, renamed Antioch in Ptolemais. In the lower class were the

Phoenician cities of Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, Ascalon, and Berytus, which had been renamed, probably by Seleucus IV, Laodicea in Phoenice. Arad, which had long been a free city, also altered the style of her coinage at the beginning of Epiphanes' reign, inscribing her name in full instead of using a monogram. It may be noted that the Phoenician towns clung very tenaciously for the most part to their native language and script on their coins. Some like Byblus and Sidon issued Phoenician coins only. Others like Tyre issued two parallel series in Greek and Phoenician. Berytus went so far as to translate her new name into Phoenician on some issues; some of her coins are inscribed 'Laodicea which is in Canaan' in the Phoenician script. Coin types have to be conservative, because they may otherwise fail to be accepted by the people, and the city governments probably issued these Phoenician types not from any patriotic motives, but for the same reason that the early Caliphs stamped their coins with the cross, because only the old familiar types would circulate. It is noteworthy that the date often remains Phoenician after the principal inscription had become Greek, and that Phoenician lingered much longer on the bronze, which was for local use only, than on the silver.<sup>29</sup>

Below these two privileged classes there still remained the cities which, though not entitled to issue coins, nevertheless enjoyed some degree of autonomy. Many of these cities had long been autonomous already. Such were the coastal cities which issued no coins, Gabala, Paltus, Balaneae, Orthosia, Botrys, and all the cities of the Palestinian coast except Ascalon. There were also a certain number of inland cities which had long been autonomous. Hamath was renamed Epiphaneia. Urima also probably owes its name of Antioch on the Euphrates to Epiphanes since its sister city on the opposite bank was named Epiphaneia. Scythopolis may have received its second name of Nysa in honour of Epiphanes' niece. Gaza about this time became Seleucia. It is not clear that these dynastic names implied any increase in autonomy. In other cases, however, a dynastic name seems to celebrate the first grant of autonomy. For under Epiphanes new cities were added to this lowest grade of autonomous cities.<sup>30</sup>

The political ideas of Greece had begun to penetrate the more backward parts of Syria, and the hellenized inhabitants of the larger towns were beginning to chafe against the bureaucratic régime under which they were governed, and to wish for city



organization. When the hellenizing party among the Jews asked for permission to establish a gymnasium and the ephebate, they coupled with these requests a petition that they might be enrolled as the 'Antiochenes in Jerusalem', that is, that they might receive the status of a city under the style of Antioch. The king responded favourably to their petition, and we may infer that this was his general attitude. The city of Antioch in Jerusalem was short-lived, owing to the religious reaction which followed soon after. Elsewhere, however, the change was lasting. We can infer similar concessions elsewhere from the Seleucid dynastic names, or rather surnames—for they rarely superseded the old native names—which several cities of Coele Syria bore in later times. Gerasa in its inscriptions of Roman date is Antioch upon the Chrysoroas, formerly Gerasa. Abila on its imperial coins is Seleucia Abila. Gadara according to Stephanus of Byzantium at one time bore the surnames of both Antioch and Seleucia. Susitha became Antioch by Hippos—Susitha is the Aramaic for horse; the ancient name survives in the modern form Susiya and is mentioned before the Arab conquest in the Talmud. To these may perhaps be added Seleucia in Gaulanitis, which never recovered from its destruction by Alexander Jannaeus. This group of cities was of comparatively modern origin. Gerasa may have received a Macedonian colony from Perdiccas; Abila and Gadara are first mentioned in 217 B.C.; none of them figure in the Old Testament or the Egyptian or Assyrian records. They must have grown up in the Persian and Ptolemaic periods, stimulated by the development of the Indian and South Arabian trade through Petra to Damascus and the Phoenician ports.<sup>31</sup>

It is probable that the movement was widespread. These few examples are known to us owing to the chance that the dynastic names of the cities have been preserved. Many cities may have abandoned their dynastic names; many may never have received them, for there is no reason to suppose that the grant of city status was invariably celebrated by the adoption of a dynastic name. Antiochus Épiphanes thus promoted, or at any rate, sanctioned, for as I have shown the initiative seems to have come from below, the decentralization of his kingdom. The new cities seem to have possessed territorial jurisdiction; this is implied by the decree of Demetrius I declaring 'the city of the Hierosolymites to be holy and inviolable and free as far as its boundaries'. They still paid the same taxes to the royal treasury that their districts had hitherto paid—these are specified at length in

Demetrius' decree, the salt-tax, the crown-tax, the third of the crops, the half of the fruit-tree crops, the poll-tax. It is possible that these taxes were now collected by the city authorities, but the survival of the office of 'strategus and meridarch', that is, military and civil governor of the district, implies that the central government still maintained an active control over the administration of the city territory.<sup>32</sup>

The policy of urbanization was carried on by Epiphanes' successors; Cyrrhus, for instance, began to strike coins with the royal effigy under Alexander Balas. The later Seleucid kings had, however, little choice in the matter. During the second half of the second century the dynasty was weakened by almost chronic civil war between rival claimants to the throne. Each successive struggle involved a corresponding diminution of the royal power; rival candidates outbid one another in offering privileges to the various communities in the hope of winning their support, and in the general confusion cities declared their independence and fought and conquered one another, and in the more backward regions dynasts arose and began to carve out kingdoms for themselves. Syria thus eventually became a mosaic of kingdoms, principalities, and free cities, while the kings became little better than rival *condottieri*.<sup>33</sup>

The disintegration began a few years after Epiphanes' death when Ptolemy, hereditary satrap of Commagene, who had long been virtually independent, assumed the royal title. Not long after Balaneae seems to have asserted her independence; she issued autonomous coins in the year 104, probably of the Aradian era, that is, in 155 B.C. During the civil war between Alexander Balas and Demetrius I and II the four cities of the tetrapolis formed themselves into an independent league of the 'brother peoples'. At the same time in Judaea the Maccabaeian house, which had been crushed by Demetrius I, seized the opportunity to re-establish itself. Both Alexander Balas and Demetrius I bid for the support of Jonathan, the brother of Judas, who, though he had no official standing in the city of Jerusalem, was *de facto* the leader of the Jews. Jonathan accepted Balas' offer, thus being officially recognized high priest, and Balas after his defeat of Demetrius rewarded Jonathan by appointing him military and civil governor of a district which seems to have comprised in addition to Judaea three nomes of Samareitis. Jonathan maintained his allegiance to Balas when Demetrius II appeared upon the scene, and defeated Apollonius, Demetrius' general; he re-

ceived as a reward for his loyal services the toparchy of Accaron. On the fall of Balas in 145 B.C. he was reconciled with Demetrius who confirmed him in possession of Judaea and the three nomes and, on Demetrius' fall, Antiochus VI again confirmed him in the four nomes. The growth of the Maccabee power received a setback when Tryphon defeated and killed Jonathan, but his brother and successor Simon recaptured Joppa, and also took Gazara and Jamnia and Pegae. These towns were completely Judaized; Simon is recorded to have expelled the inhabitants of Joppa and Gazara and planted Jewish colonists in their place, and Jamnia was also by the first century A.D. a predominantly Jewish town. In 134 B.C. Antiochus Sidetes conquered John Hyrcanus, who had just succeeded his brother Simon, but contented himself with exacting from him a fine and hostages; he even allowed him to keep Joppa and the other coastal cities, on condition of paying tribute for them.<sup>34</sup>

Sidetes was the last strong Seleucid king. Shortly after his death in 129 civil war broke out again. During the struggle between Alexander Zebeinas and Demetrius II Tyre won recognition of her complete freedom; this she celebrated by starting a new era from 126 B.C. John Hyrcanus, who had perforce observed the peace during Sidetes' lifetime, now began a career of conquest. He subdued the Samaritans, capturing and destroying the city of Samaria after a long siege; he then pushed on northwards capturing Scythopolis. In the south he conquered and forcibly Judaized the Idumaeans, capturing Adora and Marisa. His son Aristobulus subdued the Ituraeans of Galilee and forced them to accept Judaism.<sup>35</sup>

The prolonged civil war between Antiochus VIII Grypus and Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, which dragged on from 116 to 96 B.C., led to further disintegration. Most of the coastal cities at this time obtained formal recognition of their freedom. Sidon inaugurated a new era in 111 B.C., Seleucia in 108 B.C., Tripolis between 105 and 95 B.C., Ascalon in 104 B.C.; Laodicea followed in 82 under Tigranes, and Berytus in 81 B.C. These eras certainly represent the formal grant of freedom; in one case, that of Seleucia, we possess the actual letter of the king, Antiochus VIII probably, announcing to the magistrates, council, and people of the city, which was already 'holy and inviolable', that he had granted it freedom, and enclosing copies of similar letters which he had sent to Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and the Roman senate. Other cities began to issue autonomous coins without starting a

new era, and therefore probably without having been formally freed, for instance, Orthosia (dating by the Seleucid era) and Gabala (dating by the Aradian era). Larissa revolted from Apamea—the war of independence is described in terms of ridicule by Poseidonius—and began to issue her own coinage in 85 B.C. (by the Seleucid era). Almost the only city which still recognized the Seleucids was Damascus, where Demetrius III and Antiochus XII still managed to maintain themselves down to about 83 B.C. It struck coins under the name of Demetrius bearing the effigies of these kings.<sup>36</sup>

The same struggle between Grypus and Cyzicenus favoured the growth of the Maccabean dynasty and of two other tribal principalities, the Ituraeans and the Nabataeans. The former were the Arab people inhabiting Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon and the hill-country to the south around the upper waters of the Jordan. They were an unruly people, given to brigandage, and Alexander the Great had been obliged to leave the siege of Tyre to conduct a punitive expedition against them. After this incident they disappear from history until about 115 B.C., when apparently their prince obtained recognition from the Seleucids. The princes of the Ituraeans had like the Maccabees both religious and secular authority: their official title was high priest and tetrarch. The principality had both a religious and a secular capital. The former was Baalbek, famous for its great temple of the Sun, and hence known in Greek as Heliopolis: the modern name is certainly older than the Arabic invasion, for it is found in the Talmud. The latter was the fortress known to Polybius as Gerra and to the early Arabic geographers as 'Ain Jarr; its Greek name was Chalcis. Chalcis, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, was founded by 'Monicus the Arab', who is probably identical with Mennaëus, the father of the Ptolemy who ruled the Ituraean principality from the early years of the first century. Mennaëus or Monicus was thus probably the founder of the dynasty; he seems to have been a hellenized prince seeing that he called his son Ptolemy and his capital Chalcis. Under him and his son the Ituraeans made extensive conquests. East of the Anti-Lebanon they occupied a large tract including the towns of Maglula, Iabruda, and Abila, and to the south-east they conquered Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. They thus almost encircled Damascus, whose trade they throttled by their brigandage. They might have captured the city itself had not the Damascenes put themselves under the protection of a rival power, Aretas king of the Nabataeans.<sup>37</sup>

The Nabataeans of Petra had probably never been conquered by the successive rulers of Syria. They had successfully resisted Demetrius the son of Antigonus in the fourth century. The Ptolemies had occupied the port of Elath on the Aelanitic gulf, thus cutting off their access to the Red Sea, and had held Ammanitis and probably also Moabitis and Gabalitis to the north of Petra. Seleucids can hardly have held Elath, but still occupied Moabitis; Diodorus speaks of the Dead Sea as being in the middle of the presumably Seleucid satrapy of Idumaea. The expansion of the Nabataean kingdom seems to have begun in the first half of the second century, when their first known king is mentioned; he bore the name of Aretas. During the second half of the century their power was extended by a king whom Justin calls Erotimus. By the beginning of the first century Aretas II was in a position to assist the Gazans against Alexander Jannaeus, Obedas defeated Alexander in Galaaditis or Gaulanitis, and Aretas III occupied Damascus.<sup>38</sup>

Alexander Jannaeus was the greatest conqueror of the Maccabean dynasty. It was probably he who subdued and Judaized the region east of Jordan later known as the Peraea. Here he also captured the cities of Abila, Seleucia of Gaulanitis, Hippos, Pella, Gadara, and Dium. Philadelphia he failed to take. It was ruled by a tyrant, Zeno Cotylas, and later by his son Theodore, who also held Gerasa, which Alexander captured but failed to hold. Farther south Alexander came in conflict with Aretas, from whom he captured Medaba and Esbus; this district was later retroceded to Aretas by Alexander's son Hyrcanus in payment for Aretas' help against his brother Aristobulus. In the north Alexander completed the conquest of Galilee by the destruction of Philoteria. On the west he conquered the whole coast from Carmel to the frontier of Egypt with the single exception of Ascalon. Gabae, Dora, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, and even distant Raphia and Rhinocolura were all subject to him by his death.<sup>39</sup>

What had been Ptolemaic Syria had thus by the time of the Roman annexation been partitioned almost entirely between three tribal kingdoms, the Jewish, the Nabataean, and the Ituraean. The only exceptions were the little principality of Theodore, son of Zeno, at Philadelphia, the free city of Ascalon, and the Phoenician cities, Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, Byblus, Tripolis, and Orthosia, which still maintained their independence, though Byblus and Tripolis had become subject to tyrants, both of whom

Pompey beheaded for their misdeeds. Arca had become the capital of a small Ituraean principality in the northern Lebanon, and Botrys had fallen to the princes of Arca.<sup>40</sup>

In what had been Seleucid Syria the course of events was rather different. Here no great powers developed; the kings of Commagene were contented with their ancestral dominions. As a result the free cities fared rather better than in the south. Most of the cities of the coastal area seem to have maintained their independence; Arad even achieved its long-cherished ambition of reconquering its continental possessions. The republic of Arad inherited the imperial ambitions of its kings, and always was jealous of the freedom of its former dependencies. As early as 217 B.C. Antiochus the Great had mediated between the Aradians of the island and those of the mainland. In the reign of Alexander Balas the Aradians had made a treacherous attack on Marathus, which, however, miscarried. About 90 B.C. the Aradians seem to have succeeded: the coinage of Marathus ceases at about this time. By the first century B.C. Carne was merely the mainland port of Arad, Marathus and Simyra had been utterly destroyed and their territories distributed in lots to the citizens of Arad, while the Aradian empire included Balaneae and Paltus. Beside the free cities a crowd of petty dynasts sprang up, chiefly in the eastern part of the country. In the first century a certain Dionysius, son of Heracleon, was lord of Bambyce and Beroea in Cyrrhестice. Farther south an Arab dynasty ruled Emesa and Arethusa; Samsigeramus reigned at the time of the Roman conquest. Nearby a Jew named Silas had established a principality at Lysias near Apamea. Further east, in Chalcidene, various Arab princes, Alchaedamnus, chief of the Rhambaei, Gambarus, and Themella, had built up little kingdoms for themselves. Out in the desert the Palmyrenes were beginning to extend their power and to accumulate the wealth which was to excite the cupidity of Antony. Northern Syria was thus a patchwork of free cities and petty principalities.<sup>41</sup>

Pompey's settlement was based, on the whole, on the *status quo*. He naturally made no attempt to revive the centralized administration of the Seleucids, which had long since ceased to exist and which was quite unsuited to a Roman province. Nor did he try to partition all Syria into city states, as he had done in Pontus; many parts of Syria were too backward for republican government, and it was better to leave the simple villagers and wild tribesmen of the mountains and deserts under the authority

of dynasts whom they respected than to attach them to cities which would be too weak to control them, or to convert them into republican communities which would soon break down. Pompey did, however, favour the cities as against the dynasts inasmuch as he generally freed cities which had fallen into the power of dynasts. This policy was based on both sentimental and practical motives. On the one hand, Pompey fancied himself as a missionary of Greek civilization; he was carrying forward the traditional policy of the Roman republic, which had always been the friend of free peoples against kings, and he was himself a second Alexander, a founder of cities and a promoter of Hellenism. On the practical side, the freeing of cities was a convenient way of weakening the native kingdoms which had grown over-powerful, and in general cities were better subjects of the Roman people than dynasts. Dynasts intrigued and fought against one another, died leaving disputed successions or heirs who were minors, and in general required constant supervision; cities went on for ever and were generally content to maintain their privileges.

The Jewish kingdom suffered most from Pompey's settlement. He took from it practically all the cities the Maccabees had conquered. On the coast he re-established Dora, Strato's Tower, Arethusa (perhaps Pegae), Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Anthedon, Gaza, and Raphia; he recognized Ascalon as a free city. In Idumaea he restored Marisa, in the north Scythopolis, but not Philoteria or Seleucia, which Alexander Jannaeus had blotted out. Across the Jordan he revived Abila, Hippos, Gadara, Pella, and Dium, and in the heart of the kingdom the city of Samaria. He thus took from the Jewish kingdom not only the recent conquests of Alexander Jannaeus, but also cities which had been in the possession of the Jews for generations and had been thoroughly Judaized, such as Joppa, Jamnia and Azotus, Marisa in Idumaea, and Samaria and Scythopolis. Many of these cities had been ruined and their citizens dispersed, and Pompey in most cases did no more than order their restoration; he is recorded to have rebuilt only one city, Gadara, which in gratitude adopted the style of Pompeia, and this was a special favour to his freedman Demetrius who was a native of the place. In general the actual work of restoration was not undertaken until a few years later by Gabinius, to whom Josephus attributes a long list of rebuilt cities—Dora, Apollonia, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Marisa, and Scythopolis. Samaria also owed its revival to Gabinius and in acknowledgement adopted

the style of Gabinia. The city of Gabae north of Mount Carmel was also re-established at this period. Its era dates from 61 to 60 B.C., which indicates that it was re-established by Marcus Philippus who was then governor of Syria; its inhabitants adopted the surname of Philippiens in his honour.<sup>42</sup>

Pompey thus reduced the kingdom of Judaea to its rural core, Judaea proper, Samareitis, Galilee, and Peraea. This area he entrusted to Hyrcanus, to whom he granted the high priesthood. Gabinius went even further; he abolished the secular power of Hyrcanus, leaving him his spiritual powers as high priest only, and divided his dominions into a number of districts ruled by councils of nobles. Galilee formed one district with its capital at Sepphoris, Judaea proper another with its capital at Jerusalem. The Jordan valley was divided into three districts, Jericho, Gadara (not the city of that name, but a town on the site of the modern Es Salt), and Amathus. Josephus says nothing of Samareitis, but the Samaritans had a council in the first century A.D., which was probably a survival of a Gabinian council: it probably sat at Shechem.<sup>43</sup>

The Nabataeans and Ituraeans suffered less from Pompey's settlement. Aretas kept his dominions, including the region he had just recovered from Hyrcanus. Scaurus conducted a campaign against him, but without success, and Aretas on payment of a fine became a subject prince of the Roman people. Ptolemy, the dynast of the Ituraeans, according to Josephus saved himself by bribing Pompey. This may be true, for the Ituraean principality was very generously treated; apparently Alexander Jannaeus' conquests in Gaulanitis were restored to it. Nevertheless, Pompey freed one city, Canatha, which, since it lay in the heart of Auranitis, must have belonged to Ptolemy. Canatha adopted the Pompeian era; it also adopted the style of Gabinia and must have been therefore restored by Gabinius. The rest of Ptolemy's kingdom consisted of backward and unruly tribes, and Pompey was wise to leave them under a strong prince.<sup>44</sup>

The total result of Pompey's reorganization of southern Syria was thus as follows. Three native kingdoms or principalities were allowed to survive, the Nabataean, the Ituraean, and the Jewish, the last very much reduced. The whole of the coast, from the Eleutherus to the Egyptian frontier, became a series of city states, some merely recognized, others reconstituted by Pompey. The only exception was the city of Arca, which continued to be ruled by a line of Ituraean princes; Ptolemy, son of



Schaemus, assisted Caesar in the Alexandrine war. Pompey, however, took from them Botrys, which they had conquered, and Gigarta and their other forts on the coast. Of the coastal cities three were recognized as free, Ascalon, Tyre, and Sidon; the two last did not enjoy their freedom long, for Augustus degraded them. In the interior Samaria formed an enclave in the Samareitis; in Idumaea Marisa bounded Judaea on the south. The other cities of the interior were formed into a league, the Decapolis. The membership of the league was, according to Pliny, fluctuating and the number ten was not always preserved. Out of the list given by Pliny the following were fairly certainly foundation members; Scythopolis, Pella, Gadara, Hippos, and Dium, all formerly in the Jewish kingdom, Canatha, formerly in the Ituraean principality, and Philadelphia and Gerasa, formerly ruled by the tyrant Theodore, son of Zeno. These cities all adopted the Pompeian era. It is less certain that Damascus was a foundation member, since it maintained the Seleucid era; it was the metropolis of the Decapolis in the second century A.D. Abila was certainly a member in the second century A.D., and, as it adopted the Pompeian era, it was probably a foundation member; it is not mentioned by Pliny. In its stead Pliny inserts an otherwise unknown name, Raphana. It has been identified with Capitolias, south of Abila, a city which first appears in the second century and dates its coins from an era beginning A.D. 98. If the identification is correct, Raphana may have been a foundation member which was later refounded. If we exclude Damascus and include Capitolias, the Decapolis would form, with the exception of Canatha, a continuous block of territory. We know from Josephus that the territories of Philadelphia, Gerasa, and Pella were contiguous, for they together formed the eastern frontier of the Peraea. Similarly, we know from Josephus that Scythopolis, Gadara, and Hippos completely enclosed Galilee with its lake on the south-east. These six cities with Dium, Capitolias, and Abila, which lay quite close to them, thus probably formed a solid block. Abila seems to have ruled an extensive territory; we know from inscriptions that two villages about fifteen miles east by north of it belonged to a city using the Pompeian era.<sup>45</sup>

In northern Syria the details of Pompey's settlement are not known. Josephus' history does not cover this area, and we have thus only scattered notes to go upon. Pompey recognized the freedom of Seleucia in Pieria. He razed Lysias, the stronghold of Silas the Jew, and the citadel of Apamea, which adopted the

era of 66 B.C. He confirmed Samsigeramus in his principality of Emesa and Arethusa; his son Iamblichus still held it in Caesar's day. His neighbour Alchaedamnus of the Rhambaei, who submitted to Lucullus, was also still in power at that time. Pompey also confirmed Antiochus of Commagene in his kingdom and presented him with a piece of Mesopotamia. In general Pompey seems thus to have preserved the *status quo* unaltered. For a complete picture of northern Syria we must go down to the beginning of Augustus' reign. Conditions had probably changed very little in the interval. Caesar freed Antioch and probably Laodicea on Sea, which assumed the surname of Julia; he also apparently gave additional privileges to Gabala. Antony gave various cities to his favourites—Arethusa, Hierapolis, and Larissa were, for instance, granted to a Parthian noble. These gifts naturally lapsed on Antony's death, but another change made by him was permanent. Arad resisted him, and was after a long siege captured in 38 B.C. He punished it by freeing Balanae, which began to coin once more under him, at first under its own name, afterwards under the style of Leucas upon the Chrysorhoas, with a new era beginning from 38 to 37 B.C. Marathus, on the mainland opposite Arad, and Paltus, north of Balanae, were also probably freed at this time from Aradian dominion; Marathus began to coin early in the reign of Augustus, Paltus not till much later; both used the Aradian era. Apamea changed to an Antonian era (40 B.C.). Augustus deposed Alexander the son of Samsigeramus in 30 B.C. but restored Emesa to his nephew Iamblichus ten years later. Antioch and Seleucia adopted the Actian era.<sup>46</sup>

Our knowledge of northern Syria at the beginning of the reign of Augustus is derived from the official lists of the time. These have been partly preserved, in a very mangled form, in Pliny. Pliny gives two lists, both arranged in alphabetical order, one of which he heads 'Coele Syria', the other 'the rest of Syria'. The names in the second list are certainly all derived from an official register; they are all given in the ethnic. The official register evidently included all northern Syria; it included, Pliny states, cities on the Euphrates, which he did not transcribe; the names he did transcribe include Beroea in Cyrrhестice, Larissa, Epiphaneia, Arethusa, and Laodicea by Libanus on the Orontes, and Leucas, which, though Pliny was unaware of the fact, since he catalogued Balanae separately, was on the coast. The other list, though it contains official elements—some names are given in the

ethnic—was evidently concocted by Pliny himself. The alphabetical order is certainly Pliny's, for he places Bambyce under B, whereas its official name was Hierapolis; the 'Granucomatitae' also are placed under G, although the name is probably a blunder for Tigranucometae; both the blunder and the place of the name in the list must then be Pliny's. The distinction between Coele Syria and 'the rest of Syria' is also quite fantastic; the cities of the two lists are inextricably confused; Bambyce and Chalcis are in Coele, Beroea in 'the rest', Arethusa and Laodicea by Libanus are in 'the rest', Emesa in Coele. Furthermore, the list of Coele Syria contains some elements drawn from literary sources, such as, for instance, the notes on the Seleucid satrapies of Cyrrestice and Chalcidene. The explanation of this muddle is probably as follows. Pliny had before him an official list of the reign of Augustus, headed 'Syria' simply, and various Greek literary sources, some of which used the term Coele Syria. Pliny made up a list of all the places which were placed in Coele Syria by the literary authorities; some of these were mentioned in the official list also, and these he put down sometimes in the form in which he found them in the official list, that is, in the ethnic, sometimes in the literary form. Those names which he did not find in the literary sources, or which at any rate were not assigned in them to Coele Syria, he added as a separate list, 'the rest of Syria'; 'the rest of Syria' therefore includes 'seventeen tetrarchies with barbarian names' which were naturally not noted in the literary sources. If this analysis is correct, the only names which certainly were from the official list are those in the list of 'the rest of Syria', and those given in the ethnic in the list of Coele Syria; other names in the Coele Syria list must be judged on their merits; they may have occurred in both the official and literary sources, or only in the literary. The coins, unfortunately, give little help in this region, for many cities issued no coins during the principate. Even the important city of Apamea on the Orontes made one issue only, on the occasion of its receiving the surname of Claudia from the emperor Claudius. Epiphaneia and Larissa did not coin at all under the principate, though both had done so before the Roman occupation.<sup>47</sup>

For the cities of the Phoenician coast and the tetrapolis Pliny does not use the official sources, save that he mentions the Leucadii, that is Balaneae, by mistake in the list of 'the rest of Syria'. The coins here fill the gap. Of the Phoenician cities Arad and Marathus, Balaneae (under the style of Leucas) and Gabala all

coined during the early principate; Paltus did not begin to issue till the reign of Septimius Severus. All four cities of the tetrapolis coined during the early principate. Antioch, Laodicea, and Seleucia were, according to Pliny, free cities. On the upper Orontes, Larissa, Epiphaneia, Arethusa, Emesa, and Laodicea by Libanus and, in the mountains west of Emesa, Mariamme all figured in the official register; Seleucia ad Belum may have done so—it is in Pliny's list of Coele Syria. Of these cities only Laodicea and Emesa coined, and even these only from the latter part of the second century. The mention of Emesa incidentally fixes the date of the official register, for it was until 30 B.C. ruled by Iamblichus, son of Samsigeramus, and in 20 B.C. the dynasty was restored and lasted till A.D. 72 at least. Emesa would thus have been registered as a city only during the first ten years of Augustus' reign.

East of the Orontes Pliny gives only one city from the official register, Beroea. He also mentions in the Coele Syria list, Bambyce also called Hierapolis, Chalcis ad Belum, Cyrrhus, and Seleucia on the Euphrates. The last is also mentioned under the form of Zeugma in his survey of the Euphrates, where he gives two other names, Antioch on the Euphrates and Europus. Many of these cities coined later, Beroea, Hierapolis, Chalcis, Cyrrhus, and Zeugma from the reign of Trajan, Antioch on the Euphrates from that of Marcus Aurelius; Europus issued no coins. Except for Beroea we cannot be certain that any of them had city rank in the early principate; they may have been still, as in the early first century B.C., ruled by dynasts, and have been included among 'the seventeen tetrarchies with barbarian names distributed into kingdoms' which Pliny found in the official register. Chalcis when it began to coin used an era dating from A.D. 92, which implies that it was freed from a dynast—perhaps Aristobulus, son of Herod—at that date. Pliny omits Nicopolis; the reason perhaps is that being under a dynast it did not appear on the official list, and in Pliny's literary authorities it was placed in Cilicia, as it is by Strabo and Ptolemy.

In addition to these names Pliny quotes from the official register many others which, to the best of our knowledge, never were cities. Such are the Gazetae, the Gindareni, the Gabeni, the Hylatae, the Penelenitae, the Tardytsenses. He also mentions besides the seventeen unnamed tetrarchies the tetrarchy of the Nazerini, two of the Tigranucometae (to accept the current emendation), and another called Mammisea. These are certainly from the official list; more doubtful are the races of the Ituraeans and their

neighbours the Baethaemi, which may be derived from a literary source. It thus appears that northern Syria was by no means entirely occupied by the territories of the cities; a large area was occupied by village and tribal communities and small principalities. Unfortunately very few of these can be located definitely. Gindarus was a village between Antioch and Cyrrhus. The two tetrarchies of the Tigranucometae were perhaps the Arab tribes which Tigranes planted on the eastern slopes of mount Amanus. The tetrarchy of the Nazerini is stated by Pliny to have adjoined the territory of Apamea; the Nazerini must therefore be the ancestors of the modern Nusairi who inhabit the mountains behind Laodicea. The Gazetae have been identified with the people of 'Azaz, south of Cyrrhus, the Hylatae with the people of the Huleh, the hill country west of Epiphaneia, and the Gabeni with the people of the Ghab, the Orontes valley north of Apamea; they would in that case be identical with the principality of Lysias. I venture to suggest that the Tardytenses may be, by a slight corruption of the text, the inhabitants of the important village of Tarutia, east of Apamea. Some, at any rate, of the villages, tribes, and tetrarchies, and quite a large number of them, if the tentative identifications suggested above are correct, were interspersed among the great cities of the western part of the Seleucis; the majority lay, no doubt, in the less civilized eastern part, where cities were scarce and nomadic life prevailed.<sup>48</sup>

Before turning to the southern half of the province it may be as well to complete the history of northern Syria. Under the principate the two principal events were the annexation of Commagene and of Palmyra. The kingdom of Commagene was suppressed by Tiberius on the death of King Antiochus III in A.D. 17. Antiochus IV was, however, restored to his kingdom in A.D. 38 by Gaius, and once again restored in A.D. 41 by Claudius, after having been deposed by Gaius. He reigned till A.D. 72 when Vespasian, suspecting him of Parthian sympathies, deposed him and definitively annexed Commagene. Although attached to Syria, Commagene retained its individuality as a religious union. Samosata, the old royal capital, bore from the first the title of metropolis of Commagene, which must have been one of the four 'provinces' which met at Antioch in the second century to celebrate the worship of the emperor. The 'province' of Commagene consisted, as we know from a series of dedications made to Septimius Severus and his family, of four cities. The four can be identified by a comparison of Ptolemy's map of Commagene

with the provincial list of Euphratensis given by Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius. They were Samosata, Caesarea Germanicia, Doliche, and Perrhe. Samosata had been founded by King Samos, son of Ptolemy, the founder of the dynasty, who reigned in the middle of the second century B.C. It issued coins either under the kings or in the interregnum between Antiochus III and IV and must therefore have had true city status under the kingdom. On the annexation, however, it adopted a new era (A.D. 72) and the surname Flavia, and must therefore have been refounded by Vespasian. Caesarea Germanicia dated its imperial coins from A.D. 38; it must therefore have been founded by Antiochus IV on his first restoration in honour of Gaius. It was a very ancient town; its modern name Marash occurs in the Assyrian documents. Doliche coined from the reign of Marcus Aurelius; nothing is known of its origin. Perrhe issued no coins. By position it corresponds very closely with the city of Antioch upon Taurus, mentioned by Ptolemy; it probably therefore bore this name under the principate, and if so it was presumably Antiochus IV who gave it city rank.<sup>49</sup>

Commagene in the Byzantine period, and probably also under the principate, consisted entirely of the territories of these four cities. It is more doubtful if it did so under the kingdom. The funerary inscription of Antiochus III lays down that feasts in honour of the royal family should be celebrated 'throughout the cities and villages' of the kingdom. This phrase implies that the king exercised direct authority over the villages, that is, that the villages were not included in the territories of the cities. The terms 'city' and 'village' are probably used in the same way that Josephus uses them in connexion with Galilee. Galilee was, as I shall show, divided into toparchies, and Josephus calls the capital of a toparchy a 'city', and the other villages of the toparchy 'villages'. Under Antiochus III, then, the kingdom was probably organized on a centralized system analogous to that of Herod's kingdom, and indeed the majority of the smaller Hellenistic kingdoms. An inscription of the regal period mentioning a 'strategus of the Syrians' found at Germanicia supports this suggestion, and further implies that the *strategiae* (or whatever they were called) of the kingdom of Commagene corresponded with the later cities; Germanicia was the capital of one, called the Syrian *strategia* because it consisted of a part of Syria conquered by the Commagenian kings, and the other three cities probably held a corresponding position. The grant of dynastic names and even

autonomy to some of the cities by Antiochus IV does not necessarily imply any modification of the system; as I shall show, Sepphoris and Tiberias, though granted autonomy, continued to be capitals of toparchies. The conversion of the four *strategiae* of Commagene into the territories of their capital cities was probably due to the Roman government.<sup>50</sup>

Palmyra lived by the caravan trade between Babylonia and the far east and Syria and the west. This trade had passed through Mesopotamia during the Seleucid period, but as a result of the break up of the Seleucid power and the resulting anarchy in Mesopotamia this route had fallen out of use during the late second and early first centuries B.C., and the tribes of the Syrian desert had seized the opportunity to capture the trade. Palmyra thus as the principal oasis of the Syrian desert rose into importance. It was an important place during the latter part of the first century B.C., when Antony made a futile attack upon it. The long series of Palmyrene inscriptions begins shortly after. These inscriptions show that Palmyra was very slightly hellenized. Aramaic at first predominates, and was never ousted by Greek—in the third century A.D. Aramaic was still an official language side by side with Greek. The Palmyrenes, many of them, took Greek names, but the Aramaic versions of the inscriptions prove that they retained their native names as well. The city seems to have been formed by a union of a number of clans, which no doubt formed the tribes of the new city. These clans figure very prominently on the inscriptions, especially those of early date; about twenty-five are known in all, but four seem to have had privileged position. They do not seem to have completely abandoned their feuds when they formed a city; in an inscription dated A.D. 21 the Chomareni and Mattabolii praise a man who had been their governor and had made peace between them. During the first century of its existence the inscriptions throw little light on the organization of the city, but by the second century A.D., at any rate, it possessed a normal Greek constitution; in a decree of the council of the reign of Hadrian the president, the clerk of the council and the people, the two *archons*, the *decaproti*, and the syndics are mentioned, and an inscription of the reign of Trajan records four treasurers. The city ruled a vast area of desert, stretching from the Euphrates on the north to the neighbourhood of Damascus on the south, and possessed an enormous revenue, derived principally from the customs levied on goods in transit and the dues for use of the springs. This revenue was farmed;

curiously enough the only farmer of the Palmyrene revenues of whom we know was a foreigner, Lucius Spedius Chrysanthus, evidently a Greek who had acquired Roman citizenship, who erected a monument, inscribed in Latin, Greek, and Aramaic in A.D. 58. We possess in the famous Palmyrene tariff a full record of the rates charged on various types of merchandise.<sup>51</sup>

It is difficult to say when Palmyra was annexed. Pliny speaks of it as being in his day a buffer state between the Roman and Parthian empires. This is certainly untrue, for Vespasian built a military road from Palmyra to the Euphrates. Pliny's statement is thus certainly a quotation from an earlier author, and recent discoveries indicate that this author cannot have lived later than the reign of Augustus. A legate of the tenth legion erected a dedication to Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus in Palmyra, and Germanicus altered the regulations of the Palmyrene tariff. Palmyra must therefore have been not only in military occupation, but under administrative control in Tiberius' reign. It took the surname of Hadriane in honour of Hadrian. Septimius Severus raised it to the rank of a colony, granting it the *ius Italicum*. The city retained, even when annexed, a larger degree of independence than was usually allowed to a provincial city. It maintained its own army, with which it policed its vast territory, or at any rate the outlying parts of it; a Roman military commander seems to have been stationed in Palmyra itself, and the roads to Sura and Damascus were probably garrisoned with Roman troops. The city collected, and presumably disposed of, the revenue from the tariff. The rates are set out in great detail in a famous inscription; the taxes include licences for prostitutes and for use of water. The total revenue of the city must have been immense. Palmyra flourished greatly in the second and third centuries, during which period most of the great public buildings were erected, whose ruins are so impressive to-day. In the middle of the third century it rose for a moment to a world power under the rule of a noble who made himself tyrant, Odenath, and of his widow Beth Zabbit or Zenobia and his son Vaballath or Athendorus. After its destruction by Aurelian the city never recovered, though it still existed in the sixth century.<sup>52</sup>

Apart from the annexation of Commagene and Palmyra there is little to record in northern Syria. Antioch was degraded by Severus and its rival Laodicea given the rank of metropolis and colony with the *ius Italicum*. Emesa became an autonomous city under the Flavians; its prince, Sohaemus, is last mentioned in



A.D. 72, and it issued its first coins under Domitian. It was granted colonial status and the *ius Italicum* by Caracalla, who also restored to Antioch its position as metropolis and granted it the titular rank of colony, without remitting its tribute. One new city appeared, Raphanae, which began to coin under Caracalla. It appears to have owed its rise to being a garrison town. As Rafniya lies in the Huleh I suggest that Raphanae may have been under Augustus the capital of the tribal community of the Hylatae.<sup>53</sup>

By the sixth century the political map of northern Syria had been greatly simplified. Along the coast there was little change: here Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius give Seleucia, Laodicea, Gabala, Paltus, Balaneae, Arad, and Constantine Antaradus. Marathus had thus disappeared; its latest coins are of the early second century, and it must have been reabsorbed in the mainland possessions of Arad not long after. The town itself disappeared in favour of Antaradus, the mainland port of Arad. This town was given the status of a separate city by Constantine, because its inhabitants were predominantly Christian, while those of Arad still clung to paganism. In the Orontes area Hierocles and Georgius give Antioch, Apamea, Larissa, Epiphaneia, Arethusa, Emesa, Laodicea, Mariamme, Raphanae, and Seleucia ad Belum. Farther east they give Chalcis, Beroea, Cyrrhus, Nicopolis, Bambyce, the four cities of Commagene, Samosata, Perrhe, Germanicia, and Doliche, along the Euphrates Urima (Antioch on the Euphrates), Zeugma, and Europus, and in the Syrian desert Palmyra.

In addition to these, which were all cities in the principate, both Hierocles and Georgius give an imperial estate, which is probably to be read *Saltus Eragizenus*, on the Euphrates where it bends eastwards, and the *Scenarchia*, 'the rule of the tents', which was probably the district of the Scenite Arabs, or Bedouin, along the Euphrates east of Eragiza. Georgius gives six additional units. Of these the Eastern Clima was probably a desert district corresponding to the *Scenarchia*, embracing the area south-west of Palmyra. In this area lay Euaria, a military post, which was a bishopric as early as A.D. 451 and was raised to city status in 573, Salamias, also probably a late foundation, and perhaps Barcusa, which was made a city by Justinian, as its official style Justinianopolis shows. In addition to these Georgius records Resapha, a military post north of Palmyra; the fame of its patron saint Sergius raised it to the rank of a bishopric about

A.D. 431, and Anastasius made it a city under the style of Anastasiopolis. Hierocles may be pardoned for omitting these cities, whose origin was late. Less excusable is his omission of Caesarea or Neocaesarea, whose existence can be traced back to the early fourth century, when its bishops attended the council of Nicaea. It was like the other cities a military post, and lay on the Euphrates near Eragiza. Georgius himself omits one city, Anasartha, a fortress east of Chalcis raised by Justinian to city rank and named Theodoropolis after his wife.<sup>54</sup>

The majority of these cities were, it may be noted, of recent origin and had till the late fifth or sixth centuries been merely forts. Before the creation of these cities the political map of northern Syria must have been even simpler than it is as represented by Georgius. Resapha had probably been in the Scenarchia, to which its ecclesiastical province seems roughly to correspond. Salamias, Euaria, and Barcusa had probably been in the Eastern Clima. Now these two districts probably represent sections of Palmyrene territory detached from the jurisdiction of Palmyra on its destruction by Aurelian; Resapha and Euaria had certainly been Palmyrene villages. There remain thus in the area covered by Pliny's Syrian list besides the old cities only Neocaesarea, the Saltus of Eragiza, and Anasartha. These perhaps represent three of the seventeen tetrarchies with barbarous names which Pliny places in the eastern half of the province. The remainder of the tetrarchies, tribes, and villages of the early principate must have been absorbed into the territories of the old cities. When this took place we do not know. It was probably a gradual process. Certainly by the first half of the fifth century the consolidation of northern Syria into a number of large city territories was complete. Theodoret, enumerating the hermits who flourished in his youth, distributes them among the various city territories, the desert of Chalcis, the territory of Apamea, that of Zeugma, that of Cyrrhus, that of Antioch, implying that the whole of Syria was divided among the cities. For his own city Cyrrhus he gives more detailed evidence, asserting in a letter to the praetorian prefect that it was forty miles long and forty miles broad. He also mentions that Gindarus was a very large village subordinate to Antioch, thus supplying a definite instance of the absorption of a once independent community into a city territory. It may be noted that Gindarus was a bishopric in the first half of the fourth century and afterwards ceased to be so; this may indicate that it preserved its political independence till about A.D. 350, but it is

no proof, for large villages sometimes had their own bishops though not politically independent. Sozomenus provides another more doubtful instance of incorporation; he speaks of the Aulon as a district of the Apamene territory. If, as seems probable, the Aulon means the valley of the Orontes north of Apamea, the modern Ghab, and if the Gabeni of Pliny's list were the people of the Ghab, Apamea must have absorbed the Gabeni. An inscription of the sixth century which records Tarutia as a village of the Apamene territory provides another doubtful instance. If my emendation of Tardytenses to Tarutenses is correct, Apamea had absorbed another of the communities of Pliny's catalogue.<sup>55</sup>

I must now take up the history of southern Syria at the point at which I left it. During the years that followed Pompey's settlement and Gabinius' completion and modification of Pompey's arrangements, the most important change was the gradual resurrection of the Jewish kingdom. The fortunes of the Jewish royal house were restored by the ability of Antipater, Hyrcanus' vizir, who by sending prompt aid to Caesar at a critical moment, the Alexandrine war, won the favour of the master of the Roman world. Caesar in 47 B.C. rewarded his services by restoring to Hyrcanus his secular power as ethnarch and officially recognizing Antipater, to whom he really owed his gratitude, as procurator, that is, practically regent, of the ethnarchy. At the same time Caesar restored Joppa to the ethnarchy.<sup>56</sup>

The story of Herod's rise to power is too well known to be repeated here. Antony made him king in 40 B.C., and probably granted to him, in addition to Hyrcanus' ethnarchy, the Idumaeen cities of Marisa and Adora, and Gabae, Jamnia, Azotus, and Gaza on the coast. Cleopatra did her best to eject him from his kingdom, but only managed to acquire from him the district of Jericho, and apparently also the coastal cities of Joppa and Gaza. He succeeded in transferring his allegiance to Augustus after the battle of Actium, and was not only confirmed in his kingdom, but recovered the areas granted to Cleopatra and received the cities of Anthedon, Strato's Tower, Samaria, Gadara, and Hippos in addition.<sup>57</sup>

In 24 B.C. Herod received a further accession of territory, the districts of Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. These districts had hitherto been ruled by a certain Zenodorus who had, according to Josephus, 'leased the house of Lysanias'. This curious phrase is probably to be explained as follows. Ptolemy, son of

Mennaëus, died in 40 B.C. and left his principality to his son Lysanias, who enjoyed a very short reign; for in 35 B.C. Cleopatra, coveting his dominions, persuaded Antony to put him to death and grant them to her. She did not administer them directly but rented them, as she did the tracts given to her by Antony out of Herod's and Aretas' kingdoms. The lessee was Zenodorus, probably a member of the Ituraean royal house. On Antony's fall Octavian confirmed him in his dominions and he issued coins with the head of Octavian on one side and his own on the other, inscribed with the legend 'Zenodorus, tetrarch and high priest'. These titles were the same as those borne by his predecessors Ptolemy and Lysanias, and probably indicate that he held the same kingdom; the title of high priest definitely implies that he held Heliopolis. He proved an unsatisfactory ruler, supplementing his lawful revenues by a commission on the robberies of subjects, whom he encouraged in their evil practices. After several years the Damascenes, his principal victims, at last obtained a hearing for their complaints, and as a result the three above-mentioned districts were handed over to Herod.<sup>58</sup>

Herod pacified the districts granted to him with such exemplary vigour that, when Zenodorus died four years later in 20 B.C., the remainder of his dominions, consisting of Ulatha and Paneas and Gaulanitis, were granted to him. This statement of Josephus shows that in the interval Zenodorus must have lost all his northern possessions. Shortly afterwards Augustus planted a Roman colony in Berytus and assigned to it an enormous territory stretching over the Lebanon into the Massyas as far as the source of the Orontes, thus including Heliopolis. Rather later, at the end of the reign of Tiberius, we find that Damascus and Sidon had received enormous accessions of territory, as a result of which they were contiguous. Tyre is also later found in possession of a vast territory, stretching inland as far as the upper waters of the Jordan; this is first stated in so many words by Josephus, with reference to the great revolt, but is implied in the gospel narrative of our Lord's journey into the boundaries of Tyre and Sidon. Large portions of the Ituraean principality were thus assigned to neighbouring cities, to the colony of Berytus and to Damascus, Sidon, and Tyre, and large portions to Herod. The remainder seems to have been given to various dynasts. In Abilene, the tract east of Anti-Lebanon, we find a certain Lysanias ruling as tetrarch in about A.D. 30. In the southern Massyas there was later a kingdom of Chalcis, but nothing is known of its history before it was granted to Herod the brother of Agrippa I.<sup>59</sup>

Herod's kingdom was, on his death in 4 B.C., divided between his three sons. The eldest, Archelaus, received Samareitis, including the city of Samaria, which Herod had refounded as Sebaste, and Judaea and Idumaea, with Joppa and Strato's Tower, which Herod had refounded as Caesarea, on the coast. Antipas received Galilee and Peraea, Philip the Ituraean provinces. Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos were annexed to Syria. Jamnia and Azotus were left to Herod's sister Salome, who on her death bequeathed them to Livia, the wife of Augustus. Archelaus was deposed in A.D. 6 and his ethnarchy was annexed, becoming a procuratorial province. Philip died in A.D. 34, and his tetrarchy was annexed by Tiberius. In A.D. 37 Gaius granted it to Agrippa, who in A.D. 40 also acquired Antipas' tetrarchy, Antipas being deposed. In the next year Claudius, whom he had assisted to put on the throne, granted Agrippa the whole of Herod's kingdom, with the addition of Lysanias' tetrarchy of Abilene. This revival of Herod's kingdom was shortlived, for Agrippa died in A.D. 44, and the whole kingdom was once more annexed, Agrippa's son, Agrippa II, being ignored. In A.D. 50, however, he was granted the kingdom of Chalcis, succeeding his uncle Herod, who had received it in A.D. 41, and in A.D. 53 he exchanged this little kingdom for a larger one consisting of Philip's former tetrarchy, Lysanias' tetrarchy, and the tetrarchy of Arca, which had fallen vacant by the recent death of its tetrarch Sohaemus. He later received in addition two toparchies of Galilee, Tiberias and Taricheae, and two toparchies of Peraea, Julias and Abila. His old kingdom of Chalcis may have been granted to Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, who is recorded to have been king of Chalcidice in A.D. 72: it is, however, perhaps more probable that the northern Chalcis is meant. Agrippa II lived till about A.D. 93, when his kingdom was annexed, this time for good.<sup>60</sup>

We must now consider the internal administration of these districts, and their fate after their annexation. In this connexion Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos may be ignored. These cities were only attached to the kingdom during Herod's lifetime, and were not assimilated to its general administrative scheme. Gaza was, it is true, subject to the governor of Idumaea, and the Gadarenes complained bitterly to Augustus of Herod's interference with their autonomy; but the very complaint made by the Gadarenes, which was incidentally ignored by Augustus, shows that the city enjoyed local self-government. Anthedon was renamed Agrippias by Herod, but the name had already dropped

out of use in the third century. The cities of Samaria and Strato's Tower demand fuller treatment, for they were substantially refounded by Herod, and remained attached to the ethnarchy of Archelaus and the procuratorial province of Judaea. Samaria seems to have been very much decayed, or rather very imperfectly revived, when Herod took it in hand. He not only rebuilt it, but added six thousand new settlers, allotting to them excellent lands, and remodelled its constitution. The name which he gave to it, Sebaste, has survived to this day. The new settlers were drawn partly from Herod's mercenaries, partly from the neighbouring country-side. The city was completely pagan—Herod himself built a great temple to Augustus in it, and its coins bear pagan types—and violently anti-Semitic; the cohorts of the Sebastenes which were recruited from it were on occasion over-zealous to fight the Jews. At Strato's Tower Herod built a great artificial harbour. The name which he gave to the city, Caesarea, has again survived, although there is no evidence that he made any addition to its population. It was also naturally a pagan city; the Jewish residents put forward a claim in Nero's reign to a share in the city government, on the ground that Herod the founder had been a Jew, but Nero supported the contention of the 'Greeks' that Herod would not have built temples and set up statues in the city if he had meant to give it to the Jews. Both these cities naturally retained their local autonomy after their refoundation as before.<sup>61</sup>

The rest of the country ruled by the Herodian dynasty may be conveniently divided into two halves, Herod's original kingdom, and the Ituraean tetrarchies. Herod's original kingdom consisted of Galilee, Samareitis, Judaea, with Idumaea and the strip of coast between Joppa and Azotus, and Peraea. The kingdom was organized on a bureaucratic system whose origins probably dated back to the Ptolemaic occupation. It was subdivided into toparchies—this term is characteristic of the Ptolemaic official phraseology—and the toparchies into villages, each of which had a village clerk, appointed, as in Egypt, by the crown. The governor of the toparchy, like the governor of the Egyptian nome, bore the title of *strategus*. This system had survived through the Seleucid period; Jonathan, it will be remembered, was granted the four toparchies of Lydda, Aphaerima, Ramathein, and Accaron by Alexander Balas. It still existed under the Maccabees; Acrabatene, a Herodian toparchy, is mentioned by the author of Maccabees I, who wrote at the beginning of the first century, and

Ptolemy, who murdered Simon, was *strategus* of Jericho, another Herodian toparchy. The details of the system naturally changed as time went on. Of the four known Seleucid toparchies, only one, Lydda, survived unchanged till Herod's day. Accaron seems to have been suppressed altogether. Aphaerima and Ramathein gave place to Gophna and Thamna during the Hasmonaeen period; in the reign of Hyrcanus, the last Maccabee, the two latter places, with Lydda and Emmaus, are mentioned as administrative centres; all four were later toparchies under Herod.<sup>62</sup>

For Judaea we possess two lists of toparchies, in Josephus and in Pliny. The two lists are independent, as their slight variations show, but are in substantial agreement. The toparchies common to both are Jerusalem, called Oreine, 'the mountain toparchy', by Pliny and in St. Luke's gospel, Acrabatta, Thamna, Gophna, Jericho, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, called by Pliny and by Josephus in an incidental reference Bethleptapha, and Herodium. Pliny does not give the two southernmost toparchies mentioned by Josephus, Idumaea and Engaddi, perhaps because he does not reckon Idumaea part of Judaea. The coast is not regarded as part of Judaea by Josephus. Pliny, on the other hand, gives the Joppic toparchy, and Josephus in relating Salome's bequest of her principality to Livia calls Jamnia a toparchy; it was, it may be noted, still ruled by a procurator when it had passed from Salome's hands to the imperial house. Azotus was probably also a toparchy; it, like Jamnia, was bequeathed by Herod to Salome and issued no coins. The three towns of the coast which had been thoroughly Judaized by the Maccabees had thus lost the city status that Pompey had given them and had been reduced to mere administrative capitals of districts. Marisa, refounded by Pompey and rebuilt by Gabinius, also seems to have been suppressed; it is heard of no more and was probably incorporated in the toparchy of Bethleptaphene.<sup>63</sup>

Peraea probably comprised four toparchies. Two, Julias and Abila, are mentioned by Josephus as being granted to Agrippa II by Nero; he states that that of Julias comprised fourteen villages. The east side of the Jordan valley was still divided into three 'regions', of Amathus, Gadara, and Livias, in the sixth century A.D. and there is some evidence to prove that these 'regions' were identical with the Herodian toparchies. Livias is identical with Julias—Antipas originally refounded Betharampha as Livias in honour of Livia, the wife of Augustus, and later, when Livia was adopted into the Julian gens, changed its name to Julias; Julias

remained in official use during the first century, but was ultimately ousted by Livias. Gadara is mentioned by Josephus as the capital of the Peraea; it was probably, therefore, the capital of a toparchy of its own as well. Finally, Josephus relates that during the troubles that followed Herod's death the insurgents destroyed the government buildings at Amathus and Betharampha; this indicates that both towns were administrative centres in Herod's reign. The fourth toparchy, that of Abila, probably comprised the extension of the Peraea east of the Dead Sea. Josephus seems also to allude to this district as Esbonitis. As Esbus itself was in the Nabataean kingdom, this term must be a survival of the Ptolemaic terminology and mean that part of the Ptolemaic district of Esbonitis which was within the Herodian kingdom.<sup>64</sup>

In Samareitis and Galilee our information is less complete. In Samareitis we know of only one toparchy, Narbatene, east of Caesarea. In Galilee we know of two, Tiberias and Taricheae, which were given by Nero to Agrippa II. Sepphoris, which was the capital of Galilee before the foundation of Tiberias and became so again after Tiberias was detached from Galilee, was probably the centre of a third toparchy. Josephus speaks of Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Taricheae as the three cities of Lower Galilee, as opposed to various villages, and by 'cities' he probably means toparchic capitals, for Taricheae was certainly never a city in the proper sense. In upper Galilee no toparchies are known.<sup>65</sup>

Herod the Great has the reputation of being a great founder of cities. This was certainly the impression he wished to create. It was his ambition to figure in public opinion, at any rate in the outside world, as an enlightened philhellene monarch, and in order to create this illusion he carried on vigorous propaganda, which took the form partly of lavish donations to Greek cities abroad and partly of foundations on a sumptuous scale of cities in his own dominions. He took good care, however, that these spectacular foundations should interfere as little as possible with the highly centralized system of administration of his kingdom; he was no lover of local autonomy and had no intention of allowing any devolution of power in his kingdom. His two most famous foundations, Sebaste and Caesarea, were merely refoundations on a grander scale of existing cities. Agrippias was similarly merely a refoundation of Anthedon. Gabae, which is sometimes cited as a Herodian foundation, had existed since 61 B.C., as its era shows, and all Herod did was to reinforce it with new settlers,



drawn from his mercenary cavalry. Antipatris, which Herod built in his father's memory in the plain of Capharsaba, probably replaced Arethusa. Its population was pagan, for not only was the city pro-Roman in the Jewish war, but its men had not, like those of Lydda, gone up to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Tabernacles when Cestius Gallus occupied it. Others of Herod's cities were not true cities at all. Herodium was merely a royal fortress and the capital of a toparchy. Phasaelis was only a village in the toparchy of Jericho; in the sixth century the lower Jordan valley was still divided into 'regions' and contained no city.<sup>66</sup>

Herod's foundations thus hardly modified the administrative scheme of his kingdom. Sebaste and Gabae may have received accessions of territory; there is, however, no evidence that the lots of land which Herod's settlers received were attached to the city territory. One toparchy must presumably have been suppressed to form the territory of Antipatris; even this, however, is not certain, since some of the cities founded by the Herodian dynasty possessed no territory. If it was Herod who suppressed Marisa and Adora and reduced Joppa, Jamnia, and Azotus to mere capitals of toparchies, the general tendency of Herod's policy would have been rather to reduce local autonomy than to increase it. Herod's advertising campaign very successfully concealed the facts.

Herod's sons carried on the same policy. Archelaus in his short reign made only one foundation, Archelais in the Jordan valley. It was a village, and is correctly so called by Josephus. Antipas made several foundations. One of these, Livias, later renamed Julias, in the Peraea, was not a true city; Betharampha remained a mere toparchic capital despite its new name, and Livias was still a 'region' in the sixth century. Another, Tiberias in Galilee, was not only a new foundation but a true city. Its coinage was dated by the era of its foundation; Agrippa I was appointed its *agoranomus* in his penurious youth; Josephus also alludes to its council of six hundred, its board of *decaproti*, and its *archon*. The population was, according to Josephus, a mixed riffraff, the majority Galilaeans moved in from the surrounding country by compulsion, others poor immigrants from abroad, including some whose status as free men was dubious. The aristocracy was formed of royal officials. Lands and houses were provided for all, and many privileges were attached to the citizenship. The mass of the citizens, including the governing class, was

Jewish; the few 'Greeks' seem to have belonged to the lower stratum of the population. Sepphoris was probably also given city rank by Antipas; Josephus states that Antipas walled it and gave it the name of Autocratoris, which proved to be ephemeral. Sepphoris was certainly a city by Nero's reign, for it then issued coins as Neronias Irenopolis. The population, though pro-Roman during the Jewish war, was certainly Jewish; Josephus appealed to the Galilaeans to spare the Sepphorites despite their disloyalty on the ground of their common race. It may be noted that these foundations made no difference to the administrative structure of Galilee. Josephus expressly states that Tiberias with its toparchy was given by Nero to Agrippa II. The city thus had a merely municipal autonomy, and the surrounding country was administered by royal officials resident in it. In this connexion the speech of Justus to the Tiberians is interesting. It shows that Tiberias and Sepphoris valued their status as cities far less highly than their position as centres of the bureaucratic administration. The Tiberians bitterly resented their transference to Agrippa II's kingdom, not because they thereby had become subject to a king while the Sepphorites remained free, but because the royal bank and government offices of Galilee had been transferred to Sepphoris.<sup>67</sup>

The Herodian family, despite the many cities which they founded, thus did practically nothing to modify the centralized administrative system of the kingdom. When it was annexed the Roman government at first made no change; the king was replaced by a procurator, but the system of toparchies survived unchanged, as Josephus' account of Galilee, Samareitis, Judaea, and Peraea shows, down to the Jewish war. On the conclusion of the war Vespasian, according to Josephus, decided to found no cities in Judaea. This statement is strictly accurate. Vespasian founded two cities, but they were not in Judaea proper. On the coast Joppa, which had been twice destroyed by the Roman army during the war, was refounded as a city by Vespasian—or at any rate one of the Flavian emperors—as the surname Flavia which it bears on its third-century coinage indicates. In Samareitis a new city, Flavia Neapolis, was founded on the site of the village of Mabartha, close to the Samaritan sanctuary of Shechem: its coinage is dated by the era of its foundation, A.D. 71-2. The population of the city seems to have been Samaritan, for the early coin types avoid pagan associations. Neapolis possessed, in the fourth century at any rate and probably from its foundation, a

large territory stretching towards Scythopolis. This fact shows that the territory of Sebaste must have been very limited on the south and east, for Vespasian would hardly have taken land from the loyal city of Sebaste to endow his new foundation. Vespasian also planted a small settlement of veterans at the village of Emmaus near Jerusalem; this settlement was not constituted a city or colony and remained a mere village. He also planted a Roman colony in Caesarea, which, though not possessing the *ius Italicum*, soon acquired immunity from taxation; Vespasian remitted the *tributum capitis*, Titus gave it immunity from the *tributum soli* also. It is possible that, if Vespasian really introduced colonists into Caesarea and did not merely raise the status of the city, he added parts of Samareitis to its territory in order to provide lands for the colonists. This would account for the disappearance of the toparchy of Narbatene between Sebaste and Caesarea.<sup>68</sup>

No more cities were founded until Hadrian conceived the idea of reviving Jerusalem. This provoked the last Jewish war, which seems from our meagre accounts of it to have been even more bitterly fought than that of A.D. 69–71 and to have resulted in the desolation of Judaea and the practical extermination of its Jewish population. On its conclusion Hadrian proceeded with his scheme, and built on the site of Jerusalem the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina, which was like Caesarea immune. The new city was entirely pagan; the settlers were foreign colonists and Jews were rigorously excluded from it. Hadrian endowed it with many temples, and many pagan cults are recorded on its coins. Its territory seems to have been very large. In the fourth century villages many miles to the north, west, and south of it are stated to have belonged to it, and we may deduce that not only Oreine but also Gophna and Herodium were assigned to Aelia.<sup>69</sup>

No other foundations are attributed to Hadrian, but during his reign a striking change came over the character of three existing cities, Neapolis, Sepphoris, and Tiberias. The last two had been Jewish cities at the time of the first Jewish war, and Neapolis seems to have been a Samaritan city at its foundation. Their coinage shows that they continued to be so till Hadrian's time. The coins do not, it is true, conform with the Mosaic law; they bear the emperor's effigy for one thing, and their types include representation not only of inanimate objects, such as palm-trees, anchors, ears of corn, cornuacopiae, and so forth, but also of symbolical figures such as Hygieia. It is noticeable, however,

that they avoid definitely pagan types. They might, in fact, have been issued by Jews who interpreted the Mosaic law in a liberal spirit, and we know that the Jews, although they made political capital out of the profanation of Jewish soil by the standards of the legions, were not really bigoted about the second commandment; several Galilaean synagogues of the second and third centuries A.D. are adorned with carvings of eagles, lions, and other living things. In or after Hadrian's reign definitely pagan types appear on the coinage of all these cities. Under Hadrian Tiberias struck an issue bearing a temple with the figure of Zeus; it is perhaps the Hadrianeium which Epiphanius mentions as existing in the city. Sepphoris issued no coins under Hadrian, but under his successor began to coin under a new name, Diocaesarea, with a type of a temple of the Capitoline Triad. Neapolis similarly made no issues under Hadrian, but under Antoninus Pius started a new type, showing mount Gerizim crowned with a pagan temple; this is presumably the temple of Zeus Hypsistus to which the patriarch Photius found allusions. These facts suggest that Hadrian disfranchised the Jewish and Samaritan aristocracies which had hitherto ruled these three cities and entrusted their government to pagans, whether the existing pagan population or new settlers we have no means of telling. It was probably on the occasion of this change that Tiberias and Diocaesarea were given the territorial jurisdiction which they later possessed. In the fourth century their territories seem to have comprised the greater part of Lower Galilee. It is interesting to note that Hadrian's attempt to paganize Galilee ultimately failed. It remained a stronghold of Judaism long after Judaea proper had become Christian, and in the fourth century Tiberias and Diocaesarea were so completely controlled by the Jews that no pagan, Samaritan, or Christian was allowed to set foot in them, and it was with the greatest difficulty that one Joseph, a converted Jew, though armed with special powers by Constantine, succeeded in building a Christian church in each.<sup>70</sup>

Severus carried forward the work of urbanization. He founded two cities, Eleutheropolis on the site of the village of Baetogabra, and Diospolis on the site of Lydda. Both cities dated their coins from A.D. 199-200, the year of their foundation, and bore the official style of Lucia Septimia Severiana. Both were, to judge from the types of these coins, pagan. The territory of Diospolis included not only the toparchy of Lydda but also that of Thamna; Eusebius mentions three villages of the Thamnitic toparchy as

being subject to Diospolis. Eleutheropolis had a vast territory, comprising the toparchies of Engaddi and Bethleptapha; on the north we find Eleutheropolitan villages close to villages of Aelia, on the south its territory touched the imperial estate of Gerara, south of Gaza; it is possible that even Biro-saba was originally subject to Eleutheropolis, for although in the sixth century it was in a different province it still used the Eleutheropolitan era. Much of this vast area was, of course, desert, so that the importance of the city was not so great as the size of its territory would suggest. It was none the less a very important city; with Neapolis, Caesarea, Ascalon, and Gaza, it was one of the five cities of Palestine which Ammianus Marcellinus singled out for mention. Septimius Severus also granted colonial rights to Sebaste. It was perhaps on this occasion that the toparchy of Acrabattene, which certainly belonged to Sebaste in the fourth century, was added to the Sebastene territory. The attribution of Acrabattene to Sebaste is curious because it was completely cut off from the city by the territory of Neapolis, and it must be presumed that the territory of Sebaste was entirely hemmed in by Caesarea, Scythopolis, Antipatris, Diospolis, and Neapolis, so that Severus had no choice but to give it a detached region.<sup>71</sup>

Under Elagabalus Emmaus was raised to the rank of a city under the style of Antoniniana Nicopolis. This city was also, to judge by its coins, pagan. Its territory was small, comprising only the toparchy of Emmaus; the neighbouring toparchies had all by now been allotted to other cities. The urbanization of the country was carried a stage further by Diocletian, who founded the city of Maximianopolis at Caparcotnei, the legionary camp of VI Ferrata, on the southern edge of the plain of Jezreel. The last city to be founded in the former kingdom of Herod was Helenopolis, built by Constantine's mother Helena. Its site is unknown, save that it lay in Byzantine Palestina Secunda, and must therefore have been in Galilee.<sup>72</sup>

The survey of Palestine can now be completed by a study of the lists of Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius. It will be convenient to include in this survey the coast and the Decapolis region, where little had been changed during the principate; the only event worthy of record which has not already been noted is the colonization of Ptolemais by Claudius. Hierocles' list is very defective, including practically no items save the cities and omitting some of these. Georgius gives a far fuller account, which, except for one textual corruption, seems to be exhaustive and accurate.

The Decapolitan cities survived unchanged. Scythopolis, Pella, Gadara, Hippos, Gerasa, Philadelphia, Dium, and Abila and Capitolias are all mentioned in both lists, and no additional items are intruded. On the coast there are some changes. Ptolemais, Dora, Caesarea, Joppa, Ascalon, Gaza, Anthedon, and Raphia, the cities which coined under the principate, still existed. Between Caesarea and Joppa the lists record Sozusa. Sozusa is the Christian version of Apollonia, which, having been last heard of in Pompey's time, thus reappears in the sixth century. What had become of it in the interval is unknown. It issued no coins, and this omission is significant in Palestine where every city coined; it may have been attached to another city, or more probably have been reduced to a toparchy like its southern neighbours, Joppa, Jamnia, and Azotus, by Herod. Between Joppa and Ascalon the toparchy of Jamnia has become a city and that of Azotus has split into two, Azotus Hippius and Azotus by Sea. Near Ascalon a city of Diocletianopolis is recorded. It has been suggested that it was Sariphaea, the Maiuma or port of Ascalon, which Diocletian raised to the status of a separate city. In the extreme south there are two new cities, Sycamazon and Bittylius. Nothing is known of the origin of Sycamazon; it was a bishopric as early as A.D. 451. Bittylius was still in the early fifth century a village of Gaza, as Sozomenus, who was a native of the place, records. Constantine gave the rank of a city, under the style of Constantia, to the Maiuma of Gaza, because its inhabitants were Christian, whereas those of Gaza were still predominantly pagan, but Julian for precisely the same reason restored the old order of affairs, and the Maiuma became subject to Gaza once more for civil purposes, though it retained its separate bishop.<sup>73</sup>

In the interior the Byzantine lists give the cities which have been already discussed, that is, in Galilee, Helenopolis, Diocæsarea, Tiberias, Gabae, and Maximianopolis; in Samareitis, Sebaste, Neapolis, and Antipatris; in Judaea, Aelia, Diospolis, Nicopolis, and Eleutheropolis. They also record a city of Ono, which lay near Diospolis and had apparently been in its territory; it is proved by a papyrus to have been already a city in Diocletian's reign. In addition they give two cities in the extreme south, Elusa and Mapsis. These apparently had replaced the toparchy of Idumæa, in which they are placed by Ptolemy. Elusa was already a city in the middle of the fourth century; nothing further is known of the date of their foundation. Georgius also registers Birosaba as a city; it had, as already stated, probably been formerly

a village of Eleutheropolis. In the Jordan valley centralized administration still persisted. Jericho was still a 'region', and three of the Herodian toparchies of Peraea, Amathus, Gadara, and Livias, survived as 'regions'. The fourth, Abila, seems to have split up into a number of villages. Three at any rate of the villages of Arabia given by Georgius Cyprius are to be placed in this region, Coreathas, Bilbanus, and Machaberus, which probably stands for Machaerus. Georgius also mentions a few other areas which had escaped absorption into city territories, a *tetracomia* in Palestina Secunda, probably in upper Galilee, the village of Nais north of Maximianopolis, a *tricomia* in Palestina Prima, and two imperial estates, the Saltus Constantianus and the Saltus Gerariticus, in the same province. Nothing is known of the former. The latter lay south of Gaza; its chief town was Barsama. It might be suggested that it had been the ancestral estate of the Herods, who came from this part of the country, and had on the extinction of the family passed into the imperial patrimony. Finally, Georgius gives a mysterious and apparently corrupt item, Toxos, of which nothing is known, and Hierocles an equally mysterious item, Ariza.<sup>74</sup>

I must now go back to the fragments of the Ituraean principality which had passed into the hands of the Herodian family. The little tetrarchy in the northern Lebanon became a city, Arca being renamed Caesarea under Libanus, and beginning to issue coins in A.D. 148-9. Under Elagabalus it was raised to the status of a colony; the colonial coins give the name sometimes as Caesarea under Libanus, sometimes as Caesarea of Ituraea. The city seems to have taken over the whole tetrarchy as its territory, for a boundary stone between Caesarea under Libanus and the village of Gigarta, behind Tripolis, has been found; the territory of Caesarea must thus have comprised all the mountainous hinterland of Orthosia and Tripolis. The diminutive kingdom of Chalcis vanished altogether after the reign of Aristobulus, son of Herod. Chalcis did not become a city, for it issued no coins, had no bishops, and is not recorded in Hierocles or Georgius Cyprius. The kingdom may have been attached to one of the neighbouring cities. More probably it became an imperial estate, the Saltus Gonaiticus. This estate is mentioned twice in Georgius, once correctly in the province of Phoenice, and again in a corrupt form in Libanensis. From this fact it may be inferred that it lay on the border of the two provinces, and either had been divided into two sections, or had been recently transferred from one province

to another when Georgius wrote; the corrupt form would then be an erasure or interlinear addition to the text. In either case the position on the frontier would exactly suit Chalcis. The tetrarchy of Abilene was much larger than either the kingdom of Chalcis or the tetrarchy of Arca, including a large area east of the Anti-Lebanon to the north of Abila; an inscription of Agrippa II has been found as far north as Iabruda. It was in the Byzantine period divided into the city of Abila and two 'climata', that of Maglula and that of Iabruda. The 'climata' probably represent toparchies; Abila was also probably a toparchy in the regal period and during the principate, for it issued no coins.<sup>75</sup>

Philip's tetrarchy has a far more complicated history. The western part of it was relatively civilized and here Philip made two foundations. One, Julias, on the site of Bethsaida at the north end of the Sea of Galilee, was not a city: it was merely the capital of the toparchy of Gaulanitis, which remained a 'clima' down to the sixth century A.D. The other, Caesarea Paneas, at the source of the Jordan, was a true city: it issued coins dated by the era of its foundation, 2 B.C. It was predominantly pagan, though it contained a large Jewish population. It possessed from the first a large territory comprising Paneas, the region round the source of the Jordan, and Ulatha, the region of the lake of Sema-chonitis; the gospels allude to 'the villages of Caesarea Philippi' as if they were a large area, comparable with territories of Tyre and Sidon.<sup>76</sup>

The three eastern districts Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis were more backward. Herod the Great had ruthlessly suppressed the brigandage which had hitherto been the normal livelihood of the inhabitants and forced them much against the grain to earn their bread by agriculture. They had not taken kindly to so laborious a way of life and, during Herod's last visit to Rome, they rebelled. The revolt was crushed and three thousand Idumaeans were planted in Trachonitis to police the district. These seem to have been exterminated in a second rebellion, but Herod, nothing daunted, planted a second military colony, composed of a clan of Babylonian Jews which had emigrated from the Parthian empire and were seeking a new home. They were granted a large village in Batanaea and were accorded many privileges, including immunity from taxation and self-government under their own hereditary chieftains. Philip succeeded to a principality which was already pacified, and was able to foster civilization by milder methods. Josephus gives a glowing picture



of his patriarchal rule, telling how he used to make tours through his dominions with a portable throne, from which he used to give justice by the wayside to any of his subjects who appealed to him. Nevertheless, one of the Agrippas, probably Agrippa II, found it necessary to issue an edict reproving 'the beastly habits' of the inhabitants, who still, probably with a view to brigandage, 'lurked in dens'. The Babylonian colony, meanwhile, as its military duties became less onerous, was gradually subjected to taxation by Philip and the two Agrippas, until under the Romans it retained no fiscal privileges. It still, however, remained an autonomous commune.<sup>77</sup>

Owing to the enormous wealth of inscriptions which have been preserved in this area, we are able to form a remarkably detailed picture of its social and political structure under Roman rule. The inscriptions date for the most part from the second and succeeding centuries, when the country was already thoroughly pacified, but they allow us a glimpse of the preceding period which accords very well with the picture drawn of it by Strabo and Josephus. The basis of the social organization evidently had been the tribe. In the Roman period the tribe survived as a living organism only on the desert fringe, where nomadic life still prevailed. Here we find the tombs of two sheikhs, styled in Greek 'ethnarch and strategus of the nomads' and 'strategus of the camps of the nomads', respectively, and a dedication by the bedouin, 'those of the race of the nomads'. In the rest of the country, as the people settled down to agriculture, the tribe tended to give way to the village. Nevertheless, some tribes still retained a corporate organization. We find tribes making public dedications and erecting public buildings, and they had patrons and advocates, to whom they set up honorific inscriptions. Till quite a late date men named themselves by their tribe as well as by their village, or even by their tribe alone. Village life, however, inevitably broke down the tribal system; tribes became split up between several villages, and the village became the administrative unit.<sup>78</sup>

It seems improbable that any rigid bureaucratic system can ever have been applied to these regions. Josephus, it is true, on one occasion speaks of Batanaea as a toparchy, and Trachonitis and Auranitis have the typical termination of the Ptolemaic administrative terminology. Possibly the royal officers styled prefects in the inscriptions of the regal period commanded these divisions. But if this organization existed under the kings, it was

abandoned by the Romans, under whom the whole area attached to the province of Syria was treated as one, and was placed under the supervision of a centurion of one of the Syrian legions. What exactly his functions were we cannot tell; all we know is that his name figures after that of the governor in the dedicatory inscriptions of public buildings erected by villages. It was manifestly impossible for the governor of Syria to supervise the affairs of the scores of petty villages in this region, and he must have delegated much of the routine work to this subordinate officer.<sup>79</sup>

The villages were not, as in Egypt, and apparently in the Jewish kingdom, mere cogs in the administrative machine. They were corporations enjoying a high degree of independence. A development is traceable in their constitutions. During the second and early third centuries the head of the village was styled *strategus*, the Greek equivalent of sheikh. There was normally only one sheikh to each village, although three are found in one instance. The office of *strategus* was probably a survival from the tribal régime, and therefore hereditary and held for life. That it was at least aristocratic is shown by a fourth-century epitaph, in which the deceased boasts of his descent from a *strategus*; the office had by then been obsolete for a century. In the first half of the third century a change is discernible. Instead of a single *strategus* we find a board of magistrates, varying in number from three to seven. These magistrates were elective, and held office for a year only. They are called by various titles, at first *προνοηταί*, later *πιστοί* or *διοικηταί*. At the same time that these new titles appear, early in the fourth century, a new magistrate appears, the *ἑκδικος* or *σύνδικος*, who is president of the board.<sup>80</sup>

These magistrates were elected by a mass meeting of the villagers, styled officially *ὄχλος*. This assembly was not merely an elective body, but passed decrees on matters affecting the general interests of the village; we have fragments of a resolution passed 'by the common consent of the inhabitants of a village' regulating the use of the common-land of the village, and on another occasion we find the assembly of the village meeting in the theatre to discuss the repair of a building which had collapsed. The villages had common funds, out of which they erected public buildings, temples, theatres, basilicas, baths, reservoirs, fountains, fortification walls and watch-towers, and, commonest of all, rest-houses. Many of the temples also had their own funds and magistrates. They do not seem, however, to have been indepen-

dent of the villages. The villages, as mentioned above, often built temples out of their own funds and through their own magistrates, and, even when temples were built out of sacred funds by the temple magistrates, the dedication was dated by the village magistrate, and when, as sometimes happened, both secular and sacred funds were used, the village controlled the spending of all the money. In one case we find a temple under the joint control of four villages, each of which appointed a member on the governing board.<sup>81</sup>

The village was the normal social and administrative unit in this area. There were, however, a few cities also. One stands out both for its antiquity and its importance. Canatha had been, as we have seen, a member of the Decapolis since 63 B.C. It had been apparently the capital of the district under Agrippa II, who published his edict against the beastly habits of the Ituraeans in it. In Roman times its superiority is shown by its contributing separate cohorts of the Canathenes to the Roman army and not allowing its citizens to be merged in the cohorts of the Ituraeans. Canatha remained for three centuries the only city of the district. Then Philip the Arab founded the colony of Philippopolis; it was probably his native village which he honoured with colonial rank. Philippopolis issued coins and had its own era. Next Diocletian converted the important village of Saccaea into a city which he named Maximianopolis. This city also had the rank of a colony and had its own era. The sites of these three cities are certain, being fixed by inscriptions: Canatha lay at Kanawat, Philippopolis at Shuhba, Maximianopolis at Shakka, all on the north-western edge of Auranitis. Constantine or Constantius founded yet another city, Constantine or Constantia; its site was very probably Burak, on the northern fringe of Trachonitis, where there are a number of inscriptions dated by the early years of a city era all recording persons named Flavius. The other cities of the district do not bear their founders' names and cannot therefore be so securely dated, but it is probable that, since they did not issue coins, whereas Philippopolis did, they are later than it. Dionysias already existed in the reign of Diocletian; its modern name, Suweida, has preserved the name of the village before it became a city, Soada. Neapolis is first mentioned in A.D. 381; its site was probably Sheikh Miskin in Batanaea, where an inscription dated in the year one of a city has been found. The person recorded in this inscription was the son of a certain Marcus Julius Philippus, and the city cannot therefore have been founded

till after the reign of the emperor Philip. Two other cities are recorded in Georgius Cyprius, Phaena and Neve. Phaena, in northern Trachonitis, was still merely an important village, a *metrocomia*, in the early third century; its modern name is Mis-miya. Neve, in Batanaea, is still called Nawa. Nawa is remarkably rich in Jewish sculptures, a fact which suggests that it may have been the site of Herod's colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea; Josephus, it is true, says that Herod called his colony Bathyra, but Neve may have been the original name of the place which ousted Herod's name. Though an autonomous commune, Neve presumably did not rank as a city in the principate since it issued no coins.<sup>82</sup>

All these cities have one feature in common, their very small size. An examination of the map is enough to show this. Neve and Neapolis were eight miles apart, Phaena and Constantia five only. Dionysias, Canatha, Philippopolis, and Maximianopolis lay in a row, at intervals of four, seven, and five miles, and a boundary stone shows that five miles beyond Maximianopolis Orela was an independent village. But the most striking evidence of the diminutive size of the cities of this region is a boundary stone between Dionysias and the village of Athela, less than two miles away and little over two miles from Canatha. It thus appears that in this district the founding of cities did not, as it generally did elsewhere, mean the partition of the whole country into city territories. The cities ruled no larger an area than did the villages, and were, in fact, merely glorified villages. It is difficult indeed to see what precisely a village gained by being made into a city. The villages already possessed a very full degree of autonomy; they had their assemblies and magistrates and disposed freely of their communal funds. The cities had a more elaborate constitution; their magistrates bore different titles and they had a council. Prestige was really all that a village gained by becoming a city.<sup>83</sup>

A large number of councillors are found resident in villages. This does not mean that the villages had councils. Throughout the empire the creation of a council was synonymous with the grant of city status. Moreover, a village council is never mentioned in the inscriptions; resolutions are passed by 'the villagers' as a whole or by 'the mass meeting of the village', and an official letter from the governor of Syria is addressed 'to the Phaenesians, the metrocomia of Trachon' and not to their magistrates, council, and people. The persons who are styled councillors in the village inscriptions do not seem to have had any official status in the

villages as such. The qualification of 'councillor' is appended to a man's name in the same way as that of 'veteran', that is, it represents a personal distinction and not an official position in the village. What these inscriptions show in fact is that councillors of the cities, like veterans of the Roman army, played an important part in the life of the village. This may indicate that wealthy inhabitants of the cities owned land in villages outside the city territory, and took an interest in the villages in which their estates lay, or that prominent villagers were granted the citizenship, and if rich enough took up the councillorship in the cities. The latter is the more likely alternative. The cities no doubt found it difficult to fill their councils from their own scanty population, and villagers would be glad to pay for the distinction of being citizens by taking up the burdens of the decurionate. We have one clear case of this happening: a certain Thaemus Julianus records that he was a villager of Athela (which was, as we have seen, an independent village) and also citizen and councillor of Canatha.<sup>84</sup>

We can now conclude our study of the former Ituraean principality, with which may be conveniently included Damascus and the Phoenician coast, by a survey of the Byzantine arrangements as revealed by Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius. Damascus had been raised to colonial rank by Philip. It still retained in the Byzantine period the vast territory it had received from Augustus; Chonochora, twenty miles to the south-west of Damascus, was a *see* in its ecclesiastical province, and probably therefore a village of its territory. On the coast, Tyre and Sidon had become Roman colonies, the former under Septimius Severus, the latter under Elagabalus; Tyre alone seems to have received Roman settlers and it alone had the *ius Italicum*. They seem also to have retained in the Byzantine period the enormous territories which Augustus had given to them. Caesarea Paneas was, under the Byzantine arrangement, in the coastal province of Phoenice, and the territory of its neighbour on the coast, Tyre, must therefore have stretched as far as the borders of Caesarea. Sidon must also have retained the extension of its territory which made it a direct neighbour of Damascus; Rachla, some thirty-five miles east of Sidon on the slopes of Mount Hermon, was a *see* in the ecclesiastical province of Tyre and therefore probably a village of Sidon, the nearest city of that province. Berytus, on the other hand, had lost half the territory which Augustus had assigned to it. Augustus had endowed his colony at Berytus with the northern half of the Massyas valley, and Heliopolis was thus at first a village of

Berytus. It later became a separate colony. The author of the change was probably Septimius Severus, who, according to Ulpian, made Heliopolis a 'respublica iuris Italici', and under whom the coinage of the colony of Heliopolis begins. These cities and Orthosia, Tripolis, Botrys, and Byblus all appear in both lists.<sup>85</sup>

Georgius also gives three independent villages, Gigarta, Trieris, and Politiane. We know from an inscription that Gigarta had been in the principate a village of Sidon and from Strabo that it had immediately before the Roman occupation been an Ituraean fortress. From this it may be inferred that when Pompey took from the Ituraeans their coastal strongholds he gave them to the big Phoenician cities, and that in the Byzantine period these detached possessions of the big cities—Gigarta lay near Tripolis, far from the main block of Sidonian territory—were made into independent villages. This is certainly true of Gigarta. It is probably also true of Trieris; it lay on the promontory of 'God's Face', between Tripolis and Botrys, and on this promontory, according to Strabo, was one of the principal Ituraean fortresses which Pompey demolished. Nothing is known of the village of Politiane.<sup>86</sup>

In the southern Massyas the old kingdom of Chalcis had probably become the Saltus Gonaiticus, and east of the Anti-Lebanon the tetrarchy of Lysanias had become the city of Abila and the 'climata' of Maglula and Iabruda. In the former tetrarchy of Philip, the city of Caesarea Paneas and the 'clima' of Gaulane account for the western districts. In the eastern districts, which formed part of the Byzantine province of Arabia, both Hierocles and Georgius record the cities of Canatha, Dionysias, Philippopolis, Neapolis, Phaena, Constantia, and Hierapolis, which is apparently equivalent to Maximianopolis; Georgius adds Neve. Besides the cities Hierocles gives only one village group, a *hexacomia*, and one village, Neila; the latter was an episcopal see and lay in Batanaea, south of Neve. Georgius omits Neila, but adds three more village groups, a *tricomia*, a *pentacomia*, and an *enacomia*, a dozen villages and an imperial estate, the Saltus Bataneos. The village groups, being anonymous, cannot be identified, and the names of most of the villages are, unfortunately, so corrupt that hardly any of them can be identified with any approach to certainty. All we can say is that the greater part of them must have lain in Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. Arabia included besides these districts the country south of them down to the river

Arnon, including the cities of Bostra and Adraa, Dium, Gerasa and Philadelphia, and Esbus and Medaba. The territories of these cities were, we know, extensive, and probably covered the greater part of the southern half of the province; the only district not covered by them, so far as we know, was the former toparchy of Abila of Peraea, where three of Georgius' villages have been located. It therefore follows that the greater part of the unplaced items must have been in the northern area. Beyond this general conclusion it is very difficult to go. One village, Gonia, is known from other sources to have lain somewhere near Neve in Batanaea. Another, Ariatha, is stated by Georgius to have been in Trachonitis, and is clearly identical with the Aerita of the inscriptions. It is curious that none of the villages which were bishoprics is recorded by Georgius, and it seems probable that they are concealed in his list either under the anonymous village groups or under corrupt items. Besides Neila four can be identified, Eutime and Erre (the Aere of the inscriptions) in northern Batanaea, and Zorava and Durea on the southern fringe of Trachonitis. It is tempting to identify the Saltus Bataneos with the district now known as Ard el Bathaniya (the land of Batanaea) around the village of Butheineh (the form is a diminutive, 'little Batanaea'), north of the Jebel Hauran and east of the Lejja. It is curious that this district, which is detached from Batanaea proper, the modern Nukra or plain of Hauran, west of the Jebel Hauran and the Lejja, should alone have preserved the ancient name. The explanation probably is that the whole region annexed to Syria was officially styled Batanaea—in Ptolemy Batanaea includes Trachonitis and northern Auranitis; then in the Byzantine period, when Batanaea had ceased to be an administrative unit, the name ceased to be applied to the whole region and was only preserved as the official title of an imperial estate which had been attached to the region. If the identification is correct, it affords an additional piece of evidence for the size of the cities of this region; Butheineh is only four miles north of Shakkah (Maximianopolis). The mere number of the villages given by Georgius also supports this contention. He gives nine villages by name, excluding the three which have been placed in the south-west corner of the province, as well as four groups, of three, five, six, and nine villages, making a total of thirty-two. There were probably even more, for the text of Georgius Cyprius has no doubt suffered losses as well as misspellings. Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis thus remained predominantly a land of villages down to the end of Roman rule;

the few cities were for the most part merely villages with a higher titular rank.<sup>87</sup>

The last part of Syria to be annexed was the Nabataean kingdom, which continued to exist for over a century and a half after its submission to Pompey. During this period its history is uneventful. Its kings, as in duty bound, sent auxiliaries from time to time to assist Roman armies operating in the neighbourhood. They also occasionally bickered with the other client kings of the region, but wars of conquest were now out of the question; the suzerain power always stepped in if a frontier dispute threatened to develop into a war. The frontiers of the kingdom therefore remained much as they had been in Pompey's day. It is difficult to define them with any exactitude. The wealth and power of the kingdom depended not on agriculture—the greater part of its territory was in fact desert—but on the caravan trade, and its limits are best defined by the trade routes it controlled. The merchandise of southern Arabia and India reached the kingdom either by caravan up the eastern shore of the Red Sea, where Egra seems to have been the frontier town, or by sea, being landed either at Leuce Come or Aela, both Nabataean ports. From Aela it might be carried across the Sinai peninsula, which, except for the north coast, was Nabataean territory, to Pelusium, or north by west to Gaza; the greater part of this route was also in Nabataean territory. Alternatively, it might be carried north by east to the capital of the kingdom, Petra, which also probably received goods direct from the Persian Gulf. From Petra the trade route ran due north, east of the Dead Sea; this route ran through Nabataean territory as far as Esbus. From this point the direct route to the Phoenician ports passed through Roman territory, via Philadelphia and Gerasa. An alternative route ran north-eastwards along the desert edge, skirting Roman territory to Bostra, a Nabataean town. Here again the road forked. One branch led to the coast, leaving Nabataean territory at Adraa, the other encircled the mountains of Auranitis to the east and eventually reached Damascus. This second route was entirely controlled by the Nabataeans. Damascus itself had, as we have seen, been occupied by Aretas Philhellene shortly before the Roman conquest, and though this occupation was momentary only, the Nabataeans continued to control the routes leading to the city from the east. The city itself was granted back to the Nabataeans by Gaius, and was ruled by the ethnarch of Aretas when Paul stayed in the city in about A.D. 40. It seems to have been re-



annexed by Nero in 62-3, in which year the imperial coinage of Damascus, which had ceased on the accession of Gaius, begins again. The Nabataeans still, however, ruled up to its borders; an inscription of the last Nabataean king, Rabel, dated A.D. 94, has been found at Dumer, twenty-five miles east of Damascus.<sup>88</sup>

Of the internal organization of the kingdom we know practically nothing. The Nabataean inscriptions mention officers bearing the titles of *eparchus* and *strategus*—the Greek words are transliterated into Nabataean. According to Josephus, Aretas' daughter on her flight from Machaerus, the frontier fortress of her husband Herod Antipas, to Petra, her father's capital, was escorted by the *strategi* in succession; presumably each *strategus* provided her with an escort through his own province. This implies that the *strategiae* of the Nabataean kingdom must have been small units. Two inscriptions found at Medaba and at a village about fifteen miles to the south of Medaba show that the office of *strategus* was in fact held for life and hereditary. This was, however, probably not the official rule. The use of the Greek term even in Nabataean inscriptions shows that the institution was of foreign origin. The Nabataean kings had probably endeavoured to organize their kingdom on the regular Hellenistic model, but the centralized system had in practice broken down and the kings had compromised by giving the official style of royal governor to the local sheikhs.<sup>89</sup>

When Trajan annexed the kingdom in A.D. 106, one of his first cares was to provide a new capital. Petra was too isolated to be a convenient centre for the Roman administration, and Trajan chose a town on the northern frontier, Bostra, to be the seat of the governor and the garrison. Bostra had hitherto been a place of no great importance, and Trajan practically refounded it, as its official style on its coins, 'the New Trajanian Bostra', bears testimony. The city seems, like Petra, to have been formed by the union of a number of clans or tribes, which were dovetailed into the constitution, each supplying its quota of members to the council and in general fulfilling the functions of the artificial tribes of the normal Greek city. Trajan probably endowed his new capital with a large territory, including the fertile plain of the Nukra to the north and the foot-hills of the Jebel Hauran to the east. This is indicated by two inscriptions, one probably of the second century found at Musefeire in the Nukra, the other of the fourth century found at Imtan in southern Hauran, which indicate that these two villages were subject to a city, which can only be Bostra. It is also confirmed by a series of inscriptions

relating to a system of aqueducts erected by Cornelius Palma, the legate of Syria who conquered and organized the province of Arabia. These inscriptions show that Palma tapped a number of springs on the western slopes of the Jebel Hauran, which belonged to the province of Syria, and conducted the water to Canata, which is proved by epigraphical evidence to be situated at Kerak in the Nukra, which was in the province of Arabia. Canata was, as its inscriptions prove, only a village, and the water was presumably intended for the irrigation of the surrounding district, which, though naturally fertile, is insufficiently provided with water. Other inscriptions prove that a city was interested in the aqueduct system. This city, under Palma himself, erected at Suweida a nymphæum, or ornamental fountain, in connexion with an aqueduct, and in the reign of Commodus repaired 'the aqueducts from the springs of Arra, Caenatha, Aphetatha, and Orsua'; Arra and Aphetatha can be identified with the modern Raha and 'Afine, where inscriptions of Palma have been found, so that there is no doubt that the aqueducts which the city repaired are the same system which Palma erected and which supplied water to Canata. From this it follows that a city owned the Nukra, and this city can only have been Bostra. It now becomes plain why Palma, the conqueror and organizer of Arabia, was so much interested in this aqueduct system; it was designed to benefit the capital of the new province.<sup>90</sup>

The northern and more civilized part of the kingdom was partitioned into a number of city territories. Whether this was done at one stroke by Trajan or gradually by successive emperors is not known. The cities began to coin during the second and third centuries, Adraa in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Medaba and Rabbathmoba under Septimius Severus, Esbus and Characmoba under Elagabalus. They all appear in the lists of Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius, Rabbathmoba under the style of Areopolis. Hierocles adds one more city in this region, Baetarus, probably to be identified with Betthoro, the camp of Legio IV Martia; Georgius ignores this city. In the south only one city, the old royal capital Petra, issued coins. Although it had ceased to be the administrative capital, it maintained its commercial importance and was still the religious centre of the province; inscriptions indicate that even Adraa in the far north sent religious delegations to Petra, and it received the title of metropolis from Hadrian. Apart from Petra we know nothing of the south until the Byzantine period. Hierocles gives three cities in this area besides Petra: Zoara, Arindela, and Augustopolis. Zoara lay at

the south end of the Dead Sea, in a region celebrated by the Arab geographers for its fertility. Arindela lay on the route from Petra northwards to Characmoba. The position and identity of Augustopolis are unknown. I suggest that it may be identified with Eboda, which had been the frontier town of the Nabataean kingdom on the road from Aela to Gaza, and a place of sufficient importance to issue coins under Nero—when perhaps it was temporarily annexed to the province of Judaea. Its continued importance in the Byzantine period is testified by its ruins, and it therefore seems likely that it continued to rank as a city. Hierocles is almost certainly in error in omitting Aela, the port on the Red Sea, which is mentioned by Georgius Cyprius, and was important enough in the fourth century to send a bishop to the council of Nicaea. Georgius also gives one other city, Mamopsora; as it was in the fourth century a village subject to Petra, it is possible that it was created after Hierocles' day. The whole province was not covered by the city territories, for Georgius mentions a *metrocomia* and a *pentacomia* and an imperial estate, the Saltus Hieraticus. The last was presumably a great temple estate confiscated by one of the Christian emperors. The two 'climata' of the East and of the West, mentioned by Georgius Cyprius in his catalogue of the province of Arabia, might represent the desert region east of Damascus and Auranitis, but it is perhaps more probable that they really belong to the list of Palestine III and denote the district east of the Gulf of 'Aqaba and the Sinai peninsula respectively. These regions were under effective occupation in the Byzantine period, and each contained an episcopal see, Iotabe and Pharan. It would therefore be strange if they did not figure in the civil lists of the empire.<sup>91</sup>

We are now in a position to sum up the results of the millennium during which Syria had been ruled by the Macedonian dynasties and by Rome. On paper the change in the political aspect of the country is considerable. In the Persian period cities existed only on the sea-coast, the desert fringe, and two of the gangways between them through the central mountain barrier. By the Byzantine period practically the whole of Syria was partitioned into city states; only in a few isolated areas, notably the Jordan valley and the Hauran, did village life remain the rule. In reality, however, the change was superficial. It was achieved partly by assigning vast territories to the old cities of the coast and of the desert fringe, partly by the foundation of a small number of new cities, to each of which was assigned a vast

territory. The political life of the inhabitants of the agricultural belt was unaffected; their unit remained the village, and they took no part in the life of the city to which they were attached. Economically they lost by the change. The new cities performed no useful economic function, for the larger villages supplied such manufactured goods as the villagers required, and the trade of the country-side was conducted at village markets. The only effect of the foundation of cities was the creation of a wealthy landlord class which gradually stamped out peasant proprietorship. Culturally the country-side remained utterly unaffected by the Hellenism of the cities; the peasants continued to speak Syriac down to the Arab conquest. The only function which the cities performed was administrative; they policed and collected the taxes of their territories.<sup>92</sup>

## XI. EGYPT

**E**GYPT is a country ideally suited by nature for a centralized government. It consists of the valley and delta of the Nile. Internal communications are thus excellent; the Nile forms a natural highway from end to end of the country. From without, on the other hand, Egypt is very inaccessible. On the east, west, and south it is surrounded by deserts too barren to support any but a very sparse nomadic population; invasion by land is therefore very difficult even for a well-organized army. Invasion by sea is almost as difficult; for the coast of the Delta is fringed by lagoons and marshes, and possesses no good natural harbours.

In so compact and isolated a country it is not surprising that political unity was early achieved, and Egypt was in fact united into a single kingdom almost from the beginning of its recorded history. There are traces of a period when it was divided into two kingdoms, Upper Egypt, that is the Nile valley, and Lower Egypt, the Delta. The Pharaoh was officially styled 'the lord of the two lands', and bore a different royal title and wore a different style of crown in Upper and in Lower Egypt. There are also traces of a yet earlier stage when Egypt was divided into a large number of small kingdoms. The united kingdom was in historical times divided into administrative districts which the Greeks called *nomes*. The *nomes* bear many marks of having once been independent tribal kingdoms. They each possessed their own tribal ensign and their own tribal god. Their existence can be traced back to the very earliest times, and they showed a very remarkable vitality throughout the long course of Egyptian history. At some very early date a list of them was formulated; it contains forty-two names, twenty-two for Upper Egypt and twenty for Lower Egypt, in a fixed order. This list remained for religious purposes unchanged down to the Roman period—it is in fact on the walls of Ptolemaic temples that the best-preserved copies are found. It had naturally by the Ptolemaic period—and probably far earlier—ceased to correspond exactly with the actual state of affairs; some of the original *nomes* had for administrative purposes been amalgamated with their neighbours, and new administrative *nomes* had been carved out of the old. It is remarkable, nevertheless, how many of the old *nomes* still survived in the Ptolemaic period, and even more remarkable

that, when in Roman and even in Byzantine times the number of nomes was increased, many of the newly created nomes were revivals of the old.

The survival of the old nomes is probably due to their religious associations. Despite administrative changes the peasants continued to worship their old tribal gods and therefore to frequent the towns in which their principal temples lay, and to do their business there. The old nome capitals thus retained a certain commercial importance even when they ceased to be centres of government, and were the most convenient towns to select for new administrative capitals when they were required. The nomes had certainly long ceased to possess any political significance by the Ptolemaic period. Politically, Egypt had been a united kingdom since the third millennium B.C., and the nomes had become merely its administrative departments. The position of the governor of the nome, the nomarch as the Greeks called him, naturally varied according to the strength of the central government. When the united kingdom was first formed, the former kings of the nomes became subject princes. As the kingdom developed from its feudal stage into a centralized monarchy, the nomarchs became mere government officials. When at any time the central government became enfeebled, they tended to revert to the position of feudal lords, or even of independent princes; but the semi-independent or rebellious nomarchs of the later period had no lineal connexion with the old tribal chiefs; they were royal governors who had grown too powerful, not heads of communities.

During the fourth century, despite the instability of political conditions, the administrative system seems to have been maintained both under Persian rule and under that of the various rebel Pharaohs who held the country for long periods. The diverse financial expedients of Tachos, one of these rebel Pharaohs, demonstrate this fact: Tachos was able to collect through his nomarchs a poll-tax, a house-tax, an excise duty on the sale of corn, and an income-tax of ten per cent. on manufacturers and merchants. The reconquest of Egypt by Artaxerxes, despite the destruction which it caused, seems to have left the financial system intact. Alexander took over the system as it stood, merely appointing a Greek finance minister to whom the Egyptian nomarchs were to pay the revenues which they collected.

Thus Ptolemy, when he became satrap of Egypt in 323 B.C., found the administrative machine in working order. He and his

son Ptolemy II so developed and improved it that it became one of the most rigidly centralized bureaucracies that the world has ever seen. Every official, down to the village scribe, held his appointment, directly or indirectly, from the central government, and every detail of the administration was controlled from the centre. The government, moreover, controlled almost every human activity. The land all in theory belonged to the king; and in fact a very large proportion of it, the royal land proper and the sacred land, was directly administered by the government, which leased it in small lots to the peasants. All the principal industries were royal monopolies: salt, oil, cloth, beer, papyrus, in fact practically every article of daily use, were manufactured either in royal factories or under royal licence, and could be bought only from the government at the price which it determined.

The Ptolemies retained the nome as the principal administrative unit of the kingdom. The nomes were subdivided into districts called toparchies, and these again into villages, which were the ultimate administrative unit. In the capital of the nome, the metropolis, resided the principal officials. The chief of these was now no longer the nomarch, who had sunk to be a comparatively minor official, but the *strategus*, who had been, as his title implies, originally a military governor, but in the fully developed Ptolemaic system had become a civil official. Besides the *strategus* there was in each nome a host of other officials, chiefly concerned with finance, the most important of whom was the royal scribe, who was in charge of the statistical department. The toparchy similarly had its governor, the toparch, and its scribe, and finally, each village had a headman and scribe.<sup>1</sup>

We are fortunate enough to possess, in the decrees of Ptolemy II regulating the oil monopoly and the tax on vineyards and orchards, two official lists of the nomes of Middle and Lower Egypt dating back to the early years of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Many of the nomes correspond with the primitive nomes of the religious lists, and in the list which follows I have indicated this by inserting in brackets after the Greek name of the nome the serial number of the old nome according to the fixed order of the temple lists. This is the only practicable way of distinguishing the ancient nomes, as the phonetic value of the hieroglyphic signs by which they are represented on the ancient monuments is often unknown. The Greek names for the nomes were generally

entirely different, being, contrary to the usual Egyptian practice, formed from those of their capital towns. In the Saite and Persian periods the Greeks seem generally to have made some attempt to reproduce phonetically the native name of the town, and to have formed that of the nome from it—the names in Herodotus' list of nomes are evidently formed in this way—but as they were never very good at catching the sound of foreign words, and seem to have found Egyptian peculiarly difficult to pronounce, their versions of the native names often bear only the faintest resemblance to the originals. In the Ptolemaic period they often abandoned the attempt to reproduce the native names and coined fanciful names for the towns. These fanciful names are often based on the identification, generally quite arbitrary, of the local god with a Greek god; thus a town where Ra was worshipped was called Heliopolis, a town where Horus was worshipped Apollonopolis, and so forth. Sometimes they are based on the totemic animal of the town; hence names like Cynopolis, the city of dogs, and Latopolis and Oxyrhynchus, both named after kinds of fish.

The southernmost nome recorded in the Ptolemaic lists is the Hermopolite (XV); it was a large nome and included the ancient XIV and XVI in addition to XV. North of it came the Cynopolite (XVII and perhaps XVIII), the Oxyrhynchite (XIX), the Heracleopolite (XX), the Aphroditopolite (XXII), and the Lake (XXI). The last, the modern Fayyum, was greatly improved by drainage and irrigation under Ptolemy II and was renamed by him the Arsinoite after his sister and wife Arsinoe; owing to its size and importance it was divided into three sections. Its capital, originally called Crocodilopolis after the totem animal of the nome, was named Ptolemais Euergetis, probably by Euergetes II, but was generally known in later times by the name of the nome, the city of the Arsinoites. Going northwards again the next nome was the Memphite (I of Lower Egypt). From here the Delta begins. The two southernmost nomes of the Delta were the Heliopolite (XIII), called the Delta in one of the lists, and the Letopolite (II). North of the Heliopolite, in the eastern half of the Delta, lay the Athribite (X), the Leontopolite (XIX), the Bubastite (XVIII), the Pharbaethite (XI), and the Mendesian (XV and XVI). East of this group, along the branch of the Nile which runs into the Bitter Lakes, was the nome of Arabia; this included two ancient nomes, VIII and XX, whose capitals had been Phacusa on the edge of the Delta, and Heroonpolis near the



Bitter Lakes. On the north-east fringe of the Delta were two more nomes, the Tanite and the Sethroite, which seem to correspond with the ancient XIV. In the central Delta were two nomes, the Busirite (IX) and the Sebennytic (XII); both were very large nomes, the Busirite including the ancient XVII and the Sebennytic the ancient VI. In the western Delta lay the Prosopite (IV), the Saite (V), and a third nome, whose name is given in the oil monopoly law as the Nitriote. The corresponding name in the other law is partly lost in a lacuna, but was not the Nitriote. It was perhaps the Gynaecopolite. The reason for the variation is probably that the nome in question included both the Wadi Natrun and the adjacent part of the Delta. This nome corresponds to the ancient III. On the Mediterranean coast west of the Delta there was under the Ptolemies another nome, Libya. It lay outside the boundaries of ancient Egypt and thus does not correspond to any of the ancient nomes. The law regulating the vineyards tax mentions one other district. The name is partly lost in a lacuna but may well be Menelais. It cannot have been officially a nome in the early Ptolemaic period, for it has a feminine termination, and the word 'nome' is masculine. I shall endeavour to prove later that it was attached in a special sense to the city of Alexandria; its omission in the oil monopoly law is probably due to this fact. The Menelais and the territory of Alexandria probably corresponded with the ancient nome VII.<sup>2</sup>

Strabo gives a very similar list of nomes in his account of Egypt. He does not mention Libya as a nome, nor does he mention Arabia under that name; Arabia is, however, probably represented in his list by the name Phagroriopolite—Phagroriopolis was a town on the Bitter Lakes and may have been the Ptolemaic metropolis of Arabia. He gives the Menelais under the form Menelaites, that is, with the regular nome termination, and calls it a nome; he separates the Gynaecopolite from the Nitriote; and he gives another nome in this district, the Momemphite, which is never mentioned elsewhere and is probably a mistake. It might be inferred that the nome organization had remained unchanged save for these few modifications from the reign of Ptolemy II down to the Roman annexation, which had occurred a few years before Strabo visited Egypt. It is to be feared, however, that Strabo did not derive his information about the nomes from contemporary sources, but from a document of the early Ptolemaic period. This had long been suspected

from the remarkable resemblance of Strabo's list to those of the decrees of Ptolemy II; Strabo, it may be noted, ceases to enumerate the nomes when he reaches Hermopolis, and was thus evidently working on a document which, like the decrees, treated the Thebaid as a single unit. This suspicion has been confirmed by the discovery of an inscription of the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor which mentions a *strategus* of the Xoite. The Xoite nome (VI) does not occur in the lists of the decrees and Strabo states that Xoïs was a town of the Sebennyitic nome. In this instance then Strabo is detected representing as existing in his own time an arrangement which had ceased to exist for over a century and perhaps much earlier. Other changes also have been revealed in newly published papyri and inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

The Thebaid is treated in the decrees of Ptolemy II as a single unit. It was, nevertheless, as inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca show, divided like the rest of Egypt into nomes. As the nomes are only mentioned casually in documents of varying dates, it is difficult to draw up a list of them which is true for any given date. The following account is therefore only a rough sketch of the system.

The capital of the southernmost nome of Egypt (I) had been in ancient times Elephantine. In Ptolemaic times its governor was styled *strategus* of the Ombite and Elephantine. The course of events was probably that the ancient nome I was subdivided into two nomes with capitals at Elephantine and at Ombi some forty miles to the north, and that when the two were subsequently reunited the metropolis was Ombi and no longer Elephantine. The Ombite and Elephantine were still in the Roman period officially reckoned as two nomes, but they were invariably united under one *strategus* and were for practical purposes one nome. North of the Ombite was the Apollonopolite (II). The next nome on the ancient lists (III) had for its capital the town called by the Greeks Eilithiopolis. The Eilithiopolite is mentioned in a papyrus dated 88 B.C. It is again mentioned in a papyrus of the early Roman period, but here it is joined with the Apollonopolite. Meanwhile, a new nome, the Latopolite, makes its appearance, across the river a little way north; the first dated mention of it is in 164/3 B.C. The ancient nome III seems thus, like I, to have been subdivided. In this case, however, the two halves were not reunited; the southern half, including the old capital, was absorbed in the next nome, the Apollonopolite, the northern half became an independent nome, the Latopolite.

The capital of the fourth nome of the ancient lists seems to have been moved from Thebes to Pathyris farther south. The ancient capital remained subordinate to Pathyris till about the middle of the second century B.C. when the nome 'About Thebes' was separated from the Pathyrite. North of Thebes the series of nomes can be more clearly distinguished. It was the Coptite (V), the Tentyrite (VI), the Lesser Diospolite (VII), the Thinite (VIII), the Panopolite (IX), the Aphroditopolite (X), and the Lycopolite (XIII). In the early Roman period, and no doubt earlier, the Lycopolite incorporated Hypsele, the capital of the ancient nome XI, which lay south of Lycopolis. The Aphroditopolite seems to have included the ancient nome XII, whose capital was the town called in Greek Antaeopolis, north of Aphroditopolis and on the opposite side of the river. It is possible that there existed in Ptolemaic times a nome between Aphroditopolis and Hypsele. At the beginning of the second century A.D. there certainly was a nome here, called the Apollonopolite Heptacomias, and the words 'in the Heptacomia' occur in an inscription, probably to be dated 149 B.C. The Ptolemaic documents also mention an Oasite nome.<sup>4</sup>

In the rigidly centralized kingdom of the Ptolemies there was little room for local autonomy. There were in fact four exceptions only to the régime of bureaucratic absolutism, the four Greek cities of Egypt. One of these, Naucratis, was of considerable antiquity. It originated as a treaty port, granted by Psammetichus I of the XXVIth dynasty to Greek merchants. The three principal trading cities of the Aegean, Aegina, Samos, and Miletus, had their separate establishments, and nine minor cities maintained a common enclosure. Its importance was increased by Amasis of the same dynasty, who made it the sole port in which Greeks might trade and reside. It developed into a regular Greek city; its *prytaneum* and its magistrates, who bore the Ionic title of *τιμοῦχοι*, are incidentally mentioned in a passage from Hermias quoted in Athenaeus, and it issued coins in the time of Alexander the Great. Its citizens must have remained of pure Greek blood, for intermarriage with Egyptians was illegal. It was not merely a town, but possessed a territory also; in the regulation of the areas to be devoted to the cultivation of oil-producing plants in the Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Naucratis is mentioned. There is no reason to think that its autonomy was suppressed by the Ptolemies. Not only does a public dedication by the city exist dating from the Ptolemaic period, but even as

late as the second century A.D. its laws were chosen by Hadrian as a model for those of his new foundation, Antinoopolis. On the other hand, it was certainly subjected to some degree of royal control. The cultivation of its territory was, as mentioned above, regulated by royal decree in the reign of Ptolemy II, and under Ptolemy IV Philopator we find a royal finance official whose sphere of duties is defined as the region of Naucratis. In fact it seems as if the Naucratis territory was administered by the central government on the same lines as the rest of Egypt, and the authority of the city magistrates confined within the town walls. In the Revenue Law the Naucratis territory is included in the Saite nome. Later, it seems to have been administered separately, and in Roman times it formed a nome or nomarchy, the Naucratis.<sup>5</sup>

The other three cities were new creations. Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great during his brief stay in Egypt. The citizen body, according to a passage of Polybius quoted in Strabo, consisted of Greeks, but we know little further of their provenance, beyond what Polybius there says, that they were of mixed origin. If Alexander here followed his usual practice, they would have been recruited from his Greek mercenaries, and this would agree with Polybius' dictum. The earlier Ptolemies increased the citizen body by drafting many of their Greek mercenaries into it; a papyrus, which dates from the time of Ptolemy III Euergetes, alludes to 'persons serving in the army who have been enrolled on the citizen register at Alexandria', and in the same reign many military colonists describe themselves as 'Alexandrians, not yet introduced into such-and-such a deme', which shows that they had recently been enrolled and the formalities were not yet completed. The city also contained a large non-citizen population. Besides the inhabitants of Rhacotis, the native village on the site, large numbers of Egyptians were drafted into the new city from the neighbouring towns, especially from Canopus. As the commercial importance of the city grew it attracted immigrants from all quarters, not only Greeks and Egyptians but barbarians of every race, among whom the Jews came to form the largest and most conspicuous element. But though Alexandria thus became a cosmopolitan city, the Alexandrians proper preserved their Greek blood more or less uncontaminated; in Roman times, at any rate, and probably from the beginning, intermarriage with Egyptians was illegal.<sup>6</sup>

The autonomy of Alexandria in the Ptolemaic period is much

disputed. The question turns on whether the city had a council, and the contemporary evidence falls short of proof, and later allusions to it are ambiguous. It can only be said that it is very probable that Alexandria originally had a council, but that probably the council was abolished by one of the later kings. From the fact that the Alexandrians when petitioning a Roman emperor for the grant of a council suggested that it should be annual and subject to scrutiny on retirement it may perhaps be inferred that the original Alexandrian council was of this character.<sup>7</sup>

There is not much to add on the other elements in the constitution. Strabo gives a list of four 'local magistrates in the city' who existed under the kings, but of these only one, the *exegete*, is generally accepted as being a true civic magistrate. He was in Roman times the president of the board of *prytaneis*, who were then, as they probably had been in the Ptolemaic period, the executive of the city. Inscriptions attest the existence of a gymnasiarch also, and a papyrus mentions treasurers in the third century B.C. The same papyrus also alludes to magistrates in general, specifying the penalties incurred by obstructing them in the performance of their official duties. The citizen body was divided into tribes and demes and phratries. There were probably six tribes, 720 demes, and 120 phratries.<sup>8</sup>

Such formal autonomy as existed must have been much curtailed in practice. It is obvious that the king must have had some say in the government of his own capital, even though it was technically a sovereign city state, but we do not know by what constitutional forms it was expressed. In Roman times the executive board of the *prytaneis* included a number of imperial nominees, and it is possible that this was merely a continuation of the practice of the Ptolemies; royal appointment in whole or in part of the executive board was a method regularly employed by Hellenistic kings to control Greek cities. Royal control was also exercised through a commandant of the city, whose existence is attested both by the literary sources and the inscriptions. This functionary may have been identical with the commandant of the night-watch mentioned by Strabo. More probably, however, the commandant of the night-watch was another royal official.<sup>9</sup>

A papyrus of the third century B.C. proves that there was not only a city code of law but an elaborate system of city courts which administered it. It is very doubtful, however, if the competence of the city courts extended to other than Alexandrian citizens.

One foreign community at any rate, that of the Jews, possessed an independent organization. It had its own ethnarch, who governed the community and in particular had judicial powers, and its own bureau where contracts and other legal documents were registered and deposited. It is possible that other foreign communities may have possessed similar rights, but more probably royal courts existed to deal with their affairs. Criminal and police jurisdiction was probably to a large extent controlled by the prefect of the city and the prefect of the night-watch.<sup>10</sup>

There remains the question of the city territory. There certainly existed a region called 'the Territory of the Alexandrians', and it is difficult to see why it should have been so called unless it had, at any rate at one time, been what the name implies. In Roman times, on the other hand, it was a nome, with its own metropolis, Hermopolis Minor, and as early as 118 B.C. the king disposed of royal land in it on the same lines as in the rest of Egypt, if on slightly more generous terms. The Alexandrians still, however, in the latter part of the first century A.D. held certain tax-free holdings in it, termed 'the ancient land'. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts seems to be that Alexandria originally was granted a territory, but that it was later, as at Naucratis, assimilated to the rest of the soil of Egypt, and administered as a separate nome, the actual lots of land owned by Alexandrian citizens being, however, allowed to remain exempt. The 'ancient land', it may be noted, was found not only in the territory of the Alexandrians, but also in another neighbouring nome, the Menelaite. Now, neither the Alexandrian territory nor the Menelaite appears in the list of nomes given in the oil-monopoly law of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The Menelaite must have existed at that date, since it was so called by Ptolemy I Soter after his brother, and it may be inferred that it had not at that date yet become a nome, but had some privileged status, like the Alexandrian territory. In the nome list of the law regulating the vineyards tax which is contained in the same papyrus it does appear, but in a feminine form, Menelais, instead of in the masculine form which is prevalent later, and the same form appears in a papyrus dated 257 B.C. which speaks of the temple of Menelaus in the Menelais. The feminine form is another proof that it was at this date not yet a nome. From all these facts it would appear that the Menelaite was originally an additional piece of territory granted by Ptolemy I Soter to Alexandria and so named after his brother, and that it underwent

a similar evolution to that undergone by the original Alexandrian territory; it, too, was formed into a nome with a separate metropolis, Canopus, the rights of the Alexandrian citizens holding land in it being respected.<sup>11</sup>

The third Greek city in Egypt, Ptolemais, was founded by Ptolemy I Soter. It occupied the site of an Egyptian town, Psoui, whose name has survived both in Coptic and Arabic, but it was undoubtedly a genuine colony; from their nomenclature in the first century A.D. it may be inferred that not only were the citizens originally of Greek and Macedonian stock, but that they preserved that stock uncontaminated throughout the Ptolemaic period. Of the autonomy of the city there is no manner of doubt. We possess four inscriptions dating from the third century B.C. which reveal that it possessed a Greek constitution of the normal type, with assembly, council, and annual magistrates, six *prytaneis* in this case. We see the council and people passing decrees, we hear of disorders in the sessions of the council and the assembly, particularly at the elections of magistrates, and we find the council and people, on the proposal of the *prytaneis*, modifying the constitution in an oligarchic sense, by decreeing that the council and the law courts be chosen from a select register. The evidence for internal autonomy is thus complete. The king communicates with the city through the medium of ambassadors, thus preserving the fiction of external autonomy. Nor is there any reason to suspect that the status of the city was degraded under the later Ptolemies. In a letter dated 75 B.C. a high royal official still addresses 'the city of the Ptolemaeans' as an independent community. There is no evidence to show whether the city possessed a territory, but the probabilities are against it. It was in Roman times, and no doubt from the beginning, the metropolis of the Thinite nome in which it was situated; that is, the surrounding country was administered by royal officials, residing in the city but having no authority within it, while the authority of the city magistrates was confined within the walls.<sup>12</sup>

Of the fourth Greek city of Egypt, Paraetonium in the nome of Libya, very little is known. It is stated by several inferior authorities to have been founded by Alexander. Nothing is heard of it during the Ptolemaic period. In the early Roman period, however, there are indications that it ranked as a Greek city. In an inscription of the reign of Augustus giving a list of soldiers of two legions of the Egyptian army, the only men of Egyptian origin come from Alexandria and Paraetonium. This

suggests that in Egypt only citizens of the Greek cities were accepted as recruits to the legions in the early Roman period, and that Paraetionium was at that period a Greek city. A clause in the *Gnomon* of the *Idios Logos* forbids intermarriage between Paraetionians and Egyptians or other aliens. This also suggests that the Paraetionians were a separate, and probably privileged, community, that is, a Greek city. The citizen body may well have been largely Greek. Paraetionium was the regular starting-place for the desert journey to the oasis of Zeus Ammon, whose oracle was much frequented by Greeks, and many Greek merchants may have settled there. This body of Greek residents was perhaps reinforced with military settlers by Alexander, when he stopped at Paraetionium on his journey to the oracle.<sup>13</sup>

These four were the only Greek cities which existed in Egypt under the Ptolemies. It will be noted that three of them, Naucratis, Alexandria, and Paraetionium, were already in existence before the first Ptolemy entered into possession of Egypt. The fourth, Ptolemais, was the only Greek city in Egypt which owed its origin to the Ptolemies, and it was founded by Ptolemy I Soter, under whom the centralized bureaucratic system had not yet been elaborated. From the reign of Ptolemy II no further concessions were made to the idea of local autonomy. No more Greek cities were founded, and furthermore the central government steadily encroached on the privileges of the existing cities. Local autonomy was not allowed to impede the smooth working of the bureaucratic machine, and where it did so it was abrogated. Thus, the oil-monopoly law of Ptolemy II ignored the privileges of Naucratis, and gradually, as I have shown, the territories of the cities were assimilated to the general administrative scheme, eventually becoming nomes. The authority of the city magistrates was confined to purely municipal affairs.

Although the Ptolemies looked with disfavour on the Greek cities of Egypt, they were far from discouraging the immigration of Greeks into Egypt. They needed Greeks to organize and run the complicated bureaucratic machinery of government which they were elaborating. The native Egyptians were, or at any rate were held to be, incapable of performing this task, and the civil service was from the reign of Ptolemy II, except for the lowest grades, entirely staffed by Greeks. They also needed Greeks, in far larger numbers, for the army. Ptolemy I had, at the beginning of his reign, employed native Egyptian soldiers. This experiment was, however, soon abandoned, and for nearly a century



the army was recruited entirely from foreigners, the majority of whom were Macedonians and Greeks. The Ptolemies had little difficulty in attracting immigrants to the country. Many thousands of Greeks flocked to Egypt in the third century B.C., attracted by the high pay which the Ptolemies offered to their soldiers, by the good salaries and the possibilities of high promotion in the civil service, or merely by the hope of making their fortunes in business. A large proportion of the immigrants settled down permanently and the government encouraged them to do so, especially the soldiers. The Ptolemies maintained a large standing army stationed in permanent camps scattered all over the country. In addition to this standing army they created a reserve army by granting lots of land, held on condition of military service in time of need, to large numbers of their best troops. Opportunities were also given to non-military settlers to acquire lands on hereditary leases on favourable terms.

Some of these settlers were enrolled in the Greek cities. The vast majority, however, lived scattered about the country unattached to any city. The military colonists many of them lived on or near their lots, especially where, as in the Arsinoite nome, allotment had been carried out on a large scale; here they formed the aristocracy of the villages. The majority of the settlers, however, tended to gravitate toward the metropoleis. Most of the officials were obliged to reside in them for their work. Business men also found it convenient to live in them; the metropoleis were the commercial as well as the administrative centres of the nomes, seeing that most of the economic activity of Egypt was government-controlled. A nucleus of Greek society was thus formed which attracted other Greeks to itself, and the landholders of the nome, including the military colonists, tended to let their estates or manage them through bailiffs and to move into the metropolis.

The Greek settlers enjoyed no kind of political autonomy. They were, however, permitted, and even encouraged, to form social clubs. In the army there existed, under royal patronage and control, clubs organized on the basis of nationality, the Cretans, the Boeotians, and so forth. More important and more permanent than these were the gymnasia. These institutions sprang up wherever any substantial body of Greeks was gathered together, in the villages, wherever, as in the Arsinoite nome, there were many Greek residents, but principally in the metropoleis of the nomes. Their function was to provide for the Greek residents

the amenities of Greek civilization, athletic and musical festivals, and to supply in the ephebic training a Greek education for their children. They were self-governing bodies. The officers, among whom the gymnasiarch or president, and the cosmete, the director of the ephebic training, are known to us, were annual and were probably elected by the members. The members, 'those from the gymnasium', passed resolutions, which they styled 'decrees', and appear to have owned property corporately. Very little is known of the origin of the gymnasia, but what little is known indicates that they were created by private enterprise, sometimes subsidized by the government. The gymnasium at Samaria, a village of the Arsinoite nome, was built by an army officer, named Apollodorus, who held a lot in the village; it seems to have been a proprietary institution, for it descended to his heirs. In general they were probably established and maintained by public subscription. The clearest evidence of this comes not from Egypt itself but from the Ptolemaic possession of Thera, where an inscription records that the gymnasium was repaired by the subscriptions of the garrison. In this instance the king, probably Ptolemy I, subsidized the gymnasium, granting certain royal lands producing a revenue of a hundred and eleven drachmae for the maintenance of the sacrifices and the provision of oil. Many gymnasia probably thus acquired from the king or from wealthy benefactors endowments whose revenue partly covered the expenses of upkeep; at Psenamosis near Alexandria, Paris, a 'kinsman' of the king, presented the local landowners with a site for their gymnasium and with a thousand drachmae, the interest on which was to pay for an annual feast. There is no doubt, however, that membership was an expensive luxury reserved for the rich; there was a heavy subscription and perhaps entrance fee, and members were apparently expected when elected as officers to pay the expenses of their office out of their own pockets. That this last obligation was a serious burden is implied in a letter of a Macedonian military colonist of the village of Philadelphia in the Arsinoite nome, in which he begs the village scribe to prevent 'the gymnasiarch and the young men of the gymnasium in Philadelphia' from forcing upon him the office of 'lampadarch of the men' in the coming festival. In the Roman period, as will appear, the expenses of the office of gymnasiarch were crushingly heavy.<sup>14</sup>

In all probability the gymnasia came in time to admit others than Greeks, or at any rate pure-blooded Greeks. There was no

obstacle to intermarriage between the Greek settlers and the natives. If citizens of the Greek cities married natives, their children lost the citizenship, but the Greeks of the country had no citizenship to lose, and it is highly probable that, as there must have been far more Greek men than women in the country, many Greek settlers took Egyptian wives. Many Egyptians must also have Hellenized themselves. Since the beginning of the Saite dynasty Greek mercenaries had been freely employed by the Egyptian kings, and many of these had settled in the country; trade with Greece had also flourished and many Greek merchants had made their homes in Egypt. Greek culture had therefore been long familiar to the Egyptians, and there is evidence that the nobility had begun to yield to its attractions: Petosiris, high priest of Hermopolis in the middle of the fourth century, employed Greek artists to execute some of the sculptures on his magnificent tomb temple. Under the Ptolemies the tendency towards Hellenization received an enormous impetus, since Greek culture was the key to all political advancement. In the third century the army and the civil service seem to have been reserved for Greeks, but from the reign of Philopator Egyptians were admitted in large numbers into the army, and in the later years of the dynasty Egyptians rose to the highest ranks in the civil service—two became *strategi* of the Thebaid, with the court rank of 'kinsmen' of the king. It is hardly likely that the gymnasia closed their doors to wealthy Hellenized Egyptians holding high posts in the army and the civil service. The membership of the gymnasia was probably by the end of the Ptolemaic period socially uniform, consisting of the well-to-do Hellenized class, but racially very mixed, including besides such families as had preserved their Greek blood unmixed a large number of half-caste and Hellenized Egyptian families. There is no definite proof of this. It is certain, however, that barbarians other than Egyptians were freely admitted—two gymnasiarchs are stated to have been one a Thracian and the other a Persian. It is also significant that two dedications made by the former ephebes of the Arsinoite nome in the first century B.C. are made not to any Greek god but to the 'Great God Souchos the Great', the indigenous crocodile totem of the nome.<sup>15</sup>

The fall of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the annexation of Egypt by Rome did not produce any revolution in the administrative system. Egypt as a Roman province continued to be governed on the same general lines as it had been as a kingdom. Of the existing

Greek cities three seem to have retained their existing status unchanged. Naucratis still survived in the second century A.D. to serve as a model for Antinoopolis; its territory formed the Naucratis nomarchy. Ptolemais is described by Strabo as a city with a constitution on the Greek model, and it still styled itself a city and made dedications as such under Trajan and again in A.D. 147; it was the metropolis of the Thinite nome. The Paraetonians, as I have shown above, maintained their privileged position. Alexandria, if it had possessed a council under the later Ptolemies, underwent a degradation of status; at any rate under the Romans it had no council. But though this must have meant an effective curtailment of its autonomy, it ranked as a city, making dedications, sending embassies, and passing honorary decrees. Its citizen body was still, as before, divided into tribes and demes. It still possessed magistrates, who bore the same titles as those which the metropoleis, as will be described later, had at this date. The method of appointment to these 'civic magistracies', as Claudius calls them, is obscure. In his letter he approves the recommendation that they should be made triennial, on the ground that their holders would be less oppressive if they had the fear of a scrutiny before their eyes. Hence we may infer that hitherto they had served for a longer, perhaps unlimited term. They do not seem to have been chosen by lot; Claudius approves this method of selection only for priests. From the fact that they—or rather their leader the gymnasiarch—played a prominent part in the insurrections of the city against the government, and are portrayed as the champions of the city in the 'Acts of the Pagan Martyrs', we may infer that they were not appointed by the government. They were probably in theory elected by the people, but, owing to a lack of candidates, they seem actually to have been chosen by the same method as was employed in the metropoleis. The executive board consisted of the *exegete* and the *prytaneis*, among whom were included a number of imperial officials. Not only was there thus a number of government nominees on the civic executive board, but in many if not all departments of the city administration the government interfered directly. The emperor himself granted the citizenship; the trial of those who introduced unqualified persons into the citizen body was reserved to the prefect. Jurisdiction lay in the hands of Roman officials; no more is heard of city courts. Public security was controlled by the commandant of the city and of the night-watch. In fact the whole

administration of Alexandria was controlled by the Roman government, with the exception of the cultural and religious side, the gymnasium and the temples, the ephebic training and the festivals and games.<sup>16</sup>

The Romans thus continued and even emphasized the policy of the Ptolemies towards the Greek cities; they allowed them to retain formal autonomy, but restrained that autonomy within very narrow limits. They did not make any addition to their number for over a century and a half. It was not until A.D. 130 that a fifth Greek city was created in Egypt, Antinoopolis, founded by Hadrian in honour of his favourite Antinous. It was emphatically a Greek city, as is indicated by its official style, 'the city of the Antinoeis, the new Hellenes', and its population was, in fact, Greek in blood. It was formed partly by a draft, chosen by lot, from the population of Ptolemais; the other Greek cities of Egypt no doubt also contributed. Other settlers were drawn from 'the 6475 Greek men in the Arsinoite nome', the descendants of the military colonists planted by the early Ptolemies. The citizen body was augmented by the grant of Antinoite citizenship to veterans. As the Roman army in Egypt was recruited exclusively from the Hellenic population the new citizens would not contaminate the purity of the citizen body. It was, however, probably for the benefit of these veterans that intermarriage with Egyptians was by special decree permitted by Hadrian; for soldiers frequently married Egyptian women in the knowledge that their marriage would be rendered valid on their discharge. The new town received its laws from Naucratis. By this we are probably to understand its system of private law, its calendar, and the title of its chief magistrates (*τιμοῦχοι*). Otherwise the constitution of Antinoopolis is of a perfectly normal type. Its citizens were divided into tribes and demes, named for the most part after the members of the imperial family. Apart from the *timouchoi* its magistrates were the usual series, common to Alexandria and the metropoleis. It was, however, superior to them in possessing a council, a fact of which it was very proud; we possess an interesting fragment of its proceedings. It appears that Antinoopolis, like the other Greek cities in Egypt, possessed no territory; the surrounding country formed the Antinoite nomarchy, which was situated in the Hermopolite nome. Antinoopolis was not an entirely new creation, but was on the site of an ancient Egyptian town. This town was probably the capital of the ancient nome XVI, and the new Antinoite nomarchy was thus an ancient nome revived.<sup>17</sup>

The Romans maintained the existing nome organization with some modifications. It is difficult to determine how extensive these were because, in the first place, we do not possess any complete record of the late Ptolemaic nomes, and, in the second place, the earliest list of the Roman nomes, that of Pliny, is very confused. It is very probably based on official documents, but seems to be conflated from documents of varying dates, and is arranged in a most extraordinary manner. Pliny begins in the south, endeavouring to maintain the geographical order. He then abandons Upper Egypt and gives a list of four nomes in the north-eastern Delta; this list is evidently derived from the official list of the nomes of the judicial circuit of Pelusium. He finally gives a list of all the nomes which he cannot fit in elsewhere without any attempt at any kind of order. This last list incidentally included one nome, the Panopolite, which he ought to have put in its proper geographical position in Upper Egypt. The confusion thus created is yet further confounded by Pliny's failure to distinguish nomes of the same name, or even of rather similar name. The most glaring error which results from this is that he omits the Letopolite altogether, and puts the Latopolite not in its proper position in Upper Egypt but in the miscellaneous third list. After making allowance for errors and omissions the following list can be reconstructed.<sup>18</sup>

Starting from the south the first three nomes were the Ombite, the Apollonopolite, and the Latopolite. The next nome in Ptolemaic times was the Pathyrite, which included the town of Hermonthis; by the early Roman period the Hermonthite had replaced the Pathyrite. Pliny gives both. It is possible that the Pathyrite was for a time divided in two nomes, with capitals at Pathyris and Hermonthis, and was later reunited, Hermonthis becoming the capital of the reunited nome. It is equally possible that the capital of the Pathyrite was transferred to Hermonthis from Pathyris, and that Pliny conflated an earlier list, which gave the Pathyrite, with a later, which gave the Hermonthite. The next nome, the Ptolemaic 'district about Thebes', is ignored by Pliny. North of Thebes there followed, as in the Ptolemaic period, the Coptite, Tentyrite, Lesser Diospolite, Thinite, and Panopolite. North of the Panopolite was in Ptolemaic times the Aphroditopolite, which included Antaeopolis. Pliny gives two nomes, the Aphroditopolite and the Antaeopolite. Ultimately Aphroditopolis became a village of the Antaeopolite, but when the Aphroditopolite was suppressed is uncertain; both names are

recorded by Ptolemy. It is uncertain whether the Apollonopolite Heptacomias existed in Pliny's day as it did in the succeeding century, for, if it had existed, Pliny would have omitted it, having already mentioned one Apollonopolite. The rest of the nomes of the Nile valley, from the Lycopolite to the Memphite, remained unchanged as in Ptolemaic times. Pliny states that there were two Arsinoite nomes, which he describes as reaching, together with the Memphite, to the head of the Delta: the second Arsinoite is obscure.<sup>19</sup>

In the Delta all the nomes recorded in the lists of the Revenue Laws survived, except for Libya, no doubt regarded as outside Egypt, and the Nitriote. In addition to the old nomes many new nomes had been created. Some of these certainly existed in the later Ptolemaic period, the Xoite, for instance; the former city territories, the Naucratic nomarchy, the Menelaite, and the Territory of Alexandria, were also probably already nomes under the later Ptolemies. Others first appear in Pliny's list, and may have been either late Ptolemaic or early Roman creations. Three of the new nomes, Phthenetu, the Cabasite, and the Metelite, lay in the north-western part of the Delta. These must have been carved out of the huge Ptolemaic nome of Sais. Phthemphuthi and the Onuphite lay in the central Delta. West of Alexandria also a new nome had been created, the Mareote, probably out of Libya. In the western desert Pliny mentions three nomes, the Ammoniac and two Oasite. The Ammoniac nome is the oasis of Zeus Ammon, the modern Siwa. The two Oasite nomes are probably the Greater and Lesser Oases, the modern Kharga and Baharia. Of these only one Oasite nome, probably the Lesser Oasis, is known to have existed in the Ptolemaic period.<sup>20</sup>

For the second century A.D. there are two authorities for the nome system, the geographer Claudius Ptolemy and the nome coins. They reveal a certain number of changes since Pliny's time. In Upper Egypt the coins show that the Hermonthite had replaced the Pathyrite and prove the existence of the Apollonopolite Heptacomias. They and Ptolemy also mention a new nome, the Hypselite, which had been incorporated in the Lycopolite as late as the reign of Augustus; it was an ancient nome (XI) revived. In Lower Egypt both authorities show that the Sebennytic nome had been divided into two nomes, the Upper and Lower Sebennytic, and that another new nome, Nesyt, had been created in the north-eastern Delta, probably also out of the Sebennytic. They also give some information about the adminis-

trative organization of the north coast of the Sinai peninsula. The great port of Pelusium was apparently in no nome and perhaps ranked as a nome in itself; it is not placed in any nome by Ptolemy, and coins were issued in its name in the nome series. The series of little towns which lined the road to Palestine along the northern coast of Sinai are included by Ptolemy in the district of Casiotis. This district was not perhaps strictly speaking a nome, but it was certainly an administrative unit. A first-century papyrus, which gives a list of nomes in the judicial circuit of Pelusium, names, beside the Tanite, the Sethroite, and Arabia, a fourth district. The name has perished, but it must have been a short name, of four or five letters only, and ended in *-ia*. It cannot therefore be any of the known nomes of the north-eastern Delta, and can only be the official name of the north Sinai district called Casiotis by Ptolemy. Ptolemy also reveals the curious fact that the Gynaecopolite had changed its name to the Andropolite.<sup>21</sup>

The Romans at first maintained the general administrative scheme practically unchanged. The prefect took the place of the king; he was, under the emperor, supreme head of every department of the government. Under the prefect there were about half a dozen Roman officials. The most important of these was the *iuridicus*, the minister of justice. There were also a handful of procurators, mostly financial, including the *dioecetes* and the *idios logos*, who managed the extraordinary revenue. The latter later also held the office of high priest of Alexandria and all Egypt; that is, he controlled the temples and the temple property and the priesthood. Subordinate to him was the *procurator usiacus*, the manager of the imperial domains. The only other important Roman civil officials were the *epistrategi* of the three districts into which Egypt was divided, the Thebaid, the Heptanomia, and the Delta. All other posts in the civil service, from the rank of *strategus* downwards, were held, as in the Ptolemaic period, by local Greeks (in the cultural sense of the word), or, in the lowest grades, by Egyptians. Although, however, the civil service was staffed from the same classes as in the Ptolemaic period, its character underwent a profound change. The Ptolemaic civil service had consisted of permanent officials, who had taken up the career by choice. The Roman civil service had come by the second century A.D. to consist of men who served a short term only, and, except in the highest grades, under compulsion.<sup>22</sup>



The reasons for this change are obscure. It may have been deliberate policy; the Roman government, accustomed to dealing with annually changing magistrates, may have distrusted a professional bureaucracy. I think it more likely, however, that the new system was forced upon it and was the result of its extortionate fiscal policy. The prosperity of Egypt after a short revival under Augustus, due to the restoration of the irrigation system, which had under the later Ptolemies fallen into neglect, seems to have declined steadily under Roman rule; the reason for this decline was probably the enormous drain of tribute, very little of which found its way back into Egypt. This decline in prosperity was naturally reflected in a fall in the tax receipts, but the Roman government refused to make allowance for this fall, insisting that the old figures, which had been fixed during the Augustan revival, should be maintained. This fact comes out most clearly in the farming of taxes. The evidence shows that the Roman government expected the farmers to bid as high for the taxes as they had previously done, despite the falling off in returns. Naturally the farmers refused to do so, since their profits would have been swallowed by their losses. The Roman government, instead of accepting lower bids, either compelled the farmers to undertake the contract on the old terms, or substituted for farming direct collection by compulsorily appointed officials. The civil service must have been similarly affected. Under the Ptolemies officials had always been liable to fines for negligence, and had also been obliged to compensate the treasury for any loss to the revenue which their negligence may have caused. As long as the administrative machine was in good running order, the conscientious official would not have suffered from this rule. When, however, the machine began to break down owing to the undue burden which the Romans put upon it, the position of the official became intolerable. He could not perform his duties, but his failure was nevertheless visited with fines and demands for damages. The civil service thus ceased to attract recruits, and the government was obliged to use compulsion to fill the posts.<sup>23</sup>

In the highest grades compulsion does not seem to have been required. The offices of *strategus* and royal scribe were honourable, and apparently adequately paid, and their holders could probably as a rule pass on their financial responsibility to their subordinates; appointments were, however, for a term of three years only, and few *strategi* or royal scribes seem to have served more than two terms. In all lower grades the offices became, to

use the technical term, liturgies. For each post a property qualification was laid down. As vacancies occurred in the villages or in the metropolis, the village scribes or the scribe of the metropolis had to send in to the *strategus* lists of persons suitable to occupy the post, that is, persons who possessed the requisite amount of property and could not claim exemption. The *strategus*, having scrutinized these lists, sent them on to the *epistrategus*, who drew lots between the names. The person on whom the lot fell served his turn, usually from one to three years, and the process was then repeated. The scribes were themselves appointed by the same system.<sup>24</sup>

These changes in the administrative system were eventually to lead to the municipalization of Egypt. At the moment, however, no one could have foretold this, and to contemporaries certain changes in the constitution of the metropoleis, which took place early in the Roman period, must have seemed much more important moves in this direction. In the first place, something analogous to a citizen body was created. In the Ptolemaic period Greeks had occupied a privileged position in many ways, but no official register of the Greek inhabitants of the metropoleis seems to have been kept. The more exact legal instinct of the Roman mind demanded that the grades of the population should be accurately distinguished. Accordingly, the Greek residents of the metropoleis were formed into a clearly defined class half-way between the citizens of the Greek cities, on the one hand, and the Egyptians, on the other; their intermediate status was shown by the fact that, unlike the former, they paid poll-tax, and, unlike the latter, they were not subject to the full rate, but paid a special reduced figure, which varied from place to place. What were the original qualifications demanded for admission to this class of privileged metropolitites we do not know. We first see it when it was already in existence, and it was then a closed hereditary class; in order to establish his claim to metropolitite status an applicant had to prove that his father and maternal grandfather, or, if he was a freedman, his patron, were of the same status. In theory it was probably only Greeks that were supposed to be admitted to this privileged status, but a study of the nomenclature of its members suggests that the principle had been liberally interpreted, and that many Hellenized Egyptians and half-breeds had been admitted. Within the class of metropolitites an aristocracy was formed by the members of the gymnasium; this was now also a closed hereditary class, and applicants had to prove descent

from male ancestors who had been members of the gymnasium. The practical distinction between the two grades seems to have been one of wealth rather than blood. In the Arsinoite nome the title 'of the gymnasium' seems to be replaced by 'military settler of the 6475 Greeks in the Arsinoite nome'. This class evidently claimed, as descended from the Greek military settlers so thickly planted in the Arsinoite by the Ptolemies, pure Greek blood, a claim accepted by Hadrian when he enrolled some of its members in Antinoopolis. Neither the members of this class nor the members of the gymnasium had any financial privilege; they paid the same limited poll-tax as the other metropolites. Their distinction probably lay in their eligibility for the city magistracies, of which I must next speak.<sup>25</sup>

From the beginning of the first century A.D. the metropoleis possessed a body of what were called magistrates. Two of these, the gymnasiarch and the cosmete, were evidently the descendants of their namesakes of the Ptolemaic period. They still performed the same functions, but their character had undergone a change; the gymnasium had become a public institution, and its officers had become magistrates. It may be noted that the village gymnasia disappeared after the reign of Augustus; probably they were amalgamated in the gymnasium of the metropolis, when it was reorganized as a public institution. The origin of the *agoranomus*, who superintended the market and served as a public notary, was different. An *agoranomus*, who is known to us only as a public notary, existed in Ptolemaic times, but he was a royal official of the nome. In Roman times the *agoranomus* appears as one of the magistrates, and his duties as superintendent of the market, if not an innovation, were later to become more prominent. These three magistracies had thus existed in the metropoleis in Ptolemaic times, though not with the status of magistracies. The others seem to be innovations. The exegete was probably introduced from Alexandria. He was president of the board of magistrates, as his Alexandrian prototype was president of the *prytaneis*, and is even on occasion styled *archiprytanis*; in addition to his general functions as head of the city administration he exercised some delegated jurisdiction, notably in the appointment of guardians. The exegete can be traced back to the reign of Augustus. The remaining two magistrates do not appear until the second half of the second century and were probably, therefore, later additions to the board. They were the *archieus*, or high priest of the Hellenic

cult of the city, usually of the imperial cult, and the eutheniarch, whose duty it was to secure an adequate supply of provisions for the town, in particular to procure corn and get it milled and baked.<sup>26</sup>

These six posts were styled magistracies. Their tenure was evidently considered an honour, for those who had held them recorded the fact permanently by adding the titles *ex-gymnasiarch*, *ex-cosmete*, and so forth to their official styles, a thing which no public officials did except the very highest, the *strategus* and the royal scribe. Their investiture was a solemn ceremony of coronation, accompanied, in the case of the gymnasiarch at any rate, by a sacrifice in the gymnasium, and was considered an occasion for festivity; we can still read one of the invitations sent out by a proud father 'to dinner in the gymnasium on the occasion of his son's coronation'. They had external marks of honour, such as public attendants, four for the gymnasiarch—as many as for the *strategus*—two each for the *exegete* and *cosmete*, and one for the *agoranomi*. They seem to have formed a kind of college. They corresponded as a body with the central government on matters affecting the interests of the city as a whole, and had certain joint responsibilities, notably in the sphere of civic finance. They held meetings, and even, in conjunction with the 'people' of the metropolis, passed decrees.<sup>27</sup>

There is no evidence to show how the magistrates were appointed when they were first instituted, but I see no reason to doubt that they were, as their title implies, popularly elected. Their appointment certainly did not, even in later times, follow the same lines as that of the ordinary public officials of the metropolis. In the appointment of magistrates the scribe took no part; candidature was in origin, and always in principle, voluntary. The need for any election, however, gradually ceased, since it became, as time went on, increasingly difficult to find even one candidate for each post. The reason for this was that the magistracies involved heavy financial burdens, which tended to increase and in any case became relatively more and more oppressive as the general level of wealth sank. Each magistrate had, in accordance with the usual practice of the Roman world, to pay a coronation fee. He had further to pay out of his own pocket, if not the whole, at any rate a very large part, of the expenses of his sphere of the administration. In some cases these were very heavy. The gymnasiarch, for instance, had to pay for the provision of oil in the gymnasium and of fuel for the heating

of the gymnasium baths—the latter item alone cost one gymnasiarch 2,000 drachmae for his year of office. The eutheniarch similarly had to pay for the maintenance of mills and bakeries, and even apparently for the supply of corn; at any rate one former magistrate bequeathed a debt of 2,080 drachmae ‘for the price of corn’ purchased in connexion with ‘the superintendence of the corn-supply which he held’. In addition to this the magistrates, or at any rate the senior of them, were expected to contribute to needs of the town not directly concerned with their own administration. At Arsinoe, for instance, the expenses of the town water-supply were largely defrayed by subscriptions from the higher magistrates, 420 drachmae a month from the gymnasiarchs, 250 from the exegete, and 1,000 from the cosmete. At Oxyrhynchus on one occasion the senior magistrates, amongst them the exegete and cosmete, together subscribed 500 drachmae for a festival, on another the gymnasiarch gave 600 drachmae by himself for a similar purpose. These individual items, however, give but little idea of the total burden which each magistrate had to bear. How heavy this was appears from the situation which arose in A.D. 192 at Hermopolis, when a certain Achilles resolutely refused the office of cosmete as being beyond his means, but was willing to stand as exegete, on the understanding that he was to contribute two talents—12,000 drachmae. The expenses of the gymnasiarch were even heavier than those of the cosmete; at Hermopolis even after severe pruning they could only be reduced to four talents odd.<sup>28</sup>

In these circumstances, it was naturally difficult to secure candidates, especially for the more expensive posts. Various efforts were made to overcome the difficulty. The most obvious remedy was to reduce the expenses. This was tried; at the beginning of the second century the magistrates of Hermopolis were ordered by the prefect to suggest possible reductions in the expenses of the gymnasiarchy. Another remedy which was tried was to share a magistracy between several holders. The gymnasiarchy was in the second century normally held by two persons, who served alternate months. At Oxyrhynchus there were four eutheniarchs by the end of the second century, and the number of *agoranomi* had already risen to more than seven by the early second century.<sup>29</sup>

It nevertheless became increasingly difficult to obtain candidates for the magistracies, and it eventually became necessary to exercise compulsion. This compulsion was, however, carefully

veiled; the forms of voluntary candidature were preserved and the central government kept itself in the background. The system evolved can be deduced from the record of the proceedings at Hermopolis in A.D. 192, a summary of which I give here. The gymnasiarch and exegete in office appear before the tribunal of the *strategus*; with them are an advocate, Olympiodorus, the other gymnasiarch of the year, and Achilleus son of Cornelius. The crowd of bystanders from the city shouts: 'Let Achilleus be crowned to the office of cosmete! Imitate your father, the public-spirited old man!' This election by acclamation proves premature; for Achilleus replies: 'In deference to my city's call I accept the crowned office of exegete, on condition that I contribute two talents annually, and am released from the supervision of lands under lease.' The advocate Olympiodorus now steps in. 'The fortune of our lord the emperor provides magistracies in abundance and increases the prosperity of the city—and how should it be otherwise under the auspicious government of Larcus Memor? If then Achilleus wishes to be crowned to the office of exegete, let him pay the entrance fee forthwith; if not, he has none the less proposed himself for the office of cosmete, which is an urgent need.' Achilleus, however, is obstinate: 'I have accepted the office of exegete on condition of contributing two talents annually; I cannot manage the office of cosmete.' Olympiodorus retorts: 'Having accepted the greater office he ought not to take refuge in the lesser.' At this point a bystander quite irrelevantly accuses Achilleus of assault, and a wrangle begins which the *strategus* cuts short by ordering a record of the proceedings to be kept and summoning the cosmetes. They shortly arrive, and one of them, Diogenes, speaks as follows: 'We have heard that Achilleus has offered himself for the office of exegete in our absence. This was not legal, for the divine Antoninus ordered by a decree that there should not be admitted to the office of exegete except three candidates.' He then reads the decree. When it has been read, Aspidas, the father of Hermas, ex-cosmete, says: 'I crown Achilleus to the office of cosmete on my own responsibility.' Olympiodorus seizes on this pronouncement: 'We now have the declaration of Aspidas that he crowns him on his own responsibility. And he ought to be crowned, for now the office is assured to the city.' The *strategus* orders the minutes of the proceedings to be recorded, and the business is concluded. These minutes are followed by a letter to the *strategus* from the magistrates

summarizing the situation. 'Achilleus the son of Nearchides, also called Cornelius, *ex-agoranomus*, being urged to the office of *cosmete* by certain *cosmetes*, promised in your presence to take the office of *exegete*. When we pressed him to accept the office of *cosmete*, since the city did not possess many *cosmetes*, whereas there were several candidate *exegetes*, *Aspidas*, the father of *Hermas*, *ex-cosmete*, crowned him on his own responsibility to the office of *cosmete*. The magistracy being then assured to the city from one or other of them, notice is given to you so that you may cause action to be taken in accordance with the proceedings before you, and thus the city may receive the magistracy.' The letter is signed by the *exegete* and *gymnasiarch*.<sup>30</sup>

There is much in this account that is obscure, but certain facts emerge clearly. It is evident, in the first place, that candidature for office was voluntary in form. The *strategus* could not appoint; he was present merely to take official cognizance of the candidature, in order that he might later compel the candidate to fulfil his promise. Nor could the magistrates appoint; they could only lead the candidate before the *strategus* in the hope that he would yield to their moral suasion or to public opinion, as expressed in the shouts of the crowd. Nor again had the present and past holders of the office any power to appoint their successor, although it was apparently usual they should select the candidate. When *Achilleus*, the man they had selected, refused to fall in with their suggestion, they could only protest and urge legal objections to the alternative course which he had adopted. No one in fact could appoint, and a deadlock would have ensued, had not *Aspidas* boldly stepped in and 'crowned' *Achilleus* on his own responsibility. The meaning of this last phrase is clear from the magistrates' letter to the *strategus*. The office was by *Aspidas*' action assured to the city from one or other of two; that is, if *Achilleus* persisted in his refusal, *Aspidas* would have to undertake the office himself.

Several other points of interest emerge from the document. It appears that the cities endeavoured if possible to collect a group of candidates prepared to take up office when required; incidentally it may be noted that candidates tended to concentrate on the cheapest offices, and that *Marcus Aurelius* had tried to check this tendency by limiting the number of candidates admissible to certain offices. The word translated 'candidate' in the rendering of the official report given above means literally something like 'liable to succeed by lot'. It appears, therefore,

that the candidates balloted amongst themselves which was to take office; Achilleus, it may be noted, was willing, in his anxiety to avoid the office of cosmete, to undertake the 'crowned' office of exegete at once without standing his chance by the ballot. The emphasis in the official report on the fact that Aspidas was the father of an ex-cosmete is interesting. Aspidas' son, since he did not appear personally, was probably a minor, and Aspidas was thus virtually an ex-cosmete himself. This fact apparently had some bearing on the situation, and was, it may be suspected, Aspidas' real motive for nominating Achilleus. This implies that Aspidas, as being (virtually) ex-cosmete, still had certain liabilities which would be extinguished when a new candidate to the office came forward. What these liabilities were is indicated by Achilleus' promise to accept the crowned office of exegete on condition of contributing two talents annually. The term of active office was certainly at this period only a year. Evidently the ex-magistrates were not at once released from the liabilities of office but were compelled to go on subscribing to the expenses of the office for some indeterminate period, probably until there was a sufficiency of candidates to hold the post for the future. Candidates probably also had to subscribe before they took office; as Achilleus proposed to miss the candidate stage and take 'crowned' office at once, his words do not prove this, but otherwise an abundance of candidates would have reduced the revenues of the office.<sup>31</sup>

This system was crystallized a few years later by the formation of 'corporations' for each magistracy. Such a corporation first appears in A.D. 195, that of the cosmetes of Hermopolis; it is known to have contained two ex-cosmetes. It may be conjectured that the corporations consisted of a fixed number of members and included candidates, acting magistrates, and ex-magistrates. Ex-magistrates could thus only escape as more candidates came forward, and the whole body, owing to the desire of each individual member to work his way down the list and eventually gain his release, could be relied upon to do its best to keep up the supply of candidates. This was probably the primary object of the institution of the corporations; in the third century they certainly had the obligation of filling the magistracies. They were also from the first jointly responsible for the finances of the magistracy; in A.D. 195 it was the corporation of the cosmetes, and not the acting cosmete, which was paid a sum from the common funds of the city for the expenses of the



chariot races. In the third century an exegete was instructed that he was to be in charge, but that the expenses were to be met by 'the corporation of those of the order'. As time went on the corporations tended to supersede the magistrates. In the third century one of the duties of the gymnasiarchy, the provision of oil in the gymnasium, was undertaken in rotation for a few days at a time. How many persons shared the duty cannot be exactly calculated, but it can be estimated from the statement of one of them that he held the gymnasiarchy for five days in the year. All these persons cannot have been active gymnasiarchs, and some are actually stated to be 'about to be gymnasiarchs'. The probability therefore is that this duty was shared between the whole corporation.<sup>32</sup>

The corporations of the various magistracies together formed 'the corporation of the magistrates'. The first and only mention of this body is in A.D. 201 but it was probably instituted at the same time as the other corporations. It was shortlived, for its functions were swallowed up in those of the city councils which Septimius Severus instituted after his visit to Egypt in A.D. 199-200.<sup>33</sup>

The magistrates were in no sense the governing body of the metropolis. Their competence extended to a limited number of subjects only, the gymnasium, the ephebic training, the civic cult, the market, and the food-supply. In other spheres the central government exercised undisguised control. The administration of justice, of public security, and of the revenue lay entirely in the hands of the central government, acting through the *strategus* and the royal scribe and subordinate officials appointed by the system described above. Even in some matters which might be regarded as of a purely municipal character the magistrates had no authority. The register of the metropolites and the members of the gymnasium was, for instance, kept by the *strategus* and the royal scribe assisted by officials appointed for the purpose; the former, it is true, affected the revenue, since metropolitane status involved diminution of poll-tax, but the latter seems to be a purely civic matter. In the market and the food-supply the *strategus* had an overriding control; he inspected the market, and it was to him that the sworn undertakings of the producers to offer their products for sale on the market seem to have been addressed. Again, the town water-supply seems to have fallen outside the competence of the magistrates. In the accounts of this service at Arsinoe in A.D. 113, there is no evidence

that the officials concerned, the four curators of the aqueducts, reservoirs, and fountains, were magistrates, and the fact that the accounts of the water-service were kept quite separately and contain no allusion to the 'civic account' or the civic treasurer or the magistrates seems to me to indicate that it did not come under the competence of the city authorities. Again, in the erection and repair of civic buildings, such as the gymnasium and the temples, the magistrates seem to have taken little share, even when, as was often the case, they were erected from civic funds. The control was exercised by superintendents of the works, and the share of the magistrates in appointing these was a small one, if any. We possess only two pieces of evidence bearing on this question. In one instance the prefect orders the *strategus* to appoint new superintendents to replace those at present in office, whose inefficiency has been denounced to him by one of their number. In the other, two superintendents state that they had been designated by the scribe of the city on the proposal of the corporation of the magistrates. The latter document has been used as evidence for first- and second-century procedure. It dates, however, from A.D. 201, and represents the transition stage which was introduced by the creation of the corporation of the magistrates; the corporation may well have been given wider powers than the old board of magistrates. The intervention of the scribe of the city is a suspicious circumstance: he was a state official and is elsewhere known to nominate only to public posts. It looks then as if the designation by the scribe of the city was the old procedure, and the consultation of the corporation of magistrates an innovation.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, I must discuss the question of finance. I have already shown that a very large proportion of the expenses of the city was borne by the magistrates, who had each to pay out of his own pocket the costs of his own department, and had further to contribute to certain civic services not directly connected with their offices. It is, however, certain that the magistrates did not defray the whole expense of the civic administration; the maintenance of the gymnasium and its baths was, for instance, too heavy a burden for the gymnasiarch or gymnasiarchs to bear unaided, and there were also certain heavy non-recurrent items of expense, such as the repair, improvement, and erection of public buildings. Certain expenses must then have been met from other sources of revenue than the direct contributions of the magistrates. I must now discuss these other sources of

revenue. It may be premised that there is no indication that the magistrates were entitled to levy rates. It is possible that the gymnasiarchs had the right to levy supplies of fuel for the baths from the villages of the nome. The few documents which mention such a levy do not, however, make it plain whether it was a requisition or was paid for, and as the gymnasiarchs are known to have paid for some fuel it is possible that the levy in question was paid for. Another possible source of revenue may, I think, also be ruled out—subventions from the state treasury. A bath-tax existed, levied by public officials and paid into the state treasury. It may have been remitted to the gymnasiarchs for the maintenance of the baths; there is, however, no evidence that it was. A better-attested source of revenue was the coronation fees of the magistrates. Sundry other sources of revenues, attested only in the third century, probably existed in the first and second. Hermopolis drew rents from shop sites in the civic market and Oxyrhynchus similarly from shop sites in civic buildings—one under the east colonnade of the Capitol is mentioned in A.D. 261. At Oxyrhynchus, again, the position of cloak-room attendant in the gymnasium baths was leased by the city.<sup>35</sup>

The most important source of revenue was gifts or legacies, and the income of lands and invested funds acquired by gift or legacy. Some endowments may well have been of long standing. I have suggested above that the private gymnasia of the Ptolemaic era were many of them endowed, and these endowments would have continued to be applied to the support of the gymnasia when they were converted into public institutions. There are also several allusions to legacies in the Roman period. In A.D. 146 a certain Apollonius of Oxyrhynchus left a quarter of his estate to his native city on behalf of the gymnasiarchy, and in A.D. 202 a certain Aurelius Horeion bequeathed a large sum to the same city for the celebration of ephebic games. It is probable that the honorary title of 'perpetual gymnasiarch', which occurs at Hermopolis, was granted in recognition of gifts to the gymnasium.<sup>36</sup>

These funds, if ear-marked for a special purpose, were probably managed by the magistrates of the department concerned. A document from Oxyrhynchus dated A.D. 179 mentions a 'property of the gymnasiarchs', which was under the management of a special overseer. This probably represents the endowments of the gymnasium, though many other explanations have been put forward. A similar body of endowments at Hermopolis is probably alluded to in A.D. 107 as 'the property of the gymnasi-

archy'. Some endowments were, however, certainly vested in the city as a whole, and formed the 'city account' or the 'revenues of the city' to which allusions occur in the papyri. The administration of this public fund seems to have been conducted on different lines in the different metropoleis. At Hermopolis there was a 'treasurer of the civic and sacral moneys' who made payments to the magistrates from the fund. At Oxyrhynchus, on the other hand, the existence of a city treasurer is very doubtful. An official styled the treasurer occurs in some undated civic accounts of that city which the editors attribute to the late second century. If their dating is correct, he must have been a mere accountant, for he is conspicuous by his absence in the two financial transactions of Oxyrhynchus known to us before the Severan reform. One of these was a case of peculation in connexion with the making of a gold statue of Athena in A.D. 178. The prefect, being unable to apportion the guilt, ordered all concerned in the transaction to refund, and these are specified to be the magistrates of the year, the superintendents of the works, the contractor, and the inspector; no treasurer is mentioned. The other document is a demand note from the two superintendents of the repair of the Hadrianic baths for a payment from the city account; it is addressed to the gymnasiarch and exegete in office. It would appear, then, that at Oxyrhynchus the city funds were administered by the board of magistrates, actual payments being normally made by the two senior members of the board, the exegete as official president and the gymnasiarch as being in practice the most important. The magistrates had by no means a free hand in the management of the city funds. In a case which arose at Hermopolis in A.D. 107 about the expenses incurred in the rebuilding of the bath and the square, it was the *strategus* who appeared before the prefect and received instructions from him, and it was the *strategus*, again, who was ordered to report on the revenues of the city; neither magistrates nor treasurer made an appearance.<sup>37</sup>

The metropoleis of Egypt were, then, despite external appearances, far from possessing autonomy. It is doubtful how far they can be said to have possessed any corporate personality in law, for their capacity of receiving gifts and bequests and holding funds does not necessarily imply it. The villages, which certainly did not possess any corporate personality, shared that privilege; Aurelius Horeion bequeathed money to the metropolis of Oxyrhynchus for the celebration of ephebic games and to certain

villages of the Oxyrhynchite nome for the relief of liturgic officials in exactly the same terms, and for both bequests the approval of the emperor was required. It is difficult to say whether the metropoleis were still strictly, as they had been in Ptolemaic times, mere villages, that is, mere aggregations of population, distinguished from the other villages only in being the seat of government for the surrounding region, or whether they ranked as cities, a title which they frequently arrogated to themselves, and to which they had in fact, in the degree of autonomy which they enjoyed, as good a claim as Alexandria. They had, in fact, developed a certain communal life as well as the outward show of autonomous institutions. The wealthy Greeks and hellenized Egyptians who were admitted to the gymnasium were not only flattered by the titles and insignia of magistrates, but in practice, always under the supervision of the central government of course, were allowed to manage certain departments of the town administration. The central government kept such vital services as justice, security, and revenue strictly under its own control. The business of providing the social, cultural, and religious amenities of the town, and of supplying its material needs in food, it allowed to the local aristocracy. Incidentally, while thus gratifying the self-importance of the hellenized aristocracy, it saved itself considerable sums of money by making them pay for their share of the administration.<sup>38</sup>

The visit of Severus to Egypt, now dated to the winter of A.D. 199–200, is a turning-point in the history of the growth of autonomous institutions in the province. The only fact noted in our literary sources—and it betrays their inadequacy—is the restoration of its council to Alexandria, which thus from henceforth ranks once again as a normal autonomous city. From the papyri it appears that councils were at the same time established in the metropoleis. This step has been termed the municipalization of Egypt, but a more careful examination of the exact nature of the change will make it plain that that term is too strong. Full municipalization did not come till a century later, and the third century represents an intermediate stage.<sup>39</sup>

The new councils were probably enrolled by the central government from members of the gymnasium. They would naturally include the magistrates, the candidates for magistracies, and ex-magistrates, and must in fact have corresponded very closely in membership with recently created corporations of the magistrates, but were probably larger. They subsequently re-

cruited their numbers by co-optation. They were presided over by a new magistrate, the *prytanis*. His position was a very important one; not only did he make out the agenda of meetings and summon them and preside over them; he was the official channel of communication between the council and all with whom it had to deal; he was responsible to the central government for the due performance of its functions by the council; and he was in charge of and responsible for the municipal finances—all payments from the municipal funds were made through him, and he let or sold lands or houses which belonged, or had been assigned, to the city. On the method of his appointment the evidence is conflicting. A *prytanis* of Oxyrhynchus in about A.D. 289, in a letter to the prefect asking him to interpose his authority to compel recalcitrant members of the council to do their duty, states that he was appointed 'by his (the prefect's) fortunate right hand'. On the other hand, another *prytanis* of the same city, in the reign of Aurelian, stated at a meeting of the council that the law commanded that the *prytanis* designate be nominated six months in advance, and invited the council to make nominations, declining re-election himself on the score of ill health. The solution probably is that the office was elective, but that the election required confirmation by the prefect.<sup>40</sup>

The principal business of the council was the election of a large number of magistrates. It may be as well to describe first what the process of election was. When a post fell vacant or the central government ordered the election of a magistrate for some special duty, the responsibility rested with the *prytanis*. He might in cases of special urgency summon a meeting of the council *ad hoc*; normally he would put the matter on the agenda of the next regular meeting. When the council had met, he invited nominations. The obligation to nominate for the old metropolitan magistracies lay with the respective corporations; in other cases—for some of the new magistracies and for membership of the council—it lay with the members of one of the tribes into which, as will be explained later, the population of the metropolis was divided; in yet other cases the existing magistrate seems to have nominated his successor. If the appropriate authority nominated, and the candidate accepted, the matter was concluded. If the candidate was unwilling to accept, and could find no legal ground for exemption, he could surrender two-thirds of his property to his nominator and compel him to undertake the office himself. If any one with legal ground for exemp-

tion was nominated in absence, he could, if protests to his nominator produced no result, sue him in the courts within a statutory time limit, and, if he could prove his case, the nominator would have to propose some one else. On the other hand, if the nominating authority refused to nominate, a deadlock ensued. The *prytanis* seems to have been ultimately responsible for seeing that posts were filled. He therefore might in desperation make a nomination himself, and this is perhaps what led to the situation revealed to us in Hermopolis in A.D. 250, where the father of a young man nominated for the office of cosmete relinquished two-thirds of his property, and told the *prytanis* to undertake the office himself. When a similar situation arose rather later at Oxyrhynchus the *prytanis* more prudently appealed to the central government to intervene.<sup>41</sup>

This is the process of election by the council as revealed in the minutes of meetings and records of legal proceedings which we possess. No voting is ever recorded, nor was there ever occasion for a division; candidates protested and other members supported or opposed their protests, but the council never had to decide between two rival candidates—it was thankful to get one. The council was, however, deemed to have elected the magistrates thus appointed in its presence and was accordingly held responsible for their proper performance of their functions.<sup>42</sup>

We must now consider what magistrates were 'elected by the council' in the manner described above. In the first place, the council now elected the old magistrates, the superintendents of public works, and its own *prytanis*, all of whom were concerned with the affairs of the metropolis. In the second place, it elected a considerable number of magistrates whose duties concerned the general administration of the nome. Some of these had been officials of the central government under the old régime. Such were the nomarch, who collected a group of taxes; the public banker, who managed the central treasury of the nome; the distributors of seed-corn to the tenants of state lands; the collectors of the taxes on catoecic land; and the superintendents of the flooding and sowing of the land. Other offices, of which the most important was the *decaprotia*, were innovations. The *decaproti*, of whom there were two for each toparchy, superseded several of the groups of officials named above, supervising, as assistants of the *strategus*, almost the whole administration of the land revenue. They saw to the repair of dams and canals before the annual flood, supervised the sale of unproductive state lands,

checked land declarations, dealt with recalcitrant tenants of state lands, saw to the dispatch of the corn destined for shipment to Rome, and, finally, collected land taxes and land rents, both in money and kind. Other new offices were less onerous. There were the numerous officials concerned in the collection, transport, and delivery of the *annona*, the compulsory requisitions of food-stuffs, clothing, and other materials for the use of the army, which were at this period becoming a more and more regular charge on the tax-payers; the managers of the various imperial estates in the nome, who worked under the orders of the *procurator usiacus* at Alexandria; the superintendents of the Egyptian temples, who took over from the priests the management of the temple finances under the supervision of the High Priest of Alexandria and All Egypt; and the inspectors of the state lands assigned to the council. This last post requires some further explanation. When the state found difficulty in letting its lands—that is, when no one came forward voluntarily to undertake their lease—it sometimes assigned them compulsorily either to private landowners in the neighbourhood or to public bodies, such as the community of the village, that is to say, these persons or public bodies had to pay the rent fixed by the government for the land, and had to recover the money as best they could, either by cultivating it themselves or sub-letting it; the latter course was naturally that normally followed by a public body. This practice was already in vogue in the early principate. In the third century it was extended also to the metropoleis, who now through their councils were organized bodies on which responsibility could be fixed.<sup>43</sup>

In this way the council through the magistrates which it elected took over, or rather shared with the central officials, the responsibility for many departments of the nome administration—the central treasury, the land revenue, certain taxes, the *annona*, the imperial estates, the Egyptian temples. This reorganization, important though it was, did not, however, amount to the municipalization of Egypt, that is, to the conversion of the metropolis into a city and of the nome into its territory. It must be emphasized that at this date Egypt was still governed by a centralized bureaucracy and its subdivisions were still departments of the central administration. The nomes still subsisted and were governed as before by the *strategi* and their assistants, the royal scribes. The metropoleis were still the administrative capitals of the nomes; but they were now also autonomous communities,



possessing in their councils a regular machinery for the management of their municipal affairs. They also, through their councils, took a part in the administration of the nomes, but their part was subordinate. The *strategi* were still ultimately responsible for the proper government of their nomes, and the councils only shared in that responsibility as their assistants. This fact is exemplified throughout the whole routine of the administration. In the first place, the magistrates which the council elected to take part in the government of the nome were elected on the orders of the *strategus*. In the minutes of the council of Oxyrhynchus the *prytanis* opens the proceedings by reading letters from the *strategus* instructing the council to elect a public banker and certain *annona* officials. The head of the imperial estates administration at Alexandria, when dissatisfied with their management, writes to the *strategi*, ordering them to cause one manager for each estate to be elected on the responsibility of the councils. In the second place, these magistrates acted under the orders of the *strategi*, who were with the council jointly responsible for their proper fulfilment of their duties. Thus it is the *strategus* who is ordered to produce the heirs of a deceased *decaprotus* and is warned that he will be answerable for any delay in the dispatch of the tribute corn which may result from the failure to produce them. It is to the *strategus* that the *decaproti* report the cultivators of state lands when they are disobedient. Similarly, in the repair of dams and canals and the sale of unproductive state lands the *decaproti* act jointly with the *strategus*, that is, as his assistants.<sup>44</sup>

Even in those departments in which the council took a part, its part was thus a subordinate one. From some departments it was excluded altogether. Justice was still a reserved subject of the central government. Public security is a doubtful case. A number of new police officials appear during the third century, the irenarchs or wardens of the peace of the nome and the toparchies and the captains of the night-watch of the metropolis. There is no direct evidence how these officers were appointed. The wardens of the peace were probably nominated by the central government but I shall adduce evidence below which suggests that the captain of the night-watch was elected by the council.<sup>45</sup>

In the appointment of minor officials, both in the villages and in the metropolis itself, the council had no share. The village officials were still appointed on the old system: the village clerk, or his successors, the comarchs, nominated, the *strategus* ap-

pointed. In the appointment of the minor officials of the metropolis a series of changes took place which eventually made the system more democratic but which left it still outside the council's sphere. The population of the metropolis had always for purposes of registration been grouped in wards. This grouping was now adapted to the appointment of minor officials. Where the wards were too large for the purpose, as at Hermopolis, where there were only four, they were probably subdivided; in other places, as at Oxyrhynchus, where they were too numerous, they were grouped in larger units, known officially, in imitation of city usage, as tribes; this term took a long time to oust the old in popular speech but eventually became universal in all the metropoleis. The system now established was that the wards or tribes took it in turn year by year, in an order fixed by lot by the *epistrategus*, to supply officials. The officer who made the presentation was known at first as the *amphodogrammateus* or scribe of the ward, later as the phylarch or chief of the tribe. The method by which this officer was appointed at first is unknown, and it has been suggested, on the basis of a series of documents dating from A.D. 216 to 217, which mention 'a scribe of the ward in the lot' as the successor of the scribe actually in office, that he was appointed as the old scribe of the city had been, by the *epistrategus* by lot out of a list of candidates presented by his predecessor. By A.D. 254, however, a different system was in vogue at Oxyrhynchus. In that year the *strategus* ordered the members of the wards about to officiate in the coming year to assemble in the accustomed place and nominate whomsoever they might choose possessing the requisite property and personal qualifications as phylarch. The allusion to the accustomed place shows that the procedure was an old-established one, and it may well date back to the first establishment of the ward or tribe system; the allusion to the lot in the documents mentioned above may refer to the selection of the ward or tribe, which we know was by lot, and not to that of its scribe. The people, thus, by electing their own nominating officer, acquired a very limited degree of autonomy, parallel but unconnected with the fuller degree of autonomy enjoyed by the aristocracy.<sup>46</sup>

The financial status of the metropoleis in the third century presents an even more complicated tangle than in the second. There were two treasuries in the metropolis, the public bank, and the civic account, managed respectively by the banker of public moneys, and the treasurer. Both were elected by the

council, but the functions of the two institutions were different, and the degree of control exercised over them by the council differed correspondingly. The public banker was elected on the order of the *strategus*, and therefore presumably acted as his subordinate, although the council would be responsible for his good conduct. The treasurer of the civic account, on the other hand, acted under the orders of the *prytanis*, who was responsible for the conduct of the civic finances. The financial system of the metropoleis remained on much the same footing as in the second century. As before the expenses of the various departments of the administration were largely borne by the magistrates in charge of them; the *prytanis* also had to take his share—one alludes to 'the expenses devolving upon me for the administration of the public baths and the remaining civic disbursements'. The civic fund, out of which the payments of the magistrates were supplemented and extraordinary expenses defrayed, had now a more regular organization. It had its treasurer, and there was a civic audit in which the accounts were regularly checked. Its sources of revenue were much the same as before. They included the coronation fees of the magistrates, and perhaps of the newly elected councillors; the rents of land and house property belonging to the city, and the interest of investments; and the rent of sites in the municipal market and in other public buildings. There is little convincing evidence for the existence of municipal taxes, but a sixty-drachma rate on houses which was levied at Hermopolis in the third century may have been municipal. The document in which it occurs is a letter addressed by an exegete designate to the council, in which he states that he has received instructions from them, and is acting in accordance with the minutes of proceedings in the council. The absence of any allusion to the central government would be remarkable if a state tax were in question, and it is therefore not improbable that this rate, the accounts of which were audited by a city magistrate, appointed to this duty by the council and acting in accordance with its decisions, did flow into the city account. The outgoings are for the same purposes as before; they are chiefly payments to superintendents of the works or contractors for the repair, improvement, or erection of public buildings. In two sets of accounts from Oxyrhynchus dated by the editors to the end of the second century, but in my view more probably from the beginning of the third, other items occur, sacrifices and festivals in the theatre, processions, the heating of the baths, and the

water-supply, now a municipal service. Two items are of especial interest. One is a payment to the public bank for the monopoly of certain types of bakery; this implies that the city, acting presumably through the eutheniarchs, had taken over the production of bread for the town. The other is a payment to a person in charge of the fifty night-watchmen; from this it would appear that the city paid for its police force, and therefore probably elected its commander.<sup>47</sup>

Thus far the functions of the civic account are purely municipal. It seems, however, to have had certain public functions also; certain state revenues were paid into it, or rather through it into the state treasury. This is made clear by a letter from a third-century *prytanis* of Oxyrhynchus to the *strategus*, in which, 'in order to prevent the collection of the most sacred treasury from being impeded', he submits a list of 'those from whom are to be demanded sums which they owe accruing to the city for the payment of the sums paid from the account of the city'. Some, then, at any rate, of the financial officials elected by the council paid the revenue they collected into the civic account. One who certainly did so was the nomarch; in a series of receipts, dating from A.D. 227 to 231, payments made 'through the officials elected to manage the business of the nomarchia' are stated to pass to 'the account of the council', which can only be another name for the civic account. Another class of state revenues which passed through the civic account was the rents of state lands assigned to the council. We possess a series of offers to rent land and houses from the civic account, addressed to the *prytanis*, from Hermopolis in the year A.D. 266, and it is probable that these lands and houses were not the property of the city but assigned to it. In one instance some house property is specified to have been assigned to the city by a central official; the omission of any specific statement to this effect in the other cases does not prove that they concern city property, for this instance is an offer to purchase, not to rent, and the prospective purchaser was naturally more interested in the title of the property than prospective tenants. The purchase money for the house property went to the civic account, and it is stated that hitherto the civic account had drawn no revenue from the property owing to its ruinous condition. Here, then, the civic account received whatever profit came in from the assigned land, and presumably paid the central government whatever rent it had imposed.<sup>48</sup>

The constitutional situation in the third century may then be

described as a kind of dyarchy. The metropoleis managed their municipal affairs without much interference from the central government, the central government managed the public administration of the nomes partly by itself, partly with the co-operation of the metropoleis. Severus' motives for establishing this curious system are not difficult to divine. He was certainly not moved by any idealistic desire to promote local autonomy. The half-hearted character of the changes proves this. He was careful to reserve the control of every department of administration to the central government, and the cities were only granted the privilege of supplying the personnel. The real object of the reform was to secure for the government a reliable supply of officials, all financially well guaranteed. The system of liturgic service as elaborated in the first century A.D. was by now beginning to break down. The scribes of the metropoleis were finding it increasingly difficult to find suitable persons to nominate for offices; they sent in the names of persons who were financially unqualified or could claim exemption; and often too the persons appointed absconded. The government had then no alternative but to demand supplementary nominations from the scribe. If these were unsatisfactory it could as a last resort proceed against the scribe, but he could not fill all the posts to which he nominated, and his property, if confiscated, would not cover the whole of the government's loss. The weak point in the system was the scribe; what was required was something to take his place which should have greater authority and greater financial resources. Severus saw what was required in the corporations of the magistrates, which had, as I have shown, grown up to meet a similar need. There was in each metropolis a body of wealthy men organized to supply candidates for the metropolitan magistracies. The obvious step was to make them supply candidates for the public offices as well, and Severus accordingly laid this duty upon them, granting them in compensation the title of councils. In future the councils had to supply the officials of medium grade, to replace them if they were unsuitable or if they absconded, and to pay up if their liabilities exceeded their assets when their term of office was over. On the other hand, the wealthy residents of the metropoleis had the satisfaction of being styled councillors and of being 'elected by the council' instead of 'nominated by the scribe'. They also had the more solid satisfaction of settling among themselves who should be the victim instead of being selected for the sacrifice by an outside power. The offices of the

highest grade, those of *strategus* and royal scribe, the government had no difficulty in filling; it therefore retained their appointment in its hands, and used them to control the councils. The offices of the lowest grade did not matter so much; but here also, as I have explained, communal responsibility was introduced in the metropoleis by means of the tribe system.<sup>49</sup>

The municipalization of Egypt was taken a stage further by Diocletian in A.D. 297, when he reorganized the country at the time of the rebellion of Domitius Domitianus, and was completed soon afterwards. The country was divided into smaller provinces. The nome of Libya (with Ammoniacae and Marmarice) now became a separate province. The *epistrategia* of the Thebaid also became a province. About A.D. 315 the remainder of the country was divided into two provinces, Aegyptus Herculia, comprising the Heptanomia and the eastern Delta, and Aegyptus Jovia, comprising the rest of the Delta. These provinces were reamalgamated in A.D. 324, but once again separated in A.D. 341 and renamed Augustamnica and Aegyptus respectively. This step was a necessary concomitant of municipalization, for the heavier the duties devolved upon the local authorities the more supervision they required, and a single prefect of Egypt would have been incapable of the task. As time went on further subdivision was found necessary; at the end of the fourth century the Heptanomia was detached from Augustamnica, becoming the separate province of Arcadia, and later the Thebaid, Augustamnica, and Aegyptus were successively divided into two.<sup>50</sup>

The conversion of the nomes into cities was marked by a sweeping change in official terminology. The term metropolis was now inaccurate, and it fairly soon disappeared—the latest instance of its use is in A.D. 320—in favour of the correct term city. The term nome was likewise now officially abolished, but it was too firmly fixed in popular usage to give way to the correct terms, which were not so convenient; ‘city’ was ambiguous—it might refer to the town only or to the town and its territory—and phrases such as ‘the city and villages within your boundaries’ though precise, were cumbersome. So, although the correct phraseology was often employed, the word nome by no means passed out of use and in fact survived down to the Arab period. In Arabic, on the other hand, the correct terminology was adopted; in the early centuries of Arab rule the administrative divisions of Egypt, which corresponded very closely with the Byzantine cities, were styled *kura*,

the transliteration of *χώρα*, territory (of a city), and not nome. It may be noted in this connexion that the name of the metropolis ought to have superseded the name of the nome. This was far from being the case universally. In many cases the only change required would have been the dropping of the adjectival termination, *-ites*, but even this was often not done; Hermopolis and Hermopolites, Oxyrhynchus and Oxyrhynchites occur indifferently in the papyri. Where the name of the nome and the metropolis had been different, usage varied from place to place as to which was adopted as the title of the city. In the Byzantine city lists we find, for instance, that Thmuis, Taua, Niciu, Pachnemunis, Panephrisis, and Buto have superseded the names of the nomes of which they had been metropoleis, the Mendesian, Phthemphuthi, the Prosopite, the Lower Sebennytic, Nesyt, and Phthenetu. Naturally too Ptolemais has prevailed over the Thinite, and Hermopolis Minor over 'the Territory of the Alexandrians'—an impossible name for a city. On the other hand, Sethroites was preferred to Heracleopolis Parva, Menelaïtes to Canopus, and, more curious, Arabia to Phacusa.<sup>51</sup>

The subdivisions of the nome also changed their name; instead of the toparchy we now find the *pagus*, the regular Latin term for the subdivision of a city territory. In the personnel of the administration there was a corresponding change in nomenclature. The *decaprotus* gave place to *praepositus pagi*. The nomarch and royal scribe disappeared, apparently without being replaced. The *strategus* ought likewise to have disappeared, but the title survived for over half a century at Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis, where it is still found as late as A.D. 362 and 369. Here too, however, as in other places, the title gives way to that of *exactor civitatis*, first found in a document of A.D. 309, and thereafter not infrequently; the practical equivalence of the two titles is shown by their being actually equated in this document and in several others, in A.D. 322 at Hermopolis for instance, and as late as A.D. 369-70 in the Great Oasis. The irenarchs of the nome were replaced by the *riparii*. Finally, two important new magistrates were introduced into the cities, the *curator civitatis*, whose first certain appearance is in A.D. 304, and the *defensor*, who is probably a rather later creation; he is first mentioned in A.D. 331.<sup>52</sup>

The theory of the reforms was that the central government ceased to maintain agents in the metropoleis, entrusting the entire administration of each district to the city council and exercising supervision only through the provincial governors.

In accordance with this theory such central officials as still survived in the nomes were abolished, and new civic magistrates were created to take their place. An examination of the method by which the new magistrates were appointed suggests, however, that the change was, at first at any rate, more formal than real. The *exactor*, who took over the most important function of the *strategus*, the assessment and collection of the taxes, was at first appointed by the central government. This is implied in the Theodosian Code, which speaks of *exactores* of equestrian rank and is confirmed by an amusing letter written in A.D. 345 by the *prytanis* of Arsinoe, in which he charges an influential friend of his who is going to court to obtain for him letters of appointment to the post of *exactor* from the emperors, and promises to reimburse him for all 'expenses' incurred. By A.D. 386, however, the post was according to the evidence of the Code elective. The change in the position of the *exactor*, or rather *exactores*, since the post was by now shared between two or more holders, is illustrated by a late fourth-century letter from the provincial governor to the *exactores* and presidents of Hermopolis, in which he threatens not only them themselves but their entire council with ruin if long-standing arrears of *annona* are not paid up; the fact that the council and its presidents share the responsibility of the *exactores* shows that they elected them. There is little local evidence for the method of appointment of the other two principal magistrates, the *curator*, who took over from the *prytanis* the management of the municipal finances, now including the supervision of the village finances, and the *defensor*, who exercised minor jurisdiction, now for the first time delegated on any large scale to the local authorities. According to the Codes, however, the history of the *defensor* followed much the same lines as that of the *exactor*. The *defensor* was originally appointed by the praetorian prefect, and was chosen from the higher grades of the civil service, decurions being specifically excluded. It was not till A.D. 387 that the praetorian prefects were ordered to appoint by preference those whom the cities chose by a decree. The office thus became in fact if not in form elective, and soon sank in esteem; by the beginning of the fifth century decurions are found holding it. The *curator* had also originated as commissioner of equestrian or even senatorial rank appointed by the emperor; in Egypt, however, he probably soon sank to be an elected municipal magistrate who was merely confirmed in office by the government. For the chiefs of police of the fourth century, the *riparii* and the



commanders of the night-watch, the evidence is scanty, but as both offices were generally filled by members of the council they were probably elective.<sup>53</sup>

The election of the *prytanis* or, as he was now more often called, the *proedrus* or *propoliteuomenus*, remained presumably as before in the hands of the council; his functions were now considerably reduced by the transfer to the *curator* of the municipal finance, and he retained only the presidency of the council, to which was added a small amount of delegated jurisdiction. The *praepositi pagorum* were, like their predecessors the *decaproti*, elected by the council. So, too, were presumably those members of the old board of metropolitan magistrates whose survival can be traced into this period, who included, strange to say, the *archiereus*. The managers, or *conductores*, of various public services, including the post, and the various higher officials concerned in the assessment, collection, transport, and delivery of the taxes, including the *annona*, were also elected by the council.<sup>54</sup>

The term election is not perhaps quite correct. Strictly speaking the council nominated or recommended, and the central government appointed. The councillors of Oxyrhynchus in a debate held in A.D. 370 lay great emphasis on this point. One after another they get up and repeat that the appointments have been made by the prefect of Egypt, and have even been sent up to the emperors and praetorian prefects, and only add occasionally, as a kind of afterthought, that they have been made with the approval of the whole council. All this is, however, not to be taken too seriously. They had a very good motive for exaggerating the part played by the prefect and minimizing their own share in the proceedings, and that motive was that they did not wish the arrangements already made for the distribution of offices to be disturbed, as the *prytanis* had been attempting to do. The simplest way of securing this object was to press the point that it was a higher power than they—the prefect of Egypt, or even with a stretch of the imagination the emperors themselves and the praetorian prefects—that made the appointments, and that they could not alter them. The truth probably was that elections did require the nominal sanction of the central government.<sup>55</sup>

The appointment of minor officials now also came indirectly into the hands of the council through the magistrates which it elected. The method of appointment was still by presentation, by the comarchs in the case of village officials, by the nominating officers of the tribes, which as before served in rotation, in the

case of minor city officials, but the authorities to whom the nominations were made and who made the appointments were now the city magistrates. Village officials were appointed by the *praepositus pagi*, town officials by the relevant magistrate. Presentations to minor collectorships of taxes were made to the *exactor*; those for the city police to the commander of the night-watch in some cities, e.g. Hermopolis, to the *riparii*, the heads of the whole police administration, in others; at Oxyrhynchus, at any rate, the commanders of the night-watch complained to the *riparii* for not supplying them with an adequate personnel. Presentations to minor posts in the central administration or to the public *corvée* were generally made to the *curator*.<sup>56</sup>

The municipal finances as usual present a difficult problem. The confusion is largely caused by the growing prevalence of the solecism, condemned by Ulpian, by which the word 'public', properly applicable only to the property of the Roman people, was used as an equivalent of 'civic'. A flagrant example of this confusion of terms is supplied by an Oxyrhynchite document of A.D. 316, in which the guild of smiths acknowledge a payment for 'public civic works' from 'the banker of public moneys of the civic bank'. A banker appears elsewhere also in the municipal finances at this period; in 309, for instance, he was ordered by the *prytanis* to pay the wages of the bath attendants, and in 324 a 'banker of public moneys' paid a village for charcoal for the public bath. The conclusion to which these documents point is that the civic account was suppressed, and its functions taken over by the public bank, now termed indifferently public or civic. With this conclusion accords the disappearance of the city treasurer.<sup>57</sup>

It is very doubtful whether the civic or public bank was still concerned in the state finances. By the latter part of the fourth century it certainly was not. From a series of receipts dated to A.D. 375-7, it appears that the collectors of taxes made payments direct to the *chrysones*, the provincial treasurer, who acknowledged them as being made 'on behalf of your city'. At what date this system was introduced is not known, but the provincial treasurers and their treasuries existed early in the fourth century; a papyrus dated A.D. 335 mentions a *chrysones*, and a 'bank of the province' is recorded in A.D. 339. The most natural supposition would be that the provincial treasurers and treasuries were instituted at the same time that the provinces were formed, or soon after, and that they immediately took over the duty of receiving the state taxes.<sup>58</sup>

The cities of Egypt thus attained by the end of the fourth century such degree of autonomy as the cities of the empire possessed at that date. The autonomy was, it is true, only accorded to them that they might the better fulfil the orders of the central government, but they did at least elect the agents through which these orders were carried out, and they did control their municipal affairs, including the public security and minor jurisdiction. Their constitution was of course, as it was everywhere at this date, strictly oligarchical; the council was co-optative and controlled the entire administration. It is interesting to note, however, that the people did hold official meetings. There is proof of this in a very curious document, the minutes of a public meeting, dating from the late third or early fourth century. It consists very largely of repeated acclamations in honour of the emperors, the governor, the *catholicus*, and especially the *prytanis*, about whom the people demand that a decree be passed on that very day. The *prytanis* replies, 'I welcome the honour from you and am deeply pleased at it; but I beg that such testifications be postponed to a lawful occasion, when you may confer them securely and I may receive them without danger.' After further acclamations the syndic proposes to transfer the matter to the council. From this it would appear that the people was capable of passing honorary decrees, although in this case there was some irregularity—probably that the decree had not received the preliminary approval of the council according to regular constitutional practice. That this meeting was official is clear from the very fact that minutes of it were kept.<sup>59</sup>

The process of municipalization was now complete. Diocletian's motive for the reorganization of Egypt seems to have been a desire for uniformity. He apparently disliked anomalies as such; he abolished, for instance, the distinctive Egyptian method of dating by regnal years. If he disliked so trifling a variation from uniformity, he must have been horrified at the highly peculiar system of administration which had gradually grown up there in haphazard fashion. In point of fact the Egyptian system of administration differed but little by the end of the third century from that of the other provinces. The growing decentralization in Egypt had been balanced by a growing centralization elsewhere, and it was only the theory and the terminology that differed. Egypt was theoretically divided into administrative departments, in each of which was a council which assisted the officials of the central government. The other provinces were groups of cities where councils were

supervised by officials of the central government. All that was needed therefore was to sweep away the old terminology which was based on the centralized system, and Egypt became an ordinary province. In practice, the councils of the new cities had hardly more authority than had the councils of the metropoleis of the nomes. It was only gradually that more authority was devolved to them as the hand of the central government grew weaker.

It only remains now to examine what were the cities which enjoyed the constitution described above, and what districts, if any, remained under bureaucratic rule. We do not unfortunately possess for the third, fourth, or fifth century any systematic survey of Egypt. It is not until the sixth century that we once more reach firm ground, in the city-lists of Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius. It is, however, possible in some cases to bridge the gap with the assistance of episcopal lists, casual references in the authors, both secular and ecclesiastical, and the papyri.<sup>60</sup>

The general conclusion which arises from a study of these sources is that the metropoleis and nomes of the third century correspond with the cities of the later period, although the process of division which had been in progress for three centuries did not cease. Before entering on the systematic survey of Egypt which will substantiate the statement, it will be as well to state the two principal exceptions to the rule, the Libyan nome, and the district of Casiotis. These regions were obviously unsuited to the normal scheme of development. They were very large areas, consisting for the most part of desert, and their population was scattered in numerous small towns, all of about equal size and importance. They could be administrative units under a centralized régime; but if a devolution of authority was to take place, their unity could no longer be maintained, for no one town would contain a sufficient number of wealthy inhabitants to form a council capable of shouldering the responsibility for the whole district, and difficulties of communication would prevent the formation of a council selected from all the towns; councillors could not make journeys of forty or fifty miles through difficult country to attend every meeting. Accordingly, these districts were split up into a number of cities. Each of the stations along the Pelusium-Gaza road, Gerae, Aphnaeum, Pentaschoenum, Casium, Ostracine, and Rhinocolura, became a separate city. Similarly in Libya, besides the existing city of Paraetonium, four new cities appear, Zygris, Zagylis, Antiphræ, and Pedonia. All these are listed by Ptolemy as villages of the nome.<sup>61</sup>

How early this change took place we cannot say, but the new arrangement was already in force early in the fourth century. Ammianus Marcellinus writing about the middle of the century, refers to Casium, Ostracine, and Rhinocolura as *municipia*, and mentions the 'few insignificant municipalities' of Libya. Sozomenus relates an anecdote which shows that Gerae, which he terms 'a small city', had a bishop under Arcadius. The *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, written in A.D. 362, includes signatures from the bishops of Zygris and Antiphrae. It seems probable, then, that the reorganization of these regions coincided with the municipalization of the rest of Egypt at the end of the third century.<sup>62</sup>

In the Thebaid Hierocles and Georgius agree in giving Antinoopolis, the fifteen nomes of the second century, and four additional cities. Two of these are in the upper province; they are Maximianopolis and Diocletianopolis, both founded under the tetrarchy. The other two, in the lower province, were both cut out of the large Hermopolite nome. One, Cusae, had been an important village which gave its name to two toparchies of the nome, the Upper and Lower Cusite. The last datable reference to it as a village occurs in A.D. 262; the earliest precisely datable reference to it as an independent nome is in A.D. 300. It is an interesting fact that Cusae had been the capital of an ancient Egyptian nome (XIV). The other, Theodosiopolis, had been, under the name of Tou, a village of the Lower Patemite toparchy of the same nome; it is not known which Theodosius raised it to city rank.<sup>63</sup>

In Arcadia, Hierocles and Georgius agree in giving seven cities which correspond with the seven old nomes, and two others, Theodosiopolis and Nilopolis. The former seems to be merely a second name of Arsinoe which it follows. The latter is recorded by Ptolemy as a village of the Heracleopolite, but had already by the latter part of the third century become the metropolis of a separate nome.<sup>64</sup>

In the Delta the problem is more complicated and must be dealt with in greater detail. Augustamnica II, the eastern half of the upper Delta, contains six cities all of which were formerly nomes, Leontopolis, Athribis, Heliopolis, Bubastis, Pharbaethus, and Arabia. Augustamnica I, the north-eastern Delta, contains besides the six cities of Casiotis mentioned above and Pelusium, four cities corresponding to the old nomes, Tanis, Sethroites, Thmuis, the capital of the Mendesian nome, and Panephrisis, the capital of Nesyt. To these both Hierocles and Georgius add one other city, Hephaestus, which was a bishopric in A.D. 431,

when its bishop subscribed to the Council of Ephesus. Besides these Georgius gives two other names, one of which, 'Itageros', I take to be a dittography of 'Geros' (Gerae) which it follows, and the other is Thennesus. This was an island in the lagoons at the north-eastern corner of the Delta, and is described as a city by John Cassianus in his account of his visit to Egypt at the end of the fourth century. It was only logical to separate such a town from the nome to which it was presumably attached under the old régime and give it a separate organization when cities were established. The origin of the city may therefore be dated with confidence to the end of the third century. Hierocles substitutes an otherwise unknown 'Scenna', which is perhaps merely a corruption of Thennesus.<sup>65</sup>

In Aegyptus, Hierocles gives, besides Alexandria and Naucratis, fifteen cities which had been nomes in the second century. They are Hermopolis (the Territory of the Alexandrians), Metelis, Sais, Buto (Phthenetu), Andropolis, Niciu (the Prosopite), Onuphis, Taua (Phthemphuthi), Menelaïtes, Cabasa, Pachnemunis (the Lower Sebennytic), Sebennytus (the upper nome), Busiris, Lower Diospolis, and Xoïs. One former nome, Mareotes, which is mentioned as a city by Georgius and in Justinian's thirteenth edict, he wrongly omits. In addition to these he gives two cities which are known from papyri and ostraca to have been nomes in the third century. The Lower Cynopolite is first mentioned in a papyrus of A.D. 291; Cynopolis had been in the nome of Busiris, with which it still shared a bishop in the early fourth century. The Phlabonite is first recorded in a third-century ostrakon. Hierocles adds one more city to this list—Cleopatris. Its existence as a city can be traced back only as far as A.D. 312, but it is conceivable that it was a late Ptolemaic foundation. Georgius adds five more cities. The first, Schedia, is mentioned by Strabo as the port of Alexandria for the river traffic, and the customs-station between Alexandria and Egypt; it had apparently been in the Menelaïte nome but was probably already a separate city in A.D. 362 when a bishop of Schedia and Menelaïtes is mentioned in the *Tomus ad Antiochenos*. Of Georgius' other four cities little is known. Zenonopolis is recorded in the Coptic Notitiae, Paphna in a Greek Notitia under the form Phatanus. The other two, Costus and Sondra, are otherwise unknown.<sup>66</sup>

There remain only the three oases. Hierocles gives all three, Ammoniace, the Oasis, and the Great Oasis, as cities in Libya, Aegyptus, and the Thebaid respectively. Georgius gives Ammo-

niace under Libya. The Lesser Oasis he probably conceals under the name Terenuthis in Aegyptus I. Terenuthis, which lay on the western edge of the upper Delta, had been in the second century a village of the Prosopite nome. It became in the Byzantine period the head-quarters of the nitre monopoly owing to its convenient proximity to the Wadi Natrun, and had by A.D. 404, at which date its bishop is mentioned in a paschal epistle of Theophilus, become an episcopal see. It appears from a letter written in A.D. 346 by a high official in the nitre monopoly that the operations of the monopoly extended to the Oasis. It is therefore a plausible suggestion that the Lesser Oasis, the Wadi Natrun, and Terenuthis formed a single *civitas*, which might be known either as Oasis or Terenuthis. The fact that Hierocles lists the Oasis under Aegyptus, and not under Arcadia, to which—or rather to its forerunner the Heptanomia—it had been attached in the third century, confirms this hypothesis; for it shows that the Oasis had some connexion with the western Delta. The Great Oasis of the Thebaid is split up by Georgius into four villages, Hibis, Matha, Trimuntha, and Herba. The first three of these are mentioned in a financial document of A.D. 368 relative to the Great Oasis, and from the assessments there given it appears that Hibis, the old metropolis, was considerably inferior in size to either of the other two. The Great Oasis, which included both Kharga and Dakhla, covers a very large area, and it was presumably found more convenient to split it up, especially as there was no single large town.<sup>67</sup>

There still remained a few areas which were not under city government. Two are mentioned by both Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius, the 'region' Paralus, and the Helearchia. The former was the strip of coast between the Bolbitic and Sebennytic mouths of the Nile separated by lagoons from the mainland. The latter was the fen country behind it, adjoining the Phlabonite and Lower Sebennytic nomes. Both were regions which seem to have contained no considerable town; both were also, owing to the difficulty of communications, incapable of being controlled from the neighbouring cities. These reasons would account for their being excepted from the normal municipal régime. Both can be traced back to A.D. 312. The 'region' Paralus, although not a city, as its title shows, had a bishop. The spiritual jurisdiction of the Helearchia was, according to the *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, shared between the bishops of Phlabonis and Pachnemunis; this fact proves that it was not a city. In addition to these two regions

Hierocles mentions the fort of Clysma; this presumably means that the region of Suez, formerly a part of the Arabian nome, was not a part of the city of Arabia but under a special military jurisdiction. Georgius mentions four villages which stood outside the municipal system. All were apparently in the north-west part of the Delta, two being in Aegyptus II, and mentioned immediately after the 'region' Paralus and the Helearchia, and the other two in Aegyptus I, mentioned after Hermopolis and Metelis.<sup>68</sup>

Egypt is a striking example of the power of a strong central government to wither the growth of autonomous institutions. Egypt was one of the last regions of the Roman empire to develop a municipal organization, yet it was by no means the least civilized of the Hellenistic kingdoms or of the Roman provinces. Long before the Greeks set foot in it, town life was well developed. After Alexander's conquest, a flood of Greek immigration flowed into it, as strong as, if not stronger than, into the other newly opened territories; the Egyptians moreover took readily to Greek civilization, and the hellenization of the country proceeded rapidly. All the conditions seem present for a growth of city states like that which took place in Syria and Asia Minor. But the government set itself against such a development, and was, moreover, able to enforce its will; despite the growing feebleness of the Ptolemaic dynasty in the last century and a half of its existence, it was able to maintain the unity of the country. The Ptolemies had nothing to gain by allowing any devolution of authority. In a country like Egypt, suited by nature and accustomed for centuries to a centralized autocracy, it was easy to control the whole system of administration from the capital, and unnecessary to delegate any power to local authorities; and as a strictly centralized administration was financially far more profitable and politically more stable, the Ptolemies naturally maintained it. The only motive that they could have had for founding cities would have been the fear that if they did not they would not attract to their kingdom the Greeks whom they urgently required to fight in their army, staff their civil service, and develop the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the country on modern lines. They found, however, that high pay, generous allotments of land, and privileged treatment at the hands of the government sufficed to attract an adequate number of immigrants; the Greeks of the late fourth and third centuries had lost their passion for political freedom, and were quite willing to become the privileged and highly paid 'slaves' of an autocrat.



So the Ptolemies maintained and perfected their bureaucracy, permitting no local autonomy to grow up and even, as I have shown, bringing under its net the Greek cities which already existed and the one they had themselves in a youthful indiscretion founded. It is interesting to conjecture what would have happened had the Roman republic made up its mind to annex Egypt, as it so often thought of doing. It could hardly have maintained the Ptolemaic administrative system; an annually changing, inexperienced, and often incompetent proconsul could never have controlled the complicated machine. Probably a radical scheme of devolution would have been carried through, as it was in Pontus; Egypt would have been split up into cities, and the city councils made responsible for carrying on the administration and collecting the tribute under the general supervision of the proconsul. As things happened, however, the annexation did not take place until the republic had fallen, and Augustus was able, by keeping Egypt under his personal control, to maintain the bureaucratic system of administration which, if practicable, was so safe and so profitable. Municipalization was thus postponed for centuries, and, when it did come, it came, as I have shown, piecemeal, and its coming was a symptom not of the growth of autonomous sentiment, but of the declining efficiency of the central government. The critical step in the degeneration of the centralized system was the introduction of the liturgic system for the recruitment of the civil service. This was in itself a symptom of the inefficiency of government; it was because the government allowed the administration to fall into such disorder that it was unable to find voluntary recruits for its civil service that it was compelled to conscript them. It led to yet further disorganization of the administration, and thus brought about its own breakdown. The government was thus compelled to modify the centralized system by devolving the power of appointing officials to local bodies, because it was incapable of making the appointments itself. Septimius Severus took this step, but retained as far as possible the centralized system, thus creating the dyarchy of the third century. Diocletian swept away the forms of the old system and brought Egypt into uniformity with the rest of the empire in theory as well as in fact.

The foregoing analysis may seem to be unduly cynical. It is difficult, however, to discover any idealistic motives in the history of the administration of Egypt. Every government regarded Egypt primarily as a source of revenue. Every government tried

to keep the administration, which was the revenue-producing machine, in its own hands as far as possible. Any devolution of authority which it permitted was merely a confession of its incapacity to run the machine.

## XII. CYRENAICA

AT only one point on the African coast were the conditions favourable for Greek colonization. Egypt in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. was a well organized kingdom which did not tolerate land-grabbing by foreign adventurers; the one Greek settlement in Egypt, Naucratis, was a mere treaty port, conceded by the kings to Greek merchants who wished to trade in their kingdom. West of the Great Syrtis the coast was the jealously guarded preserve of the Carthaginians; here no trading, much less settlement, was permitted to outsiders, and the one attempt to plant a colony in this area, that of Dorieus, was frustrated by Carthage. Between the Carthaginian and the Egyptian spheres, however, lay a stretch of coast which was subject to no great power, and here, towards the end of the seventh century B.C., the Therans planted a colony. Herodotus tells the story of the settlement in great detail, and there is no need here to give more than an outline of this account. He tells how the Delphic oracle ordered the colony to be sent, and how the Therans, under the guidance of a Cretan merchant who knew the coast, dispatched an exploration party. The party was left on a little island, named Platea, off the coast, where next year they were joined by a body of colonists, chosen by lot from among the Therans, under the leadership of a man named Aristoteles, who became their king under the name of Battus. The colonists did not prosper, and after two years sent a complaint to Delphi; the oracle replied curtly that they had been ordered to colonize Libya. They accordingly moved across to the mainland, and settled at a place called Aziris, where they stayed six years. Then their Libyan neighbours offered to show them a better place and conducted them to the site of Cyrene. Here the party finally settled down, and lived quietly for two generations, under their founder Battus and his son Arcesilaus. Under their third king, Battus II Eudæmon, they were reinforced. With the support of the Delphic oracle they invited fresh settlers to join them, offering them lands, and a flood of Greeks from the Peloponnese, Crete, and the islands poured in.<sup>1</sup>

This caused a breach with the Libyans. They had hitherto been on friendly terms with the immigrants. Not only had they guided them to a good site; they had also intermarried freely

with them, and many of them had become subjects of the Greek king. The first fact is proved by the statement of Herodotus that the women of Cyrene observed the same taboo on cow's flesh as did the Libyan women, and like them venerated Isis with feasts and fasts. Evidently the colonists had not brought wives with them, and had married women of the country. The second fact is implied by the name which the founder of the colony took as king. The Greeks later explained the curious name Battus as meaning the stammerer, and invented a picturesque story of how Battus had originally consulted the Delphic oracle about an impediment in his speech, and in reply was told that it was his destiny to be a king in Libya. In fact, however, as Herodotus rightly points out, Battus was the Libyan word for king; it is closely related to the title borne by the Pharaohs as kings of Lower Egypt. The adoption by the founder of the Greek colony of the Libyan royal title implies that he had Libyan as well as Greek subjects, and that the relations between Greeks and Libyans were friendly.<sup>2</sup>

The new influx of Greek colonists altered the situation. The attitude of the Greeks to their barbarian neighbours, now that they were no longer a tiny community existing on sufferance, but a strong military power, ceased to be conciliatory and the lands which had been promised to the new settlers were forcibly seized from the Libyans. A neighbouring Libyan king, Adicran, seeing the perilous position of his people, appealed to the King of Egypt, Apries, for assistance. Apries could not use his best troops, his Greek mercenaries, for against Greeks their loyalty would be uncertain, and sent a force of native Egyptians, who were disastrously defeated by the Cyrenaeans. The Libyans thus had for the moment to submit, but in the reign of Arcesilaus II domestic quarrels in the royal house gave them another chance. The king's younger brothers left Cyrene, and raising a revolt among the subject Libyans, founded with their co-operation a new city, Barca. The Libyan element was naturally even stronger in Barca than in Cyrene. The only king of Barca of whom we have any record bore the purely Libyan name Alazeir, and the women of Barca preserved the native customs with even greater fidelity than those of Cyrene, observing a taboo on swine's flesh as well as on cow's. Arcesilaus endeavoured to reconquer his Libyan subjects, but was lured by them far into the desert and there utterly defeated, losing seven thousand men. The future of Barca was thus secured. In Cyrene Arcesilaus was poisoned by

his brother Learchus, who was in turn assassinated by Arcesilaus' wife Eryxo. His son Battus III the Lamé thus succeeded to the throne. The royal power had, however, been much weakened by the feuds in the royal house and the disastrous defeat of Arcesilaus, and the Cyrenaeans determined to remodel the constitution. They sent, on the advice of Delphi, to Mantinea for a legislator, and the Mantineans lent them the services of one of their most eminent citizens, Demonax. He reserved certain estates and priesthoods to the king, but put all the power in the hands of the people. This does not mean that he established a democracy; the democratization of the constitution of Cyrene did not come till many years later. Demonax's constitution was probably a liberal oligarchy. An important part of Demonax's work was a reorganization of the citizen body. Hitherto the original settlers had probably claimed a privileged position. Demonax divided the whole population into three tribes, one consisting of the Therans and the *perioeci*, the second of the Peloponnesians and Cretans, the third of the islanders. The original settlers and the later immigrants were thus now on an equal footing. It is interesting to note the disproportion between the two classes in numbers. The original colony must have been on a very small scale, and the influx of new settlers under Battus II must have been a veritable refoundation. Another interesting point is the presence of *perioeci* in the first tribe. These can be none other than the Libyans who joined in the first settlement, who were thus now admitted to full equality of status with the Greek settlers.<sup>3</sup>

Battus the Lamé acquiesced in the new constitution, but his son Arcesilaus III was not content with his reduced prerogatives. A first attempt to restore the royal power failed, and Arcesilaus and his mother, Pheretime, fled abroad. Pheretime tried to get help from Euelthon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, but without success. Arcesilaus meanwhile raised an army in Samos by promises of land on the successful issue of the expedition, and returning with his army reconquered his kingdom. His brutality to his defeated opponents, however, made him so unpopular that he retired to Barca, where he lived under the protection of its king, Alazeir, whose daughter he married, while Pheretime acted as his regent in Cyrene, presiding in the council like a man. Arcesilaus' exiled enemies, however, got their revenge; they incited the people of Barca to revolt, and both Arcesilaus and his father-in-law were killed.

Pheretime immediately fled to Egypt, and invoked the aid of Aryandes, the Persian satrap. Arcesilaus had made his submission to Cambyses when he conquered Egypt, and Aryandes had therefore a good pretext for interference. He was further not unwilling to win credit with his royal master by extending the Persian dominion in Libya. He sent a strong army under a certain Amasis, who after a long siege eventually captured Barca by treachery. Pheretime had the ringleaders of the revolt executed; the rest of the population were, according to Herodotus, deported to Bactria. The destruction of Barca cannot, however, have been as complete as Herodotus represents it, for it continued to exist and was a flourishing city once more in his own day. After this success the Persian expeditionary force completed the subjection of the rest of the country without opposition, penetrating as far west as Euesperides. This is the first mention of this city, which was the westernmost Greek city in Libya. Its neighbour, Taucheira, is not mentioned till half a century later, but it was probably an earlier foundation than Euesperides, since it lay nearer to Cyrene, which was probably the parent city of both.<sup>4</sup>

The Persians seem to have made Battus IV, the son of the murdered Arcesilaus, king of the whole region, including all four cities. His son, Arcesilaus IV, is addressed by Pindar as 'king of mighty cities', and seeing that he controlled Euesperides, probably controlled the intervening cities also. He was a splendid monarch and made himself famous throughout the Greek world by his victories in the chariot races at the Pythia in 462, and the Olympia in 460. His position at home was, however, by no means secure, and he was well aware of the fact. Even his victory at the Pythia had a practical object; it was an advertisement to the Greek world, and was followed up by an appeal for settlers. These were collected and brought to Africa by his brother-in-law, Carrhotas, and were planted in Euesperides, which Arcesilaus intended to make into a secure refuge for himself, peopled with his own dependents, against the time when Cyrene should become too hot for him. The feared revolution came a few years later, Arcesilaus fled according to plan to Euesperides, but was there murdered.<sup>5</sup>

The Battiad dynasty thus fell after nearly two hundred years of rule. Freed from royal control the cities promptly began quarrelling among themselves. The coinage of the cities throws a little light on this confused period. Alliance coins of Cyrene

with Euesperides and Barca with Taucheira indicate that the lesser cities attached themselves to the greater. Alliance between allies of such unequal strength meant virtually subjection of the weaker to the stronger, and Herodotus frankly calls Taucheira 'a city of the Barcan territory'. Alliance coins of Barca with Cyrene (in this order) indicate that for a time Barca reduced her parent city to subjection; this was perhaps at the beginning of the fourth century, when Barca seems to have been the dominant city in Cyrenaica—the Barcans alone are mentioned as allies of the rebel king of Egypt, Acoris. By the middle of the century Cyrene seems to have reasserted herself; Scylax divides Cyrenaica into two spheres, the Cyrenaean and the Barcan, the latter including Taucheira and Euesperides. The general confusion in Cyrenaica was yet further increased by civil war within the cities. A democratic revolution took place in Cyrene, apparently towards the end of the fifth century, the citizenship being greatly extended and the tribal reorganization remodelled on the lines of the Cleisthenic constitution of Athens. The nobility raised a counter revolution, but were expelled from the city and eventually, despite the aid of a body of Messenian exiles who had emigrated to Cyrenaica, crushingly defeated. Weakened by internecine wars and civil strife the cities became an easy prey to the native tribes. In 414 Euesperides was hard pressed by the Libyans and was only saved by the chance intervention of Gylippus, blown over to Cyrenaica by contrary winds on his way to Sicily. Euesperides was shortly afterwards reinforced by a party of Messenians, presumably the same who intervened in the civil war at Cyrene. This reinforcement was, however, temporary only, for when Epaminondas freed Messene, the Messenians returned home.<sup>6</sup>

It is difficult to say how much of the country the cities controlled at this period. The later Battiads had probably been overlords of all Cyrenaica, including the Libyan tribes. In Herodotus' day the tribes were independent, and the cities ruled only their own territories. The Cyrenaean owned a considerable stretch of the coast line from the island of Platea and the harbour of Aziris, their original settlements on the coast, up to the territory of Barca on the west; they thus completely cut off their Libyan neighbours, the Asbystae, from the sea. The Barcan territory included Taucheira on the west; the tribe who inhabited the Barcan hinterland, the Auschisae, had access to the sea, however, near Euesperides, and another small tribe, the Bacales,

occupied the coast near Taucheira. Euesperides was thus completely cut off from the main block of Greek territory. Beyond Euesperides lived the Nasamones, a savage tribe; they were probably the Libyans who were besieging the city in 414. The other Libyan tribes were in Herodotus' day strongly hellenized, and their relations with the Greek cities seem on the whole to have been friendly. Commercial relations between the Libyans and the Greeks must have been close, for it was from the trade with the interior that the cities derived the greater part of their wealth. The coastal strip which the Greek cities occupied was, it is true, though arid, not unfertile. It was well suited to the cultivation of the olive; Theophrastus comments on the excellence of Cyrenaean olives and olive-oil. Cereals could also be grown; Herodotus praises the territory of Euesperides, which was exceptionally fertile, and Cyrene was able, during a famine in Greece in Alexander's reign, to make donations of corn, amounting in all to over 800,000 *medimni*, to over forty Greek cities. The principal articles of export were, however, the famous Cyrenaean and Barcan horses and the even more famous silphium. It is probable that the horses were bred not on the cultivated coastal strip, but on the steppe inland which was occupied by the Libyans; the Libyans were at any rate noted horsemen and it was from them, according to Herodotus, that the Greeks learned the use of the four-horse chariot. The silphium was certainly a product of the interior. It was a desert plant, incapable, according to Theophrastus, of domestication, and grew on the belt of steppe which stretched from Chersonesi on the east to the Syrtis on the west behind the fertile coastal belt. It was gathered by the Libyans, who alone knew the proper season for cutting it and was brought by them into the cities, whence it was shipped to Greece. The Battiad kings, under whom the silphium trade was a royal monopoly, perhaps levied the silphium from the Libyans as tribute. After the fall of the Battiads, when the Libyan tribes of the interior had become independent, the Greeks must presumably have bought the silphium from them.<sup>7</sup>

The cities of Cyrenaica submitted to Alexander when he conquered Egypt. Immediately after his death confusion began once more. In 323 a Spartan *condottiere* appeared on the scene, Thibron by name. He had just murdered his employer Harpalus, and thus secured control of a great sum of money and seven thousand mercenaries, with the aid of which he proposed to carve out for himself an empire in Africa. With the assistance



of exiled Cyrenaean aristocrats he captured Cyrene. Then his luck turned. One of his officers, a Cretan named Mnasicles, discontented with the distribution of the spoils, deserted and roused the Cyrenaeans to renew the struggle. Thibron, although he gained the support of Barca and Euesperides and captured Taucheira, was worsted by the Cyrenaeans and by their Libyan allies. Thus checked he sent for more mercenaries from the Peloponnese, and on their arrival regained control of the situation and besieged Cyrene. As the pressure of the siege grew more severe, civil war broke out in Cyrene, and the democrats expelled the richer citizens, whom they suspected of sympathy with the aristocrats in Thibron's camp. They fled some to Thibron and some to Egypt. Ptolemy welcomed the opportunity of establishing his overlordship in Cyrenaica, and sent a powerful force under Ophellas to reinstate the exiles. Thibron and the Cyrenaeans patched up a hasty reconciliation in face of the new enemy, but in vain. Ophellas subdued the whole country. Thibron was captured by some Libyans and taken to Epicydes, the governor installed in Taucheira by Ophellas. The Taucheirites with Ophellas' permission mutilated him in revenge for his capture of their city and he was hanged in the port of Cyrene.<sup>8</sup>

It was probably at this date that Ptolemy established the constitution described in a recently discovered inscription. From this document it appears that, although Ptolemy had intervened in the interests of the exiled oligarchs, he did not let them have things entirely their own way. The constitution he set up was, it is true, an oligarchy, but a very liberal one. The body of citizens possessing full political rights, the *politeuma*, which had been in the old oligarchic régime a thousand strong, was raised to ten thousand; there was an age qualification of thirty years and a property qualification of twenty Alexandrian minas—a very reasonable sum. There were two councils. The one, the *gerousia*, was an aristocratic body; its hundred and one members sat for life. The other, the *boule*, was evidently a later addition to the constitution and was probably instituted during the same democratic movement in which the tribal system was remodelled. The number of its members, five hundred, shows that it was based on five or ten tribes, and not on the three of the old system; its members were chosen by lot, and renewed annually or biennially (the language of the inscription is not clear) by halves. For trials involving the death penalty the court was formed by the *gerousia* and the *boule*, whether sitting jointly or in succession

is not clear, and there was an appeal to a popular court of fifteen hundred chosen by lot. Ptolemy thus preserved several democratic features in his new constitution; obviously neither the *boule* of five hundred nor the court of fifteen hundred can have existed under the oligarchic régime of the thousand. For himself Ptolemy reserved very modest prerogatives. He nominated the first members of the newly established or rather revived *gerousia*; subsequent vacancies were, however, filled by election by the ten thousand. He constituted himself an alternative court of appeal to the court of the fifteen hundred, but for three years only. His only permanent place in the constitution was his life tenure of the generalship. He was made a permanent additional member to the existing elected board of five; that is, in practice, since he delegated his functions, he nominated one of the six generals.<sup>9</sup>

In 313 the Cyrenaicans rebelled against Ophellas, but were suppressed without difficulty. In the following year Ophellas himself revolted from Ptolemy. He maintained his independence for three years, and eventually was treacherously killed in 309 by Agathocles of Syracuse, who had lured him into an expedition against Carthage. In the following year, 308, Ptolemy reconquered Cyrenaica. In 301 he had again to reconquer the country. This presupposes a revolt of Cyrene between 308 and 301; 306, the year of Ptolemy's defeat by Demetrius at Salamis is perhaps the likeliest occasion. It was probably a popular revolt, for it is to this period that must be assigned the coins inscribed 'Cyrenaic, of the people'. These coins must be later than the first Ptolemaic occupation, for the peculiar wording of the inscription is evidently intended to contrast with the legend of Ptolemy's Cyrenaic coinage, 'Cyrenaic, of Ptolemy'. They might belong to the reign of Ophellas, on the assumption that Ophellas posed as a champion of the democracy and ruled Cyrene as a popularly elected dictator, but it seems more plausible to assign them to a period of genuine democratic autonomy. After the reconquest of 301 Ptolemy installed his stepson Magas as governor. Magas ruled Cyrenaica as governor for the rest of Ptolemy I's reign and for the first few years of Ptolemy II. Then in 274 he declared his independence, and allied himself with the Seleucids, marrying Apama, the daughter of Antiochus I. Towards the end of his life he was reconciled with his half-brother, Ptolemy II, and betrothed his daughter Berenice to the latter's son, the future Ptolemy III. When he died, however, in 253, his widow Apama broke off the engagement and betrothed her instead to Demetrius the Fair,

of the Antigonid house of Macedonia. It was apparently about this period that the constitution of the Cyrenaic cities was remodelled by two philosophers, Ecdemus and Demophanes, who were sent for, like Demonax two and a half centuries earlier, from Mantinea. The coins indicate that they introduced a federal constitution, embracing all the Cyrenaic cities. They also fix approximately the date of the change; federal coins are overstruck on Magas' issues, and give way to a new type on the accession of Ptolemy III. The federation therefore existed between Magas' death and Ptolemy III's recovery of Cyrenaica. Its relation to the royal house is more difficult to determine. One would naturally assume that the federation represents a period of independence. Some of the coins are, however, stamped with a monogram for  $\Delta HM$ , which, while it might represent Demophanes, more probably stands for Demetrius the Fair; a similar monogram for Magas is found on his issues. The reorganization would then have been carried out under royal patronage and been inspired by Macedonia. In support of this view it may be noted that when Berenice eventually did marry Ptolemy III, shortly after his accession to the Egyptian throne, she seems to have been in possession of Cyrenaica, which thus passed peaceably under Ptolemaic rule once more.<sup>10</sup>

It was probably Ecdemus and Demophanes who raised the port of Cyrene to the status of a separate city, and gave it the name by which it was later known, Apollonia. The port of Cyrene is frequently mentioned by Diodorus in his account of Thibron's campaign, when it was a town of some importance, but still politically a part of Cyrene. The name Apollonia cannot actually be traced earlier than the first century B.C.; it first occurs in an inscription of 67 B.C. which implies that it was a separate city. It seems unlikely, however, that the name was given by the Ptolemies, for they almost invariably gave their foundations dynastic names. In Cyrenaica itself Ptolemy III renamed Euesperides Berenice, Taucheira Arsinoe, and Barca, or rather its port, whither he transferred the city, Ptolemais. If he gave dynastic names to existing cities it is hardly likely that he would have bestowed on a new foundation a colourless name like Apollonia. The probabilities therefore are that Apollonia was already a city and already bore that name when Ptolemy III became king of Cyrenaica. This conclusion is supported by another point. The raising of Apollonia to city rank is clearly connected with the introduction of the term Pentapolis to denote

Cyrenaica, for until that event, there were only four and not five cities. The term cannot be traced earlier than the first century A.D., but must have been very well established by then, for it persisted despite the fact that Hadrian added a sixth city, and was still used in the Byzantine period. Such terms are usually used for leagues of cities, and the most likely occasion for the coining of the word would be when the cities of Cyrenaica were united in a federation. Thus the establishment of Apollonia is once again connected with the reorganization under Ecdemus and Demophanes. Their motive was probably to make the federation more evenly balanced. Cyrene was at this date by far the largest city of the region, and was therefore split in half in order to reduce it to the level of the others.<sup>11</sup>

Cyrenaica remained united with the Egyptian crown for less than a century. In 163 B.C. the Roman senate assigned it as a separate kingdom to Ptolemy, the brother of Ptolemy VI Philometor. When he succeeded his brother as Ptolemy VII Euergetes II it was reunited to Egypt, but on his death he left it in his will as a separate kingdom to his illegitimate son, Ptolemy Apion, who on his death in 96 B.C. bequeathed it to the Roman people. The senate accepted the legacy, but annexed only the royal land, declaring the cities free. Left to themselves the cities fell into disorder almost at once. When Lucullus visited Cyrenaica in 88 B.C. he found Cyrene under the rule of a tyrant. He reorganized the affairs of the city but without lasting effect. In 74 B.C. Cyrenaica was constituted a regular province; owing to its diminutive size a quaestor was sent to govern it. It was shortly afterwards united with Crete, when that island was annexed; the double province was governed by a *propraetor*. Cyrenaica became a kingdom once more for a short while when Antony granted it to his daughter Cleopatra Selene. Augustus reannexed it and reunited it with Crete, assigning the double province to the senate.<sup>12</sup>

During all this period little is known of the internal affairs of Cyrenaica. It was under the Ptolemies subject to a governor-general styled 'the Libyarch of the regions of Cyrene'. The individual cities probably enjoyed a nominal autonomy, strictly limited by the powers of the royal generals; most of the public documents of the period are honorific inscriptions to these generals and to members of the royal family. On the dissolution of the kingdom the cities regained full autonomy for a while, only to sink again to the status of provincial cities. Their condi-

tion as such seems to have been hard. They had no judicial autonomy, civil cases being decided by a Roman judge appointed by the governor, and criminal cases, when not judged by the governor himself, by a jury consisting entirely of Romans. The Roman residents, who were few in number and of modest means, used their privileged position to blackmail the Greeks, and grave miscarriages of justice took place, several innocent persons, who apparently refused to pay up, being condemned to death. Augustus reformed the system, ordering that in civil cases between Greeks a Greek judge should be appointed and that in criminal cases when a Greek was accused the jury should be half Greek if the accused wished. Strabo tells us almost all we know of the social condition of the cities under the republic. The population consisted according to him of four classes, the citizens, the resident aliens, the Jews, and the peasants. The Jews had immigrated into Cyrenaica in large numbers under the Ptolemies, who according to their usual policy gave them a privileged position. They formed independent communities in the cities under their own magistrates; a decree of the Jewish community in Berenice Euesperides has been preserved. The peasants are evidently the native Libyans of the city territories, who had probably been reduced to some form of serfdom. In very early days, the Libyans who had joined the original colony had acquired the citizenship. In the later period of expansion this liberal policy had apparently been abandoned and the native inhabitants of the newly conquered territory had been treated as a subject class.<sup>13</sup>

The new feature of the period is the royal land which by the will of Ptolemy Apion became public land of the Roman people. It consisted partly of isolated estates in the city territories, probably in the main the confiscated property of the enemies of the Ptolemaic régime. These lands seem to have been neglected under the Romans, for on two occasions a special commissioner was sent out, once by Claudius and once by Vespasian, to demarcate their boundaries and vindicate them from squatters who had occupied them. Both commissioners have left behind them epigraphic evidence of their activity; Claudius' commissioner restored to the Roman people lands near Cyrene, Vespasian's a garden in Ptolemais and an estate called the Ptolemaeum in Cyrene. It is unlikely, however, that the royal lands were confined to these scattered estates. Ptolemy, the brother of Philometor, the later Euergetes II, in a will whereby he left his

kingdom to the Roman people—a will never executed—speaks of the kingdom as consisting of the cities and the country. The latter term must denote some considerable block of extraterritorial royal land; in Egyptian documents it is used to denote Egypt as opposed to the city of Alexandria. Hyginus' description of the cadastration of the royal lands in Cyrenaica will hardly apply to scattered estates; he says that the royal lands were divided into blocks called *plinthides* which measured 6,050 feet square and contained 5,250 *iugera*; lands whose unit of cadastration was over a square mile must have been areas of considerable extent. Now it is to be noted that the boundary of Ptolemaic Cyrenaica with the dominions of Carthage and later with the province of Africa lay a long way west of Euesperides at Automalax or the Tower of Euphrantas or the Altar of the Philaeni. The eastern boundary of Cyrenaica similarly lay a long way east of Chersonesi, the easternmost point of the Cyrenaean territory, at Catabathmus. Ptolemaic Cyrenaica thus included not only the land of the Greek cities but that of the Nasamonies to the west and that of the Marmaridae to the east. It also probably included the silphium-bearing region behind the Greek cities. Pliny notes that in 92 B.C. thirty pounds of silphium were brought to Rome *publice*, that is as tribute. As the cities were at this date free and therefore probably immune from tribute, this silphium must presumably have come from the public land. Pliny also mentions that the extinction of the silphium plant in his day was due to the carelessness of the *publicani* who leased the pastures in which it grew. These *publicani* must have been the lessees of the public land. The bulk of the royal lands which passed by Ptolemy Apion's will into the possession of the Roman people consisted then of the land of Libyan tribes whom the Ptolemies subdued to the west, south, and east of the Greek cities. It probably also included the enclave of Libyan territory between Taucheira and Euesperides. It is at any rate suggestive that in this area Hadrian founded a new city.<sup>14</sup>

Of the history of Cyrenaica under the principate there is little to tell. The eastern part of the province, including not only the land of the Marmaridae but also what had been in Scylax's day the eastern extremity of the territory of Cyrene, was transferred to Egypt at some time in the first or early second century A.D. and was formed into the nome of Marmarice. The Libyan tribes continued to give trouble from time to time. A Marmaric war is recorded in the reign of Augustus; another Marmaric war

occurred under Claudius Gothicus, in honour of whose victory Cyrene assumed the name of *Claudiopolis*. The Jews of Cyrenaica also gave trouble. There was a Jewish revolt under Vespasian and a much more serious one under Trajan. In this second revolt not only was much damage done to public buildings, the restoration of which by Hadrian is recorded in several inscriptions, but also the whole country-side was ravaged and the cities seriously depopulated. Hadrian had to introduce settlers from other parts of the empire, and it was probably on this occasion that Cyrene and Taucheira became colonies and that the new city of *Hadriane* or *Hadrianopolis* was founded. It lay between Taucheira and Euesperides and its territory was probably, as I have suggested above, formed from public lands in this region. These disturbances contributed to the decline of prosperity, though this did not become serious until the third century. Another cause was the neglect of the Roman government. The contractors to whom the public lands were let used them for cattle- and sheep-breeding and carelessly allowed their flocks and herds to graze on the silphium. The result was that the silphium was rapidly stamped out. Under the republic considerable quantities of silphium were still being paid into the Roman treasury; Caesar found an accumulation of fifteen hundred pounds when he took possession of the treasury at the beginning of the civil war. In Nero's reign a solitary stalk was sent to Rome as a great rarity.<sup>15</sup>

Diocletian made Cyrenaica a separate province, styled *Libya Pentapolis*. Ammianus Marcellinus gives some account of the province in his day. He mentions Ptolemais, Arsinoe-Taucheira, Berenice-Euesperides, and Cyrene, which he calls 'an ancient city but deserted'. This is an exaggeration, but the letters of Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais half a century later, show that the condition of the province was miserable; they are full of references to raids by the Libyans and give a general impression of great insecurity. Ammianus also mentions as insignificant municipalities the towns of *Chaerecla* and *Neapolis*, which according to Ptolemy's map lay in the interior of Cyrenaica and were presumably cities founded on the public land. The nome of *Marmarice* had by this time been divided into three cities. One of these, *Darnis*, a port on the border with Cyrenaica, is mentioned by Ammianus. The other two, *Antipyrgus*, on the coast farther east, and *Marmarice*, presumably the capital of the nome inland, are not mentioned as cities till *Georgius Cyprius*, but were already bishoprics in the early fourth century.<sup>16</sup>

Justinian endeavoured to arrest the decline of the province. He fortified several cities—a significant admission of the disturbed condition of the country—and restored the aqueducts of Ptolemais, which had almost perished from lack of water. He also created a new—and very small—city west of Cyrene, called Theodorias. The interior seems to have been definitely abandoned. In Pentapolis Hierocles and Georgius record only the five old cities—Apollonia in the Christian disguise of Sozusa—and Hadriane, ignoring Theodorias. Neapolis and Chærecla must have perished and the public land been overrun by the nomads.<sup>17</sup>



### XIII. CYPRUS

AS far back as its history can be traced Cyprus was divided into a number of city states ruled by kings. The cities were for the most part of Greek origin, and, according to the general consensus of Greek tradition, dated back to the period of the migrations at the end of the second millennium B.C. Their foundation legends are connected with the heroes of the Homeric cycle. Salamis was supposed to have been founded by Teucer, son of Telamon, Soli by Demophon, son of Theseus, or, according to another version, Acamas, another son of Theseus, and Phalerus, the eponymous hero of Phalerum. Paphos was founded by Agapenor, the Homeric king of Arcadia, Lapethus by Praxander, a Laconian hero, Chytri by Chytrus, a grandson of Acamas. The detailed ascriptions are for the most part only known to us from comparatively late authorities. The legend connecting Teucer with Salamis was, however, current in the fifth century B.C., for Pindar alludes to it. Herodotus was evidently familiar with the legends of Salamis, Soli, and Paphos, for he mentions the claim of the Cypriots to have come from Salamis, Athens, Arcadia, and Cythnus—what city the Cythnians are supposed to have founded is not known. Herodotus also attributes to Curium an Argive origin. Theopompus in the fourth century describes an invasion and colonization of Cyprus by the Greeks under Agamemnon, after the Trojan war. The literary evidence for the early origin of the Greek cities of Cyprus is thus of good quality. The archaeological evidence is in full agreement. Mycenaean remains have been discovered on most of the ancient sites of the island. The local inscriptions also betray the early date of the migration. The dialect in which they are written closely resembles Arcadian, and the Arcadians were by general consent the remnant of the pre-Dorian population of the Peloponnese. The Cypriots must moreover have left Greece before the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet; for they employed instead of it a clumsy syllabary, apparently derived from the Minoan script.<sup>1</sup>

A further proof that the majority of the Cypriot cities were of Greek origin is afforded by the earliest contemporary document we possess, an inscription dated 673 B.C. of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, recording the submission of the ten kings of Cyprus.

The names, being written in cuneiform, are sometimes rather difficult to decipher, but of the ten nine can be read as Greek. They are Cissus of Salamis, Eteander of Paphos, Heraeus of Soli, Damasus of Curium, Admetus of Tamassus, Aegisthus of Idalium, Pythagoras of Chytri, Onesagoras of Ledra, and Pytheas of Nure. The tenth name is Phoenician, Damusi of Karti Kadasti, i.e. Carthage, New Town.

Of the ten cities of this list, the first seven are well known from later sources. The tenth, New Town, probably represents the chief Phoenician city of Cyprus, Citium, which in Hebrew gave its name, Kittim, to the whole island. Ledra does not reappear in history till a millennium later; it was then a village, but important enough to be a bishopric. Its importance grew in the Middle Ages, when it became, under the name of Nicosia, the capital of the island. Nure is otherwise unknown.<sup>2</sup>

Esarhaddon's list is evidently intended to be exhaustive. Five other cities, however, in all probability existed in his day. Their omission is easily accounted for. They may have been too unimportant to send their gifts to the Assyrian king, or more probably they were subject to one or other of the ten kings of the list. Amathus was generally acknowledged to be a very ancient city. According to Theopompus the Amathusians were the only surviving remnant of the pre-Hellenic population of Cyprus, the people of Cinyras, the king of Cyprus at the time of the Trojan war. Scylax held the same view; he calls Amathus a city of the aborigines. Lapethus, as we have seen, claimed a Greek founder of the heroic age. Carpasia was, according to Hellanicus, quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium, founded by Pygmalion, the mythical king of Sidon. The foundation legend of Marium has not survived, but it was an important kingdom in the middle of the fifth century B.C., when it is mentioned in Diodorus' account of Cimon's Cypriot campaign; the coinage of its kings at this period, Stasioecus and Timocharis, further attests the early importance of the city and also its Greek origin. Cerynia is not mentioned till the middle of the fourth century B.C., when Scylax records it. It was probably at this date an independent kingdom, for its king played an important part in the wars of the Successors in the last quarter of the century. There was also a city in the north-east of the island, sometimes called Urania and sometimes Aphrodisium. The latter name occurs in Strabo and Ptolemy; the former in Diodorus' narrative of the events of 306 B.C., and the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, a Byzantine epic poet.

The two names of the city were perhaps both derived from its patron goddess, Aphrodite Urania. The city had sunk in importance by classical times; it is never mentioned as an independent kingdom.

Three only of the fifteen cities of Cyprus were thus not of Greek origin, the Phoenician Citium and Carpasia and the autochthonous Amathus. But though the culture of Cyprus was predominantly Greek, it was a Greek culture of a primitive type. The Cypriot cities did not move with the general current of Greek civilization, but remained in a stagnant backwater, and still preserved in the fifth and fourth centuries a culture not far removed from that of Homeric Greece. They continued to use their antiquated Minoan syllabary down to the end of the third century. They still fought in chariots in the fifth century. Most significant of all they conserved the monarchy; the Cypriot cities had no share in the political development of the rest of the Greek world, and were still ruled by kings, many of whom claimed descent from Homeric heroes, when Alexander overthrew the Persian empire. Despite this isolation from the main current of Hellenism, they nevertheless did not forget their Hellenic ancestry, and the history of Cyprus during the fifth and fourth centuries consists largely of the struggles of the Greek cities to throw off the yoke of the Persians and to resist the encroachments of the Phoenicians.<sup>4</sup>

Cyprus submitted to the Persians at the same time as Egypt, to whose kings it had been subject in the latter years of the Saite dynasty; it was attached by Darius to the Syrian satrapy. The kings of the cities had to pay tribute to the Great King and supply contingents to his fleet in time of war, but were otherwise left to themselves; they even issued their own coinage. Mild, however, as was the Persian yoke, the Greek cities did not submit to it with a good grace. Every success of Greek arms against the Persians in the Aegean inspired a corresponding bid for liberty in Cyprus. During the Ionian revolt the cities rose under the leadership of Onesilus of Salamis; Herodotus singles out for mention the Solians and the Curians under their king Stasanor. Even the Phoenicians seem to have participated in this revolt, for according to Herodotus the only dissident city was Amathus, whose aboriginal population had little reason to sympathize with the aspirations of the Greeks. This rebellion was suppressed within a year. After the defeat of Xerxes, the cities of Cyprus rose again, with the support of the confederate Greek fleet, and

for the next thirty years intermittent hostilities continued between the Cypriot cities under the leadership of Athens and the Persian forces. In about 460 B.C. we find an Athenian fleet operating in Cypriot waters, whence it was dispatched to Egypt to support the revolt of Inaros; an Athenian inscription records the death of members of the Erechtheid tribe on active service in Cyprus at this time. In 450 B.C. Cimon conducted a campaign in Cyprus; the head-quarters of the Persian resistance was on this occasion Citium, which Cimon besieged but failed to capture. The Phoenicians had thus by this time disassociated themselves from their Greek neighbours, and their loyalty to the Great King was repaid by Persian support in their encroachments upon the Greek cities. A Cypriot inscription records a joint attack upon Idalium by a force of Citians and Persians, probably between 478 and 470 B.C. The attempt failed, but, after the peace of Callias, by which, after Cimon's death, the Athenians abandoned their claim upon Cyprus, the Persians had a free hand, and with their support the Phoenicians steadily enlarged their area of influence. Idalium was incorporated in the kingdom of Citium shortly after the withdrawal of the Athenians, for while Baalmelik (about 479 to 449 B.C.) is styled king of Citium only, his successor Azbaal (about 449 to 425 B.C.) was king of Citium and Idalium. At about the same period the Teucrid dynasty was expelled from Salamis. Evanthes, the exiled king, seems to have maintained himself in Chytri, perhaps at that time a dependency of Salamis, for there are coins of an Evanthes, king of Chytri. The throne of Salamis was granted to a Phoenician named Abdemon, who, according to Isocrates, did his best to barbarize the city. This reverse was, however, only temporary, for in 411 B.C. Evagoras, the son of Evanthes, recovered his ancestral throne. Evagoras was a stout champion of Hellenism, but his ambitious policy provoked the jealousy of the other cities, and in 391 B.C. not only Phoenician Citium and autochthonous Amathus but Greek Soli appealed to the Great King against him. Evagoras threw off his allegiance, and for many years maintained his independence. In the end, however, in 381 B.C. he was forced to submit, but only on the most liberal terms: he not only retained his kingdom, but was recognized as an equal of the Great King—he paid his tribute not, according to the usual formula, as a slave to his lord, but as one king to another. On his death a few years later, the Phoenician advance began once more. Melekiathon, king of Citium and Idalium from 392 to 361 B.C.,

seems to have exercised suzerainty over Tamasus during the latter part of his reign, for two Phoenician inscriptions have been found at Tamasus, dated by his nineteenth and thirtieth years. Tamasus was definitely annexed by Citium under his successor Pumiathon, who assumed the title of king of Citium, Idalium, and Tamasus before 340 B.C.; it appears from a fragment of Duris, preserved in Athenaeus, that Pasicyprus, the last king of Tamasus, and probably a mere *roi fainéant*, sold his rights to Pumiathon for fifty talents. During the fourth century Lapethus also submitted to a Phoenician dynasty; Scylax calls it a Phoenician city at about the middle of the century.<sup>5</sup>

The Cypriot kings all joined the general revolt against Artaxerxes in 351 B.C. There were, according to Diodorus, at this date nine principal cities under their own kings, to one or other of whom the minor cities were subject. The leading cities were, on the Phoenician side, Citium, to which Idalium and Tamasus were subject, and on the Greek side, Salamis, to which, as we have seen, Chytri was probably attached. Pasicrates, king of Soli, and another Pasicrates, king of Curium, and Androcles, king of Amathus, are mentioned twenty years later as contemporaries of Alexander. These three cities may therefore be added to the list. After Alexander's death, Nicocles of Paphos, Stasioecus of Marium, Praxippus of Lapethus, and an unnamed king of Cerynia played their parts in the struggles of the Successors. These were therefore the nine kingdoms. Of the other cities, Ledra had long disappeared by this date; Carpasia and Urania-Aphrodisium were probably subject to Salamis.<sup>6</sup>

The kings of Cyprus submitted voluntarily to Alexander; several of them are mentioned as participating in the siege of Tyre. They were all confirmed in their kingdoms, but Pumiathon incurred Alexander's displeasure and was deprived of his recent acquisition Tamasus, which was granted to Pnytagoras of Salamis. After Alexander's death Cyprus became the battleground of the Successors, who by diplomacy and force of arms each sought to control the island. Ptolemy was first in the field; as early as 322 he had won over to his side Nicocreon of Salamis, Pasicrates of Soli, Nicocles of Paphos, and Androcles of Amathus, and they had captured Marium and its king in his interest. Perdicas endeavoured to check his advance but was shortly afterwards killed in his attack on Egypt. In 315 Antigonus succeeded in winning over to his side the kings of Citium, Lapethus, Marium, and Cerynia. Ptolemy sent across a force under his brother

Menelaus and his friend Seleucus, which, co-operating with Nicocreon of Salamis and the other kings who had remained loyal to him, stormed Cerynia and Lapethus, won over Stasioecus of Marium, and compelled Androcles of Amathus to give hostages. They then proceeded to besiege Citium, which eventually capitulated. Ptolemy was not, however, satisfied with the loyalty of Pumiathon, king of Citium, and three years later executed him for treasonable correspondence with Antigonus. He also deposed Praxippus of Lapethus and the king of Cerynia, and not only deposed Stasioecus of Marium but demolished his city, transplanting its inhabitants to Paphos. The kingdoms of the deposed dynasts he granted to his loyal ally Nicocreon of Salamis, whom he at the same time made governor-general of the island. The Cypriot dynasties were thus reduced to five—Salamis, including Citium, Lapethus, and Cerynia; Paphos, including Marium; and Soli, Amathus, and Curium. Their number was soon reduced still further. In 311-10 B.C. Nicocreon of Salamis died, and Menelaus, Ptolemy's brother, succeeded not only to his governorship of Cyprus but also to his kingdom. Menelaus' kingdom does not seem to have included Citium, which in 311-10 began a new city era, and must therefore have been converted into a republic at this date; the republic included Idalium, for the inscription which gives us this information was found there. Shortly afterwards Nicocles of Paphos, being suspected of a secret understanding with Antigonus, was ordered to commit suicide. All his family followed his example, and the royal house was extinguished. Of the fate of the other three dynasties we know nothing. Androcles of Amathus was still king in 313 B.C., when he made a dedication at Delos. Eunostus of Soli must have reigned still later, for he married Ptolemy's daughter Irene, who cannot have been born earlier than 322 or 321. Nothing is heard of Curium at this date.<sup>7</sup>

In 306 B.C. Demetrius Poliorcetes descended upon Cyprus, captured Carpasia and Urania, totally defeated the Ptolemaic forces at Salamis, and temporarily ended the Ptolemaic supremacy over the island. Ptolemy recovered Cyprus in 295 B.C., and from this date it remained a Ptolemaic dependency till 58 B.C., though in the later years of the dynasty it was sometimes separated from the crown of Egypt. Thus from 113 to 105 B.C. it was ruled by Ptolemy IX Alexander, while Egypt was under Ptolemy VIII Soter II, while from 105 to 88 B.C. these two kings changed places. On Ptolemy IX's death it was for a short while reunited

with Egypt under Ptolemy VIII, but when in 80 B.C. Ptolemy Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt, another Ptolemy, his brother, was made king of Cyprus. This Ptolemy was deposed by a plebiscite of Clodius in 58 B.C., and Cyprus was annexed by Cato, being attached to the province of Cilicia. In 48 B.C. it was given to Arsinoe and Ptolemy the Younger by Caesar, and again to Cleopatra by Antony. It was reannexed by Augustus, and in 22 B.C. was assigned, as a separate province, under a praetorian proconsul, to the senate. It remained thereafter a separate province till the end of Roman rule.<sup>8</sup>

After the final establishment of the Ptolemaic supremacy we hear very little more of the internal condition of Cyprus. Its history was uneventful and historians almost entirely neglected it. Such information as we possess is derived for the most part from the inscriptions. The island was ruled during the Ptolemaic period by a governor-general, who had under his command a large garrison consisting of mercenaries of various races, Achaeans, Ionians, Cretans, and other Greeks, Lycians, Cilicians, and Thracians. He also, at any rate during the last century of Ptolemaic rule, commanded a fleet, as his later additional title of admiral indicates. His third title of high priest, which first appears under Ptolemy V, has been taken to indicate that he exercised a special control over the temples of the island; it may, however, merely mean that he was *ex officio* head of the dynastic cult. His immediate subordinate seems to have been the superintendent of the mines, which were the principal interest of the Ptolemies in the island; we find a superintendent of mines acting as deputy-governor. There is some evidence that the island was subdivided into provinces. Two Phoenician subscriptions of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus found at Lapethus give the title of 'lord of the land of Cormi' to a certain Iatanbaal, and his father before him. The term 'land of Cormi' seems to indicate a larger circumscription than a city territory; 'Cormi' is probably the same word as the Greek Crommyon, the name applied to the principal promontory on the north coast of Cyprus. Now Ptolemy the geographer records a division of Cyprus into four districts, an eastern and a western under Salamis and Paphos, and a north central and south central under Lapethus and Amathus. The Phoenician inscriptions indicate that this arrangement dates back to the Ptolemaic régime; 'Cormi' must be the Phoenician name for the north central district, whose capital was Lapethus.<sup>9</sup>

The ultimate unit in the administration scheme was the city. After the fourth century there is no further mention of kings in Cyprus, and it is probable that Demetrius suppressed the last surviving dynasties. Citium and Lapethus started civic eras in 311 and 306 B.C. respectively. In the other cities the evidence for republican institutions is of much later date. The city of the Paphians is mentioned under Ptolemy Euergetes I, the city of the Salaminians under Philometor, the city of the Curians and that of the Arsinoians under Euergetes II. The last was a refoundation by Ptolemy II of Marium, destroyed by Ptolemy I. A dedication by 'the city' to the daughter of a late Ptolemaic governor has also been found at Chytri. This inscription indicates that when the native dynasties were suppressed their kingdoms were broken up into their constituent cities. Not only did Chytri thus achieve independence but Carpasia also; victors at Athens were registered in the second century B.C. as Carpasiots of Cyprus. Idalium by exception remained a dependency of Citium; it seems to have been thoroughly Semitized to judge by the number of Phoenician inscriptions found on the site, and was probably by now an integral part of the Citian republic. That the cities enjoyed the forms at any rate of autonomy is proved not only by these inscriptions but by others which mention republican magistracies in the cities. At Citium Phoenician inscriptions, which must date from the earlier part of the Ptolemaic period, mention a suffete or judge, the title usually borne by the chief magistrates of Phoenician cities, and a treasurer. From Curium and Chytri we have decrees of the third century, and in 105 B.C. gymnasiarchs, magistrates, and a clerk of the council and of the people are mentioned at Paphos. The autonomy of the cities was, however, merely a form, for each had a military governor appointed by the king. These governors under Ptolemy I were styled 'commander of the garrison'. Later their title was changed to a vaguer and less offensive form, 'he who is over the city', but the post remained essentially military, as is shown by the military titles borne by the commandant of Citium under Ptolemy VII Euergetes II.<sup>10</sup>

Although the government of Cyprus was in fact autocratic, it is probable that the island was officially regarded as a group of cities under the protection of the king of Egypt. It even appears from the later inscriptions that the cities formed, at any rate during the last century of Ptolemaic rule, a federation, the League of the Cypriots. Officially the whole surface of the island



was probably divided, as it had been before the Ptolemaic occupation, among the territories of the several cities. The Ptolemies certainly controlled the mines; they no doubt also owned landed property in Cyprus, of which the confiscated estates of the deposed kings would have formed the nucleus. There is, however, no trace of extra-territorial royal land, and it seems likely that royal property in Cyprus was officially under the jurisdiction of the cities in whose territory it lay.<sup>11</sup>

The cities of Cyprus are represented by Dio as welcoming the Roman annexation, because they thus became instead of slaves the friends and allies of the Roman people. In point of fact the annexation must by destroying the centralized administration of the Ptolemies have given the cities a greater degree of autonomy. Cato seems to have reorganized the cities on the Roman model, establishing permanent councils, filled by censors, and giving these councils the dominant place in the constitution. After this reorganization the cities seem to have been left to themselves—Cicero at any rate regarded his duties as governor fulfilled when he had administered justice to the few Roman residents of the island. One may suspect, however, that the Cypriot cities soon began to look back to their former 'slavery' with regret when they found that 'freedom' involved paying an annual blackmail of two hundred talents to the governor for the privilege of not having Roman troops billeted upon them, and when the Roman financiers who obligingly lent them the money for this and similar purposes—at 48 per cent. per annum—appeared upon the scene at the head of Roman troops and collected their debts by starving out the city council in its council-house.<sup>12</sup>

Cyprus certainly consisted, under the Romans, if not under the Ptolemies, of a group of cities with their territories. There is no mention of public land of the Roman people in the island. Cato is stated to have sold all the royal property on annexing the kingdom, and it is probable that the royal property thus sold included the royal land. The mines continued to be under the control of the central government—Augustus gave their management and half their revenue to Herod—but this does not mean that they were extra-territorial.<sup>13</sup>

To compose a list of the cities of Cyprus for the Roman period is a difficult task. The Ptolemies had, according to their usual practice, allowed no city coinage, and the Roman government maintained this rule; the local currency was issued under the

Romans by the federation of the Cypriot cities. We are thus deprived of what is elsewhere the most valuable index of cities, and have to fall back on the evidence of the literary sources and the inscriptions. The inscriptions are good evidence as far as they go, but are too scanty to provide a complete list. The literary authorities give further information, but of an unreliable character. Strabo and Ptolemy, being primarily geographers, do not distinguish between the towns which were juristically cities and those which were not. Pliny gives a list of towns which is, unfortunately, not transcribed from an official register but compiled from his readings in the historians, and, it is to be feared, the mythologists. It is thus not until we reach the reign of Justinian that we are on safe ground. The lists of Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius agree in substance and thus probably give an exact record of the political organization of the island in the sixth century. Fortunately very few changes had occurred in the six centuries of Roman rule, and thus the lack of authorities for the intervening period is less embarrassing than it might otherwise have been.<sup>14</sup>

Hierocles and Georgius concur in recording twelve cities. The capital of the island was Constantia, that is, Salamis, which had been rebuilt after an earthquake and thus renamed by Constantius. The other cities were Amathus, Arsinoe, Carpasia, Cerynia, Chytri, Citium, Curium, Lapethus, Paphos, Soli, and Tamassus. All except the last had certainly been cities in the Ptolemaic period; on Tamassus there is no evidence, but it too had probably regained its independence under the Ptolemies, when the kingdom of Salamis, to which it had been assigned by Alexander, was dissolved. Georgius records one other city, Trimethus. Its position implies that it must originally have been a village of Citium. It was already a bishopric in the fourth century, its bishops attending the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople; this, however, is no proof that it was a city, especially in Cyprus which was, according to Sozomenus, peculiar in possessing many village bishoprics. Socrates, it is true, speaks of Spiridon, who attended the council of Nicaea, as bishop of the city of Trimethus, but as against this statement Hierocles' silence may indicate that it was not raised to city status till a later date.

Cyprus thus shows little development throughout its history. As far back as its history can be traced the city was the political unit. During the period when the cities were ruled by kings some cities were politically subject to others and a few were perman-

ently amalgamated to others. From the time when the city dynasties were suppressed the political organization of the island remained constant, with a single exception, down to the end of the period which I cover. It is a remarkable testimony to the stability of Cypriot civilization that of the ten cities which submitted to Esarhaddon seven were still cities under Justinian and an eighth, Ledra, an important town and a bishopric.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER I

1. Herod., v. 3.
2. The history of the Odrysian kingdom is recounted by Höck, 'Das Odrysenreich in Thrakien', *Hermes*, 1891, pp. 76-117. Teres is regarded as the founder of the kingdom by Thucydides (II. 29), his son Sitalces by Diodorus (XII. 50): it may be noted that Herodotus knew of both Teres and Sitalces (IV. 80, VII. 137), but never revised his passage on Thrace. For the extent and financial and military resources of the kingdom see Thuc., II. 96-8, who evidently had the same exaggerated respect for it as Herodotus, despite the fiasco of the Macedonian expedition (II. 100, 101). THE FREE THRACIANS: Thuc., II. 96.
3. APOLLONIA: Strabo, VII. vi. 1, p. 319, Scymnus, 730-3, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 233. MESEMBRIA: Herod., VI. 33, Scymnus, 738-42. ANCHIALUS: Strabo, loc. cit. ODESSUS: Scymnus, 748-9, Strabo, VII. vi. 1, p. 319. CRUNI-DIONYSOPOLIS: Scymnus, 751-7; Strabo (loc. cit.) ignores the later name, which already appears on the coinage, dating from c. 200 B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 274). WRECKING ON THE SALMYDESSUS COAST: Xen., *Anab.*, VII. v. 12-13, Strabo, loc. cit. ABDERA: Herod., I. 168, Strabo, VII. fr. 44, *S.E.G.*, v. I. v. 5, &c. MARONEA: Scymnus, 676-8, *S.E.G.*, v. 2. vi. 21, &c. AENUS: Strabo, VII. fr. 52, 58, *S.E.G.*, v. 2. vi. 17, &c. DICAIA: Herod., VII. 109, *S.E.G.*, v. I. iv. 28, &c.; it last appears as an independent city in the second Athenian league (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 147). TRADING STATIONS: Herod., VII. 59, *Σάλη τε Σαμοθρηκική πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη*, VII. 108, *τὰ Σαμοθρηκία τείχεα . . . Θασίων πόλις Στρώμη*, Scylax, 67, *κατὰ ταύτην* (Samothrace) *ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐμπόρια Δρύς, Ζώνη*. Drys, Zone, and Sale appear in an assessment list of c. 424 B.C. (*I.G.*, Ed. Min., I. 64); Perdrizet (*R.E.G.*, 1909, p. 33 seqq.) connects their separate assessment with Antiphon's speech *Περὶ τοῦ Σαμοθρακίων φόρου*. STRYME DISPUTED BY THASOS AND MARONEA: Dem., L. 20-2, XII. 17. SALE OWNED BY MARONEA: Livy, XXXVIII. 41.
4. BYZANTIUM: founded by Megara, Scymnus, 717; advantages of site and trouble with the Thracians, Polyb., IV. 38-45; tribute, *S.E.G.*, v. 3. v. 29, &c. SELYMBRIA: Scymnus, 715-16, *S.E.G.*, v. 4. iv. 14, &c.; absorbed by Byzantium, Dem., XV. 26. It appears as a town in 190 B.C. (Polyb., XVIII. 49, Livy, XXXIII. 39) and a village in the early principate (*G.D.I.*, 3069). PERINTHUS: Strabo, VII. fr. 56, Scymnus, 714-15, *S.E.G.*, v. 3. v. 3, &c. BISANTHE: Mela, II. 24, *I.G.*, Ed. Min., I. 64; under the Thracians, Xen., *Anab.*, VII. ii. 38; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 266. HERAEON TEICHOS: Herod., IV. 90, Harpocration, and Suidas, s.v. *Ἡραίων τεῖχος*, Dem., III. 4; an inscription (*I.G. Bulg.*, I. 43) of the first century which describes a man as *Ἡραίωνης* proves that Heraeon Teichos still existed as a town. Tyrodiza, a village of Perinthus (Herod., VII. 25) is sometimes separately assessed in the Delian League (*Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 428-9). NEAPOLIS: *Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 352-3. CITIES OF THE CHERSONESE: Xen., *Hell.*, III. ii. 10; tribute of Limnae, *S.E.G.*, v. 8. i. 96, &c.; Alopeconnesus, *ib.*, 4. v. 21, &c.; Elaeus, *ib.*, 8. i. 99, &c.; Sestos, *ib.*, 9. v. 25, &c.; Madytus, *ib.*, II. ii. 10, &c.; Callipolis, *ib.*, 21. vi. 12, &c.; Agora, *ib.*, 20. v. 9, &c.; coins of Agathopolis, Aegospotami, Crithote, Cardia, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 258-9. Scymnus (699-712) records the founders of the several cities, Cardia (Miletus and Clazomenae), Alopeconnesus (Aeolians), Limnae (Miletus), Elaeus (Athens), Madytus and Sestos (Lesbos), Crithote and Pactye (Miltiades). THE MILTIADES FAMILY IN THE CHERSONESE: Herod., VI. 34-41. FIFTH-CENTURY CLERUCHIES: Diod., XI. 88, Plut., *Per.*, II and 19. FOURTH-CENTURY CLERUCHIES: Diod., XVI. 34, Dem., VIII. 6, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 255.
5. DIVISION OF THRACIAN KINGDOM: Dem., XXIII. 8 and 170. Philip's early conquest of the western kingdom (Berisades) is to be inferred from *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 196 (Crenides, formerly in Berisades' kingdom, already in Philip's hands), Dem., XXIII. 183

- (Philip's kingdom extends to Maronea). PHILIP'S CONQUEST OF THE EASTERN KINGDOM (Cersobleptes): Diod., XVI. 71. His conquest of the middle kingdom (Amadocus) probably took place at the same time, cf. Dem., XII. 8-10 (Teres is probably Amadocus' successor). This war of 342 B.C. is alluded to in Dem., VIII. 44, X. 15. PHILIP'S COLONIES: Diod., XVI. 71, Strabo, VII. vi. 2, p. 320, Καλύβη (better Καβύλη) Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐνταυθα ἰδρύσαντος, Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 41, 'Poneropolis antea, mox a conditore Philippopolis'; Plut., *Mor.*, 520 B, ἡ πόλις ἦν ἐκ τῶν κακίστων καὶ ἀναγωγολάτων κτίσας ὁ Φίλιππος Πονηρόπολιν προσήγορευσεν; Suidas, s.v. Δούλων πόλις and Πονηρόπολις, ἐστὶ δὲ τις καὶ περὶ Θράκην Πονηρόπολις ἣν Φίλιππὸν φασὶ συνοικῆσαι [sic] τοὺς ἐπὶ πονηρία διαβαλλομένους αὐτοῖσι συναγαγόντα . . . ὡς διαχιλίους, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἐν γ' τῶν Φιλιππικῶν; Tzetzes, *Chiliad.*, p. 510, ed. Kiessling, τὸν Φίλιππον πάντας πονηροὺς καὶ μοιχοὺς εἰς Πονηρόπολιν συνοικίσαντα καὶ Μοιχόπολιν ἢ Βυηρία καλεῖται; *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Βίη, μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης Ἡρόθεος καὶ φησὶ ἀνομείσθαι ὑπὸ Φιλίππου οικισθεῖσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ συνοικισθέντων μοιχῶν. PULPUDEVA: Jordanes, *Romana*, 221. COINS OF CABYLE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 278. Cabyle is also mentioned in *I.G. Bulg.*, 1731 of early Hellenistic date.
6. ALEXANDER AND THE MAEDI: Plut., *Alex.*, 6. SEUTHES' REVOLT AGAINST ANTIPATER: Q. Curtius, X. (i) 6; against Lysimachus, Diod., XVIII. 14, XIX. 73, Arrian, τὰ μετ' Ἀλέξ., fr. I, 10. SEUTHOPOLIS: *I.G. Bulg.*, 1731. LYSIMACHEIA: Diod., XX. 29, Paus., I. ix. 8, Strabo, VII, fr. 52, Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 48; it apparently occupied the site of Agora (for whose position see Scylax, 67).
7. Abdera is not mentioned in either the Second Macedonian or the Syrian wars; the simplest explanation is that it belonged throughout to Macedonia, to which it certainly belonged under Perseus (Livy, XLV. 29, *vid. inf.* note 8). PTOLEMAIC POSSESSIONS: Polyb., V. 34; they were acquired by Euergetes (*O.G.I.*, 54). LYSIMACHEIA IN THE AETOLIAN LEAGUE: Polyb., XV. 23. SYMPOLOGY OF PERINTHUS AND BYZANTIUM: Polyb., XVIII. 2, Livy, XXXII. 33. BYZANTIUM AND THE GAULS, ETC.: Polyb., IV. 46-52.
8. OVERTHROW OF CAUARES: Polyb., IV. 46. PHILIP TAKES LYSIMACHEIA: Polyb., XV. 23; Perinthus, *id.*, XVIII. 2 and 44, Livy, XXXII. 33, XXXIII. 30; Maronea, &c., Livy, XXXI. 16. DESTRUCTION OF LYSIMACHEIA: Polyb., XVIII. 4, Livy, XXXII. 34. TERMS OF PEACE: Polyb., XVIII. 44, Livy, XXXIII. 30. ANTIOCHUS CLAIMS THRACE: Polyb., XVIII. 51, Livy, XXXIII. 40; occupies Chersonese and restores Lysimacheia, Livy, XXXIII. 38; occupies Aenus and Maronea, Livy, XXXVII. 60. GRANT OF CHERSONESE TO EUMENES: Polyb., XXI. 46, Livy, XXXVIII. 39. PHILIP OCCUPIES AENUS AND MARONEA: Livy, XXXIX. 24. COMPLAINTS OF MARONEA, ETC.: Livy, XXXIX. 27-9, 33-4. The reoccupation of the Thracian coast by Macedon is implied in Livy, XLV. 29, 'accessurum huic parti (the First Region of Macedonia) trans Nestum ad orientem versum qua Perseus tenuisset vicos castella oppida praeter Aenum et Maroneam et Abdera' (cf. Strabo, VII, fr. 48, τῆς Μακεδονίας φηαὶ τοῦτο (the Hebrus) ὄριον ἦν ἀφείλοντο Περσέα Ῥωμαῖοι). EUMENES CLAIMS AENUS AND MARONEA: Polyb., XXX. 3, Livy, XLV. 20. ABDERA AND COTYS: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 656, cf. *B.C.H.*, 1935, pp. 508 ff. BYZANTIUM: Tac., *Ann.*, XII. 62-3, Cic., *de prov. cons.*, 7.
9. REVOLT OF ANDRISCUS, AIDED BY THE THRACIANS: Florus, I. 30 (II. 14), Zonaras, IX. 28. THE VIA EGNATIA: Polybius apud Strab., VII. vii. 4, p. 322. ANNEXATION OF COASTAL TRIBES: the Sapaei, an independent tribe in the reign of Perseus (cf. Paus., VII. x. 6 and Livy, XLII. 13 and 40-1), were in Roman Macedonia (*vid. inf.*, note 10). ALLIANCE WITH THRACIAN TRIBES: Livy, XLII. 19. COTYS, KING OF THE ODRYSAE: ally of Perseus, Livy, XLII. 29, 57, 67; reconciled with Rome, Polyb., XXX. 17, Livy, XLV. 42. DENTHELETAE: Cic., *in Pis.*, 84; they are recorded to have surrendered to Sulla (Gran. Lic., ed. Teubner, p. 28). BESSI: Cic., *loc. cit.*; their war with M. Lucullus, Amm. Marc., XXVII. IV. 11, Eutrop., VI. 10; with C. Octavius, Suet., *Aug.*, 3. Cicero (*in Pis.*, 38) represents Macedonia as continu-

ally involved in border wars, and the meagre records of the period bear him out, speaking constantly of Roman expeditions into Thrace and Thracian incursions into Macedonia; see Livy, *Epit.*, 56, 63, 65, 70, 74, 76, 81, 83, 91, 92, 95, 97.

10. The history and genealogy of the royal houses of Thrace are discussed by Dessau, *Eph. Epigr.*, IX, pp. 696-705, and by G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 152-6. THE DYNASTY SAPAEAN: Strabo, XII. iii. 29, p. 556, *Κότυι τῷ Σαπαιῶ*. THE SAPAEI IN MACEDONIA: Caesar, *B.C.*, III. 4, 'ex Macedonia CC erant quibus Rascipolis praerant'. RHASCUPORIS, SON OF COTYS: *I.G.*, III. 552; aids Pompey, Caesar, loc. cit.; aids Brutus and Cassius, Appian, *B.C.*, IV. 87 and 103 seqq.; not yet a king, Cassius Dio, XLVII. 25, 'Ρασκυπόριδος . . . δυνάστων; ruled the Corpili also, Appian, *B.C.*, IV. 87, τὰ στενὰ τῶν Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπαιῶν τῆς 'Ρασκουπόλιδος ὄντα ἀρχῆς; pardoned, Appian, *B.C.*, IV. 136; becomes king, *I.G.*, III. 552-3, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 286. KING COTYS, HIS SON: *I.G.*, III. 553, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 286, *I.G.R.*, I. 1503, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, XII, pp. 175, 178, *I.G. Bulg.*, 743.
11. I see no reason for connecting this family with the Odrysaë, as does Dessau, seeing that its capital was Bizye (*I.G.R.*, I. 775) and Bizye was the capital of the Astae (Strabo, VII, fr. 48, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Βιζύη*). Its known members are King Sadalas (Cic., *Verr.*, I. 63), King Cotys (Cic., *in Pis.*, 84, Caesar, *B.C.*, III. 4), his son King Sadalas (*I.G. Bulg.*, 43, Caesar, loc. cit., Cassius Dio, XLI. 63, XLVII. 25, Appian, *B.C.*, IV. 75, where the murdered husband of Polemocrateia must be Sadalas in view of *I.G.R.*, I. 775), and his son Cotys (*I.G.R.*, I. 775). The marriage of this Cotys to a daughter of Cotys the son of Rhascuporis is an inference from Cassius Dio, LIV. 20 and 34. The regency of Cotys the son of Rhascuporis is an inference from *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, XII, p. 178 (a dedication in his honour at Bizye). KING RHOEMETALCES, SON OF COTYS THE SAPAEAN: *I.G.R.*, I. 1503, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, XII, p. 175, *I.G. Bulg.*, 12, 743, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 286; guardian of sons of the other Cotys, Cassius Dio, LIV. 20 and 34. REVOLT OF THE BESSI: Cassius Dio, LIV. 34; their earlier subjection, Cassius Dio, LIV. 20; that Rhoemetalces succeeded to Rhascuporis' kingdom is merely an inference from his later being king of all Thrace (Tac., *Ann.*, II. 64). The process of unification must have been gradual, for early in the reign of Augustus many of the tribes of northern Thrace were apparently independent of either of the dynasties discussed above: Cassius Dio, LI. 25 (Crassus in 29 B.C. fights the Maedi and Serdi, rewards the Odrysaë for their fidelity), LIV. 3 (Primus in 22 B.C. indicted for attacking the Odrysaë), and especially LI. 23 (in 29 B.C. the Dentheletae have their own king and are *foederati* with Rome).
12. DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM: Tac., *Ann.*, II. 64. Cotys' title is unknown; he issued no coins and is mentioned on no inscription. RHASCUPORIS DYNAST: *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, XII, p. 175. SECOND DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM: Tac., *Ann.*, II. 67, cf. III. 38 and IV. 5. RHOEMETALCES DYNAST: *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, XII, p. 175; later king, Tac., *Ann.*, III. 38, IV. 47; he seems to have ruled the greater part of Thrace including Bizye, Anchialus (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, XII, p. 175), and Apollonia (*I.G.R.*, I. 1503) in the east and Philippopolis with the Odrysaë, Coelaetae, and Dii in the west (Tac., *Ann.*, III. 38, *I.G.R.*, I. 777), and Abrittus, north of the Haemus, *I.G. Bulg.*, 743). RHOEMETALCES, SON OF COTYS, MADE KING: Cassius Dio, LIX. 12, *I.G.R.*, IV. 145-7, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 286. MURDER OF RHOEMETALCES: Syncellus, p. 631, ed. Bonn; the annexation of Thrace seems to have involved some fighting (Tac., *Ann.*, XII. 63).
13. ROYAL STRATEGI: *I.G. Bulg.*, 43 (Odessus), 12 (Dionysopolis), *B.S.A.*, XII, p. 175, *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.*, XXV (1963), pp. 193-203, *I.G. Bulg.*, 743 (Anchialus, Seltetice, Rhysice).
14. ROMAN STRATEGI: *I.G.R.*, I. 677 (Theopompus). *I.G. Bulg.*, 1116 (Zuculesis), 2338 (Dizalas). LIST OF STRATEGI: *Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ.*, 1953-4, pp. 233-44. The last mention of a *strategia* is in *I.G. Bulg.*, 1115.

- 15 ASUTICE: *I.G. Bulg.*, 1116 (cf. 2338). DENTHELETICE: *I.G.R.*, I. 677. BIOLETICE: *I.G. Bulg.*, 2338. For Selletice and Rhysice see note 13.
16. Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 40, 'in strategias L. divisa', IV. 45, 'Astice regio', IV. 47, 'regio Caenica'.
17. Ptol., III. xi. 6.
18. DIVISION OF *STRATEGIAE*: *I.G.R.*, I. 677, 801. ODRYSAE: Cassius Dio, LI. 25, LIV. 3, Tac. *Ann.*, III. 38. OLYNTHIA: *I.G. Bulg.*, 2338, Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 42.
19. MAEDI: Polyb., X. 41, Livy, XXVI. 25, XXVIII. 5, XL. 21, XLIV. 26, Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 40, Strabo, VII, fr. 36; they are mentioned in 85 B.C. (Plut., *Sulla*, 23, Gran. Lic., ed. Teubner, p. 27) and 29 B.C. (Cassius Dio, LI. 25). SAPAEI: Herod., VII. 110, Strabo, VII, fr. 44, Paus., VII. x. 6. CORPILI: Appian, *B.C.*, IV. 87, Strabo, VII, fr. 48; they are perhaps the 'Coreli' of Livy, XXXVIII. 40, who with the Caeni and Astae attacked Manlius. CAENI: Strabo, XIII. IV. 2, p. 624, Livy, XXXVIII. 40, Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 47. COELALETAE: Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 41, Tac., *Ann.*, III. 38 (cf. *I.G.R.*, I. 777.). Drosice has been connected with the Dersaei, recorded by Herodotus (VII. 110) among the coast tribes next to the Sapaiei, and with the Trausi, who harried Gnaeus Manlius' march between Aenus and Maroneia (Livy, XXXVIII. 41).
20. SERDI: Cassius Dio, LI. 25. DENTHELETAE: Polyb., XXIII. 8, Livy, XXXIX. 53, XL. 22, Cic., *in Pis.*, 84; they are also mentioned in Gran. Lic., ed. Teubner, p. 28, Cassius Dio, LI. 23 and 25. LIV. 20. SELLETICE: Sialetae, Cassius Dio, LIV. 34, cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 41. USDICESICE: *C.I.L.*, VI, 2807 = 32582 (= Dessau, 4068). The inscriptions locating Dentheletice and Selletice are *I.G.R.*, I. 677, found at Turres (Piro) and *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XXV (1963), pp. 193-203, found at Burgas.
21. ASTAE: Strabo, VII. VI. I, p. 319, VI. 2, p. 320, *I.G.R.*, I. 677, 801, Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 45; capital Bizye, Strabo, VII, fr. 48, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Βιζύη*; they attacked Manlius with the Caeni and 'Coreli' (Livy, XXXVIII. 40). BESSI: Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 40, Strabo, VII, fr. 48; Philip V, Polyb., XXIII. 8, Livy, XXXIX. 53; M. Lucullus, *Eutrop.*, VI. 10. cf. *Amm. Marc.*, XIV. XI. 15, XXVII. IV. 12; Crassus, Cassius Dio, LI. 12; Vologaeses, Cassius Dio, LIV. 34.
22. BENNICE: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Βέννα, πόλις Θράκης . . . εἴρηται καὶ Βεννική*; Beni, Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 40; *Βρέναι*, Strabo, VII, fr. 48. ROYAL *STRATEGI*: *I.G. Bulg.*, 1116, 2263, see also note 13.
23. ABDERA AND AENUS FREE: Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 42, 43. BYZANTIUM: Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 46, Tac., *Ann.*, XII. 62-3, Suet., *Vesp.*, 8. 4, Pliny, *Ep.*, X. 43-4, 77-8, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, p. 287, βασιλεύοντος *Ροιμετάλκου μεραρχούντος δὲ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Φιλοστράτου* (at Constantinople). MARONEIA: formerly free. Polyb., XXX. 3; subject to Rhometalces, *I.G.R.*, I. 829. ANCHIALUS AND PERINTHUS CAPITALS OF *STRATEGIAE*: *Ann. Brit.*, *Sch. Ath.*, XII, p. 175, *I.G.R.*, I. 677, 801. COINS OF PERINTHUS, ETC.: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 271, 251-2, 277, 287-8. The *strategiae* of Thrace seem, like the toparchies of Judaea and the nomes of Egypt, to have survived in popular speech as geographical terms after their official abolition; cf. *C.I.L.*, VI. 2807 = 32582 (= Dessau, 4068), 'cives Usdicensis', *C.I.L.*, VI. 2605 (= Dessau, 2041), *C.I.L.*, X. 1754 (= Dessau, 2043), 'regione Serdica'. Even in the sixth century Procopius (*Goth.*, III. 40, § 43) speaks of *τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀστικὴν καλουμένην*.
24. Cic., *de lege agr.*, II. 50. SESTOS: *O.G.I.*, 339; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 261. CALLIPOLIS: *I.G.R.*, I. 815, 816, 819. LYSIMACHEIA, DESERTED: Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 48; destruction by Diegyllis, Diod., XXXIII. 14, cf. Strabo, XIII. IV. 2. p. 624; it nevertheless figures in Ptolemy (III. XI. 7). INSCRIPTIONS OF ALOPECONNESUS, ETC.: *B.C.H.* 1880, p. 516, 1912, p. 277. AGRIPPA'S BEQUEST: Cassius Dio, LIV. 29. COELA: Mela, II. 26, Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 49, *C.I.L.*, III. 7380 (= Dessau,

- 5682), *I.G.R.*, I. 822-3, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 259; that it was under the procurator is implied by *Forschungen in Ephesos*, III, p. 134. THE OTHER CITY: *C.I.L.*, III. 726 (= Dessau, 1419), Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 47, 'regio Caenica, colonia Flavio-polis ubi antea Caela oppidum'; Aphrodisias, Ptol., III. xi. 7, Hierocles, 634, I, *Conc. Eph.*, actio VII (*vid. inf.*, note 35).
25. *Forschungen in Ephesos*, III, p. 134, ἐπίτροπον τοῦ σεβαστοῦ ἐπαρχείας Χερσονήσου Χερσονησίται οἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ψηφίσματι βουλῆς Αἰλίου μουνηκίου Κοίλων ἀξήσαντα τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος.
26. PROCURATORS OF THRACE: *C.I.L.*, III. 6123 (= Dessau, 231), *AE*, 1912, 193, *Arch. Eph.*, 1953-4, pp. 233-44, Tac., *Hist.*, I. 11 (under Nero), *AE*, 1936, I (under Vespasian), *I.G.R.*, I. 781 (under Domitian), Dessau, 1350, *I.G.R.*, 840 (under Trajan). *STRATEGI*: see note 14. APRUS: Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἄπρος, Θεόπομπος κς', τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου διατρίβοντος περὶ τὴν Ἄπρον, Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 47, 48, Ptol., III. xi. 7, *C.I.L.*, III. 386 (= Dessau, 2718). DEULTUM: Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 45, Ptol., III. xi. 7, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 287, Dessau, 6105. 'The colony of Αἰλαίου τεύχος is, I think, a mare's nest; 'Cololetic' in *C.I.L.*, III, p. 857, No. XIV, should be read not 'Col(onia) Ole(i) Tic(ho)' but 'Co(e)l(a)letic(a)'.
27. LEGATE OF THRACE UNDER TRAJAN: *C.I.L.*, V. 877 (= Dessau, 1052). TRAJANOPOLIS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 288; inscription, *B.C.H.*, 1913, p. 147; it bore the surname Ulpia, *Eph. Epigr.*, IV. 895, 37, 'Ulp. Traip.'; site, *Itin. Ant.*, 175, 322, 332, 333, *Itin. Hier.*, 602. AUGUSTA TRAJANA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 288; inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, I. 749, 750, 752, &c.; is 'Ul. Beroe' of *Eph. Epigr.*, IV. 894, b 6 Augusta Trajana (*vid. inf.*, note 28)? It was a free city under Gallienus, *I.G.R.*, I. 759. PLOTINOPOLIS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 288; site, *Tab. Peut.*, VIII. 34, *Itin. Ant.*, 175, 322. ULPIA NICOPOLIS AD NESTUM: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 287. ULPIA SERDICE: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 288; inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, I. 683, 688, 691; cf. *Eph. Epigr.*, IV. 894, c 22, 895, 16 ('Iul. Serd.' in 891, 13, is probably an error for 'Ulp. Serd.'). ULPIA PAUTALIA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 287; inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, I. 669-71; cf. *Eph. Epigr.*, IV. 894, c 12, c 31, d 2, d 27; in 894, c 26, it is called 'Ael. Pauta.', which implies that here as elsewhere in Thrace Hadrian completed Trajan's work. ULPIA TOPIRUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 288; site, Strabo, VII, fr. 45. ULPIA BIZYE: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 287; the title Ulpia is not used on the coins but is attested by *Eph. Epigr.*, IV. 895, 20, 25, 'Ulp. Bize' ('Iul. Bize' in 895, 31, is probably an error). HADRIANOPOLIS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 287; inscription, *I.G.R.*, I. 772; from *Eph. Epigr.*, IV. 894, c 13, c 14 ('Ulp. Hadpo.'), 894, d 11 ('Ulp. Hadrian.'), 895, 17, 21 ('Ulp. Hadr.') it appears that Hadrian completed and named a city begun by Trajan. NICOPOLIS AD ISTRUM: inscriptions, *I.G. Bulg.*, 601-15 (legates of Thrace), 616-45 (legates of Moesia II), coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, 275. MARCIANOPOLIS: inscriptions, *C.I.L.*, VI. 32624, 32640, *I.G. Bulg.*, 797, coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, 275.
28. Doriscus, like Trajanopolis, lay at the mouth of the Hebrus, cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 43, Strabo, VII, fr. 48; it was still an important fortress in 200 B.C., cf. Livy, XXXI. 16. Beroe is placed by the Itineraries (*Tab. Peut.*, VIII. 2, *Itin. Ant.*, 231) at Stara Zagora, which inscriptions prove to have been Augusta Trajana (*vid. sup.*, note 27). Uscudama and Hadrianopolis, *vid. sup.*, note 21. Philippopolis seems to have benefited from Trajan's reorganization of Thrace; it adopted the style of Ulpia Trimontium (Dessau, 2008, *Eph. Epigr.*, IV. 891, 10, 11, 14, cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 41). Aprus also took the name Ulpia (*Eph. Epigr.*, IV. 894, c 17) and therefore probably gained territory. Deultum does not seem to have changed its style.
29. ULPIA ANCHIALUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 277; inscription, *I.G.R.*, I. 771; cf. *Eph. Epigr.*, IV. 894, b 15, d 15, d 31, 895, 5. ULPIA PERINTHUS: the surname



is only known from *Eph. Epigr.*, iv. 895, 24, 'Ulp. Perin. '; the contiguity of the Perinthian and Byzantine territories is implied by Severus' making Byzantium a village of Perinthus (Cassius Dio, LXXIV. 14). TRAJAN'S ATTITUDE TO FREE CITIES: Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 93.

30. PAUTALIA: *I.G.R.*, I. 674, lines 121 seqq., ἡ κώμη ἢ τοῦ βοηθουμένου στρατιώτου (viz. *Scaptopara*) [ἔστιν] ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἡμετέρας τῶν Πανταλιωτῶν πόλεως κείμενη. SERDICE: *I.G.R.*, I. 686, 689 (at Piroi), 559 (at Mezdra). PHILIPPOLIS: *I.G.R.*, I. 721, 728 (at Hissar), 724 (at Hissarjik). AUGUSTA TRAJANA: *I.G.R.*, I. 741 (at Ali Pasha Karasura), *Année Epigr.*, 1927, pp. 19 seqq., nos. 71, 72, 73, 75, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τραιανέων . . . ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ αὐτῆς Δισκοδουρατέραις (at Gostilitza), *I.G.R.*, I. 740 (at Sliven). DEULTUM: *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulgare*, iv, p. 108 (= *Année Épigr.*, 1927, 49), 'per fin. col. Fl. Deult. burgos et praesidium'.
31. TRIBES OF PHILIPPOLIS: Artemisias, *I.G.R.*, I. 710, 730; Cendriseis, *I.G.R.*, I. 727; Rhodopeis, *I.G.R.*, I. 709; Hebrais, *I.G.R.*, I. 721; Heracleis, Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, no. 120. PHYLRARCHS AND COMARCHIES: *I.G.R.* I. 721, 728; comarchies are also recorded in *I.G. Bulg.*, 2043-4. For toparchs at Pizus, *vid. inf.*, note 32.
32. PIZUS: *I.G.R.*, I. 766; its government, οὐκ ἐμπορικ[κ]οὺς δημότας ἀλλὰ τοπάρχους βουλευτὰς ἐκέλευσα [ἐκπέ]μπε[σθαι] εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ἐμπορία δούσ αυτοῖς . . . δικαιοδοσίαν, &c.; appointment of local magistrates by toparchs, τῶν το[πάρ]χων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὓς ἐκέλευσα τῷ ἰδίῳ κινδύνῳ αὐτοὺς προβάλλεσθαι. DISCODURATERAE: *I.G. Bulg.*, 727-8, 731-3 (under Augusta Traiana), 734 (under Nicopolis). EMPORIUM PIRETENSIS: *ib.* 695. CILLAE: *ib.* 1516. PAREMBOLE: *Passio S. Alexandri*, 21.
33. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables I-V. On the position of Germana, see *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.*, x, p. 71. Cabyle is placed by the itineraries (*Tab. Peut.*, viii. 3, *Itin. Ant.*, 175) at or near Iambol, which seems to preserve the name of Diospolis. TZOIDES: *Proc., Aed.*, iv. 11, Τζυειδῶν.
34. MAXIMIANOPOLIS: *Itin. Ant.*, 321, 'Porsulis quod modo Maximianopolis', 331, 'Pyrsoli nunc Maximianopoli'. CEROPYRGOS: *Proc., Aed.*, iv. 11, Κηριπάρων. CYPSELA: Ptolemaic fortress, *Livy*, xxxi. 16; station on Via Egnatia, *Strabo*, vii. vii. 4, p. 322, *Itin. Ant.*, 332, *Itin. Hier.*, 602, 'mansio Gipsila'; promoted by Justinian, *Mansi*, ix. 175, 'Iustinianae Cypselitanorum', 391, 'Novae Iustinianae Cypselitanorum civitatis'. ANASTASIOPOLIS: *Proc., Aed.*, iv. 11.
35. Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. I, vol. i, pars vii, p. 122, ἔθος ἐκράτησεν ἀρχαίων ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρωπαϊκῶν ἐπαρχίας ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔχειν ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν πόλεις, ὅθεν ὁ μὲν τῆς Ἡρακλείας ἐπίσκοπος ἔχει τήν τε Ἡράκλειαν καὶ τὸ Πάνιον καὶ Ὀρνους καὶ Γάνον, τέσσαρας πόλεις τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὁ δὲ τῆς Βύζης ἐπίσκοπος ἔχει τήν τε Βύζην καὶ Ἀρκαδιούπολιν, ὁ δὲ Κοιλῶν ὁμοίως ἔχει τήν τε Κοίλα καὶ Καλλιπόλιν, ὁ δὲ Σαυσαδιάς ἐπίσκοπος ἔχει τήν τε Σαυσαδίαν καὶ Ἀφροδισιάδα.
36. PERINTHUS-HERACLEA: *Amm. Marc.*, xxvii. iv. 12; *I.G.R.*, I. 789-92; Heracles founder, *Head, Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 271, *Amm. Marc.*, xxii. viii. 5. SESTOS: *Proc., Aed.*, iv. 10. Aprus was refounded as Nova Theodosiopolis, according to *Cedrenus*, I, p. 568, ed. Bonn, by Theodosius I, but more probably by Theodosius II (the old name is still used in 431, the new in 458).
37. SELYMBRIA-EUDOXIOPOLIS: *Soc., H.E.*, vii. 36; Septimius Severus' attribution of Byzantium to Perinthus (Cassius Dio, LXXIV. 14) shows that in his day their territories were contiguous, and in the *Itin. Hier.* (570) Selymbria is still merely a *mansio*; cf. *G.D.I.* 3069, οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σαλυμβρία στεφανοῦντι Ἡρόδωρον

Ἀντιαλικίδα . . . κωμμαρχοῦντα ἑαυτῶν. Eudoxiopolis is mentioned in *Cod. Theod.*, xv. i. 42 (A.D. 404). BERGULA-ARCADIOPOLIS: Cedrenus, I, p. 568, ed. Bonn; Bergula, *Tab. Peut.*, VIII. 4, *Itin. Ant.*, 137, 230, 323, *Itin. Hier.*, 569, 'mansio Virgolis'. PANIUM-THEODOSIOPOLIS: Mansi, VIII. 974, τῆς Πανιτῶν ἤτοι Θεοδοσιοπολιτῶν (A.D. 536). MORISENI: Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 41. DRUZIPARA: *Itin. Ant.*, 137, 230, 323, *Itin. Hier.*, 569, 'mansio Drizupara'; Silta, Strabo, VII, fr. 56. RHAEDESTUS: Proc., *Aed.*, IV. 9; Pliny, *N.H.*, IV. 48, 'Resiston'.

38. FORTS IN THRACE: Proc., *Aed.*, IV. 11.

### *Ecclesiastical Organization*

In the province of Thrace cities and bishoprics correspond exactly. In Haemimontus the Notitiae omit Deultum, which certainly was a bishopric in the fifth century (Chalcedon) otherwise, assuming that Hierocles is wrong in omitting Mesembria, Sozopolis, and Anastasiopolis, the correspondence is complete. In Rhodope Cereopyrgus is nowhere recorded as a bishopric; otherwise, again assuming that Hierocles is wrong in omitting Anastasiopolis and Cypsela, the correspondence is complete. For Inland Dacia no Notitiae exist; of the three cities which concern this work two, Serdice and Pautalia, are attested to have had bishops. In Europe the situation is complicated. In the fifth century (*vid. sup.*, note 32) many cities were not bishoprics. The episcopal cities recorded in the fifth- and sixth-century councils are Heraclea, Bizye, Coela, Aphrodisias, Aprus, Selymbria, Druzipara (= Hierocles' Siltice?). Some of the non-episcopal cities never achieved a bishop; e.g. Orni, Gannus, Morizus; Sausadia and Aphrodisias also remained united as one see, the Chersonese. Others acquired bishops, e.g. Arcadiopolis, Panium, Calliopolis. In addition to these, Notitiae VII and I record only Rhaedestus, wrongly omitted by Hierocles. Notitia VIII gives three additional sees, Lizicus, Tzorullus, and Theodoropolis, which are first recorded at Nicaea II.

### NOTES ON CHAPTER II

1. THE AEOLIAN CITIES: Herod., I. 149-51. There were apparently two cities, Nesos and Pordoselene, on the Hundred Islets; both issued coins (*B.M.C., Troas, &c.*, p. lxxx) but they were assessed together in the Delian league (*I.G.*, Ed. Min., I. 64) and seem eventually to have coalesced. DESTRUCTION OF SMYRNA BY ALYATTES: Herod., I. 16, Strabo, XIV. i. 37, p. 646. Notium is reckoned by Herodotus as an Aeolian city but in Thucydides (III. 34) is called *Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων*. THE IONIAN CITIES: Herod., I. 142. THE DORIAN CITIES: Herod., I. 144.
2. The quota lists are collected and fully indexed in *S.E.G.*, v. The assessment decree of 425 B.C. has been very ingeniously reconstructed by Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* This work also has a full index, which includes all known members of the Delian league. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to give references to each name. THE LELEGES: Strabo, XIII. i. 59, p. 611, who mentions Myndus and Syangela; the names of Madnasa, Uranium, Pedasa, and Telmessus are obtained by a comparison of Strabo with Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 107; Pliny's Sibde is not otherwise known; one place remains vacant and may perhaps be filled by Termera, which certainly lay in this region; Herodotus mentions Myndus (v. 33), Pedasa (I. 175), Termera (v. 37), and Telmessus (I. 78, 84). MYNDUS, COLONY OF TROEZEN: Paus., II, xxx. 9. SYANGELA, COLONY OF TROEZEN: *Jahresh.*, 1908, pp. 71-2, *R.E.A.*, 1931, pp. 209 seqq. The Chersonesian *συντέλεια* may be presumed to have included Bubassus and Euthene, which later became Rhodian demes (*vid. inf.*, note 6). Cedreae is mentioned by Xenophon (*Hell.*, II.

- i. 15) as a πόλις of *μειξοβάρβαροι*. The Tymnii were later a Rhodian deme of the Peraea (*vid. inf.*, note 6) and I would, therefore, restore ἸΔΥΜ[ΕΕ] | ΤΥΜΝ[ΕΕΞΕΞΕ] in the assessment decree rather than ἸΔΥΜ[ΕΕ ΗΟΝ] | ΤΥΜΝ[ΕΕ ΑΡΧΕΙ] as do Meritt and West. Caunus and Calynda (written Κλαυνδέες in the lists) are mentioned in Herodotus (I. 171-2, VIII. 87). IASUS, COLONY OF ARGOS: Polyb., XVI. 12, cf. Michel, 431, in which the Rhodians call the Iasians *συγγενείς*. Herodotus mentions Caryanda (IV. 44), Cindye (V. 118), Mylasa (I. 171, V. 37, 121) and the Ἰδριάς χώρα (V. 118). Miletus, Teichiussa, and Leros are grouped together in the assessment list; Teichiussa is stated to be in Milesian territory in Thuc., VIII. 26, Branchidae in Herod., I. 46, 92, 157, II. 159. Latmus is called Heraclea already in Scylax, 99. THE PEDIÆIS: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 282, *O.G.I.*, II. PEDASA: Herod., VI. 20. Euromus was identical with Europus; see Herod., VIII. 133-5, Paus., IX. xxiii. 6, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Εὐρωπός*, and the coins.
3. MAGNESIA ON THE MÆANDER: Herod., I. 161, III. 122, 125; Thuc., I. 138; Aeolian colony, Strabo, XIV. i. 11, 39, 40, pp. 636, 647, Kern, *Inscr. von Magn. Mae.*, nos. 17 and 20. TRALLES: Xen., *Anab.*, I. iv. 8, *Hell.*, III. ii. 19; foundation legend, Strabo, XIV. i. 42, p. 649. ALABANDA: Herod., VII. 195; foundation legend from imperial coins, *B.M.C., Caria*, p. xxx. -OGASSEIS, ETC.: Robert, *Études Anat.* p. 568. HYPARNA: Arrian, *Anab.* I. 24, *Sb.* 1780. ACHILLEUM AND LEUCOPHRYS: Xen., *Hell.*, IV. viii. 17, cf. III. ii. 17. 19. THERA: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 5. ALINDA: *ib.*, I. 23; an Ἄλυνδεύς is recorded in a late fourth-century inscription (Kern, *Inscr. von Magn. Mae.*, no. 3). AMYZON: *O.G.I.*, 235.
  4. CARIAN TYRANTS: Herod., V. 37, VII. 195. DECREE OF MYLASA: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 167; of Tralles, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 573.
  5. CARIAN EMBASSY TO THE GREAT KING: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 167. THE CHRYSAORIC LEAGUE: Strabo, XIV. ii. 25, p. 660; inscriptions illustrating its membership are collected by Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros*, pp. 7-8.
  6. SYNOECISM OF RHODES: Diod., XIII. 75. The demes of Rhodes in the islands and the Peraea are discussed in Van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier*, pp. 178 seqq., Ernst Meyer, *Die Grenzen der Hellenistischen Staaten*, pp. 49 seqq. (the Peraea only), and Hiller von Gaertringen, art. 'Rhodos', *P.W.*, suppl. v. 750 seqq. The grounds upon which Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 52) makes Cyllandus a deme of Rhodes are so slender that I have preferred to omit it. His grounds are that in an inscription (*J.H.S.*, 1896, p. 221, no. 15) at Jerkesen a Rhodian officer is not styled 'Ρόδιος but apparently by his demotic (only the two last letters -ως survive). But it is, in the first place, very doubtful if Cyllandus was at or near Jerkesen, and in the second place, the whole argument rests on the very doubtful theory that Rhodians were styled Rhodians on foreign territory and by their demotic (or without any political style) on Rhodian territory. This view is confuted by an inscription (*Sb. Ak. Wien*, CXXXII. ii, p. 31) at Idyma (which was certainly Rhodian territory) in honour of a man who is styled 'Ρόδιον]. What determines the presence or absence of the style 'Ρόδιος is, I think, not the place where the inscription was set up but the persons concerned; foreigners style a Rhodian 'Ρόδιος, Rhodians do not. The inscription at Idyma was set up by τὸ κοινὸν τῶ[ν . . .]ωσιτενέων; that at Jerkesen may have been set up by Rhodian citizens.
  7. SYNOECISM OF HALICARNASSUS: Strabo, XIII. i. 59, p. 611, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 107. The evidence for the continued independence of Theangela is given by Wilhelm in *Jahresh.*, 1908, pp. 63-72, cf. also *R.E.A.*, 1931, pp. 5 seqq. PEDASA: Strabo, loc. cit. TELMESSUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 619, Michel, 459. The missing sixth city is perhaps Termera, which disappears from history after the fifth century.
  8. PHYGELA, FOUNDED BY AGAMEMNON: Strabo, XIV. i. 20, p. 639; cf. *S.E.G.*, IV. 513; it is mentioned by Xenophon (*Hell.*, I. ii. 2) and in Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, no. 142. ANAEA: Thuc., IV. 75, Scylax, 98. Larissa on the Cayster did

- not apparently figure in the legend of the Aeolian migration (Strabo, XIII. iii. 2, pp. 620-1). Aerae and Dioshieron are mentioned in Thuc., VIII. 19, 20. Buthia, &c., are generally qualified as Ἐρυθραίων when assessed separately; Thucydides (VIII. 24) speaks of Sidussa and Pteleus as being ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθραία. HERACLEA AND MELAMPAGAE: Robert, *Études Anat.*, pp. 111 seqq. LEUCAE: Diod., XV. 18; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 581.
9. ELAEA, FOUNDED BY MENESTHEUS: Strabo, XIII. iii. 5, p. 622. TISNA AND BOEONE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 557, 552; the position of Boeone is fixed by the style and provenance of its coins alone, Tisna is probably to be identified with Pliny's Titanus (*N.H.*, v. 121). OLYMPUS: Michel, 13.
10. CARENE: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Καρήνη*. AUTOCANE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 552; the city, which is otherwise unknown, is presumably to be connected with the city and promontory of Canae mentioned by Strabo, XIII. i. 68, p. 615. ATARNEUS: Herod., I. 160, VIII. 106, Diod., XIII. 65; Eubulus and Hermias, Diog. Laert., v. i. 5, Strabo, XIII. i. 57 and 67, pp. 610, 614, Diod., XVI. 52, [Arist.], *Oec.*, II, p. 1351a, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 229. CISTHENE: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 522; it is mentioned by Isocrates, *Paneg.*, 153. ADRAMYTTIUM: Lydian colony, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀδραμύττειον, cf. Strabo, XIII. i. 65, p. 613; settlement of Delians, Thuc., v. 1, Diod., XII. 73, cf. Strabo, XIII. i. 51, p. 606; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 520. THEBE: *Iliad*, I. 366 seqq.; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 538. IOLLA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 528; its nearness to Adramyttium is inferred from the provenance and style of the coins.
11. THE DYNASTIES OF DEMARATUS AND GONGYLUS: Xen., *Hell.*, III. i. 6. PERGAMUM: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 532; the chronicle, *O.G.I.*, 264; foundation legends, Paus., I. iv. 6, xi. 1 and 2.
12. Several of the names in this paragraph depend on Meritt and West's rather adventurous restoration of names in the Ἀκταταὶ πόλεις of which only one letter survives. Most of the cities concerned are, however, attested from other more or less contemporary sources. The Trojan Colonae is mentioned in Thuc., I. 131 and in Xen., *Hell.*, III. i. 13 and 16, Ilium in Xen., *Hell.*, III. i. 16, Dem., XXIII. 154, and *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 188, Ophrynum in Herod., VII. 43, Achilleum in Herod., v. 94; Thymbra is known from its coins (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 550). I can trace no early reference to Polymedion, nor any indication that it ever was a city, and I do not think it likely that Petra, which was a village inhabited by serfs in the interior (*O.G.I.*, 221), is likely to have been a member of the Delian League. Most of the cities were Aeolian: Cebren was a colony of Cyme (Ephorus, fr. 22, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 239), Assus of Methymna (Strabo, XIII. i. 58, p. 610), Gargara of Assus (Strabo, loc. cit.); Herodotus speaks of the Aeolian cities in Ida (I. 151) and mentions the claim of the Aeolians to all the Troad in connexion with the Sigeum dispute (v. 94); Xenophon calls the Troad ἡ Αἰολίς Φαρναβάζου (*Hell.*, III. i. 10). SCEPSIS A MILESIAN COLONY: Strabo, XIII. i. 52, p. 607, XIV. i. 6, p. 635. SCAMANDRIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 548. GERGIS: Herod., v. 122, VII. 43. Gentinus and Azeia are placed in the Troad by Steph. Byz., s.v. *Γεντίνος* and *Ἀζειώται*.
13. Xen., *Hell.*, III. i. 10-28.
14. The Milesian colonies are all recorded by Strabo, XIII. i. 22, p. 590 (Abydus), XIII. i. 19, p. 589 (Lampsacus, Paesus, and Colonae), XIV. i. 6, p. 635 (Arisbe, Cyzicus, Artace, Proconnesus), XIII. i. 12, p. 587 (Priapus), XIII. i. 14, p. 588 (Parium). Astyra is distinguished in the assessment list as τὰ Τρωικά from the Mysian Astyra by Adramyttium. Metropolis is stated to have been παρά Πριάπον. Harpagia is mentioned in Thuc., VIII. 107, Zeleia in Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 17, whence it appears that it was a Greek city.
15. PLACIA AND SCYLACE: Herod., I. 57; coins of Placia, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 537.

- MILETOLPOLIS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 531. APOLLONIA: Milesian colony, Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, no. 155; renamed by Attalus II, Suidas, s.v. Ἀπολλωνιάς λίμνη. *S.E.G.*, II. 663, if it belongs to Apollonia, proves first that it was an old Greek city, and second that it was generously treated by Attalus II. It thus favours the hypothesis put forward in the text.
16. Xenophon often mentions the Mysians as in standing rebellion (*Anab.*, II. v. 13, III. ii. 23) and records punitive expeditions (*Anab.*, I. ix. 14, *Hell.*, III. i. 13). MYSIAN MERCENARIES IN EGYPT: Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 388. VILLAGE LIFE: Polyb., v. 77, ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Μυσῶν κατοικίας, Foucart, 'La formation de la province romaine d'Asie' (*Mém. Inst. Nat. de France, Ac. Inscr.*, 1904 (XXXVII), pp. 327-8), ἐπ[ί] Μυσίας τῆς καλουμένης Ἀβ[β]αιτιδῶς εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους . . . τὰ ὄχρῳ[ματα τῶν Μυσῶν]. For the tribes of eastern Mysia, *vid. inf.*, notes 102, 103.
17. MAGNESIA BY SIPYLUS: Hellanicus, fr. 125 (*F.H.G.*, I, p. 61); it is clear from *O.G.I.*, 229, that the Smyrnaeans in the third century regarded Magnesia as a barbarian town. XERXES' MARCH: Herod., VII. 26, 30, 31. THE MARCH OF THE 10,000: Xen., *Anab.*, I. ii. 6-7, 10-11, 13-14. IPSUS: Arrian, *Anab.*, VII. 18, Appian, *Syr.*, 55. SYNNADE AND DORYLAEUM: Diod., XX. 107-8. COTIAEUM: Polyaeus, VI. 12.
18. ALEXANDER AND SARDIS: Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 17. TREATY OF MILETUS AND SARDIS: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 273. On the guilds, *vid. inf.*, notes 38, 65, 73, 93.
19. THE HYRCANIANS: Strabo, XIII. iv. 13, p. 629; Ghione, 'I comuni del regno di Pergamo', *Mem. Acc. Torino*, LV, 1905, p. 117, has demonstrated that the Hyrcanian plain and the plain of Cyrus are one and the same.
20. The evidence for serfdom is contained in three Hellenistic inscriptions: Buckler and Robinson, *Sardis*, VII, no. 1 (Sardis), *O.G.I.*, 221 (Troad), 225 (Mysia). For Celaenae it is implied by Herodotus' account of Pythius' wealth (VII. 28, ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπέδων) and by Plutarch's story of Eumenes (chap. 8, τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπαύλεις καὶ τετραπυργίας σωματῶν καὶ βοσκημάτων γεμούσας). ZELEIA: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 279, Michel, 531. It may be conjectured that the Pedeis who held lands in the territory of Priene (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 282) were serfs like the Phrygians of Zeleia. The classic instance of a conquered native population reduced to serfdom is, of course, the Mariandyni of Heraclea (Strabo, XII. iii. 4, p. 542). Instances of temples owning large estates are rare in Asia. In the interior I know of only one proved case, Zeus of Aezani (*I.G.R.*, IV. 571). Just outside the boundary of Asia at Pessinus priestly dynasts survived into historical times, and it might be assumed that the institution had once been prevalent in Asia but had vanished before the reforming hand of the kings. It is, however, notable that Hierapolis had the guild organization of the other indigenous towns (*vid. inf.*, note 73) and must, therefore, have developed its organization spontaneously and not have been organized as a city by the kings. Some holy cities, e.g. Dioshieron, occur in backward tribal areas and cannot have had any commercial importance; they must, I think, have been tribal sanctuaries like that of Zeus Abrettenus of the Abrettene Mysians. The Sardis inscription is a good example of the acquisition of land by a temple through mortgage.
21. ALEXANDER AND THE GREEK CITIES: Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 18, *O.G.I.*, I. ALEXANDER AND THE LYDIANS: Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 17.
22. ALEXANDER AND ILIUM: Strabo, XIII. i. 26, p. 593 (the passage is corrupt; for a plausible emendation see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, pp. 142 seqq.). In *O.G.I.*, 221, Meleager is ordered to assign to Aristodicides land ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοροῦσης τῆ Ἰεργιθία ἢ τῆ Σκηψία and incorporate it εἰς τὴν Ἰλιέων ἢ τὴν Σκηψίω; it follows that the Gergithian territory was a part of the Ilian. ILIAN LEAGUE UNDER ANTIGONUS: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 330.

23. ALEXANDRIA TROAS: Strabo, XIII. i. 26, p. 593 (the synoecism really refers to Alexandria not Ilium, see note 22), 33, p. 597 (Cebren and Scepsis), 47, p. 604 (Larissa, Colonae, Hamaxitus, Neandria). COINS OF ANTIOCH-CEBREN: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 543. TEOS AND LEBEDUS: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 344. REVIVAL OF SMYRNA: Strabo, XIV. i. 37, p. 646; coins of Eurydiceia, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 592. REBUILDING OF EPHEBUS: Strabo, XIV. i. 21, p. 640; coins of Arsinoeia, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 574; incorporation of Colophon and Lebedus, Paus., I. ix. 7, VII. iii. 4, 5; coins of Ptolemais-Lebedus, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 580, cf. Kern, *Inscr. von Magn. Mae.*, no. 53. HERACLEA-PLEISTARCHEIA-ALEXANDRIA: Steph. Byz., s.v. Πλειστάρχεια, πόλις Καρίας ἢ καὶ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον Ἡράκλεια ὠνομάσθη, s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια (10), πρὸς τῷ Λάτμῳ τῆς Καρίας.
24. Stratonicea first appears on cistophori of Eumenes II dated Δ (B.M.C., *Lydia*, p. 284). Robert (*Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 34 seqq. and 48 seqq.) has pointed out that the date must be the regnal year, i.e. 194 B.C., and that as Eumenes did not marry Stratonice till some five years later the city cannot be named after Eumenes' wife. It must, therefore, be a Seleucid foundation named after Antiochus I's stepmother. INDEIPEDION: *Ath. Miith.*, 1910, p. 422, Στρατονικεύς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰνδειπεδίου, (from the Pergamene ephobic lists). CELAENAE-APAMEA: Strabo, XII. viii. 15, p. 578; a recently discovered inscription (*J.H.S.*, 1935, p. 72 = *M.A.M.A.*, VI. 173) shows that Apamea had a fully developed Greek constitution early in the second century B.C. LAODICEA: Steph. Byz., s.v. Λαοδικαία (2), Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 105. The identity of Apollonia and Tripolis is inferred from their coinage (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 661); an Ἀπολλωνιάτης ἀπὸ Μαϊάνδρου is mentioned as early as the third century B.C., Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, no. 74.
25. STRATONICEA: Strabo, XIV. ii. 25, p. 660. NYSA: Strabo, XIV. i. 46, p. 650, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀντιόχεια (11) and Ἀθυμβρα; letter of Seleucus I to the Athymbriani, Von Diest, *Nysa ad Maeandrum*, p. 63; tribes, ib., p. 68; an Ἀθυμβριανός is mentioned in a late third-century inscription (*I.G.*, XI. 1235) and the foundation of Nysa is presumably later. ANTIOCH ON THE MAEANDER: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 108, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀντιόχεια (11); Steph. Byz. states that the old name was Pythopolis, but as he says the same of Nysa (s.v. Πυθόπολις) the statement is suspect. APOLLONIA UNDER SALBACE: the inscription (unpublished) was kindly communicated to me by Mr. Buckler; it runs Βασιλεύοντος Σ[ελεύκου] ἔτους ἐνάτου καὶ ἐξ[ηκοστοῦ] μηνὸς Πανήμου ἐκκλησίας γενομένης ἔδο[ξε]. ABSORPTION OF CHALCETOR: *B.C.H.*, 1898, p. 376, no. 16. ALABANDA-ANTIOCH: Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀλάβανδα, *O.G.I.*, 234, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 607. SELEUCIA-TRALLES: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 108, Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, no. 143, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 659.
26. Antigonus' policy may be deduced from Buckler and Robinson, *Sardis*, VII, no. 1, where are enumerated various villages granted to Mnesimachus by Antigonus charged with payments (φόροι) to various chiliarchies; the word χιλιαρχία normally means a regiment (of foot) in Hellenistic Greek, e.g. in the papyri, and is nowhere known to mean a unit of government, which is the only other meaning suitable to the context. Antigonus seems thus to have adopted as a regular policy the device used by Eumenes at Celaenae to pay his troops (Plut., *Eum.*, 8). MACEDONIAN SETTLEMENTS: (1) Thyateira, *O.G.I.*, 211, cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Θυάτειρα, Strabo, XIII. iv. 4, p. 625; (2) Acrasus, *O.G.I.*, 290, which should, as Robert (*R.E.A.*, 1934, p. 523) points out, be restored [οἱ περὶ Ἀ]κρασον Μακεδόνες; (3) Doedye, *O.G.I.*, 314; (4) -espura, Keil and Premerstein, 'Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIII, no. 95; (5) Cobedyle, id., 'Zweite Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIV, no. 223; (6) Adruta, id., 'Dritte Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LVII, no. 46, cf. no. 47; (7) Dechtheira, Robert, *Hellenica*, VI, p. 22; (8) Moschacome, ib., p. 65. CITIES CALLED MACEDONIAN: (1)

- Blaundus, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 649, *I.G.R.*, iv. 717; (2) Nacrassa, *I.G.R.*, iv. 1160; (3) Cadi, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 111; (4) Docimium, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 672; (5) Peltae, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 682; (6) Hyrcaneis, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 120, *I.G.R.*, iv. 1354, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 652; (7) Mysomacedones, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 120, Ptol., v. ii. 13, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1894, pp. 102-3, 123-4; it may seem strange to find a Mysian tribe so far south, but Strabo states that the Catacecaumene was called by some Maeonia and by some Mysia (xii. viii. 12, p. 576), and even that Lydians and Mysians lived in the Messogis (xiii. iv. 12, p. 629); see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pp. 195 seqq.; (8) Asculacae, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 123; (9) Synnada, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Σύνναδα, συναθροίσαντα δὲ πολλοὺς οἰκίτορας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μακεδόνων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς συναγωγῆς καὶ συνοικήσεως Σύναια προσαγορεύσαι*. Acamas is the subject of this sentence, in which Stephanus seems to be conflating the foundation legend of Synnada with a later Macedonian colonization; boundary-stone, *M.A.M.A.*, iv. 75, Ἐορδ(ῶν), ρα' (ἔτους).
27. *O.G.I.*, 211, τῶν ἐν Θυατείροις Μακεδόνων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, cf. also Keil and Premerstein, 'Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIII, no. 95, οἱ ἐκ [ε]σπούρων Μακεδόνες ὑπὲρ Δέρδου τοῦ Δερκυκλίδου τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατηγού. TREATY OF SMYRNA AND THE MAGNESIAN SETTLERS: *O.G.I.*, 229. ENROLMENT OF SETTLERS AT PERGAMUM: *I.G.R.*, iv. 289.
28. The most important texts are *O.G.I.*, 1 (where Alexander, in stating that a piece of land which the Prienians claimed was his own, implies that all land not belonging to cities was his property), and *O.G.I.*, 221 and 225 (where permission to incorporate the land in a city territory implies the same theory), and Buckler and Robinson, *Sardis*, vii, no. 1 (where the grant to Mnesimachus is definitely stated to be revocable by Antigonus). Of the satrapies little is really known; the Hellespontine satrapy is recorded in *O.G.I.*, 221, a satrap of Lydia in Polyb., xxi. 16, a satrapy (probably Great Phrygia) in *O.G.I.*, 224; the evidence such as it is indicates that the late Persian divisions were maintained. THE HYPARCHY OF ERIZA: *O.G.I.*, 238; in *O.G.I.*, 225, the hyparch himself with the assistance of villagers carries out the delimitation of Pannocome; there was, therefore, no village clerk as in Egypt. There is no evidence for payment of tribute by tribal communities in the Seleucid period, but under the Attalids the Ambladeis in Pisidia paid a fixed tribute (*O.G.I.*, 751). Mnesimachus paid a fixed tribute for his villages. The evidence for a tithe is *O.G.I.*, 229 (where the lots of the soldiers are described as ἀδεκάτευτοι) and (for the Pergamene kingdom) Fränkel, *Inschr. von Pergamon*, no. 158. Instances of sale and grant of land to cities are *O.G.I.*, 335 (sale by Antiochus I to Pitane) and *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 322 (grant by Ptolemy II to Miletus). RECOGNITION OF SARDIS BY DELPHI: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 548-9. DECREE OF NACRASA (mentioning the *πρυτανείον*): *O.G.I.*, 268.
29. The rise of the Attalids is sketched by Strabo, xiii. iv. 1 and 2, pp. 623-4. GIFTS BY PHILETAERUS TO PITANE AND CYZICUS: *O.G.I.*, 335, 748; his coinage, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 533. The boundaries of the early Pergamene principality are discussed by Ernst Meyer, *Die Grenzen der Hellenistischen Staaten*, pp. 94 seqq. EUMENES AND HIS MERCENARIES: *O.G.I.*, 266. The inscription ὄροι Περγαμηνῶν (*Altertümer von Pergamon*, I, p. 95) obviously must refer to the principality of the dynasts of Pergamum and not to the territory of the city; in date it cannot be as early as Philetærus under whom Pitane was subject to the Seleucids, nor as late as Attalus I who held Cyme and other cities to the south. Some of Meyer's deductions are, as Robert (*R.E.A.*, 1934, pp. 522-6) points out, unjustifiable. *O.G.I.*, 335 and 266 do not prove that Pitane and Gryneum belonged to Eumenes; they did, nevertheless, belong to him as the ὄροι Περγαμηνῶν proves. Michel, 542 is not third-century and therefore does not prove that Antandrus was Seleucid; it probably did belong to Eumenes.

30. ATTALUS' VICTORIES OVER THE GAULS AND THE SELEUCIDS: Strabo, loc. cit., Polyb., XVIII. 41, *O.G.I.*, 269-80; Polyb., IV. 48. HIS CAMPAIGN IN AEOLIS, THE TROAD, ETC.: Polyb., V. 77-8. HIS ALLIANCE WITH ANTIOCHUS III: id., V. 107.
31. STRATEGI OF PERGAMUM APPOINTED BY THE KING: *O.G.I.*, 267; on their exclusive initiative see Cardinali, *Il regno di Pergamo*, pp. 252 seqq. 'Ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως is mentioned in the law of the *astynomi* as an authority co-ordinate with the *strategi* (*O.G.I.*, 483), and the law itself is styled ὁ βασιλικὸς νόμος. The constitution of Pergamum and the extent of the royal prerogative are discussed by Cardinali, op. cit., pp. 244 seqq. The ephobic lists appear, from the few surviving headings, to date partly from the kingdom, partly from the early provincial period: *Ath. Mitth.*, 1907, pp. 415 seqq., 1908, pp. 384 seqq., 1910, pp. 422 seqq. The headings ξένοι and ἀπὸ τόπων occur in 1910, pp. 422 and 434. The lists are not always classified in the way described in the text, but τόποι can always be distinguished by the use of the formula τῶν ἀπὸ or τῶν ἐκ. That the subject cities paid tribute is clear from the settlement of 189 B.C. (*vid. inf.*, note 37); for political control, cf. *O.G.I.*, 268. Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Alexandria Troas claimed to be free cities against Antiochus III (*vid. inf.*, note 37), and Ilium is classed with them in Polyb., V. 78.
32. LYSIAS AND SELEUCUS III: *O.G.I.*, 272, 277. PHILOMELUS AND TERMESSUS: Polyb., XXI. 35. Other records of the family are Haussoullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, p. 208, no. 7 (Φιλόμηλος Λυσίου), *G.D.I.*, 2736 (Λυσίας Φιλομήλου Μακεδῶν at Delphi). LYSIAS GENERAL OF SELEUCUS I: Polyaneus, IV. 9, § 5. For the cities of Lysias and Philomelium, *vid. inf.*, notes 59 and 55. THE DYNASTS AND RHODES: Polyb., V. 90. OLYMPICHUS: Michel, 431. MOAGETES: Livy, XXXVIII. 14, Polyb., XXI. 34. CIBYRA AND THE MOAGETID PRINCIPALITY: Strabo, XIII. IV. 17, p. 631. FOUNDATION LEGEND: *O.G.I.*, 497, *I.G.R.*, III. 500.
33. DOCIMIUM: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 672, *Δοκιμένον Μακεδόνων*, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1882, p. 134, ἦν κτίσει μοι Δόκιμος. DOCIMUS: Diod., XX. 107, Paus., I. VIII. 1. THEMISONIUM: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 687. THEMISON: Diod., XIX. 62, XX. 50, *Ath.*, VII. 289 f, x. 438 d.
34. On the subject territory of Rhodes in Caria see Ernst Meyer, op. cit., pp. 54 seqq. The various leagues are proved to be Rhodian possessions but not Rhodian demes by inscriptions commemorating governors who are styled Rhodians: *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1892, p. 64, [τ]ὸ κοινὸν τῶν Πισσητῶν καὶ Πλαδ[ασσέω]ν τῶν μετὰ Πισσητ[ῶ]ν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ [Ταρμια]ῶν, *B.C.H.*, 1886, p. 486, no. 1, τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ταρμιαῶν, p. 488, no. 2 (the name of the league is not given but it is presumably the Tarmiani as in the other inscriptions of the place; this inscription records the Tabeni, Lomeis, &c.; the Cenendolabeis are recorded in no. 3), *B.C.H.*, 1893, p. 54, Παναμαρῶν τῷ κοινῷ. To these may be added perhaps τὸ κοινὸν τῶ[ν] . . .]ωσιτενέων (*Sb. Ak. Wien*, CXXXII. II. p. 31); the Rhodian honoured is not, however, styled ἐπιστάτης or ἡγεμῶν. None of these inscriptions is dated; they are probably second or first century B.C., some certainly first. These territories were probably acquired before c. 242 B.C., because they lie between the Rhodian territory and Stratonicea, which was acquired then. The vital passages on Stratonicea are Polyb., XXX. 31, *Στρατονίκειαν ἐλάβομεν ἐν μεγάλῃ χάριτι παρ' Ἀντιόχου καὶ Σελεύκου*, and Livy, XXXIII. 18 (197 B.C.), 'nec recipi nisi aliquanto post per Antiochum potuit'. Livy's *recipi* shows that the Antiochus and Seleucus who gave them Stratonicea were not Antiochus III and his son but earlier kings. ABSORPTION OF CINDYE BY BARGYLIA: Polyb., XVI. 12 (the temple of Artemis Cindyas belongs to Bargylia); of Theangela by Halicarnassus, Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, 1908, pp. 63-72; of Myus by Miletus, Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, pp. 200 seqq.; of Calynda by Caunus, Polyb., XXXI. 5; of Leucophrys by Magnesia, *O.G.I.*, 229 (Artemis Leucophryene already the goddess of Magnesia, c. 242 B.C.).



35. PHILIP IN CARIA: Polyb., XVI. 24. TERMS OF PEACE: Polyb., XVIII. 44, Livy, XXXIII. 30; cf. Polyb., XVIII. 2 and 8, for earlier negotiations. PHILIP'S GRANT OF PANAMARA TO STRATONICEA: Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros*, pp. 18-21. NICAGORAS' CAMPAIGN: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 586; the date of the inscription is not certain—if it were it would prove that the Pisyetae were Rhodian subjects in the third century; it leaves the status of Cyllandus, whether a Rhodian deme or a Rhodian possession, uncertain. PAUSISTRATUS' CAMPAIGN: Livy, XXXIII. 18 (correcting *Nisuetae* to *Mnisyetae* and *Tamiani* to *Tarmiani*; can the *Arei* be derived from Livy's misreading of (*Παναμ*)*αρεῖς*?).
36. THE RHODIANS AND THE PTOLEMAIC CITIES: Livy, XXXIII. 20. AMYZON: Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1920, pp. 40 seqq. PURCHASE OF CAUNUS: Polyb., XXX. 31.
37. THE SETTLEMENT OF 189 B.C.: Livy, XXXVII. 55-6, Polyb., XXI. 24. THE RHODIAN PLEA FOR THE CITIES: Livy, XXXVII. 54, Polyb., XXI. 23. THE FINAL SETTLEMENT: Livy, XXXVIII. 39, Polyb., XXI. 46; these passages give the details of special grants to the cities, and where freedom is granted it is presumably by exception to the general principle. The earlier freedom of Mylasa is implied by its support of Philip (Polyb., XVI. 24) and by Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, no. 146 (a treaty between Miletus and Mylasa in 209-8 B.C.). That Euromus was subject to Rhodes is proved by Polyb., XXX. 5, Livy, XLV. 25. That Myus later belonged to Miletus is proved by *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 633 (where the Milesians (in c. 180 B.C.) claim certain territory as being formerly of Myus), and by Strabo, XIV. i. 10, p. 636. HERACLEA BY LATMUS: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 618; cf. Holleaux, *Riv. Fil.*, 1924, pp. 29 seqq. TREATY OF MILETUS AND HERACLEA (c. 180 B.C.): *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 633. AMALGAMATION OF PEDASA AND MILETUS: Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, no. 149; this highly interesting document gives full details of the process—the Pedasians are to receive full citizenship and temporary immunity from taxation; they are to migrate to Miletus where lodging is to be provided; their land is to be garrisoned by Miletus and a road built to give them access to it. ALABANDA ATTACKS RHODES: Polyb., XXX. 5, Livy, XLV. 25; it also sent an independent embassy to Rome in 170 B.C., Livy, XLIII. 6. ARBITRATION BETWEEN PRIENE AND MAGNESIA: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 679; the arbitration proves that one of the parties was free, not necessarily both; Magnesia, which only surrendered after the battle (Livy, XXXVII. 45), is not likely to have been free. THE COLOPHONIANS IN NOTIUM, SUBJECT TO ATTALUS: *B.C.H.*, 1906, pp. 349 seqq.; they seem to have been freed by the Scipios; see Holleaux, *Riv. Fil.*, 1924, pp. 29 seqq. THE REBELLION OF PHOCAEA: Polyb., XXI. 6, Livy, XXXVII. 9, 31, 32. RESISTANCE OF ALEXANDRIA AND LAMPSACUS (AND SMYRNA) TO ANTIOCHUS: Livy, XXXV. 42, Polyb., XXI. 13-14. DARDANUS: Strabo, XIII. i. 28, p. 595. ILIUM AND GERGIS: the transplantation of the Gergithians, Strabo, XIII. i. 70, p. 616; the settlement of the Aegosages, Polyb., V. 77-8, cf. V. 111. ABYDUS UNDER ANTIOCHUS: Livy, XXXVII. 12. PARIUM: Strabo, XIII. i. 14, p. 588. CYZICUS: Polyb., XXV. 2.
38. APOLLONIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 648; Keil and Premerstein, 'Zweite Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIV, no. 113; the phrase τὸν συνοικισμὸν τῆς πόλεως shows it was a true city and indicates that it was formed by a concentration of the local population (cf. τοῖς συνοικισθεῖσι). STRATONICEA AND THYATEIRA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 657-8 (for the dates, *vid. sup.*, note 24). DIONYSOPOLIS: Steph. Byz., s.v. Διονυσούπολις (2). EUMENEIA: Steph. Byz., s.v., *Εὐμένεια* (1), Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 673, *Εὐμενείων Ἀχαιῶν*. PHILADELPHIA: Steph. Byz., s.v. Φιλαδέλφεια (1); trade guilds, *I.G.R.*, IV. 1632, ἡ ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν ἐπιουργῶν, Wadd., 656, ἡ ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν σκυτέων. EUMENEIA IN CARIA AND HYRCANA: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Εὐμένεια* (2 and 3). For Apollonia on the Rhyndacus, *vid. sup.*, note 15.
39. DECREE OF HIERAPOLIS: *O.G.I.*, 308; of Peltae, Michel, 542; of Synnada, *B.C.H.*, 1883, pp. 300-1 (= Michel, 545, wrongly attributed to Prynnessus). BOUNDARY OF HIEROCAESAREA AND THYATEIRA: Keil and Premerstein, 'Zweite Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIV, no. 18.

40. On the prevalence of *strategi* in the Attalid cities and their powers, see Cardinali, *Il regno di Pergamo*, pp. 233-5. ANTONY'S SPEECH: Appian, *B.C.*, v. 4. THE TRIBUTE OF THE AMBLADEIS: *O.G.I.*, 751. ROYAL TAXES AT PERGAMUM, MYRINA, AND TEOS: Michel, 519, 349, *S.E.G.*, II, 580; the phrases are ἀτέλειαν . . . πάντων ὧν ἡ πόλις κυρία and ἀτελεῖς ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπιβάλλει τελῶν. TREASURY GRANTS: at Teos, *S.E.G.*, II, 580, ἐκ τ[ῶν πρ]ώτων δοθησομένων αὐτοῖς ἐγ βασιλικῶ εἰς τ[ῆ]ν τῆ]ς πόλεως διοίκησιν; cf. Fränkel, *Inscr. von Pergamon*, no. 157 (Temnus), *S.E.G.*, II, 663 (Apollonia), Kern, *Inscr. von Magn. Mae.*, nos. 94, 98 (Magnesia).
41. THE REVOLT IN CARIA: Livy, XLV, 25, Polyb., XXX, 5. MYLASA AND EUROMUS: Michel, 472. RHODIAN PROTEST ON LOSS OF CAUNUS AND STRATONICEA: Polyb., XXX, 31, cf. 21. Livy's narrative is confused, for it represents the Rhodians as recovering Euromus and Caunus after the freeing of Caria and implies that Euro-mus was, like Caunus, an old Rhodian possession, which it certainly was not. Polybius seems to be right in stating that the decree freeing the Carians only arrived after the reduction of Euromus and Caunus. On the Peraea from 167 B.C. see Ernst Meyer, *Die Grenzen der Hellenistischen Staaten*, pp. 54 seqq. The inscriptions cited in note 34 are not all likely to date from 189 to 167 B.C. and one (*B.C.H.*, 1886, p. 488, no. 2) is certainly of about 75 B.C. and proves that the Tarmiani were Rhodian subjects then. The Tarmiani might, it is true, have been given to Rhodes by Sulla, but this is unlikely since to do so Sulla would have had to take them from Stratonicea, and we know that Sulla, on the contrary, enlarged the territory of Stratonicea. Rhodes and Stratonicea seem to have had a common frontier in the late second century (see the inscription quoted in Foucart, 'La formation de la province d'Asie', *Mém. Inst. Nat. de France, Ac. Inscr.*, 1904 (XXXVII), pp. 334-5), and the Tarmiani, &c., cannot therefore have been independent. GRANT OF CALYNDA: Polyb., XXXI, 5.
42. LATE SECOND- AND EARLY FIRST-CENTURY COINAGE IN CARIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 607-27, and for Larba, Cidrama, and Barga, Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 143 seqq. and 205-6. EUHIPPE: Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀλαβάνδα, ἀπὸ Ἀλαβάνδου τοῦ Εὐύππου . . . Ἀλαβάνδου ὁ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Καρῶν φωνὴν Ἰππόνικος· ἀλα μὲν τὸν ἵππον, βάνδα δὲ τὴν νίκην καλοῦσιν. ORTHOSIA: Livy, XLV, 25, Polyb., XXX, 5. GORDIUTEICHUS AND TABAE: Livy, XXXVIII, 13. DECREE OF TABAE: Robert, *Carie*, p. 95. THERA: *I.G.*, XII, v. 977, Χρυσαιορέως ἀπὸ Θηρῶν, cf. the other instances cited by Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros*, pp. 7-8, of Χρυσαιορέϊς ἀπὸ Μυλάσων, Ἀλίδων, &c. HYLLARIMA: *B.C.H.*, 1890, p. 93, no. 2.
43. PERGAMUM AND ATTALUS III'S WILL: *I.G.R.*, IV, 289, προσορίσας αὐτῇ καὶ πόλει[ς καὶ ὀ -ιτικῆ] γῶραν, cf. Aelius Aristides, *Or.*, XLII (1, pp. 771-2, ed. Dindorf), ἄσπη πολλά συνελθόντα . . . ἀστυγεῖτονας συνοίκους γεγενημένους; for the survival of Gambrium, Michel, 520. For the will of Ptolemy the Younger see Chap. XII, note 14. The phrase in Livy, *Epit.*, LIX, 'cum testamento Attali regis legata populo Romano libera esse deberet', may of course merely mean that Asia ceased to be under a king. But taken in conjunction with Appian, *B.C.*, v. 4, οὗς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλω μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, it probably means more. Florus, I, 35 (II, 20), gives the will as 'populus Romanus bonorum meorum heres esto', implying that Attalus left his property only.
44. ARISTONICUS ATTACKS COLOPHON, ETC.: Florus, I, 35 (II, 20). EPHEBUS RESISTS HIM: Strabo, XIV, i, 38, p. 646. CYZICUS ASKS FOR AID: *I.G.R.*, IV, 134. ARISTONICUS CAPTURED AT STRATONICEA: Eutrop., IV, 20; there is nothing in the text to indicate which Stratonicea, but as Strabo records (loc. cit.) that Aristonicus took Apollonis and Thyateira, and as Manius Aquillius had to subdue the Abbaeite Mysians (Foucart, 'La formation de la province d'Asie', *Mém. Inst. Nat. de France, Ac. Inscr.*, 1904 (XXXVII), pp. 327-8) it is probably the Mysian city (where incidentally dynastic loyalty might be expected to be strong). This event explains the fact that Stratonicea seems to have ceased to be a city till Trajan's time (*vid. inf.*, note 94).

45. GRANT AND WITHDRAWAL OF PHRYGIA: Justin, xxxvii. 1, xxxviii. 5, Appian, *Mith.*, II, 12, 57, *I.G.R.*, IV. 752.
46. SARDIS AND EPHEBUS: *I.G.R.*, IV. 297. GREATER PHRYGIA: Appian, *Mith.*, 57. The extent of Aristonicus' revolt is very hard to judge. According to Florus, I. 35 (II. 20), he 'urbis regibus parere consuetas partim facile sollicitat, paucas resistentis . . . vi recepit'; according to Strabo, xiv. i. 38, p. 646, he withdrew into the interior almost at once and 'the cities' united with the neighbouring kings to resist. The fact that Manius Aquillius left a commander in Caria when he attacked the Abbaeite Mysians (Foucart, op. cit.) implies that there had been trouble in Caria. Of the coastal cities in Caria Bargylia (Foucart, op. cit.) and Halicarnassus (Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, 1908, pp. 69-70) are proved by inscriptions to have been loyal.
47. Appian, *B.C.*, v. 4, οὐδ' γὰρ ἐτελείτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέησεν οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδονον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν τῶν ἐκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάξαμεν, &c. ILLIUM TRIBUTARY: *I.G.R.*, IV. 194. EXEMPTION OF GREATER PHRYGIA: Appian, *Mith.*, 57, (the senate) Φρυγίαν ἀδίκως σοι δοθείσαν οὐχ ἑαυτῇ συντελεῖν ἐπέταξεν εἰς τοὺς φόρους ἀλλ' αὐτόνομον μεθήκεν.
48. LATE SECOND AND EARLY FIRST CENTURY COINAGE OF ASIATIC CITIES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 520 seqq., 647 seqq., Appian, *Mith.*, 48, Τραλλιανοὶ καὶ Ὑπαιθηνοὶ καὶ Μεσοπολίται [sic], Cic., *pro Flacco*, 5, 'Tmolitae et Loreni' (arbitrarily altered in the Oxford Text to *Dorylenses*); Cicero mentions several other of the obscurer cities of Asia, e.g. Blaundus and Dionysopolis (*ad Q.f.*, I. 2, § 4), Hypaera (*ad Q.f.*, I. 2, § 14), Appia (*ad Fam.*, III. 7, § 2 and 9, § 1). THEMISIONIUM: Michel, 544. PERGAMENE EPHEBIC LISTS: *Ath. Mitth.*, 1907, p. 443, Ἱερολοφίτης and p. 444, Πιον[ίτης], 1910, p. 422, Τιαρηνός.
49. JURISDICTION IN THE ASIATIC CITIES: Cic., *ad Att.*, VI. 1, § 15, 'multaque sum secutus Scaevolae, in iis illud in quo sibi libertatem censent Graeci datam, ut Graeci inter se disceptant suis legibus'. THE CONVENTUS: Knackfuss, *Das Rathaus von Milet*, p. 101, [πρὸς ὕμῶς (i.e. Miletus) Ἐφεσίους Τραλλιανούς Ἀλαβανδεῖς Μ[υ]λασεῖς Σμυρναίους Περγαμηνούς Σαρδιανο[ὺς] Ἀδραμυτηνούς, ἵνα τε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ δ[ιοικ]ήσει τῇ ἰδίᾳ πόλεις διαποστείλησθε, &c. (56-50 B.C.). The *conventus* are the same as Pliny's except in Caria, where in addition to his Alabanda there are also Mylasa, Tralles, and Miletus. The Phrygian *conventus* are not mentioned because at this date they belonged to Cilicia (see Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I, pp. 335-6). They are recorded in Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 21, § 9. That the *conventus* of Synnada included Midaeum is proved by Cic., *ad Fam.*, III. 8.
50. Cic., *pro Flacco*, 42-3.
51. FREEDOM OF RHODES: Appian, *Mith.*, 61, cf. 24-6; grant of Caunus, &c., Cic., *ad Q.f.*, I. 1, § 33, Strabo, xiv. ii. 3, p. 652. FREEDOM OF CHIOS, ETC.: Appian, *Mith.*, 61, cf. 46 (Chios), 53 (Ilium), Paus., I. xx. 5 (Magnesia); Strabo, XIII. iii. 5, p. 621, shows that Magnesia by Sipylus was the city concerned. APOLLONIS: Cic., *pro Flacco*, 71. STRATONICEA: *O.G.I.*, 441. TABAE: *O.G.I.*, 442; Mr. Buckler informs me that a revision of the text proves that there is no reference to a league in it. ALABANDA: *B.C.H.*, 1886, p. 299, cf. *Hermes*, 1899, p. 305. CYZICUS: Strabo, XII. viii. 11, p. 576, Tac., *Ann.*, IV. 36, Suet., *Tib.*, 37; it appears to have been federate, compare Suet., *Aug.*, 47 and Cassius Dio, LIV. 7. MITYLENE: Plut., *Pomp.*, 42, Vell. Pat., II. 18; it was later granted a *foedus*, *I.G.R.*, IV. 33. PHOCAEA: Cassius Dio, XLI. 25. CNIDUS: Plut., *Caes.*, 48. APHRODISIAS: *O.G.I.*, 453; it was federate. ASTYPALAEA: *I.G.R.*, IV. 1028 (*foedus*). TENEDOS: Cic., *ad Q.f.*, II. 9. Methymna obtained a *foedus* in 132-29 B.C. (*I.G.R.*, IV. 2) but this *foedus* must have lapsed; there is no later record of Methymna's being a free city.

52. SULLA'S WAR INDEMNITY: Appian, *Mith.*, 62-3, Cassiodorus, *Chron.*, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, II, p. 132, Cic., *ad Q.f.*, I. 1, § 33; later use of the Sullan *discriptio*, Cic., *pro Flacco*, 32. POLL-TAX AND DOOR-TAX: Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 16, § 2, *ad Fam.*, III. 85; at Lampsacus, *I.G.R.*, IV. 181. CAESAR'S REFORM OF THE TAXATION: Appian, *B.C.*, v. 4, Cassius Dio, XLII. 6.
53. Strabo, XIII. iv. 17, p. 631; Cicero (*ad Att.*, v. 21, § 9) speaks of the *forum Cibyriticum* but he held his court at Laodicea (ib. and *ad Fam.*, III. 8, § 5).
54. On the analysis of Pliny's and Ptolemy's extracts from the *formula provinciae* see Appendixes I and II.
55. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 95, 'hos includit Lycaonia in Asiaticam iurisdictionem versa, cum qua conveniunt Philomelienses, Tymbriani, Leucolithi, Pelteni, Tyrienses. datur et tetrarchia ex Lycaonia qua parte Galatae contermina est civitatum xiiii urbe celeberrima Iconio'. This passage clearly refers to a partition of Lycaonia between the province of Asia and a dynast. The dynast was presumably Amyntas, who received *Λυκαονίας Παμφυλλίας τέ τινα* (Cassius Dio, XLIX. 32), or perhaps Polemo, whose capital was Iconium at some date (Strabo, XII. vi. 1, p. 568), probably shortly before Amyntas received Lycaonia. Under the republic the Philomelian *conventus* did not exist (see the list of *fora* in Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 21, § 9), but Philomelium itself was in Asia (Cic., *Verr.*, III. 191). The identification of Tymbrium and Hadrianopolis is based on topographical grounds; see Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1887, p. 491, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 140, Anderson, *J.H.S.*, 1898, pp. 116-17. COINS OF PHILOMELIUM AND HADRIANOPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 682-3, 674-5. INSCRIPTIONS OF *δήμος Πεισεανών* AND *δήμος Σελινυδέων*: *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 115, nos. 56 (= *I.G.R.*, III. 239) and 57. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the conciliar lists see Table XVII, 9-11.
56. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 105, 'alter *conventus* a Synnade accepit nomen, conveniunt Lycaones, Appiani, Corpeni, Dorylaei, Midaei, Iulienses et reliqui ignobiles populi xv'. On the Epicteteis see Strabo, XII. viii. 12, p. 576; the doubt about Cadi probably arose because, though it was a Phrygian city by race, it was not politically in Phrygia, belonging to the *conventus* of Sardis. The Trocnades were certainly in Asia, for M. Aurelius Marcio, procurator of Phrygia, and his wife Aelia Maximilla are honoured in their inscriptions (*C.I.L.*, III. 348 and 6997 = *I.G.R.*, IV. 546); he is also honoured at Synnada and she at Prymnessus (*I.G.R.*, IV. 704, 676). The dedicator in *C.I.L.*, III. 348 must be a local resident procurator; this shows that the *fiscus* had considerable interests in the district. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 663 (Accilaeum), 664 (Aezani), 665 (Amorium), 667 (Appia), 670 (Cotiaeum), 672 (Dorylaeum), 681 (Midaeum, Nacoleia).
57. The identification of Julia and Ipus is based on topographical grounds, see Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1887, pp. 490-1. CIDYESSUS: Ptol., v. ii. 18. PALAEOBEUDUS: Livy, XXXVIII. 15. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 670 (Cidyessus), 672 (Docimium), 677-8 (Julia), 682 (Palacobeudus), 683 (Prymnessus).
58. LYCAONES: Ptol., v. ii. 18, Ramsay, *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 337, 339, *Λυκαονεύς πρὸς Ἐνδόν*. The only evidence of their position, apart from the fact that they were in the Synnadic *conventus* and in Phrygia Salutaris, is their occurrence in the Tecmorian lists, which indicates that they lived not far from Antioch of Pisidia; Ramsay's attempt to define their position more accurately is based on a violent alteration of Ptolemy's list of the *δήμοι* of Asia (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pp. 664-5, 693-5), which has in my view no geographical value, being based not on a map but on a list. CORPENI: there is no MSS. authority for *Eucarpeni* and incidentally *Eucarpenses* would be the correct Latin for *Ἐυκαρπεῖς*. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 673 (with legend *Ἐυκαρπιτικοῦ*), 668 (Bruzus), 673 (Eucarpia), 676 (Hieropolis), 681-2 (Otrus), 685 (Stectorium). PHRYGIAN PENTAPOLIS: Mansi, IX. 394, 'Stectorii civitatis Pentapoliticae regionis Phrygiae Salutaris provinciae'.

59. COINS OF LYSIAS AND OCOCLIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 680, 681; their similarity (they are sometimes struck off the same die) proves the neighbourhood of the two cities.
60. On the north there is no doubt about the frontier; it must be identical with that of Asia against Bithynia. On the east there is little doubt; it must be identical with that against Galatia, and the Trocnades and Amorium being in Asia (for the Trocnades, *vid. sup.*, note 56, for Amorium, Ptol., v. ii. 17) must have been in the *conventus*; Accilaeum from its position (fixed by *Itin. Ant.*, 202) must also have been in Asia and the *conventus*. On the south-east Philomelium was the border city of its own *conventus*, Julia being in the Synnadic. On the south Metropolis and Euphorbium and Apamea itself were the frontier cities of the Apamene *conventus*, the Corpeni being in the Synnadic; Stectorium might be either but from its connexion with the cities of the Corpeni in later times probably in the Synnadic. On the west there is more room for doubt. Acmonia was in the Apamene and Cadi in the Sardinian *conventus*, the Abrette Mysiars in the Adramyttene; on the other hand Appia was in the Synnadic. Aezani might be put in the Adramyttene, but probably all the cities of the Epicteteis were in Phrygia. The Moxeani might be added to the Synnadic, but their connexions are close with Acmonia. Praepenissus occurs at Chalcedon as well as in Hierocles (in the form *δήμου Προπνιασσα*), Amadassa at Chalcedon and Const. II (Hierocles' form is *δήμου Ἀλαμάσσου*). Being in Phrygia Salutaris they were almost certainly in the Synnadic *conventus*, for Phrygia Salutaris includes only one community, the *δήμος Ἀυράκλεια*, which is outside the Synnadic *conventus* and on both east and west is considerably smaller than it. The position of the two tribes cannot be accurately fixed, as Hierocles lumps all the four *δήμοι* of the province together at the end, abandoning the geographical order. Ptolemy puts a city of Praepenissus in Great Mysia (v. ii. 13); as this fantastic district includes Apollonia on the Rhyndacus, Pergamum, and Trajanopolis, not much information can be derived from this fact.
61. On Orcistus and Nacoleia, *vid. inf.*, note 63. The connexion of Midas with Midaeum is obvious; his head appears on the coins without inscription (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 681). At Prymnessus it appears with the legend *βασιλεὺς Μίδας* (op. cit., p. 683). OTREUS AND MYGDON: *Iliad*, III. 186; tomb of Mygdon at Stectorium, Paus., x. xxvii. 1. EUPHORBUS AND AEZANI: Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀζανοί cf. Diog. Laert., I. i. 3, Diod., x. 6 for the Phrygian Euphorbus. HERACLES AND NACOLEIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 681. ACAMAS AND SYNNADE: Steph. Byz., s.v. Σύνναδα; coins of Synnada, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 685-6, *Συνναδέων Δωριέων Ἴωνων*. ACAMAS AND DORYLAUS, DESCENDANT OF HERACLES, AT DORYLAEUM: *I.G.R.*, IV. 527, cf. *Année Epigr.*, 1914, 259, 'Acamantia Dorylaeo'.
62. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XI, 28-31; XII, 1-20, 22-7; XV, 4-6, 9. I regard Hierocles' *Δεβαλίκια* as a corruption of Ococlia; it occurs next to Lysias, which is geographically correct.
63. ORCISTUS: *C.I.L.*, III. 7000 (= Dessau, 6091); *I.G.R.*, IV. 550, *Θεὸν Κόμμοδον Ὀρκιστηνῶν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία*, shows it was a village at the end of the second century, for some villages had a *γερουσία* (cf. *O.G.I.*, 488), and a city would certainly have mentioned its *βουλή*. The inscription of 237 A.D. (*J.H.S.* 1937, pp. 1-10) records a *γραμματεὺς*, three *ἀρχοντες*, *γερουσία* and *ἐκκλησία*, but calls the inhabitants *δημόται* not *πολίται*. There are a number of other 'peoples' in this area, the *Μαλκακτηνοί* near Orcistus (*M.A.M.A.*, VII. 303) and the *Ὀυτισοεῖς* and the *Σελμηνοί* near Claneus (*ib.*, 363, 244).
64. MEIRUS: *I.G.R.*, IV. 593, *ἡ Μειρηνῶν κατοικία*, *J.H.S.*, 1897, p. 424, *ἡ Μειρηνῶν πόλι[s]*; the title of the governor and his name Flavius prove that the second inscription dates from Constantine or later; Meirus is mentioned as a city in

Julian's reign in Soc., *H.E.*, III. 15, Soz., *H.E.*, v. 11. The geographical conceptions of Meirus are with Cotiaenum. Soa is proved by *I.G.R.*, IV. 598 to be in Appian territory if Rostovtzeff's reading (*Social and Economic History*, p. 622), [περὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀραγουηνῶν παροίκων καὶ γεωργῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων [τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀππι]ανῇ δήμου κοινοῦ (ἢ Τ)οττεανῶν Σοηνῶν, be adopted. In any case, various expressions in the inscription indicate that Arague was in Appian territory, and Soa was so near to it that it must also have been so. It is significant, for instance, that the petitioners name among their oppressors *δυναῖσαι τῶν προυχόντων κ[ατ]ὰ τὴν πόλιν*, without needing to specify which city, and that the soldiers, &c. who injure them are travelling through (or have been sent to) τὸ Ἀππιανῶν κλίμα (the territory of Appia). The inscription which proves that Soa was a city is *I.G.R.*, IV. 605, γῆς [καὶ θαλ]άσσης δ[ε]σ[πο]τῆς ἢ βουλῆς καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σοηνῶν; the only clue to the date is the title of the emperor, which is used as late as A.D. 251 (*I.G.R.*, IV. 626). Metropolis is known only from Hierocles, and Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀμβασσον, μητρόπολις τῶν Φρυγῶν and s.v. Μητρόπολις (where two Phrygian cities of that name are distinguished); it is tempting to identify Ambasum with Abbassium which lay north of Synnada on Manlius' march (Livy, xxxviii. 15). The position is indicated by Hierocles' order at Kumbet (is this the ancient name? There are many analogies for the omission of an initial guttural in Pisidia), where a Byzantine inscription of a city has been found (*Hermes*, 1897, pp. 660 seqq.). Another inscription (*I.G.R.*, IV. 592, wrongly attributed to Meirus) proves that it was in the principate a village (a comarch is mentioned) and perhaps that it belonged to Nacoleia (the dedication is on behalf of an emperor καὶ δῆ[μου] . . . καὶ δῆμου Νακ[ολ]έων; on the analogy of *I.G.R.*, IV. 684, I would restore Ῥωμαίων in the lacuna). AUGUSTOPOLIS: Mansi, IX. 394 (A.D. 553), the Notitiae, Suidas, s.v. Εὐγένιος . . . Ἀύγουστοπόλεως τῆς ἐν Φρυγία . . . τὰ μάλιστα διαφανῆς ἦν πρεσβύτης ἥδη ὢν ἐπ' Ἀναστασίου βασιλέως, *Vita S. Eutychii*, Migne, P.G., LXXXVI. 2284 (early sixth century), Anna Comnena, xv. 6; Ramsay (*Aih. Mitth.*, 1882, pp. 139 seqq.) has deduced its position at Surmene from this last passage. Near Surmene was the village of Eulandra (*I.G.R.*, IV. 679), which was a bishopric in A.D. 451. The only objection to the theory that Eulandra was an important village which became a bishopric and later (in the late fifth century) the city of Augustopolis is the record of a bishop of Augustada of Phrygia in A.D. 369 (Mansi, III. 324). I do not concur with the identification of Augustopolis with the κλήροι. They are recorded separately in the later Notitiae. The κλήροι should lie south of Synnada by Hierocles' order, whereas Augustopolis was near Prymnessus. There was no doubt an imperial estate at Eulandra (see *I.G.R.*, IV. 679), but there is no evidence that Augustopolis had been an imperial estate; the name of the village (Migne, P.G., LXXXVI. 2277) (presumably in the territory of Augustopolis) where S. Eutychius was born was Θείου κόμη not Θεία κόμη. Polybotus is the modern Bolowodun. For the position of Claneus see *M.A.M.A.*, VII. 208, ὄροι Κλα . . . , 209, Κλαγγε[τη]νοῦ.

65. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 106, 'tertius Apameam vadit . . . ex hoc conventu deceat nominare Metropolitans, Dionysopolitans, Euphorbenos, Acmonenses, Peltenos, Silbianos. reliqui ignobiles ix'. APAMEA: commercial and administrative importance, Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxv. 14-15, Strabo, XII. viii. 15, p. 577; merchant guild, *I.G.R.*, IV. 796; Jews, Cic., *pro Flacco*, 66-9; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 666-7; organization by streets, *I.G.R.*, IV. 788, 790, 791, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 467, no. 303 (= *C.I.G.*, 3960b).
66. TERRITORY OF APAMEA: Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxv. 13-14, τοῦτο μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ἀνωτέρων πόλεων τοῦτο δὲ πολλὰς εὐδαίμονας κόμας ὑπηκόους ἔχετε, Strabo, XIII. iv. 17, p. 631, Μιλῖα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ . . . παρατείνουσα ὀρεινὴ μέχρι Σαγαλασσοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀπαμείων χώρας. SANAUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 684; inscription, *I.G.R.*, IV. 872, τῷ Σαναγιῶν δήμῳ; bishop at Nicaea, Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*,

- p. lxiii, no. 139. CITY ON LAKE ASCANIA (THE MODERN ILIAS): Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pp. 332-3, *NJS.* 145-6.
67. COINS OF METROPOLIS (NAMING ACAMAS): Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 680-1. Euphorbium is elsewhere mentioned only in the *Tab. Peut.* (ix. 5). COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 671 (Dionysopolis), 673 (Eumeneia; it was for a brief period called Fulvianopolis after Antony's wife), 677 (Hyrgaleis), 682 (Peltae), 684 (Sibliani). INSCRIPTIONS: of Lunda, *I.G.R.*, iv. 770; of Motella, *M.A.M.A.*, iv. 276A (1); of the Hyrgaleis, *I.G.R.*, iv. 756.
68. ACMONEIA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 663-4; synagogue, *I.G.R.*, iv. 655; Julia Severa and Tyrronius Rapon are mentioned in *I.G.R.*, iv. 654 as magistrates.
69. ALIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 664. GRIMENOTHYRAE-TRAJANOPOLIS: Ptol., v. ii. 13, *Γριμενοθύρῃται ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ Τραιανόπολις* (Ptolemy is bringing the Augustan register up to date). The coins of the two cities (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 674, 688) overlap in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian; this may mean that Trajanopolis was a new town and that the community issued coins for a time in the name of both its towns. Ptolemy's words show that the community did not split; it eventually was called Trajanopolis, which alone appears in the Byzantine documents. THE MOXEANI: Ptol., v. ii. 18. COINS OF DIOCLEIA AND SIOCHARAX: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 671, 685, *Διοκλεανῶν Μοξεανῶν, Σιοχαρικῶν Μοξεα(νῶν)*, cf. *I.G.R.*, iv. 664, *ἡ προκεκριμένη του Μοξεανῶν δήμου Διοκλεία*.
70. COINS OF BRIA AND SEBASTE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 668, 684. METRICAL HISTORY OF SEBASTE: *I.G.R.*, iv. 682. LEONNA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 680; village of Sebaste, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 608, no. 499, *ἔτους σα'. ἡ Δέ[σωνα κατ]οικία Ἀπόλλωνι κα[ὶ] Ἀρτέ[μι]δι* (on the site of Sebaste). DIOS-COME: *I.G.R.*, iv. 635, *ἡ Διοσκωμ[ητ]ῶν κατοικία τ[ῆς] λαμπροτάτης Σεβ[ασ]τη-νῶν πόλεως*.
71. The boundaries of the Apamene *conventus* are not so easy to define as those of the Synnadic. Their common frontier has already been discussed. On the south-east the Apamene *conventus* is bounded by the provincial frontier of Asia and Galatia. On the south-west Hierapolis and Laodicea are the border cities of the Cibyratic *conventus*. On the north mount Dindymus forms a natural frontier. On the west there is no clearly defined frontier. I have adopted the line of the Maeander and Hippurius. Temenothyrae being a city of the Moccadeni must with Silandus belong to the Sardinian *conventus*, but Grimenothyrae might belong to either *conventus*.
72. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XI, 9-27, 38; XII, 21; XVII, 14-15. Hierocles' list of Pacatiana is very corrupt in parts. *Κονιούπολις* is generally admitted to be *Διονυσούπολις*. *Κράσσοις* is otherwise unknown; I accept Ramsay's hypothesis (op. cit., p. 241) that it is the remains of *Ἀττάνασσοις*, which was a see by 451. *Σιτούπολις* also is otherwise unknown and probably corrupt. I doubt Ramsay's correction, Anastasiopolis, (a) because dynastic names are not liable to corruption, (b) because Hierocles' list is probably earlier than Anastasius' reign, being full of dynastic names of the Theodosian house which seem to have had a very short vogue, (c) because Anastasiopolis seems to replace Hierocles' Pepuza (*vid. inf.*). Valentia is mentioned elsewhere only in *Cod. Theod.*, VIII. v. 49, XI. i. 22, XII, i. 113 (386) and at Ephesus (Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. I, vol. iv, pp. 29, 46); its position can be gauged only from Hierocles' order (Colossae, Ceretapa, Themisionium, Valentia, Sanaus); all these cities are omitted in the early Notitiae. Calder has proved that Pepuza lay in the land of the Hyrgaleis (*Byzantion*, 1931, pp. 421 seq.). Anastasiopolis (Mansi, VIII. 1050, IX. 393, and the early Notitiae) was in the province of Hierapolis and can only be placed in the land of the Hyrgaleis (see Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1883, pp. 390-2). Motella is recorded in the Notitiae as

Metellopolis in the province of Hierapolis; by position it should correspond to Hierocles' Situpolis, hardly to Pulcherianopolis (Ramsay, op. cit., p. 141) which should be in the north of the province. On the *δήμος Ἀυράκλεια* see Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 409-12, 480-2. Aristium can be placed only by the order of Hierocles (Siocharax, Diocleia, Aristium, Cidyessus). Eluza is probably the Aludda of the *Tab. Peut.* (ix. 3/4); Hierocles' order agrees with this identification.

73. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 105, 'una appellatur Cibyrica . . . conveniunt eo XXV civitates, celeberrima urbe Laodicea . . . reliqui in eo conventu quos nominare non pigeat Hydrelitae Themisones Hierapolitae'. HYDRELA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 677. HIERAPOLIS: coins, op. cit., pp. 675-6; guilds, *I.G.R.*, iv. 816, 818, 822, *C.I.G.*, 3924, Humann, &c., *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, nos. 133, 218 (in these inscriptions they are called *ἐργασία* or *συντεχνία*; the *σύνδοδοι* which in *I.G.R.*, iv. 818 are associated with the council, people, *gerusia*, *conventus* of Romans and *νέοι* are perhaps also guilds); territory, *O.G.I.*, 527; Cagyetta, *I.G.R.*, iv. 767, 768; Thiunta, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pp. 142-3, nos. 30-1; Mossyna, ib., pp. 144-6, nos. 32 and 33 (= *I.G.R.*, iv. 766). Robert (*Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 138 seqq.) points out that from the reign of Caracalla Hierapolis seems to have owned the temple of Apollo Larbenus, which seems previously to have belonged to Motella.
74. LAODICEA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 678-80; Diocletianic tariff, *C.I.L.*, III, *Suppl.*, pp. 1942-5; guilds and tribes, *J.H.S.*, 1936, pp. 78-9; *χῶροι*, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 77, nos. 11 and 12.
75. COLOSSAE: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 670; sheep, Strabo, XII. viii. 16, p. 578. THEMISIONUM AND ERIZA: Ptol., v. ii. 18 and 15; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 687 and 672. DIOCAESAREA-CERETAPA: coins, op. cit., pp. 668-9; for its position see Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 105 seqq. CIBYRA: coins (giving era and title), Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 669-70; guilds, *I.G.R.*, iv. 907; tribes, *I.G.R.*, iv. 915; languages, Strabo, XIII. iv. 17, p. 631.
76. LAGBE: the coins (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 708) are now read *Λαββηῶν* and attributed to the Carian Larba (Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 143 seqq.); inscriptions, *C.I.G.*, 4318b, [δ] *δήμος Λαγβέων . . . Λαγβηῆ εὐχὴν*, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 272, no. 191 (tomb of a *Λαγβ[ε]ύ[ς]*), pp. 272-3, nos. 192 (= *I.G.R.*, iv. 927) and 193 (funerary fines *τῶ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ, τῇ Κιβυρατῶν πόλει* and *τῶ κατὰ τόπον μισθωτῇ τοῦ χωρίου*); the last prove that Lagbe was in the Cibyric *conventus*. MYANGLA: *J.R.S.* XXX (1940), pp. 23 seqq. THE TYRIAEITAE: *B.C.H.*, 1900, p. 54, [τ]ῶ *δήμῳ [τ]ῶ Τυρια[ε]ιτῶν*. THE TACINEIS: *I.G.R.*, iv. 881 (the mention of a proconsul proves that it was in Asia). THE ORMELEIS: *I.G.R.*, iv. 887-93 (the Sullan and Cibyric eras show that it was in Asia and in the Cibyric diocese). THE PHYLACENSES: Ptol., v. ii. 18, *Φυλακήνσιοι*, v. ii. 17, *Φυλακαίων*; the Latin form of the ethnic is a proof that Ptolemy was using a Latin list of *populi*. The boundaries of the Cibyric diocese cannot include any other city which issued coins. On the south the Cabalian cities were given to Lycia by Murena and never returned to Asia (see Chap. III, note 13). To the east Olbasa and Lysinia were in Galatia, later Pamphylia (Ptol., v. v. 7 and 4). To the west Trapezopolis and Apollonia were in the *conventus* of Alabanda and Tripolis in that of Sardis. Only on the north-west is there any room for doubt. Sanaus and the city of the Ascanian lake might belong to the Cibyric *conventus* instead of to the Apamene.
77. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables X, 24, 29-31; XI, 1-3, 6-8; XVIII, 17-18. THE VILLAGES OF CIBYRA: Strabo, XIII. iv. 17, p. 631. ALASTUS: *I.G.R.*, iv. 894-7; from 894-5 it may be deduced that M. Calpurnius Longus was the owner. For Lagbe, *vid. sup.*, note 76. On Ramsay's reading and interpretation *I.G.R.*, III. 335 proves that Tymbrianassus was the property of Nero; Cagnat and Dittenberger (*O.G.I.*, 538) prefer to make the emperor's name part of a date.



78. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 150, 'is finis Asiae est populorumque CCLXXXII qui ad eum locum a fine Lyciae numerantur'.
79. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 109, 'Alabanda libera quae conventum eum cognominavit . . . longinquoires eodem foro disceptant Orthronienses (? = Orthosienses), Ali-dienses (? = Alindenses), Euhippini, Xystiani, Hydissenses, Apolloniatae, Trapezopolitae, Aphrodisienses liberi'; on the republican *conventus*, *vid. sup.*, note 49. For the coins of the Carian cities see Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 607-28. MYLASA: free, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 108; Passala, *C.I.L.*, III. 7151; Hyde, *A.J.A.*, 1935, p. 338; Olymus and Labraunda, *Wadd.*, 334, 339, cf. Francotte, *La polis grecque*, pp. 207 seqq.; the amalgamation must have been early for Zeus of Labraunda was already the god of Mylasa in 367 B.C. (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 167) and Olymus lies between Labraunda and Mylasa. EUROMUS: Polyb., xxx. 5; Edrieis, &c., *I.G.*, Ed. Min., I. 64; Chalceor, *vid. sup.*, note 25. BARGYLIA: free, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 107 (punctuating 'Termera, libera Bargylia'); Cindye, *vid. sup.*, note 34. HALICARNASSUS AND THE LELEGIAN CITIES: *vid. sup.*, notes 7 and 34. CERAMUS: under Stratonicea, *O.G.I.*, 441; many villages, Strabo, xiv. ii. 25, p. 660. CNIDUS: free, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 104. STRATONICEA: free, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 109; demes of Panamareis and Tarmiani, *B.C.H.*, 1887, pp. 10, 11, 22, nos. 4, 5, 30, 1920, p. 98, no. 41; Stratonicea thanked Nerva for restoring its freedom (*Année Épig.*, 1922, 30) and it may therefore be conjectured that Vespasian, who 'enslaved' so many cities, had taken away its freedom. CAUNUS: free, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 104; under Rhodes, Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxi. 125. RHODES: captured by Cassius, Appian, *B.C.*, iv. 73; rewarded by Antony, *ib.*, v. 7 (he granted them Andros, Tenos, Naxos, Myndus, presumably in compensation for Caunus, &c.; these gifts were later rescinded); freedom rescinded by Claudius, Cassius Dio, LX. 24; restored by Claudius, *Tac., Ann.*, XII. 58, Suet., *Claudius*, 25, *Nero*, 7; rescinded by Vespasian, Suet., *Vesp.*, 8; free under Titus, Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxi. 112 seqq., cf. Von Arnim, *Leben und Werke von Dion von Prusa*, pp. 214-18. THE RHODIAN PERAEA: Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxi. 48, τὴν ἄντικρυς χώραν, 101, τὴν Καρίαν καρποῦσθε καὶ μέρος τι τῆς Λυκίας καὶ πόλεις ὑποφόρους κέκτησθε, *S.E.G.*, iv. 247 (the Stratoniceans invite τοὺς ἐν Καρία καὶ ὁμοροῦντας ἡμῖν 'Podiōus to a festival); the Ἄμιοι are recorded in Rhodian imperial inscriptions (*I.G.R.*, iv. 1129, 1134). Tymnessus perhaps lay on the frontier of Caria towards Lycia (see p. 403, n. 10). Crya and Calynda are implied to be in Asia by Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 101, 'quae Lyciam finit Telmessus'; cf. Chap. III, note 17.
80. ALABANDA: free, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 109; on its coins it boasts its immunity. On the league of the Hyllarimeis, *vid. sup.*, note 42; they were already a city in the first century B.C., Maiuri, *Nuov. Sill. Epigr. di Rodi*, no. 18. NEAPOLIS: Steph. Byz., s.v. Τρίπολις, καὶ ἄλλη Καρίας, ἢ νῦν Νεάπολις. APHRODISIAS: free, Pliny, *loc. cit.*, *C.I.G.*, 2743 (A.D. 251); united with Plarasa, *O.G.I.*, 453-5 and coins. SEBASTOPOLIS-LARBA: Robert (*Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 142 seqq.) has shown that the Larbeni of Kern, *Inschr. von Magn. Mae.*, 101, and the coins (both second century B.C.) are probably the people of the Carian Larba recorded in the Notitiae. He makes no attempt to fill the gap. It is odd that a city which coined in the principate and was a bishopric in the Byzantine period should vanish in the principate and not appear in Hierocles. Sebastopolis coined in the principate and appears in Hierocles, but not in the Notitiae. The identification is therefore plausible, especially as the coins of Larba bear a family resemblance to the early coins of Sebastopolis (head of Zeus r. in a border of dots). For the position of Cidrama see Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 seqq. ULPRIA HERACLEA: *Jahresh.* xv (1912), p. 50.
81. Cos, Astypalaea, and Amorgus are placed by Ptolemy (v. ii. 19) in Asia. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 634, 631, 481. COS, IMMUNE: *Tac., Ann.*, XII. 61. ASTYPALAEA, FREE: Pliny, *N.H.*, iv. 71. Calymnos issued no coins and its imperial

- inscriptions are dated by the *μόναρχος* (of Cos); see *G.D.I.*, 3599, *Anc. Gr. Inscr. in the B.M.*, II, pp. 92 seqq. THE RHODIAN ISLANDS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 133.
82. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables VI, 1-2, 10-13; X, 3-23, 25-8; XI, 4-5; XIII, 27. Hierocles' Marcianopolis and Anastasiopolis must correspond to Bargylia and Cidrama, which are omitted by him, but occur in the Notitiae.
83. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 120, 'Ephesum . . . remotiores conveniunt Caesarienses, Metropolitae, Cilbiani inferiores et superiores, Mysomacedones, Mastaurenses, Briullitae, Hypaepeni, Dioshieritae'; on the republican *conventus*, *vid. sup.*, note 49. EPHESUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 576-7; Marathesium and Neapolis, Strabo, XIV. i. 20, p. 639. NEAPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 587. LARISSA: Strabo, XIII. iii. 2, p. 620; Caystriani, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 649.
84. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 660-1 (Caesarea Tralles), 647 (Aninetus), 649 (Briulla), 653 (Mastaura), 654 (Nysa), 583 (Magnesia), 586 (Miletus), 591 (Priene); Heraclaea issued no coins in the principate, but, as it was a city in the second century B.C. and in the Byzantine period, probably was a city in the principate. Miletus and Priene are proved to have been in the Magnesian *conventus* by the fact that copies of the inscription cited in note 49 have been found in both (Knackfuss, *Das Rathaus von Milet*, p. 101, and Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inscr. von Priene*, no. 106). COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 584 (Metropolis), 649-50 (Cilbiani), 650 (Dioshieron), 651-2 (Hypaepa), 659 (Titacazus); for the position of Titacazus see *B.M.C.*, *Lydia*, p. cxxx-cxxxii. The Mysomacedones are also mentioned as a *δήμος* of Asia in Ptolemy (v. ii. 13) and in *Ath. Mith.*, 1894, pp. 102 seqq., an inscription of the early principate giving a long list of *δήμοι* also including *Κιλ[β]ιανῶν τῶν ἄνω* and *[Κιλ]βιανῶν τῶν κάτω*. For Nicaea see also Keil and Premerstein, 'Dritte Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LVII, no. 67, *ἐν Νευκαία τῇ ἐν Κιλβιανῶν*. AULIOCOME-VALENTINIANOPOLIS OF THE CILBIANI: Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, tom. II, vol. i, p. [343] 147 (note), Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joh. Chrys.*, xiii, Migne, *P.G.*, XLVII. 47, *Ἐυσέβιος τὸς ἀπὸ τῶν Κελβιανῶν [sic] λεγομένων τόπων ἐπίσκοπος Οὐαλεντινουπόλεως [sic]*. COLOE: Keil and Premerstein, 'Dritte Reise in Lydien', no. 75. PALAEOPOLIS: *id.*, *ib.*, no. 73.
85. COINS OF COLOPHON, LEBEDUS, TEOS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 571, 580-1, 596. TEOS AND AERAE: Strabo, XIV. i. 32, p. 644. SAMOS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 606; Icaria, Strabo, XIV. i. 19, p. 639; Samos was freed by Augustus (Cassius Dio, LIV. 9, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 135); it was deprived of freedom by Vespasian (Suet., *Vesp.*, 8). For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables VI, 3; VII, 1-26; X, 1-2. Augaza was renamed Theodosiopolis (Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, p. [343] 147, note); its position and that of Algiza, Baretta, and Neaule can only be gauged from Hierocles' order.
86. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 120, 'Zmyrnaevum conventum magna pars Aeoliae quae mox dicitur frequentat praeterque Macedones Hyrcani cognominati et Magnetes a Sipylō'. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 593-5 (Smyrna), 652-3 (Magnesia and Hyrcanis), 569 (Clazomenae), 579 (Erythrae), 601 (Chios), 589-90 (Phocaea), 554 (Cyme), 556 (Myrina), 552 (Aegae), 557 (Temnus), FREE: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 136. MYRINA AND GRYNEUM: Strabo, XIII. iii. 5, p. 622; Myrina took the name of Sebastopolis, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 121 and the coins. Pliny (*loc. cit.*) says 'fuerat Larisa, sunt Cyme, Myrina . . . et intus Aegaeae, Itale, Posidea, Neontichus, Temnos. in ora autem Titanus amnis et civitas ab eo cognominata. fuit et Grynia'. The statement may be derived in part from the official register, which he professes to quote (see the passage cited at the beginning of this note). He is confirmed as to the disappearance of Larissa and Gryneum by Strabo (XIII. iii. 3, p. 621 and 5, p. 622). For Titanus, *vid. sup.*, note 9. MOSTENE: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 653; its position given by Keil and Premerstein, 'Reise in Lydien',

*Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIII, no. 10. CAESAREA TROCETTA: *I.G.R.*, IV. 1498. CAESAREA HYRCANIS: *G.I.B.M.*, 498. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables VI, 4; VII, 27-35; IX, 20, 25.

87. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 111, 'Sardiana nunc appellatur ea iurisdictionio, conveniuntque in eam extra praedictos Macedones Cadieni, Loreni, Philadelpheni et ipsi in radice Tmoli Cogamo flumini adpositi Maeonii, Tripolitani iidem et Antoniopolitae—Maecandro adluuntur—Apollonihieritae, Mysotimolitae et alii ignobiles'. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 656-7 (Sardis), 648 (Apollonoshieron), 655 (Philadelphia; it was called Neocaesarea for a time in the early principate), 659 (Tmolitae-Aureliopolis), 661 (Tripolis). PHILADELPHIA AND CASTOLLUS: *O.G.I.*, 488; procurators of the Philadelphene region, *I.G.R.*, IV. 1651. Most authorities concur in placing the Mysotimolitae near Blaundus on account of the entry *ὁ Φλαυδέων· γράφεται καὶ Μεσοτυμόλου* in Notitiae XIII. The last three words are, I think, to be explained as a corrector's gloss on the list, 'the bishop of Mysotimolus is also recorded', and have no particular reference to Blaundus; the regular formula for a double bishopric is —ἦτοι—. The meaning of the name is obvious. It is known that Mysians did live in the eastern part of the Tmolus-Mesogis range (cf. Strabo, XIII. iv. 12, p. 629 and the Mysomacedones). Tmolus was sometimes spelled Tymolus (*I.G.R.*, IV. 1498, 1503).
88. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 648 (Blaundus), 650 (Clanudda), 656 (Sala). TRALLES: Wadd., 287, *Τραλλιανὸς Τραλλέων τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ταύρου*; the geography is rather extraordinary, but no other Tralles is known except the Carian, and the Lydian Tralles was at any rate beyond the mountains from Iasus. The position of Clanudda is determined by *Tab. Peut.*, IX. 4. That of Sala can be inferred from the fact that with Blaundus it was in Byzantine Lydia but is assigned by Ptolemy (v. ii. 17) to western Phrygia. Tralles occurs only in Hierocles, whose order in Lydia is quite erratic, and in the Notitiae; its position is therefore quite uncertain.
89. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 648 (Bageis), 652 (Maeonia), 655 (Saittae), 657 (Silandus), 658 (Tabala), 686-7 (Temenothyrae). MOCCADENI: Ptol., v. ii. 18, *I.G.R.*, IV. 618, *τῆς λαμπροτάτης μητροπόλεως τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς Τημενοθυρέων πόλεως*, 1380, *ἡ λαμπροτάτη Σιλανδέων πόλις ἢ μητρόπολις τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς*; a village of Moccadene, Thermae Theseos, is also known (*I.G.R.*, IV. 1377). COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 668 (Cadi), 650 (Daldis), 651 (Gordus). THE LORENI: *B.C.H.*, 1884, p. 381, *Mém. Ac. Roy. Belg.*, xxx, 1859, p. 27, *ὁ δῆμος ὁ 'Ιουλιέων Γορδηνῶν καὶ ὁ Λορηνῶν δῆμος*.
90. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables IX, 1-3, 5-9, 13-15, 17, 21-4, 26-7; XI, 33, 37. For Philadelphia-Callatebus and Apollonia-Tripolis, *vid. sup.*, notes 38 and 24. Cadi is first mentioned in history in Polyb., xxxiii. 12 (155-4 B.C.); for its Macedonian colonists, *vid. sup.*, note 26; it mentions King Midas on its coins.
91. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 126, 'Pergamena vocatur eius tractus iurisdictionio. ad eam conveniunt Thyatireni, Mossyni, Mygdones, Bregmeni, Hierocometae, Perpereni, Tiareni, Hierolophienses, Hermocapelitae, Attalenses, Panteenses, Apollonienses aliaeque inhonorate civitates'. PERGAMUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 536-7; will of Attalus, *vid. sup.* note 43; boundary with Perperene, Galen, VI, p. 800 (ed. Kühn); with Atarneus, Paus., VII. ii. 11. ATARNEUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 522; Strabo, XIII. i. 60, p. 611, *ἣν νῦν ἔχουσιν Ἀδραμυττηνοὶ τε καὶ Ἀταρνεῖται καὶ Πιτανάιοι*; Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxvii. 156, 'in Aeolide nunc Atarneo pago, quondam oppido', cf. v. 122, 'intercidere . . . Atarnea'.
92. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 555 (Elaea), 537 (Perperene and Pitane). TIARA: *vid. sup.*, note 48; for its position, Ath., II. 62b (*ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τῶν Μιτυληναίων*). For the position of Perperene, see Strabo, XIII. i. 51, p. 607 and Galen, *loc. cit.*

93. CONVENTUS OF THYATEIRA: *I.G.R.*, IV. 1287, *ἔδωρήσατο τῇ πατρίδι ἡμῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν δικῶν* (A.D. 214-15). COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 648 (Apollonis and Attaleia), 651 (Hermocapeleia and Hierocaesarea), 658-9 (Thyateira). On Apollonis and Attaleia, *vid. sup.*, notes 38 and 29. HERMOCAPELEIA: Keil and Premerstein, 'Zweite Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIV, no. 124, *ἡ Λυδῶν Ἐρμοκαπηλειῶν πόλις*; this inscription gives its situation, showing it was nowhere near the Hermus. HIEROCAESAREA AND THE PERSIAN GODDESS: Tac., *Ann.*, III. 62, *I.G.R.*, IV. 1306 and the coins; its identity with Hieracome, which is first mentioned in Polyb., XVI. 1, is not certain. Hierolophus is probably the city at Sari Cham, where *O.G.I.*, 333 (confirmation of the asylum of the Persian Goddess) was found (Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, pp. 27-8). THYATEIRA: under the Seleucids and Attalids, *vid. sup.*, notes 26 and 38; guilds, *I.G.R.*, IV. 1205 (οἱ κεραμεῖς), 1209 (οἱ ἱματευόμενοι), 1213, 1239, 1242 (οἱ βαφεῖς), 1252 (οἱ λανάριοι), 1216 (οἱ βυρσεῖς), 1226 (οἱ λουργοῖ), 1244 (οἱ ἀρτοκόποι), 1259 ([οἱ χα]λκεῖς χαλκοτύποι), 1257 (προβένηται σωματίων), *B.C.H.*, 1886, p. 422, no. 31 (οἱ σκυτοτόμοι); annual presidents, *I.G.R.*, IV. 1265, *ἐπιστησάμενον τοῦ ἔργου βαφέων ἀπὸ γένους τὸ ἕκτον* (since he held the office τὸ ἕκτον it cannot have been hereditary and ἀπὸ γένους must, like the common ἀπὸ προγόνων, merely mean that he came from a family which had often provided presidents for the guild); territory, *I.G.R.*, IV. 1165, 1166 (Pergamum road), 1305, 1315 (Sardis road); villages, 1237; *arca Liviana*, 1204, 1213.
94. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 522 (Came), 647 (Acrasus), 654 (Nacrasa), 657 (Stratonicea), 659 (Tomara). On the earlier history of Nacrasa and Acrasus, *vid. sup.*, notes 26, 28. On the position of Came, see Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 1 seqq. On the position of Tomara, see *B.M.C.*, *Lydia*, p. cxxxii. The history of Stratonicea has recently been discussed by Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 seqq. I accept his conclusions that Stratonicea continued to exist from 131 B.C. onwards and that the Indeipediatae became a separate community; the strongest argument is the fragment of a Pergamene ephobic list cited on p. 54. I still think however that this Stratonicea was Aristonicus' stronghold (see note 44) and the absence of republican coinage from Stratonicea (in contrast to all the other Hellenistic colonies) confirms my conviction that Stratonicea was punished for its disloyalty; the emergence of the Indeipediatae as a separate community suggests how. Robert's theory takes no account of Hadrian's transfer of taxes from the territory from the fiscus to the city; *I.G.R.*, IV. 1156, *δίκαια ἀξιῶν μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀ[ρ]τι γενομένη πόλει τὰ τε οὖν τέλη τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας δίδωμι ὑμῖν*; by the phrase τὰ τέλη τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας is probably meant not the *tributum soli*, which is called φόροι, but the indirect taxes normally levied by the city for its own use. It may be noted that Hadrian communicated this letter to the procurator of Asia, who had no concern with the tribute.
95. The Mygdones mentioned by Strabo (XII. viii. 10 and 11, pp. 575-6) inhabited quite a different region, east of Cyzicus, but the Mysian tribes were often broken and scattered. The Mossyni cannot be corrected to Mosteni, for the latter lived on the northern slopes of Tmolus (*vid. sup.*, note 86), far outside the Pergamene *conventus*. On the Panteenses, see Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 seqq.
96. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables VII, 36-41; IX, 4, 10-12, 16, 18-19, 28.
97. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 123, 'deportant Adramytteum negotia Apolloniatae a Rhyndaco amne, Eresi, Miletopolitae, Poemaneni, Macedones Asculacae, Polichnaei, Pionitae, Cilices Mandacandeni, in Mysia Abretteni et Hellespontii appellati et alii ignobiles'. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 521 (Adramyttium), 560 (Eresus), 561 (Methymna), 562 (Mitylene), 563 (Poroselene). ADRAMYTTENE TERRITORY: Strabo, XIII. i. 61-2, p. 612; for Cilla and Thebe, *vid. sup.*, notes 1, 10. PERAEA OF MITYLENE: Strabo, XIII. i. 51, p. 607, *αἱ τῶν Μιτυληναίων κῆμαι Κορυφαντῆς τε καὶ Ἡράκλεια*, Livy, XXXVII. 21, 'Peraeam . . . coloniam Mitylencaeorum' (men-

- tioning Cotton, Corylenus, Aphrodisias, Prinne); Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 122, 'Herae cleotes tractus, Coryphas oppidum . . . regio Aphrodisias quae antea Politice Orgas', is presumably a confused reference to this district; cf. also *O.G.I.*, 335.
- MITYLENE, FREE: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 139, *I.G.R.*, iv. 33. ANTISSA, DESTROYED: Livy, XLV. 31. Pyrrha is stated by Pliny (loc. cit.) to have been swallowed by the sea and a few lines lower to be still in existence. On Pordoselene-Poroselene, see Strabo, XIII. ii. 5-6, pp. 618-19.
98. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 542 (Antandrus and Assus), 545 (Gargara), 541 (Alexandria), 549 (Scepsis), 551 (Tenedos), 547 (Ilium), 544 (Dardanus), 539-40 (Abydus), 531-2 (Lampsacus and Parium). ANTANDRUS AND ASTYRA: Strabo, XIII. i. 65, p. 613, cf. 62, p. 612. ALEXANDRIA TROAS, COLONY: Strabo, XIII. i. 26, pp. 593-4, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 124, coins (Col. Aug.); it possessed the *ius Italicum*, *Dig.*, l. xv. 7, 8, § 9. ARGIZA: *C.I.L.*, III. 7084. ACHAEUM OF TENEDOS: Strabo, XIII. i. 46, 47, p. 604. ILIUM: immune, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 124; Rhoeteum and Gergis, *vid. sup.*, note 37; Sigeum and Achilleum, Strabo, XIII. i. 39, p. 600; Thymbra, *id.*, XIII. i. 35, p. 598. SCAMANDRIA: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 124, cf. *C.I.G.*, 3597, 8804. ABYDUS AND ARISBE: Polyb., v. 111; and Astyra, Strabo, XIII. i. 23, p. 591. LAMPSACUS AND PAESUS AND COLONAE: Strabo, XIII. i. 19, p. 589. PARIUM, COLONY: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 141, coins (from Augustus with inscription C(olonia) G(?) I(ulia) P(ariana)); from Hadrian H(adriana) is inserted, *C.I.L.*, III. 374, *Dig.*, l. xv. 8, § 9 (*ius Italicum*). Strabo (XIII. i. 14, p. 588) is unaware of the colony, and his record of Priapus (XIII. i. 12, p. 587) may therefore be anachronistic.
99. CYZICUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 527; territory, Strabo, XII. viii. 11, p. 576, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1904, p. 277 (boundary stone west of Zeleia); Poemanenum, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ποιμανηρόν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χωρίον Κυζίκου (cf. *I.G.R.*, iv. 196); Proconnesus, Paus., VIII. xlvi. 4 (cf. *I.G.R.*, iv. 117); freedom rescinded, Cassius Dio, LIV. 7, restored, LIV. 23, rescinded again, LVII. 24. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 521 (Apollonia), 531 (Miletopolis), 537 (Poemanenum).
100. Wadd., 1745.
101. PIONIA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 548; position, Paus., IX. xviii. 4; Strabo (XIII. i. 56, p. 610) associates it vaguely with Scepsis and Gargara. PERICHARAXIS: *Ath. Mitth.*, 1895, p. 236, [δ] δήμος τῆς Περιχαράξεως, 1904, p. 269, Περιχαράξειτις; Ergasteria, Galen, XII, p. 230 (ed. Kühn); he calls it a κώμη. GERME: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 650. This city is placed by numismatists (on grounds of style) at the Germe of the *Itin. Ant.* (335) east of Pergamum, but this place seems to have been in the territory of Stratonicea (Wadd., 1043 = *I.G.R.*, iv. 1159, was found near the site). The only city of Germe known is that recorded by Hierocles, the Notitia, and Steph. Byz. (s.v. Γέρμη) in Hellespont and by Ptolemy (v. ii. 11) in *Μυσία μικρὰ ἢ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ* as *ἱερὰ Γέρμη* (the title appears on some of the coins). ATTAUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 522; on its general position see Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 seqq. Mandacada is located only by the order of Hierocles.
102. ABBAEITAE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 663, Foucart, 'La formation de la prov. rom. d'Asie', *Mém. Inst. Nat. de France, Ac. Inscr.*, 1904 (xxxvii), p. 328, ἐπ[ί] Μυσίας τῆς καλουμένης Ἀββαειτίδος, *O.G.I.*, 445 (at Rome), 446, ὁ δήμος ὁ Μυσῶν Ἀββαειτῶν . . . τὸν προπάτορα Χρόμιον (cf. *Iliad*, II. 858; this inscription was found at Cadi), Strabo, XII. viii. 11, p. 576, (the Macesus flows) ἀπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς Ἀβαειτίδος. ANCYRA, SYNAUS AND TIBERIOPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 665, 685, 687-8.
103. HADRIANUTHERAE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 528, *Hist. Aug., Hadr.*, 20; the plain of Apia, Polyb., v. 77. ABRETTENI: Strabo, XII. viii. 11, p. 576, (the Rhyndacus receives) ἐκ τῆς Ἀβρεττηνῆς Μυσίας ἄλλους τε καὶ Μάκεστον ἀπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς

Ἀβαιτίδος, XII. viii. 9, p. 574, ἱερεὺς μὲν ὦν τοῦ Ἀβρεττηνοῦ Διός, Μυσίου θεοῦ, μέρος δ' ἔχων ὑπήκοον τῆς Μωρηνῆς, Μυσία δ' ἐστὶ καὶ αὕτη καθάπερ ἡ Ἀβρεττηνή. Morene is otherwise unknown. HADRIANEIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 528; its position is fixed by *J.H.S.*, 1897, p. 290, no. 67, 1901, p. 231, no. 3, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1904, pp. 327-8 (= *I.G.R.*, IV. 241, wrongly given to Hadriani). OLYMPIENI: Strabo, XII, IV. 10, p. 566, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον Μυσοί, οὓς Ὀλυμπηνοὺς καλοῦσιν τινες, οἱ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίους, Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-1, Μυ(σός) Ἑλλησ(πόντιος), Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 123, 'in Mysia Abretteni et Hellespontii appellati', v. 142, 'mons Olympus Mysius dictus, civitas Olympena', Ptol., IV. II. 13. HADRIANI: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 528, Ἀδριανῶν πρὸς Ὀλυμπον; the name is obviously tribal, being a masculine plural.

104. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables VI, 5-9; VII, 42-5; VIII; XI, 32, 34-6; XIX, 11, 13-15. NEOCAESAREA-ERISTE: Mansi, XIII. 145-6, Λέων ἐπίσκοπος Νεοκαισαρείας ἤτοι Ἀρίστης. For the custom of the province of Europe, see Chap. I, note 32. It is possible that Hierocles' Blados is Hadrianeia, whose modern name is Bolat (cf. also Strabo, XII. v. 2, p. 567); it is, however, odd that the old native name of the city should be used in an official list. BARIS: *O.G.I.*, 225. Theodosiana is recorded only in Hierocles, at Chalcedon and at Constantinople (A.D. 518). Hierocles' order (Tiberiopolis, Cadi, Theodosiana, Ancyra, Synaus) is compatible with my hypothesis, and there is a great gap devoid of cities between Ancyra and Hadrianu-therae.

### *Ecclesiastical Organization*

It will be more convenient to follow the Byzantine administrative divisions. The Roman province of Asia consisted of the Byzantine provinces of Asia, Hellespont, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia Pacatiana and Salutaris, and fragments of other provinces, Apollonia, Hadriani, and Neocaesarea from Bithynia, Trocnades, Orcistus, Amorium, and Claneus from Galatia Salutaris, Philomelium, Hadrianopolis, Tyriaeum, Apamea, and Metropolis from Pisidia, the Milyadic estates from Pamphylia, Caunus from Lycia, and Rhodes, Cos, Astypalaea, Amorgos, Samos, Chios, Mitylene, Methymna, Eresus, Poroselene, and Tenedos from the Islands. In these outlying regions the correspondence of civil to ecclesiastical unit is fairly close. The Milyadic lands are probably represented by Lagbe. Carpathos though subject to Rhodes was a separate see; Amorgos, on the other hand, is not recorded in the Notitiae, nor is Astypalaea save in Notitia I; Notitia I also records Nisyros. The three cities of Lesbos with the Peraea and Poroselene and Tenedos were in A.D. 451 one bishopric; Methymna later became a separate see. In Asia Nicaea and Tiara are not recorded as bishoprics, and Maschacome and Sion are recorded in the Notitiae and Monale at Chalcedon; Aegae and Temnus though omitted in the early Notitiae were bishoprics, both being represented at Chalcedon. In Hellespont, as I have noted, there were many more cities than bishoprics. The early Notitiae give all the coining cities save Attaus and Scepsis; the latter was nevertheless a bishopric, being represented at Chalcedon. They also give Proconnesus, Baris, and Oee. In Lydia Hierocles' list is so defective that it is difficult to judge; all the sees which are omitted by Hierocles were coining cities. In Caria the Notitiae omit the Patrimonial lands, the estate, and Sebastopolis; they give in addition Larba, Tapassa, Anotetarte, Metaba, and Hieron; of these Larba is probably the native name of Sebastopolis; I assume that Eriza is meant by Siza. In Phrygia Salutaris the Notitiae omit Ocoelia, Metropolis, Amadassa, and Praepenissus; the early Notitiae omit the κληῆροι. The early Notitiae add Cinnaborium, Phyteia, Cone-Demetriopolis, Scordaspia, Nicopolis, and Sibindus. Of these only Cinnaborium occurs at any early council (at Chalcedon). The Chalcedonian list corresponds more closely to Hierocles, giving Amadassa and Praepenissus. In Phrygia Capatiana the early Notitiae are extraordinarily defective, omitting Colossae, Ceretapa, Themisonium, Sanaus, Lunda, Acmonaia, Diocleia, Aristium, and Cidyessus, which all occur in

the later Notitiae and all except Lunda at Chalcedon. They add Agathecome and Tripolis; I assume that Anastasiopolis is equivalent to Hierocles' Pepuza, Attanassus to his *Κράσσοσ*, and Metellopolis to his *Σιτούπολις*; Tripolis perhaps represents a group of three of the missing cities. Agathecome might be equivalent to one of Hierocles' dynastic names; all four, Theodosiana, Valentia, Eudocias, and Pulcherianopolis are missing from the Notitiae, although Valentia is recorded at Ephesus and Theodosiopolis at Chalcedon. Siocharax occurs in no ecclesiastical document and may not have been a bishopric.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER III

1. LEGEND OF LYCUS: Herod., I. 173, VII. 92. TERMILAE: Herod., loc. cit., Steph. Byz., s.v. *Τρεμίλη*, and the Lycian inscriptions, *T.A.M.*, I. 29, 40d, 44d, &c. LEGEND OF RHODIAPOLIS: Theopompus, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 296; Treuber (*Geschichte der Lykien*, p. 90) also cites as Greek foundations Gagae, on the ground of *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. *Γάγαι* (two etymological legends which derive the name from *Γᾶ Γᾶ*, a cry said to have been uttered by Rhodian settlers or shipwrecked sailors), and Corydalla, on the ground of Steph. Byz., s.v. *Κορύδαλλα, πόλις Ῥοδίων Ἐκαταίος Ἀσία*; the *Ῥόδιοι* are clearly the people of Rhodiapolis. XANTHUS-ARNA: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἄρνα, πόλις Λυκίας, οὕτω γὰρ ἢ Ξάνθος ἑκαλεῖτο*, and the Lycian inscriptions, e.g. *T.A.M.*, I. 45. ANTIPHELLUS-HABESOS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 100.
2. PHASELIS: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Γέλα* (Phaselis and Gela founded by two brothers), Eus., *Chron.*, ed. Karst, p. 184, Hieron., *Chron.*, ed. Helm, p. 93; the Chronicle says that Phaselis was in Pamphylia; on the distribution of Lycian inscriptions see *T.A.M.*, I, p. 10 (map). LYCIANS NOT SUBJECT TO CROESUS: Herod., I. 28. RESISTANCE TO HARPAGUS: Herod., I. 176. EARLIEST COINAGE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 689. LYCIAN FLEET: Herod., VII. 92, 98.
3. CIMON FREES THE LYCIANS: Diod., XI. 60. LYCIANS IN THE TRIBUTE LISTS: *S.E.G.*, v. 9. iii. 34. PHASELIS: *ib.*, I. iv. 24, &c. CRYA: *ib.*, I. iii. 17, &c. CALYNDA: *ib.*, I. I. v. 8, &c. (*Κλαυνδέσ*). TELMESSUS: *ib.*, I. i. 17, 9. iii. 33. Some Lycian inscriptions have been found at Telmessus (*T.A.M.*, I, p. 10), and in the later federal coinage Telmessus put *Λυκίων* on its coins (*vid. inf.*, note 13). CONQUEST OF TELMESSUS BY PERICLES: Theopompus, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 296; Scylax (100) counts Telmessus as Lycian.
4. LYCIANS JOIN THE SATRAPS' REVOLT: Diod., xv. 90. UNDER MAUSOLUS: [Arist.], *Oec.*, II, p. 1348a. COINS OF XANTHUS, PATARA, TELMESSUS, AND TOLUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 691-2. ALEXANDER IN LYCIA: Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 24.
5. Aristotle's *Λυκίων Πολιτεία* is mentioned in Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 161, Migne, *P.G.*, ciii. 449. In connexion with Arrian's account it may be noted that the distinction of the Upper and Lower Lycians seems to correspond with the later *συντέλειαι* of Cragus and Masicytes; the traditional number of 70 is given by Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 101. INSCRIPTION OF PIXODARUS: *T.A.M.*, I. 45. Scylax, 100.
6. LYCIA TO ANTIGONUS: Diod., xviii. 3 and 39. UNDER THE PTOLEMIES: Theocritus, *Id.*, xvii. 89, Strabo, xiv. iii. 6, p. 666, *O.G.I.*, 54 (Adulis inscription), 91, *T.A.M.*, II. 262 (Xanthus), *Annuario*, VIII-IX, p. 315 (Araxa), *O.G.I.*, 57, 58, 727 (Lissa), *P. Tebt.*, 8 (= *Chr.*, I. 2). TELMESSUS: *O.G.I.*, 55.
7. Another Greek name besides Pericles found on the coins is Athenagoras (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 690). On the dating of the Lycian inscriptions see *T.A.M.*, I, pp. 5-8. CICERO ON THE LYCIANS: *Verr.*, IV. 21. DEMES NAMED AFTER HOMERIC HEROES: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Γλαύκου δήμος ἐν Λυκία* and s.v. *Τηλέφιος δήμος* (Patara?); *I.G.R.*, III. 607 (*Σαρπηδόσιος* at Xanthus?), cf. *Iliad*, II. 876-7; *C.I.G.*, 4235b (*Βελλεροφοντεύσιος* at Tlos), cf. *Iliad*, VI. 144 seqq.; *C.I.G.*, 4269d (*Ἰοβαρείσιος* at Xanthus), cf. Malalas, p. 84, ed. Bonn. Note also the temple of Sarpedon at

- Xanthus (Appian, *B.C.*, iv. 78-9), the cult of the heroes Sarpedon and Glaucus at Xanthus (*I.G.R.*, III. 607), and the cult of Pandarus at Pinara (Strabo, xiv. iii. 5, p. 665, cf. *Iliad*, v. 168 seqq.).
8. ANTIOCHEUS III: Hieron., *Comm. in Daniel*, xi. 15, Migne, *P.L.*, xxv. 563, *T.A.M.*, II. 266. SETTLEMENT AFTER MAGNESIA: Livy, xxxvii. 56, xxxviii. 39, Polyb., xxi. 24, 46; Eumenes' rule over Telmessus is commemorated by a recently discovered inscription, *Riv. Fil.*, 1932, p. 446. LYCIAN COMPLAINTS TO ROME IN 178 B.C.: Livy, xli. 6, Polyb., xxv. 4. LYCIANS FREED IN 169 B.C.: Livy, xliv. 15, Polyb., xxx. 5; the three wars are mentioned in Polyb., xxx. 31; revolts are alluded to in Livy, xli. 25, xlii. 14, Polyb., xxii. 5, xxvii. 7.
9. ARAXA INSCRIPTION: *J.H.S.* LXVIII (1948), pp. 46 seqq. LYCIAN LEAGUE: Strabo, xiv. iii. 3, pp. 664-5. Strabo uses the word *συνέδριον*. The inscriptions record *ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους ἔννομος βουλὴ* (*I.G.R.*, III. 704. III B and C, 739. VII, X, XIII, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX) and *ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους ἀρχαιρεσιακὴ ἐκκλησία* (*I.G.R.*, III. 474, 739, III, IV, V, VIII), which sometimes pass decrees jointly (*I.G.R.*, III. 739. VI, IX). The inscriptions also record *οἱ συνιόντες εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχαιρέσια* (or *συνελθόντες Λυκίων*) *ἀρχοστάται καὶ βουλευταὶ καὶ κοινοὶ ἀρχοντες* (*I.G.R.*, III. 739. v, 473, cf. also 681, 492, 739. VI and IX), all of whom received pay. It is clear that the *ἀρχοστάται* were the members of the *ἀρχαιρεσιακὴ ἐκκλησία* and were a select body of delegates, not the whole Lycian people.
10. FEDERAL COINAGE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 693 and 694-8 for the several cities. The term *συντέλεια* is found in *I.G.R.*, III. 488, *ἐν τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ συντελ[εῖα]*. DIAS: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Διάς*. CALYNDIA UNDER CAUNUS AND RHODES: Polyb., xxxi. 4, 5. NON-FEDERAL COINAGE OF CALYNDIA AND CADYANDA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 695. TYMNESSUS: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Τυμνησός*; the city issued coins under Vespasian, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 628. TYBERISSUS: the inscription, which is very fragmentary and obscure, is recorded as *ἔδοξε Τυβερισσέω[v]* (Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratiss*, II. 96). Tymenna, it may be noted, does not come into question, as Steph. Byz. (s.v. *Τύμνηνα*) calls it a village. For Trebenna, *vid. inf.*, note 17. Trebenna is recorded only in Heberdey and Kalinka. 'Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, XLV. i. 59, *Μυρῶς ἀπὸ Τρεβένδων*, i. 53, 'Ἐλευθέρῳ Τρεβενδατικῇ.
11. PHASELIS: Strabo, xiv. iii. 9, p. 667; the federal coins of Phaselis are of early type only, *B.M.C.*, *Lycia*, *Ἔτ.*, p. 81. The identification of the twenty-three cities is complicated by the uncertainty as to whether Strabo got the figure from Artemidorus and as to when exactly Artemidorus wrote. Strabo gives his description of the league in the present tense and specifically quotes Artemidorus only for the names of the six greatest cities. It is, however, curious that he makes no mention of the connexion of Olympus and Phaselis with Zenicetes, despite the fact that he alludes in a general way to Servilius Isauricus' campaign against the pirates. I suspect therefore that he is really quoting Artemidorus throughout, and that Artemidorus wrote before the rise of Zenicetes (which agrees with his 'floruit' of 104-100 B.C.). If so, Telmessus and Bubon cannot be counted among the twenty-three, for they were added to the league at about the time when Zenicetes flourished.
12. On the sympolities, *vid. inf.*, note 20. THE BOEOTIAN LEAGUE: *Hellen. Oxy.*, XI.
13. The Lycians appear to have been in the original province of Cilicia: *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. iv. 37. FREED BY SULLA: Appian, *Mith.*, 61; cf. *I.G.R.*, I. 61. Lycia is mentioned in Cic., *Verr.*, I. 95 among the districts subject to Verres' depredations as legate of the governor of Cilicia. The Lycians were perhaps vaguely under the charge of the governor, but more probably 'Lycia' is



put oratorically for Phaselis and Olympos, which had probably already withdrawn from the league, and would thus not have participated in Sulla's gift of freedom. ADDITION OF BUBON AND BALBURA: Strabo, XIII. iv. 17, p. 631; Strabo does not mention the fate of Oenoanda, but Alexander Polyhistor, who was a contemporary of Sulla, called it a Lycian city (*apud* Steph. Byz., s.v. *Οινόανδα*), so that it presumably went with Bubon and Balbura. FEDERAL COINS OF BUBON: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 695. The history of Telmessus can only be presumed; having been in the Attalid kingdom it would naturally have been incorporated in Asia, and Appian's statement (*Mith.*, 24) that the Telmessians and Lycians assisted Rhodes against Mithridates implies that it was not then part of the league. Its federal coinage is of late type only: *B.M.C., Lycia, ℞c.*, pp. 86-7.

14. On Servilius Isauricus see Ormerod, *J.R.S.*, 1922, pp. 35 seqq. The war is referred to in Cic., *Verr.*, i. 56, iv. 21, Strabo, XIV. iii. 3, p. 664, v. 7, p. 671, Florus, I. 41 [III. 6], Orosius, v. 23, Eutrop., vi. 3. PARTICIPATION OF THE LYCIANS IN THE WAR: *O.G.I.*, 552-4. CONFISCATIONS: Cic., *de leg. agr.*, i. 5, II. 50. ABSENCE OF LATE FEDERAL COINAGE AT OLYMPUS: *B.M.C., Lycia, ℞c.*, p. 74.

15. BRUTUS AND THE LYCIANS: Appian, *B.C.*, iv. 76-82, Plut., *Brutus*, 30-3, Cassius Dio, XLVII. 34. FREED BY ANTONY: Appian, *B.C.*, v. 7. OENOANDA WITH BRUTUS: Appian, *B.C.*, iv. 79; in Galatia, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 147, 'Oe(no)andenses' (in the official register). BALBURA AND BUBON, COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 694-5. For the province of Lycia-Pamphylia see Chap. V, note 21.

16. *Ναύαρχοι* are mentioned in two pre-annexation inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, III. 607, 620, a *ὑποίπαρχος* in another, *I.G.R.*, III. 680. In the provincial inscriptions *ναύαρχοι* and *ἱππάρχοι* are mentioned only among the ancestors of distinguished Lycians, e.g., *I.G.R.*, III. 495, *ἀπόγονοι [ν]αυάρχων καὶ ἱππάρχ[χ]ων*, 524, *προγόνων ἱππάρχων ναυάρχων Λυκιάρχων*, 603, *προγόνων . . . [στ]ρατηγῶν καὶ ναυάρχων*, 735, *προγόνων ἱππάρχων καὶ στρατηγῶν*, 739. v, *προ[γόνων Λυκι-αρ]χῶν . . . στρατηγῶν [καὶ ἱππάρχω]ν*, VIII, *προγόνων . . . στρατηγῶν καὶ ἱππάρχων*. The wording of 739. v, if rightly restored, implies that the Lyciarch was different from the *strategus*. The Lyciarch survived in the provincial period. The term *strategus* is not mentioned except perhaps in *I.G.R.*, III. 739. XVIII, line 72, *τῷ ἔθνει στ[ρα]τηγ[ήσας μεγα]λοφρόνως*, where it seems to be equivalent to Lyciarch. The federal treasurer is mentioned in one inscription only, *I.G.R.*, III. 563, *ταμειύσαντα τοῦ κοινοῦ*; this inscription is apparently pre-annexation. The federal *νομογράφος* is also mentioned in one inscription only, *I.G.R.*, III. 680, which is pre-annexation. The courts are mentioned in Strabo, *I.G.R.*, III. 563 and 680 (pre-annexation) and also 736 (provincial). The *ἀρχιφύλαξ* of the league, and those of the two *συντέλειαι* seem to have been responsible for the collection of the tribute; *I.G.R.*, III. 739. II, *[ἀ]ρχιφύλαξ Λυκίων τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐπεικῶς [καὶ σ]εμνῶς τελεῖ τῆς τε εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς εὐθηνία[s] μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος προνοούμενος, τὰ δὲ ἀναλώματ[α] μεγάλοφύχως ὑφίστα[ται] τὴν πρὸς τὸν φί[σ]κον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους ε[ὐ]σέβειαν ἐκπληρ[ῶ]ν ἐν οἷς ποιεῖται προσ[ε]ισο-δι[ε]ασμοῖς ἐκ τῶν [ἰ]δίῳν τῇ δὲ ἀναπράξει με[τ]ὰ πάσης φιλανθρωπ[ί]ας σ[υ]ν[υ]αρχόμενος [π]ροσέρχεσθαι*, 739. III, *ἀναδεξάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔθνει τὴν ἀρχιφυλακίαν πάντα σεμνῶς καὶ φιλαγάθως καὶ φιλοτειμῶς δι' ὅλης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐτέλεσεν τοὺς τε φόρους ὑπερῆσοδιασας κομίζεται μέχρι τοῦ πε[ρ]. . .*, 488, *ἀρχιφυλακήσαντα ἐν τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ συντελ[εῖα] καὶ μετὰ πάσης εἰρήνης καὶ εὐσεβείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτελέσαντα πληρώσαντα καὶ [εἰς] τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμείον τοὺς ἱεροὺς φόρους καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ποιησάμενον ἐπεικῶς καὶ τεμητικῶς*.

17. The membership of these cities is proved by inscriptions: Phaselis, *I.G.R.*, III. 764; Trebenna, 767; Bubon, 461-4, Balbura, 473-4, Oenoanda, 488, 492-4, Cadyanda, 513, 515-19; all except Trebenna figure in 739. XVIII-XIX. The history of the Cabalian cities has been discussed; they belonged to the league from 82 B.C. to 42 B.C., were then presumably added to Cilicia, and passed into

Amynτας' kingdom and so into Galatia. Olympus and Phaselis were probably added to Cilicia on their secession or expulsion from the Lycian League and similarly passed into Galatia. Trebenna had presumably belonged to Cilicia from the beginning. The history of the southern Milyas is obscure. It had probably been subject to the Moagetids (Strabo, XIII. iv. 17, p. 631) but was apparently not assigned to the Lycian League by Murena, since Choma issued non-federal coins in the first century B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 695); it was probably added to Cilicia. Whether it contained any other cities than Choma is doubtful. Ptolemy gives under the Lycian Milyad (v. iii. 4), Podalia, Nisa, Choma, and Candyba. The last is impossible, being in the heart of Lycia proper. Nisa lies south of Comba which Ptolemy puts in the Cragus district. Only Podalia might be a Milyadic city; its supposed federal coinage is very dubious (*B.M.C., Lycia, &c.*, pp. lviii–lix). The western frontier of Lycia is very obscure. Strabo, presumably following Artemidorus, makes Daedala the eastern frontier of the Rhodian Peraea (xiv. iii. 1 and 2, p. 664); Calynda was at that date presumably still Rhodian. Pliny similarly, using an antiquated source, makes Telmessus the last Lycian city (*N.H.*, v. 101), and counts Daedala, Crya, and Calynda as Carian (v. 103). Rhodes must have lost Calynda in the first century B.C., since Calynda then issued coins (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 695); it was presumably added to Asia, with the other cities of the district, Crya and Lydae. Daedala seems to have remained Rhodian throughout. It belonged to them in the early second century B.C. (Livy, xxxvii. 22), and in Ptolemy it is called τόπος (v. iii. 2), apparently to distinguish it from the Lycian cities round about it. Rhodes had some possessions in Lycia in the principate according to Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* xxxi. 101) and their ancient possession of Daedala is probably meant.

18. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 101. IMPERIAL COINAGE OF LYCIAN CITIES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 694–8, *Rev. Num.*, 1920, pp. 110–11 (Arneae). Apollonia made an independent dedication to Augustus (*I.G.R.*, III. 694). Thereafter it appears only as a member of the sympolity of Aperlae (*I.G.R.*, III. 692. Ἀπερλειτῶν ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι αὐτῷ Σιμῆρων καὶ Ἀπολλωνειτῶν καὶ Ἰσινδέων δῆμοι, cf. 690, Ἀπερλειτῶν καὶ τῶν συνπολιτευομένων ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος), and a citizen of Apollonia calls himself Ἀπερλείτης ἀπὸ Ἀπολλωνίας (693, cf. 692, Ἀπερλείτην ἀπὸ Σιμῆρων, Heberdey and Kalinka, *op. cit.*, ii. 36, 37, 40, Ἀπερλείτης ἀπὸ Ἰσινδῶν). TREBENDA UNDER MYRA: Heberdey and Kalinka, *op. cit.*, i. 59, Μυρέως ἀπὸ Τρεβένδων. Trebenna became a colony in the late third century: *Année épigr.*, 1915, 53.

19. CITIES BENEFITED BY OPRAMOAS: *I.G.R.*, III. 739. XVIII–XIX; by Jason, 704; it is, I think, a reasonable assumption that voting cities only would be mentioned in these documents, especially in 739. XVIII–XIX, which is a federal decree. Comba is the most doubtful name on my list; *I.G.R.*, III. 572 (a dedication to Valerian by [Κ]ομβέων ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος) proves it was a city, but it may have been a subordinate city till the Byzantine period. Ptolemy's list of Lycia (v. iii), though it approximates very closely to my list, cannot, I think, be regarded as a reproduction of a government list. On the coast he records Andriace, which was merely the port of Myra (Appian, *B.C.*, iv. 82, *O.G.I.*, 572), and this proves that he drew on other sources than a list of cities. On the other hand, his division of the cities into the *συντέλειαι* of Cragus and Masicytes suggests that he was using an official list; the other two divisions, Cabalis and Milyas, are probably unofficial, for *I.G.R.*, III. 488 implies that Oenoanda of the Cabalis was in the *συντέλεια* of Cragus. Ptolemy gives, omitting Andriace and the τόπος of Daedala, thirty-three names. He omits from my list Myle, Arneae, Tymnessus, Acalissus, Trebenna, Arycanda, Cadyanda, and Cyaneae, but his Σαγαλασσός is probably a mistake for Acalissus, his Ἀράβενδα a mistake for Trebenna (Trebenda) or Arycanda (or both), and his Κύδνα a mistake for Cadyanda or Cyaneae (or both). If these emendations be accepted he adds only Lydae (Χλύδαι) and Octapolis.

20. SYMPLYTITY OF ACALISSUS: *I.G.R.*, III. 646, 'Ιδεβησσέων ὁ δῆμος συνπολιτευόμενος Ἀκαλισσεῦσι καὶ Κορμεῦσι, 647, Ἀκαλισσέων καὶ Ἰδ[ε]βησσέων καὶ Κορμέων οἱ δῆμοι; the leadership of Acalissus is shown by its issuing coins and by *I.G.R.*, III. 653, Ἀκα. ἀπὸ Ἰδεβη[σ]σοῦ; separate decrees of both Idebessus (*I.G.R.*, III. 644, 645) and Corma (Heberdey and Kalinka, op. cit., i. 33) exist. SYMPLYTITY OF ARNEAE: *I.G.R.*, III. 640, Ἀρνεατῶν ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῶν συνπολιτευομένων πάντων, 642, [Ἀ]ρνεατῶν καὶ τῶν συνπολιτευομένων οἱ δῆμοι; Coroa under Arneae, 640, Ἀρνεάτης ἀπὸ Κοροῶν. ONOBARA UNDER TREBENNA: *S.E.G.*, VI. 622, 737, Τρε. ἀπὸ Ὀνοβάρων. TERMESSUS MINOR: Steph. Byz., s.v. Τερμησσός, ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη ταύτης ἀποικος καὶ αὐτῇ Πισιδίας λεγομένη μικρά; it was probably mentioned in the source of Strabo, XIII. iv. 17, p. 631 (Strabo confuses it with Termessus Major). The date of the foundation is probably in the third or even fourth century B.C., when Alexander found the Pisidians in occupation of fortresses in the Milyas (Arrian, *Anab.*, i. 24). It is not likely to have been founded after the establishment of the Moagetid dynasty, which was already strong in 189 B.C. It must have belonged to the Cibyrate tetrapolis (presumably sharing a vote with Oenoanda); *I.G.R.*, III. 489 shows that it retained cordial feelings towards Cibyra as well as Termessus of Pamphylia, τῆν ἀνεκαθεν συγγειίδα. It struck coins in the first century B.C. and under Tiberius; the second issue is inscribed ΤΕΡ ΟΙ and was perhaps a joint issue of Termessus and Oenoanda. In the inscriptions it is always styled Termessus πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις (*I.G.R.*, III. 489, 490, 491, 495). This, and the fact that it regularly erected its dedications in Oenoanda, suggests that it was in a symplity with Oenoanda. ARSADA: *T.A.M.*, II. 539. ISTLADA: Petersen and Von Luschan, op. cit., II. 85. LYDAE: *I.G.R.*, III. 520, 522-5, 535. TRYSA: Petersen and Von Luschan, op. cit., II. 14, 19. OCTAPOLIS: *T.A.M.*, II. 164, 165; decree of Hippocome, ib., II. 168.

21. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XIII, 1-26, 28-40; XVIII, 6, 7. According to Notitiae VIII and IX Termessus was refounded as Anastasiopolis (see Table XIII). The δῆμος ὁ Καναῦρα which follows Trebenna in Hierocles' Pamphylian list is clearly a phonetic variant of Ὀνόβαρα; for the Pisidian initial gutteral, which is often omitted in the classical form of a name and reappears in the Byzantine, see Chap. V. note 4. I read Hierocles' ΠΕΓΚΥΑΙΑΣ as Πεγ(εών) Μύλιας, i.e. Μίλυας (cf. χωρία Μυλαδικά); its position in his list, immediately after Podalia and Chorna, fits in with this reading excellently. For the Moagetids see Strabo, XIII. iv. 17, p. 631; for Zenicetes, Strabo, XIV. v. 7, p. 671. It is tempting to identify the 'region' of Milyas with the ῥεγεῶν Οἶνο(ανδική) mentioned in *I.G.R.*, III. 1502, but ῥεγεῶν in the principate seems to mean city territory and the ἀπὸ καθολ[ικῶν] κυριακῶν of that inscription probably managed the imperial estates in the territory of Oenoanda. It is, however, possible that the public lands of the Milyas were within the jurisdiction of Oenoanda under the principate and were later detached. An inscription on the Cavagh Dagh (behind Phaselis) records a funerary fine payable τῷ Μι(λύ)ων [. . .] (*Mon. Linc.*, xxix (1933), p. 679). The 'region' of Milyas is presumably to be located hereabouts, and it would, in that case, represent the domain of Zenicetes. Mastaura appears in Hierocles as ΚΟΜΙΣΤΑΡΑΟΣ, which is fairly obviously κώμη Μάστουρα. See *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* LI (1956), p. 156, no. 59, Τοριαεῖτων ἡ πεντακωμία.

### *Ecclesiastical Organization*

There is little to say on the ecclesiastical organization of Lycia, for, if my assumption is valid that the Notitiae give a truer picture of the civil arrangements than Hierocles, it is impossible to distinguish cities and bishoprics. It may be noted that the early Notitiae omit Pinara; this is a manifest error, for Pinara appears both among the signatures of the Epistle to Leo and in the later Notitiae. In addition to the cities there was one village bishopric, Mastaura.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

1. The principal accounts of the settlement of the Gauls in Asia Minor are Livy, xxxviii. 16, Memnon, xix, *F.H.G.*, III, pp. 535-6, Strabo, xii. v. 1, p. 566, Justin, xxv. 2, Paus., i. iv. 5, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἀγκυρα*. Brandis ('Galatia', *P.W.*, VII. 538 seqq.) accepts Strabo's version (which is also that of Pausanias). This would make the Gauls wander homeless for about fifty years (*vid. inf.*, note 2, on the date of Attalus' victory), which is difficult to believe. I prefer to follow Justin and Apollonius of Aphrodisias. PTOLEMY I AND SINOPE: Tac., *Hist.*, IV. 83; cf. also Memnon, xxv, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 538, for Ptolemy III(?)'s benefactions to Heraclea Pontica.
2. TECTOSAGES IN THE RAID ON DELPHI: Strabo, IV. i. 13, p. 188. The earliest evidence for the territories of the tribes is Livy, xxxviii. 18 seqq., whence it appears that the Tolistobogii were the westernmost tribe, and lived near Pessinus and Gordium, and that their neighbours were the Tectosages, who lived near Ancyra; cf. also Strabo, xii. v. 2, p. 567, who places the Trocmi on the borders of Pontus and Cappadocia, giving them Tavium, the Tectosages by Greater Phrygia (by which he evidently means the region of Lake Tatta), giving them Ancyra, and the Tolistobogii by Phrygia Epictetus, and Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 146; Memnon (xix, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 536) assigns the cities wrongly. The plundering areas of the tribes are given by Livy, xxxviii. 16. Brandis (*loc. cit.*) argues that the assignment of the Hellespontine region to the Trocmi proves that they were not yet settled east of the Halys. If the Gauls really raided the whole of Asia Minor this argument would have weight, but, as I argue in the text, there was little to attract them except in the west, and they are recorded to have invaded Pontus only once (Memnon, xxiv, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 538), Cappadocia never till after 189 B.C., when western Asia Minor was debarred to them (Polyb., xxxi. 8), and in Bithynia Heraclea on two occasions (Memnon, xxiv and xxviii, *F.H.G.*, III, pp. 538 and 540). VICTORY OF ANTIOCHUS I: Appian, *Syr.*, 65. LATER SELEUCIDS PAY TRIBUTE: Livy, xxxviii. 16, *O.G.I.*, 223. VICTORIES OF ATTALUS: Polyb., xviii. 41, Strabo, xiii. iv. 2, p. 624, *O.G.I.*, 269, 275-6, 280; for the date, see Stähelin, *Gesch. der Kleinas. Galater*, pp. 20 seqq. GAULS JOIN ANTIOCHUS III: Livy, xxxvii. 8, 38, 40. MANLIUS' EXPEDITION: Livy, xxxviii. 17-27, Polyb., xxi. 37-9. REJOICINGS: Livy, xxxviii. 37, Polyb., xxi. 41.
3. NUMBERS OF GAULS: Livy, xxxviii. 16. GALATIAN CLERUCHS IN EGYPT: Polyb., v. 65. There are a large number of tombs of Galatians at Alexandria (*SB.*, 667, 668, 7229, 7230, 7232-3, 7235-8); these were probably soldiers of the garrison. Ptolemy II had to massacre 4,000 Gauls who had run amok (Paus., i. vii. 2). GALATIAN CASUALTIES IN 189 B.C.: Livy, xxxviii. 23, 27; the figure of the killed is as Livy himself admits very doubtful. The Delphic manumissions are analysed by Ramsay, *Hist. Comm. on the Galatians*, pp. 81-3, *Class. Rev.*, 1898, pp. 341-3.
4. Strabo, xii. v. 1, p. 567, Livy, xxxviii. 18, 19, 25, Polyb., xxi. 37, 39. The interpretation of Livy's account is after Brandis ('Galatia', *P.W.*, VII. 546-7). It may be noted that Livy makes Eposognatus plead for the Tectosages; Polybius substitutes the Tolistobogii and from the general context is evidently right. In the text of Livy the remark about the three kings follows immediately after the report of the Oroandis on the movements of the three tribes, and it looks as if Livy thought that they were the kings of the tribes. Even if he did, this does not disprove Brandis's theory, but merely shows that Livy misunderstood his authority. The principal point, that each tribe had several kings, is quite clear. Pliny (*N.H.*, v. 146) mentions in connexion with Tolistobogii the Voturi and Ambitouti and in connexion with the Tectosages the Teutobodiaci. These are perhaps *populi* or clans of the tribes. The Trocnades of Asia had also perhaps once been a clan of the Tolistobogii.

5. MANLIUS' SETTLEMENT: Livy, XXXVIII. 40. ORTIAGON: Polyb., XXII. 21, Trogus, *ProL.*, XXXII. PHARNACES AND THE GAULS: Polyb., XXIV. 14-15, XXV. 2. GALATIAN WAR OF 169 B.C.: id., XXIX. 22, XXX. 1, 19. THE GAULS FREED: id., XXX. 28. PRUSIAS ENCOURAGES THE GAULS: id., XXX. 30, XXXI. 1, 32, XXXII. 1. ASSIGNATION OF PHRYGIA MAJOR TO MITHRIDATES: Justin, XXXVII. 1, XXXVIII. 5, *I.G.R.*, IV. 752.
6. MITHRIDATES' MASSACRE: Appian, *Mith.*, 46. POMPEY'S SETTLEMENT: Deiotarus of the Tolistobogii, Strabo, XII. iii. 13, p. 547; Brogitarus of the Trocmi, Strabo, XII. v. 2, p. 567, *O.G.I.*, 349; the Tectosages must by a process of elimination have been ruled by Castor Saocondarus and Domnilaus, who in Caesar, *B.C.*, III. 4, sent 300 horse to Pharsalia as against the 600 of Deiotarus, who by this time ruled the Trocmi as well as the Tolistobogii (*vid. inf.*, note 9). Strabo's remark (XII. v. 1, p. 567), καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς τρεῖς, εἰς εἰς δύο ἡγεμόνας, εἶτα εἰς ἓνα ἤκεν ἢ δυναστεία, makes it probable that Pompey appointed three tetrarchs only, and Domnilaus was therefore either merely an assistant or Castor and Domnilaus were the two sons of the tetrarch appointed by Pompey.
7. Polyb., II. 17, Livy, XXXVIII. 18-19. GORDIUM: Xen., *Hell.*, I. iv. 1, Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 29. ANCYRA: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 4, Paus., I. iv. 5, "Ἀγκυραν πόλιν ἐλόντες Φρυγῶν, ἦν Μίδας ὁ Γορδίου πρότερον ἠκίσειν. PESSINUS: priest-dynasts, Strabo, XII. v. 3, p. 567; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 748; the Magna Mater, Livy, XXIX. 10, 11; temple built by the Attalids, Strabo, loc. cit.; Attis and Battacus in 189 B.C., Polyb., XXI. 37, Livy, XXXVIII. 18; correspondence with Eumenes II, *O.G.I.*, 315; Battacus in 100 B.C., Diod., XXXVI. 13; Brogitarus installed and expelled by Deiotarus, Cic., *pro Sestio*, 56, *de Harusp. resp.*, 28-9. BLUCIUM AND PEIUM: Strabo, XII. v. 2, p. 567, Cic., *pro Rege Deiot.*, 17, 21.
8. GORDIUM: Livy, XXXVIII. 18, Strabo, XII. v. 3, p. 568. ANCYRA: Livy, XXXVIII. 24, Strabo, XII. v. 2, p. 567. CASTOR RESIDES AT GORBEUS: Strabo, XII. v. 3, p. 568. TAVIUM: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 749, Strabo, XII. v. 2, p. 567; for Zeus of Tavium, cf. *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.*, 1885, p. 114, no. 65, *C.I.L.*, III. 860 (= Dessau, 4082), 1088.
9. Deiotarus married his two daughters, one to Brogitarus (Cic., *de Harusp. resp.*, 28), the other to Castor (Strabo, XII. v. 3, p. 568, Cic., *pro Rege Deiot.*, 2 and 30), but impatient of the slow methods of diplomacy expelled Brogitarus from his tetrarchy; this follows from Caesar, *B.C.*, III. 4, where Deiotarus rules two-thirds of Galatia and Brogitarus does not appear, also from Cic., *de Div.*, II. 79, where Caesar takes the tetrarchy of the Trocmi from him (cf. Caesar, *Bell. Alex.*, 67, 78). Caesar reduced him to his own tetrarchy, giving the Trocmi to Mithridates of Pergamum. Antony reinstated him (Cic., *Phil.*, II. 94). He also murdered Castor (Strabo, XII. v. 3, p. 568) of the Tectosages, probably after Caesar's death; he evidently had not yet done so when Cicero delivered the *pro Rege Deiotaro*. CASTOR SUCCEEDS TO GALATIA: Cassius Dio, XLVIII. 33. AMYNTAS SUCCEEDS HIM: id., XLIX. 32. AMYNTAS DIES AND GALATIA IS REDUCED TO A PROVINCE: id., LIII. 26.
10. THE ERA AND TITLE OF THE TRIBES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 747-9. *Κοινὸν Γαλατῶν*: op. cit., p. 747. *Σεβαστηνοὶ Γαλάται*: *I.G.R.*, III. 230. Examples of normal city inscriptions are *I.G.R.*, III. 226, for the Sebasteni Tolistobogii Pessinuntii, *C.I.G.*, 4010, for the Sebasteni Tectosages. From *I.G.R.*, III. 179 and 206 it appears that the council of Ancyra was on the Roman model, enrolled at intervals by a censor (βουλευγράφος). Ancyra had twelve tribes (*I.G.R.*, III. 208, better *S.E.G.*, VI. 57), which figure prominently on the inscriptions. They made dedications individually and were each ruled by a phylarch. Some have colourless names of the usual type, Sebaste (*C.I.G.*, 4027, 4031), Hierabulaea (*C.I.G.*, 4024, 4026, 4028), Nea Olympia (*C.I.G.*, 4019), Claudia Athenaea (*O.G.I.*, 547), Nerva (*S.E.G.*, VI. 61), of Zeus Taenus (*Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.*, 1885, p. 117, no. 72). Others have curious names, *Μαρουραγενή* (*I.G.R.*, III. 194, 199), *Παρακα*[-]

λίνη (*I.G.R.*, III. 173), *Μηνοριζευτών* (*I.G.R.*, III. 202), and *Διαγέζων* (*C.I.G.*, 4020). The names, Professor Fraser informs me, do not appear to be Celtic, and it may therefore be inferred that the twelve tribes of Ancyra had nothing to do with the *populi* of the Tectosages; they were perhaps local. THE TRIBES AND THE CITIES: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 146, *O.G.I.*, 533 (in this inscription *ἔθνος* and *πόλις* are used as equivalents), *B.M.C.*, *Galatia*, *Ἔκ.*, pp. 8-28, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 748 (for early coins of the Sebasteii Tolistobogii without Pessinus), *C.I.G.*, 4010, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεβαστηνῶν Τεκτοσάγων, *I.G.R.*, III. 180, ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Γαλατίας Σεβαστῆ Τεκτοσάγων Ἀγκυρα, *I.G.R.*, III. 226 [ἡ βο]υλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος [Σ Σεβα]στηνῶν Τολιστοβω[γίω]ν Πεσσωνυντίων.

11. PHRYGIAN AND GALATIAN PRIESTS AT PESSINUS: *I.G.R.*, III. 225, 230. ABOLITION OF THE POWERS OF THE PRIESTS: Strabo, XII. v. 3, p. 567. INSCRIPTION OF THE *κοινόν*: *O.G.I.*, 533.
12. The abandonment of Celtic names is well exemplified by *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.*, 1885, p. 119, no. 81, a list of ninety-two contributors to a statue at Ancyra in the time of Antoninus Pius; not a single Celtic name occurs. GALATIAN LAW: Gaius, *Inst.*, I. 55, cf. Caesar, *B.G.*, VI. 19. GALATIAN LANGUAGE: Lucian, *Pseudomantis*, 51, Jerome, *Comm. in Ep. Gal.*, lib. II, Migne, *P.L.*, XXVI. 382; I owe the story of the monk to the Rev. D. J. Chitty—it occurs in an unpublished Greek MS.
13. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XIV, 1-3, 9; XV, 1-2, 7-8, 10. TERRITORY OF THE TROCMI: the Halys, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 749; Amaseia, Strabo, XII. iii. 39, p. 561; Cappadocia, Strabo, XII. v. 2, p. 567. For the identity of Verinopolis (Notitiae) with Evagina (*Tab. Peut.*, x. 1, Ptol., v. iv. 7) and Mithridatium (Strabo, XII. v. 2, p. 567) see Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, pp. 25-9.
14. TERRITORY OF THE TECTOSAGES: *I.G.R.*, III. 237 (at Aspona); Strabo (XII. v. 2, p. 567) puts them *πρὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ Φρυγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πεσσινούοντα* (? Πιτνισσόν, cf. XII. vi. 1, p. 568) καὶ Ὀρκαόρκους and later explains that Tatta is *μέρος τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας* (XII. v. 4, p. 568) and near Pitnissus and Orcaorci (XII. vi. 1, p. 568). ASPONA A CITY: *Itin. Hier.*, 575, 'civitas Aspona', Amm. Marc., XXV. x. 10, 'apud Aspuna Galatiae municipium breve'.
15. TERRITORY OF THE TOLISTOBOGII: for Trocnades, Orcistus, and Amorium, see Chap. II, notes 56, 60, 63; Germa, Ptol., v. iv. 5; Strabo (XII. v. 2, p. 567) makes them *διοπορι Βιθνοίς*.
16. COLONY OF GERMA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 748; its official style was 'Iulia Augusta Felix' (*C.I.L.*, III. 284, 285) but, as Galatia is not mentioned in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* among the provinces where Augustus founded colonies, it is probably due, as Ramsay (*Rev. Num.*, 1894, p. 169) suggests, to Domitian, under whom its coinage begins. EUDOXIAS: Hierocles, 698, 2; for its site, see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 225. PALIA-JUSTINIANOPOLIS: Notitiae; for its site, see Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 223. 'REGION' OF MYRCICIA: I regard *Μυρικιών* (Hierocles, 698, 3) as a gloss on 'Ρεγεμαυρέκιον' (*id.*, 697, 5). It is one of the rare instances of a genitive in Hierocles which could not be due to a mere scribal error, and is therefore due to some one who used Hierocles as a Notitia and either did not recognize Myrcicia under 'Ρεγεμαυρέκιον' or added it as an explanatory note thereon. Myrcicia fairly certainly was a 'region'. It is identical with Therma (Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, p. 146 [342], note). Eipidius, bishop of Therma, is styled in Actio II of the Council of Chalcedon *μονῆς Θερμῶν* (Schwartz, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 [202], 30 [226], 40 [236]) or in Latin 'mansio Thermanorum' (Mansi, VI. 1091). Therma was, therefore, not a city but a 'mansio', which is the term commonly used for the chief town of a region (cf. Hierocles, 696, 9, 697, 1, 694, 1, 2, 'Ρεγαγαλία, 'Ρεγέμνηζος, 'Ρεγεταταίος, 'Ρεγοδιωρίε and *Itin. Hier.*, 574-5, 'mansio Agannia', 'mansio Mnizos', 'mansio

Dablae', and *Cod. Theod.*, XII. i. 119, 'Claudiopolis Prusiadis ac Tottai et Doridis oppidorum sive mansionum'). If *Μυρικήων* is a genuine entry, with merely its termination deformed, it must be assumed that Myrcia was raised to city rank after 451. '*Ρεγεμαυρέκιον* might then, as Ramsay suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 229), be connected with Strabo's '*Ορκαόρκοι*. I cannot concur with his further identification with Orcistus, which had been a city since Constantine's day. Moreover, Orcaorci seems to me to have lain in the Axylon near Lake Tatta, according to Strabo. The site of Myrcia is fixed by the hot-springs which gave it the name of Therma (Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 226).

### *Ecclesiastical Organization*

All the cities of this district, and also the 'region' of Myrcia, were bishoprics.

### NOTES ON CHAPTER V

1. LEGENDS OF THE PAMPHYLIAN MIGRATION: Herod., VII. 91 (it may be noted that the Pamphylians were armed in the Greek manner), Callinus *apud* Strab., XIV. iv. 3, p. 668, Theopompus, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 296. PAMPHYLIAN DIALECT: Meillet, *R.E.G.*, 1908, pp. 413 seqq.
2. Scylax, 100-1. ASPENDUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 699-700; Argive origin, Strabo, XIV. iv. 2, p. 667; Alexander's attitude, Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 26-7; it was a member of the Delian League for a time, *I.G.*, Ed. Min., I. 64. SIDE: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 703; Cymaean origin, Scylax, 101, Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 26.
3. Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 26-7.
4. MILYAE: Herod., III. 90, VII. 77 (in first satrapy), Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 24 (transferred to Lycia). The extent of the Milyas is shown by this passage of Arrian, which proves that it stretched down to the neighbourhood of Phaselis (cf. also Ptolemy, V. iii. 4), and by Strabo, XII. vii. 1, p. 570, XIII. iv. 17, p. 631, which prove that it stretched northwards to Sagalassus and the territory of Apamea; Strabo's authority stated that it started from Termessus Minor, but he took him to mean Termessus Major, with confusing results (XIII. iv. 17, p. 631, XIV. iii. 9, p. 666). PISIDIANS: Xen., *Anab.*, I. i. 11, ii. 1, ix. 14, II. v. 13, III. ii. 23, *Hell.*, III. i. 13. TERMESSUS: Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 27-8, Diod., XVIII. 46-7. SELGE: Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 29; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 711; foundation legend, Polyb., v. 76, Strabo, XII. vii. 3, p. 570; classed as *Πισίται βάρβαροι* by Arrian, *loc. cit.*, and by Artemidorus and Strabo, XII. vii. 1 and 2, pp. 569-70. ETENNEIS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 708; their position is given by Polyb., v. 73, as *οἱ τῆς Πισιδικῆς τῆν ὑπὲρ Σίδης ὄρεινῆν κατοικοῦντες*, which corresponds closely with the position given by Strabo to the Catenneis (XII. vii. 1, p. 570, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων (Aspendus and Side) ἤδη ὄρεινὰ Κατενεῖς ὄμοροι Σελγεῦσι καὶ Ὀμοναδεῦσι); the variation in spelling is probably due to there having been a guttural in Pisidian, which, like the Arabic qaf, was not pronounced in some dialects; there are many parallel cases, e.g. Homonadeis-Cumanadeis, Olybrassus-Colybrassus, and perhaps Olbasa-Colbasa. Can the Etenneis be the Ὑτενεῖς of Herod., III. 90 (second satrapy)? SAGALASSUS: Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 28; claim to Lacedaemonian origin, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 710.
5. CRETOPOLIS: Diod., XVIII. 44, 47, Polyb., v. 72. CERAITAE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 707. CRETAN CERAITAE: Polyb., IV. 53, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 460.
6. Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 28, Strabo, XII. vii. 3, p. 570.
7. ISAUURIANS: Diod., XVIII. 22, Strabo, XII. vi. 2, p. 568.
8. LYCAONIANS: Xen., *Anab.*, III. ii. 23, I. ii. 19. LARANDA: Diod., XVIII. 22. ICONIUM: Xen., *Anab.*, I. ii. 19; legends, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἰκόνηιον (Nannacus and Prometheus), Cedrenus, I, p. 40, ed. Bonn, *Chron. Pasch.*, I, p. 71, ed. Bonn (Perseus).

9. PAMPHYLIA PTOLEMAIC: Theocritus, *Id.*, xvii. 88, *O.G.I.*, 54. ASPENDUS: *Mon. Linc.*, 1914, p. 116, no. 83.

10. Laodicea is not mentioned till Roman times (Artemidorus *apud* Strab., xiv. ii. 29, p. 663). Seleucia is first known from its coins of the first century B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 710); the epithet *Σιδηρά* first appears in Byzantine times (Hierocles, 673, 8). APOLLONIA: founded by Seleucus, *S.E.G.*, vi. 592, ἀγαμ[α θεοῦ] Νικάτορος; formerly called Mordiaem, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀπολλωνία (17), Πισιδίας, ἢ πρότερον Μορδιαίων; (18), Φρυγίας, ἢ πάλαι Μάρμιον, both probably referring to this Apollonia, which was in Phrygia by Pisidia. The evidence on the Lycians and Thracians is as follows. On their imperial coins (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 706) and inscriptions (*I.G.R.*, iii. 314, 317-18, 324) the Apolloniate style themselves *Λικιοὶ Θράκες κώλωνοι*. The Thracian element in the city is attested by two inscriptions. One, published by Anderson (*J.H.S.*, 1898, pp. 98-9, no. 40) and Ramsay (*J.R.S.*, 1922, p. 182) alludes to Thracians in the city and is dated ἐν τῷ γ' καὶ μ' καὶ ρ' ἔτει. The other, unpublished and apparently inaccessible, is a list of names, the majority of which are Thracian (mentioned by Ramsay, *J.R.S.*, 1922, p. 186). The use of the word *κώλωνοι* (which is unique) strongly suggests that the Lycians and Thracians were planted in the city by the Roman government. I find Anderson's suggestion (*loc. cit.*), that the Apolloniate called themselves *coloni* in emulation of the colony of Antioch, rather difficult to believe. The styles of cities were clearly regulated by the central government, and it seems to me unlikely that the Romans would have allowed the Apolloniate to usurp the peculiarly Roman title of *coloni* if they had no claim to it whatsoever. It is to my mind more plausible that the Lycians and Thracians were settlers, perhaps veterans from Amyntas' army, planted by the Romans but not given the constitution of a colony; *κώλωνία* is used in Egypt of settlements of veterans which had no constitutional status (Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte*, pp. 328-32). The question would be solved if either of the inscriptions could be securely dated. The second is stated by Ramsay to be pre-Roman, but as no evidence is given for this conclusion it is I presume based only on the style of the lettering, always an uncertain guide. The era on which the first is dated is unknown. The style of the lettering will hardly suit the era of 25 B.C., Anderson suggests 189 B.C., when Antioch was freed by the Romans, thus bringing the date of the inscription to 47 B.C. But there is no evidence that Apollonia was freed then, and it might have been freed in 133 B.C. or at some later date. The question must be left for the present as not proven. ANTIOCH: temple of Men, Strabo, xii. viii. 14, p. 577, xii. iii. 31, p. 557; Men had an estate at Apollonia, *J.H.S.*, 1883, p. 417, no. 32; Magnesian colonists, Strabo, xii. viii. 14, p. 577. Antioch is placed by Strabo (*loc. cit.*) in *Φρυγία Παρώρειος* and is called *πρὸς Πισιδίαν*. SELEUCIA OF PAMPHYLIA: *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, 216-7.

11. ACHAEUS AND PISIDIA: Polyb., v. 57. GARSYERIS IN PISIDIA: *id.*, v. 72-6.

12. ANTIOCH III AND THE PISIDIANS: Livy, xxxv. 13.

13. Pisidia is not mentioned by name among the districts ceded to Eumenes (Livy, xxxviii. 39, Polyb., xxi. 46) but was evidently included in the terms Lycaonia and Milyas, for the Rhodians mentioned it among Eumenes' acquisitions (Livy, xxxvii. 54, Polyb., xxi. 22). For the common view of the extent of the Taurus, see Strabo, xi. xii. 2, p. 520, xiv. iii. 8, p. 666. CAMPAIGN OF MANLIUS: Livy, xxxviii. 15, 18, Polyb., xxi. 35-6, 42. EUMENES CLAIMS PAMPHYLIA: Livy, xxxviii. 39, Polyb., xxi. 46.

14. PAMPHYLIANS IN 168 B.C.: Livy, xliv. 14. COINS OF ASPENDUS, SIDE, AND SILLYUM: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 700-1, 704, 705 (with legend *φίλης συμμαχου* 'Ρωμαίων); none of these cities nor Perga used eras in later times and it is, therefore, impossible to date their early coinage even when marked with dates; I should, therefore, be inclined to put the beginning of the Pergan coinage in 133 B.C.



- ATTALEIA: Strabo, XIV. iv. 1, p. 667, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀττάλεια; Olbia, Scylax, 100, Strabo, loc. cit., Hierocles, 679, 6, δήμον Οὐλίαμβος; claim of Attaleia to Athenian origin, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 701, Ἀτταλέων Ἀθηναίων συγγενία.
15. ANTIOCH FREE: Strabo, XII. viii. 14, p. 577. SAGALASSUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 710; inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, III. 348, 350-3, φίλη καὶ σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων. TERMESSUS: Dessau, 38. SELGE: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 711-12; Strabo, XII. vii. 3, p. 571; cf. Polyb., XXXI. 1, Trogus, *Prol.*, 34 (a war between Selge and Eumenes).
16. O.G.I., 751; two other letters are published in Swoboda, Keil, and Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien*, nos. 74-5. CLAIM OF AMBLADA TO LACEDAEMONIAN ORIGIN: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 705.
17. Justin, XXXVII. 1.
18. SIDE AND THE PIRATES: Strabo, XIV. iii. 2, p. 664. PROVINCE OF CILICIA: Livy, *Epit.*, 68, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. iv. 37 (Lycaia, Pamphylia, and Lycaonia are mentioned), Cic., *Verr.*, I. 95-6. SERVILIUS ISAUERICUS: Ormerod, *J.R.S.*, 1922, pp. 35 seqq.; confiscations of territory, Cic., *de leg. agr.*, I. 5, II. 50.
19. PISIDIAN COINAGE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 705-12, 714. ARTEMIDORUS: Strabo, XII. vii. 2, p. 570. Prostanna made a dedication at Delos in the late second century B.C. (Durrbach, *Choix d'inscr. de Délos*, no. 123). It styles itself ὁ δῆμος ὁ Προσταεννέων Πισιδῶν. The names of the envoys are completely barbarian and show how little Greek culture had penetrated in these remote parts.
20. I have omitted the rather problematical kingdom of Polemo in Lycaonia (see Chap. II, note 55). AMYNTAS: Cassius Dio, XLIX. 32 (Lycaonia and parts of Pamphylia), Appian, *B.C.*, v. 75 (Pisidia); the extent of his dominions is proved by various passages in Strabo: XII. v. 4, p. 568 (the Axylon), XII. vi. 3, p. 569 (Derbe, Laranda, Isauria), XII. vi. 4, p. 569 (Antioch, Apollonia, Lycaonia, Cremna), XII. vi. 5, p. 569 (by implication Sagalassus), XII. vii. 3, p. 571 (by implication Selge); Amyntas' issue of tetradrachms at Side (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 707) proves that he ruled Pamphylia. AUGUSTUS CONFIRMS AMYNTAS: Cassius Dio, LI. 2; grants him Cilicia Tracheia, Strabo, XIV. v. 6, p. 671. AMYNTAS' DEATH: Strabo, XII. vi. 3 and 5, p. 569.
21. GRANT OF CENTRAL CILICIA TRACHEIA TO ARCHELAUS: Strabo, XIV. v. 6, p. 671. The original province of Galatia is stated by Strabo to have embraced all Amyntas' kingdom, XII. v. 1, p. 567, νῦν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταύτην (Galatia proper) καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀμύντῃ γενομένην πᾶσαν εἰς μίαν συναγαγόντες ἐπαρχίαν, cf. also the passages on Sagalassus and Selge cited in note 20. Dio's statement (LIII. 26), like his later statement about the Lycians being restored to Pamphylia (LX. 17), is probably a mere blunder, due to his inability to conceive that no province of Pamphylia existed. I am glad to find that Sir Ronald Syme, approaching the problem from a different angle, has reached the same conclusion as myself (*Klio*, XXVII, p. 122). CREATION OF LYCIA-PAMPHYLIA: Cassius Dio, LX. 17, cf. Suet., *Claudius*, 25. Syme has kindly brought to my notice an inscription (*Année épigr.*, 1915, 48) which confirms Dio; it is a dedication at Attaleia to the same Licinius Mucianus honoured at Oenoanda (*I.G.R.*, III. 486) and mentioned by Pliny (*N.H.*, XII. 9, XIII. 88) as governor of Lycia. He also points out that the procurator of Dessau, 215 was not necessarily presidial (compare the position of the procurators of Bithynia-Pontus, Seltman, *Num. Chron.*, 1928, p. 101). GALBA REUNITES GALATIA-PAMPHYLIA: Tac., *Hist.*, II. 9. VESPASIAN REDUCES LYCIA TO A PROVINCE: Suet., *Vesp.*, 8. REVIVAL OF LYCIA-PAMPHYLIA: Dessau, 9485 (Titus), 8818 (Domitian). The province included western Cilicia Tracheia according to Ptolemy (v. v. 3 and 8). How far north it extended is very uncertain. According to Ptolemy (v. v. 4) it included even Seleucia and Conana, leaving only Apollonia, Antioch, and Neapolis to Galatia (v. iv. 9). For Vespasian's

and Trajan's organization see Cumont, *Bull. Ac. roy. belg.*, 1905, p. 197. LYCAONIA GIVEN TO ANTIOCHUS IV: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 713. LYCAONIA ANTIOCHIANA IN CAPPADOCIA: Ptol., v. vi. 16, Dessau, 1364 (not long before A.D. 166). LYCAONIA AND ISAURIA UNITED WITH CILICIA: *I.G.R.*, III. 290 (under Antoninus Pius). The area of Lycaonia which was attached to Cilicia by Antoninus Pius was probably that of the *κοινόν* of Lycaonia which was then formed, that is, it comprised Laranda, Barata, Ilistra, Derbe, Hyde, Dalisandus, and Savatra but not Iconium, Lystra, or the Axylon. This is borne out by the Acta of S. Eustochius (*Acta SS.*, June 23, pp. 402-3), which show that Vasada and Lystra were in the third century in Galatia, and by the signatures of the council of Nicaea (Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxiii), where Iconium is put under Pisidia, Barata, Laranda, and Ilistra under Isauria (Vasada is put under both and should probably be deleted in Isauria). Lycaonia Antiochiana, since it was contiguous with Cilicia Tracheia and Cappadocia, must have been approximately the same district as the *κοινόν*. It was perhaps not quite so extensive. Claudiuderbe presumably received its prefix on the same occasion that Laodicea, Iconium, and Seleucia of Pisidia received theirs. Seleucia cannot have been, and Laodicea and Iconium probably were not, in Antiochus' kingdom, and, therefore, must have received their prefixes from Claudius. It might be argued that Derbe, therefore, probably received its prefix from Claudius and was not in Antiochus' kingdom. There is, however, nothing impossible in Antiochus' having emulated his imperial patron's policy, and Derbe is actually put in Antiochiane by Ptolemy (v. vi. 16). Pliny's mysterious tetrarchy of Lycaonia (*N.H.*, v. 95) has in my view no connexion with Antiochiane (see Chap. II, note 55).

22. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 146-7, 'populi vero ac tetrarchiae omnes numero cxcv . . . praeter hos celebres Actalenses, Alassenses, Comenses, Didienses, Hierorenses, Lystreni, Neapolitani, Oeandenses, Seleucenses, Sebasteni, Timoniacenses, Thebaseni'. Several of the names quoted by Pliny are corrupt. For 'Actalenses' I read Attalenses, for 'Alassenses' Ariassenses, for 'Comenses' Comamenses, for 'Oeandenses' Oenoandenses. The Didienses, Hierorenses, and Timoniacenses (or Timomachenses) are otherwise unknown and may well be corrupt. It must, however, be remembered that the official register of 195 names must have included many names unknown to us. COLONY OF ANTIOCH: Strabo, XII. viii. 14, p. 577, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 94. The date of the other colonies is fixed by the inscriptions of the Via Sebaste which connected them: *C.I.L.*, III. 6974, 14401a, b, c. Syme (*Klio*, xxvii, pp. 135 seqq.) has demonstrated that the Homonadensian war is probably to be dated shortly after 6 B.C.
23. COINS OF THE LYCAONIAN CITIES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 713-14. INSCRIPTIONS: of Cana, Ramsay, *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 162-3, *M.A.M.A.*, VIII. 211-12 (decrees); of Sidamarium, *I.G.R.*, III. 273; of Cinna, *I.G.R.*, III. 235; of Claudiuderbe, *Anat. Stud.*, VII (1957), p. 147; of Perta, *M.A.M.A.*, VIII. 263 (a decree).
24. For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XIV, 4; XV, 3; XVI; XVII, 1-8, 12-13, 16-30; XVIII, 1-5, 8-16, 19-39, 43-5; XXX, 17, 28-31. PETNISSUS: Strabo, XII. vi. 1, p. 568, Ptol., v. iv. 8. CORNA: Ptol., v. vi. 15. GDAMMAVA: *A.J.A.*, 1932, p. 457, no. 14, *χω. Γδαμμαβάς*, *M.A.M.A.*, I. 339, *χωρίου Γδαμμάς*, VII. 589, *χω(ρίον) Γδαμμαβάς*; cf. Ptol., v. iv. 8, *Tab. Peut.*, IX. 5. AMYNTAS' FLOCKS: Strabo, XII. vi. 1, p. 568. The topography of Lycaonia is fully discussed by Ramsay in *Jahresh.*, 1904, *Beiblatt*, pp. 57-131. Some corrections are made by Calder in *M.A.M.A.*, I, pp. xvi-xvii. I do not see the necessity for duplicating the city of Dalisandus. The facts about it are that it issued coins as a member of the Lycaonian *κοινόν*, that it is placed in Isauria by Hierocles, Georgius Cyrius, and Stephanus of Byzantium (in the Decapolis of Isauria by Constantine Porphyrogenetus), and that it is put in the province of Side by the Constantinopolitan Notitiae and also in that of Seleucia of Isauria in

- the Antiochene Notitia (and in Not. III of Constantinople). A position on the northern arm of the Calycadus south of Derbe would suit all requirements. The double entry in the Notitiae is not surprising since the frontier of Pamphylia-Lycaonia-Isauria seems to have fluctuated (see note 29). Ramsay (*Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, pp. 366-7, 335) prefers two cities, one in Cilicia Tracheia, the other in the country of the Homonadeis; the second, originally at Fasiller, he has subsequently moved to a site west of Lake Trogitis (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, ix, p. 270, *J.R.S.*, 1917, pp. 275-7). Lycaonia Antiochiana may well have contained other communities catalogued under Isauria besides Dalisandus, see Chap. VIII, note 40.
25. On the Oroandais see Ramsay, *Klio*, xxii, p. 375. PAPPÀ: Ptol., v. iv. 9, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 709, *I.G.R.*, III. 309, 1468-9, *M.A.M.A.*, VIII. 332. MISTHIA: Ptol., v. iv. 9, *Anat. Stud.* ix (1959), pp. 119-24. THE ORANDEIS: *M.A.M.A.*, VIII. 333, τὸ κοινὸν Ὀροανδέων καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. Misthia is mentioned as a town in Attalus' letters to the Ambladeis (Swoboda, &c., op. cit., no. 74). Its position is fixed by the fact that it was in the Oroandic territory and a neighbour of Vasada (Basil, *Ep.*, 188, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 680-1). This letter also proves that it was in the fourth century a unit of government on a par with Vasada and, therefore, probably a city. PROCURATOR OF THE AGER OROANDICUS: *Année épigr.*, 1927, 104. The position of Sinethandus and Atenia depends merely on the order of Hierocles. The proposed emendation of *Agerensis* is due to Calder (cited by Ormerod in *J.R.S.*, 1922, p. 47).
26. AMBLADA: *O.G.I.*, 751, Strabo, XII. vii. 2, p. 570, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 705; its position is fixed by inscriptions, Swoboda, &c., op. cit., pp. 33-5. VASADA: in the Attalid period, ib., no. 74; a city, *S.E.G.*, VI. 464 and Swoboda, &c., op. cit., nos. 37 (mentioning a φύλη Σεβαστή) and 38; these inscriptions fix its position. THE GORGOROMEIS: *I.G.R.*, III. 280.
27. On the Homonadeis, see Ramsay, *J.R.S.*, 1917, pp. 229 seqq. THE SEDASEIS: Sterrett, *Wolfe Exp.*, no. 240, ἔδοξεν τῷ δή[μ]ῳ Σεδασέων σὺν παντὶ πλήθει . . . τευμήσαντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς. FORTS OF THE HOMONADEIS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 94.
28. THE ISAUORIANS: Strabo, XII. vi. 2, p. 568. OLD ISAURA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 721-2; inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, III. 286, 288-90, 294. New Isaura has been identified by Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1905, p. 163. The Ravenna Geographer (ii. 17) records a 'colonia Isauria'. If he has not merely misread his map, transferring the word 'colonia' from Lystra or some other neighbouring colony to Isauria, this may indicate that Old Isaura was raised to colonial rank in the late third century (or later). A very fragmentary Latin inscription of Old Isaura (Swoboda, Keil, and Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien, und Isaurien*, no. 137, 'co[. . .]s Isau[. . .]', somewhat favours the latter alternative. MINOR ISAURIAN COMMUNITIES: Basil, *Ep.*, 190, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 697, ταῖς μικροπολιτείαις ἦτοι μικροκωμίαις ταῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπισκόπων θρόνον ἔχούσαις (as opposed to ἡ πόλις); one of these small communities is perhaps recorded in Swoboda, &c., op. cit., no. 282 which mentions a γεραιὸν κωμῶν δύο Τακουρθέων καὶ Κοδυλησσέων πανδήμου. Can the mysterious Nicene signature παροικίας Ἰσαυρίας (Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxiii, no. 190) refer to a rural bishop of Isauria as distinct from the bishop of the metropolis (ib., p. lxiii, no. 178)? The identification of Leontopolis and New Isaura is conjectural. LEONTOPOLIS AND ISAUROPOLIS ONE SEE: *Cod. Just.*, I. iii. 35 (36).
29. UNION OF COTENNA AND BANABA: Mansi, XI. 677-8, *Κονανῶν ἦτοι Μανούων*, 'Conanensis Pamphylicae'. The ecclesiastical province of Side seems to have extended farther east than the civil province of Pamphylia, since it included Manaua, that is, the *clima* of Banaba in Isauria. There was some confusion about this frontier. Homonada, according to Hierocles in Lycaonia, occurs in

- the Notitiae in both Pamphylia and Lycaonia; Dalisandus, according to Hierocles and Georgius in Isauria, is claimed for Pamphylia by the Notitia of Constantinople and for Isauria by the Notitia of Antioch; Cotrada, according to Georgius in Isauria, is claimed by the Constantinopolitan Notitiae. For Casae see Chap. VIII, note 39.
30. On the Etenneis, *vid. sup.*, note 4. ETENNA: imperial coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 708; an inscription (Swoboda, &c., *op. cit.*, no. 109) probably fixes the site. ERYMNA AND COTENNA: Swoboda, &c., *op. cit.*, no. 105.
31. On Antioch see Calder, *J.R.S.*, 1912, p. 79, Cheesman, *J.R.S.*, 1913, p. 253, Ramsay, *J.R.S.*, 1916, p. 83, 1918, p. 107, 1924, p. 172, 1926, p. 107. VICI: *C.I.L.*, III. 6810-12, 6835-7. GYMNASIARCHS: Anderson, *J.R.S.*, 1913, p. 267 (inscriptions relating to the festival of Men). CURATOR ARCAE SANCTUARIUM: *C.I.L.*, III. 6839 (= Dessau, 7200). *IUS ITALICUM*: *Dig.*, L. xv. 8, § 10.
32. THE CILLANIAN PLAIN: Strabo, XIII. iv. 13, p. 629, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 147. ANABURA: Strabo, XII. vii. 2, p. 570; inscriptions, Sterrett, *Wolfe Exp.*, nos. 317, 328, 339. NEAPOLIS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 147; Thracian colonists, *A.J.A.*, 1932, pp. 452-3, nos. 1 and 2 (the names of the deceased are clearly Thracian), p. 454, no. 5, . . . Θ[ράκων κολώνων τὸν ναόν. THE TETRAPOLIS: *A.J.A.*, 1932, p. 453, no. 3, τὸ ἡραιεῖον Ἀνρ. Μενεσθέως Μενελάου τοῦ Λουκίου Ἀλταδέως βουλευτοῦ τῆς τετραπό[λέ]ως καὶ Ἀνρε. Βάβεος Καλλιμάχου Ἀναβουρη[ν]ῆς τῆς Παμφυλίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ; Anabura of Pamphylia is otherwise unknown. CIVITAS CILLANENSIS: *ib.*, no. 4. For the topography of Pisidia see Ramsay, *A.J.A.*, 1888, pp. 6 seqq. and 263 seqq., *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, ix, pp. 243 seqq., *J.R.S.*, 1926, pp. 102 seqq., *Klio*, XXIII, pp. 239 seqq. The whole subject is most obscure owing to the paucity of definite identifications based on inscriptions. The conciliar lists are very incomplete. The Notitiae, especially the earlier ones, are guilty of the most extraordinary omissions. The text of Hierocles is in a very corrupt state, many of the names being almost unrecognizable. Hierocles makes some bad omissions, Parlais for instance. He also probably omitted Timbriada, for the item ὁ Τιμβριάδων (673, 9) is clearly an insertion taken from a Notitia; it is inserted in a place quite inconsistent with Hierocles' geographical scheme.
33. On the question of the Lycian and Thracian colonists, *vid. sup.*, note 10. WESTERN BOUNDARY: *I.G.R.*, III. 324. EASTERN BOUNDARY: *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 140 (with full epigraphical and topographical discussion).
34. TYMANDUS: *I.G.R.*, III. 311, ἐπὶ Λικ[υνίου] Τυμανδέων στρατ[ηγού]; the note of pride in this phrase perhaps indicates that Tymandus had only recently been made independent. GRANT OF CITY STATUS: *C.I.L.*, III. 6866 (= Dessau, 6090).
35. If Sabinae, as Ramsay suggests (*Klio*, XXIII, p. 251), owes its name to the empress Sabina, the separation of the lake country from Apollonia would be due to Hadrian. I do not agree with the theory first suggested by Hirschfeld (*Monber. Ak. Berlin*, 1879, p. 304) and enthusiastically adopted by Ramsay (*passim*) that Limenae is the city of the Lakes (Λίμναι), and the deduction therefrom that the double lake was called in antiquity αἱ Λίμναι. The city is invariably spelled with an ε.
36. SAGALASSUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 710; inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, III. 348, 350-3, πρώτη Πισιδίας φίλη καὶ σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων; boundary stones, *I.G.R.*, III. 335, 336; improved version of 335 by Bean in *Anat. Stud.*, ix (1959), pp. 84-8. SELEUCIA, BARIS, CONANA, MINASSUS, PROSTANNA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 710, 707, 709; the existence of Minassus is attested only by alliance coins with Conana of dubious authenticity. For the site of Prostanna see *Anat. Stud.*, ix (1959), p. 125. The equivalence of Conana and Justinianopolis is proved by comparison of Notitia Epiphani and Notitiae VIII and IX with Notitia I (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 407). Ramsay regards Eudoxiopolis as equivalent to τὸ Βυδαίων of the Notitiae, and Themisonius as a corruption of Theodosiopolis,

- which he regards as an equivalent of Prostanna (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, ix, pp. 257-9). I think the latter suggestion unlikely since a dynastic name is not at all liable to corruption. Theodosiopolis, which occurs only in the Acta of Chalcedon and in the Epistle to Leo, might be a temporary name of any of the cities mentioned in neither of those two lists. Since I do not accept the interpretation of Limenae as the city of the Lakes, I do not find Ramsay's theory that Prostanna was merged with Limenae convincing. PARLAIS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 714; ruins and inscriptions at Barla (*Annuario*, III (1916-20), pp. 45-50). One inscription is dated ἐπὶ δυνάδ[ρ]ων, which proves that the site was a Roman colony.
37. For the area of the Milyas, *vid. sup.*, note 4. COMAMA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 707; inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, III, 399-401, *Anat. Stud.*, x (1960), p. 51 (mentioning *duoviri* and *quinquennales* in Greek). ANEDA, POGLA, VERBE, SIBIDUNDA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 706, 709, 712, 684. HELLENISTIC INSCRIPTION OF POGLA: *Anat. Stud.*, x (1960), p. 57. Ramsay has located Sibidunda at Zivint (*Klio*, XXIII, p. 248), which seems to preserve the ancient name, and has inscriptions of a city (*J.H.S.*, 1887, p. 254, nos. 35, 36). It is generally reckoned Phrygian, but the coins are of Pisidian type and fabric (*B.M.C.*, *Phrygia*, pp. xciii-xciv) and provenance (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 755, note 1). The items ΣΙΝΔΑΥΝΔΑ ΜΥΟΔΙΑ in Hierocles (680, 7, 8) perhaps represent Sibidunda and Andeda; the first seems to be a conflation of the two names. HYIENI: *Anat. Stud.*, x (1960), p. 57; the site is walled and suggests a city, but inscriptions, which both mention a ψήφισμα δήμου, are ambiguous. The δήμος Περμινουδέων is inferred from dedications Ἀπόλλωνι Περμινουδέων (*J.H.S.*, 1887, pp. 228-9, nos. 5, 9, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1887, p. 250); Hierocles' version is δήμος Μενδενέω (680, 3). INSCRIPTION OF POGLA: *I.G.R.*, III, 409, δ]εδωκότα διανομὰς ἔτεσιν πολ[ιτείας] βουλευταῖς τε καὶ ἐκκ[λησιασταῖς] [καὶ πᾶσι] πολεῖταις, κτίζοντα ἔργα τῇ πόλει, κρείνοντα τοπικὰ δικαστήρια ἔτεσιν κοινω[ίας]. Rostovtzeff, who originally published the inscription (*Jahresh.*, 1901, Beiblatt, p. 38), takes it, for reasons which are obscure to me, to refer to the grant of city rank to an imperial estate.
38. OLBASA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 709; inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, III, 410-15. COLBASA, LYSINIA, PALAEOPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 707, 709. CORMASA: Bean, *Anat. Stud.*, ix, 1959, pp. 91 seqq. LYSINIA: *ib.*, pp. 79-80. HADRIANI: *ib.*, p. 110. THE MACROPEDITAE: Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 308, nos. 120-1 (improved text in Bean, *art. cit.*, pp. 103-4).
39. TERMESSUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 712, ἀυτονόμων or ἐλευθέρων. The city has been thoroughly explored; the inscriptions are to be published in *T.A.M.*, III, i, and a full account of the city is given by Heberdey in 'Termessus', *P.W.*, va, 732. The question of Ἰοβία and Εὐδοκίης is obscure. They occur in Hierocles (680, 1 and 2) as Ἰοβία | Θερμεσὸς καὶ Εὐδοκία. At the council of Constantinople (A.D. 448) they formed a single bishopric: Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, p. 146, τῆς κατὰ Τερμισσὸν καὶ Εὐδοκιάδα καὶ Ἰοβίαν ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας. Jovia does not occur elsewhere. Eudocias is mentioned in the Acta of Ephesus, again as one bishopric with Termessus, Schwartz, *op. cit.*, Tom. I, vol. i, pars ii, p. 63, Τερμησοῦ καὶ Εὐδοκιάδος, pars vii, p. 114, Τερμησοῦ <καὶ> Εὐδοκιάδος, also in the *Ep. ad Leon.*, as a separate bishopric from Termessus (Mansi, VII, 576), and in the Notitiae, also as a separate bishopric. Ramsay's view that both were titles of Termessus is clearly wrong as regards Eudocias and probably wrong as regards Jovia. They probably were both separate cities. The curious grouping in Hierocles may be because καὶ Εὐδοκία is a gloss, Eudocias having been omitted by Hierocles. Their being united in one bishopric with Termessus suggests that they were originally parts of its territory; Eudocias, if it is rightly identified with Evdekhan, is proved by inscriptions (*T.A.M.*, III, i, 906-9, 912-15) to have been subject to Termessus. ISINDA: coins, Head, *Hist.*

*Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 708, Ἰσωνδέων Εἰώνων; for Isinda in Ionia, *S.E.G.*, v. 12. i. 30; 13. i. 30, &c. COLONY OF CREMNA: Strabo, XII. vi. 5, p. 569, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 707-8. COINS OF ADADA, ETC.: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 705-9. SIENI: *I.G.R.*, III. 418-19; Hierocles' version is Δημουσία. ISBUS: Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἴσβος; Hierocles has δήμου Σαβαίων. Ramsay puts Maximianopolis, Regio Salamara, and Limobrama out of order on the extreme north-west frontier of the province; his reasons appear to be (a) that Salamara means in Latin 'bitter salt' and is to be connected with Lake Ascania, and (b) that Limobrama should be amended to Limnobria ('lake town' from Greek λυνη and Thracian bria) and is also to be connected with the lake (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, pp. 323-4). Both derivations seem to me fantastic and the topography very awkward. He puts both Regio Salamara and Limnobria in the Sagalassian territory south of the lake which Sagalassus held at any rate as late as the reign of Diocletian (*I.G.R.*, III. 336), and Maximianopolis north of the lake in an area which can hardly have belonged to the Byzantine province of Pamphylia. I prefer to follow the vague indications of Hierocles' order. ΛΙΜΟΒΡΑΜΑ is conceivably a corruption of ΔΗΜΟΥ; this would account for its having no bishop.

40. TIMBRIADA: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 712 (with the legend Εὐρυμέδων). SELGE: coins, Head, loc. cit.; territory, Strabo, XII. vii. 3, p. 570. ZORZELA: Ptol., v. v. 7, Δύρζηλα; it was a bishopric by A.D. 451. THE MULASSEIS: *I.G.R.*, III. 384: it is impossible to say whether a community which calls itself δήμος was a city (like Vasada), an independent village or tribe (like the Sieni), or merely a village subject to a city; the δήμος Πλωννηῶν (*M.A.M.A.*, IV. 137) was only 5 km. west of Apollonia and certainly, in view of *I.G.R.*, III. 324, in its territory. The δήμος Γυναδέων (*Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.*, 1896, p. 52, no. 29) was certainly a village (comarchs are mentioned) and so close to Timbriada that it was almost certainly subject to it. TITYASSUS: coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 712.
41. COINAGE OF THE PAMPHYLIAN CITIES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 700-5. COLONY OF ATTALEIA: *B.C.H.*, 1883, p. 260. Hierocles records Aspendus under the name of Primupolis (cf. Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. I, vol. i, pars ii, pp. 6 and 58, pars vii, pp. 87 and 113).

### *Ecclesiastical Organization*

Throughout the area discussed in this chapter the equivalence of civil to ecclesiastical units was closer than the Notitiae would lead one to suppose. All the Notitiae omit Corna in Lycaonia, and Lysinia, Comama, Colbasa, and Panemuteichus in Pamphylia. Yet all these cities are attested as bishoprics in the conciliar lists. The earlier Notitiae (Epiphanius, VIII, and IX) omit Cotenna, Sinethandus, Malus and Tityassus, Epiphanius and VIII omit Parlais, Epiphanius omits Hyde. Yet these cities are recorded as bishoprics not only in the conciliar lists but also in the later Notitiae. One may, therefore, well doubt whether the absence of a city from the Notitiae proves that it was not a bishopric even when the city appears in no conciliar list; for the conciliar lists are naturally incomplete. Assuming the equation of Hierocles' Rignon to Verinopolis, and bearing in mind that Isauropolis and Leontopolis were one see, the following items in Hierocles are recorded in no ecclesiastical document: in Pisidia, Sabinae, Eudoxiopolis, Themisonius; in Pamphylia, Olbasa, Sibidunda (if it is in Hierocles), the δήμοι of Olbia, Perminundeis, Sieni, Limobrama, the 'region' of Salamara, the estate of Maximianopolis, and Jovia (except as a part of the see of Termessus); in Isauria the *climata* of Casae and Bolbosus. As against this the Notitiae add in Pisidia (as well as Parlais, wrongly omitted by Hierocles) Bindaem, in Pamphylia (as well as Etenna, wrongly omitted by Hierocles) Hadriani, which also appears as Hadrianopolis in the Epistle to Leo. In general, the correspondence of city to bishopric is very close; the units of lower degree were often not bishoprics.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER VI

1. DARIUS' SATRAPIES: Herod., III. 90, 94. PAPHLAGONIAN KINGS: Cotylas, Xen., *Anab.*, v. v. 22-3, VI. i. 2; Otys, Xen., *Hell.*, IV. i. 3-15; Thys, Nepos, *Datames*, 2, 3, also Theopompus *apud* Ath., IV. 144f, X. 415d. SUBMISSION TO ALEXANDER: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 4, *κάκει αὐτῷ πρᾶσβεία ἀφικνεῖται Παφλαγόνων τό τε ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντων*, &c.; cf. Q. Curtius, III. (i) 3 (whence it appears that they had paid no tribute under the Persians).
2. The Thracian origin of the Bithynians is admitted by all ancient authorities from Herodotus (III. 90 and VII. 75) downwards. They were still vaguely subject to Pharnabazus in Xenophon's day (*Anab.*, VI. iv. 24, VII. viii. 25) but, nevertheless, a plague to him (Xen., *Hell.*, III. ii. 2). KINGS: Memnon, XX, *F.H.G.*, III, pp. 536-7.
3. SINOPE: Xen., *Anab.*, VI. i. 15. COTYORA: *ib.*, V. v. 3. CERASUS: *ib.*, V. iii. 2. TRAPEZUS: *ib.*, IV. viii. 22. HARMOST AT COTYORA: *ib.*, V. v. 19. TRIBUTE: *ib.*, V. v. 7, 10. CYTORUS: Strabo, XII. iii. 10, p. 544. ABONUTEICHUS: nothing known of this town till the reign of Mithridates V (c. 150-121 B.C.), when it seems to be a Greek city (*Num. Chron.*, 1905, pp. 113-19, a decree of a phratry); it claimed to be Ionian, for when under M. Aurelius it gained fame as the home of the prophet Alexander, it changed its name to Ionopolis (Lucian, *Pseudomantis*, 58, cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 505); this name, curiously enough, proved permanent, and still survives as Ineboli. AMISUS: Strabo, XII. iii. 14, p. 547. HERACLEA: Megarian and Boeotian colony, Nymphis, fr. 2, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 13, Scymnus, 972 (Strabo, XII. iii. 4, p. 542, wrongly calls it Milesian); tyrants, Memnon, I-III, *F.H.G.*, III, pp. 526-9, cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 515; subject cities, an inference from Memnon, XVI, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 535, *Ἡρακλεῶται τήν τε Κίερον καὶ τήν Τιον ἀνεσώσαντο καὶ τήν Θυνίδα γῆν . . . τήν δ' Ἀμαστρῶν (ἦν γάρ καὶ αὐτὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφηρημένη)* &c.; Amastris was formed from Sesamus, Cromna, and Cytorus (*vid. inf.*, note 5). TIEUM: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Τιος*, ἀπὸ *Τιον* ἱερέως τὸ γένος *Μιλησίου*. CIERUS: its Heraclæot origin may be inferred from the fact that as Prusias ad Hypium it had a Megarid and a Thebaid tribe (*I.G.R.*, III. 1422). Cromna, Sesamus, Tieum, and Cierus struck coins in the fourth century B.C.: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 506, 507, 518, *Num. Chron.*, 1921, pp. 3-7. MARIANDYNI: Memnon, loc. cit., Strabo, XII. iii. 4, p. 542. TRAPEZUS AND THE COLCHIANS: Xen., *Anab.*, IV. viii. 22-4. CHALCEDON: Megarian colony, Strabo, XII. iv. 2, p. 563; tribute, *S.E.G.*, v. 3. v. 19; 5. v. 17, &c. ASTACUS: Megarian colony, Strabo, XII. iv. 2, p. 563, Memnon, XX, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 536; tribute, *S.E.G.*, v. I. iii. 27; 2. vii. 20, &c. OLBIA: Scylax, 93. CIUS: Milesian colony, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 144, Aristotle, fr. 514 (Teubner); tribute, *S.E.G.*, v. I. vi. 7; 6. iii. 18, &c. MYRLEIA: Colophonian colony, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 143, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Μύρλεια*; tribute, *S.E.G.*, v. 22. ii. 18; 23. ii. 18, &c. (*Βρυλλειανοί*). REFOUNDATION OF ASTACUS: Memnon, XX, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 536, Strabo, XII. iv. 2, p. 563 (*καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Δοιδαλοῦ* is a mistake for *ἐπὶ Δοιδαλοῦ*), Diod., XII. 34 (reading *ΑΣΤΑΚΟΝ* for *ΛΕΤΑΝΟΝ*). It may be noted that Scylax, 81-94, mentions a large number of πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες on these coasts; the majority are otherwise quite unknown and must have been mere trading stations.
4. For Ariarathes see Chap. VII, note 1. MITHRIDATES: Diod., XX. 111, Plut., *Demetrius*, 4, Appian, *Mith.*, 9, Strabo, XII. iii. 41, p. 562. Cimiata probably lay in the neighbourhood of Caesarea Hadrianopolis, *B.C.H.*, 1901, p. 24, no. 161, dedication to Zeus Cimistenus, cf. Strabo, loc. cit.; a similar dedication at Pompeiopolis was made by a citizen of Hadrianopolis (D.R.W., unpublished).
5. Memnon, IV-VII, IX, *F.H.G.*, III, pp. 529-32, cf. also Diod., XX. 109, coins of Amastris (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 505-6) and Strabo, XII. iii. 10, p. 544 (synoecism of Amastris).

6. ZIPOETES: Memnon, xx, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 537, Diod., XIX. 60, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ζιποίτιον*, Reinach, *Trois royaumes de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 131 seqq. (regal era of 297 B.C.); the site of *Ζιποίτιον ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀνπερῶ ὄρει* is unknown, but as Pausanias makes Zipoetes the founder of Nicomedia (v. xii. 7), and as Zipoetes besieged Astacus (Diod., XIX. 60) and Lysimachus destroyed it (Strabo, XII. iv. 2, p. 563), it may have been identical with the later Nicomedia. NICOMEDES AND THE GAULS: Memnon, XIX, *F.H.G.*, III, pp. 535-6, Livy, XXXVIII. 16, Justin, XXV. 2. BITHYNIUM: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Βιθυνόπολις*. SECESSION OF TIEUM: Strabo, XII. iii. 10, p. 544, cf. coins with *ἐλευθερία* (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 518). HERACLEA RECOVERS ITS DEPENDENCIES: Memnon, XVI, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 535; this event is usually dated earlier than the crossing of the Gauls owing to the order of Memnon's fragments, but the fact that Cierus and Tieum are separate signatories of the Gallic treaty whereas they are ignored in Nicomedes' will (Memnon, XXII, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 537) and the fact that it was Ariobarzanes, who acceded in 266-265 B.C., to whom Amastris was surrendered, show that the order in Memnon is wrong. Memnon is represented as saying that Nicomedes on his accession sought the alliance of Heraclea against Antioch I, *ἐν ὁμοίοις καιροῖς καὶ χρείαις τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ὑποσχόμενος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ* the Heracleots recovered Cierus, &c. Photius probably mistook the connexion in Memnon: Memnon really parenthetically described the fulfilment of Nicomedes' promise later.
7. NICAEA: Strabo, XII. iv. 7, p. 565, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Νίκαια*, Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXIX. 1. On the date of its annexation to Bithynia see Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup>, IV. 2, pp. 458 seqq.
8. NICOMEDIA: Strabo, XII. iv. 2, p. 563, Memnon, xx, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 536 (*ἀντικρὺ Ἀστακοῦ*), Steph. Byz., s.v. *Νικομήδεια, ἣ καὶ Ὀλβία ἐκλήθη*, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 148, 'deinde Nicaea (for Nicomedia) in ultimo Ascanio (for Astaceno) sinu, quae prius Olbia', Eus., *Chron.*, p. 200, ed. Karst, Hieron., *Chron.*, p. 131, ed. Helm. There is a decree of the city of royal date (Robert, *Études Anat.*, p. 235).
9. ZIAELAS AND CRETEIA: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Κρήσσα*; the Bithynian colony is inferred from an inscription at Creteia (*C.I.G.*, 3808) mentioning persons with Thracian names (Ziaelis and Seuthes); it is, to judge by the lettering, of early date. PRUSIAS ALLY OF PHILIP V IN FIRST MACEDONIAN WAR: Livy, XXIX. 12; in second, XXXII. 34. PHILIP DESTROYS CIUS AND MYRLEIA: Strabo, XII. iv. 3, p. 563 (for Cius cf. Polyb., XV. 21-3, XVIII. 44, Livy, XXXII. 33-4, XXXIII. 30). FOUNDATIONS: Strabo, loc. cit., who, with Hermippus (fr. 72, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 51), attributes Apamea also to Prusias I, in honour of his wife Apama. The version of Steph. Byz., s.v. *Μύρλεια, Νικομήδης δὲ ὁ Ἐπιφανῆς, Προυσίου δὲ υἱός, ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀπάμας Ἀπάμειαν ὠνόμασεν*, and s.v. *Ἀπάμεια, κτίσμα Νικομήδους τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς*, is preferable, for an inscription (Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, 1908, pp. 75 seqq.) has proved that Nicomedes II's mother was called Apama and it is unlikely that Prusias I's wife was also thus called. PRUSIAS AND HERACLEA: Memnon, XXVII, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 540. PRUSIAS AD HYPHIUM: Memnon, loc. cit. PRUSIAS AND ANTIOCHUS III: Polyb., XXI. 11, Livy, XXXVII. 25. SEIZURE OF MYSIA: Livy, XXXVIII. 39 (Polyb., XXI. 46 appears to be corrupt), cf. Strabo, XII. iv. 3, p. 563. PRUSA: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 148, 'Prusa ab Hannibale sub Olympo condita'; decree of the city of royal date, Robert, *Études Anat.*, p. 228. Strabo, XII. iv. 3, p. 564, *κτίσμα Προυσίου τοῦ πρὸς Κροῖσον πολεμήσαντος* seems to be an early corruption, cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. *Προῦσα, κτίσμα Προυσίου τοῦ Κύρον πολεμήσαντος*. TIEUM: Polyb., XXV. 2; Ernst Meyer argues (*Die Grenzen der Hellenistischen Staaten*, pp. 148-51) from this incident, from the existence of an Apollonid tribe in Bithynium, from the presence of *Μασδυηνοί* (? from Mastye on the Euxine) in the Attalid army, and from Strabo's rather loose use of *Ἐπικτητος* that the Attalids acquired the greater part of eastern Bithynia in 183 B.C. The principal objection to this view, apart from the improbability that long-standing Bithynian possessions should have



been given to the Attalids contrary to the settlement of 189 B.C., is the difficulty of finding an occasion when Bithynia can have recovered this territory, seeing that the war of 157-155 left the frontiers as before (Polyb., xxxiii. 13), and that Nicomedes got nothing in 133 B.C. It is far more probable that Eumenes acquired Tieuu only, which was a recent Bithynian conquest and which, on the principles of Hellenistic diplomacy, Eumenes might have claimed as 'an ancestral possession' in view of Philetaerus having once held it. (Was Philetaerus its governor under Arsinoe, as his brother (?) Eumenes was of Amastris?) Eumenes' cession of Tieuu to Prusias II is intelligible if it was an isolated possession, and very little good to him, but very strange if it was the only port of a large inland district.

10. Apamea and Prusa issued coins under the early proconsuls of Bithynia (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 510, 517). For Apollonia see Chap. II, notes 15, 97, for Dascylium, *inf.*, note 31, for the Hellespontine Mysians, Chap. II, notes 97, 103. THE SANGARIUS: Livy, xxxviii. 18; if the passage is from Polybius and refers to his own time it refutes Ernst Meyer's theory; for the principate, *vid. inf.*, note 28 (the territory of Nicaea), note 32 (Juliopolis), note 36 (Lagania). THE UPPER BILLAEUS: Bithynian territory included the lands given to Caesarea Hadriano-polis, *inf.* n. 41.
11. HERACLEA: Polyb., xxv. 2 (included in the treaty of 179 B.C.), Livy, xlii. 56 (sends triremes in 168 B.C.), Polyb., xxxiii. 13 (compensated in 155 B.C. for damage done by Prusias II), Memnon, xxix, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 540 (sends triremes during the Social War). CHALCEDON: Livy, xlii. 56.
12. AMASTRIS: Memnon, xvi, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 535. AMISUS: Memnon, xxiv, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 538. SINOPE: Polyb., iv. 56, xxiii. 9, Livy, xl. 2, Strabo, xii. iii. 11, p. 545. PHARNACEIA: citizens of Cotyora, Strabo, xii. iii. 17, p. 548; of Cerasus, an inference from the use of this name by Pharnaceia on her coins from the second century A.D. (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 497). Arrian, *Periplus*, 24 wrongly identified the Cerasus of Xenophon with Pharnaceia itself, but whereas Pharnaceia was in Chalybiant territory, Cerasus lay not far from Trapezus, in the territory of the Colchians (Xen., *Anab.*, v. iii. 2, Strabo, xii. iii. 17, p. 548; cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, vi. 11 and Ptolemy, v. vi. 5, both of whom confused the order of places along this coast). PHARNACES A NEIGHBOUR OF THE GALATIANS AND CAPPADOCIA: Polyb., xxv. 2. MITHRIDATES I AND THE GAULS: Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἰγκυρα. PAPHLAGONIAN BOUNDARY: Strabo, xii. iii. 40, p. 562. ARMENIA MINOR: Strabo, xii. iii. 28, p. 555.
13. Strabo is very insistent on this point: xii. iii. 1, p. 541, προσεκτίσαστο δ' οὗτος (Mithridates VI) καὶ τὴν μέγρι Ἡρακλείας παραλίαν, xii. iii. 2, p. 541, καταλυθέντων δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐβύλαξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὄρους ὡστε τὴν Ἡράκλειαν προσκείσθαι τῷ Πόντῳ, xii. iii. 6, p. 543, ἡ δὲ πόλις (Heraclea) ἐστὶ τῆς Ποντικῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς συντεταγμένης τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ. SEIZURE OF HERACLEA IN THE THIRD WAR: Memnon, xlii, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 548; its very severe punishment (Memnon, lix-lx, *F.H.G.*, III, pp. 557-8) is only intelligible if the Romans regarded it as a rebel ally. HERACLEA IN PONTUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 516, *I.G.R.*, III. 79. What exactly is meant by the distinction of Pontus and Bithynia in Bithynia-Pontus it is difficult to say. I presume it means that the province had two κοινά. The 'ten cities in Pontus' are a difficult problem, for, according to the general view, only Heraclea, Tieuu, Amastris, Abonuteichus, Sinope, and Amisus were in the later province of Bithynia-Pontus. I think that the view expressed in *Recueil général*<sup>2</sup>, Tom. I, p. 28, that this κοινόν of Pontus included all the cities on the Asiatic shore of the Pontus, in whatever province, is the most likely. The list is completed in the *Recueil général*, loc. cit., with Polemonium, Cerasus, Trapezus, and Chalcedon. But Chalcedon was probably one of the twelve cities of the Bithynian κοινόν and is not on the Pontus. I suggest instead Sebastopolis-Dioscurias.

14. BITHYNIAN SETTLERS IN GREEK CITIES: *O.G.I.*, 341, *Δωτίποριω Σκιπράζιος Προυαία*, 344, *Μελέαγρον Ζμερτομάρου Νικαία*. BITHYNIAN ROYAL LANDS: *Cic.*, *de leg. agr.*, II. 50, 'agros Bithyniae regiois'.
15. EPARCHIES: the term is used by Strabo both for the subdivisions of the Pontic kingdom, e.g. XII. iii. 37, p. 560, *Πομπήσιος δὲ πολλὰς ἐπαρχίας προσώρισε τῷ τόπῳ καὶ πόλιν ὠνόμασε*, and as a translation of the Latin *provincia*. BLAENE AND DOMANITIS: Strabo, XII. iii. 40, p. 562. GAZELONITIS, ETC.: *id.*, XII. iii. 13-16, pp. 546-8. PHAZEMONITIS: *id.*, XII. iii. 38, p. 560, *I.G.R.* III. 137. PIMOLISENE, XIMENE, DIACOPENE, BABANOMUS: Strabo., XII. iii. 39, p. 561. GAZACENE: *id.*, XII. iii. 25, p. 553, cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 8, 'Amasiam . . . in regione Gazacena'. DAZEMONITIS: Strabo, XII. iii. 15, p. 547. PHANAROEAE: *id.*, XII. iii. 30, p. 556. CARANITIS, ETC.: *id.*, XII. iii. 37, p. 560. I do not think that this list is exhaustive, cf. Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, III, p. 155, no. 145, *Δακοπηγή* (not the same as Diacopene), Ptolemy, v. vi. 9, *Γαζαληγή*. Reinach's attempt (*Mithridates Eupator*, p. 257) to reconstruct the whole scheme is over-ambitious.
16. LUCULLUS AND AMISUS: Plut., *Luc.*, 19.
17. Strabo calls Phazemon a *κώμη* (XII. iii. 38, p. 560), Pimolisa a *φρούριον βασιλικόν* (XII. iii. 40, p. 562), and Camisa an *ἔρμα* (XII. iii. 37, p. 560). AMASEIA THE OLD CAPITAL: Strabo, XII. iii. 39, p. 561. CABELIRA: *id.*, XII. iii. 30-1, pp. 556-7. COMANA: *id.*, XII. iii. 32 and 36, pp. 557, 559. ZELA: *id.*, XII. iii. 37, p. 559. PRIESTLY PRINCIPALITIES: *id.*, XII. iii. 37, p. 559, *τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὐχ ὡς πόλιν ἀλλ' ὡς ἱερόν διόκουσιν τῶν Περσικῶν θεῶν τὰ Ζήλα καὶ ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς κύριος τῶν πάντων*; in gift of the king, *id.*, XII. iii. 33, p. 557 (the priesthood of Comana given to Dorylaeus). The power of the priests must not be exaggerated; they were owners of the sacred land and the serfs and no doubt the town itself, but there is no evidence that the sacred land was a continuous block of territory; it consisted probably of scattered estates. The priests were not thus territorial dynasts; at Comana Pompey had to assign jurisdiction over the surrounding country in order to make Archelaus a dynast.
18. QUASI-MUNICIPAL ISSUES OF MITHRIDATES VI: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 502. The fourteen mints were local centres of financial administration, as is shown by their regular spacing: along the coast, Pharnaceia, Chabacta (in Sidene), Amisus, Sinope, Abonuteichus, Amastris, and Dia; inland, Cabela, Comana, Taulara (Appian, *Mith.*, 115), Gaziura, Laodicea, Amaseia, and Pimolisa.
19. *Cic.*, *de leg. agr.*, II. 50, 'agros Bithyniae regiois, quibus nunc publicani fruuntur'.
20. I find it difficult to understand why Dr. Cary (*C.A.H.*, IX, p. 392) follows the old view of Marquardt (*Staatsverwaltung*, I, pp. 349 seqq.) that Pompey's province of Pontus included only the western extremity of the kingdom. Niese (*Rhein. Mus.*, XXXVIII. 577-83) has correctly interpreted the passage of Strabo (XII. iii. 9, p. 544) on which that view is based. Dr. Cary admits this interpretation, but merely extends Pontus to include Amisus. If, however, the passage is correctly interpreted there remains no reason to limit Pompey's Pontus to the coastal strip. Strabo states in his introductory paragraph (XII. iii. 1, p. 541) that Pompey allotted the parts towards Armenia and around Colchis to dynasts who fought on his side and divided the rest into eleven cities and added it to Bithynia. He later records (XII. iii. 13, p. 547) that Pompey gave *τὰ περιὶ Φαρνακίαν καὶ τὴν Τραπεζοσίαν μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας* to Deiotarus and Comana to Archelaus (XII. iii. 34, p. 558). He also later records Pompey's creation of various cities, Pompeiopolis, Neapolis, Magnopolis, Diospolis, Zela, Megalopolis, Nicopolis. In his introductory paragraph he goes on to say that afterwards the Roman commanders made various changes, establishing kings and dynasts and giving them cities and so forth. In his description of Pontus he often notes these changes, e.g. XII. iii. 37, p. 560, *Πομπήσιος δὲ πολλὰς ἐπαρχίας προσώρισε τῷ τόπῳ*

(Zela) καὶ πόλιν ὠνόμασε καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὴν Μεγαλόπολιν . . . οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν δνεῖν πολιτευμάτων τούτων, &c., XII. iii. 38, p. 561 (after the foundation of Neapolis) ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὕτω διέταξε τὴν Φαζημωνίτην, οἱ δ' ὕστερον βασιλεῦσι καὶ ταύτην ἔνειμαν. The general lines of Pompey's settlement are thus, in my view, quite clear. It is more difficult to decide which exactly were the eleven cities (on the old view there are incidentally only five, from Heraclea to Sinope, or six if Amisus be included). On this point Strabo's language is uncharacteristically precise, fifteen places being described by him as πόλις or πόλισμα. These included six of the coastal cities but not Tieum or Abonuteichus, which were mere πολίχρια. Inland, the cities recorded to have been founded by Pompey number seven. To these must be added Amaseia; Strabo's remark (XII. iii. 39, p. 561), ἐδόθη δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀμάσεια βασιλεῦσι, taken in conjunction with his remark about Neapolis in the preceding paragraph, must mean that Amaseia was a city under Pompey and was later given to kings. From this total of fourteen three must be deducted. The most probable are Pharnaceia, Trapezus, and Nicopolis. Strabo's phrase about the first two is vague, but τὰ περὶ τὴν Φαρνακίαν καὶ τὴν Τραπεζουσίαν is more likely in Greek idiom to mean Pharnaceia and Trapezus and the surrounding districts than the districts surrounding Pharnaceia and Trapezus. The statement that Nicopolis was ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ Ἀρμενίᾳ must imply that it formed part of the kingdom of Armenia Minor, however improbable it might appear that Pompey should settle his wounded veterans in a non-Roman principality. On the other hand, I assume that Strabo's authority for the number eleven did not hold Strabo's erroneous view that Heraclea and Tieum were in the kingdom of Pontus. In Strabo's list Heraclea has evidently supplanted Nicopolis, which thus had to stand in the native kingdom—as in fact it did from the time of Antony.

ARISTARCHUS OF COLCHIS: Appian, *Mith.*, 114, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 496. DEIOTARUS: Strabo, XII. iii. 13, p. 547. The question of Pharnaceia and Trapezus has been discussed; there remains the question of Armenia Minor. Since Colchis did not belong to Deiotarus Strabo's words μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας should exclude Armenia Minor. Cicero (*Phil.*, II. 94, *de Div.*, II. 79) and the author of the *Bell. Alex.* (67) state that Armenia (Minor) was given to Deiotarus by the senate. Why it should be assumed (as in *C.A.H.*, IX, p. 393, note 2) that Pompey must have given Armenia Minor to Deiotarus, I do not understand. Armenia Minor must have been put under some dynast by Pompey, but not necessarily under Deiotarus. NICOPOLIS: Strabo, XII. iii. 28, p. 555, Cassius Dio, XXXVI. 50, Appian, *Mith.*, 115.

21. Strabo, XII. iii. 34, p. 558, Πομπήιος . . . Ἀρχέλαον ἐπέστησεν ἱερέα καὶ προσώρισεν αὐτῷ χώραν δίσχοινον κύκλω . . . πρὸς τῇ ἱερᾷ προστάξας τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι πιθαρχεῖν αὐτῷ· τούτων μὲν οὖν ἡγεμῶν ἦν καὶ τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐνοικοῦντων ἱεροδούλων κύριος, &c. Note the careful distinction between Archelaus' position as priest and as prince, the latter an innovation by Pompey.
22. TERRITORY OF AMISUS: Strabo, XII. iii. 13, p. 547, ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας (Gazelonitis) τὴν μὲν ἔχουσιν Ἀμισηνοί, τὴν δὲ ἔδωκε Δημοτάρῳ Πομπήιος, XII. iii. 14, p. 547, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Γαζηλώνα ἢ Σαραμηνὴ καὶ Ἀμισὸς . . . ἔχει δὲ τὴν τε ἄλλην χώραν καλὴν καὶ τὴν Θεμισκυραν . . . καὶ τὴν Σιδιήνην. There are republican coins of Amisus, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 497. SINOPIAN TERRITORY: Arrian, *Periplus*, 22.
23. STRABO'S FAMILY: Strabo, X. iv. 10, pp. 477-8. AMASIAN TERRITORY: id., XII. iii. 39, p. 561; for Gazacene, Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 8. CABEIRA-DIOSPOLIS: Strabo, XII. iii. 31, p. 557. ZELA: id., XII. iii. 37, p. 560; there are coins of Zela which may be republican, *Rec. gén.*<sup>2</sup>, Tom. I, p. 158. Caranitis is usually, on the strength of Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 8, 'in Colopene vero Sebastiam et Sebastopolim', reckoned as a subdivision of Colopene (Sebastopolis is the later name of Carana, *vid. inf.*,

note 42); Pliny's statements on such topics are, however, of very little value, and this statement would make Colopene unusually large for a Pontic eparchy and geographically a very awkward unit—Carana lies in a different river basin from Colopene, separated from it by a mountain range. Strabo's words are ambiguous; he merely says that Caranitis was one of the districts later taken from the two cities of Zela and Megalopolis.

24. EUPATORIA-MAGNOPOLIS: Strabo, XII. iii. 30, p. 556, Appian, *Mith.*, 115. Whether there was another Eupatoria which was merely a suburb of Amisus, I very much doubt. Mithridates, it is true, προσέκτισε μέρος at Amisus (Strabo, XII. iii. 14, p. 547), and Appian (*Mith.*, 78) says that Lucullus besieged Ἀμισόν τε καὶ Εὐπατορίαν ἦντινα τῷ Ἀμισῷ παρωκοδόμησεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης but from Memnon's account of the same siege it appears that Lucullus, after attacking Amisus, left it and moved to Eupatoria, which he took (XLV, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 550). Yet Appian (*Mith.*, 115) says that Eupatoria-Magnopolis surrendered to Lucullus and was destroyed by Mithridates for this reason. The reliability of Pliny's 'Amiso iunctum fuit oppidum Eupatoria a Mithridate conditum' (*N.H.*, VI. 7) may be gauged by his next remark, 'Victo eo utrumque Pompeiopolis appellatum est'.
25. POMPEIOPOLIS: Strabo, XII. iii. 40, p. 562; there are coins of Pompeiopolis which may be republican, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 507 ('second (!) or first century B.C.'). NEAPOLIS: Strabo, XII. iii. 38, p. 560, ἡ Φαζημῶνιτις ἐστίν, ἣν Προμηθίος Νεαπολίτην ὠνόμασε κατὰ Φαζημῶνα κώμην ἀποδείξας τὴν κατοικίαν καὶ προσαγορεύσας Νεάπολιν. The passage is obviously corrupt and has lost the word πόλιν and perhaps an allusion to Andrappa. Andrappa was certainly the native name of Neoclaudiopolis (Ptol., v. iv. 4), which in turn was identical with Neapolis (cf. *I.G.R.*, III. 137 and 139); Andrappa was the Byzantine name of the city. MEGALOPOLIS: Strabo, XII. iii. 37, p. 560, Προμηθίος . . . πόλιν ὠνόμασε καὶ ταύτην (Zela) καὶ τὴν Μεγαλόπολιν, συνθεὶς ταύτην τε εἰς ἓν τὴν τε Κολουπηνήν καὶ τὴν Καμισογήν, ὁμόρους οὖσας τῇ τε μικρᾷ Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ τῇ Λαουσιανῇ.
26. NEAPOLITAN TERRITORY: Strabo, XII. iii. 38, p. 560. AMASIAN TERRITORY: id., XII. iii. 39, p. 561 (cf. XII. iii. 38, p. 560, for the boundary with Neapolis). ROYAL LANDS: Cic., *de leg. agr.*, II. 51 (quoting the bill), 'regios agros Mithridatis qui in Paphlagonia, qui in Ponto, qui in Cappadocia fuerunt'. As Cicero points out, Rullus was anticipating Pompey's settlement in a most insolent manner.
27. CONSTITUTIONAL REORGANIZATION: Pliny, *Ep.*, X. 79, 112. COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 517 (Nicomedia), 516 (Nicaea), 510 (Apamea), 517 (Prusa), 511 (Bithynium), 518 (Tieum), 513 (Prusias ad Mare); freedom of Prusias, Strabo, XII. iv. 3, p. 564. CHALCEDON: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 149, 'Calchadon libera'. HERACLEA: Memnon, LIX, LX, *F.H.G.*, III, pp. 557-8; the city was at first suppressed, then, by decree of the senate, received ordinary provincial status (τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἀποκατέστησαν καὶ μηδένα δουλεύειν ψήφον ἔθεντο) but failed to recover its freedom; Memnon tells a pathetic story of the efforts of Brithagoras, a patriotic citizen of Heraclea, to regain the city's freedom; he chased Caesar round the world for twelve years (having presumably first approached him during his consulship) and finally died before Caesar was back in power in Rome. CRETEIA-FLAVIOPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 514. It may be noted that Nicomedia had by A.D. 294-5 been made a colony (*C.I.L.*, III. 326 = Dessau, 650), probably by Diocletian.
28. BOUNDARY OF NICAEA AND DORYLAEUM: *M.A.M.A.*, v. 60; unfortunately the first two letters of Νικαίεων are missing and the third is very indistinct; Mr. Cox assures me, however, that K is the most probable, and points out that the spelling -αιέων is used by Nicaea whereas Μίδαεον (the only possible alternative) uses

the spelling -αέων. REGIONS UNDER NICAEA: Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. 1, p. 59 [418], ἐγὼ δὲ δέικνυμι Βασιλειούπολιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ Νικαίαν γενομένην· καὶ γὰρ ῥεγεῶν ἦν αὐτῆς . . . ὡσπερ Τατταῖος καὶ Δωρίς ῥεγεῶνές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τὴν Νικαίαν, οὕτως ἦν πρὸ τούτου καὶ Βασιλειούπολις ὑπὸ τὴν Νικαίαν. Cf. Hierocles, 694, 1 and 2, 'Ρεγεταταῖος, 'Ρεγοδωρίε. Tottaium and Doris are also mentioned in *Cod. Theod.*, XII. i. 119 (A.D. 388), 'Claudiopolis Prusiadis ac Tottai et Doridis oppidorum sive mansionum', where the two last are evidently the *mansiones* (cf. *Itin. Hier.*, 573, 574). The law is interesting as showing that the places were centres of administration, having *curiales* (evidently sent out from Nicaea, for, as appears from the account of the foundation of Basilinopolis in *Acta Conc. Chalc.*, cited in note 35, 'regions' had no *curiales* of their own). There is no clue to the position of Basilinopolis except that it is mentioned between Cius and Nicaea in Hierocles. The position of Tottaium and Doris is fixed by the Itineraries (*Tab. Peut.*, IX. 2-3, *Itin. Ant.*, 141, *Itin. Hier.*, 573, 574). HELENO-POLIS UNDER NICOMEDIA: Cedrenus, I, p. 517, ed. Bonn, Δρεπανῶντων ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ ἐπικτίσας . . . Ἐλενούπολιν . . . ἐκάλεσεν; on its position see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 188. THE TITHE OF THE BITHYNIANS: Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXVIII. 26, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂν ἀπολάβωμεν τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀμαχεὶ παραδόντων αὐτὸ τῶν Νικαέων πότερα ληψόμεθα τοὺς φόρους οὓς νῦν ἐκεῖνοι λαμβάνουσιν; ἢ τὰς πόλεις τὰς συντελούσας εἰς τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις δικαστήριον ἐνταυθοῖ καλέσομεν; ἢ πέμψομεν αὐτοῖς ἀρμοστὰς; ἢ δεκάτας <τὰς> παρὰ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἐκείνοις ἔλαττον παρέξομεν; tithe as a rent on royal land, [Arist.], *Oec.*, II, p. 1345b, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἦν οἱ μὲν ἐκφόριον οἱ δὲ τὴν δεκάτην προσαγορεύουσιν. DISTINCTION OF REGISTERED PERSONS AND COUNTRYMEN: *I.G.R.*, III. 69, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνκεκρμένοις καὶ τοῖς τὴν ἀγροικίαν κατοικοῦσιν (παροικοῦσιν). HELLENES IN BITHYNIA: *I.G.R.*, III. 60, 65, 67, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ Ἑλλήνων.

29. MORZAEUS: Livy, XXXVIII. 26, Polyb., XXV. 2; cf. Strabo, XII. iii. 41, p. 562 (Gangra his capital). PYLAEANES: Eutrop., IV. 20. PARTITION OF PAPHLAGONIA: Justin, XXXVII. 4. DECLARED FREE: id., XXXVIII. 2. DISINTEGRATION: Strabo's remark (XII. iii. 41, p. 562), ταύτης δὲ καίπερ ὀλίγης οὐσης μικρὸν μὲν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἤρχον πλείους, presumably refers to this period. ATTALUS: Appian, *Mith.*, 114; Strabo (XII. iii. 1, p. 541) says τοῖς ἀπὸ Πυλαίμενους, by which he presumably means 'to the Pylaemenid dynasty', cf. his phrases βασιλεῦσι καὶ ταύτην ἐνευμαν (of Neapolis), ἐδόθη δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀμάσεια βασιλεῦσι, &c., which clearly do not mean that these cities were partitioned among several kings. Eutrop., VI. 14, 'Attalo et Pylaemeni Paphlagoniam reddidit', is clearly merely a conflation of the two accounts. Attalus' death is recorded in Cassius Dio, XLVIII. 33. HYPARCHIES: Strabo, XII. iii. 41, p. 562; the term ὑπαρχία is taken from *I.G.R.*, III. 137 (where it is the only possible restoration); a prominent Galatian chief named Gaezatorix is mentioned in Polyb., XXIV. 14, but it would be rash to connect ἡ Γαιζατόριγος with him.

30. COLONY OF APAMEA: Strabo, XII. iv. 3, p. 564; it is attributed to Caesar because Bithynia is not mentioned in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* among the provinces in which Augustus planted colonies, and the official style of Apamea was Iulia Concordia (*C.I.L.*, III. 335, 6992 (= Dessau, 314) and the coins, where the title Augusta does not occur till the reign of Septimius Severus, *Rec. gén.*, Tom. I, p. 245); it had the *ius Italicum*, *Dig.*, L. xv. 1, § 10. COLONY OF HERACLEA: Strabo, XII. iii. 6, pp. 542-3 (Caesar is not mentioned but must have been the founder). PRUSIAS AD MARE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 513; Orsabarisis is mentioned by Appian, *Mith.*, 117; Lycomedes (called king on these coins) is presumably the same that Caesar installed in Comana; a king Lycomedes is stated by Strabo (XII. iii. 38, p. 560) to have been a son of Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates (Polemo is stated in the same passage to have been a son of Pharnaces; perhaps Darius, Polemo's predecessor as king of Pontus, is meant). The author of *Bell. Alex.* (66) calls Lycomedes a Bithynian 'regio Cappadocum genere ortus' but this is probably

a mistake (see note 38). Prusias is not mentioned as a free city by Pliny, who is usually meticulous on the point. CAESAREA GERMANICE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 511, Dio Chrys., *Or.* XLVII. 13.

31. DASCYLIIUM: Herod., III. 120, 126, VI. 33, Thuc., I. 129, *S.E.G.*, v. I. vi. 16; 3. iii. 24, &c. PHARNABAZUS' PALACE: Xen., *Hell.*, IV. i. 15. LAKE DASCYLITIS: Strabo, XII. viii. 10, p. 575, *ὑπέρκεινται δὲ τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος ἄλλα δύο λίμναι μεγάλαι, ἧ τε Ἀπολλωνιάτις ἢ τε Μιλητοπολίτις*, XII. iii. 22, p. 550, *ποταμὸς Ὀδρύσης ῥέων διὰ Μυγδονίης πεδίου ἀπὸ δύσιος ἐκ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος ἐς Ῥύνδακον ἐσβάλλει* (quoting Hecataeus of Miletus); as the only possible position for a lake near Dascylium is on a river flowing from the east into the Rhyncadus either Hecataeus is wrong in saying *ἀπὸ δύσιος* or the words must be taken closely with *ἐκ τῆς λίμνης*, 'flowing out of Lake Dascylitis on the west'. ANTIGONEIA: Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀντιγόχεια (4), *τῆς Βιθυνίας, πρὸς τῷ Δασκυλίῳ . . . ἔστι καὶ φρούριον τῆς Κυζικηνῆς ἀπέχον τῆς προεσπέρου θαλάσσης ὡς σταδίου ὕ'. BYZANTINE LAND IN MYSIA IN 220 B.C.*: Polyb., IV. 50, *παρῆλετο δὲ (Prusias) καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας χώραν ἣν κατείχον Βυζάντιοι τῆς Μυσίας πολλοὺς ἤδη χρόνους*, 52, *ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Προυσίαν Βυζαντίους τὰς τε χώρας καὶ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς . . . ἐπαναγκάσαι δὲ Προυσίαν καὶ ὅσα τινὲς τῶν Βιθυνῶν εἶχον ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ Βυζαντίους ταπτομένης ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς γεωργοῖς*. BYZANTINE AND CYZICENE TERRITORY: Strabo, XII. viii. 11, p. 576, *τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος λίμνης τὰ μὲν ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖνοι (the Cyzicenes) τὰ δὲ Βυζάντιοι*, XIII. i. 3, p. 582, *τὴν νῦν Κυζικηνήν τὴν περὶ τὸ Δασκύλιον*. Some land on the coast north of Cius appears to have continued in Byzantine possession as late as the last quarter of the second century A.D., Robert, *Hellenica*, VII, p. 35, no. 3, [ἰε]ρο[μ]αμονούσης Βρουττίας Κρισπεινῆς: since this area was considered as Mysian in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. (Herod., v. 122, Xen., *Hell.*, I. iv. 7, Scylax, *Perip.*, fr. 2, ps.-Scylax, *Perip.*, 93), it is possible that this was the region of Mysia seized from Byzantium by Prusias and returned in 220 B.C. (Polyb., IV. 50, 52). RHYNDACUS BOUNDARY OF ASIA: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 142. AUGUSTUS AND THE CYZICENES: Cassius Dio, LIV. 7. HELGAS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 143, 'Helgas oppidum quae Germanicopolis'. MYGDONES: Strabo, XII. viii. 10, p. 575, *Μυγδόνας δὲ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς τοῦτοις μέχρι τῆς Μυρλειανῶν χώρας*. The position of Dascylium and its lake is discussed in Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, pp. 55-8, 45-7.
32. CLEON OF GORDIUCOME: Strabo, XII. viii. 9, p. 574, cf. note 43. JULIOPOLIS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 143, 149, Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 77, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 516.
33. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 143, 'nunc sunt XII civitates, inter quas Gordiucome quae Iuliopolis vocatur'. Later Pliny gives a fragment of an official list, v. 149, 'ceterum intus in Bithynia colonia Apamena, Agrippenses, Iuliopolitae, Bithynion'; which of the cities of Bithynia took the name of Agrippa is unknown. BYZANTIUM: Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 43.
34. For Hierocles, the Notitia, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XIV, 5-6, 8; XIX, 1-10, 12, 16-25; XX, 1-5. HELENOPOLIS: Cedrenus, I, p. 517, ed. Bonn, Malalas, p. 323, ed. Bonn (who gives *Σουγά* as the name of the site), Soc., *H.E.*, I. 17, Soz., *H.E.*, II. 2, Proc., *Aed.*, v. 2, Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Luciani*, Migne, *P.G.*, CXIV, 416, *πόλιν τε συνώκισεν ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς τῶν περὶ χωρῶν οἰκήτορας συγκαλεσαμένη*; it is also stated that Constantine built the city walls and a magnificent church to S. Lucian. For the position of Helenopolis and Praenetus and the reason for their growth, see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, pp. 186-8.
35. Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, p. 59 [418], *ὥσπερ Ταττᾶϊος καὶ Δωρις βεγεωῆς εἰσιν ὑπὸ Νικαίαν, οὕτως ἦν πρὸ τούτου καὶ Βασιλευνούπολις ὑπὸ τὴν Νικαίαν. βασιλεὺς τις Ἰουλιανὸς ἢ οὐκ οἶδα τίς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν πόλιν καὶ λαβῶν ἀπὸ Νικαίας πολιτευομένους κατέστησεν ἐκεῖ, καὶ τὸ ἔθος ἀπὸ*

- τότε ἕως νῦν τοῦτο κρατεῖ, ἐὰν λείψῃ ἐν Βασιλευνοπόλει πολιτεύομενος ἀπὸ Νικαίας πέμπεται ἐκεῖ καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Βασιλευνοπόλεως μεθίσταται ἐν Νικαίᾳ· καὶ πρότερον οὕσα ῥεγέων πάλιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο πόλις.
36. 'REGION' OF LAGANIA: Hierocles, 696, 9; in Roman Bithynia, Ptol., v. i. 3; its position is fixed by the itineraries (*Tab. Peut.*, IX. 4, *Itin. Ant.*, 142, *Itin. Hier.*, 574); the Notitiae give Anastasiopolis in place of it. Bishporics, see Table XIX; *Τοττάιον* is given as *τοῦ Ταίου*, the first syllable being mistaken for the article. JUSTINIANOPOLIS: Mansi, IX. 177, 'Iustinianopolitano Bithyniae', 394, 'Novae Iustinianae Bithyniae' (A.D. 553), XI. 211-12, 219-20, 223-4, &c., 'Ιουστινιανουπόλεως Γόρδου, 676, 'Ιουστινιανουπόλεως ἦτοι Μέλῃς; this last connects with the *Μοδρινῆς ἦτοι Μελινῶν* of the Notitiae; position of Modrene, Strabo, XII. iii. 7, p. 543, *διέξεισι δὲ* (the Sangarius) *τῆς ἐπικτήτου Φρυγίας τὴν πλείω, μέρος δὲ τι καὶ τῆς Βιθυνίας, ὥστε καὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας ἀπέχων μικρὸν πλείους ἢ τριακοσίουσ σταδίουσ, καθ' ὃ συμβάλλει ποταμὸς αὐτῷ Γάλλοσ ἐκ Μόδρων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας*; Strabo in this passage uses Phrygia on the Hellespont in the old sense in which it included what was later the eastern half of the Bithynian kingdom; see Sölch, *Klio*, XI, pp. 393 seqq. The see of Modrene is to be distinguished from the *κωμοπόλις* Modrene (Ruge, *P.W.*, xv. 2333) in the western part of the Bucellarian Theme, about 100 miles further east.
37. DAPHNUSIA: Ptol., v. i. 3. REGIO TARSIA: Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 191, von Diest, *Petermanns Mitt.*, Erg.-Bd. XXVII, Heft 125, p. 65.
38. Strabo, XII. iii. 1, p. 541. AMISUS FREED: Strabo, XII. iii. 14, p. 547, Cassius Dio, XLII. 48. COLONY OF SINOPE: Strabo, XII. iii. 11, p. 546 and coins with the era of 47 B.C., Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 509; it had the *ius Italicum*, *Dig.*, L. xv. 1, § 10. CAESAR AND ARMENIA MINOR: Cassius Dio, XLI. 63, XLII. 48. CAESAR AND COMANA: Strabo, XII. iii. 35, p. 558, Appian, *Mith.*, 121; cf. Strabo, XII. iii. 37, p. 560 for grants from the territories of Zela and Megalopolis to the priests of Comana. The author of *Bell. Alex.* (66) makes Caesar appoint Lycomedes to the Cappadocian Comana on the ground that he was 'regio Cappadocum genere ortus'. As it is unlikely that there were two persons called Lycomedes, one high priest of Comana Pontica and one of Comana Cappadocia, the writer has probably conflated two appointments, Lycomedes to Comana Pontica, and some one of the Cappadocian royal house to Comana Cappadocia.
39. GRANT OF ATTALUS' KINGDOM TO CASTOR: Cassius Dio, XLVIII. 33. DEIOTARUS PHILADELPHUS KING OF PAPHLAGONIA: Cassius Dio, L. 13, Plut., *Ant.*, 61, Strabo, XII. iii. 41, p. 562, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 509. The grant of the two cities is inferred from their adopting the Paphlagonian era of 6 B.C.; for Neapolis cf. also *I.G.R.*, III. 137, and Strabo, XII. iii. 38, p. 561, *οἱ δὲ ὑστερον καὶ ταύτην βασιλεῶν ἐνεμαν*. Grant of Bithynian territory, *vid. inf.*, note 41. AMISUS TO KINGS: Strabo, XII. iii. 14, p. 547. AMASEIA TO KINGS: *id.*, XII. iii. 39, p. 561. CARANITIS TO ATEPORIX: *id.*, XII. iii. 37, p. 560. PRIEST OF ZELA: *ib.* In none of these cases except Amisus is Antony mentioned, but he seems the most likely author of the changes. The identity of the *βασιλεῖς* is a difficult question. Strabo's information on this period is very scrappy. He does not seem to be aware that the *βασιλεῖς* to whom Neapolis was given had any connexion with Deiotarus Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, whom he mentions elsewhere. His language about Amisus is curiously obscure: Antony gave it to kings, Octavian deposed its tyrant Strato. Did Antony give it to Strato? Strabo does not commit himself. From these facts it may be inferred that Strabo had the vaguest knowledge of Antony's arrangements. I think it unlikely that the 'kings' to whom Amaseia was given were Darius and Polemo, seeing that Amaseia was annexed in 2 B.C. whereas Pythodoris reigned far longer. The 'kings' in question was probably a local tyrant like Strato of Amisus. The case of Megalopolis is peculiarly difficult. According to Strabo Pythodoris held it in his day (this probably means

after A.D. 17 since he mentions that Pythodorus had survived Archelaus of Cappadocia), and according to Ptolemy (v. vi. 9) Sebasteia, which must be the same place (see Anderson, *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, p. 9), was in Pontus Polemoniachus and therefore must have belonged to Polemo II's kingdom. Yet Sebasteia used an era dating from 2-1 B.C. to A.D. 1-2. The only solution is, I think, that Megalopolis was given to a dynast (perhaps the one who ruled Amaseia, since the annexation date of the two cities may be the same), annexed in 2-1 B.C. to A.D. 1-2, and then, after an interval, given to Pythodorus. The name Sebasteia (of which Strabo is unaware) need not have been given on the annexation; it may have been given by Pythodorus; Germanicopolis with its era of 6 B.C. shows there is no necessary connexion with the liberation of a city and renaming. Anderson (op. cit., pp. 7-10) suggests that Megalopolis may have belonged to Polemo I and have been taken from Pythodorus in 2-1 B.C. to A.D. 1-2. But why should it have been taken from her then? PONTUS TO DARIUS: Appian, *B.C.*, v. 75. POLEMO KING OF PONTUS: Cassius Dio, XLIX. 25; given Armenia Minor, id., XLIX. 33, 44. Armenia Minor had on Caesar's death been restored to Deiotarus by Antony (Cic., *Phil.*, II. 94); its fate after Deiotarus' death is not known.

40. AUGUSTUS AND AMISUS: Strabo, XII. iii. 14, p. 547, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 497 (for an explanation of the era, which seems to be 33 B.C., see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 194), Pliny, *N.H.*, vi. 7, 'Amisum liberum', Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 92, 'Amisenum civitas libera et foederata', *O.G.I.*, 530. THE OATH OF THE PAPHLAGONIANS: *I.G.R.*, III. 137. COINS OF POMPEIOPOLIS, ETC.: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 506-7; the reason for identifying Pompeiopolis and Sebaste is that both call themselves metropolis of Paphlagonia.
41. CAESAREA-HADRIANOPOLIS: *I.G.R.*, III. 148-50; no. 151 proves that it was in the province of Galatia. DADYBRA AND SORA: Hierocles, 696, 3, 695, 7, Just., *Nov.* 29. ANTONIOPOLIS: *Tab. Peut.*, IX. 4. Sora is identified with the modern Zora, Antoniopolis is placed at Cherkesh. The position of Dadybra is unknown and it may therefore have also been at Cherkesh. REGIO MNIZUS: Hierocles, 697, 1; its position is fixed by *Tab. Peut.*, IX. 4, *Itin. Ant.*, 142, *Itin. Hier.*, 575; in Paphlagonia, Ptol., v. iv. 4, *Μίσσιον*.
42. ANNEXATION OF CARANITIS: Strabo, XII. iii. 37, p. 560. SEBASTOPOLIS: inscriptions, *I.G.R.*, III. 111-13, 115; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 499. The identification is based on the fact that Sebastopolis lies in the area where Strabo puts Carana. AMASEIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 496. For Megalopolis, *vid. sup.*, note 39.
43. PRIESTS OF COMANA: Strabo, XII. iii. 35, p. 558-9, XII. viii. 9, p. 574-5, Cassius Dio, LI. 2; Dio makes a certain Medeios succeed Lycomedes, but as he like Strabo's Cleon had raised the Mysians against Antony it may be suspected that Cleon and Medeios were the Greek and native names of the same person. COMANA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 498. PONTUS GALATICUS: Ptol., v. vi. 3, 8, *C.I.L.*, III. 6818 (= Dessau, 1017). It was presumably a *κοινόν*, its capital being Amaseia, which styles itself metropolis of Pontus on its coins.
44. ARMENIA MINOR GIVEN TO ARTAVASDES AND ARCHELAUS: Cassius Dio, LIV. 9, cf. Strabo, XII. iii. 29, p. 555. PYTHODORIS' KINGDOM: Strabo, XII. iii. 29, p. 555 (Pharnaceia and Trapezus and the tribes), XII. iii. 31, p. 557 (Phanaroea, Cabeira-Sebaste, Zelitis, Megalopolitis), XII. iii. 37, p. 559 (all the country surrounding Comana, including Phanaroea, Zelitis, Megalopolitis). GAIVS REVIVES PONTUS AND ARMENIA MINOR: Cassius Dio, LIX. 12. POLEMO DEPOSED: Suet., *Nero*, 18, cf. Tac., *Hist.*, III. 47. ARMENIA MINOR GIVEN TO ARISTOBULUS: Tac., *Ann.*, XIII. 7, Jos., *Ant.*, XX. viii. 4, § 158, *Bell.*, II. xiii. 2, § 252; on the date of Aristobulus' deposition see Reinach, *R.E.A.*, 1914, pp. 133 seqq.
45. PONTUS POLEMONIACUS: Ptol., v. vi. 4, 9, *C.I.L.*, III. 6818 (= Dessau, 1017).



Ptolemy assigns to it only Neocaesarea, Zela, Sebasteia, and Polemonium, giving Cerasus and Trapezus to an otherwise unknown Pontus Cappadocicus (v. vi. 5, 10). It would be natural to assume that Pontus Polemoniicus meant the former kingdom of Polemo, and this is what it evidently means in the inscription: the legate of Galatia concerned ruled Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Polemonianus [*sic*], and Armenia Minor; clearly then Cerasus and Trapezus must be included in Pontus Polemonianus or they would be left in the air. At a later date Pontus Galaticus and the inland cities of Polemoniicus seem to have been united in a single district, the Pontus Mediterraneus of the inscriptions (Dessau, 1359, 1364, 9013). It was a *κοινόν*, metropolis Neocaesarea, embracing six cities (group of six figures on the coins of Neocaesarea, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 497), presumably Amaseia, Comana, Sebastopolis (Galaticus), and, besides Neocaesarea, Zela and Sebasteia (Polemoniicus). The coastal cities probably as suggested in note 13 belonged to the other *κοινόν* of Pontus, metropolis Heraclea. To account for Ptolemy's Pontus Cappadocicus I can only suggest that he had before him lists of the *κοινά*, correctly entered the members of the two halves of the *κοινόν* of inland Pontus, then on the coast found three cities in another *κοινόν* of Pontus. He could not resist putting Polemonium in Pontus Polemoniicus; the other two he dubbed Pontus of Cappadocia since they were in that province.

COINS OF THE FIVE CITIES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 497-9. TRAPEZUS FREE: Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 11. POLEMONIUM: Arrian, *Periplus*, 23. Polemonium is unknown to Strabo and is first certainly mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 11; it is assigned to Polemo I partly on the basis of *Anon. Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 30, *ἐνταῦθα* (at Phadisane) *λιμὴν καὶ πόλιν πλησίον Πολεμώνιον λεγόμενον*, a passage not found in Arrian and therefore probably derived from Menippus, and partly on grounds of probability, since the exchange of Sidene for Gazelonitis is most likely to have taken place during the tyranny of Strato, while the value of Sidene as a link between Pharnaceia and Diospolis will have been apparent at an early date. If this is accepted, it must be supposed that while Strabo followed the fortunes his native city Amaseia and its immediate surroundings down to about 2 B.C., he lost touch with events in Pontus at large before the foundation of Polemonium; on the date of Strabo's description of Pontus see Anderson, *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay*, pp. 1 seqq. TERRITORY OF AMISUS: *ib.*, 22.

46. NICOPOLIS: coins (with a discussion of their era), Reinach, *R.E.A.*, 1914, pp. 133 seqq.; colony, *B.C.H.*, 1909, p. 35, no. 13, *ἡ μητρό[πολις] καὶ δις [γ]εω[κόρος] Νικοπολιτῶν [Ἰ]τ[α]λ[ικῆ] κολωνί[α]* (Gordian); for the *κοινόν* of Armenia Minor see *I.G.R.*, III. 132. DISTRICTS OF ARMENIA MINOR: Ptol., v. vi. 18. SATALA, IN ORSENE: Proc., *Aed.*, III. 4. When XV Apollinaris settled at Satala, where it still was in the fourth century (*Not. Dig. Or.*, xxxviii. 13), is not exactly known; it was in the neighbourhood under Hadrian (Arrian, *Exp. cont. Alanos*, 5) and perhaps under Trajan (a coin of Nicopolis dated A.D. 114 counter-marked LXV is cited by Reinach, *loc. cit.*); Satala was an important place in A.D. 113 since Trajan held a *darbar* there (Cassius Dio, lxxviii. 18, 19); perhaps therefore it was already the camp of XV Apollinaris then. It seems at some date to have become a colony: *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 323, no. 41, 'Gen. Col.'. Apart from this the earliest proof of its being a city is Basil, *Ep.*, 102, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 508, *Σαταλεῦσι πολῖταις* (A.D. 372). It is mentioned in Theod., *Nov.*, v. 3 (A.D. 441), from which it may be inferred that its territory was very extensive, reaching to the Euphrates, the frontier against Armenia Magna. Colonia is first proved to be a city by Basil, *Ep.*, 228, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 856, *πολιτευομένους Κολωνείας* (A.D. 375). Procopius (*Aed.*, III. 4) attributes its foundation to Pompey, but this is probably merely a confusion with Nicopolis.

47. For Hierocles, the Novels, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XIV, 7; XX, 6; XXI-XXIV. IBORA: Greg. Nyss., *Ep.*, 19, Migne, *P.G.*, xlvi. 1076, *Ἰβωρα πόλις ἐστὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις τοῦ Πόντου κατωικισμένη*; on its site

- see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, pp. 326-9, Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, I, pp. 69 seqq., de Jerphanion, *Mél. Beyrouth*, 1911, pp. 333 seqq. EUCHAITA: on its site see Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 318-24, Anderson, op. cit., I, pp. 6-12, and III, p. 206, Grégoire, *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 1910, pp. 59 seqq. VERISA: on its site see Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 327-9, Anderson, op. cit., pp. 37-9. LEONTOPOLIS: Just., *Nov.* 28, *Λεοντόπολιν ἥδη κάκεινην ἀρθυμητέον ἐν πόλεσι*; its identity with Hierocles' *Σάλτου Ζαλίχην* is proved by the Notitiae; on its site see Ramsay, op. cit., p. 321.
48. DIOSCURIAS: Strabo, xi. ii. 16, p. 497-8, Pliny, *N.H.*, vi. 15-16 (he appears to distinguish Dioscurias from Sebastopolis), Arrian, *Periplus*, 14. TRIBES: Arrian, *Periplus*, 15 seqq., Just., *Nov.*, 28. CITIES OF PETRA AND SEBASTOPOLIS: Proc., *Aed.*, III. 7.

### *Ecclesiastical Organization*

In the former kingdoms of Pontus and Paphlagonia all the cities (including Verisa and Euchaita, omitted by Hierocles, and Leontopolis, equivalent to Hierocles' Saltus Zalichen) were bishoprics. In the region east of Trapezus Sebastopolis is recorded in the Notitiae as an archbishopric of Abasgia, and Petra, with Rhodopolis, one of Justinian's forts, and two tribes, as a see of the province of Lazica (metropolis Phasis). In the former kingdom of Bithynia all the cities were bishoprics (though Notitia VII omits Helenopolis and Caesarea), including Justinianopolis of Modrene, omitted by Hierocles, and Anastasiopolis, given by Hierocles as the 'region' of Lagania. The Notitiae also give Mnizus, recorded as a 'region' by Hierocles, and Linoe, Gordoserba, and Gallus or Cadosia or Lophi (Gallus is given as a separate see by Notitia VII), which I take to be 'regions' omitted by Hierocles. Notitia I adds Tottaium, given as a 'region' by Hierocles, and Numerica, Maximiana, and Daphnusia, which I take to be 'regions' also. Hierocles' 'region' of Doris is not recorded as a see.

### NOTES ON CHAPTER VII

1. The official history of the Ariarathids is given in Diod., xxxi. 19; it is exploded by Reinach, *Trois royaumes de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 5 seqq. Ariarathes' position is rather dubious. A *ὑπαρχος* of Cappadocia named Mithrobuzanes was killed at the Granicus (Arrian, *Anab.*, I. 16) and Alexander appointed a certain Sabictas to be satrap of Cappadocia (Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 4, cf. Q. Curtius, III. (iv) 9). Ariarathes may have ejected Sabictas, or alternatively Sabictas may never have occupied his satrapy, for, though Arrian makes Alexander conquer southern Cappadocia (*Anab.*, II. 4), according to the more reliable evidence of Hieronymus of Cardia (Appian, *Mith.*, 8), Alexander never set foot in the country. It is also possible that Mithrobuzanes was a sub-governor of Ariarathes—it is significant that Arrian calls him *ὑπαρχος* not *σατράπης*—or that, if Strabo (XII. i. 4, p. 534) is right in saying that there were two satrapies of Cappadocia under the Persians, Ariarathes was satrap of the northern part (he issued coins in Gaziura and Sinope, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 749) and Mithrobuzanes of the southern. PERDIC-CAS CONQUERS ARIARATHES: Diod., XVIII. 16, Appian, *Mith.*, 8, Plut., *Eum.*, 3. CAPPADOCIA ALLOTTED TO NICANOR: Diod., XVIII. 39, Appian, *Mith.*, 8. ANTI-GONUS EXPELS EUMENES: Diod., XVIII. 40 seqq., Plut., *Eum.*, 8 seqq. SELEUCUS HOLDS CAPPADOCIA: Appian, *Syr.*, 55, *Καππαδοκίας τῆς Σελευκίδος λεγομένης*; Appian states that Seleucus held Cappadocia before 281 B.C. but Ernst Meyer, *Die Grenzen der Hellenistischen Staaten*, pp. 28 and 39, gives reasons for thinking that Lysimachus held it till then. ARIARAMNES: Diod., xxxi. 19 (he states that his father Ariarathes II reconquered the kingdom during the war between Antigonos and Seleucus, but the existence of Cappadocia Seleucis makes this unlikely), Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 749; he really seems to have controlled Cappadocia for he founded a town or fortress named Ariaramneia south of Mazaca,

- C.R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1908, pp. 434 seqq. ARIARATHES III: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 750. ARIARATHEIA: Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Αριαράθεια, ἀπὸ 'Αριαράθου Καππαδοκίας βασιλεύσαντος γαμβροῦ Ἀντιόχου; this might refer equally well to Ariarathes IV, since both married daughters of Kings Antiochus (Diod., xxxi. 19), but the founder of the dynasty is more likely. The date of the establishment of the kingdom is inferred from Diodorus' statement (*apud* Syncell., i, p. 523, ed. Bonn) that the dynasty lasted 160 years; see Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 17. The accession of Cataonia (Strabo, xii. i. 2, p. 534) is connected with the marriage (Diod., xxxi. 19) by Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 18. ARIARATHES V, HELLENIST: Diod., *loc. cit.*, cf. *O.G.I.*, 352 (patron of Dionysiac artists), *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 666 (Carneades and Athenian citizen), Diog. Laert., iv. ix. 8 (Carneades). ANISA: Michel, 546, cf. *R.E.A.*, 1932, pp. 135-8.
2. CAPPADOCIAN LANGUAGE: Strabo, xii. i. 2, p. 534, Basil, *de Spir. Sanct.*, 29, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 208, *καὶ Καππαδοκαὶ δὲ οὕτω λέγονται ἑγχωρίως*. It may be noted that even high officials still used Aramaic beside Greek in the first century B.C. (*C.R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1908, pp. 434 seqq.). CAPPADOCIAN GREEK: Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.*, ii. 13 (258).
3. DEATH OF ARIARATHES V: Justin, xxxvii. 1; Cilicia here cannot mean either Pedias or Tracheia (which were still Seleucid) but probably the later Roman province of 'Cilicia', i.e. Pisidia, Milyas, and Pamphylia. For the history of the Ariarathid house henceforth, see Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-55. APPOINTMENT OF ARIOBARZANES: Justin, xxxviii. 2, Strabo, xii. ii. 11, p. 540; for him and his house, see Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-66. ARCHELAUS: appointment, Strabo, *loc. cit.*, Cassius Dio, XLIX. 32; deposition, Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42, Cassius Dio, LVII. 17.
4. 'Αρχιδιοικητής: Michel, 546. *STRATEGIAE*: Strabo, xii. i. 4, p. 534, &c.; *strategi* are mentioned in Strabo, xii. i. 2, p. 534, *C.R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1908, p. 438, and *O.G.I.*, 364. THE ELEVENTH *STRATEGIA*: Strabo, xii. i. 4, p. 534, *προσεγένετο δ' ὕστερον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας* (the republican province) *τοῖς πρὸ Ἀρχελαίου καὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ στρατηγία, ἢ περὶ Καστάβαλά τε καὶ Κύβιστρα μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιπάρου τοῦ ληστού Δέρβης*, cf. Appian, *Mith.*, 105, *ἔδωκε δὲ τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν Καστάβαλα καὶ ἄλλας* (Pompey to Ariobarzanes). Cybistra was in Cappadocia in 53 B.C.: Cic., *ad Fam.*, xv. 2, 'itaque cum exercitu per Cappadociae partem eam quae cum Cilicia continens est iter feci castraque ad Cybistra quod oppidum est ad montem Taurum locavi'; Castabala is clearly an otherwise unknown place near Cibystra, though Strabo (xii. ii. 7, p. 537) confuses it with Castabala of Cilicia Pedias, where Artemis Peirasia was worshipped. ARMENIA MINOR AND CILICIA TRACHEIA: Cassius Dio, LIV. 9, Strabo, xii. i. 4, p. 535, iii. 29, p. 555.
5. ORIGIN OF NAME CILICIA: Ernst Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 2, Lehmann-Haupt, 'Satrap', *P.W.*, 11a. 106-7; the argument is principally based on the fact that the tribute of the Cilician satrapy was paid partly in horses (Herod., iii. 90), for which the district of Mazaca was famous, but which are not known to have been bred in Cilicia; cf. also Herod., i. 72 (the Halys flows through Cilicia) and Nepos, *Datames*, 1, 'partem Ciliciae iuxta Cappadociam quam incolunt Leucosyri'. CATAONIANS: they were a tribal kingdom in the fourth century B.C., Nepos, *Datames*, 4. MORIMENI: Strabo, xii. v. 4, p. 568, *ἡ Τάττα, παρακειμένη τῇ μεγάλῃ Καππαδοκίᾳ τῇ κατὰ τοὺς Μορμηνοῦς*. Melitene is first mentioned in Ptolemy (v. vi. 21), Aquae Saravenae in the Peutinger Table (x. 1/2).
6. TYANA: Sayce, *J.H.S.*, 1923, p. 45, Xen., *Anab.*, i. ii. 20, Strabo, xii. ii. 7, p. 537. MAZACA: Strabo, xii. ii. 7-9, pp. 537-9.
7. STYLES OF EUSEBEIA: Strabo, xii. ii. 7, pp. 537-8, cf. coins of Mazaca, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 752. LAWS OF CHARONDAS: Strabo, xii. ii. 9, p. 539. TYANA: Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*, i. 4, πόλις Ἑλλάς ἐν τῷ Καππαδοκῶν ἔθνει, *S.E.G.*,

1. 466 (gymnasiarch), Rott, *Kleinas. Denkmäler*, p. 370, no. 78 (a decree of the δήμος of Tyana of the time of one of the kings Ariobarzanes).
8. CYBISTRA: Sayce, *J.H.S.*, 1923, p. 45. Strabo implies that it was a city in his day, XII. ii. 7, p. 537, ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Τυανίτιδι στρατηγία τῶν λεχθεισῶν δέκα ἐστὶ πόλισμα τὰ Τύανα (τὰς δ' ἐπικτήτους οὐ συναριθμῶ ταύταις, τὰ Καστάβαλα καὶ τὰ Κύβιστρα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Τραχεῖα Κιλικία . . .) ἐν δὲ τῇ Κιλικία καλουμένη τὰ Μάζακα. Cybistra issued coins from Trajan's time: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 753.
9. Strabo is very insistent on this point: XII. ii. 5, p. 537, πόλιν δ' οὔτε τὸ τῶν Κατασάνων ἔχει πεδίον οὐθ' ἢ Μελιτηνῆ, . . . οὐδὲ αἱ ἄλλαι στρατηγίαι πόλεις ἔχουσι πλὴν δυεῖν, XII. ii. 7, p. 537, δύο δὲ μόναι στρατηγίαι πόλεις ἔχουσιν, ἡ μὲν Τυανίτις τὰ Τύανα, &c., cf. note 8. COINAGE OF MAZACA AND TYANA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 752-3.
10. The question of the date of Strabo's work is discussed by Anderson, *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, pp. 1 seqq.
11. GARSaura: Sayce, *J.H.S.*, 1923, p. 44, Strabo, XII. ii. 5, p. 537, τὰ Γαρσαύρα κωμόπολις λέγεται δ' ὑπάρχει ποτὲ καὶ αὕτη μητρόπολις τῆς χώρας, cf. XII. vi. 1, p. 568, XIV. ii. 29, p. 663. Its identity with Archelais was proved by Leake (see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 284). COMANA: Sayce, *J.H.S.*, 1923, p. 46, Luckenbill, *Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I. 241-2, 244, &c., Strabo, XII. ii. 3, p. 535; for the position of the high-priest, cf. *O.G.I.*, 364, [ἱερέ]α τῆς Νικηφόρου θε[ᾶς καὶ] στρατηγὸν Καταονία[s]. DEDICATION TO ARCHELAUS: *O.G.I.*, 358, βασιλέα Ἀρχέλα[ον] Φιλόπατρι τὸν κτίστην καὶ σωτῆρα ὁ δήμος (at Comana). LATER INSCRIPTIONS: *I.G.R.*, III. 121, 125.
12. Ariarathēia (*vid. sup.*, note 1 for its foundation) is placed by Ptolemy, v. vi. 12, in Sargarausene. It is placed, according to *Itin. Ant.*, 181, 212, 213, at or near Azizie (see Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 310), which is on the Zamanti Su; the Zamanti Su is identical with the Carmalas (Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 288-9), which according to Strabo (XII. ii. 5, p. 537) flowed through Sargarausene. Ptolemy is therefore (by exception) right. INSCRIPTIONS OF Ἀριαραθεῖς: *I.G.*, Ed. Min., II and III. 980, *Class. Rev.*, 1899, p. 79.
13. Nyssa is placed by Ptolemy, v. vi. 23, in Morimene. Nyssa is placed by *Itin. Ant.*, 205-6, between the Halys and Lake Tatta (see Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 287). Morimene was near Lake Tatta (Strabo, XII. v. 4, p. 568, cited in note 5); so Ptolemy is right. NYSSA, PARNASSUS, AND THE VILLAGE OF DOARA: Basil, *Ep.*, 239 (*Migne, P.G.*, XXXII. 892).
14. PARNASSUS: Polyb., XXIV. 14; τὴν Μωκισσέων χώραν in the same passage is a conjectural emendation of the MSS., which read *καμησην* or *καμησιν*; the right reading is obviously *Καμισσην*. Parnassus is called a *mansio* in the Jerusalem Itinerary (576), but so also is Nazianzus (577, 'mansio Anathiango') which was certainly a city by then. Parnassus was a bishopric before Basil began the practice of founding village bishoprics (Basil, *Ep.*, 62, *Migne, P.G.*, XXXII. 417) and therefore probably a city in his day; see also note 13. TEMPLE OF CATAONIAN APOLLO: Strabo, XII. ii. 5, p. 537. ZEUS ASBAMAEUS: *Amm. Marc.*, XXIII. vi. 19, Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*, I. 6 (perhaps to be restored for Διὸς Δακίη οὐ in Strabo, XII. ii. 6, p. 537). ZEUS OF VENASA IN MORIMENE: Strabo, XII. ii. 5, p. 537.
15. PROCURATORIAL PROVINCE: Cassius Dio, LVII. 17, ἰσπεὶ ἐπετράπη, Tac., *Ann.*, XII. 49, *J.R.S.*, 1912, p. 99, no. 31, Suet., *Vesp.*, 8. PLACED UNDER LEGATE: Suet., *Vesp.*, 8, cf. Jos., *Bell.*, VII. i. 3, § 18. For the grouping of districts under Vespasian and Trajan, see Cumont, *Bull. Ac. Roy. Belg.*, 1905, p. 197.
16. The continuance of the strategic system might be argued from the fact that the *strategiae* are still recorded in Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 9, and Ptolemy, v. vi. 11-14, 17, 22-5. Such evidence is, however, of very little value. The names of

the *strategiae* were apparently still current in the fourth century; Basil mentions Chamanene (*Ep.*, 83, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 461). Gwatkin (*Cappadocia as a Roman procuratorial province, Univ. Missouri Stud.*, v, pp. 19-20) argues that, since Tiberius reduced the *centesima rerum venalium* owing to the accession of revenue from Cappadocia (*Tac., Ann.*, ii. 42), and since this tax went to the *aerarium militare*, and since the *aerarium militare* was fed also by the imperial *patrimonium*, therefore the royal lands in Cappadocia must have been incorporated in the *patrimonium*. I question the third premise; Augustus, it is true, set the *aerarium militare* up by a grant from his patrimony, but it was henceforth to be maintained by public taxes. It seems far more likely that the royal lands of Cappadocia like those of Egypt became public. COLONIA ARCHELAIS: Pliny, *N.H.*, vi. 8. COLONIA TYANA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 753, *Ἄντ. or Αὐρ. κολωνία Τυάνων*. DIOCAESAREA: Pliny, *N.H.*, vi. 8, Ptolemy, v. vi. 13 (in Garsauritis, which as Nazianzus is close to Garsaura is probably right): the identity of Diocaesarea with Nazianzus is proved by Greg. Naz., *Poem.*, Migne, *P.G.* xxxvii. 1273, *Γρηγορίου μνήσατο τὸν ἔτρεφε Καππαδόκεσσιν ἢ Διοκαιοσαρέων ὀλίγη πόλις*, cf. also *Ep.*, 141, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxvii. 240 (an appeal to the governor on behalf of Diocaesarea, which had incurred his anger), and *Or.*, 17, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxv. 963 seqq. (a speech to the *πολιτευόμενοι* of Nazianzus apparently on the same occasion). Gregory's statement *ἦν βασιλεῖς ἰδρύσατο* in *Ep.*, 141 is not very helpful in fixing the date of the foundation. MELITENE: Proc., *Aed.*, iii. 4. COLONIA ARCA: Dessau, 1403; Possessor was *curator* of a Dacian city when serving, or immediately after service, in Dacia, and was probably therefore *curator* of the Cappadocian Arca when serving or after serving at Melitene. FAUSTINOPOLIS: *Hist. Aug., Ant. Phil.*, 26, cf. *C.I.L.*, iii. 12213. PARNASSUS: *vid. sup.*, note 14; its attribution to Morimene follows from its position near Nyssa and Lake Tatta.

17. For Hierocles, *Just., Nov.*, 31, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Table XXVII. CUCUSUS: Theodoret, *H.E.*, ii. 5. ARCA: Basil, *Ep.*, 323, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 1069. The creation of Armenia II is somewhat obscure. Armenia Minor appears as a province in the Verona list. Eastern Cappadocia must have been attached to it for a time or it would not have been called Armenia II when it became a separate province. Whether Armenia Minor included the whole of the later Armenia II is doubtful, for in the Nicene signatures Comana appears under Cappadocia (Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxii, no. 98) and Theodoret's remark about Cucusus implies that it had been transferred from Cappadocia to Armenia II in recent times. Perhaps Armenia Minor included only the *strategia* of Melitene, and the other cities were transferred on the creation of the separate province of Armenia II. Armenia II first appears in 386 (*Cod. Theod.*, xiii. xi. 2) and then included Comana and Ariarathea.
18. The division of Cappadocia and the transplantation of *curiales* of Caesarea to Podandus are alluded to in Basil, *Ep.*, 74-7, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 444-53, the ecclesiastical struggle and Basil's creation of new bishoprics in Greg. Naz., *Or.*, 43, ch. 58-9, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxvi. 569-73. CAESAREA AND THE IMPERIAL LANDS: *Just., Nov.*, 30, proem, *γῆ τε αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ πολλή τε καὶ θαυμαστή, καὶ οὕτως ἀρέασα τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐπιστήσαι ταῖς ἐκεῖσε κτήσεων ἰδίαν τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἐλάττω, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ μεῖζω' πολυανθρωποτάτη τε γὰρ καθέστηκε καὶ πόλιν παρέχεται μεγίστην τὴν τοῦ φιλότατου Καίσαρος ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐνυμον, &c.*, *Cap.* 7, *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάξει, Cap.* 8, *φροντιεὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς πόλεως, &c.* For Hierocles, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XXV-XXVI. I discuss the value of Hierocles and his relation to the ecclesiastical lists in App. III.
19. COMES DOMORUM: *Cod. Theod.*, vi. xxx. 2. DOMUS DIVINA PER CAPPADOCIAM: *Not. Dig. Or.*, x. The *domus divina* in Cappadocia seems to have been transferred

from the *comes rei privatae* to the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in about 400. *Cod. Theod.*, VI. xxx. 2 (A.D. 379), IX. xxvii. 7 (A.D. 390), which concern the *comes domorum*, are both addressed to the *comes rei privatae*, and Basil (*Ep.*, 303, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 1052) wrote to the *comes rei privatae* about the famous Cappadocian horses. On the other hand, in *Cod. Theod.*, XI. xxxviii. 9 (A.D. 414), the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* deals with arrears 'de titulis ad domum sacram pertinentibus' (the *comes rei privatae* does not appear in that constitution, but this is probably an error, cf. Marcian, *Nov.*, 2), in *Not. Dig. Or.*, x, the *domus divina per Cappadociam* is under the disposition of the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, and in *Just.*, *Nov.*, 30, Cap. 6, 7, the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* is interested in the imperial lands of Cappadocia.

20. VENASA: in Morimene, Strabo, XII. ii. 5, p. 537; under a *chorepiscopus* of Basil, Basil, *Ep.*, 169, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 641 seqq. FIFTY *CHOREPISCOPI*: Greg. Naz., *Poem.*, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxvii. 1060, ὁ πενήκοντα χωρεπισκόποις στενούμενος; at the council of Nicaea no less than five Cappadocian *chorepiscopi* attended (Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxii, nos. 99-103). The district subject to a *chorepiscopus* seems to have been called a *συμμορία*, Basil, *Ep.*, 142, 290, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 592, 1029.
21. On Therma see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 265. It is styled in the *Tab. Peut.* (x. 1/2) 'Aguas (S)aravenas', in Hierocles and Acta Chalc. *Θερμά*, in the *Notitiae Basilicā Θερμά*. SASIMA: Greg. Naz., *Poem.*, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxvii. 1059 seqq.; Gregory says specifically τὴν καθέδραν καινίσσας. The bishop of Sasima signs under Cappadocia II in the *Ep. ad Leon.* Sasima appears in the *Itin. Ant.* (144) and the *Itin. Hier.* (577), in the latter as a *mansio*.
22. For the position of Doara, see Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-8. ORDINATION OF EULALIUS: Greg. Naz., *Or.*, 13, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxv. 852 seqq. (where it is implied that the see was new and created in Basil's interest). EXPULSION OF EULALIUS: Basil, *Ep.*, 239, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 891. At Const. II the bishop of Tyana alleged that Doara had been in the province of Tyana in the days of Gregory Nazianzen (Mansi, IX. 258); in 458 the bishop of Doara certainly signed under Cappadocia II in the *Ep. ad Leon.*
23. For the position of Mocissus, see Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 300. MADE A CITY AND METROPOLIS: Proc., *Aed.*, v. 4 (hitherto a *φρούριον*), Mansi, IX. 258, 'piissimus autem imperator cum metropolitana iura dedisset civitati quae quondam quidem Mucissos nunc vero Iustinianopolis nuncupatur, cum aliis civitatibus et Dohara et Nazianzum subiecit ei'. The *Notitiae* show that the other cities were Parnassus and Colonia. The date is fixed as before A.D. 536 by Mansi, VIII. 877-8 (Const. sub Menna), 'Ιουστινιανουπόλεως τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς δευτέρας Καππαδόκων ἐπαρχίας. The fact that there continued to be only two Cappadocias shows that no new civil province was created. The transference of Mocissus to Cappadocia II (the civil province) is to be inferred from its being ignored in *Just.*, *Nov.*, 30.
24. *Just.*, *Nov.*, 30 (quoted in note 18). The administration of justice is stated by Justinian to have been one of the old functions of the governor (*Just.*, *Nov.*, 30, Cap. 1, ἡγήσεται μὲν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀπάσης τάξεως).
25. *Just.*, *Nov.*, 30, Cap. 2, ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ βουλόμεθα κατ' οἰκίαν ἐκάστην κινδύνῳ τῆς ὅλης κομητιανῆς τάξεως καὶ τῶν δεκατριῶν τῶν πρωτευόντων οὐς δὴ μαγίστερας πρώτους καὶ δευτέρους καλοῦσιν ἑτέρους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοὺς ἐνθὺς ἀποκρνωμένους δεκατρεῖς ἕνα ὡς εἴρηται κατ' οἰκίαν ἐκάστην. Of the new sees Ciscisus and Camulianae alone appear in the earlier *Notitiae*, or in the conciliar lists (Camulianae in 553, Mansi, IX. 175, 192, 391, Ciscisus in 692, Mansi, XI. 999-4). I think it unlikely that the Tiberias which appears in Mansi, XI. 993-4 (A.D. 692) is identical with the Severias of the later *Notitiae* (as Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 302, suggests); it is more probably a city of Armenia Magna (like Camacha

which it follows) founded by Tiberius Maurice, who was very active in Armenia. RAMSAY'S IDENTIFICATIONS OF THESE SEES: *op. cit.*, pp. 302-6. Euaesa is mentioned in Basil, *Ep.*, 251, 278, Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii. 933 seqq., 1016. The former letter is addressed *τοῖς Ἐθασισηνοῖς* and from its contents Ramsay (*op. cit.*, p. 305) deduces that they lived in the northern half of the province. In the second letter Basil reproaches a certain Valerian for not having visited him when Basil was in Attagaena of Orphanene and Valerian in Corsagaena near by. Orphanene is not otherwise known but has a family resemblance to Orbisene, Orbalisene, &c., stated by Ptolemy (v. vi. 18) to have been in Armenia Minor; Corsagaena is perhaps the Carsagis of the Antonine Itinerary (208), also in Armenia Minor. It may be inferred that Valerian lived in Armenia Minor. When therefore Basil adds that perhaps Euaesa will afford another chance of a meeting, the inference is that it was near Armenia Minor.

26. The evidence for this paragraph is all contained in Just., *Nov.*, 30. From casual references in Basil's letters it would appear that in his day much the same system was in operation; several letters for instance are addressed to *magistri* (*Ep.*, 76, 177, 180, 192, 272, 274). *Ep.*, 85, a protest against the exaction of oaths from the peasants by the collectors, is interesting as showing the similarity of the Cappadocian administrative system with the Egyptian, where the royal oath played an important part.
27. CAMULIANAE: Mansi, ix. 175, 192, 'Iustinianopolitano Camulianorum', 391, 'Novae Iustinianae Camulianensium' (A.D. 553).

### *Ecclesiastical Organization*

All the cities, including Colonia Archelais and Justinianopolis-Camulianae, omitted by Hierocles, and Justinianopolis-Mocissus, given by Hierocles as a 'region', were bishoprics. The early Notitiae also record Doara, given as a 'region' by Hierocles, Therma, which I hold despite Hierocles to have been a 'region', and Ciscisus, also in my view a 'region'. Hierocles' 'region' of Podandus is not recorded as a see. The other sees which I take to have been 'regions' occur first in the later Notitiae.

### NOTES ON CHAPTER VIII

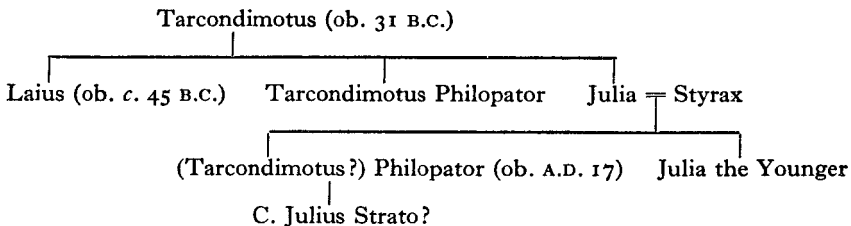
1. The Cilician migration of the heroic age is accepted as historical by Hammond, *C.A.H.* II. xxxvi, pp. 23-4. Archaeology also confirms tradition; Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, pp. 88-9; Goldman, *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*, II, pp. 215, 218, III, pp. 41-5, 93, 95; Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin*, pp. 242-3, 254. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, identifies Kizzuwatna in the Hittite records with the eastern part of the Cilician Plain; also Garstang and Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, pp. 50-62. HILAKKU IN THE ASSYRIAN RECORDS: Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II. 25, 55, 80 etc.; in 364 and 383 it is associated with Kue; in II. 286-7, Tarsus and Anchiale are implied to be in it. KEDI IN THE EGYPTIAN RECORDS: Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II. 420, 434, III. 306, 309, 321, IV. 64. KELEKESH: Breasted, *op. cit.*, III. 306, 309, 349. CILICIANS IN THE TROAD: *Iliad*, VI. 397, 415. FOUNDATION LEGENDS OF TARSUS: Strabo, XIV. v. 12, p. 673 (Triptolemus), Lucan, *Phars.*, III. 225 (Perseus), Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxiii. i. 47 (Heracles or Perseus), Amm. Marc., XIV. viii. 3 (Perseus or Sandan); Tarsus was not founded, but was certainly settled by Greeks in the heroic age and after; but eastern Cilicia before the Trojan War may have been Luwian speaking (Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 129-130). FOUNDATION LEGEND OF OLBA: Strabo, XIV. v. 10, p. 672; inscriptions, Heberdey and Wilhelm, 'Reisen in Kilikien', *Denkschr. Ak.*

- Wien*, XLIV, nos. 121 and 166. MOPSUESTIA: Theopompus, fr. 111, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 296. MALLUS: Arrian, *Anab.*, II, 5, cf. Strabo. XIV. v. 16, p. 675. WANDERINGS OF AMPHILOCHUS: Herod., III, 91; of Mopsus, Callinus *apud* Strab., XIV, iv. 3, p. 668; this tradition has been much strengthened by the Aramaic-Hittite Hieroglyphic inscription at Karatepe; Hammond, *C.A.H.* II, xxxvi, pp. 23-4; Barnett, 'Mopsus', *J.H.S.* LXXIII (1953), pp. 140-3. DEATH OF AMPHILOCHUS AT SOLI: Hesiod *apud* Strab., XIV, v. 17, p. 676.
2. KEDI RAIDED BY THE SEA PEOPLES: Breasted, *op. cit.*, IV, 64.
3. See King, *J.H.S.*, 1910, p. 327 seqq. The cylinder of Sennacherib is translated in Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, 286-9. The passages in Eusebius are Eus., *Chron.*, ed. Karst, pp. 14 (version of Alexander Polyhistor), 17-18 (version of Abydenus). The inscription of Sardanapallus is mentioned in Arrian, *Anab.*, II, 5, Strabo, XIV, v. 9, p. 672, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀρχιδάλη. NAGIDUS AND CELENERIS, SAMIAN COLONIES: Mela, I, 77. SOLI: Strabo, XIV, v. 8, p. 671 (Achaeans and Rhodians), Mela, I, 13 (71), Livy, XXXVII, 56 (Argives and Rhodians). Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 135, attributes the Rhodian colony to the heroic age, but the fact that the dialect of Soli was Doric (cf. *O.G.I.*, 230) proves that it belonged to the later movement of colonization.
4. HOLMI, SELINUS, ZEPHYRIUM: Scylax, 102. Coins of Cilician cities, *vid. inf.*, note 6. For the Cypriot syllabary see Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, pp. 60-6.
5. The *strategia* of Cilicia in Cappadocia is no proof that the Cilician invaders penetrated the interior; for the explanation of the name see Chap. VII, note 5. KUE: ravaged by Mita, Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, 16, 18, 42; capital at Illubru, *ib.*, II, 286 seqq. Ferrer, *Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches*, p. 81, identifies Illubru with Namrun (Byzantine Lampron) not far from the Cilician Gates. CLITAE: Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 41, XII, 55. CETIS: Basil of Seleucia, *Vita S. Theclae*, Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXV, 556, Ptol., v. vii. 3, 6, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 726-7, 734; Coropissus also calls itself metropolis of the Cetae (*ib.*, p. 720, *O.G.I.*, 574).
6. SYENNESIS: Herod., I, 74, v. 118, VII, 98, Xen., *Anab.*, I, ii. 12, 21, 26, IV, 4, VII, viii. 25; cf. *Cyrop.*, VIII, vi. 8; Pharnabazus was satrap of Cilicia early in the fourth century (cf. his coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 730). COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 725-6 (Nagidus), 718-19 (Celenderis), 721 (Holmi), 717-18 (Aphrodisias), 729 seqq. (Tarsus), 728-9 (Soli), 723-4 (Mallus), 722 (Issus). CELENERIS IN DELIAN LEAGUE: *I.G.*, Ed. Min., I, 64. ALEXANDER IN CILICIA: Arrian, *Anab.*, II, 5. CIBYRA, ETC.: Scylax, 101-2. MYRIANDUS: Xen., *Anab.*, I, iv. 6, cf. Herod., IV, 38. ANCHIALE AND MAGARSUS: Arrian, *Anab.*, II, 5. MALLUS: Scylax, 102, Strabo, XIV, v. 16, p. 675. The site has been much disputed. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 385, placed it at Karatash Burnu, which Magie, *Roman Rule in A.M.*, p. 1149, identifies with Magarsus; Bossert, *Belleten*, XIV, pp. 664-6 and *J.K.F.*, I, pp. 292-3, claimed for Mallus a site at the junction of the old and new courses of the Pyramus, near the modern village of Kiziltahta. RHOSUS: Ath., XIII, 586c, 595d (quoting Theopompus). MOPSUESTIA: Theopompus, fr. 111, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 296. CASTABALA: Q. Curtius, III, (vii) 17.
7. Aegae has never, so far as I know, been claimed as a Macedonian colony, but the evidence of its coins (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 716) and its name seems to me good enough. On Seleucus' foundations named after Greek and Macedonian towns see Chap. IX, notes 4, 7. SELEUCUS' CITIES IN HONOUR OF ALEXANDER: Appian, *Syr.*, 57, ἡ ἐς τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως. Issus and Myriandus are mentioned in the geographers (Strabo, XIV, v. 19, p. 676, Ptol., v. vii. 4, xiv. 2), but the absence of coinage (particularly in the case of Issus, which coined copiously under the Persians) indicates that they were not cities, at any rate by the second century B.C., when nearly all the Cilician cities coined.



8. SELEUCIA ON THE CALYCADNUS: Strabo, XIV. v. 4, p. 670, Amm. Marc., XIV. viii. 2, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Σελεύκεια*, ὠνόμασε δὲ Σελεύκειαν αὐτὴν Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ, πρότερον δὲ Ὀλβία ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Ὑρία. Aphrodisias is mentioned by the geographers (Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 92, 'Veneris oppidum', Ptol., v. vii. 3); it last figures in history in Antiochus III's campaign of 197 B.C. (Livy, xxxiii. 20, Jerome, *Comm. in Daniel*, xi. 15, Migne, *P.L.*, xxv. 563), but this is no proof that it was an independent city; Andriace mentioned by Jerome was merely the port of Myra, and Aphrodisias may have stood in a similar relation to Seleucia. SELEUCUS AT OLBA: Heberdey and Wilhelm, op. cit., no. 166, Ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας Τεῦκρος Ζηνοφάνους [τοῦ] Τεῦκρου Διὸς Ὀλβίου τὰς [σ]τέγας ἐκαίνωσεν [τ]ὰς πρότερον γεγενημένας ὑπὸ βασιλέω[ς] Σελεύκου Νικάτορος.
9. For the importance of Cilician timber to the Egyptian fleet, cf. Strabo, XIV. v. 3, p. 669. For Cilician mercenaries in the Egyptian army of Cyprus see Chap. XIII, note 9.
10. Theocritus, *Id.*, xvii. 88. ADULIS INSCRIPTION: *O.G.I.*, 54. For Antiochus III's conquests, *vid. sup.*, note 8. CAPTURE OF SOLI: *Chr.*, I. I. For the dynastic title of Tarsus, *vid. inf.*, note 13.
11. ARSINOE (BY CORACESIUM): Strabo, XIV. v. 3, p. 669, Breccia, *Inscr. Gr. Lat. (Cat. Mus. Alex.)*, no. 191, Ἀρσινόης [τῆς] ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας. PTOLEMAIS: Strabo, XIV. iv. 2, p. 667. ARSINOE (BY NAGIDUS): *id.*, XIV. v. 3, p. 670, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 92, *Tab. Peut.*, x. 2. An Arsinoe which may be either of the above is mentioned in *P. Zen. Cairo*, 59052. An otherwise unknown Berenice of Cilicia is recorded by Steph. Byz., s.v. *Βερενίκαι*.
12. COINAGE OF SOLI: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 728-9. RHODIAN CLAIM FOR SOLI: Polyb., XXI. 24, Livy, xxxvii. 56.
13. MUNICIPAL COINAGE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 716 (Alexandria and Aegae), 732 (Antioch on the Cydnus), 715 (Antioch on the Sarus), 724-5 (Seleucia on the Pyramus), 721 (Hieropolis on the Pyramus). DATE OF RENAMING OF TARSUS: *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. ii. 208 (257 or 251 B.C.), *G.D.I.*, 2734 (late third century); Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Ταρσός*, ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς) is therefore wrong. MALLUS-ANTIOCH ON THE PYRAMUS: Heberdey and Wilhelm, op. cit., nos. 14-17, 19-20, cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 585 (172-1 B.C.). The *Stadiasmus Magni Maris*, 163, mentions both Mallus and Antioch on the Pyramus, but as the *Stadiasmus* is a conflation of many documents this does not disprove their identity. Robert (*C.R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1951, pp. 257-8) suggests that Magarsus was made the city of Antioch, absorbing Mallus, and later once more became the port of Mallus. EPIPHANEIA-OENIANDUS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 93.
14. AUTONOMOUS COINAGE OF CILICIAN CITIES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 715-35, 782.
15. DYNASTS OF OLBA: Heberdey and Wilhelm, op. cit., no. 166 (*vid. sup.*, note 8, probably late second century), *M.A.M.A.*, III. 63, Ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας Ζηνοφάνης Ζηνοφάνου τοῦ [Ζηνοφάνου] (83-63 B.C.), cf. also nos. 64, 65, 67, and 68, Ὀλβίων ὁ δῆμος καὶ Καννάται Ζηνοφάνην Τεῦκρου τοῦ Ζηνοφάνου ἀρχιερέα μέγαν Διὸς Ὀλβίου. ENOPHANES THE CILICIAN AND ALEXANDER BALAS: Diod., xxxi. 32a. RISE OF PIRACY: Strabo, XIV. v. 2, pp. 668-9. DEPOPULATION OF THE CILICIAN CITIES: Appian, *Mith.*, 96.
16. PROVINCE OF CILICIA: Livy, *Epit.*, 68, Cic., *Verr.*, I. 95, cf. *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. iv. 37 (which mentions Cilicia as well as Pamphylia, Lycia, and Lycaonia; but this part of the law is so fragmentary that no conclusions can be drawn from the occurrence of the names). TIGRANES IN CILICIA: Appian, *Syr.*, 48, Plut., *Pomp.*, 28. CILICIANS IN TIGRANOCERTA: Plut., *Luc.*, 21, 26, Cassius Dio, xxxvi. 37. Strabo, XI. xiv. 15, p. 532, describes as Greek the twelve cities whose inhabitants Tigranes transported to his new capital.

17. SETTLEMENT OF PIRATES AT ADANA, EPIPHANEIA, AND MALLUS: Appian, *Mith.*, 96. ERA OF ZEPHYRIUM, MOPSUHESTIA, AND ALEXANDRIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 734, 724, 716. SOLI-POMPEIOPOLIS: Plut., *Pomp.*, 28, Cassius Dio, XXXVI. 37, Appian, *Mith.*, 115; coinage and era, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 729, Boyce, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, 153, pp. 12-21, *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, III, pp. 87-103; free, *I.G.R.*, III. 869. TARSUS THE CAPITAL: Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 16, 'Appius . . . se coniecit Tarsum usque. ibi forum agit'; Caesarean, Cassius Dio, XLVII. 26. ERAS OF AEGAE AND RHOSUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 716, *Syria*, XXVII (1950), p. 32.
18. TARCONDIMOTUS: Cic., *ad Fam.*, xv. 1, 'a Tarcondimoto qui fidelissimus socius trans Taurum ammicissimusque p. R. existimatur', *I.G.R.*, III. 901, *Ταρκονδύμωτον Στρατά[νος] υἱὸν τοπάρχηην*, Cassius Dio, XLI. 63, *ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς Κιλικίας δυναστεύοντος* (48 B.C.); made king, Strabo, XIV. v. 18, p. 676, *βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνομάσθη*, Plut., *Ant.*, 61, *Ταρκόνδημος ὁ τῆς ἀνω Κιλικίας* (among *βασιλεῖς* in 30 B.C.), Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 735, *βασιλεὺς Ταρκονδύμωτου Φιλαντανίου*.
19. TARCONDIMOTUS AND CASTABALA: *I.G.R.*, III. 901; Appian's statement that Pompey gave Castabala to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia (*Mith.*, 105) probably refers to another Castabala in Lycaonia (see Chap. VII, note 4). TARCONDIMOTUS AND CORYCUS AND ELAEUSSA: Cassius Dio, LIV. 9, *Ταρκονδύμωτῳ τῷ Ταρκονδύμωτον τῆς Κιλικίας* (sc. *δυναστεῖαν*) *ἦν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε πλὴν παραθαλασσιδίων τινῶν ἔδωκεν' ἐκέεινα γὰρ τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ . . . ἐχαρίσατο*; for Archelaus in Elaeussa, *vid. inf.*, note 25. TARCONDIMOTUS' FLEET: Cassius Dio, XLI. 63.
20. *I.G.R.*, III. 901.
21. The evidence on the dynasty is as follows: (a) Cassius Dio, LI. 2, (Octavian deposes) *Φιλοπάτορα . . . τὸν Ταρκονδύμωτον* (in 30 B.C.), (b) Cassius Dio, LIV. 9, (Augustus restores his father's kingdom) *Ταρκονδύμωτῳ τῷ Ταρκονδύμωτον* (in 20 B.C.), (c) Tac., *Ann.*, II. 42, 'Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum regibus defunctis' (in A.D. 17), (d) Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 735, *βασιλεὺς Φιλοπάτορος*, (e) *I.G.R.*, III. 901, no. 65, *Δάιον Ταρκονδύμωτον [Φιλοπάτωρ καὶ ?] Ἰουλί[α] οἱ Ταρκονδύμωτον [οἱ] ἀδελφοὶ κατὰ διαθήκην*; this is presumably to be dated before Tarcondimotus I's acquisition of the royal title, (f) *I.G.R.*, III. 901, no. 64, *Στύρακα τὸν πατέρα τῶν βασιλέων*, (g) *J.R.S.*, 1912, p. 108, '[C. Iul?]io regis Tarcondimoti Philopatoris f. Stratoni' (duumvir of Col. Ant. Pis.), (h) *Jahresh.*, 1915, Beiblatt, pp. 57-8, [*βα*]σι[λί]δος Ἰουλίας Νεωτέρας, (i) *I.G.R.*, III. 895, *βασιλεὺς Φιλοπάτορος* (A.D. 14-23). It is generally agreed that Styrax (f) must have married Julia (e) to be father of the kings, who are probably Philopator (c, d, i) and Julia the younger (h), brother and sister. Since (e) implies that Tarcondimotus had only one son besides Laius who predeceased him, and since (g) proves that a king of the dynasty was called Tarcondimotus Philopator, I am inclined to think that (a) and (b) really refer to the same person. The family tree would then be:



C. Julius Strato might of course be the son of the other Tarcondimotus Philopator. Other family trees are given by Stein, 'Tarcondimotus', *P.W.*, Iva. 2297-8.

- CAESAREA-ANAZARBUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 716-17, *Num. Chron.*, xx (1940), p. 240, obv. head of Augustus, rev. *Καισαρέων τῶν πρὸς Ἀναζαρ.*; Gough, 'Anazarbus', *Anat. Stud.*, II, p. 137, no. 16, *Καισαρείας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἀναζάρβω*, cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 93. 'Anazarbeni qui nunc Caesarea'; the inscriptions (h) and (i) above were found at Anazarbus.
22. AUGUSTA: the site was at Gübe, north of Adana, on the Sarus; Gough, 'Augusta Ciliciae', *Anat. Stud.*, vi, pp. 168-70, 176-7, Akek, 'Augusta Sehri Harabesi', *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, vii, pp. 15-20; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 718. FLAVIOPOLIS: almost certainly Kadirli (Kars Pazar) at the north-eastern corner of the Cilician plain; Gough, 'Anazarbus', *Anat. Stud.*, II, p. 94; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 720. IRENOPOLIS-NERONIAS: Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxi, no. 85, Theodoret, *H.E.*, I. 7, *Κιλικίας δὲ τῆς δευτέρας ἡ Νερωνιάς ἐστὶ πόλις ἣν νῦν Εἰρηνοπόλιω ὀνομάζομεν*. Pace Magie, op. cit., p. 1409, the question of the two Irenopolises would seem to be settled satisfactorily by Seyrig, 'Irenopolis-Neronias-Selephorus', *Num. Chron.*, XL (1950), p. 288, note 9 and Postscript; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 721.
23. BRYCLICE, LACANATIS, CHARACENE: Ptol., v. vii. 6. If the sites of Augusta and Flaviopolis have been correctly identified, *vid. sup.*, note 22, the geographical entities of Bryclice and Characene take shape. Ptolemy's statement that Augusta is to the north of Lamotis (!) can then be explained as a mistake for Mallotis. COINS OF GERMANICOPOLIS AND PHILADELPHIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 721, 727.
24. THE LACANATAE AND ANTIOCHUS IV: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 722.
25. ELAEUSSA REFOUNDED BY ARCHELAUS: Strabo, XIV. v. 6, p. 671, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 734. ANTIOCHUS IV AT CORYCUS AND SEBASTE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 720, 734-5.
26. For Hierocles, Georgius Cyprius, the Notitia of Anastasius, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XXVIII, XXIX. Anazarbus was renamed Justinianopolis (Mansi, IX. 391). BOUNDARY DISPUTE OF TARSUS AND MALLUS: Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXIV. 44-5. BOUNDARY OF MOPSUHESTIA AND AEGAE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 716 and 725 (a bridge, legend *δωρεὰ Πύραμος*).
27. TARSUS, AEGAE, AND MOPSUHESTIA FREE: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 91-2, cf. Appian, *B.C.*, v. 7 (Antony and Tarsus). Augustus conferred great benefits on Tarsus, including territory, laws, honour, and rights over the river and the adjacent sea: Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXIV. 8. FREEDOM OF SEBASTE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 735. Pompeiopolis is not recorded by Pliny as free.
28. The fertility of the Cilician plain greatly impressed Xenophon (*Anab.*, I. ii. 22). Coins of Adana, Aegeae, Anazarbus, Augusta, Epiphaneia, Irenopolis, Mallus, and Tarsus all used Dionysus and/or Demeter as types (*B.M.C.*, *Lycaonia, etc.*, Index IIA, p. 251). LINEN: *C.I.L.*, III, Suppl., pp. 1945-9; cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXIV. 21 (*λινουργοί*), *I.G.R.*, III. 896, *συντεχνία λινουργῶ[ν]* (Anazarbus), Heberdey and Wilhelm, op. cit., no. 151, *τῷ συστήματι τῶν λημενητῶν (sic) λινοπῶλῶν τῆς Κωρυκαιωτῶν*.
29. DISPUTES: Dio Chrys., *Or.*, XXXIV. 10, 11, 14, 27, 44, 47. TITLES AND GAMES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 715-35. Anazarbus was also, like Aegeae, 'temple-keeper' from at least A.D. 198/199, and it is probable that in the same year Sept. Severus and his sons officiated jointly as *ἀντάρχαί* at a festival, presumably the Anazarbene 'Olympia'; Woodward, *Num. Chron.*, III (1963), pp. 5-10, cf. Robert, *Hellenica*, VII, p. 97. For references to the necorate at Anazarbus and to the additional title *Ῥωμαικοῖς τροπαιοῖς κεκοσμημένης*, Gough, *Anat. Stud.*, II, p. 130, no. 2; p. 137, no. 16; p. 143, no. 25.
30. ABA: Strabo, XIV. v. 10, p. 672. GRANT OF TRACHEIA TO CLEOPATRA: *id.*, XIV. v. 6, p. 671. Seleucia does not claim on its coins to be a free city till the third century A.D. (*B.M.C.*, *Lycaonia, &c.*, p. lxvi), but its autonomous coinage seems to extend

into the principate; Athenaeus and Xenarchus, Strabo's contemporaries (xiv. v. 4, p. 670), appear as magistrates on these coins. CLEOPATRA'S INTEREST IN TIMBER: Strabo, xiv. v. 3, p. 669. TITIOPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 734. DOMITIOPOLIS: Ptol., v. vii. 5. I owe the suggestion that these two cities were named after Antony's supporters to Ronald Syme. The names had long puzzled me, and no explanation has hitherto been offered for them except Ramsay's suggestion (*Rev. Num.*, 1894, p. 169, note 2) that Domitiopolis was named after Nero before his adoption by Claudius. This seemed to me highly improbable, for Antiochus IV (then king of Cilicia) would hardly have thus honoured the emperor's stepson before he was brought into prominence by his adoption, and even if he had been so well informed about the intrigues of the court he would have changed the name to Neronias or something of the sort when Nero was adopted, for it was well known that Nero did not like to be reminded that he was Domitius. The names clearly cannot belong to the principate, for by that time cities were always named after members of the imperial house (Agrippias is no exception for Agrippa was *consors imperii*). One must therefore go back to the triumviral period. At this date M. Titius and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus were prominent Antonian partisans, hostile to Cleopatra, whom she might well wish to mollify (for their careers see *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*, T 196, 'Domitius' (23), *P.W.*, v. 1328). They both deserted to Octavian before Actium and there was therefore no reason why the cities should drop their names. AJAX, SON OF TEUCER: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 726-7. GRANT TO AMYNTAS: Strabo, xiv. v. 6, p. 671. The transference of the western part of Cilicia to Galatia (later Pamphylia) is inferred from Ptol., v. v. 3 and 8, *Κιλικίας Τραχειάς παράλιοι* and *μεσόγειοι* under *Παμφυλίας θέσις*. Cilicia under Cleopatra extended as far west as Hamaxia (Strabo, xiv. v. 3, p. 669); Syedra began to issue imperial coins under Tiberius (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 729). The transference must then have taken place in Augustus' reign or early in Tiberius', and the death of Amyntas is the most likely date. GRANT TO ARCHELAUS: Strabo, xiv. v. 6, p. 671. Archelaus II is known only from Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 41. GRANT TO ANTIOCHUS IV: Cassius Dio, lxi. 8, lx. 8, Jos., *Ant.*, xix. v. 1, § 276. ANNEXATION OF TRACHEIA: Suet., *Vesp.*, 8. GRANT OF CETIS TO ALEXANDER: Jos., *Ant.*, xviii. v. 4, § 140, with the emendation of *ἡσιόδος* to *Κητίδος* suggested by Wilhelm, *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.*, 1894, p. 5, Magie (op. cit., p. 1439), shows that an alternative emendation to *νησιόδος*, according to which the island city of Elaeussa has been conjectured, may be ruled out. The coins of Irenopolis belong to the city of Lacanatis (H. Seyrig, *Num. Chron.*, 1950, p. 288), and Irenopolis of Cetus is known only from Byzantine sources (see Table xxx, 19).

31. GRANT OF OLBA TO POLEMO II: Cassius Dio, lxi. 8, *χώραν τινὰ . . . τῆς Κιλικίας*, cf. the coins. KING M. ANTONIUS POLEMO AND M. ANTONIUS POLEMO THE DYNAST: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 726-7. The date of Polemo II's death is unknown (Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 47 does not in my view prove he was dead in A.D. 69); King M. Antonius Polemo may therefore be identical with Polemo II. The change of style suggests that he was not, but Polemo II may have adopted his full Roman name when he ceased to be King of Pontus. Magie (op. cit., p. 1407), believes that Polemo, King of Pontus and Marcus Antonius Polemo of Olba were two distinct persons (Jos., *Ant.*, xix. viii. 1. 338; xx. vii. 3, 145), and identifies the latter Polemo with the man described on the coins as *ἀρχιερέως* and *δυνάστης Ὀλβέων τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ Κεννατ(ῶν) καὶ Λαλασσέων* and *βασιλεὺς*, concluding that 'the royal title was presumably conferred on him either by Claudius or by Nero.'

32. TITLES OF DYNASTS OF OLBA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 726-7. DIOCAESAREA OF THE CENNATAE: ib., p. 720; the site of the city is fixed by *M.A.M.A.*, iii. 73. NINICA OF LALASSIS: Ptol., v. vii. 6. NINICA-CLAUDIOPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 726. CLAUDIOPOLIS: ib., p. 719. As the colony of Ninica-Claudiopolis began to coin under Trajan and the Greek city of Claudiolpolis coined under Hadrian

- they must be separate places. Ramsay (*Rev. Num.*, 1894, p. 169) has plausibly identified the Colonia *Iulia Augusta Felix Ninica* Claudiopolis with the *Ἰουλιου-σεβαστή* of Hierocles (= *Ἡλιουσεβαστή* of Georgius), which by the order of these lists lay on the west coast (or rather near it) and is clearly the modern Sevasti. The Greek city of Claudiopolis was certainly at Mut (Headlam, 'Ecclesiastical sites in Isauria', *J.H.S.*, *Suppl. Pap.*, 1893, p. 23), and connected with Laranda (Karaman) by two roads; one *via* the Sertavul pass, the other *via* Dag Pazar, which, if it may be identified with Coropissus, confirms Ramsay's conjecture (*Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 495) of just such a road. The theory of Ptolemy's confusion between the two Claudiopolises is suggested by Ramsay (*Rev. Num.*, 1894, p. 172).
33. INSCRIPTION OF OLBA AND THE CENNATAE: *M.A.M.A.*, III. 68 (cited above in note 15).
34. COINS OF LALASSEIS AND CENNATAE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 726-7. COINS OF CLAUDIOPOLIS, DIOCAESAREA, AND OLBA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 719, 720, 726-7.
35. SELINITIS: Ptol. v., vii. 2 and 5., LAMOTIS: id., v. vii. 6. It is curious that Strabo is silent on the city of Lamos, mentioning only (XIV. v. 6, p. 671) *ὁ Λάμος ποταμός καὶ κώμη ὁμώνυμος* (the modern Lamas river and village of the same name) as the boundary of Cilicia Tracheia. That the city of Lamos may be identified with the ancient site above Adanda, ESE of Gazipasa, is convincingly shown by Robert, *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale*, p. 72 and notes 3 and 4. CETIS: Ptol., v. vii. 3 and 6. CELENDERITIS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 92, 'regio Celenderitis cum oppido', *Tab. Peut.*, x. 3/4, 'Clenderitis'. SELINUS, CELENDERIS, CLADRADUS: Scylax, 102. CHARADRUS, PORT OF LAMUS: *I.G.R.*, III. 838, *οἱ κατοικοῦντες Χάραδρον ἐ[πί]κειον Λαμωτῶν*; cf. also Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. v. p. 49, 'episcopus Lami et Calendri'. REBELLIONS OF CETAE: Tac., *Ann.*, VI. 41, XII. 55.
36. ANTIOCH: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 717, *Ἀντιοχέων τῆς παραλίου*, Ptol., v. vii. 2, *Ἀντιόχεια ἐπὶ Κράγῳ*; he places it wrongly in Selinitis, cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἀντιόχεια* (14), *ἢ Λαμωτὶς λεγομένη*, Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, p. 39 [235], *Ἀντιοχίας τῆς Λαμωτίδος*. IOTAPE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 721, Ptol., v. vii. 2. NINICA-CLAUDIOPOLIS: *vid. sup.*, note 32. Its connexion with Nephelis is to be inferred from the fact that Nephelis occurs in the Notitia and in several conciliar lists in place of Juliosebaste (Sebaste); Nephelis is placed by Ptolemy (v, vii. 2) in Selinitis. GERMANICOPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 721. Though the mysterious inscription reputed to have been found at Ermenek, and recorded only in translation by V. Quinet (*La Turquie d'Asie* II. p. 77), still eludes rediscovery, the identification should not be dismissed solely because it rests on a similarity of the ancient and modern names. An unpublished inscription, found and copied 'one and a half hours from Mut' by a Turkish official, mentions both *Κοροπισσεῖς* and *Γερμανικοπολίται*. The copy is with M. Gough. PHILADELPHIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 727, Ptol., v. vii. 5 (in Selinitis, wrongly, cf. the coins, *Κιητίδος*).
37. REGAL COINAGE OF SELINUS, ANEMURIUM AND THE CETAE, CELENDERIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 728, 717, 719. Seeing that Celenderis and Selinus were capitals of provinces it seems likely that Anemurium was the capital of Lamotis under Antiochus IV, though Lamos later claimed the title (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 722-3, *μητροπόλεως τῆς Λαμωτίδος*); the regal coinage would then be of the capitals of the civilized provinces and of the tribes of the uncivilized (cf., besides *Κητῶν*, *Λακανατῶν* and *Λυκαίωνων*). CESTRUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 719, Ptol., v. vii. 5 (in Selinitis). The site, on a hill above the village of Macar, SE of Gazipasa, is described by Bean and Mitford, 'Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia', *Anat. Stud.*, XII, pp. 211-12. It was first identified by Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge* IV, pp. 62-4. COROPISSUS: there is as yet no proof of Ramsay's identifica-

- tion (*Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 366) with Kestel (alias Dağ Pazari). Gough (*Ill. Lond. News*, 18 Oct. 1958, p. 644) shows that this place was a city and bishopric, and its extensive ruins, including those of a hippodrome, could well be those of the metropolis of Cetus; coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 720, τῆς Κιητῶν μητροπόλεως. For Claudiopolis, *vid. sup.*, note 32; the attribution of the colony to Domitian is due to Ramsay (*Rev. Num.*, 1894, p. 170): Ammianus' statement (xiv. viii. 2) that Claudius founded the colony is merely a deduction from its name; Claudius could not have founded a Roman colony in Antiochus IV's kingdom, he would not have called it Julia Augusta, and the coins begin under Trajan. Ulpian (*Dig.*, l. xv. 1, § 11) states that 'Selinus (quae) et Traianopolis' was a colony; it is true that Selinus is styled Νερ. Τραι. on its coins (Trajan died there, Cassius Dio, LXVIII. 33), but there are no colonial coins.
38. That the Isaurian brigands were the inhabitants of the Byzantine province of Isauria (= Cilicia Tracheia) and not the people of Isaura (in Lycaonia) is clear from the regions which they devastated (especially Syria and Cyprus) and from the inscription of Lauricius, which is in northern Cetus. TREBELLIANUS: *Hist. Aug.*, XXX Tyr., 26. CAPTURE OF CREMNA: Zosimus, I. 69. PROBUS' CAMPAIGN: *Hist. Aug.*, Probus, 16. ISAURIAN RAIDS IN 353: Amm. Marc., xiv. ii. LAURICIUS: Amm. Marc., xix. xiii, C.I.L., III. 6733. RAIDS IN 368: Amm. Marc., xxvii. ix. 6-7. RAIDS OVER SYRIA, ETC. (UNDER ARCADIOUS): Zosimus, v. 25, Soz., H.E., VIII. 25, Philostorgius, xi. 8. ANASTASIUS' CONQUEST OF THE ISAURIANS: Malalas, pp. 393-4, ed. Bonn, Theophanes, I, pp. 212 seqq., ed. Bonn, Evagrius, H.E., III. 35.
39. CARALLIA, ETC.: Ptol., v. v. 8, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 718-19, 723. Robert, (*Doc. de l'As. min. mer.*, p. 68 and note 5, p. 69 and notes 1 and 4) summarizes and comments on attempts at identifying these cities. CORACESIUM, LAERTE, AND SYEDRA: Ptol., v. v. 3, 8, cf. Strabo, xiv. v. 3, p. 669, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 720, 722, 729. The inland position of Laerte is confirmed if the site on the Cebelires Dagi, E. of Alanya, has been correctly identified (Bean and Mitford, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 and 196). CIBYRA MINOR: Strabo, xiv. iv. 2, p. 667 (a passage full of Ptolemaic names), Ptol., v. v. 8 (inland), Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 719 (second century B.C.).
40. For Hierocles, Georgius Cyprius, the Notitiae, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XVIII, 40-2, 46-50; XXX, 1-16, 18-27. SENNEA AND CASAE: Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. I, vol. i, pars ii, p. 6, pars vii, p. 87, Νεκτάριος Σεννέων, pars vii, p. 114, Νεκτάριος Κασῶν. The identification of Justinianopolis-Mylome with Cibyra is due to Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.*, p. 420. COROPISSUS: at Nicaea, Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxiii, no. 175; birthplace of Zeno, Malalas, p. 375, ed. Bonn, Ζήνωνα τὸν Ἰσαυρὸν τὸν Κοδιωσέων. Some of the six new cities belong perhaps more properly to Lycaonia. Byzantine Isauria included the Lycaonian city of Dalisandus and the see of Musbada, which according to Ptolemy (v. vi. 16) was in the Strategia Antiochiane, i.e. Antioch IV's Lycaonian province. Robert (*Doc. de l'As. min. mer.*, pp. 73-4) supports Honigmann's conjecture that the site of Musbada might well be sought at Muzvadi 'à 50 km. au nord de Charadros et à 103 km. à l'ouest de Séleucie'. This being so, Meloe and the see of Sebela, which lie not far south from Laranda, were perhaps also in Roman Lycaonia.

### *Ecclesiastical Organization*

Cities correspond almost exactly to bishoprics. In Cilicia I the Notitia of Anastasius omits Zephyrium, probably wrongly, since it was represented at Chalcedon. In Isauria the Notitia omits Lauzada and Hierapolis (Juliosebaste is equivalent to Nephelis). The former was a see by the eighth century when its bishop attended Nicaea II. The latter presumably represents either Musbada or Sebela, both of which occur in the Notitia and were represented at Nicaea II. In the part of Pamphylia treated in this chapter the correspondence of city to see is exact.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER IX

1. Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 117. HARRAN: Gen. xi. 31-2, xii. 4-5; also 2 Kings xix. 12, Ezek. xxvii. 23, Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I. 73, 116, 247, &c. NASABINA: op. cit., I. 363-4, 368, 413, II. 1198. NICEPHORIUM: Isid. Char., I, Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 119, Appian, *Syr.*, 57. MACEDONIANS AT CARRHAE: Diod., XIX. 91.
2. ANTIOCH-EDESSA: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 86, Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Ἀντιόχεια (8), Malalas, pp. 418-19, ed. Bonn; the old name Orhai is used in the Syriac sources, e.g. the Chronicle of Edessa. ANTIOCH-NISIBIS: Strabo, XVI. i. 23, p. 747, Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 42, Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Ἀντιόχεια (3), *C.I.G.*, 6856. ANTIOCH ARABIS: Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 117. COINAGE OF THE TWO ANTIOCHS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 814-15; for Tarsus see Chap. VIII, note 13.
3. APAMEA: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 86, Isid. Char., I. AMPHIPOLIS: Appian, *Syr.*, 57, Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Ἀμφίπολις, πόλις Συρίας πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ κτίσμα Σελεύκου, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων Τούρμεδα, s.v. 'Ὠρωπός (3), περὶ 'Ἀμφίπολιν κείσθαι 'Ὠρωπόν, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 87, 'oppida Europum, Thapsacum quondam, nunc Amphipolis'. Fischer (Ptolemy, ed. Müller, II, p. 976, note) has identified Turmeda with the modern Zurme opposite to Jerabis (Europus). Stephanus' statement that Amphipolis was a city of Syria is no objection, for he calls both Edessa and Anthemus πόλις Συρίας. Pliny's words are ungrammatical and nonsensical and perhaps corrupt but at least imply a close connexion between Europus and Amphipolis; the intrusion of Thapsacus is odd but, as Dussaud (*Topogr. Hist. de la Syrie*, p. 455) points out, the word means merely a crossing and may have been applied to this crossing as well as to the famous crossing at Thapsacus. Incidentally Fischer's identification proves that Stephanus' 'Ὠρωπός should be *Εὐρωπος* as had already been suspected from his statement that 'Ὠρωπός was Seleucus' birthplace. NICATORIS: Steph. Byz., s.v. Νικατορίς, πόλις Συρίας πρὸς τῇ Εὐρώπῳ, κτίσμα Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος; it seems simplest to identify two cities whose positions correspond exactly. EUROPUS: Isid. Char., I, Δοῦρα, Νικάνορος πόλις, κτίσμα Μακεδόνων, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρωπος καλεῖται; Europus apparently regarded Nicator as its founder, cf. Baur, *Excavations at Dura-Europus*, 1929-30, p. 54, D 151, Σελε . . . Νικα . . ., 1932-3, p. 430. STRATONICEA: Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 118, Appian, *Syr.*, 57. SELEUCIA: Strabo, XVI. ii. 3, p. 749, Appian, *Mith.*, 114. EPIPHANEA: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 86, 'oppida adluuntur Epiphania et Antiochia quae ad Euphraten vocantur'; I presume that these two cities, like the other couples mentioned by Pliny, were on either side of the river, and as Antioch was in Syria (it issued imperial coins under M. Aurelius) Epiphanea was in Mesopotamia.
4. ANTHEMUS: Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 118, 'Anthemus', v. 86, 'Anthemusia', Isid. Char., I, Χάραξ Σίδου, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Ἀνθεμουσιὰς πόλις, Tac., *Ann.*, VI. 41, 'Anthemusiada . . . quae Macedoniae sitae Graeca vocabula usurpant', Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀνθεμοῦς. There is the same variation even on the legends of the coins, which run either Ἀνθεμουσία or Ἀνθεμουσιών (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 814). Anthemus is probably correct for the city. Anthemusias is properly the name of the district and correctly so used by Cassius Dio (*vid. inf.*, note 9), Ammianus Marcellinus (*vid. inf.*), Ptolemy (v. xvii. 4), Eutropius (VIII. 3), and perhaps Strabo (XVI. i. 27, p. 748, κατὰ τὴν Ἀνθεμουσιάν . . . τόπον τῆς Μεσοποταμίας). ICHNAE: Isid. Char., I, πόλις Ἑλληνίς Μακεδόνων κτίσμα. I attribute to Seleucus Nicator the settlements with names borrowed from Greece and Macedon (a) because a large number are attributed to him by the ancient authorities (Appian, *Syr.*, 57, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀμφίπολις and Ὠρωπός), (b) because none except Alexander's reputed foundation of Dium are attributed to any one else, (c) because they all with the exception of Dium lie within the Seleucid empire as it was under Nicator (Aegae in Cilicia, the rest

- in northern Syria and Mesopotamia), (*d*) because Macedonian settlements elsewhere either have dynastic names or none at all, being called the Macedonians about such and such native town (e.g. in western Asia Minor, see Chap. II, notes 26-7). The last two reasons seem to me conclusive against Tscherikower's hypothesis ('Hellenistische Städtegründungen', *Philologus*, Suppl., xix. 1, pp. 123-4) that names of this type were given by the settlers on their own initiative; why did not the Macedonian colonists in Egypt and western Asia Minor do the same? I see nothing ridiculous in the naming of rivers and districts (e.g. the Axius for the Orontes, Pieria, Mygdonia, &c.) by royal authority; it was evidently part of a campaign to create a 'home from home' for Macedonian immigrants. BATNAE: *Amm. Marc.*, xiv. iii. 3, 'municipium in Anthemusia conditum Macedonum manu priscorum'; Batnae, it may be noted, was in the region of Anthemusia and not identical with Anthemus, whose native name was *Χάραξ Σίδου* and which was in the Byzantine period called Marcopolis (*vid. inf.*, note 11); Batnae and Marcopolis appear side by side in Georgius and the Notitia of Anastasius (see Table XXXI). ZENODOTIUM: Cassius Dio, xl. 13, *Plut.*, *Crassus*, 17, *Steph. Byz.*, s.v. *Ζηνοδότιον*.
5. MACEDONIANS AT EUROPUS: Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europus*, parchment no. 1; at Carrhae, *Diod.*, xix. 91, Cassius Dio, xxxvii. 5; at Ichnae, *Isid. Char.*, 1; at Batnae, *Amm. Marc.*, xiv. iii. 3; at Nicephorium, &c., Cassius Dio, xl. 13.
6. *Vid. sup.*, notes 3, 4. For Hikla de Sida, *vid. inf.*, note 11.
7. COINS OF EDESSA AND NISIBIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*?, pp. 814, 815. That the status of the towns with names borrowed from Greece and Macedon was inferior to that of the cities with dynastic names is suggested by the refoundation of Pella on the Orontes as Apamea (see Chap. X, note 23), and, if I am right, of Edessa as Antioch and Amphipolis as Nicatoris; the case of Larissa, which was subordinate to Apamea, is also suggestive (see Chap. X, note 23). It may further be noted that none of these towns except Aegae coined under Antiochus IV when many cities with dynastic names did so. LAND LAW OF EUROPUS: Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europus*, parchment no. 5. *Εὐρωπαῖοι*: *ib.*, parchment no. 1; contrast the nomenclature of the settlements, organized on a purely military basis, in western Asia Minor (see Chap. II, notes 26-7).
8. MESOPOTAMIA UNDER THE PARTHIANS: Strabo, xvi. i. 26-7, pp. 747-8.
9. PRO-ROMAN ATTITUDE OF THE CITIES: Cassius Dio, xl. 13; cf. *Plut.*, *Crassus*, 25 (Ichnae sides with Crassus), Cassius Dio, xxxvii. 5 (the Carrhenes, being colonists of the Macedonians, rescue Pompey's legate, Afranius) and *Ath.*, vi. 252d (Andromachus, the betrayer of Crassus, burned alive by the Carrhenes). SELEUCIA: Strabo, xvi. ii. 3, p. 749, *φρούριον Μεσοποταμίας*; it can only have been a Parthian fortress; it is perhaps identical with the later Marathas, see Chap. X, note 50. APAMEA-BIRTHA: Cumont, *Études syriennes*, p. 144. AMPHIPOLIS—HEMERIUM: this rather rash conjecture is founded only on the position of Hemerium, which was situated on the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of Europus (*Proc.*, *Aed.*, II. 9) but not, as Procopius implies, in Euphratensis but in Osrhoene (see Table XXXI). DESTRUCTION OF ZENODOTIUM: Cassius Dio, xl. 13, *Plut.*, *Crassus*, 17. THE ABGARIDS OF EDESSA: see von Gutschmid, 'Untersuch. über die Gesch. des Königreichs Osroëne', *Mém. Ac. de S. Pétersbourg*, ser. viii, tome xxxv, no. 1 (1887). The foundation of the dynasty is given by the *Chronicle of Edessa* (Hallier, *Untersuch. über die Edessenische Chronik*, p. 88) in 132 B.C., by Dionysius of Telmahré (ed. Tullberg, I, p. 65) five years later. ABGAR AND CRASSUS: Cassius Dio, xl. 20; and Christ, *Eus.*, *H.E.*, I. 13; temp. Claudius, *Tac.*, *Ann.*, xii. 12, 14; temp. Trajan, Cassius Dio, lxxviii. 21. SPORACES AND MANNUS: *id.*, *ib.*, οὐδέ ὁ Μάννος ὁ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς πλησιοχώρου, οὐδέ ὁ Σποράκης ὁ τῆς Ἀθημονοσίας φύλαρχος. MANISARUM: *id.*, lxxviii. 22; Dio speaks of Singara as being captured by Trajan in a campaign against Mannus



- and Manisarus; Singara and the Praetavi, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 86, 'Arabes qui Praetavi vocantur; horum caput Singara'.
10. For the imperial coinage of the Mesopotamian cities, see Hill, *J.R.S.*, 1916, pp. 150-69. EUROPOS: Baur, *Excavations at Dura Europus*, 1929-30, p. 51, D 149, *Αύρηλ.* 'Αντωνινιανῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν ἡ βουλή (to Julia Domna); the title *colonia Aurelia* is proved by parchments (op. cit., 1932-3, pp. 436-7), the change of name is implied by the official use of the ethnic *Δουρηνός* (vol. cit., pp. 433, 437-8). The era of the synagogue inscriptions (vol. cit., p. 394, note) proves, I think, the date. DEPOSITION OF ABGAR BY CARACALLA: Cassius Dio, LXXVII. 12; the date of the liberation of Edessa and the title Alexandria are proved by 'A third-century contract of sale from Edessa in Osrhoene', *Yale Classical Studies*, v, 1935.
11. ANTHEMUS-MARCOPOLIS: Anthemus is equated by Isid. Char., 1, with *Χάραξ Σίδου*, Marcopolis in Syriac episcopal lists (Schulthess, *Abh. Ges. Göttingen*, neue Folge, x. ii, p. 134) with Hikla de Sida. TELA-ANTONINOPOLIS: *Chron. Edess.*, xx (Hallier, op. cit., p. 97), 'Constantius built Tela, formerly called Antipolis'; the correct form of the Roman name is given by Amm. Marc., xviii. ix. 1, (Constantius) 'Antoninopolim oppidum aliud struxit'; Theophanes, 1, p. 54, ed. Bonn, in his account of the same incident gives the version 'Αντωνιούπολις'.
12. RUIN OF EUROPOS: Amm. Marc., xxiii. v. 7. CALLINICUM: *Not. Dig. Or.*, xxxv. 16, Libanius, *Ep.*, 21 (called a σταθμός), Ambrose, *Ep.*, 40, Migne, *P.L.*, xvi. 1106, 'Callinici castr'. ANTONINOPOLIS-MAXIMIANOPOLIS-CONSTANTIA: *vid. sup.*, note 11 and Malalas, p. 323, ed. Bonn, *ἔπαθε δὲ . . . ὑπὸ θεομηρίας Μαξιμιανούπολις τῆς Ὀσδρονῆς τὸ δεύτερον αὐτῆς πάθος τὸ μετὰ τὸ ληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν· καὶ ἀνηγγεῖρεν αὐτὴν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ τὰ τεῖχη αὐτῆς . . . καὶ μετεκάλεσεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα Κωνσταντῖναν.* RHESAINA-THEODOSIOPOLIS: *Chron. Edess.*, xxxv (Hallier, op. cit., p. 102), 'Theodosius the Great built the city Risaina in Osrhoene', Malalas, p. 345, ed. Bonn, *ἔποίησε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεοδοσίος καὶ τὴν λεγομένην πρῶην κώμην Ῥοφαεινῶν πόλιν ἧτις μετεκλήθη Θεοδοσιούπολις λαβούσα ἕκτοτε ἢ αὐτῆ κώμῃ καὶ δίκαιον πόλεως.* CALLINICUM-LEONTOPOLIS: *Chron. Edess.*, lxx (Hallier, op. cit., p. 111), 'Leo built Callinicum in Osrhoene and named it Leontopolis after his own name'. CIRCESIUM: Amm. Marc., xxiii. v. 1-2, *Proc.*, *Aed.*, II. 6, *ἦν δὲ Ῥωμαίων φρούριον . . . τοῦτο Κιρκήσιον μὲν ἐνομάζεται, βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις Διοκλήτιανός . . . ἐδείματο. Ἰουστινιανός δὲ . . . πόλιν τε διεπράξατο μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει περιφανῆ εἶναι.* DARA: *Proc.*, *Aed.*, II. 1. *Pers.*, I. 10, Malalas, p. 399, ed. Bonn, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Δαραί*, Zacharias Myt., VII. 6. Dara was renamed Justinianopolis (Mansi, IX. 395).
13. For Hierocles, Georgius, the Notitia of Anastasius, and the principal anciliar lists see Tables XXXI, XXXII, 3, 5. MACARTA: *Tab. Peut.*, XI. 4. THILLAAMANA: *Not. Dig. Or.*, xxxv. 32; the repetition of the element *Μου-* in *Μοιθίλλα* and *Μοιάνυγα* is suspicious and suggests a dittography; the element *θιλλα-* should come at the beginning of a name; many fortresses recorded in the Notitia Dignitatum begin Thilla (i.e. the Arabic Tel). The ecclesiastical organization of Mesopotamia, as described by the Notitia of Anastasius, roughly follows the civil. All cities are bishoprics except Macarta and *Μοιθίλλα Μοιάνυγα*, if the identification of Dausara-Anastasia be accepted. There are three additional sees, Marathas, a village in the Mesopotamian part of the territory of Samosata (see Chap. X, note 50), and Turabdiium and Mnasubium in the province of Dara; the former is recorded as a fort by Georgius (914, *Τουράδιος*) and the latter was probably the same. Both were probably in the territory of Dara.
14. The Europus documents are analysed in Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europus*, pp. xliii seqq. and Jotham Johnson, *Dura Studies*, Philadelphia, 1932. The laws are Justinian, *Nov.*, 154, Justin II, *Nov.*, 3. HARMONIUS AND EPHRAIM: Soz., *H.E.*, III. 16; Harmonius' father Bardesanes was born in A.D. 153 (*Chron. Edess.*,

VIII, Hallier, op. cit., p. 90); for the use of an interpreter see Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, pp. 184, 193 (Uranius, bishop of Hemerium, at the robber-council of Ephesus); cf. also the petition submitted by the clergy of Edessa to the council of Chalcedon (Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, p. 35 [394]), where over a third of the signatures are in Syriac.

15. DIOCLETIAN'S CONQUESTS: Petr. Patric., fr. 14, *F.H.G.*, IV, p. 189, τὴν Ἰντιληνὴν μετὰ Σοφηνῆς καὶ Ἀρζαληνὴν μετὰ Καρδουηνῶν καὶ Ζαβδικηνῆς. JOVIAN'S CESSIONS: Amm. Marc., xxv. vii. 9, 'quinque regiones Transtigritanas, Arzanenam et Moxoenam et Zabdicenam itidemque Rehimenam et Corduenam'. Ἰντιληνὴν should clearly be corrected to Ἰγγιληνὴν and Σοφηνῆς, I think, to Σοφανηνῆς; I cannot believe that the Persian territory had hitherto stretched right up to the Euphrates at Melitene. AMIDA: *Chron. Edess.*, XIX (Hallier, op. cit., p. 96), 'Constantius son of Constantine built the city of Amida', Amm. Marc., xviii. ix. 1, 'hanc civitatem olim perquam brevem Caesar etiam tum Constantius . . . turribus circumdedit amplius et moenibus'; it was a real city (*C.I.L.*, III. 6730); its position and the date of its foundation, I think, justify the hypothesis that it lay in one of the satrapies conquered by Diocletian. PARTITION OF THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM: Proc., *Aed.*, III. 1; Güterboch (*Römisch-Armenien und die römische Satrapien*) has proved from Armenian sources that the Theodosius involved was not, as Procopius says, Ἀρκαδίου παῖς but Theodosius the Great; the extent of the territory annexed in 387 can only be inferred from what follows. THEODOSIOPOLIS: Proc., *Aed.*, III. 5, *Pers.*, I. 10, Theod., *Nov.*, v. 3, 'Theodosiopolitanae et Satalenae civitati', Just., *Nov.*, 31, Θεοδοσιούπολιν; bishop in 448, Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, p. 149; its identification with Camacha rests only on the probability that the two cities of Great Armenia in Just., *Nov.*, 31, are identical with the two bishoprics of Great Armenia in *Act. Conc. Oec.*, VI (*vid. inf.*). CAMACHA IN DARANALIS: Mansi, XI. 613, Γεωργίου ἐπισκόπου Δαρανάλεως ἡτοὶ τῶν Καμάχων, 645, Γεώργιος ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ κλίματος Δαρανάλεως τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας. LEONTOPOLIS-JUSTINIANOPOLIS: Just., *Nov.*, 31, ἡ μητρόπολις τῆ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν προσηγορίας ἐπωνυμία κατακεκοσμημένη, πρότερον Βαζανίς ἡτοὶ Λεοντόπολις καλουμένη; cf. Proc., *Aed.*, III. 5 (*ad fin.*); in Acilisenae, Mansi, XI. 613, Θεοδώρου ἐπισκόπου Ἐκελενζίνης ἡτοὶ Ἰουστινιανουπόλεως τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, 645, Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἰουστινιανουπολιτῶν πόλεως ἡγουν τοῦ κλίματος Ἐκκελενζίνης; other bishops are Ἰωάννης ἐπίσκοπος Ἐκελεσηῆς (Mansi, VII. 917) in 459, before the foundation of Leontopolis, and 'Gregorius episcopus Justinianopolitanorum civitatis Magnae Armeniae' (Mansi, IX. 391) in A.D. 553. GREAT OR INNER ARMENIA: Just., *Nov.*, 31, τὴν μὲν ἐνδοτάτην ἧς ἡ μητρόπολις (Justinianopolis), *Cod. Just.*, I. xxix. 5, 'magnam Armeniam quae interior dicebatur'. THE FIVE SATRAPIES: Proc., *Aed.*, III. 1 (a full and interesting account); their names are given in *Cod. Just.*, I. xxix. 5, 'gentes, Anzetenam videlicet, Ingilenam, Asthianenam, Sophenam, Sophanenam, in qua est Martyropolis, Balabitenam', and Just., *Nov.*, 31, Τζοφανηῆ τε καὶ Ἀνζιτηγῆ ἢ Τζοφηνῆ καὶ Ἀσθιανηγῆ ἢ καὶ Βαλαβιτηγῆ καλουμένη καὶ ὑπὸ σατράπαις οὖσα. The amalgamation of Ingilene and Sophanene is inferred from the fact that there were, according to Procopius, five satraps only, from the absence of Ingilene in *Nov.*, 31, and from the absence of both Ingilene and Sophanene in Georgius (they were replaced by Martyropolis). JUSTINIAN'S MILITARY REFORM: *Cod. Just.*, I. xxix. 5; legal reform, Just., *Nov.*, 21; administrative reform, *id.*, *Nov.*, 31. MARTYROPOLIS-MAEPHERACTA AND MARUTHAS: *Menolog. Basil.*, Feb. 16; in Sophanene, *Cod. Just.*, I. xxix. 5, 'Sophanenam in qua est Martyropolis', Proc., *Aed.*, III. 2; it was still governed by a satrap under Anastasius and was reformed by Justinian (Proc., *loc. cit.*) and renamed Justinianopolis (Malalas, p. 427, ed. Bonn). For Georgius Cyprius, the Notitia of Anastasius, and the principal conciliar lists see Table XXXII. Georgius' list of this region has evidently been rewritten by Basil of Ialimbanon in Sophene. This appears from its great detail, which is quite out of scale with Georgius' scheme but natural to

Basil who was interested in his own country. It also appears from the confused titles of the provinces, 'Mesopotamia or Armenia IV' and 'another Armenia IV'; evidently Georgius gave Martyropolis under Armenia IV, and Basil, knowing that it had been transferred to Mesopotamia, transferred its former province also. Another proof is the note ἡ νῦν μητρόπολις to Dadima. The list as it stands describes the state of things after Maurice's conquests. Mesopotamia includes not only Amida and Martyropolis (transferred from Armenia IV) but the *clima* of Arzanene, which had been surrendered by Jovian. Armenia IV includes not only the *climata* of Sophene, Balabitenne, Anzitene, and Asthianene, but also those of Garene, Digisene, Orzianene, and Muzuron, four Armenian satrapies probably conquered by Maurice. The list is, as I have said, very detailed. It includes under Mesopotamia thirty-two forts, six in the *clima* of Arzanene, the remainder presumably in the three city territories, and under Armenia IV Dadima 'the present metropolis', four forts, the *πολίχνη* Chozanon and three other names, which being unqualified should, according to Georgius' convention, be cities, Arsamosata, Citharizon, and Chosomachon. Two alternatives are possible: either Basil did not use Georgius' convention and these are merely important towns—*πολίχνη Χοζάνων* suggests this; or the satrapies had been converted into cities but are preserved from Georgius' list side by side with the cities which replaced them. The ecclesiastical organization of the region is, according to the Notitia of Anastasius, as follows. Besides Amida and Martyropolis, Sophene, Balabitenne, Citharizon (in Asthianene, Proc., *Aed.*, III. 3), and Arsamosata (? in Anzitene) were bishoprics; Ingilene also had its own bishop, though politically subject to Martyropolis; finally, Cephass, a Mesopotamian fortress recorded in Georgius (913), and Zeugma, probably a fortress on a bridge of the Tigris, were bishoprics; they were probably in the territory of Amida. Theodosiopolis and Justinianopolis of Great Armenia were in the patriarchate of Constantinople; their bishops are recorded above. It is curious that the Notitia of Anastasius omits Dadima, which was a bishopric in the latter part of Justinian's reign (Mansi, IX. 394).

## NOTES ON CHAPTER X

1. RAPHIA: Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV. 716, Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II. 5, 55, 80, &c. GAZA: Herod., III. 5. ASCALON: Scylax, 104, [*Ἀσκά*]λων. AZOTUS: Herod., II. 157. JOPPA AND DORA: *C.I.S.*, I. 3, Scylax, 104 (the name Joppa has vanished but must clearly be restored from the comment [*έκτη*]θῆναι φασιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀνδρομ[έδαν], cf. Strabo, XVI. II. 28, p. 759). JABNEH: 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. GEZER: 2 Sam. v. 25, 1 Kings ix. 15-17, 1 Chron. xiv. 16, cf. also Breasted, op. cit., II. 821, III. 606, 617, Knudtzon, *Die el Amarna Tafeln*, p. 1347, nos. 253, 254, 290, &c. APOLLONIA: Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. arch. or.*, I, pp. 176 seqq. STRATO'S TOWER: if Knudtzon's theory (op. cit., p. 1319) that Ga-ri is a corruption of Ga-az-ri is correct, the Astarte of the Tel el-Amarna letters (op. cit., no. 256) might well be Strato's Tower.
2. ACE: Scylax, 104, Strabo, XVI. II. 25, p. 758, Diod., XV. 41. BERYTUS: Scylax, 104, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Βηρυτός, κτίσμα Κρόνου*, Knudtzon, op. cit., p. 1183, nos. 92, 101, 114, &c. BOTRYS: Menander *apud* Jos., *Ant.*, VIII. xiii. 2, § 324, Knudtzon, op. cit., p. 1165, nos. 78-9, 81, 87-8, &c. TRIPOLIS: Scylax, 104, Diod., XVII. 48. ORTHOSIA: Knudtzon, op. cit., pp. 1156-7, nos. 72, 75, 88, 104, 109. ARCA: Knudtzon, op. cit., p. 1143, nos. 62, 72, 75, 88, &c.; cf. also Breasted, op. cit., II. 529, Luckenbill, op. cit., I. 772, 815, 821, and Menander *apud* Jos., *Ant.*, IX. xiv. 2, § 285. SIMYRA: Knudtzon, op. cit., p. 1141, nos. 59-62, 67-8, &c.; cf. also Breasted, op. cit., II. 465, III. 114, Luckenbill, op. cit., I. 770, 772, 815, &c., and Ephorus *apud* Steph. Byz., s.v. *Σίμυρος*. MARATHUS: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 13. PALTUS: Simonides *apud* Strab., XV. iii. 2, p. 728. GABALA: Hecataeus *apud* Steph. Byz., s.v. *Γάβαλα*. POSIDEIUM: Herod., III. 91. If Honigmann's

- conjecture (*P.W.*, i va. 1607) that Scylax's Tripolis north of Arad represents Gabala, Paltus, and Balanea is correct it affords presumptive evidence of the antiquity of Balanea.
3. **KADESH**: Knudtzon, op. cit., pp. 1118-19, nos. 151, 162, 189-90, &c., Breasted, op. cit., II. 420, 465, 531, 585, &c., Herod., II. 159, cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20-2; identity with Laodicea ad Libanum, Honigsmann, *P.W.*, XII. 718-19; survival of old name, Yaqut, iv. 39. **HAMATH**: 2 Sam. viii. 9, 1 Kings viii. 65, 2 Kings xiv. 25, xviii. 34, xix. 13, &c., Luckenbill, op. cit., I. 568, 611, 615, &c.; identity with Epiphaneia, Jos., *Ant.*, I. vi. 2, § 138, Eus., *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 184-5. **ZINZAR**: Knudtzon, op. cit., pp. 1116-17, no. 53, Breasted, op. cit., II. 584, 798a; identity with Larissa, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Λάρισσα* (6), *Συρίας*, ἢ *Σύροι* *Σίζαρα* *καλοῦσιν*; medieval form of name, Yaqut, iii. 353.
4. **HALAB**: Breasted, op. cit., II. 798a, III. 312, 319, 321-2, &c., Luckenbill, op. cit., I. 588, 610, 646-7, &c.; identity with Beroea, Hierocles (ed. Burckhardt), App. I, no. 24, *Βέρροια τὸ νῦν Ἄδλεπε*. **KINNESRIN**: Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 305-7; identity with Chalcis, Benzinger, *P.W.*, III. 2091. **BAMBYCE**: Luckenbill, op. cit., I. 602, Ctesias *apud* Eratosth., *Καταστεριμ.*, 38. **TADMOR**: Luckenbill, op. cit., I. 287, 292, 308, 330, 2 Chron. viii. 4.
5. **CARCHEMISH**: Jer. xlvi. 2, Knudtzon, op. cit., p. 1120, no. 54, Breasted, op. cit., II. 583, III. 306, 309, Luckenbill, op. cit., I. 73, 112, 116, &c. **THAPSACUS**: Xen., *Anab.*, I. iv. 11, 18; Solomon is said to have held Tiphseh, 1 Kings iv. 24. **URIMA**: Luckenbill, op. cit., I. 226, 277, 311, 318, 447; identity with Antioch on the Euphrates, *vid. inf.*, note 30. **MARASH**: Luckenbill, op. cit., II. 61, 79, 99; identity with Germanicia, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 1892, p. 251.
6. **RABBAH OF AMMON**: 2 Sam. xi. 1, xii. 26, &c.; identity with Philadelphia, *vid. inf.*, note 20. **EDREI**: Joshua xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31. **HESHBON**: Jer. xlviii. 2, 34, 45, xlix. 3, Isa. xv. 4, xvi. 8, 9. **MEDABA**: 1 Chron. xix. 7, Isa. xv. 2. **KIR OF MOAB**: 2 Kings iii. 25, Isa. xv. 1, xvi. 7. **BOSTRA**: Knudtzon, op. cit., p. 1292, nos. 197, 199. **PETRA (SELAH)**: 2 Kings xiv. 7, 2 Chron. xxv. 12, Isa. xvi. 1, xlii. 11, Obad. 3, Jer. xlix. 16, Diod., XIX. 94-100. **ELATH**: 1 Kings ix. 26, 2 Chron. viii. 17. **MARESHAH**: 2 Chron. xi. 8, xiv. 9, xx. 37, *P. Zen. Cairo*, 59006, 59015, 59537; Sidonian colony, *O.G.I.*, 593. **ADORAİM**: 2 Chron. xi. 9, *P. Zen. Cairo*, 59006.
7. **MARIAMME**: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 13. **BETHSHAN**: 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 2 Sam. xxi. 12, 1 Kings iv. 12, Knudtzon, op. cit., p. 1343, no. 289, Breasted, op. cit., IV. 712; identity with Scythopolis, Eus., *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 118-19. **PELLA**: Clauss, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1907, p. 34.
8. **JERUSALEM**: Neh. iii. 1-32 (the walls), vii. 4, xi. 1, 2 (repopulation). **SHECHEM**: 1 Kings xii. 1, 25, &c. **SAMARIA**: 1 Kings xvi. 24, &c. For Baalbek and Gerrha, *vid. inf.*, note 37.
9. **REGAL COINAGE OF PHOENICIAN CITIES**: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 788, 791, 794-6, 799. **COMMAND OF FLEETS**: Herod., VII. 98. **NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALEXANDER**: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 13, 15. **ARADIAN DOMINIONS**: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 13. Q. Curtius, IV. (i) 1, 'maritimam oram et pleraque longius etiam a mari recedentia', Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἐπιφάνεια*, πόλις *Συρίας* *κατὰ* *Ῥαφαλέας ἐν μεθορίοις Ἀράδου*; on the Aradian era, *vid. inf.*, note 18. **SIDONIAN DOMINIONS**: *C.I.S.*, I. 3, Scylax, 104, *Ἀραδος πόλις Σιδωνίων* and *Δῶρος πόλις Σιδωνίων* (the identity of the former is unknown); it is possible that the phrase *Σιδωνίω ἐν Βαρυτέω* in a Delphian inscription of the early third century B.C. (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III. i. 435) may imply that Berytus was a part of the Sidonian dominions. **TYRIAN DOMINIONS**: Scylax, 104, [*Ἀσκά*] *Ἰων πόλις Τυρίων* and *ἘΞΩΠΗ πόλις Τυ[ρίων, Κάμμυλος]* ὄρος ἱερὸν *Διός*. **COINS OF GAZA**: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 805. **COINS OF POSIDEUM**: *ib.*, p. 785. **THE ASHDODITES**: Neh. iv. 7, 'the Arabians and the Ammonites and the Ashdodites'.

10. COUNCIL AT SIDON: Diod., XVI. 45. COUNCIL AT TYRE: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 15. JUDGES AT TYRE: Menander *apud* Jos., *con. Ap.*, I. 21, § 157. CITIZENSHIP AT SIDON: *J.G.*, II. 86, ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν Σιδωνίων οἰκοῦντες ἐς Σιδῶνι καὶ πολιτευόμενοι. COINS OF BAMBYCE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 777. GOVERNOR OF DAMASCUS: Q. Curtius, III. (xiii) 33.
11. THE GOVERNOR AND HIS SALARY: Neh. v. 14-15. BAGOAS: Sachau, 'Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden', *Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1907, no. 1, Jos., *Ant.*, XI. vii. 1, §§ 297-301.
12. THE NOBLES: Sachau, loc. cit., Neh. ii. 16-17. POPULAR ASSEMBLIES: Neh. v. 7-13 (the debt question), viii. 1-13 (the law), Ezra x. 10-15 (foreign marriages); it may be noted that 'the princes and elders' could enforce their decrees by a sanction—confiscation of property.
13. The official position of Tobiah and Geshem is not clearly stated in Nehemiah. They are with Sanballat stated to have been the principal adversaries of the Jews and they are styled 'the Ammonite' and 'the Arabian' respectively (ii. 19). Elsewhere (iv. 7) the Ammonites and the Arabians are mentioned as communities opposed to the Jews. It may be inferred that Tobiah and Geshem were the governors of the two communities. SANBALLAT SENIOR: Neh. iv. 1-2, 7, vi. 1, &c. SANBALLAT'S SONS: Sachau, loc. cit. (they have Jewish names). THE LAST SANBALLAT: Jos., *Ant.*, XI. vii. 2, § 302 (stated to be a Cuthaeon, i.e. a Samaritan, by birth).
14. At Sidon Alexander is said to have deposed King Strato and appointed in his place a certain Abdalonymus from a junior branch of the royal family (Q. Curtius, IV. (i) 3, Justin, XI. 10; the anecdote is wrongly transferred to Tyre by Diodorus, XVII. 47). At Arad the continuance of the royal house is proved by the coinage of 'Abdastart (Strato), according to Arrian (*Anab.*, II. 13) the son of Gerostratus the contemporary of Alexander (*B.M.C.*, *Phoen.*, pp. xix-xx). At Byblus it is proved by the coinage of Adramelek, the successor of Ainel, the Enylus of Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 20 (*B.M.C.*, *Phoen.*, p. lxvi). The restoration of the Tyrian royal house is nowhere stated in so many words except in Justin (XVIII. 3, 'genus tantum Stratonis inviolatum servavit regnumque stirpi eius restituit') and there may be a confusion with Sidon in this passage as in Diodorus, XVII. 47. There is, however, good authority (Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 24) for Alexander's having pardoned Azemilcus of Tyre and there is a post-Alexandrian regal coinage of Tyre (*B.M.C.*, *Phoen.*, pp. cxxix-cxxx). The restoration of Tyre is described only by Justin (XVIII. 3) whose words, 'ingenuis et innoxiiis incolis insulae attributis', are vague but do not imply the planting of European settlers; according to Q. Curtius (IV. (iv) 19) 15,000 Tyrians were rescued by the Sidonians. For the restoration of Gaza Arrian's words (*Anab.*, II. 27) are explicit, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ξυνοικίας ἐκ τῶν περὶοίκων. SYRIA UNDER ANTIGONUS: Diod., XIX. 58.
15. DIUM: Steph. Byz., s.v. Δίον (7), κτίσμα Ἀλεξάνδρου. SAMARIA: Syncellus, I, p. 496, ed. Bonn, Eus., *Chron.*, p. 197, ed. Karst, Hieron., *Chron.*, p. 123, ed. Helm (Alexander), Eus., *Chron.*, p. 199, Hieron., *Chron.*, p. 128 (Perdiccas); cf. Q. Curtius, IV. (viii) 34. GERASA: Iamblichus cited in Steph. Byz. (ed. Berkel), p. 269 (the passage does not occur in the Teubner text of the commentary), *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Γερασηνός; Macedonians at Gerasa, *Rev. bibl.*, 1895, p. 378, no. 7, *Μακεδόνων*; Alexander and Perdiccas, H. Seyrig, *Syria* XLI (1961), p. 25. This article covers Capitolias and Samaria.
16. ANTIGONEIA: Diod., XX, 47, Strabo, XVI. ii. 4, p. 750; Athenian and Macedonian settlers, Malalas, p. 201, ed. Bonn, cf. Libanius, *Or.*, XI. 92; council of 600, Lib., *Or.*, XLVIII. 3. I ignore a number of obviously spurious or very questionable Macedonian colonies often attributed to Alexander or the early Diadochi. Pella of the Decapolis is counted a Macedonian colony on the strength of its name,

really a native name tendentiously spelt (*vid. sup.*, note 7) and even assigned to Alexander on the strength of an obvious gloss on Steph. Byz. (s.v. *Δίον* (7), *κτίσμα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ καὶ Πέλλα*). Gadara is also counted a Macedonian colony because of Steph. Byz., s.v. *Γάδαρα, πόλις Κοίλης Συρίας . . . ἔστι καὶ Γάδαρα κώμη Μακεδονίας*. In point of fact Gadara is a common Semitic town name, cf. Gadara, the capital of the Peraea; Gezer is sometimes spelt Gadara (Strabo, xvi. ii. 29, p. 759). Meleager had no delusions about the Semitic origin of his native town (*Ἄθις ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ναιομένα Γαδάροις*). Anthedon is likewise reckoned a military colony on the strength of its name. But it seems very unlikely that a military colony would be named after a tiny Boeotian city—all the well-attested examples take their names from cities of some importance in the Macedonian kingdom (including Thessaly). Anthedon is probably, I think, merely the Semitic 'Ain Teda (the modern name is Teda) tendentiously misspelt.

17. ERA OF TYRE: *C.I.S.*, I. 7. ERA OF SIDON: *I.G.*, II, Suppl., 1335b; both the style of the lettering and the use of Phoenician prove that the era of 111 B.C. cannot be in question; on the death of Philocles see Tarn, *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 158. Byblus, *vid. sup.*, note 14. ERA OF ARAD: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 789.
18. PRIVILEGES OF ARAD: Strabo, xvi. ii. 14, p. 754. COINS OF ARAD: *B.M.C.*, *Phoen.*, pp. 13 seqq.; of Marathus, Simyra, and Carne, *ib.*, pp. 119–25, xlv–xlvi, 111–12. ERA OF PALTUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 782. Balaneae is generally assumed to have used the Seleucid era (*ib.*, p. 780), which would make its earliest autonomous coins date from 209 B.C., a most improbable date; the Aradian era would bring them down to A.D. 155, which is more plausible. SUFFETES AT TYRE: Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. arch. or.*, I, pp. 87 seqq. JOSEPH, SON OF TOBIAS: *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XII. iv. 3–5 §§ 167–85. The story is vaguely worded and Rostovtzeff ('Geschichte der Staatspacht', *Philologus*, Suppl., IX, pp. 359–61) deduces from it that Joseph collected the taxes from the city authorities. I do not agree. The resistance offered by the Ascalonites and Scythopolites was not, in my view, official resistance by the governments but passive resistance by the taxpayers; it was overcome by executing a few prominent taxpayers. It may be noted that direct collection by the farmers from the taxpayers was the rule in the Ptolemaic empire, cf. Telmessus (*O.G.I.*, 55).
19. NOMES: I Macc. xi. 34, *τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα καὶ Λύδδαν καὶ Ῥαμαθῆμ οἴτινες προσετέθησαν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος*. This is in Demetrius II's letter to Jonathan, which has an authentic ring; the historian himself uses the term toparchy (I Macc. xi. 28). DISTRICT NAMES IN -ίτις: Ἀμαθίτις, *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XIII. v. 10, § 174 (this must surely be the district of Amathus in the Peraea and not, as generally assumed, of Hamath); Ἀμμανίτις, *P. Zen. Cairo*, 59003, 2 Macc. iv. 26, v. 7, Syncellus, I, p. 558, ed. Bonn; Γαλααδίτις, I Macc. v. 17, 20, 25, 27, 36, 45, xiii. 22, *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XII. viii. 2, § 333, 3, § 336, § 340, 5, § 345, 6, § 350; XIII. vi. 6, § 209; also probably Polyb., v. 71 (*Γαλαίτις*); Γαυλανίτις, *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XIII. xv. 4, § 396; Ἐσσεβωνίτις, *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XII. iv. 11, § 233; Μωαβίτις, *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XIII. xiv. 2, § 382, xv. 4, § 397, Syncellus, I, p. 558, ed. Bonn; Σαμαρείτις, I Macc. x. 30, xi. 28, 34, *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XIII. iv. 9, § 127, Pseudo-Aristeas, 107. These passages all refer to the Hellenistic period. Hellenistic historians also use names of this type in their accounts of the ancient history of the Jews; Eupolemus, for instance, (second century B.C.) makes Solomon write, *γέγραφα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμαρείτην καὶ Μωαβίτην καὶ Ἀμμανίτην καὶ Γαλαδίτην* (*F.H.G.*, III, p. 226). Josephus similarly uses these names and others formed analogously, e.g. Ἀμωρίτις and Ἀμαλκήτις, in the earlier books of the *Antiquities*. This suggests that the original text of the LXX (drawn up in the Ptolemaic period) used them. The present text avoids them but it has certainly been revised to bring it closer to the original Hebrew; the vulgate of Ruth i. 2, ii. 6, iv. 3 has *regio Moabitit*, which suggests that the early LXX had *χώρα Μωαβίτις* not *ἀγρὸς Μωαβ*

as has our text. Other names of this type which are probably Ptolemaic are *Γαβαλίτις*, the district south of Moabitis (Jos., *Ant.*, xviii. v. 1, § 113, where the *Γαμαλίτις* of the text should be thus corrected, cf. *Ant.*, ii. i. 2, § 6), and *Χαλβωνίτις* (Ptol., v. xiv. 13, see App. II). Not all Ptolemaic district names had this termination; *Γαλιλαία*, *Ἰουδαία* and *Ἰδουμαία* are as well attested as the *-ίτις* names. The feminine noun understood in agreement with these names is probably *μερίς* which is implied in the title *μεριδάρχης* (1 Macc. x. 65, Jos., *Ant.*, xii. v. 5, §§ 261, 264) and which was officially used in Ptolemaic Egypt (the three *μερίδες* of the Arsinoite). A decree of Ptolemy II dealing with Syria and Phoenice (H. Liebesny, *Aegyptus*, xvi (1936), pp. 257-91) shows that the province was divided into *ὑπαρχαίαι* (each with an *οἰκονόμος*) and into *κῶμαι* (each with its *κωμάρχης*).

20. PTOLEMAIS-ACE: Eus., *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 34-5, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Πτολεμαίς*; it is attributed to Ptolemy II in pseudo-Aristeas, 115; the actual date of the foundation seems to be c. 261 B.C. according to the coins (*B.M.C.*, *Phoen.*, p. lxxviii). PHILADELPHIA-RABBAH OF AMMON: Eus., op. cit., pp. 306-7, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Φιλαδέλφεια* (who attributes it to Ptolemy II); it is mentioned under its old name in the Zeno correspondence (*P.S.I.*, 616); Polybius ignores the dynastic name (v. 71, *Ραββατάμανα*). PELLA-BERENICE: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Βερενίκαι*, ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη περὶ Συρίαν ἢ Πέλλαν καλοῦσι; Polybius (v. 70) again ignores the dynastic name. ELATH-BERENICE: Jos., *Ant.*, viii. vi. 4, § 163. ARSINOE IN THE AULON: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἀρσινόη* (3), *πόλις Συρίας ἐν Αὐλῶνι*, (4), *Κοίτης Συρίας* (probably the same); the identification with Damascus is suggested by Tschirikower ('Hellenistische Städtegründungen', *Philologus*, Suppl., xix. i, pp. 66-7). PHILOTERIA: Polyb., v. 70, Syncellus, i, p. 558, ed. Bonn. SCYTHOPOLIS: Jos., *Ant.*, xii. iv. 5, § 183; the earliest mention of the name is in Polyb., v. 70. EXPLANATIONS OF THE NAME: Syncellus, i, p. 405, ed. Bonn. Malalas, pp. 139-40, ed. Bonn. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 74 (he connects the city with Dionysus, who settled his Scythian followers there). It has been suggested (Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 175) that the name was derived from the distant village of Succoth. It is hard to say whether Scythopolis and Philoteria and Pella were genuine cities. In the story of Joseph the son of Tobias Scythopolis is spoken of as a city like Ascalon (Jos., *Ant.*, xii. iv. 5, § 183). Polybius (v. 70) uses of Philoteria and Scythopolis the curious phrase *τὴν ὑποπεταγμένην χώραν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις*, which implies that they were administrative capitals of districts rather than cities owning territories.

21. The crucial passage of Strabo is xvi. ii. 4, p. 750, *οἰκείως δὲ τῇ τετραπόλει καὶ εἰς σατραπείας διήρητο τέτταρας ἢ Σελευκίς, ὡς φησι Ποσειδώνιος, εἰς ὅσας καὶ ἡ Κοίλη Συρία, εἰς δὲ μίαν ἢ Μεσοποταμία*. Most scholars have either accepted Strabo's words without question (e.g. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup>, iv. 2, p. 356, Coratta, *Rend. Acc. Linc.*, x, 1901, p. 161) or quite arbitrarily separated Cyrrhestice from the Seleucis (e.g. Niese, *Gesch. der griech. u. mak. Staaten*, ii. 94, Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i, p. 208, Lehmann-Haupt, *P.W.*, ii. 169). Kahrstedt ('Syrische Territorien in hellenistischer Zeit', *Abh. Ges. Göttingen*, neue Folge, xix. ii) justifies the latter view by asserting that Cyrrhestice was part of Mesopotamia. The theory is *prima facie* absurd, making nonsense of the Greek word Mesopotamia and the Aramaic term 'Beyond the River', and the detailed arguments in its favour seem to me inadequate to support it. It is, moreover, directly contradicted by Strabo, who clearly conceived the Seleucis as embracing all northern Syria from the Amanus and Commagene southwards (xvi. ii. 2, p. 749, *μέρη δ' αὐτῆς* (of Syria) *τίθμεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κυλικίας ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Ἀμανοῦ τὴν τε Κομμαγηνὴν καὶ τὴν Σελευκίδα καλουμένην τῆς Συρίας, ἐπεὶτα τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν, τελευταίαν δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ παραλίᾳ τὴν Φοινίκην ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν*). After this introduction he describes in detail first Commagene, and then the Seleucis, beginning with Antioch, and going on to Cyrrhestice and then

to Apamea and then to Chalcidice, and then to Arad and winding up with the Eleutherus, ὄνπερ ὄριον ποιούνται τινες τῆς Σελευκίδος πρὸς τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ τὴν Κολήν Συρίαν (xvi. ii. 12, p. 753). Furthermore, Strabo distinguishes Cyrresthice from ἡ Ἀντιοχίς (*vid. inf.*) but never from the Seleucis. Strabo's use of the term Seleucis is supported by the legend of the imperial coins of Nicopolis (Νεικοπολεϊτῶν τῆς Σελευκίδος, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 782); Nicopolis must have been in Cyrresthice and Cyrresthice therefore in Seleucis. Apart from these arguments of detail, the general objection holds good against Kahrstedt's theory, that it makes the satrapies ridiculously small. SATRAPY OF APAMEA: *O.G.I.*, 262, τῆς περὶ Ἀπάμειαν σατραπείας. SATRAPY OF ANTIOCH: perhaps Strabo's Ἀντιοχίς (xvi. ii. 8, p. 751, ἡ Κυρρηστικὴ μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος and αἱ Πάγραι τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος) means the satrapy rather than the territory of Antioch (contrast ὑποπίπτει . . . ταῖς Πάγραις τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πεδίων). CYRRESTHICE: Plut., *Demetrius*, 48, Strabo, xvi. ii. 7, 8, p. 751 (he includes Gindarus and by implication Bamyce and Beroea in it), Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 81, '(u)nde Cyrresthica[e] Cyrthum'. CHALCIDENE: Pliny, loc. cit., 'Chalcidem . . . unde regio Chalcidena'; Strabo's source (Poseidonius?) probably mentioned Chalcidene, for Strabo (xvi. ii. 11, p. 753) seems to confuse a Χαλκιδική east of Apamea and near Parapotamia with Chalcidice in the Massyas.

22. Strabo (probably following Poseidonius) distinguishes Commagene from the Seleucis (see the previous note). The history of Commagene in the Hellenistic period is obscure; the latest summary of its problems is that of Honigmann (*P.W.*, Suppl., iv, pp. 979-84). The theory that it was part of the Armenian kingdom is based on the improbability of there having been two dynasties in which the names Arsames and Orontes (Aroandes) occurred. Hence, it is presumed that the founders of Arsameia (Jalabert and Mouterde, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de la Syrie*, no. 47) and Aroandea (inferred from the modern name Rawanda) in Commagene were the same persons (or of the same family) as Arsames, king of Armenia, in the middle of the third century (Polyaenus, iv. 17) or Arsames, the founder of Arsamosata in Sophene (Ptol., v. xii. 8), and Orontes, satrap of Armenia at the end of the fourth century (Diod., xix. 23), or Orontes, king of Armenia, at the end of the third (Strabo, xi. xiv. 15, p. 531). On the same reason is based the theory that Ptolemy, the founder of the Commagenian royal house (Diod., xxxi. 19a, *O.G.I.*, 402), was descended from the Armenian royal family; his ancestors included an Arsames (*O.G.I.*, 394) and an Aroandes (*O.G.I.*, 390-3). PARTITION OF ARMENIA: Strabo, xi. xiv. 15, p. 531. ANTIOCHUS III AND XERXES: Johannes Ant., fr. 53, *F.H.G.*, iv, p. 557, cf. Polyb., viii. 23; since Xerxes ruled in Arsamosata (read Ἀρσαμόσατα for Ἀρμόσατα) and his father was tributary to Antiochus, it follows that he was a son of Strabo's Zariadris. COMMAGENE A SATRAPY: Diod., xxxi. 19a, τῆς Κομμαγενῆς ἐπιστάτης Πτολεμαῖος.
23. Strabo (xvi. ii. 4, p. 749) and Appian (*Syr.*, 57) attribute all four cities of the tetrapolis to Nicator. Honigmann (*P.W.*, iva. 1611) attributes Apamea to Antiochus I on the ground that it was still called Pella in c. 285 B.C. (*vid. inf.*), and that it is more likely that Antiochus would have honoured his mother than Seleucus his divorced wife. SURVIVAL OF THE NAMES OF SELEUCIA AND APAMEA: Biladhuri, 148 (Salukiya), Yakubi, 111 (Afamiya). ANTIOCH: the Antigoneans, Strabo, xvi. ii. 4, p. 750, Malalas, p. 201, ed. Bonn, Libanius, *Or.*, xi. 92 (Diod., xx. 47, says that they were transplanted to Seleucia); Aetolians, Euboeans, and Cretans, Libanius, *Or.*, xi. 119; the four quarters, Strabo, loc. cit. (the second quarter is said to have been τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν οἰκητόρων . . . κτίσμα); privileges of the Jews, Jos., *Ant.*, xii. iii. 1, §§ 119-24, cf. *Bell.*, vii. v. 2, §§ 103-11. APAMEA: Pella, Strabo, xvi. ii. 10, p. 752, Diod., xxi. 20; the passage in Diodorus concerns the imprisonment of Demetrius Poliorcetes in 285 B.C., and if the town was still called Pella as late as this, it may well have been founded by Seleucus Nicator, to whom Appian (*Syr.*, 57) ascribes a Pella; its original name was, according to



- Malalas (ed. Bonn, p. 203), Pharnace; dependent cities, Strabo, loc. cit.; Thessalians at Larissa, Diod., xxxiii. 4a; Tryphon from Casiana, Strabo, loc. cit.; identification of Larissa with Zinzar, *vid. sup.*, note 3; of Megara with Ma'arra, Dussaud, *Topogr. hist. de la Syrie*, p. 200; arsenal at Apamea, Strabo, loc. cit. SELEUCIA: population, Polyb., v. 61; degradation of Posideium, *Chr.*, I. 1, εἰς φρούριον τὸ καλούμενον [II]σοῖδεον. LAODICEA: the site was originally called Mazabda, according to Malalas (ed. Bonn, p. 203), Ramitha, according to Steph. Byz., s.v. Λαοδίκεια. PELIGANES: *Syria*, xxiii (1942-3), pp. 21-32, δεδόχθαι τοῖς πελιγᾶσιν, cf. Strabo, VII, fr. 2, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Μακέδοσι πελιγᾶνας γούν καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐντίμους, καθάπερ παρὰ Λάκωσι καὶ Μασσαλιώταις τοὺς γέροντας, Hesychius, πελιγᾶνες· οἱ ἔνδοξοι, παρὰ δὲ Σύροις οἱ βουλευταί.
24. SELEUCIA ON THE BRIDGE: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 86, 'item Zeugma, lxxii p. a Samosatis, transitu Euphratis nobile; ex adverso Apameam Seleucus, idem utriusque conditor, ponte iunxerat'; its official title Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ζεύγματος is used by Polyb., v. 43; cf. also *Musée belge*, 1922, p. 119, 'dec. Seleu. Zeugme'; Seleucia on the Euphrates is probably the same place (Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 82, *I.G.*, xii. i. 653, Σελευκείως τῶν πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ); there was another Seleucia on a bridge on the Euphrates opposite Samosata, see Chap. IX, note 3. Europus is nowhere attributed to Seleucus, but is probably, however, identical with Oropus (see Chap. IX, note 3) which is ascribed to him by Steph. Byz., s.v. Ὠρωπός, τρίτη ἐν Συρία... Ἐσνοφῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναμετρήσει τῶν ὀρῶν περὶ Ἀμφίπολιν κείσθαι πόλιν Ὠρωπὸν ἢν πρότερον Τελμισσὸν καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κτισάντων, ταύτην δ' ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐπικτισθεῖσαν Ὠρωπὸν καλεῖσθαι; Telmissus is presumably the name of the Tel formed by the ruins of Carchemish. HIERAPOLIS: Aelian, *de Nat. Anim.*, xii. 2. NICOPOLIS: Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἰσός, ἐν ἧ' Ἀλέξανδρος Δαρείον ἐνίκησεν, ἡ ἐκλήθη διὰ τοῦτο Νικόπολις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Honigmann (*P.W.*, i va. 1608) attempts to solve the difficulty of the position of Nicopolis by citing Diod., xvii. 37, who records a pursuit of 200 stades after the battle of Issus; but Nicopolis is considerably more than that distance even in a bee line from the battlefield. Appian's description of Nicopolis as ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα Καππαδοκίας (*Syr.*, 57) is odd but intelligible if it be remembered that Commagene was at that date part of Armenia. The inscription found at Nicopolis, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀλέξανδρον Φιλίπου [*sic*] (Jalabert and Mouterde, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de la Syrie*, no. 163), surely cannot, as the editors suggest, refer to Alexander the Great; he would at least be given the title of king. Nicopolis in the Roman period, at any rate, had a strong Semitic element in its population, cf. Jalabert and Mouterde, op. cit., no. 166, Βαρνεβοῦν τὸν καὶ Ἀπολλινάριον Σαμμᾶνα (a gymnasiarch and *demiurgus* of the city). BEROEA AND CHALCIS: Appian, *Syr.*, 57; for the identifications, *vid. sup.*, note 4. ARETHUSA: Appian, *Syr.*, 57; form Arastan, Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. 103, no. 65. CYRRHUS: spelling Κύρος, Georgius Cyprus (ed. Gelzer), pp. 148-9; it is interesting to note that Demetrius Poliorcetes used the spelling Κυρήστης (Steph. Byz., s.v. Κύρρος). ANTIOCH UNDER LIBANUS: Appian, *Syr.*, 57; Seleucid era, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 791-2. HERACLEA OF PIERIA: E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies*, p. 123, H. Seyrig, *Bull. Mus. Beyrouth*, VIII (1949), p. 69. LAODICEA UNDER LIBANUS: Polyb., v. 45; for the identification with Kadesh, *vid. sup.*, note 3. ANTIOCH OF PIERIA: Steph. Byz., s.v. Αντιόχεια (7), Πιερίας, ἢν Ἀραδὸν οἱ Σύροι καλοῦσι. SELEUCIA AD BELUM: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 82. I place this city at Selukiye marked at 35° 12' N. 36° 22' E. on a British War Office map (Asia, 1:250,000, Section Latakia). This is not very far from the position assigned to it by Honigmann (*P.W.*, i va. 1202-3) on other grounds. To these Seleucid foundations may be added Maronea (Appian, *Syr.*, 57), which still existed in the Roman period (Ptol., v. xiv. 14) but does not ever seem to have become a city.
25. *Chr.* I. 1, τῶν δὲ ἱερέων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ [τῶν] ἄλλων πολιτῶν (Seleucia), οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ αἱ συναρχαὶ καὶ [πάντες οἱ ἀπ'] ὁ τοῦ γυμνασίου νεανίσκοι (Antioch).

- INSCRIPTION OF SELEUCIA: *Syria*, 1932, p. 255 (*S.E.G.*, VII. 62). TERRITORY OF APAMEA: Strabo, XVI. ii. 10, p. 752, ἐγγεγένητο μὲν γὰρ ἐν Κασιανοῖς, φρουρίῳ τινὶ τῆς Ἀπαμείων γῆς, τραφεῖς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀπαμείᾳ . . . ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἔσχε τὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ τῶν περιουκιδίων, Λαρίσης τε καὶ τῶν Κασιανῶν καὶ Μεγάρων καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων, αἱ συνετέλουν εἰς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν ἅπασαι.
26. SATRAPIES OF SOUTHERN SYRIA: Strabo, XVI. ii. 4, p. 750, *vid. sup.*, note 21. *Strategi* of Coele Syria and Phoenice (combined) are frequently recorded (*O.G.I.*, 230, 2 Macc. iii. 5, iv. 4, viii. 8, x. 11); they appear to be governors-general of all southern Syria, but perhaps two satrapies may be deduced from their title. The satrapy of Idumaea is mentioned in Diod., XIX. 98, a geographical description which may be derived from Poseidonius; a *strategus* of Idumaea figures in 2 Macc. xii. 32. The fourth satrapy is perhaps that described as ἀπὸ τῆς Κλίμακος Τύρου ἕως τῶν ὀρίων Αἰγύπτου in 1 Macc. xi. 59, and as ἀπὸ Πτολεμαίδος ἕως τῶν Ἰερρηγῶν in 2 Macc. xiii. 24; cf. also 1 Macc. xv. 38, τῆς παραλίης. SELEUCUS IV AND JERUSALEM: 2 Macc. iii. 6 seqq. ANTIOCHUS IV AND ELYMAIS: 1 Macc. vi. 1-3, *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XII. ix. 1, §§ 354-9 (quoting Polybius). PAYMENT FOR CITY CHARTER: 2 Macc. iv. 9. GRANT OF TARSUS AND MALLUS: 2 Macc. iv. 30.
27. STRATO: Ath., XII. 531; his coins, *B.M.C., Phoen.*, pp. 145-9. GRECO-PHOENICIAN BILINGUALS: *C.I.S.*, I. 115 (= *I.G.*, II. 2836), *C.I.S.*, II. 116 (= *I.G.*, II. 3318); another accurate translation of a Semitic name is Diopethes for Samabaa (*I.G.*, II, Suppl., 1335b). SIDONIAN VICTOR AT THE NEMEA: Wadd., 1866a. GAMES AT TYRE: 2 Macc. iv. 18-20.
28. ADOPTION OF GREEK NAMES: *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XII. v. 1, § 239, ix. 7, § 385. GYMNASIUM AND EPHEBATE: 2 Macc. iv. 9-14.
29. ANTIOCHUS IV'S COUNCIL CHAMBER AT ANTIOCH: Malalas, p. 205, ed. Bonn. COUNCIL OF ANTIOCH IN PERSIS: *O.G.I.*, 233. MUNICIPAL COINAGE OF ANTIOCHUS IV: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 763, 777-8, 780-2, 790-1, 793, 797-8, 800. RENAMING OF BERYTUS: Roussel, *B.C.H.*, 1911, pp. 433-41. COINAGE OF ARAD: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 789.
30. EPIPHANĒIA: era, *vid. sup.*, note 18; identity with Hamath, *vid. sup.*, note 3. ANTIOCH ON THE EUPHRATES: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 86, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 776; *Urima*, Ptol., v. xiv. 10, Hierocles, 713, 10, Georg. Cypr., 884; the position of the two corresponds and it is simplest to assume that *Urima* was the native name of Antioch. SCYTHOPOLIS-NYSA: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 74, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 803; Nysa was, according to Pliny, Dionysus' nurse. GAZA-SELEUCIA: *B.M.C., Pal.*, p. 143, δήμου Σελ. τῶν ἐν Γάζῃ.
31. JERUSALEM: 2 Macc. iv. 9, τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀναγράψαι, cf. iv. 19, θεωροὺς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀντιοχεῖς ὄντας; for similar titles cf. Σελ. (ευκέων) τῶν ἐν Γάζῃ (note 30) and Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 793). GERASA: *I.G.R.*, III. 1347, 1357. ABILA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 786, Σε. Ἀβιληγῶν. GADARA: Steph. Byz., s.v. Γάδαρα, πόλις Κοίλης Συρίας, ἦτις καὶ Ἀντιόχεια καὶ Σελεύχεια ἐκλήθη. Both cities are first mentioned in Polyb., v. 71. HIPPOS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 786, Ἀντιοχ. πρ. ἱπ.; Susitha, Neubauer, *La Géogr. du Talmud*, pp. 238-9. SELEUCIA IN GAULANITIS: *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XIII. xv. 3 and 4, §§ 393, 396, *Bell.*, I. iv. 8, § 105; it is mentioned later as a village, *Jos.*, *Vita*, 37, § 187.
32. DECREE OF DEMETRIUS II: *Jos.*, *Ant.*, XIII. ii. 3, §§ 48-57, esp. τὴν Ἱεροσολυμειτῶν πόλιν ἱεράν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶναι βούλομαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἕως τῶν ὄρων αὐτῆς; the version of 1 Macc. x. 31 is less technically phrased, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἦτω ἁγία καὶ ἀφεμένη καὶ τὰ ὄρια αὐτῆς. STRATEGUS AND MERIDARCH: 1 Macc. x. 65.
33. COINS OF CYRRHUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 766, 777.

34. PTOLEMY OF COMMAGENE: Diod., XXXI. 19a. BALANAE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 780; I date these coins by the Aradian era, *vid. sup.*, note 18. THE BROTHER PEOPLES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 778, ἀδελφῶν δῆμων, cf. Strabo, XVI. ii. 4, p. 749. OFFERS OF DEMETRIUS I AND ALEXANDER BALAS TO JONATHAN: I Macc. x. 3-45, Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. ii. 1-3, §§ 37-57. JONATHAN APPOINTED HIGH PRIEST: I Macc. x. 18-20, Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. ii. 3, § 45; *strategus* and *meridarch*, I Macc. x. 65. GRANT OF ACCARON: I Macc. x. 89, Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. iv. 4, § 102, τὴν Ἀκκάρωνα καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς. CONFIRMATION OF JUDAEA AND THE THREE NOMES BY DEMETRIUS II: I Macc. xi. 30-7, Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. iv. 9, §§ 126-8; of the four nomes by Antiochus VI, I Macc. xi. 57, Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. v. 4, § 145. TRYPHON AND JONATHAN: I Macc. xii. 48-xiii. 23, Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. vi. 1-6, §§ 187-212, *Bell.*, I. ii. 1, § 49. SIMON TAKES GAZARA, JOPPA, AND PEGAE: I Macc. xiii. 43-8, xiv. 5, Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. ix. 2, §§ 260-1. JUDAIZATION OF THESE CITIES: *ib.*, xiv. 34. In I Macc. xv. 28-35 Simon holds Gazara and Joppa only; according to Josephus, he conquered Jamnia also (*Ant.*, XIII. vi. 7, § 215, *Bell.*, I. ii. 2, § 50) and Jamnia was later a thoroughly Jewish city (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 30). SIDETES AND HYRCANUS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. viii. 2-3, §§ 236-48, *Bell.*, I. ii. 5, § 61.
35. ERA OF TYRE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 800. HYRCANUS CONQUERS SAMARITANS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. ix. 1, §§ 255-6, *Bell.*, I. ii. 6, § 63; captures Samaria and Scythopolis, Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. x. 2-3, §§ 275-80, *Bell.*, I. ii. 7, §§ 64-6; conquers Idumaeus (Adora and Marisa), Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. ix. 1, §§ 257-8, *Bell.*, I. ii. 6, § 63. ARISTOBULUS CONQUERS ITURAEANS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xi. 3, § 319. That these Ituraeans lived in Galilee may be inferred from *Bell.*, I. iii. 3, § 76, which alludes to campaigns in Galilee in Aristobulus' reign.
36. ERAS OF SIDON, SELEUCIA, ASCALON, BERYTUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 797-8, 783, 804, 790. ERAS OF TRIPOLIS AND LAODICEA: H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xxvii (1950), pp. 27, 31. I am inclined to attribute to a new era the coins of Gaza dated 6, 9, 65, and 66 (*B.M.C., Pal.*, pp. lxix-lxx). DECREE OF SELEUCIA: *O.G.I.*, 257. AUTONOMOUS COINAGE OF ORTHOSIA: *B.M.C., Phoen.*, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii; of Gabala, H. Seyrig, *Rev. Num.*, 1964, p. 9; of Larissa, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 781-2. WAR BETWEEN LARISSA AND APAMEA: Poseidonius *apud* Ath., IV. 176b. DAMASCUS-DEMETRIAS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 784-5.
37. ALEXANDER AND THE ARABS OF LEBANON: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 20, Q. Curtius, IV. (ii) 11. TITLE OF HIGH PRIEST AND TETRARCH: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 783-4. HELIOPOLIS AND CHALCIS: Strabo, XVI. ii. 10, p. 753. ANTIQUITY OF THE NAME BAALBEK: Neubauer, *La Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 298; of the name Gerrha, Polyb., v. 46. The place is now called Anjar, a corruption of 'Ain Jarr (Yaqut, iii. 760). MONICUS: Steph. Byz., s.v. Χαλκίς (4), πόλις ἐν Συρίᾳ κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Μονικοῦ τοῦ Ἀραβος. MENNAEUS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xv. 2, § 392, *Bell.*, I. iv. 8, § 103, &c., Strabo, XVI, ii. 10, p. 753. The conquest of Batanaea, &c. and Maglula, &c. is an inference from the fears of the Damascenes (Jos., *loc. cit.*) and from the extent of the tetrarchies of Zenodorus and Lysanias, which were granted to Herod the Great and to Agrippa I and II, *vid. inf.*, notes 58-9, 60, and 75.
38. DEMETRIUS AND THE NABATAEANS: Diod., XIX. 94-100. ELATH: *vid. sup.*, note 20. The Ptolemaic occupation of Ammanitis is, of course, proved by Philadelphia; I deduce their occupation of Moabitis and Gabalitis from the names of these districts; *vid. sup.*, note 19. THE SATRAPY OF IDUMAEA: Diod., XIX. 98; *vid. sup.*, note 26. ARETAS I: 2 Macc. v. 8, Ἀρέταν τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων τύραννον (169 B.C.). It is often stated that the Nabataeans were in occupation of Medaba in the early years of Jonathan, on the strength of I Macc. ix. 35. What this passage states, however, is that John passed through Medaba on his way to the Nabataeans. Jonathan had to go three days' march into the wilderness after crossing the Jordan to reach the Nabataeans (I Macc. v. 24-5). EROTIMUS: Justin, XXXIX. 5 (110-100 B.C.). ARETAS II AND GAZA: Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xiii. 3, § 360. OBEDAS IN GALAADITIS:

- Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xiii. 5, § 375, *κατὰ Γάδαρα κώμην τῆς Γαλααδιτίδος*; in the corresponding passage in *Bell.*, I. iv. 4, § 90, the place is given as *κατὰ τὴν Γαυλάνην*. ARETAS III AND DAMASCUS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xv. 2, § 392, *Bell.*, I. iv. 8, § 103. Aretas III issued coins in Damascus (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 811) but does not seem to have held it long. Tigranes issued coins in Damascus in 71–69 B.C. (*ib.*, p. 773), and even before this date Damascus seems to have been independent. It apparently was so when Alexandra, Jannaeus' widow, sent an expedition to aid it against Ptolemy the Ituraean (Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xvi. 3, § 418, *Bell.*, I. v. 3, § 115).
39. Josephus' accounts of Alexander's conquests are confused and incomplete. The conquest of Peraea follows from the capture of Gadara (here clearly the later capital of the Peraea) and Amathus (later the capital of another toparchy of the Peraea) from Theodore of Philadelphia (Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xiii. 3 and 5, §§ 356 and 374, *Bell.*, I. iv. 2 and 3, §§ 86 and 89). The cities which he held at his death are enumerated by Josephus (*Ant.*, XIII. xv. 4, §§ 395–7) and Syncellus (I, pp. 558–9, ed. Bonn), whose list is independent. Josephus gives on the coast Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rhinocolura; Syncellus adds Dora and Gabae (*Γαβαάν*). Inland, Josephus gives Adora and Marisa, Samaria, Scythopolis, Gadara (Syncellus makes it clear that the city is meant by adding *τὴν πρὸς θερμοῖς ὕδασι*), Seleucia, Esbus, Medaba, Pella; Syncellus adds Abila, Hippos, Dium, and Philoteria. I omit many places which were not cities in both lists; Ammanitis and Moabitis in Syncellus probably indicate those parts which formed the southern Peraea. The capture of Gerasa is recorded in Jos., *Bell.*, I. iv. 8, § 104; the corresponding passage, *Ant.*, XIII. xv. 3, § 393, gives Essa (otherwise unknown) for Gerasa. Its loss I infer from its omission in the lists of conquests, and from the fact that Alexander died besieging Ragaba, a fort in the territory of the Gerasenes (Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xv. 5, § 398). RETROCESSION OF ESBUS AND MEBADA: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. i. 4, § 18.
40. ZENO COTYLAS, TYRANT OF PHILADELPHIA (TEMP. ANTIOCHUS SIDETES): Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. viii. 1, § 235, *Bell.*, I. ii. 4, § 60. His son Theodore held also Gerasa (Jos., *Bell.*, I. iv. 8, § 104) and Gadara and Amathus (*Ant.*, XIII. xiii. 3, § 356, *Bell.*, I. iv. 2, § 86) but lost the last two to Alexander. CINYRAS, TYRANT OF BYBLUS: Strabo, XVI. ii. 18, p. 755. DIONYSIUS, TYRANT OF TRIPOLIS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. iii. 2, § 39. For the principality of Arca, *vid. inf.*, note 45.
41. ANTIOCHUS III AND ARAD: Polyb., v. 68. ARADIAN ATTACK ON MARATHUS: Diod., XXXIII. 5. CESSATION OF COINAGE OF MARATHUS: *B.M.C.*, *Phoen.*, p. xlv. EMPIRE OF ARAD: Strabo, XVI. ii. 12, p. 753; this passage is certainly borrowed from Poseidonius, since it was not true of Strabo's day. Dynasts in northern Syria are heard of as early as the middle of the second century B.C., Diocles or Zabdiel the Arab, who killed Alexander Balas (Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. iv. 8, § 118, 1 Macc. xi. 17, Diod., XXXII. 9d, 10), and Malchus the Arab who surrendered Balas' son to Tryphon (Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. v. 1, § 131, 1 Macc. xi. 39, Diod., XXXIII. 4a). In the early first century Heracleon killed Antiochus Grypus (Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xiii. 4, § 365, Ath., iv. 153b). A little later Strato, tyrant of Beroea, and Azizus the Arab are mentioned (Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xiv. 3, § 384). Heracleon's son Dionysius must have conquered Strato, for he was dynast of Bambyce and Beroea (Strabo, XVI. ii. 7, p. 751). Alchaedamnus is first mentioned in 69 B.C. (Cassius Dio, XXXVI. 4), Samsigeramus in connexion with Pompey (Diod., XL. 1a, 1b, Cic., *ad Att.*, II. 16, § 2), Silas the Jew at the same time (Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. iii. 2, § 40). Gambarus and Themella are not mentioned till Caesar's time (Strabo, XVI. ii. 11, p. 753), the Palmyrenes till Antony's (Appian, *B.C.*, v. 9).
42. Josephus' lists of cities freed by Pompey (*Ant.*, XIV. iv. 4, §§ 75–6, *Bell.*, I. vii. 7, §§ 155–6) are manifestly incomplete. I have added to them the cities rebuilt by Gabinius, and Abila, which used the Pompeian era (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 786).

- Josephus confuses Dora on the coast and Adora in Idumaea; from *con. Ap.*, II. 9, § 116, it appears that he was ignorant of the existence of the latter. For Arethusa see Avi Yona, *The Holy Land*, p. 80. REBUILDING OF GADARA: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. iv. 4, § 75, *Bell.*, I. vii. 7, § 155; style of Pompeia, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 787. CITIES REBUILT BY GABINIUS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. v. 3, § 88, *Bell.*, I. viii. 4, § 166. GABINIA SAMARIA: Cedrenus, I, p. 323, ed. Bonn, *τὴν τῶν Γαβινίων πόλιν τὴν ποτε Σαμάρειαν*, Syncellus, I, p. 584, ed. Bonn. GABAE: this explanation of the era and style of Gabae (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 786) disposes of the second Gabae which was supposed to exist in Philip's tetrarchy (cf. Benzinger, *P.W.*, VII. 410-11); Marcius Philippus' Syrian governorship, Appian, *Syr.*, 51. Pompey's recognition of the freedom of Ascalon may be inferred from the fact that it was a free city in the early principate (Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 68) and still maintained its old era of freedom, 104 B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 804).
43. POMPEY'S TREATMENT OF THE JEWISH KINGDOM: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. iv. 3, §§ 73-4. GABINIUS' COUNCILS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. v. 4, §§ 90-1, *Bell.*, I. viii. 5, §§ 169-70. SAMARITAN COUNCIL: Jos., *Ant.*, XVIII. iv. 2, § 88; the context makes it clear that this is a council of the Samaritan community (cf. iv. 1, § 85, *τὸ Σαμαρέων ἔθνος*) not of the city of Samaria, then called Sebaste.
44. SCAURUS AND ARETAS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. v. 1, §§ 80-1, *Bell.*, I. viii. 1, § 159. PTOLEMY BRIBES POMPEY: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. iii. 2, § 39; the restoration of Gaulanitis to Ptolemy is to be inferred from its later belonging to Zenodorus, *vid. inf.*, note 59. ERA AND STYLE OF CANATHA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 786.
45. The Ituraean principality of Arca is nowhere clearly distinguished from the other and more important Ituraean principality in the ancient authors. The first reference to it is in 48 B.C., Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. viii. 1, § 129, *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σοαίμων Λίβανον ὄρος οἰκῶν* (cf. *Bell.*, I. ix. 3, § 188), when Ptolemy, son of Mennaenus, was ruling the other Ituraean principality. Later dynasts are Sohaemus (Cassius Dio, LIX. 12, *Σοαίμω τὴν τῶν Ἰτουραίων τῶν Ἀράβων*, Tac., *Ann.*, XII. 23, 'Ituraei et Iudaei defunctis regibus Sohemo et Agrippa', cf. Jos., *Bell.*, II. xviii. 6, § 481, *Νοαρον Σοαίμω τῷ βασιλεῖ προσήκοντα κατὰ γένος*, and *Vita*, II, § 52, *Οὐάρου* (the same person) *ἔγγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχούντος*) and Noarus or Varus (Jos., *Bell.*, II. xii. 8, § 247, *τὴν Οὐάρου γενομένην ἐπαρχίαν*). I call the principality Arca on the strength of Pliny (*N.H.*, v. 74) who numbers Arca among the Ituraean tetrarchies, and Josephus (*Bell.*, VII. v. 1, § 97) who places the Sabbatic river north of *Ἀρκαίας τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας* (Agrippa II had received the tetrarchy, *vid. inf.*, note 60). The Ituraean forts of Byblus and Gigarta obviously must have belonged to this principality; their demolition by Pompey, Strabo, XVI. ii. 18, p. 755. The freedom of Tyre and Sidon was respected by Antony when he gave the rest of the coast to Cleopatra (Jos., *Ant.*, XV. iv. 1, § 95, *Bell.*, I. xviii. 5, § 361) and taken away by Augustus (Cassius Dio, LIV. 7). From a comparison of the latter passage with Suet., *Aug.*, 47, it may be inferred that they were federate—Antony's respect for their privileges is also more explicable on this view. Tyre still boasted of its *foedus* when it was a colony (*Dig.*, L. xv. 1, *C.I.L.*, x. 1601). That the Decapolis was a creation of Pompey is an inference from the fact that nearly all the members used the Pompeian era (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 786-7, *B.M.C.*, *Pal.*, p. xxxv). PLINY'S LIST: *N.H.*, v. 74; it is evidently not official (ethnics are not used) but derived from a Greek source, as the spelling of the names shows. The membership of Damascus in the principate is fairly certain since it is recorded under the Decapolis by Ptolemy also (v. xiv. 18) and was from Hadrian's time metropolis of Coele Syria, which is equivalent to the Decapolis (see Appendix II); Josephus (*Bell.*, III. ix. 7, § 446) calls Scythopolis the greatest city of the Decapolis at the time of the Jewish revolt and it has been inferred that Damascus was therefore not then a member, but the inference is far from certain since Josephus is speaking of the cities

- affected by the revolt and might well in the context ignore distant Damascus. ABILA OF THE DECAPOLIS: *I.G.R.*, III. 1057. CAPITOLIAS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 787, Ptol., v. xiv. 18. Its identification with Raphana rests only on a comparison of Pliny's and Ptolemy's lists of the Decapolis. The modern name of the site of Capitolias is Bait Ras, 'the house of the head'. It is improbable that this is a translation of Capitolias; it is more probable on the analogy of other Arabic names that it is a revival of the pre-Hellenic name of which Capitolias was the Greek version. If so, the city later called Capitolias was called something with *ras* in it, which is a slight confirmation for identification with Pliny's Raphana. TERRITORIES OF PHILADELPHIA, ETC.: Jos., *Bell.*, III. iii. 3, §§ 46-7; Gerasa owned Ragaba, 18 miles to the west, Jos., *Ant.*, XIII. xv. 5, § 398; Philadelphia owned *Mia* (Jos., *Ant.*, XX. i. 1, § 2), which, if it is rightly identified with *Zia* (Eus., *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 200-1), was 15 miles to the west. TERRITORIES OF SCYTHOPOLIS, ETC.: Jos., *Bell.*, III. iii. 1, § 37, *Vita*, 9, § 42. TERRITORY OF ABILA: *I.G.R.*, III. 1162, 1164.
46. SELEUCIA: Strabo, XVI. ii. 8, p. 751. SILAS: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. iii. 2, § 40; principality of Lysias, Strabo, XVI. ii. 10, p. 753. SAMSIGERAMUS: Cic., *ad Att.*, II. 16, § 2, Strabo, loc. cit. ALCHAEDAMNUS, ETC.: Strabo, loc. cit. ANTIOCHUS OF COMMAGENE: Appian, *Mith.*, 114, Strabo, XVI. ii. 3, p. 749. CAESAR AND ANTIOCH: Malalas, p. 216, ed. Bonn. JULIA LAODICEA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 781. Both these cities and Gabala adopted the Caesarean era, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 778, 781; Antony's grant of freedom to Laodicea (Appian, *B.C.*, v. 7) after its capture by Cassius was probably only a renewal of Caesar's grant. ANTONY'S GIFT OF ARETHUSA, ETC.: Plut., *Ant.*, 37, ANTONY AND ARAD: Cassius Dio, XLVIII. 24, 41, XLIX. 22 (capture of Arad in 38 B.C.). COINS OF BALANEAE UNDER ANTONY: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 780; coins of Leucas, *ib.*, p. 785 (era 38-37 B.C.); the identification rests on Steph. Byz., s.v. *Βαλαναίαι, ἡ νῦν Λευκάς*. The identification of Leucas with Abila, which is accepted by most numismatists, rests only on the fact that there was a river Chrysorhoas at both; but Chrysorhoas is a common river name—there was another at Gerasa. The identification is impossible because 'Leucadii' occurs in Pliny's official list (*vid. inf.*, note 47). This list includes only north Syrian cities, and at the date when it was drawn up (30-20 B.C.) Abila was not a city but a part of the Ituraean tetrarchy. COINS OF MARATHUS: *B.M.C.*, *Phoen.*, pp. xlv-lxv; of Paltus, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 782. DEPOSITION OF ALEXANDER: Cassius Dio, LI, 2, cf. Strabo, XVI. ii. 10, p. 753. ERAS AT APAMEA, ANTIOCH, AND SELEUCIA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 779, 783, H. Seyrig, *Syria*, XXVII (1950), p. 18.
47. PLINY'S LISTS: *N.H.*, v. 81-2, 'Nunc interiora dicantur. Coele habet Apameam, Marsya amne divisam a Nazerinorum tetrarchia, Bambycen, quae alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur . . . Chalcidem cognominatam ad Belum . . . Cyrrhum, Gazetas, Gindarenos, Gabenos, tetrarchias duas quae Granucomatitae vocantur, Hemesenos, Hylatas, Ituraeorum gentem et qui ex iis Baethaemi vocantur, Mariamitanos, tetrarchiam quae Mammisea appellatur, Paradisum, Pagras, Penelenitas, Seleucias praeter iam dictam duas, quae ad Euphratem et quae ad Belum vocantur, Tardytenses. reliqua autem Syria habet exceptis quae cum Euphrate dicentur Arethusios, Beroeenses, Epiphanenses ad Orontem, Laodicenos qui ad Libanum cognominantur, Leucadios, Larisaeos, praeter tetrarchias in regna discriptas barbaris nominibus XVII.'
48. COINS OF NORTH SYRIAN CITIES: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 776-85. THE DYNASTY OF EMESA: Iamblichus restored, Cassius Dio, LIV. 9; Samsigeramus in A.D. 44, Jos., *Ant.*, XIX. viii. 1, § 338; Azizus in A.D. 52, *ib.*, xx. vii. 1, § 139; Sohaemus in A.D. 69, Tac., *Hist.*, II. 81, in A.D. 72, Jos., *Bell.*, VII. vii. 1, § 226. ARISTOBULUS, KING OF CHALCIDICE: *vid. inf.*, note 60. NICOPOLIS IN CILICIA: Strabo, XIV. v. 19, p. 676, Ptol., v. vii. 7. TIGRANES AND THE ARABS: Pliny, *N.H.*, VI. 142, 'Arabia . . . a monte Amano e regione Ciliciae Commagenesque descendit, ut diximus, multis

- gentibus eorum deductis illo a Tigrane magno'. The identifications of the Nazerini, Gazetae, Gabeni, and Hylatae are due to Dussaud, *Topogr. hist. de la Syrie*, pp. 138, 195-6.
49. ANNEXATION IN A.D. 17: Tac., *Ann.*, II. 42, 56, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, XVIII. ii. 5, § 53. RESTORATION OF ANTIOCHUS IV IN A.D. 38: Cassius Dio, LIX. 8; in A.D. 41, id., LX. 8, Jos., *Ant.*, XIX. v. 1, § 276. ANNEXATION IN A.D. 72: Jos., *Bell.*, VII. vii. 1-3, §§ 219-43, Suet., *Vesp.*, 8. *Κοινὸν* OF COMMAGENE: *vid.* Appendix II. THE FOUR CITIES: *C.I.L.*, III. 6712 (= Dessau, 7204), 6713-14. SAMOSATA: I am not convinced by Honigmann's argument (*P.W.*, Suppl., IV. 982-3) that Samosata was known to Eratosthenes and therefore must date to the early third century B.C. The passage of Strabo (XIV. ii. 29, pp. 663-4) on which the argument rests is not quoted verbally from Eratosthenes, and it is possible that Eratosthenes spoke only of τὸ κατὰ Κομμαγηνὴν ζεῦγμα as in Strabo, XVI. i. 22, pp. 746-7, another passage quoted from Eratosthenes, and that Strabo inserted the name Samosata, which he presumably derived from Polybius or Artemidorus, whom he was also using; Samos, *O.G.I.*, 396, 402. IMPERIAL COINS OF SAMOSATA, GERMANICIA, DOLICHE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 776. PERRHE: Steph. Byz., s.v. Πέρροα; it was a bishopric in the fourth century, Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxi, no. 82, Basil, *Ep.*, I 18, Migne, *P.G.*, XXXII. 536, Ἰοβίνω ἐπισκόπῳ Πέρρης (A.D. 372). ANTIOCH ON TAURUS: Ptol., v. xiv. 8, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀντιόχεια (9), ἐπὶ τῷ Ταύρῳ ἐν Κομμαγηνῇ.
50. That the territories of the four cities embraced the whole country may be inferred from the fact that no other items are recorded by Hierocles or Georgius, cf. also John of Ephesus, *De beat. Or.*, 35, *Patr. Or.*, XVIII. p. 621, 'they were divided over the territory of the Edessenes and the Samosatenes and the Perrhenes and the men of Melitene', which implies that the territories of Samosata and Perrhe embraced the whole area between Mesopotamia and Armenia II. Samosata owned territory on the other side of the Euphrates, *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXII, 1913, p. 122, ἀπὸ Μεσσοποταμίας ἐνορίας Σαμοσάτων ἀπὸ κώμης σεμνῆς καλουμένης Μαραθᾶ (Marathas was a bishopric in the province of Edessa, see Table XXXI). This territory was presumably that given to Antiochus of Commagene by Pompey (App., *Mith.*, I 14, Strabo, XVI. ii. 3, p. 749). REGAL ADMINISTRATION: *O.G.I.*, 383, lines 95-6, κατὰ κώμης καὶ πόλεως, Jalabert and Mouterde, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de la Syrie*, 86, στρατηγὸς Σύρων.
51. ANTONY'S ATTACK: Appian, *B.C.*, v. 9. The earliest epigraphic record of the city of Palmyra is in 44 B.C. (Starcky, *Palmyre*, p. 20). THE CLANS: Février, *Histoire de Palmyre*, pp. 9-10; the Palmyrene word for 'clan' is translated sometimes γένος (e.g. *C.I.S.*, II. 3950), more often φυλή (ib., II. 3966, 4120, &c.). THE FOUR TRIBES: *Syria*, 1932, pp. 279 and 289, αἱ τέσσαρες φυλαί. TRIBAL FEUDS: *C.I.S.*, II. 3915. DECREE OF COUNCIL: *I.G.R.*, III. 1056. FOUR TREASURERS: Wadd., 2627 (= *C.I.S.*, II. 3994). TERRITORY: Ptol., v. xiv. 19 (including Danaba, Euaria, Resapha, and Sura), cf. Appian, *Proem.*, 2, ἡ Παλμυρητῶν ψάμμος ἐπ' αὐτὸν Εὐφρατῆν καθήκουσα, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 87, 89. VI. 125, 143, 'Palmyrenae solitudines', and *C.I.S.*, II. 3973, *Syria*, 1933, p. 179 (Palmyrene *strategi* of Hirtha and Ana and of Ana and Gamala). TARIFF: *I.G.R.*, III. 1056 (= *O.G.I.*, 629 and *C.I.S.*, II. 3913); farmer, *I.G.R.*, III. 1539 (= *C.I.S.*, II. 4235).
52. For a discussion of the date of the annexation see Seyrig, *Syria*, 1932, pp. 266-77 (where the dedication to Tiberius and the milestone of A.D. 75 are published). BUFFER STATE: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 88. GERMANICUS AND THE TARIFF: *I.G.R.*, III. 1056. IVA, line 42, Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς πρὸς Στατελι[ον ἐπιστ]ολῆς διασαφήσαντος, &c.; cf. also *Syria*, 1931, p. 139 (dispatch of a Palmyrene by Germanicus on a mission to Mesene). Later signs of Roman supremacy are the Claudian tribe (Wadd., 2613) and Corbulo's regulation of the tariff (*I.G.R.*, III. 1056. IVA, line 56, ὡς καὶ Κορβούλων ὁ κράτιστος ἐσημώσατο ἐν τῇ πρὸς Βάρβαρον ἐπιστολῇ). SURNAME HADRIANE: *I.G.R.*, III. 1056. COLONY: *Dig.*, L. xv. 1, § 5 (Ulpian); that

Severus granted Palmyra colonial rights is inferred from the frequency of the name Septimius in the city (e.g. *I.G.R.*, III. 1027-8, 1030-2, 1034-5, 1040-2, 1044); the title first appears on the inscriptions in *C.I.S.*, II. 3932 (not in the Greek text, *I.G.R.*, III. 1013), which is dated 242 but records an event of A.D. 229; colonial status is implied by the record of two στρατηγοί (the normal Greek rendering of *duoviri*) in *I.G.R.*, III. 1046 (A.D. 224). THE PALMYRENE ARMY: Syria, 1933, p. 179, *C.I.S.*, II. 3973, cf. Syria, 1932, pp. 279 seqq. (recording a 'strategus who restored peace in the boundaries of the city', called in the Greek version [στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς (?) εἰρήνης], p. 289 (honours paid to a Palmyrene διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τὰς κατὰ τῶν νομάδων στρατηγίας). ROMAN TROOPS AT PALMYRA: Seyrig, Syria, 1933, pp. 152-68 (including a unit at Suhne on the Palmyra-Sura road): cf. Poidebard, *La Trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, p. 52 (*castella* of Trajanian type on the Damascus-Palmyra road); Roman commander at Palmyra, *I.G.R.*, III. 1056. IIIb, line 35, τῷ ἐν Παλμύροις τεταγμένῳ. The financial position of Palmyra was, I think, peculiar only in that it was allowed to control a frontier tariff; city tariffs are implied to have been quite regular in the Palmyrene tariff itself (*iva*, line 53, ὡς καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς γέινεται πόλεσι). That the whole revenue from the customs dues went to the city cannot be proved but is, I think, highly probable in view of the fact that the farm included not only the customs dues but also various miscellaneous taxes, especially the water-rate, which were normally municipal. The occasional interventions of the imperial government do not prove that the fiscus had any interest in the revenue, for all city *vectigalia* were subject to imperial control. It may be noted that the Palmyrenes presumably paid tribute before they gained the *ius Italicum*. Palmyra was still an important fortress in the Byzantine period (*Not. Dig. Or.*, XXXII. 30, *Proc.*, *Aed.*, II. 11) and a bishopric (see Table XXXVII, 6).

53. SEVERUS AND ANTIOCH AND LAODICEA: Herodian, III. vi. 9, Malalas, p. 294, ed. Bonn, *Dig.*, L. xv. I, § 3, 8, § 3. CARACALLA AND EMESA: *Dig.*, L. xv. I, § 4, 8, § 6; and Antioch, *Dig.*, L. xv. 8, § 5. RAPHANEAE: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 782. It was the seat of Legio XII Fulminata before the Jewish war (Jos., *Bell.*, VII. i. 3, § 18) and of Legio III Gallica in the mid-second century (Ptol., v. xiv. 12). It may be inferred from Herodian, v. iii. 9, that it was still a legionary camp in the early third century.
54. For Hierocles, Georgius Cyprius, the Notitia of Anastasius, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XXXIII-XXXV, XXXVI, 10-12; XXXVII, 1-2, 6-9, 12-13. CESSATION OF MARATHENE COINAGE: *B.M.C.*, *Phoen.*, p. xlv. Antaradus, which seems to be identical with Carne (cf. Strabo, XVI. ii. 12, p. 753), is first mentioned by Ptolemy (v. xiv. 12). Its elevation to city rank may be inferred from Soz., *H.E.*, II. 5 and Eus., *Vit. Const.*, IV. 39, combined with Hierocles, 716, 6-7, Ἀντάραδος, Κωσταντινίαι, and Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. v, p. 44, 'Aradi et Constantiae'. ERAGIZA: the name and position are given by Ptol., v. xiv. 10. SCENARCHIA: Scenite Arabs in this region are alluded to by Strabo, II. v. 32, p. 130, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 87 and 143, Evagrius, *H.E.*, III. 36. EUARIA: military post, *Not. Dig. Or.*, XXXII. 19; made city in 573, John of Ephesus, *H.E.*, III. 40. Salamias was an archbishopric in the sixth century but does not seem to have been even a bishopric earlier; this suggests that like Barcusa it was founded by Justinian. BARCUSA-JUSTINIANOPOLIS: Mansi, VIII. 919-20, τῆς ποτὲ Βαρκούσων νῦν δὲ Ἰουστινιανουπόλεως, IX. 391, 'Iustinianopolitanorum sive Barcusenae civitatis'; the only other evidence on Barcusa is that it was an archbishopric in the patriarchate of Antioch and in Phoenice (Steph. Byz., s.v. Βαργούσιοι, ἔστι καὶ Βάρχουσα μικρὰ πόλις Φοινίκης); Georg. Cypr., 991, Εὐάριος ἦτοι Ἰουστινιανούπολις, as Honigsmann points out (*Byz. Zeitschr.*, 1925, p. 76) must be a blunder (it is, in my opinion, a gloss by Basil of Isalimban, see Appendix III), but proves that Barcusa was in Phoenice Libanensis. RESAPHA: military post, *Not. Dig. Or.*, XXXIII. 27; fame of Sergius and foundation by



Anastasius, Georg. Cypr., 883, *Σεργιούπολις ἦτοι Ἀναστασιούπολις, ἡ σήμερον Ῥατταφά, ἔνθα ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ ἅγιος Σέργιος* (the notes are probably a gloss by Basil), Mansi, v. 915, 'pervasis vero et martyrium sancti et boni victoris Sergii martyris quod sub Hieropolitana erat ecclesia et noviter illic contra morem ordinavit episcopum'. NEOCAESAREA: military post, *Not. Dig. Or.*, xxxiii. 26; bishop in 325, Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxi, no. 66, in 341, Mansi, II. 1308; it is sometimes called Neocaesarea or Caesarea Augusta (Mansi, VII. 712, v. 768). ANASARTHA: Malalas, p. 444, ed. Bonn, *τὸ κάστρον τὸ λεγόμενον Ἀνάσαρθον μετεκάλεισε Θεοδουριάδα . . . παρεσχηκῶς καὶ δίκαια πόλεως*; the form Theodoropolis given in the Notitia of Anastasius seems preferable. I add a note on the ecclesiastical organization of Syria in the sixth century. All the cities were bishoprics except Nicopolis, a curious exception to Zeno's law. The *saltus* of Eragiza had a bishop. There were, in addition, a number of sees which were not civil units—in the province of Antioch Gabbula, in the province of Hierapolis Barbalissus and Sura, in the province of Damascus Danaba and the Saracens (which might correspond to the Eastern *clima*), in the province of Resapha Agrippias, Zenobia, Orisa, Erigene, and Orthalea (the last is found only in the Syriac copy of the Notitia). The suffragan sees of Resapha did not exist in A.D. 451, for in the Sixth Action of Chalcedon we have a complete list of the sees of the province of Hierapolis (to which Resapha then belonged) and these sees (and Eragiza) are missing (Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, pp. 145 [341], 154-5 [350-1]; the name of the see of one bishop has dropped out, but it must be Barbalissus, which appears at Ephesus). They were presumably created by Anastasius when he raised Resapha to metropolitan rank. It may be noted that most of the sees which were not cities were military posts; Barbalissus, Sura, Danaba, and Orisa all figure in the *Not. Dig. Or.* (xxxiii. 25, 28, xxxii. 31, xxxiii. 23) and Agrippias is perhaps only a hellenized version of Occariba (ib., xxxiii. 17).

55. TERRITORIES OF CHALCIS, ETC.: Theodoret, *H.E.*, IV. 28; of Cyrrhus, id., *Ep.*, 42, Migne, P.G., LXXXIII. 1217-20, *τῆς γὰρ ἡμετέρας χώρας τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σημείων τὸ μῆκος ἔστι, τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ εὖρος*. GINDARUS: id., *Hist. Relig.*, II, Migne, P.G., LXXXII. 1313, *ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Γίνδαρον χωρίοις, κώμη δὲ αὐτῆς μεγίστη τελεῖν ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τεταγμένη*; bishops of Gindarus, Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxi, no. 69 (325), Mansi, II. 1307 (341). THE AULON: Soz., *H.E.*, VII. 15, *ἐν τῷ Ἀδλώνι, κλίμα δὲ τοῦτο τῆς Ἀπαμείων χώρας*. TARUTIA: Z.D.M.G., 1887, p. 302, *ἀπὸ κώμης Ταρουτίας ἐμπόρων τῆ(ς) Ἀπαμείων ἐνορίας* (A.D. 558).
56. ANTIPATER AND CAESAR: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. viii. 1, 2, §§ 127-36, *Bell.*, I. ix. 3, 4, §§ 187-92. ANTIPATER MADE PROCURATOR: id., *Ant.*, XIV. viii. 5, § 143, *Bell.*, I. x. 3, § 199. Hyrcanus is styled high-priest only in the first of Caesar's decrees, ethnarch in the rest; these decrees (*Ant.*, XIV. x. 2-7, §§ 190-212) are admirably analysed by Momigliano, 'Ricerche sull'organ. della Giudea', *Ann. R. Scuol. Norm. Sup.* Pisa, ser. II, vol. iii (1934), pp. 10 seqq. RESTORATION OF JOPPA: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. x. 6, §§ 202-10.
57. HEROD MADE KING: Appian, *B.C.*, v. 75, *Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρώδην*, Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. xiv. 4, §§ 381-5, *Bell.*, I. xiv. 4, §§ 282-4. No details are given by Josephus, but we know that Herod later held in addition to Hyrcanus' ethnarchy and to the cities and districts given to him by Augustus (which are enumerated in detail by Josephus) not only Idumaea (where the two cities of Marisa and Adora disappear) but Gabae, Azotus, and Jamnia; from Jos., *Ant.*, xv. vii. 9, §§ 253-8, it further appears that Herod held Gaza under Antony. It is probable, therefore, that these cities were given to him by Antony, about whose actions Josephus is much less well informed than about the actions of Augustus. The loss of Joppa and Gaza is inferred from Augustus granting them to Herod; they were perhaps included among the coastal cities up to the Eleutherus (Jos., *Ant.*,

xv. iv. 1, § 95, *Bell.*, I. xviii. 5, § 361), which Antony gave to Cleopatra. HEROD AND AUGUSTUS: *Jos., Ant.*, xv. vi. 6-7, § 187-95, *Bell.*, I. xx. 1-3, §§ 386-93. GRANT OF ANTHEDON, ETC.: *id.*, *Ant.*, xv. vii. 3, § 217, *Bell.*, I. xx. 3, § 396.

58. GRANT OF BATANAEA, ETC.: *Jos., Ant.*, xv. x. 1, §§ 343-5, *Bell.*, I. xx. 4, §§ 398-9. DEATH OF PTOLEMY: *id.*, *Ant.*, xiv. xiii. 3, § 330, *Bell.*, I. xiii. 1, § 248. EXECUTION OF LYSANIAS: *id.*, *Ant.*, xv. iv. 1, § 92, *Bell.*, I. xxii. 3, § 440, Cassius Dio, XLIX. 32. HEROD FARMS TERRITORIES GRANTED TO CLEOPATRA: *Jos., Ant.*, xv. iv. 2, § 96, 4, §§ 106-7, *Bell.*, I. xviii. 5, § 362. COINS OF ZENODORUS, PTOLEMY, AND LYSANIAS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 783-4. ZENODORUS' ROBBERIES AND DAMASCENES' COMPLAINTS: *Jos., Ant.*, xv. x. 1, §§ 344-5, *Bell.*, I. xx. 4, § 398, Strabo, xvi. ii. 20, p. 756.
59. GRANT OF ULATHA, ETC.: *Jos., Ant.*, xv. x. 3, § 360, *Bell.*, I. xx. 4, § 400; Josephus does not name Gaulanitis but it is implied in the statement that Zenodorus held everything between the Trachon and Galilee. THE COLONY OF BERYTUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 790, Strabo, xvi. ii. 19, p. 756; it had the *ius Italicum*, *Dig.*, L. xv. 1, § 1, 7, 8, § 3. TERRITORIES OF SIDON AND DAMASCUS: *Jos., Ant.*, xviii. vi. 3, § 153; of Tyre, *id.*, *Bell.*, II. xviii. 1, § 459 (Cedasa a Tyrian village), III. iii. 1, §§ 38-9, Mark vii. 24 and 31. ABILENE: Luke iii. 1, cf. *I.G.R.*, III. 1085, 1086. CHALCIS: *Jos., Ant.*, xix. v. 1, § 277, *Bell.*, II. xi. 5, § 217.
60. DIVISION OF HEROD'S KINGDOM: *Jos., Ant.*, xvii. xi. 4 and 5, §§ 317-21, *Bell.*, II. vi. 3, §§ 93-8; cf. Herod's will, *id.*, *Ant.*, xvii. viii. 1, §§ 188-9. SALOME'S BEQUEST TO LIVIA: *id.*, *Ant.*, xviii. ii. 2, § 31, *Bell.*, II. ix. 1, § 167. DEPOSITION OF ARCHELAUS: *id.*, *Ant.*, xvii. xiii. 2, § 344, *Bell.*, II. vii. 3, § 111. ANNEXATION OF PHILIP'S TETRARCHY: *id.*, *Ant.*, xviii. iv. 6, § 106. GRANT OF PHILIP'S AND ANTIPAS' TETRARCHIES TO AGRIPPA: *id.*, *Ant.*, xviii. vi. 10, § 237, vii. 2, § 252, *Bell.*, II. ix. 6, §§ 181-3; in the *Antiquities* Josephus adds Abilene. GRANT OF HEROD'S KINGDOM TO AGRIPPA: *id.*, *Ant.*, xix. v. 1, §§ 274-5, *Bell.*, II. xi. 5, § 215; Josephus mentions Abilene in both passages and adds *ὄμοσ' ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὅρει* in the *Antiquities*; the tetrarchy of Arca is presumably meant, but its tetrarch Sohaemus did not die till A.D. 49. ANNEXATION OF THE KINGDOM: *id.*, *Ant.*, xix. ix. 2, § 363, *Bell.*, II. xi. 6, § 220. GRANT OF CHALCIS TO AGRIPPA II: *id.*, *Ant.*, xx. v. 2, § 104, *Bell.*, II. xii. 1, § 223. GRANT OF PHILIP'S TETRARCHY, ETC., TO AGRIPPA II: *id.*, *Ant.*, xx. vii. 1, § 138, *Bell.*, II. xii. 8, § 247; the passage in the *Antiquities* is confused and omits the tetrarchy of Arca. GRANT OF THE FOUR TOPARCHIES TO AGRIPPA II: *id.*, *Ant.*, xx. viii. 4, § 159, *Bell.*, II. xiii. 2, § 252. ARISTOBULUS KING OF CHALCIDICE: *id.*, *Bell.*, vii. vii. 1, § 226; if this Chalcidice was the northern Chalcis, Aristobulus would have died in A.D. 92 when Chalcis started a new era (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 778). The date of Agrippa II's death is disputed; I follow Rosenberg (*P.W.*, x. 149-50), and add to his evidence *I.G.R.*, III. 1176 (an inscription at Ahire in Agrippa's kingdom dated not by his regnal year but by the emperor Nerva's in A.D. 96).
61. GAZA UNDER THE GOVERNOR OF IDUMAEA: *Jos., Ant.*, xv. vii. 9, § 254. COMPLAINTS OF THE GADARENES: *id.* *ib.*, xv. x. 2, 3, §§ 351-8. ANTHEDON-AGRIPPIAS: *id.*, *Bell.*, I. xxi. 8, § 416, cf. *Ant.*, XIII. xiii. 3, § 357, *Bell.*, I. iv. 2, § 87. SAMARIA-SEBASTE: *id.*, *Ant.*, xv. viii. 5, §§ 296-8, *Bell.*, I. xxi. 2, § 403; Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 803. STRATO'S TOWER-CAESAREA: *Jos., Ant.*, xv. ix. 6, §§ 331-41, *Bell.*, I. xxi. 5-7, §§ 408-14, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 802; disputes under Nero, *Jos., Ant.*, xx. viii. 7, §§ 173-8, and 9, § 183, *Bell.*, II. xiii. 7, §§ 266-70 and xiv. 4, § 284. The anti-semitism of both Caesarea and Sebaste is illustrated by their scandalous conduct on Agrippa I's death (*Ant.*, xix. ix. 1, 2, §§ 356-65).
62. For toparchies (or nomes) in the second century B.C. *vid. sup.*, note 19. ACRA-BATTENE: I Macc. v. 3. GOPHNA, ETC., UNDER HYRCANUS: *Jos., Ant.*, xiv. xi. 2, § 275, *Bell.*, I. xi. 2, § 222. The Gophnitic toparchy is mentioned by Josephus at the time of Judas Maccabaeus (*Bell.*, I. i. 5, § 45), but this is probably an anachronism. VILLAGE CLERK: *Jos., Ant.*, xvi. vii. 3, § 203 (Herod's children by

- Mariamme threaten, when they come into power, *κομμογραμματεῖς καταστήσειν* his children by his other wives). PTOLEMY, *STRATEGUS* OF JERICHO: I Macc. xvi. 11. Other similarities with the Ptolemaic system are the title of the finance minister (Jos., *Ant.*, xvi. vii. 2, § 191, *διοικητῆς τῶν τῆς βασιλείας πραγμάτων*), the royal banks (id., *Vita*, 9, § 38, *τὴν βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν*), and the public granaries (this last under the Romans) (id., *Bell.*, II. xx. 3, § 564, *τῶν δημοσίων θησαυρῶν*). The mention of the last shows that, as in Egypt, corn taxes were collected in kind; this is also implied in Jos., *Vita*, 13, § 71, *τὸν Κάϊσαρος σίτον κείμενον ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἄνωθεν Γαλιλαίας κώμας*.
63. Josephus' list of toparchies (*Bell.*, III. iii. 5, §§ 54-5) refers to the reign of Nero. Pliny's (*N.H.*, v. 70, 'Reliqua Iudaea dividitur in toparchias decem quo dicemus ordine: Hiericuntem . . . Emmaum, Lyddam, Iopicam, Acrabatenam, Gophaniticam, Thamniticam, Betholeptephenen, Orinen . . . Herodium') dates, I think, to A.D. 6 (see Appendix I); if so, it has been revised (cf. the references to the destruction of Jerusalem). BETHLEPTAPHENE: Jos., *Bell.*, IV. viii. 1, § 445. TOPARCHY OF JAMNIA: Jos., *Ant.*, XVIII. ii. 2, § 31, *Ἰάμνειάν τε καταλείπει καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν*, *Bell.*, II. ix. 1, § 167, *τὴν τε αὐτῆς τοπαρχίαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν*. PROCURATOR OF JAMNIA: id., *Ant.*, XVIII. vi. 3, § 158; Strabo calls Jamnia a village despite its size (xvi. ii. 28, p. 759).
64. TOPARCHIES OF JULIAS AND ABILA: Jos., *Bell.*, II. xiii. 2, § 252, *τέτταρας πόλεις . . . σὺν ταῖς τοπαρχίαις, Ἀβίλα μὲν καὶ Ἰουλιὰδα κατὰ τὴν Περαιάν, Ταριχαίας δὲ καὶ Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, cf. *Ant.*, xx. viii. 4, § 159, *Ἰουλιὰδα πόλιν τῆς Περαιάς καὶ κώμας τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα* (Abila is omitted). THE 'REGIONS': Georg. Cypr., 1016, 1018, 1089. The evidence for the identity of Betharampha with Julius is Jos., *Ant.*, XVIII. ii. 1, § 27, with Livias is Eus., *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 112-13; the reason for the change from Livias to Julius is inferred. GADARA, CAPITAL OF THE PERAEA: Jos., *Bell.*, IV. vii. 3, § 413. RIOTS AT AMATHUS: id., *Ant.*, XVII. x. 6, § 277; at Betharampha, Jos., *Bell.*, II. iv. 2, § 59. The toparchic capital Abila is probably the Abella of *P. Zen. Cairo*, 59004 (itinerary Strato's Tower—Jerusalem—Jericho—Abella); it is also mentioned in Jos., *Bell.*, IV. vii. 6, § 438. Josephus sometimes speaks of Esbonitis as a part of the Peraea (*Ant.*, xv. viii. 5, § 294), sometimes as a district adjacent to it (*Bell.*, II. xviii. 1, § 458, III. iii. 3, § 47); this shows that it had been partitioned. The city of Esbus was in Arabia (Ptol., v. xvi. 4): this shows that it was in the Nabataean kingdom. The Peraea stretched southwards as far as Machaerus (Jos., *Bell.*, III. iii. 3, § 46).
65. NARBATENE: Jos., *Bell.*, II. xviii. 10, § 509. TIBERIAS AND TARICHEAE: *vid. sup.*, note 64. SEPPHORIS, CAPITAL OF GALILEE: Jos., *Vita*, 9, §§ 37-8. CONTRAST OF CITIES AND VILLAGES: Jos., *Vita*, 37, § 188. UPPER AND LOWER GALILEE: Jos., *Bell.*, III. iii. 1, § 35, &c.
66. HEROD'S GIFTS TO OUTSIDE CITIES: Jos., *Ant.*, XVI. v. 3, §§ 146-9, *Bell.*, I. xxi. 11, §§ 422-5. GABAE: id., *Ant.*, xv. viii. 5, § 294, *Bell.*, III. iii. 1, § 36; *vid. sup.*, note 42. HERODIUM: Jos., *Ant.*, XIV. xiii. 9, § 360, *Bell.*, I. xiii. 8, § 265. PHASAELIS: id., *Ant.*, XVI. v. 2, § 145, *Bell.*, I. xxi. 9, § 418. ANTIPATRIS: id., *Ant.*, XVI. v. 2, §§ 142-3, *Bell.*, I. xxi. 9, § 417, cf. *Bell.*, II. xix. 1, §§ 513 and 515, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 802.
67. ARCHELAIS: Jos., *Ant.*, XVII. xiii. 1, § 340. JULIAS-LIVIAS-BETHARAMPHA: *vid. sup.*, note 64. TIBERIAS: Jos., *Ant.*, XVIII. ii. 3, §§ 36-8, *Bell.*, II. ix. 1, § 168, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 802; *agoranomus*, Jos., *Ant.*, XVIII. vi. 2, § 149; council, *Bell.*, II. xxi. 9, § 641; *decaproti*, *Vita*, 13, § 69, 57, § 296; archon, ib., 27, § 134, 54, § 278, 57, § 294; Jewish aristocracy, ib., 9, §§ 32-6; formed of officials, id., *Ant.*, XVIII. ii. 3, § 37, *τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει*, cf. *Vita*, 9, § 33 (Crispus a prefect of Agrippa II); few Greeks, ib., 12-§ 67. SEPPHORIS: Jos., *Ant.*, XVIII. ii. 1, § 27, H. Seyrig, 'Irenopolis—Neronias—Sepphoris', *Num. Chron.*, 1950, p. 284; population Jewish,

Jos., *Vita*, 67, § 377; pro-Roman, *ib.*, 8, §§ 30-1, 67, § 373. RIVALRY OF TIBERIAS AND SEPPHORIS: *ib.*, 9, §§ 37-9.

68. VESPASIAN FOUNDS NO CITIES: Jos., *Bell.*, VII. vi. 6, § 217. JOPPA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 803; destroyed in the war, Jos., *Bell.*, II. xviii. 10, §§ 507-9, III. ix. 2-3, §§ 414-27. NEAPOLIS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 69 (Mamortha), Jos., *Bell.*, IV. viii. 1, § 449 (*Μαβαρθά*), Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 803; Samaritan population, *vid. sup.*, p. 279 territory, *J.R.S.*, 1931, plate vii. MILITARY COLONY AT EMMAUS: Jos., *Bell.*, VII. vi. 6, § 217, οὐ γὰρ κατώκειεν ἐκεῖ πόλιν . . . ὀκτακοσίους δὲ μόνοις ἀπὸ τῆς στρατίας διαφευγόνους χωρίον ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησον ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἀμμαοὺς ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίου τριάκοντα. This Emmaus is probably that of Luke xxiv. 13; it is not the toparchic capital, the later Nicopolis, which was much farther from Jerusalem. COLONY AT CAESAREA: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 69, *Dig.*, L. xv. 1, § 6, 8, § 7, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 802.
69. DESTRUCTION DURING THE LAST JEWISH WAR: Cassius Dio, LXIX. 14. AELIA CAPITOLINA: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 803; *Dig.*, L. xv. 1, § 6, 8, § 7, *Chron. Pasch.*, I, p. 474, ed. Bonn (an interesting list of public buildings); foreign population, Cassius Dio, LXIX. 12, *Eus.*, *H.E.*, IV. 6; exclusion of Jews, *Eus.*, loc. cit., τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα γῆς πάντων ἐπιβαίνειν ἔργεται νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεσιν Ἀδριανοῦ; territory, *J.R.S.*, 1931, plate vii.
70. NEAPOLIS: coins, *B.M.C.*, *Pal.*, pp. 45-9; temple of Zeus Hypsistus, Photius, *Bibl.*, 242, Migne, *P.G.*, CIII. 1284. SEPPHORIS: coins, *B.M.C.*, *Pal.*, pp. 1-4; territory, *J.R.S.*, 1931, plate vii. TIBERIAS: coins, *B.M.C.*, *Pal.*, pp. 5-10; Hadrianeum, Epiphanius, *adv. Haer.*, xxx, Migne, *P.G.*, xli. 425; territory, *J.R.S.*, 1931, plate vii. The synagogues of Galilee are published in Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*. Jewish control of Sepphoris and Tiberias in the fourth century, Epiphanius, loc. cit., cf. *Soc.*, *H.E.*, II. 33 (revolt of the Jews of Diocaesarea).
71. ELEUTHEROPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 804; identification with Baitogabra, Neubauer, *La Géogr. du Talmud*, pp. 122 seqq.; importance, Amm. Marc., XIV. viii. 11; territory, *J.R.S.*, 1931, plate vii; cf. also for Gerara, Theodoret, *Quaest. I in Paralip. II*, chap. xiv, Migne, *P.G.*, LXXX. 828, and for Birosaba, *Rev. bibl.*, 1904, pp. 266-70. DIOSPOLIS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 802; identification with Lydda, Medaba map, Λῶδ ἥτοι Λύδ(δ)α ἡ κ(αὶ) Διόσπολις; territory, *J.R.S.*, 1931, plate vii. COLONY OF SEBASTE: *Dig.*, L. xv. 1, § 7, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 803; territory, *J.R.S.*, 1931, plate vii.
72. NICOPOLIS: *Eus.*, *Chron.*, p. 224, ed. Karst, Hieron., *Chron.*, p. 214, ed. Helm. Sozomenus (*H.E.*, v. 21) attributes its foundation to Vespasian, and Hill (in *B.M.C.*, *Pal.*, pp. lxxix-lxxx) accepted his version on the ground of certain coins of Nicopolis of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus dated by an era of approximately A.D. 70, and of other coins of Diva Faustina bearing the legend *NI BO* (interpreted as 'of Nicopolis', 'year 72'). The second series he now attributes to Bostra. The first I would attribute to Nicopolis of Armenia Minor, which used the era of A.D. 72 and which used the same type (Zeus seated right holding a victory) which appears on the supposed coins of the Palestinian Nicopolis. Mr. Robinson of the British Museum informs me that, though there are difficulties in the way of my attribution, viz. that the supposed coins of the Palestinian Nicopolis are of a totally different fabric from those of Nicopolis of Armenia Minor and have a different legend (*Νικοπολιτῶν* instead of *Νικοπόλεως*), he does not consider these objections of sufficient weight to counterbalance the indications of era and type and above all the historical evidence. Josephus' statement that Vespasian founded no city in Judaea and Eusebius' record of the foundation of Nicopolis in A.D. 222-3 seem to me conclusive. Sozomenus' story is presumably a very natural misinterpretation of Josephus' statement about Vespasian's military settlement at Emmaus in the light of the existence of a

- city of Emmaus-Nicopolis in his own day. OFFICIAL STYLE OF NICOPOLIS: *B.M.C., Pal.*, loc. cit.; territory, *J.R.S.*, 1931, plate vii. MAXIMIANOPOLIS: Hierocles, 720, 10, George. Cypr., 1034; identified with Caparcotnei (Ptol., v. xv. 3), *Mishna, Gittin*, 2. 5, 7. 7, or with Adrademmon, Hieron., in *Zach.*, chap. xiii. HELENOPOLIS: Hierocles, 720, 8, Georg. Cypr., 1038, Soz., *H.E.*, II. 2.
73. COLONY OF PTOLEMAIS: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 75, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 793-4; it had no *ius Italicum* (*Dig.*, L. xv. 1, § 3) but seems to have been a genuine colony, cf. the mention of the four Syrian legions on the coins. Various other cities in this area became colonies at a late date, Neapolis under Philip (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 803), Gerasa in the late third century (*J.R.S.*, 1930, pp. 49-50), Ascalon (*B.G.U.*, 316), and Gaza (*I.G.R.*, III. 1212) then or later, Gadara under Valens (*C.I.L.*, III. 181). For Hierocles, Georgius Cyprius, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XXXVI, 2; XXXVIII, 4, 7, 9; XXXIX; XL (except 13); XLI, 7, 9, 10. DIOCLETIANOPOLIS: Alt (*Z.D.P.V.*, 1931, pp. 171-82) has made it very probable that Sariphaea and Maiuma of Ascalon are identical; his further identification with Diocletianopolis is more doubtful but is supported by Hierocles' order. BITTYLIUS: Soz., *H.E.*, v. 15, ἐν Βηθελίᾳ κώμῃ Γαζαία, vi. 32, ἀμφὶ Βηθελίαν κώμην τοῦ νομοῦ Γάζης. See also Alt, *Zeitschr. d. deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1940, pp. 224-7. MAIUMA OF GAZA: Soz., *H.E.*, II. 5 and v. 3. Azotus-by-Sea, Sycamozon, and Bittylius are marked on the Medaba map.
74. ONO: *P. Oxy.*, 1205, Ὠνευτῶν τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης (A.D. 201); M. Avi Yonah (*Quarterly Dep. Ant. Pal.*, v, p. 155) deduces its secession from Diospolis from a Talmudic source which I cannot verify. ELUSA AND MAPSIS IN IDUMAEA: Ptol., v. xv. 7; for Elusa see Libanius, *Ep.*, 101, 532. COREATHAS: Eus., *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 250-1. Bilbanus, *ib.*, pp. 102-3. The Saltus Constantinianus is mentioned in the Beersheba inscription (*Rev. bibl.*, 1906, pp. 87 seqq.). The Saltus Gerariticus is marked on the Medaba map and mentioned in Theodoret, loc. cit. (note 71); Barsama, Ptol., v. xv. 7, *Not. Dig. Or.*, xxxiv. 22, *Cod. Theod.*, VII. iv. 30. It may be useful to summarize what is known of the ecclesiastical organization of the region. Ptolemais and Gerasa, Philadelphia, and Dium, being in Byzantine Phoenicia and Arabia respectively, were in the patriarchate of Antioch. From the Notitia of Anastasius it appears that Dium, despite Zenó's law, had no bishop. The rest of the area was in the patriarchate of Jerusalem of which we have no Notitia. Bishops are known of all the cities except Ono, Azotus-by-Sea, Mapsis, and Birasaba. The four 'regions' and the Saltus Gerariticus had bishops; the last appears as Gerara at Chalcedon, and is perhaps also equivalent to the Orda of the later councils (*J.P.O.S.*, 1931, pp. 204-15). None are known of Toxos, Ariza, the Saltus Constantinianus, or the villages, unless the see of Exalo be equivalent to the village of Nais—they lie close together. On the other hand, the Maiuma of Gaza was an independent see. Other sees were Menois, a military post near Gaza (*Not. Dig. Or.*, xxxiv. 19, *Cod. Theod.*, VII. iv. 30), 'the camp' or 'the Saracens' (in the Judaea desert), and Bacatha, stated by Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.*, LVIII, *Anaceph.*, I. ii, Migne, *P.G.*, XLI. 1012, XLII. 865) to have been a *metrocomia* in the territory of Philadelphia. It is odd that Bacatha should have belonged to the patriarchate of Jerusalem seeing Philadelphia was in that of Antioch, but Marathas is a partial parallel (*vid. sup.*, note 50).
75. CAESAREA UNDER LIBANUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 791-2: identification with Arca, Aur. Victor, *de Caes.*, 24; boundary with Gigarta, *C.I.L.*, III. 183 (= Des-sau, 5974). SALTUS GONAITICUS: Georg. Cypr., 981, Γονασιτοισάλλων, 994, Σάλλον Γοναϊτικόν, cf. *Cod. Just.*, XI. lxi. 2; it may be noted that Chalcis seems to have reverted to its native name in the Byzantine period, *S.E.G.*, I. 545, ἀπὸ κώμης Αἰν[γ]α[ρρ]ίας (from near Anjar). ABILENE: inscription of Agrippa II at Iabrudá, Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. arch. or.*, VII, pp. 54-76. ABILA AND THE

- CLIMATA*: Georg. Cypr., 988, 990, 993; *C.I.L.*, III. 199 (= Dessau, 5864), 'impendiis Abilenorum', does not necessarily imply that Abila was already a city at this date (Aurelius and Verus).
76. BETHSAIDA-JULIAS: Jos., *Ant.*, XVIII. ii. 1, § 28, *Bell.*, II. ix. 1, § 168. *CLIMA* OF GAULANE: Georg. Cypr., 1041. CAESAREA-PANEAES: Jos., *Ant.*, loc. cit., *Bell.*, loc. cit., Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 785-6; mixed population, Jos., *Vita*, II, § 53, § 59, § 61, 13, § 74; territory, Mark viii. 27 and Schauck and Alt, *Pal. Jahrb.*, 1933, pp. 101-3 (inscriptions at Kuneitra dated by the era of Paneas); the city was improved and renamed Neronias by Agrippa II (Jos., *Ant.*, XX. ix. 4, § 211).
77. REBELLIONS OF THE TRACHONITIS AND THE IDUMAEAN COLONY: Jos., *Ant.*, XVI. ix. 1-3, §§ 271-92. THE BABYLONIAN COLONY: ib., XVII. ii. 1-3, §§ 23-30. PHILIP'S RULE: ib., XVIII. iv. 6, §§ 106-7. AGRIPPA'S EDICT: *I.G.R.*, III. 1223 (= *O.G.I.*, 424).
78. SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN BATANAEA, ETC.: Strabo, XVI. ii. 20, p. 756, Jos., *Ant.*, XV. s. 1, § 344 seqq., XVI. ix. 1, § 271 seqq. BEDOUIN: *I.G.R.*, III. 1254, *οἱ ἀπὸ ἔθνους νομάδων*, *Am. Exp. Syr.*, III. 383, *συνδικίου νομάδων*. SHEIKHS: *I.G.R.*, III. 1247, Dussaud et Macler, *Voyage arch. au Safâ et dans le Djebel Druz*, p. 147, no. 7. DEDICATIONS, ETC., BY TRIBES: *I.G.R.*, III. 1171, 1298, Wadd., 2220, 2427, 2537d, *Princeton Exp. Syria*, IIIA. 786<sup>3</sup>, *Rev. bibl.*, 1932, p. 564, no. 76, p. 574, no. 115. Instances of the use of the tribe, with or without the village, are collected in *J.R.S.*, 1931, p. 269, notes 7 and 8. For the splitting of a tribe, cf. Wadd., 2393, *κωμ. Μερδόχων φυλ. Αὐδηγῶν*, and 2396, *μητροκωμίας Βορεχάθ Σαβῶν φυλῆ[s] Αὐδηγῶν*.
79. TOPARCHY OF BATANAEA: Jos., *Ant.*, XVII. ii. 1, § 25. PREFECTS (ἑπαρχοί): *I.G.R.*, III. 1136, 1194, 1338, cf. Jos., *Vita*, 9, § 33. CENTURIONS: Aurelius Quirinalis Gemellus at Mismiya, *I.G.R.*, III. 1114, at Ahira, ib., 1179, at Mushennef, ib., 1261; Petusius Eudemus at Shuhba, ib., 1195, at Kefr, ib., 1290, honoured at Mismiya, ib., 1121; Egnatius Fuscus at Mismiya, ib., 1113; Apicius Romanus at Mushennef, ib., 1262.
80. VILLAGE STRATEGI: *I.G.R.*, III. 1125 (three), 1137, 1195, 1213; cf. Ewing, *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1895, p. 346, no. 163, *Μάγνος Φιλίππου ἐκγονος Μάγνου στρατηγού* (A.D. 334). LATER MAGISTRATES: elective, Wadd., 2188, *τούτους πάνν σπουδαίους κώμης ἐπελέξατο δήμος*; annual, Wadd., 2462-3 (lists of magistrates for the same village in two consecutive years): the titles are discussed in my article, *J.R.S.*, 1931, pp. 270-1.
81. VILLAGE ASSEMBLY: *I.G.R.*, III. 1192, *ὄχλου γενομένου τῆς κώμης ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*, Wadd., 2505, *ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀπὸ . . . κώμης ἐκ κωμῆς αὐτῶν εὐδοκῆ[s] [εως]*. VILLAGE FUNDS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS: *J.R.S.*, 1931, p. 270. TEMPLE FUNDS AND MAGISTRATES: ib., p. 272.
82. CANATHA: *vid. sup.*, notes 44-5; cohorts of the Canathenes, Cheesman, *Auxiliaries of the Roman Imperial Army*, p. 181. PHILIPPOPOLIS: Aur. Victor, *de Caes.*, 28, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 812; inscription of year 1 of the city, *I.G.R.*, III. 1196; cult of Marinus the father of Philip, *I.G.R.*, III. 1199, 1200. MAXIMIANOPOLIS: *S.E.G.*, VII. 1055, which fixes the site at Shakka, where many city inscriptions have been found. The date of the foundation is fixed (within the reign of Maximian) by the equations of the city era with the indictions (see *J.R.S.*, 1931, pp. 273-4) to either 287 or 302. COLONY: *I.G.R.*, III. 1189. The identification of Shakka with Ptolemy's *Σακκαία* (v. xiv. 20) is obvious; the (Σ)ακκαῖῶται made a dedication to Philip at Philippopolis, *I.G.R.*, III. 1198. The importance of the village of Saccaea is shown by its possessing a theatre, *I.G.R.*, III. 1192. It is curious that Maximianopolis, though recorded at Chalcedon and in the Notitia of Anastasius, is omitted in both Georgius and Hierocles. It must, I think, be represented by Hierapolis, which is unknown to the ecclesiastical sources, though why the official name of the city should have been changed is

obscure. CONSTANTINE—CONSTANTIA: see Table XXXVIII, 16; inscriptions at Burak, Wadd., 2537*a* and *b*. DIONYSIAS: *I.G.R.*, III. 1278. The modern name Suweida is obviously to be identified with the *Σοαδηνοί* of Wadd., 2370 (= *S.E.G.*, VII. 1233) and *I.G.R.*, III. 1275. There are other inscriptions at Suweida set up by a city in the reigns of Trajan and Commodus, but I shall endeavour to prove later (p. 293) that the city in these inscriptions is Bostra. If the change of name from Soada to Dionysias is to be associated with promotion from village to city, *I.G.R.*, III. 1275, proves that there was no city at Suweida in A.D. 149. NEAPOLIS: see Table XXXVIII, 10; inscription at Sheikh Miskin, Wadd., 2413. It is curious that Neapolis, recorded as a city in Georgius and Hierocles and as a bishopric at Const. I and Chalcedon, is omitted in the Notitia of Anastasius. If this is not a mere slip, Neapolis must be recorded under its native name. PHAENA: see Table XXXVIII, 14; a *metrocomia*, *I.G.R.*, III. 1119. Phaena is perhaps recorded at Chalcedon (*Αἴνου*); it is omitted in the Notitia and perhaps concealed in the otherwise unknown Chrysopolis. NEVE: see Table XXXVIII, 19; Jewish carvings at Nawa, Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, pp. 167–80, cf. also Eus., *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 302–3, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων εἰς ἔτι νῦν πόλις Ννευῆ καλουμένη περὶ τὴν Γωνίαν τῆς Ἀραβίας; Herod's colony, Jos., *Ant.*, XVII. ii. 1 and 2, §§ 23–8.

83. BOUNDARY STONES: *S.E.G.*, VII. 1055, *I.G.R.*, III. 1278. CITY CONSTITUTIONS: the title of *πρόεδρος* seems to be peculiar to the cities; it is found at Canatha (*I.G.R.*, III. 1235), Philippopolis (ib., 1196), and Dionysias (*Rev. bibl.*, 1905, p. 95, no. 8), also at Bostra (*I.G.R.*, III. 1321, 1325) and Adraa (ib., 1286–7).

84. For instances of *βουλευταί* in villages see *I.G.R.*, III. 1131, 1134, 1152, 1187, Wadd., 2019, 2204, 2216, *Princeton Exp. Syria*, IIIa. 787<sup>2</sup>. Rostovtzeff (*The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 570) and Harper ('Village Admin. in the Rom. prov. of Syria', *Yale Classical Studies*, I (1928), pp. 143–5) assume that they were members of the village council. VILLAGE DECREES: *vid. sup.*, note 81; letter to the Phaenesii, *I.G.R.*, III. 1119. For the analogy of *οὔτρανοι* and *οὔτρανικοί* with *βουλευταί* and *βουλευτικοί* see *I.G.R.*, III. 1187, διὰ Οὐλπίου Κασσιανοῦ οὔτρανικοῦ καὶ Γαδοῦς Σαοῦρου βουλευτοῦ Νιγρεινοῦ Μαρρίνου οὔτρανικοῦ προνοητῶν. THAEMUS JULIANUS: *I.G.R.*, I. 25.

85. For Hierocles, Georgius Cyprius, the Notitia of Anastasius, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XXXVI, I, 3–9, 13–20; XXXVII, 3–5, 10–11, 14–18; XXXVIII, 2, 5, 10–22; XL, 13. COLONY OF DAMASCUS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 784; for Chonochora see Table XXXVII, 15. COLONY OF TYRE: *Dig.*, L. xv. 1, 8, § 4, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 801; Roman settlers may be deduced from the record of III Gallica on the coins. COLONY OF SIDON: Head, *op. cit.*, p. 798; for Rachla see Table XXXVI, 20, cf. the era used in two inscriptions of Rachla and one at the neighbouring village of Deir el 'Ashayir (Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Prov. Arabia*, II, pp. 247–8); by the Sidonian era the dates work out A.D. 283, A.D. 293, and A.D. 131; by the Seleucid era, the only alternative, they are impossibly early. HELIOPOLIS: for the original territory of the colony of Berytus, Strabo, XVI. ii. 19, p. 756, ἀνελήφθη δὲ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δεξαμένη δύο τάγματα ἃ ἴδρυσεν Ἀγρίππας ἐνταῦθα προσθεῖς καὶ τοῦ Μασσίου πολλὴν μέχρι καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ὀρόντου πηγῶν. The identity of style (Iulia Augusta Felix) proves the two colonies to be of common origin. The separation of Heliopolis from Berytus by Severus is indicated by the coinage—that of Berytus begins under Augustus, that of Heliopolis under Severus (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 790, 785), and by Ulpian (*Dig.*, L. xv. 1, § 2, 'Heliopolitana quae a divo Severo per belli civilis occasionem Italiae coloniae rempublicam accepit'); the allusion to the civil war is explained by Herodian, III. iii. 3–5, whence it appears that the separation of Heliopolis was a punishment to Berytus for siding with Niger. The inscriptions of Heliopolis do not contradict my thesis. In *C.I.L.*, III. 14387 and 14387*a* (= Dessau, 8957–8) the colony

- (which is not named) is probably Berytus. *C.I.L.*, III. 14387b (= Dessau, 8912), 'Sabinae imp. Antonini Aug. fil. Heliopolitani', seems to me in my favour; the Heliopolitans at that date (late second century) were evidently not a colony, or they would have said so; they were still merely a village of Berytus. Cf. also *C.I.L.*, x. 1634 (= Dessau, 300), 'cultores Iovis Heliopolitani Berytenses qui Puteolis consistunt' (A.D. 115). It does not seem to me significant that three Antonine veterans give their *domus* as Heliopolis (*Bull. Mus. Beyrouth*, XVI (1961), p. 112). For the *domus* of a soldier is not always constitutionally accurate.
86. GIGARTA: Strabo, XVI. ii. 18, p. 755, *C.I.L.*, III. 183 (= Dessau, 5974), 'Gigartenos de vico Sidonior(um)'. TRIERIS: Scylax, 104, Polyb., v. 68, Strabo, XVI. ii. 15, p. 754.
87. NEILA: Eus., *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 300-1. GONIA: *ib.*, pp. 80, *ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ Γονία τῆς Βαταναίας*, 302 (cited in note 82). AERITA: *I.G.R.*, III. 1179. EUTIME: *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1895, p. 52, no. 30. AERE: *I.G.R.*, III. 1128. ZORAVA: *ib.*, 1154-6. DUREA: Wadd., 2412 n. SALTUS BATANEOS: for the extension of the term Batanaea in the Roman period, cf. Ptol., v. xiv. 20, who includes the Trachonite Arabs and Saccaea (in northern Auranitis) in Batanaea. I add a note on the ecclesiastical organization of the area I have been discussing. All the cities are given with the exception of Hierapolis and Phaena, which are probably, as I have suggested, concealed under Maximianopolis and Chryso-polis, and also of Neapolis; this must, I think, be an error since Neapolis was certainly a bishopric as the Acta of Const. I and Chalcedon show. Besides the cities there are (i) in the province of Damascus, the *clima* of Iabruda and the villages of Chonochora, Harlana, and Coradea (the villages were probably in the territory of Damascus; they are called villages of Damascus by Yaqut, ii. 244, iv. 56, 314), (ii) in the province of Tyre, Rachla and Porphyreon (probably in the territory of Sidon), and Sarepta (probably in the territory of Tyre), (iii) in the province of Bostra, seven villages, Zoronia, Erre, Neila, Durea, Eutime, Dal-munda, and Alamusa, and a camp of the Bedouin.
88. NABATAEAN KINGDOM: auxiliaries, Caesar, *Bell. Alex.*, I, Strabo, XVI. iv. 22-4, pp. 780-2 (Aelius Gallus), Jos., *Ant.*, XVII. x. 9, § 287, *Bell.*, II. v. 1, § 68 (riots after Herod's death), Tac., *Hist.*, v. 1 (the Jewish war); frontier disputes, Jos., *Ant.*, XVI. ix. 1-4, §§ 275-9, x. 8-9, §§ 335-55 (Obedas and Herod), *ib.*, XVIII. v. 1 and 3, §§ 109-15, 120-5 (Aretas IV and Antipas). Augustus thought of giving the Nabataean kingdom to Herod (Jos., *Ant.*, XVI. x. 9, § 353); this shows that it was reckoned as a vassal kingdom of the empire. The extent of the kingdom can be deduced from (a) inscriptions dated by the regnal years of Nabataean kings; these have been found at Dumeir (*C.I.S.*, II. 161), at Bostra (*ib.*, 174), at various places in the southern foot-hills of Jebel Hauran, Salkhad (*ib.*, 182, 183), Imtan (*Rép. épigr. sém.*, I. 83), Tell Ghariya (*ib.*, 86), and Umm el Quettein (*ib.*, 468), at Medaba (*C.I.S.*, II. 196) and Umm er Rusas (*ib.*, 195), and at Medain Salih in the extreme south (*C.I.S.*, II. 197 seqq.); (b) Strabo, XVI. iv. 23, p. 780, *εἰς Λευκὴν κόμην τῆς Ναβαταίων γῆς*, 24, p. 782, *μέχρι Ἐγγᾶς κόμης· ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ὀβόδα* (Egra is identified with Medain Salih); (c) Ptolemy, v. xvi, who assigns to Arabia Petraea the greater part of the peninsula of Sinai and the cities of Eboda, Aela, Petra, Zoara, Rabbathmoba, Esbus, Medaba, Bostra, and Adraa; (d) the use of the era of A.D. 105, at any rate during the second century, for Severus—and later Diocletian—enlarged the province to the north and the added districts adopted the provincial era (see Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Prov. Arabia*, III, pp. 266-70). The Arabian era was used during this period at Adraa, Bostra (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 811-12), the villages in the southern Hauran (see Brünnow and Domaszewski, *loc. cit.*), and also in the Sinai peninsula (*C.I.S.*, II. 963, 964, 1325, also for the third century, 1491, 2666) and at Medain Salih (*Rép. épigr. sém.*, II. 1128 and for the third century 1175); it is interesting to



- note that the Roman province included these remote regions. NABATAEAN OCCUPATION OF DAMASCUS: 2 Cor. xi. 32; for the gap in the coinage of Damascus see *B.M.C., Galatia, &c.*, p. 283. INSCRIPTION OF DUMEIR: *C.I.S.*, II. 161.
89. *STRATEGI*: *C.I.S.*, II. 161, 213, 214, 224, 234, 235, 238, 287, *Rép. épigr. sém.*, II. 1104, 1108. *EPARCHI*: *C.I.S.*, II. 173, 207, 214, 221, *Rép. épigr. sém.*, II. 1104, 1108. *ARETAS' DAUGHTER*: *Jos., Ant.*, XVIII. v. 1, § 112. *HEREDITARY TENURE*: *C.I.S.*, II. 195, 196.
90. *ANNEXATION*: Cassius Dio, LXVIII. 14. *NEA TRAIANA BOSTRA*: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 812, *I.G.R.*, III. 1319. *TRIBES*: *I.G.R.*, III. 1276, *ἐπισκοπούσης φυλῆς Σομαλιθηνῶν*, 1277, *ἐπισκοπούτων βουλευτῶν φυλῆς Βιταιηνῶν*. Bostra became a colony under Alexander Severus (Head, loc. cit.). *INSCRIPTION OF MUSEFEIRE*: *I.G.R.*, III. 1285; of Imtan, Wadd., 2034, *ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ πῶλ[εως]*; Imtan itself cannot be the *πόλις* for it is governed by *πιστοί* in this very inscription; that the *πόλις* is Bostra is made almost certain by *Rev. bibl.*, 1933, p. 247, no. 198, *ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστ. ὄσω. Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκ.* (at Imtan), which proves that Imtan was in the diocese of the archbishop of Bostra. The Nukra and the southern part of the Jebel Hauran belonged to Arabia from the beginning, see Brünnow and Domaszewski, loc. cit.; for the Nukra an inscription at Sijn on its northern edge dated by the Arabian era in A.D. 179 (*Rev. bibl.*, 1905, p. 95, no. 5) is decisive. *INSCRIPTIONS OF PALMA*: *I.G.R.*, III. 1289, 1291 (a full list is given in *Syria*, 1930, pp. 272-9). The identification of Canata with Kerak rests on Wadd., 2412d; *I.G.R.*, III. 1284 (*ἐκ φιστιμίας τῆς κώμης*) proves it was a village. The *ἐπίσκοποι* who figure in this inscription and in Wadd., 2412e are, I think, supervisors sent by the city—the *ἐπίσκοπος* in Wadd., 2412e is a *βουλευτής*. *INSCRIPTIONS AT SUWEIDA*: *I.G.R.*, III. 1273, 1276-7; Suweida itself was, it may be noted, in Syria, as the mention of Domitius Dexter in 1276 proves, and it therefore cannot be the city of the inscriptions, which must have owned Canata in Arabia. The springs were probably all in Syria. Caenatha is probably a variant of Canatha, which was certainly in Syria; one of the letters in *I.G.R.*, III. 1275, found at Suweida, is addressed [*Γαβεινιέω?*] *ν πῶν ἐν Κανάθ[οις] ἀρ[χουσι] βου[λῆ]* and it is tempting to connect these letters (unfortunately too fragmentary to yield any connected sense) with the springs with which all the other inscriptions of Suweida are concerned. 'Afne is close to Hebran which again was certainly in Syria. Brünnow (*Die Prov. Arabia*, III, p. 268) throws doubt on this despite the fact that the Arabian era does not come into use until the third century, but *C.I.S.*, II. 170, a Nabataean inscription at Hebran dated by the 7th of Claudius, proves that he is wrong; it shows that Hebran did not belong to the Nabataean kingdom but to the Agrippan, which was in A.D. 47 in abeyance.
91. *COINS OF ADRAA, ETC.*: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 811-12. For Hierocles, Georgius Cyprius, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XXXVIII, 1, 3, 6, 8; XLI (1-6, 8, 11-18). *IDENTITY OF RABBATHMOBA AND AREOPOLIS*: *Eus., Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 292-3. Baetarus, if it is to be identified with Beththoro (*Not. Dig. Or.*, xxxvii. 22), must have lain in the area transferred from Arabia to Palestine III between the date of the *Notitia Dignitatum* and Hierocles, since Beththoro is in Arabia and Baetarus in Palestine III. This area included Areopolis, which is in Arabia in the *Notitia Dignitatum* and in Palestine III in Hierocles. A suitable site would be Lejjun, seeing that Beththoro was a legionary camp. *PETRA*: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 812; religious centre, Brünnow and Domaszewski, op. cit., I, p. 220 (dedications at Petra of panegyriarchs of the Adraenes); metropolis, Head, loc. cit., *Ἀδριανὴ Πέτρα μητρόπολις*. *ZOARA*: Ibn Haukal, 124, Istakhri, 64; they mention in particular its Nicolaitan dates. *EBODA*: Head, loc. cit.; I include it in the Nabataean kingdom on the strength of Ptol., v. xvi. 4 and Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ὀβοδα, χωρίον Ναβαταίων . . . ὅπου Ὀβόδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὄν θεοποιούσι τέθαιπαι*; Obedas was presumably the founder. *AELA*: bishop at Nicaea, Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lxi, no. 38. Mamopsora is probably the Mabsara of *Eus., Onom. Sac.*,

ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 278-9 (κώμη μεγίστη Μαβσαρά, ἐπὶ τῆς Γεβαληνῆς ὑπακούουσα τῇ Πέτρᾳ). In Georgius (1090) the entry κλίμα Ἀνατολικῶν καὶ Δυσμῶν breaks abruptly into a list of villages in Arabia and is preceded by the meaningless entry νδτ. which some scribes have emended into the equally meaningless Νεότης. Can it be a mark indicating that the following entry is misplaced? In one MS. a large number of Arabian villages have wandered into Palestine III and perhaps the κλίματα came with them on their return. For the Byzantine occupation of these districts see Proc., *Pers.*, I. 19 and *Aed.*, v. 8 (where Sinai is stated to be ἐν...τῇ πάλαι μὲν Ἀραβίᾳ νῦν δὲ Παλαιστίνῃ τρίτῃ καλουμένῃ). The ecclesiastical organization of this region is given partly by the Notitia of Anastasius (Bostra, Adraa, Medaba, Esbus). For the rest we are dependent on conciliar lists. These give bishops for Areopolis, Characmoba, Arindela, Petra, Zoara, Aela, and Augustopolis but not for Mamopsora, the Saltus, or villages. They also give bishops of the island of Iotabe, in the gulf of Aqaba, Pharan in the Sinai peninsula, and Phaeno, a mining-town between Petra and Zoara (Eus., *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 360-3).

92. The materials for the social and economic condition of northern Syria in the Byzantine period are very abundant and I hope to treat the subject more fully in another work. I give a few references here. The economic self-sufficiency of the villages is strikingly attested by Libanius, *Or.*, XI. 230. For landlordism see Libanius, *Or.*, XLVII. 11, John Chrys., *Hom. in Matth.*, lxi. 3, *Hom. in Act.*, xviii. 4, Migne, *P.G.*, LVIII. 591-2, LX. 146-7, Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.*, xiv, Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXII. 1413. On the language question see John Chrys., *Hom. ad pop. Ant.*, XIX. 1, Migne, *P.G.*, XLIX. 188. The indifference of the villagers to the cities is, I think, well illustrated by the tombstones of Syrian emigrants in the west (many are collected by L. Bréhier in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 1903, pp. 1 seqq.): they always record their village, but name their city, if at all, merely as a geographical determinant.

### NOTES ON CHAPTER XI

- I. On the pre-Ptolemaic nomes see Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne, I (Basse Égypte), II (Haute Égypte)*. Strictly the list for Upper Egypt only was of a fixed number and order; that for Lower Egypt only increased from sixteen to twenty at a comparatively late date and the order of the later nomes was not rigid. For the administrative history of Egypt in the fourth century B.C., see Schur, 'Vorgeschichte des Ptolemäerreiches', *Klio*, xx, pp. 270 seqq., Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies and Administration*, 663-323 B.C., and Bresciani, *Studi class. e orient.*, 1958, pp. 132-88. NOMARCHS UNDER PERSIAN RULE (THE SATRAP EUAESES): [Arist.], *Oec.*, II. ii. 32, p. 1352a. FINANCIAL EXPEDIENTS OF TACHOS: *ib.*, II. ii. 25, pp. 1350b-1a. ALEXANDER'S ARRANGEMENTS: Arrian, *Anab.*, III. 5, τοὺς μὲν νομάρχας εἶν ἄρχειν τῶν νομῶν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς καθάπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστήκει, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκλέγειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοὺς φόρους; these nomarchs are evidently not the same as the two 'nomarchs' whom Alexander appointed for all Egypt; nomarchs appear as responsible for the revenues under Cleomenes ([Arist.], *Oec.*, II. ii. 33, p. 1352a) and early in Ptolemy I's rule (*ib.*, II. ii. 35, p. 1353a). For a general survey of the Ptolemaic administration see Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic dynasty*, pp. 132-88, and especially on the financial system, Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, together with Miss Préaux' summary of work done in this field in the years 1933-58 in *Proceedings IXth Int. Congress of Papyrology*, pp. 200-32. For a summary of the different views on the extent to which the early Ptolemies innovated see Welles, *J. J.P.*, III, pp. 21-48; his own conclusion is that 'Ptolemy took over a going concern and did not change it very much'. NOMARCH: Samuel, *Essays in honor of C. B. Welles*, pp. 213-29. STRATEGUS (PTOLEMAIC): Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, III, who dates his replacement of the nomarch at the head of the nome administration to the

reign of Ptolemy III at the latest (pp. 32-40); see now also *P. Hib.*, 198 (= *C. Ord. Ptol.*, 26), lines 233-45 (243-2 B.C.).

2. Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, despite a number of inconsistencies, gives an exhaustive survey of the nomes in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; cf. also Kees, *P.W.*, xvii. 833-40, and Henne, *Liste des stratégies des nomes égyptiens*. PTOLEMAIC NOME LISTS: *P. Rev.* (re-edited Bingen, *SB.*, *Bh.* 1), col. 31, 4-13, ἐμ μὲν τῇ Λιβύῃ (= col. 61, 1-12) καὶ τῷ Σαίτ[η] (= col. 60, 18-25) καὶ . . . ] πολίτην (*vid. inf.*) καὶ Προσωπίτην (= col. 61, 13-19) καὶ Ἀθριβίτην (= col. 63, 14-64, 2) καὶ Μενε[λαίδι] (*vid. inf.*, note 11) καὶ Δέλτα (= Ἡλιοπολίτης, col. 64, 3-18, cf. Strabo, xvii. i. 4, p. 788) . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ Σεβεννύτῃ (= col. 62, 3-15) καὶ Βουσιρίτην (= col. 63, 6-13) [καὶ Μενδῆσι] (= col. 62, 16-63, 5) καὶ Λεοντοπολίτην (= col. 67, 8-21) καὶ Σεθροίτ[η] (= col. 66, 3-15) καὶ Φαρβαυτ[ί]την (= col. 68, 1-14) καὶ τῇ Ἀραβία (col. 65, 13-66, 2) καὶ Βουβαστ[ί]την καὶ Βουβ[άσι]των (= col. 64, 19-65, 12) καὶ Τανίτην (= col. 66, 16-67, 7) καὶ Μειφιτίτην καὶ Μέμ[φει] (= col. 72, 11-17, 69, 1-7) καὶ Ἀητοπολίτην (= col. 68, 15-22) καὶ Ἐρμοπολίτην (col. 69, 8-22) καὶ Ἰ'Οξύρυγχ[ί]την (= col. 70, 1-10) [καὶ Κνωποπολίτην (= col. 72, 1-10) καὶ τῇ Λίμνῃ (= col. 71, 5-12) καὶ Ἡρακ[λεο]πολίτην (= col. 70, 11-71, 4) καὶ Ἀφροδιτοπολίτην (= col. 71, 13-22). THE HERMOPOLITE: it certainly included Cusae (xiv) in the Roman period, *P. Flor.*, 56 (= *Chr.*, 11, 241), Κούσσαις τοῦ Ἐρμοπολί(τι)νομοῦ, and Antinoopolis (xvi), cf. *P. Würzb.*, pp. 52 seqq. THE ARSINOITE: Bevan, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-18; Ptolemaic Euergetis, *P. Tebt.*, 11, pp. 398-400, cf. also *B.G.U.*, 1588; the nome is called the Crocodilopolite in a decree of Antiochus IV (*P. Tebt.*, 698) who perhaps deliberately dropped the Ptolemaic dynastic name. The Arsinoite was much larger than the old XXI, most of it lying outside the previous nome organization, cf. Montet, *op. cit.*, 11, pp. 206-21. ARABIA: its metropolis was Phacusa in the Roman period (Ptol., iv. v. 24) and apparently Phagrriopolis (on the Bitter Lakes) in the Ptolemaic (Strabo, xvii. i. 26, p. 805), if the suggestion in the text that the Phagrriopolite is Strabo's name for Arabia is correct. THE BUSIRITE: it included Diospolis in the marshes under Ptolemy I (Suidas, s.v. Δημήτριος) and the Lower Diopolite nome of the Roman period is usually considered to be the old xvii revived. Gauthier, however, (*op. cit.*, pp. 166-7) would regard xvii as equivalent to the Lower Sebennytic, later carved out of the Sebennytic. THE SEBENNYTIC: it included Xoïs (vi) according to Strabo, xvii. i. 19, p. 802. NITRIOTE-GYNAECOPOLITE: ]πολίτης lay between the Saite and the Prosopite to judge by the order of the list, which is geographical, and this is where Gynaecopolites (first mentioned by Strabo, xvii. i. 22, p. 803) lay; Γυναικο]πολίτην is therefore a logical restoration, unless it is too long for the lacuna (it is presumably for this reason that Bingen prefers Ἀνδρο]πολίτην). This part of the Delta lies immediately opposite the Wadi Natrun and might be conveniently administered with it; finally, *P. Rev.*, col. 61, 20-1, orders that 300 aruras of sesame be sown in the Nitriote; the Nitriote must, therefore, have contained cultivated land and cannot have consisted merely of the Wadi Natrun, which is a salt-impregnated depression in the desert. LIBYA: possibly not entirely outside ancient Egypt; if so, it must have formed another part of vii. PHARBAETHITE-LEONTOPOLITE: Montet's map facing p. 26 makes them correspond to his equivalent of xix and xi respectively. He also makes the Tanite and Sethroite correspond with xvi not xiv, which could be part of the Mendesian. It is noteworthy that the early Ptolemaic nome capitals were all at the head of the Delta or along its eastern and western edges. The north-central Delta seems to have been all included in the Saite, Sebennytic, and Busirite nomes; in addition to the evidence cited above, cf. the Cairo Stele, Bevan, *op. cit.*, p. 31, where the boundaries of the land of Patanut are given as N. the sea-shore, W. the river, E. the Sebennytic nome, S. 'the territory of the town of Buto and the northern Hermopolis' (cf. Strabo, xvii. i. 18, p. 802, περὶ δὲ τὴν Βούτον καὶ Ἐρμόπολις); the last are presumably toparchies of the Saite nome.

It might have been hoped that Herodotus' list of nomes (II. 165-6) would be helpful as a bridge between the temple lists and the Ptolemaic period. Unfortunately, several of his nomes are not identified. In his day 'fancy' names had not yet come into vogue and his names are apparently all derived from the Greek version of the capital of the nome. Nine of his nomes, the Saite, Busirite, Prosopite, Bubastite, Tanite, Mendesian, Sebennytic, Athribite, and Pharbaethite are identical with Ptolemaic nomes. To these can be added Natho, which, as the Coptic Notitae show is the Leontopolite (Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église copte*, p. 55; for a different view see Gauthier, op. cit., p. 10) and perhaps Anysius (the Heliopolite? from Onu the Egyptian for Heliopolis). Herodotus' Onuphite was suppressed by the early Ptolemies but reappears under the Romans. His Thmuite was permanently suppressed, for Thmuis was later the capital of the Mendesian. His Chemmite, if it belongs to Chemmis by Buto (ii. 156), was also suppressed but later revived as Phthenetu. The Myecphorite must be equivalent to Arabia if it was 'opposite the city of Bubastis', though in what sense it lay on an island is hard to see. The Aphthite lay somewhere in the NE. and perhaps reappears as a city in the Byzantine period (*vid. inf.*, note 61). The Papremite, if the two groups of nomes are geographical units, as they seem to be, must be in the W. (? the Gynaecopolite).

3. Gauthier, op. cit., chap. IV, regards Strabo as a reliable witness to contemporary conditions; he did not, however, know the new evidence on the Xoite. Strabo, xvii. i. 18. p. 801 (Menelaite, Saite), 19, p. 802 (Sebennytic, Busirite), 20, p. 802 (Athribite, Prosopite, Mendesian, Leontopolite, Pharbaethite, Tanite), 22, p. 803 (Gynaecopolite, Momemphite), 23, p. 803 (Nitriote), 24, p. 804 (Sethroite), 26, p. 805 (Phagroriopolite), 27, p. 805 (Bubastite, Heliopolite), 30, p. 807 (Letopolite), 35, p. 809 (Aphroditopolite, Heracleopolite, Arsinoite), 40, p. 812 (Cynopolite, Oxyrhynchite). **ΜΟΜΕΜΦΗΤΕ**: it was undoubtedly in the W. Delta, where there would seem to be no room for another nome in addition to the Gynaecopolite and Nitriote; was it merely a toparchy of one of these? There are references elsewhere to the town *Μώμμεμφις*, see Gauthier, op. cit., pp. 98-102. **THE XOITE**: *SB.*, 6664, *στρατηγός τοῦ Ξοίτου* (164-146 B.C., see Rémondon, *Chr. d'Ég.*, 1953, pp. 121 seqq.). In view of *P. Sorbonne*, 34, its creation must now be put back, it seems, to before 230 B.C. **OTHER CHANGES**: (1) *SB.*, 8267 (5 B.C.), an inscription found at Kôm Truga, refers to *Ψενεμφαίαις τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νομοῦ*, otherwise unknown; (2) *SB.*, 9790 records a *στρατηγός Κωίτου* at the end of the Ptolemaic period, which seems to indicate that this large toparchy of the Heracleopolite was temporarily an independent nome; (3) *SB.*, 7457 (second cent. B.C.) refers to *Ψεναμῶσις τοῦ Βερενίκης νομοῦ*; cf. Henne, *Actes V<sup>e</sup> Congrès de Papyrologie*, pp. 137 seqq., who compares *B.G.U.*, 1123 (temp. Augustus); (4) *P. Tebt.*, 845 (264 B.C.) would appear to rank *Φθεμφούθ* as an independent nome (which it certainly was in the early Roman period). Of these the last is the most significant, since, taken together with the evidence of *P. Sorbonne*, 34, it throws doubt on the comprehensiveness of the list of Delta nomes in the Revenue papyrus.
4. **OMBITE**: *O.G.I.*, 114 (181-146 B.C.), *B.G.U.*, 1247 (149 B.C.?), *U.P.Z.*, 160 (119 B.C.), 162 (117 B.C.), *SB.*, 6028-31 (78-74 B.C.); that Elephantine and the Ombite were still technically separate nomes is proved by *Chr.*, i. 41, where the *στρατηγός Ὀμβίτου Ἐλεφαντίνης* goes [εἰ]ς τὸν ἕτερον νομόν Ὀμβ[ίτην] (col. II. 13, cf. III. 33, IV. 23); cf. also *O.G.I.*, 202, *στρατηγός τοῦ [Ὀμβ]είτου καὶ τοῦ περὶ Ἐλεφαν[τίνην] καὶ Φίλας*, *O.G.I.*, 210, *στρ.* Ὀμβ. Ἐλεφ.; cf. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, suppl., pp. 16-19. **APOLLONOPOLITE**: *P. Hal.*, 8 (232 B.C.), *P. Eleph.*, 17, 27 (223 B.C.), *B.G.U.*, 1310 (131 B.C.). **EILITHYIOPOLITE**: *P. Ross. Georg.*, II. 10 (= *SB.*, 7180), *τοῦ Ἐιλ[θυιο]πολίτου* (88 B.C.), *P. Strassb.*, 116, Ἀπολλωνοπολίτου καὶ Ἐιλ[θυιο]πολίτου] (c. A.D. 18). Eilithyopolis is included in the Apollonopolite in *O. Edfou*, 443, (A.D. 113), *διοικ[ήσεως] Ἰλιθυιοπ[όλεως]*

- ὑπ(ἐρ) ἄνω τ(οπαρχίας) Ἀπολλωνοπολίτου). LATOPOLITE: *SB.*, 9367 (164-3 B.C.); see further Calderini, *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, II, pp. 450-8. PATHYRITE: *SB.*, 5729 (209 B.C.), *P. Grenf.*, I. 10 (174 B.C.), Tait, *Ostr.*, p. 28, no. 161 (162-157 B.C.), *P. Grenf.*, I. 11 (157 B.C.), *P. Amh.*, 36 (135 B.C.), *P.S.I.*, 1016, *B.G.U.*, 993 (= *Chr.*, I. 107), Tait, *Ostr.*, p. 18, no. 105, *P. Grenf.*, I. 21 (= *Chr.*, II. 302) (all 130-120 B.C.), *U.P.Z.*, 191-3, 196 (all 120-110 B.C.), *P.S.I.*, 1018-22, 1024-5, *P. Grenf.*, I. 27 (= *Chr.*, II. 156), 33, II. 23a, 24, *P. Amh.*, 50 (all 110-100 B.C.), *P. Amh.*, 51 (88 B.C.). *Περὶ Θήβας* was originally a toparchy, presumably of the Pathyrite (*U.P.Z.*, 153-5; 255-4 B.C.), and is frequently called a τόπος down to the late second century, e.g. Tait, *Ostr.*, p. 41, nos. 243 (236 B.C.) and 244 (234 B.C.), pp. 31-3, nos. 178-87 (between 134 and 121 B.C.). It was a nome by at least 117 B.C. (*U.P.Z.*, 162), ἐπιστάτου τοῦ Περὶ Θήβας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ νομοῦ; cf. Wilcken *ad U.P.Z.*, 162, col. I, line 3, and *U.P.Z.*, 196 (116 B.C.), 217-8 (c. 130 B.C.). COP-TITE: Tait, *Ostr.*, p. 12, no. 71, p. 13, nos. 73-4 (138-136 B.C.), *U.P.Z.*, 196 (116 B.C.). TENTYRITE: *SB.*, 9367 (164-3 B.C.), *B.G.U.*, 1311 (146 or 134 B.C.), *P. Adler*, G. 20 (98 B.C.), *O.G.I.*, 184 (74 B.C.). THINITE: *P.S.I.*, 166-70, 1317 (118 B.C.). PANOPOLITE: *B.G.U.*, 1248 (148 B.C.), *U.P.Z.*, 170 (127-6 B.C.). APHRODITOPOLITE: *SB.*, 9108 (173-69 B.C.) *P.S.I.*, 815 (154 or 143 B.C.), *Αἰνέα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀφροδιτοπολίτου παρὰ . . . τ[ῶν] ἐκ τῆς Ἀνταίου (sc. πόλεως)*. LYCOPOLITE: *SB.*, 9506 (128 B.C.), *B.G.U.*, 1170 (19 B.C.), ἐν Ὑψηλῶ τοῦ Λυκοπ., 1130 (4 B.C.), ἐν κώμῃ Ὑψηλῶ τοῦ Λυκοπολε[ίου]. The demotic papyri published in Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut*, refer to officials who seem to be *strategi* of the Lycopolite in 174-3 B.C. Other information given in demotic documents includes a Pathyrite nome as late as 51 B.C. (*O. Bucheum*, 200), an Eilithyopolite and a nome of Hieraconpolis (a town slightly further north) in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period (de Meulenaere, *Riv. St. Orient.*, xxxiv, pp. 1-25). This evidence must be used with great caution, however, as there is no certainty on the precise equivalent in Greek of the technical terms employed (cf. Bengtson, *op. cit.*, 87 seqq.). HEPTACOMIA: *O.G.I.*, 52 (149 B.C.?), [ἐ]ν τῇ Ἑπτακωμία; the inscription is said to have been found at Ptolemais; it is too fragmentary to permit any hypothesis on what the connexion of Ptolemais with Heptacomia was or where the latter lay and what it was. For the Apollonopolite Heptacomias *vid. inf.*, note 19. OASITE: *B.G.U.*, 1231 (third or second century B.C.); the provenance (*Oxyrhynchus*) would point to this being the Lesser Oasis. A demotic inscription suggests that the Greater Oasis was administratively dependent on the Panopolite in 71-70 B.C. (Henne, *op. cit.*, suppl., p. 15).
5. NAUCRATIS: Herod., II. 178-9, Strabo, XVII. i. 18, p. 801; Roebuck, *C. Phil.*, 1951, pp. 212 seqq. MAGISTRATES: Ath., IV. 149d-150a. Wilcken, *Archiv Pap.*, XII, p. 220, suggests τιμολούχων in *P. Osl.*, 92 (A.D. 130). COINS: Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 845. PROHIBITION OF INTERMARRIAGE WITH EGYPTIANS: *Chr.*, I. 27. AUTONOMY: *ib.* and *O.G.I.*, 120, ἡ πόλις ἢ Ναυκρατι[ῶν]. TERRITORY: *P. Rev.*, col. 60, 18, ἐν τῷ Σαίτῃ σὺν Ναυκράτει. ROYAL CONTROL: *ib.* and *O.G.I.*, 89, οἰκονόμος τῶν κατὰ Ναύκρατιν (temp. Ptolemy IV); the principal business of the οἰκονόμος was the royal land and the monopolies (see *P. Tebt.*, 703). It is perhaps not impossible that the *oeconomus* is a municipal official here, not a government agent (Henne, *op. cit.*, suppl., p. 56). NAUCRATITE NOMARCHY: Pliny, who is the sole authority to refer to a Naucratic nome (*N.H.*, v. 49), is probably not strictly accurate. Elsewhere the city seems to be outside the nome organization, especially in the series of nome coins, where coins are issued with the legend ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙC, i.e. the name of the city. The occurrence of a νομάρχ(ης) *Ναυκράτειος* in A.D. 130 (*P. Osl.*, 92), together with the known connexion between Naucratis and Antinoopolis, strongly suggests that there was a Naucratic nomarchy, which served as a model for the later Antinoopolite nomarchy (*vid. inf.*, note 17).

6. THE ALEXANDRIANS: Strabo, XVII, i. 12, p. 797. MILITARY SETTLERS: *P. Hal.* 1, col. VII, τῶν ἐν τ[ῶ] στρατ[ι]ωτικῶ τεταγμένων ὄσο[ι] ἂν ἐν [Ἀλ]εξαν[δ]ρείᾳ πεπο[λ]ιτογραφημένοι, cf. *P. Petrie*, III, 4, 6a, 11, 14, 19f, 21b, 55a, 132 (all Ptolemy III); the expression is only found in documents of the middle third to middle second century B.C. (El-Abbadi, *J.E.A.*, 1962, p. 112). There was a Macedonian element in the population (but not in the citizen body), Schubart, *Archiv Pap.*, v, pp. 111–12. RHACOTIS: Strabo, XVII, i. 6, p. 792; Alexandria is called Rakoti in Coptic, though in Arabic the Greek name has prevailed. OTHER EGYPTIAN SETTLERS: Q. Curtius, IV. (viii) 33, [Arist.], *Oec.*, II. ii. 33, p. 1352b; the pseudo-Callisthenic life of Alexander (I. 31) represents the city as being founded by a vast synoecism from all the country within thirty miles. JEWS IN ALEXANDRIA: Josephus' statement (*c. Ap.*, II, 4, §§ 35, 42) that they were settled there by Alexander is untrustworthy, see Tcherikover, *C.P.J.*, I, p. 70; there is, however, inscriptional proof of their presence from the very early Ptolemaic period (*ibid.*, and III, pp. 138–9, nos. 1424–31). Prohibition of intermarriage between Alexandrians and Egyptians is implied by *P. Gnomon*, 49, ἀπελευθέρους Ἀλεξαν[δ]ρείων οὐκ ἐξόν Αἰγυπτίαν γῆμαι. Many Egyptians seem to have acquired Alexandrian citizenship irregularly, cf. *P.S.I.*, 1160, and Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 24 (Claudius' letter, lines 53–7). A somewhat different view of the purity of the Alexandrian citizen body is taken by Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, pp. 75 seqq. (There is, however, no inconsistency, as he alleges, in the statements in the text that the citizens were 'of mixed origin' and 'had preserved their Greek blood more or less uncontaminated', since Polybius is explicitly speaking of mixed Greek blood.)
7. The evidence for this question is: Cassius Dio, LI. 17, *Hist. Aug.*, Severus, 17, Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, pp. 23–6 (Claudius' letter), *P.S.I.*, 1160 (= *C.P.J.*, 150 = Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, no. 1), *SB.*, 3996 (third century B.C.?), 8993 (= *P. Harr.*, 61, re-edited Heichelheim, *J.E.A.*, 1940, pp. 154 seqq.; 175–4 B.C.). Earlier discussions of the problem are admirably summarized in Musurillo, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 seqq. Whether *SB.*, 3996 comes from Rhodes or not is irrelevant if, as seems virtually certain, Ἀλεξαν[δ]ρείων is correctly restored; unfortunately the word βουλῆ also has to be restored, as it does in *SB.*, 8993. Dio and Spartianus agree that between Augustus and Severus there was no council; Spartianus adds 'ita ut sub regibus'. Dio leaves the earlier history of Alexandria open. In Claudius' letter the crucial words are (lines 66–8): περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὃ τι μὲν ποτε σύνθητες ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σεβαστῶν οὐκ εἴχεται σαφῶς οἴδατε. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman rule*, pp. 282–6, argues that (a) this proves that the Alexandrians had cited the state of affairs under the kings, and that therefore it was favourable to their petition, and (b) that Claudius refuses to admit this evidence (translating οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν not 'I cannot say' but 'I have nothing to say'), and that therefore it was unfavourable to his case. But, as Viereck, *Aegyptus*, 1932, pp. 210–16, points out, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων shows that the Alexandrians had quoted evidence from the time of the early Ptolemies only (Auletes and Cleopatra were hardly 'ancient kings' in Claudius' day), and presumably, therefore, could not quote evidence for later. Milne's objection that, if the later Ptolemies had abolished the council, Claudius missed a debating point in not insisting on the fact, is not very strong; Claudius merely followed the usual Roman practice of ignoring pre-annexation rights (evidenced in many inter-city arbitrations by the senate). On the view that Alexandria had once possessed a council and lost it under the later Ptolemies, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν can be interpreted in its natural sense of 'I do not know', for Claudius might well be ignorant of the constitution of Alexandria in the third century B.C. On *P.S.I.*, 1160 see Musurillo, *loc. cit.* He argues convincingly that it is a literary piece with a historical basis, which pre-supposes that the Roman administration was well established, and which could palaeographically be as late as Claudius;

therefore it probably refers to the same occasion as Claudius' letter. In a literary piece *Καίσαρ* might be any emperor, and Claudius' emphatic *καινοῦ δὴ πράγματος νῦν πρῶτων καταβαλλομένου* (lines 68-9) suggests that no emperor before him had received a petition on the subject (*P. Oxy.*, 2435, verso, proves that the Alexandrians sent an embassy to Augustus in A.D. 13, but there is no mention of a request for a *βουλή* in the fragment remaining). The emperor's reply may be restored to the effect 'I will decide on this question [when I have sent a letter] to Alexandria', to consult the prefect, as Claudius did. It may be noted that Claudius' words *ὅπερ ἀδελφον εἰ συνοίσει τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἑμοῖς πράγμασι* (lines 69-70) pick up the double argument of the Alexandrian envoy that a council will be for the good of both the city and the  *fiscus*. On the Alexandrian *gerusia* see El-Abbadi, *J.E.A.*, 1964, pp. 164 seqq.; though essentially a social body, it will have attained *de facto* some political importance when the *βουλή* was disbanded. From Musurillo, *op. cit.*, no. 3 (a re-publication of *P. Giss. Bibl.* v, 46, originally edited by von Premerstein with a large number of highly conjectural restorations) it appears that it had 173 members in the early Roman period. The popular assembly is no doubt the *δήμος* mentioned in *SB.*, 3996; on it see Jouguet, *B.S.A.A.*, 1948, pp. 71-94.

8. Strabo, xvii, i. 12, p. 797, *ἐξηγητῆς, ὑπομνηματογράφος, ἀρχιδικαστής, νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός*, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, 111, pp. 154 seqq., Bevan, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-3, Schubart, *Archiv Pap.*, v, pp. 66 seqq., Milne, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-4, Jouguet, *Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, pp. 167-74, who all regard the *ἀρχιδικαστής* and *ὑπομνηματογράφος* as royal officials. *PRYTANEIS*: *P. Oxy.*, 477, *P. Tebt.*, 317, *P.S.I.*, 1225 (of Roman date); perhaps attested for the Ptolemaic period in *P. Hib.*, 28, line 42, *πρυτάνεις?*, *vid. inf.*, and in *P. Oxy.*, 2465 (fragments of Satyrus *On the demes of Alexandria*) a procession is headed by *πρυτάνεων καὶ ἱερέων*. The exegete is mentioned in the Ptolemaic period in *SB.*, 2100 (second cent. B.C.), *διοικητῆν καὶ ἐξηγητῆν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ γυμνασιάρχον* (a curious mixture of royal and city offices), and *O.G.I.*, 104 (Ptol. VI); his presidency is well brought out in the reception of Germanicus at Alexandria, *P. Oxy.*, 2435, recto. *GYMNASIARCH*: *Archiv Pap.*, v, p. 612, no. 7, *γυμνασιάρχῆσας τὸ καθ' ἑ* (which proves that the office was annual) and *SB.*, 2100. *TREASURERS*: *P. Hal.*, 1, col. XI. *MAGISTRATES*: *ib.*, col. IX. *ALEXANDRIAN CITIZENSHIP*: El-Abbadi, *J.E.A.*, 1962, pp. 106 seqq., has recently rebutted the commonly accepted view that Alexandrian citizens were divided into an upper grade, enrolled in the tribes and demes, and a lower who were excluded from them (see Schubart, *Archiv Pap.*, v, pp. 81 seqq.), and revived the view that the various expressions used of Alexandrians in the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods do not indicate any legal distinction between different citizens. His argument is very persuasive and is probably correct. *P. Tebt.*, 879 (190 B.C.?) proves that the citizen body was divided into phratries, which makes it very probable that the city in *P. Hib.*, 28, which had six tribes, 120 phratries, and 720 demes, is Alexandria (see Seyfarth, *Aegyptus*, 1955, pp. 3-17); this in turn supports von Premerstein's view that the figure of 180,000 in *P. Giss. Bibl.*, v. 46 relates to the number of full-citizens of Alexandria (cf., however, Musurillo, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

9. IMPERIAL NOMINEES ON EXECUTIVE BOARD: *P. Oxy.*, 477 (= *Chr.*, I. 144), *P. Tebt.*, 317 (= *Chr.*, II. 348), *ἐξηγητῆ καὶ τοῖς Καισαρείοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρυτάνεσι*. *PREFECT OF THE CITY*: Polyb., v. 39, *SB.*, 2100, *ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως*, *P. Baden*, 48; Bengtson, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 seqq. *PREFECT OF THE NIGHT-WATCH*: Strabo, xvii. i. 12, p. 797, *νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός*.

10. For the basing of the constitution on that of Athens see *P. Oxy.*, 2177. *CITY CODE AND COURTS*: *P. Hal.*, I. *P. Hamb.*, 168, cf. *P. Hib.*, 196; Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, p. 484. *THE JEWS*: Strabo *apud* Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. vii. 2, § 117, *B.G.U.*, 1151, *διὰ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχείου*. A royal court at Alexandria

is mentioned in *B.G.U.*, 1098, 1127, τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κριτηρίου (temp. Augustus). JURISDICTION OF ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως: *P. Baden*, 48 (126 B.C.).

11. THE TERRITORY OF THE ALEXANDRIANS: *P. Tebt.*, 5 (= *C. Ord. Ptol.*, 53), lines 93-8, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείων) χώρᾳ πρὸς τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆ(ς) χώ(ρα)σ προσδοῦναι ἀ[λλ]α (ἐτῆ) γ' (118 B.C.). This is, I think, the earliest authentic mention of it; pseudo-Callisthenes (I. 31) attributes its formation to Alexander. It is first recorded as a nome by Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 49; its metropolis Hermapolis Minor, *Ptol.*, IV, v. 18. MENELAIS: *P. Rev.*, col. 31 (*vid. sup.*, note 2). In *P. Mich. Zen.*, 9, which is almost contemporary, the editor reads ἐν τῶι ἐμ Μενελαίδι ἱερῶι τοῦ Μενελα[ίτου] προφητείας, but it may be noted that the nome termination of Μενελα[ίτου] depends on a restoration, and Μενελά[ου] is perhaps just possible as an alternative. It is called the Menelaite nome by Strabo, xvii. i. 18, p. 801, who states that it was named after Ptolemy's brother; its metropolis Canopus, *Ptol.*, IV, v. 4. Another solution to the problem is to deny the identity of the Menelaus of *P. Rev.* and the Menelaite nome (Van't Dack, *Stud. Hell.*, VII (1951), pp. 9 ff.), cf. Henne, *Actes V<sup>e</sup> Congrès*, loc. cit. THE ANCIENT LAND: *O.G.I.*, 669, § 13 (A.D. 68), τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀ[λε]ξανδρέω[ν] χώρᾳ καὶ τῶ . . .] Μενελαίτη ἀρχαίας γῆς.
12. That Soter was the founder of Ptolemais is clear from his position in the local cult (Plauemann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten*, pp. 39 seqq.). PSOI: *ib.*, p. 3. GREEK STOCK: *S.E.G.*, xx. 665., (= Fraser, *Berytus*, xiii, pp. 123 seqq.), which refers to the strengthening of the citizen body at Ptolemais by one of the later Ptolemies, records the interesting fact that the new citizens were drawn from the states of old Greece (Argos, Thessaly, etc.). For the Greek names of the inhabitants in the first century A.D. see *P. Lond.*, III, pp. 71 seqq. AUTONOMY: *O.G.I.*, 47-9, 728; Plauemann, *op. cit.*, p. 35 (= *SB.*, 7403); cf. *P. Fay.*, 22 (= *Chr.*, II. 291). *SB.*, 8031 (104 B.C.), probably from Ptolemais, refers to the enrolling of new citizens by the βουλή. By the first century B.C., however, Callimachus, *epistrategus* of the Thebaid, i.e. a royal official, was ἀρχιπύτανις [καὶ γυμν]ασίαρχος at Ptolemais (*SB.*, 2264, re-edited Hutmacher, *Das Ehrendekret für den Strategen Kallimachos*, p. 8) and there was a στρατηγὸς πόλεως there in late Ptolemaic or possibly early Roman times (*O.G.I.*, 743); cf. also *O.G.I.*, 51. METROPOLIS OF THE THINITE: *Ptol.*, IV, v. 31.
13. PARAEONIUM: founded by Alexander, pseudo-Callisthenes, I. 31, Hieron., *Chron.*, p. 124, ed. Helm; privileged status, *C.I.L.*, III. 6627 (= Dessau, 2483), *P. Gnomon*, 57. The early importance of Paraeonium is attested by Scylax, 107, Alexander's visit by Arrian, *Anab.*, III. 3. Jouguet, *op. cit.*, p. 74, note 3, rejects the view that Paraeonium was a Greek city.
14. Braunert, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 seqq., gives a thorough survey of population movement within Egypt in the Ptolemaic period. Πολιτεύματα: of the Cretans, *P. Tebt.*, 32; of the Boeotians, *SB.*, 6664; of the Cilicians, *SB.*, 7270; of an unknown group associated with the Idumaeans, *SB.*, 8929 (= *O.G.I.*, 737); τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φερομένων στρατιωτῶν, *S.E.G.*, xx. 499, which differs from the others in that no nationality is referred to (whether fictitious or not). In the Roman period we hear of πολιτεύματα of Lycians (*SB.*, 6025) and Phrygians (*O.G.I.*, 658). Cf. *P. Tebt.*, 700 and, in general, Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, pp. 1064 seqq. GYMNASIA: Delorme, *Gymnasion*, pp. 137-9, 199-200, 241. Naturally they existed in all the Greek cities; in metropoleis, *Archiv Pap.*, v, pp. 410 seqq., οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ὀμβοῖς γυμνασίου, *B.G.U.*, 1772, τοῦ τὸ ἰβ' ἔτος [γυμ]νασιαρχήσαντος τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου, *SB.*, 1106 (at Sebennyus), 6665 (at Thmuis), 1569 (at the city of the Arsinoites), *Theb. O.*, 3-5, *U.P.Z.*, 162 (at Thebes), *S.E.G.*, VIII. 531 (at Aphroditopolis of Middle Egypt), *SB.*, 7457 (at Psenamosis), cf. *SB.*, 1164 (Pharbaethus); in villages, *SB.*, 7784 (Tebtunis of the Arsinoite), *SB.*, 6157-8 (Theadelphia of the Arsinoite), 7245 (Samaria of the Arsinoite), *B.G.U.*, 1256, *P. Ryl.*, 589 (Philadelphia of the Arsinoite), 1767-8



- (villages of the Heracleopolite). GYMNASIARCHS: *Archiv Pap.*, II, p. 548, no. 26, *SB.*, 6157-8, *γυμνασιαρχήσας τὸ λβ'*, 6665, *γυμνασιαρχούντα τὸ λ' ἔτος*, *B.G.U.*, 1256, 1772, 1849, *SB.*, 8964, *τοῦ τῆς κώμης γυμνασιάρχου*, 7456, 8118, *U.P.Z.*, 162, *SB.*, 7746. COSMETES: *SB.*, 1569, *κοσμητῆς [καὶ γ]υμνασιάρχος*, 7246, *γυμνασία[ρ]χος καὶ κοσμητῆς* (I know of no separate cosmete). RESOLUTIONS: *SB.*, 7246, *ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου*, &c., *SB.*, 7746, *ἔδο[ξ]εν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ . . . γυμνασί[ο]υ*, *SB.*, 8118, *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου*, *Archiv Pap.*, v, p. 410 seqq., *ἀναγ[ρ]ά[ψ]αι τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτ[ο]*. PROPERTY: *P. Tebt.*, 700 (a very fragmentary decree of Ptolemy VII about land held by various corporations including *πολιτεύματα* and *γυμνάσια*). PROPRIETARY GYMNASIUM AT SAMARIA: *SB.*, 7245 (cf. Guéraud's commentary in *Ἐντεύξεις* (*Pub. Soc. roy. Ég. pap.*, I), no. 8). MILITARY GYMNASIUM AT THERA: *I.G.*, XII (3), 327 (in part republished as *O.G.I.*, 59, where the reign of Ptolemy III is preferred), especially *δοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀνελημμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκονόμου εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν χωρία . . . ὅπως ἔχῃσι εἰς τε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὸ ἄλεμμα δαπανᾶν*. PARIS' GIFTS TO THE GYMNASIUM AT PSENAMEOSIS: *SB.*, 7457; another high official (*πρῶτος φίλος*) is styled *κτίστης τοῦ γυμνασίου* in *Archiv Pap.*, v, pp. 410-16. The gymnasiarch in *SB.*, 7746 paid for oil and embellishments to the buildings; cf. *S.E.G.*, xx, 498. The existence of various fees and exactions is implied by the Psenamosis inscription, where Paris is elected priest for life *ἀζήμιον καὶ ἀσύμβολον καὶ ἀνεπιμνήνιευτον καὶ ἀλειτούργητον καὶ ἀνείσφορον*. Newly enrolled members were required to pay *εἰσόδια* in *SB.*, 8031. A fragment of accounts of a gymnasium is preserved in *P. Ryl.*, 589, recording debts owed by members and charges to *ξένοι* for the use of the facilities. DISPUTE ABOUT THE *λαμπαδαρχία ἀνδρῶν*: *B.G.U.*, 1256.
15. In *P. Col. Zen.*, 66 (256-5 B.C.) a man fears he will be despised *ὅτι εἰμὶ βάρβαρος* and *οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἀλληνίζειν*. The tomb of Petosiris is published by Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris* (Cairo, 1924). EGYPTIANS IN HIGH POSITIONS: Paos (*O.G.I.*, 132) and Phomms (*U.P.Z.*, 191-3, *P. Lond.*, II, p. 13 (= *Chr.*, II, 18)) were *strategi* of the Thebaid and 'kinsmen' in the late second century (the latter was *ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος*); cf. also Polyb., xxxi, 18, *Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Συμπετήσῃον ὃς ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος*, governor of Cyrenaica. THRACIAN GYMNASIARCH: *SB.*, 6157-8. PERSIAN GYMNASIARCH: *SB.*, 7246. DEDICATIONS BY EPHEBES OF THE ARSINOITE: *O.G.I.*, 176, 178. NON-GREEKS IN GYMNASIA: for a contrary view to that expressed in the text see especially Launey, *op. cit.*, pp. 865 seqq., who considers that the gymnasium was 'obstinément fermé aux Égyptiens'. Stressing the difference between admitting Thracians (*SB.*, 6157-8), Cilicians (*P. Enteux.*, 8) or Bithynians (*SB.*, 7456), and admitting Egyptians, he attempts to explain away the Persian gymnasiarch of *SB.*, 7246 as a fictive nationality. Although there is as yet no direct evidence of Egyptians in the Ptolemaic gymnasia, the village gymnasiarch in *B.G.U.*, 1189 (temp. Augustus), *Ἀνταίου τοῦ Ὀννώφριος γυμνασιαρχῶν* [*sic*], has a father with an Egyptian name.
16. NAUCRATIS: *vid. sup.*, note 5. PTOLEMAIS: Strabo, xvii, i, 42, p. 813, *ἔχουσα καὶ σύστημα πολιτικὸν ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τρόπῳ*, *I.G.R.*, I, 1154, 1156; capital of the Thinite, Ptol., iv, v, 31; it may be inferred from *I.G.R.*, I, 1154 that it was not subject to the *strategus* of the Thinite (contrast *I.G.R.*, I, 1163-4). On its autonomy in the Roman period see Scherer, *B.I.F.A.O.*, 1942, pp. 43 seqq. (first edition of a papyrus of A.D. 160, republished as *SB.*, 9016); *inter alia* the papyrus shows that the city was entitled to retain the proceeds of the sale of priesthoods (*νεωκορῖαι*) of a temple to Soter at Coptos. PARAETONIUM: *vid. sup.*, note 13. ALEXANDRIA: the letter of Claudius (Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, pp. 23-6) speaks of the *πρέσβεις* of the city and the *ψήφισμα* passed by it (line 20); cf. *P. Oxy.*, 2435, recto. DEDICATIONS BY THE CITY: *I.G.R.*, I, 1060, 1070. TITLES OF MAGISTRATES: *I.G.R.*, I, 1060 (*ἔξηγητῆς, γυμνασιάρχος, ἀρχιερεὺς, ἀγορανόμος*), 1074 (*ἔξηγητῆς, κοσμητῆς*), 1044 (*ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηνίας*), *B.G.U.*, 578

(= *Chr.*, II. 227) (ἀγοράνομος, ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηνίας), *P. Flor.*, 382 (κοσμητής, ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηνίας). TENURE OF MAGISTRACIES: Claudius' letter, lines 62-6, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τὰς πολιτικῶν ἀρχῶν τριετίς εἶναι καὶ πάν<υ> ἐμοὶ καλῶς βεβουλεύσθαι δοκεῖται, ὃ γὰρ ἀρ<χ>οντες φώβω τοῦ δώσειν εὐθύνas ὧν κακῶς ἤρξαν μετριώτεροι ἡμεῖν [sic] προσενεκήσονται τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρόνον. METHOD OF APPOINTMENT: priests by lot, Claudius' letter, lines 60-3; gymnasiarchs leaders of anti-Roman party, Musurillo, op. cit., nos. 4, 8, and 11; that offices were already in the first half of the first century so burdensome that compulsion had, as in the metro-poleis, to be exercised to fill them is proved by Philo, in *Flaccum*, 130, (ed. Box), where he says of Lampon, εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπηρεασθῆναι ἔφασκεν ἠναγκάσθη γὰρ γυμνασιαρχεῖν. EXEGETE AND PRYTANEIS: *vid. sup.*, note 9. IMPERIAL CONTROL OF CITIZENSHIP: Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 7, *P. Gnomon*, 40. COMMANDANT OF THE CITY: *P. Oxy.*, 100, 1270, *B.G.U.*, 729 (= *Chr.*, II 167), *Chr.*, II. 372; of the night-watch, Strabo, XVII. i. 12, p. 797.

17. ANTINOOPOLIS: Cassius Dio, LXIX. II. STYLE: *I.G.R.*, I. 1070, 1143, *B.G.U.*, 1022 (= *Chr.*, I. 29), *P. Oxy.*, 1119. SETTLERS FROM PTOLEMAIS: *Chr.*, I. 26 (a fuller text in *P. Würzb.*, 9), τῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀντι[νόου]ν κεκληρωμένων [ἐκ τ]ῆς Π[το]λεμαίω[v] πόλεως; Braunert, op. cit., pp. 339 seqq. SETTLERS FROM THE 6475: *P.L. Bat.*, VI. 29, 30, 31. Evidence for settlers from elsewhere (other than veterans, see below) is so far completely lacking. VETERANS ENROLLED: Kühn, *Antinoopolis*, pp. 80-3, Lesquier, *L' Armée romaine d'Égypte*, pp. 322 seqq., Braunert, op. cit., pp. 123-6, 213-9. The veteran settlement dates from the foundation of the city, not merely to a later strengthening under Pius (Braunert, loc. cit.); on the system of recruitment see Lesquier, op. cit., pp. 203 seqq. INTERMARRIAGE WITH EGYPTIANS: *Chr.*, I. 27, ἡ ἐπιγαμία ἐδόθη ἡμεῖν πρὸς Αἴγυπ[τ]ίου[s] κατ' ἐξάιρετον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἄδριανοῦ, ἣν περ οὐκ ἔχουσι Ναυκρατεῖται, ὧν τοῖς νόμοις χρώμεθα; on the grant of *conubium*, &c., to veterans see Lesquier, op. cit., pp. 312 seqq.; it appears from *P. Gnomon*, 53, 54, that the wives of veterans remained Egyptians and therefore that their children would not have inherited Antinoite citizenship according to Naucratis law even though they had received Roman citizenship. Contrary to the earlier view, it is now clear that citizenship could be inherited if the mother only was an Antinoite citizen, provided that the father belonged to the class designated as having ἐπιγαμία πρὸς Ἀντινοῖδας, *P.L. Bat.*, II. 2, VI. 42, *SB.*, 9312 (now re-edited as *SB.*, 9897), Braunert, op. cit., 346-8, *J. J.P.*, XIV, pp. 73 seqq. Intermarriage was only one of many concessions granted to his new foundation by Hadrian; for a complete list see Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora*, II, pp. 46 seqq. LAWS OF NAUCRATIS: *vid. sup.* DEMES AND TRIBES: Kühn, *Antinoopolis*, p. 124; cf. *P.L. Bat.*, VI. 29, 30. MAGISTRATES: *ib.*, pp. 106 seqq., Pistorius, *Indices Antinoopolitani*; they included a *nyctostrategus* in A.D. 176 (*P.L. Bat.*, VI. 41). COUNCIL: *I.G.R.*, I. 1070, ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ Ἐρμούπολις ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ Ἀντινοέων νέων Ἑλλήνων (a not very tactful contrast), 1143, *B.G.U.*, 1022 (= *Chr.*, I. 29), *P. Oxy.*, 1119, &c., cf. *Chr.*, I. 27 for minutes of the council, mentioning ὁ πρυτανικός. The exegete was president of the *prytanikoi*, *P.L. Bat.*, VI. 50, ἐξηγη(ητοῦ) ἀρχ(οντος) π[ρ]υτανικῶν, VI. 49, (a) col. 1, cf. *SB.*, 7558. For the *dēmos* see *P. Strassb.*, 130 (= *SB.*, 8012), Ἀντινοέων νέων Ἑλλήνων [τοῖς ἀρχο]υσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ [δήμω χαί]ρειν. THE ANTINOITE NOMARCHY: *P. Würzb.*, pp. 53-8; Ptolemy is thus strictly inaccurate in making an Antinoite nome (IV, v. 30). From *I.G.R.*, I. 1143 (as contrasted with 1163-4) it may be inferred that the city was not subject to the *strategus* of the Hermopolite, and from *SB.*, 7558, where the *epistrategus* puts the nome *strategi* and the exegete of Antinoopolis on the same footing. It may be noted that the *λαογραφία* and *ἐπίκρισις* at Antinoopolis were carried out by municipal officials (*Chr.*, I. 207, *SB.*, 7427). The nomarchy possessed an *ἐκλογιστής* just like a nome (*P.L. Bat.*, VI. 42). Whether it is to be regarded as the territory of Antinoopolis or not would seem to depend on whether the

- nomarch was a state or a municipal official. The evidence often shows him performing tasks parallel to those of the *strategi* (*SB.*, 5280, 5343, *P. Oxy.*, 2560, *P.S.I.*, 1237), which strongly suggests that he was a state official, cf. Wilcken, *P. Würzsb.*, pp. 52 seqq., Bell, *Aegyptus*, 1933, p. 523. CALENDAR: *P.L. Bat.*, VI. 34. TIMOUCHOI: Kühn (*Antinoopolis*, p. 115) points out that in *P. Flor.*, I. 71, a fourth-century list of landowners in the Hermopolite nome, the entry (line 675) κληρονόμοι Ἀντινιόου Τιμούχου, under the heading Ἀντινουτικὰ ὄνοματα, should be printed τιμούχου; the word is, like γυμνασιάρχου in line 678, a title and not a proper name. There were thus at Antinoopolis as at Naucratis (*vid. sup.*, p. 302) magistrates with this archaic title.
18. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 49-50, 'Dividitur in praefecturas oppidorum quas nomos vocant: Ombiten, Apollonopoliten, Hermonthiten, Thiniten, Phaturiten, Coptiten, Tentyriten, Diospoliten, Antaeopoliten, Aphroditopoliten, Lycopoliten. quae iuxta Pelusium est regio nomos habet Pharbaethiten, Bubastiten, Sethroiten, Taniten. reliqua autem Arabicum, Hammoniacum . . . Oxyrynchiten, Leontopoliten, Athribiten, Cynopoliten, Hermopoliten, Xoiten, Mendesium, Sebenyten, Cabasiten, Latopoliten, Heliopoliten, Prosopiten, Panopoliten, Busiriten, Onuphiten, Saiten, Ptenethum, Ptemphum, Naucratischen, Meteliten, Gynaecopoliten, Melenaiten, Alexandriae regionem, item Libyae, Mareotis. Heracleopolites est in insula Nili . . . Arsinoitae duo sunt; hi et Memphites usque ad summum Delta perveniunt, cui sunt contermini ex Africa duo Oasitae. quidam ex his aliqua nomina permutant et substituunt alios nomos, ut Heroopoliten, Crocodilopoliten.' CONVENTUS OF PELUSIUM: *P. Oxy.*, 709 (= *Chr.*, I. 32).
19. HERMONTIS IN THE PATHYRITE: *B.G.U.*, 993 (127 B.C.), *U.P.Z.*, 180a (113 B.C.), *P.S.I.*, 1024 (104 B.C.); the first datable reference to it as a nome is in A.D. 98 (*SB.*, 8750) ἐν Ἐρμωνίῳ, but *SB.*, 8410 and 7922 may well be earlier, cf. Ruppel, *Der Tempel von Dakke*, III, pp. 13 seqq. Περὶ Θήβας: for objections to the usual view that it was replaced during the second century A.D. by the Greater Diopolite see Thomas, *J.E.A.*, 1964, pp. 139-43; the name Περὶ Θήβας is certainly attested as late as A.D. 133 (*P. Ryl.*, 74). APHRODITOPOLITE-ANTAEOPOLITE: Pliny's order shows that he is referring to this Aphroditopolite and not the old XXII, which he omits. In the Ptolemaic period it included Antaeopolis (*P.S.I.*, 815), but Aphroditopolis was a village in the Apollonopolite Heptacomias by the time of Hadrian (*P. Brem.*, 42). In the sixth century it belonged in the Antaeopolite (e.g. *P. Flor.*, 279), and still later we hear of a παραρχία Ἀνταίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος (*P. Lond.*, 1347). On the Apollonopolite Heptacomias, known from the reign of Hadrian, see *P. Brem.*, and Gauthier, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-4; in *P. Michaelid.*, 43 (A.D. 526) it is called νομὸς Ἀπόλλωνος πόλεως μικρᾶς. TWO ARSINOITES: the view that Pliny is referring to the two *strategi* between whom the three *merides* of the Arsinoite were shared (cf. *P. Tebt.*, II, p. 351) is almost certainly to be rejected; this arrangement is only known from the end of Hadrian's reign onwards, and in Pliny's time the Arsinoite no doubt had three *strategi*, as in A.D. 101-3 (*P.L. Bat.*, VI. 15), Henne, *op. cit.*, suppl., p. 35. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 seqq., thinks the reference is to a second, otherwise unknown, Arsinoite, in the SE. Delta, for which Heroopolite is an alternative name.
20. LIBYA: Pliny's *item Libyae Mareotis* can hardly be taken as a reference to the Libyan nome; the nome, however, continued to exist as the nome coins, Ptolemy, and *P. Fay.*, 23a prove; cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, 37-8. PHTHEMPHUTI: *vid. sup.*, note 3. PHTHENETU: Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 149, takes a rather different view of its territorial position. MAREOTES: first in *O.G.I.*, 669 (A.D. 68; = Chalon, *L'Édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*), line 48; always a border district, cf. the contrast διὰ Μαρρωτῶν εἶτε διὰ Αἰγυπτείων in *P. Abinn.*, 9. OASITES: the Greater Oasis was a nome by at least A.D. 48-9 (*O.G.I.*, 665). The Lesser Oasis is attested as a separate nome at any rate between A.D. 48 (*P. Fouad.*, 35) and A.D. 151 (*P. Iand.*, 140, *P. Harr.*, 62); later it was attached to the Oxyrynchite,

- P. Oxy.*, 888 (late third century); see Lewis, *Recherches de papyrologie*, III, pp. 27-8, *P. Merton*, 26, note to line 1.
21. NOME COINS: on the various publications see the list in *J.E.A.*, 1964, p. 142, note 1; their evidence must be used with caution, as many of the editions go back to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and the readings are frequently suspect. PTOLEMY: his list (IV. v. 2-4, 6, 14-15, 18-33) seems to be generally accurate for the Lower Country and the Heptanomia, but is less so for the Thebaid, where he omits the Ombite, Apollonopolite, Latopolite, and Heptacomia which are attested by the coins as well as by inscriptions and papyri (Ombite, *I.G.R.*, I. 1221 and note 4 above, Apollonopolite, *I.G.R.*, I. 1060, Latopolite, *I.G.R.*, I. 1188, 1203-4, Heptacomia, *Chr.*, I. 341, 352). In these circumstances, I suspect his mention of the Thebaid Aphroditopolite. The Marmarica, a border district lying between Egypt and Cyrenaica, is included as a nome by Ptolemy, and is also attested in a papyrus of A.D. 237 (*S.P.P.*, XX. 45); on the other hand, he omits the Ammoniace. In the Delta he strangely leaves out the Lower Diopolite, which was carved out of the Sebennyitic, and is vouched for by the coins (ΔΙΟΠΚ); cf. *Theb. O.*, 132 and *P. Oxy.*, 2415 (both third century). HYPSELITE: *vid. sup.*, note 4; the *strategus* of the Lycopolite is still in charge of 'Υψηλῆς κ[α]ὶ ἀλλῶν κομῶν in A.D. 117 (*P. Giss.*, 82), but in A.D. 119 a *strategus* Λυκοπολίτου καὶ 'Υψηλῆς is recorded (*P. Oxy.*, 2472), which suggests that Hypsele was on the way to becoming the metropolis of a separate nome. SEBENNYTIC: not yet divided in A.D. 98 (*SB.*, 8750), contrast *I.G.R.*, I. 1060 (A.D. 170). NESYT: Gauthier, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-70, thinks it was cut out of the old XV. NOMES OF THE CONVENTUS OF PELUSIUM: *P. Oxy.*, 709 (= *Chr.*, I. 32); cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-2, who suggests *Κασίαν*. For the coins issued by Pelusium see Jungfleisch, *Bull. Inst. Eg.*, 1954, pp. 317 seqq. GYNAECOPOLITE-ANDROPOLITE: another possibility is that the capital of the nome was transferred from Gynaecopolis to another town called Andropolis (a change which also occurred earlier if Bingen is right in restoring *Ἀνδροπολίτην* in his edition of the Revenue Papyrus, col. 31). *P. Hamb.*, 7 proves that the area around Berenice on the Red Sea coast, normally a military district, was regarded as a civil nome in A.D. 132 (there is no connexion between this and the Ptolemaic nome of Berenice, dealt with above, note 3).
22. For an outline of the administrative system of Roman Egypt, see Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman rule*, pp. 122-9, Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, Chap. 3. The Roman *diocetes* is not to be regarded as the direct descendant of his Ptolemaic namesake, cf. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 293. On the relationship between the offices of *idios logos* and high priest see Scherer, *B.I.F.A.O.*, 1942, pp. 60 seqq., Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres*, pp. 660-2. In the Ptolemaic period we hear of (a) *epistrategi* of the Thebaid from the middle second century, Bengtson, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-5), and (b) in *P. Tebt.*, 895 (c. 175 B.C.) of an *epistrategus* in charge of the whole *chora* (Skeat, *Archiv Pap.*, XII, pp. 40-3); however, the tripartite division mentioned in *B.G.U.*, 1730 (50-49 B.C.), *μηδένα τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν νομῶν . . . κατάγειν εἰς τὴν κάτω χώραν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ εἰς τὴν Θηβαίδα ἀνάγειν* is no doubt purely geographical. The division of Egypt into three *epistrategiae* is not certainly attested before A.D. 71-2 (*P. Tebt.*, 302 = *Chr.*, I. 368), and was most probably introduced by Augustus (Martin, *Les Epistratèges*, pp. 86 seqq.). The title Heptanomia is not used before the third century; earlier the procurator in charge is normally referred to as *ἐπιστράτηγος τῶν ζ νομῶν καὶ Ἀρσινόου*. Of the seven nomes the Memphite, Heracleopolite, Aphroditopolite, Oxyrhynchite, Cynopolite, and Hermopolite can be certainly identified; the seventh may be the Lesser Oasis (cf. *P. Iand.*, 140, but contrast *P. Amh.*, 137 and *P. L. Bat.*, III. 5). There is no comprehensive survey of the Ptolemaic civil service, although much useful information will be found in Peremans-Van't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*,

- I, and in Præaux, *L'Économie royale*; Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 55-8, comes to the conclusion stated in the text. From *P. Tebt.*, 703 (*ad fin.*) it appears that there was a regular system of promotion, officially at any rate by merit. From *P. Tebt.*, 9-11 it further appears that even a *comogrammateus* paid a considerable sum for his appointment, and it is possible that purchase of office was general; the argument for this, however, based on *P. Tebt.*, 5, lines 19-21, must now be abandoned, since, in republishing it as *C. Ord. Ptol.*, 53, Miss Lenger has added a new fragment (= *SB.*, 9899) which proves that *σπρα* is to be expanded *σπρα(τώτας)*, not *σπρα(τηγούς)*. The Roman civil service is exhaustively treated by Oertel, *op. cit.*
23. For the temporary revival and subsequent decline of Egypt, see Milne, *J.R.S.*, 1927, pp. 1 seqq., Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-80. The documents illustrating tax-farming are the Edict of Tib. Julius Alexander (*O.G.I.*, 669, lines 10 seqq.) and especially *P. Oxy.*, 44 (= *Chr.*, 1. 275), which shows a slight and no doubt inadequate attempt by the government to meet the farmers' difficulties in the late first century A.D.; cf. the papyrus published by Coles, *J.E.A.*, 1966, pp. 129-31. The subsequent history of the farming system is obscure. The principal data are given in Wilcken, *Ostraka*, pp. 575 seqq. Farmers still appear sporadically through the second and third centuries, but they tend to be replaced by *πράκτορες* and *ἀπαιτηταί* (originally probably collectors of arrears) or by *ἐπιτηρηταί* (originally probably controllers of the farmers like the Ptolemaic *ἀντιγραφεῖς*); in the latter case the fiction of a contract (*ὠνή*) was maintained (cf. *B.G.U.*, 1062 = *Chr.*, 1. 276). On this question see Oertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-15, Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 210-19, Rostovtzeff, 'Gesch. der Staatspacht', *Philologus*, Suppl., ix, pp. 463 seqq., Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 286 seqq. The transformation of the civil service is even more obscure. The financial liability of Ptolemaic officials comes out most clearly in the oil monopoly law (*P. Rev.*, col. 40, lines 6-8, col. 41, lines 5-13, col. 45, lines 7-12, &c.). For the financial liability of Roman officials, see Oertel, *op. cit.*, *passim*. The affair of the *bibliophylaces* of the Arsinoite, which stretched on from the late first century well into the second, is very instructive in this connexion (*P. L. Bat.*, vi, pp. 97 seqq.).
24. For *strategi* and royal scribes see Tait, *J.E.A.*, 1922, pp. 166 seqq., Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, *passim*; two terms are attested in *SB.*, 8780 (= *I.G.R.*, 1. 1060), *P. Brem.*, 7, *P. Oxy.*, 1255; there is no certain example of more than two appointments. Three years seem most probable for their period of service in the early principate; later it was variable; cf. Chalon, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 seqq., who takes a much gloomier view than that in the text of the desirability of the *strategia*; the salaries of *strategi* and royal scribes are mentioned in *P. Oxy.*, 474. For minor posts see Oertel, *op. cit.*, *passim*; they seem also to have been paid, though the evidence is far from conclusive; the reluctance to undertake them may have been due to the risk of having to pay up deficits. The salary mentioned in *P. Harr.*, 64 is for a *deputy*, and the same is true of *P. Cair. Isidor.*, 80 and 81; in *SB.*, 7375 a second appointee to a *practoria* gets a salary, but this is a special appointment to assist an illiterate *practor*. On appointment to liturgies (in which the prefect often had a hand instead of the *epistrategus*) and the date of the introduction of the system, see especially Wegener, *Symb. Taubenschlag*, 1, pp. 331-53, Lewis, *Proceedings IXth Int. Congress of Papyrology*, pp. 233-45; the most important document is the *ἐντολαί* of Metius Rufus, *SB.*, 9050 (A.D. 89-91).
25. On the *ἐπίκρισις* documents, which reveal the existence and nature of the privileged metropolite classes, see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 196-202, Bingen, *Chr. d'Ég.*, 1956, pp. 109-17, Zucker, *R.I.D.A.*, 1961, 155-64, Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 seqq., Braunert, *op. cit.*, pp. 220 seqq., 418. From *P. Oxy.*, 1452 (A.D. 127-8, the *ἐπίκρισις* of the same person as *μητροπολίτης δωδεκάδραχμος* and *ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου*), *P. Oxy.*, 1267 (A.D. 209, (*δωδεκάδραχμος*) ἀπό γ.), and Bell,

- Archiv Pap.*, vi, p. 108 (ἀπό γ. ὀκ[τά]δραχμος) it appears that οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου were not financially privileged above the other metropolitans. Van Groningen (*Le Gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine*, pp. 39-40) tentatively infers from *P. Oxy.*, 257 (= *Chr.*, i. 147), 1266, and 1452 that the first ἐπίκρισις was in A.D. 4-5. However, the documents speak of a γραφή τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, whereas the *epicrisis* proper did not begin until A.D. 72-3 at Oxyrhynchus and A.D. 54-5 at Arsinoe, see Wallace, loc. cit., Braunert, *Symb. Taubenschlag*, III, pp. 53-66. The available evidence for the 6475 is given by Bickerman, *Archiv Pap.*, ix, pp. 42-3, Bell, *J.R.S.*, 1940, pp. 136-7, Zucker, loc. cit.; *P. Meyer*, 9, proves that they paid poll-tax (κατοικ. τῶν σοε ὑπερετής); cf. Wallace, op. cit. pp. 117-19. It is not clear whether 'Greeks' generally who lived outside the metropoleis enjoyed a privileged status. Senior members of the gymnasial class could be accorded membership of the select body known as the *gerusia*, attested for Oxyrhynchus by *P.S.I.*, 1240 and *P. Ryl.*, 599.
26. On the ἀρχοντες see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 39-40, Preisigke, *Städtisches Beamtenwesen im röm. Aeg.*, pp. 7 seqq., Jouguet, *Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, pp. 292 seqq., Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 313-43. VILLAGE GYMNASIA UNDER AUGUSTUS: *B.G.U.*, 1188, παρὰ Κάστορος [γ]υμ[να]σί[α]ρχου Κομᾶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [τῶ]ν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ κατοίκων, 1189, γυμνασιάρχων κώμης Βουσίρεως, 1201, ὁ γυμνασιάρχος τῆς κώμης (A.D. 2, the latest dated example); see Zucker, *Aegyptus*, 1931, pp. 485 seqq. THE AGORANOMI: all references to them in the first two centuries are in their capacity as notaries, with the exception of *P. Oxy.*, 1454, where they have some responsibility for the food supply in A.D. 116 (i.e. before the creation of the eutheniarchy); their control of the market is not attested before the third century (*P. Mich.*, 511, *C.P. Herm.*, 102 = *Chr.*, i. 296). THE EXEGETE: in the only reference to an exegete in the *chora* known from the Ptolemaic period (*SB.*, 7787), στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐξηγητὴν τοῦ Ἀραουίτου, he is referred to as exegete of the *nome* (whatever this may mean); the first metropolitan exegete would seem to belong to 5-4 B.C. (*P. Osl.*, 26); styled ἀρχιπύρις, *P. Tebt.*, 397 (= *Chr.*, II. 321), *P. Mil. Vogliano*, 71, *P. Strassb.*, 284 (all late second century), cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.*, 99 (A.D. 296); jurisdiction, *P. Amh.*, 86, *P. Tebt.*, 397, *P. Ryl.*, 119, *P. Mert.*, 26; I infer that he was the president of the board from his title and jurisdiction, from the position of the Alexandrian and Antinopolitan exegetes, and from the fact that the exegete, with the gymnasiarch, often represents the board, e.g. *P. Ryl.*, 77 (before the *strategus* and in the signature of the letter), and *P. Oxy.*, 54 (= *Chr.*, i. 34) (control of civic funds). This does not mean that the office of exegete was the most important; importance was judged by the expense involved, and in this sense the gymnasiarchy was the most important, and even the cosmète ranked above the exegete (cf. *P. Ryl.*, 77). I doubt whether there is much to be deduced from the order in which offices were held, which has been elaborately analysed; it is, in fact, very fluctuating and *P. Ryl.*, 77, shows that there was no regular *cursus*; *SB.*, 6674, ἐνάρχου ἐξηγητοῦ, γενομένου γυμνασιάρχου, ἀποδεδειγμένου ἀγορανόμου, is also quite inconsistent with the hypothetical *cursus*, in which the ἀγορανομία ranks low; cf. perhaps the heading κοσμη(τῶν) ἕως βουλ(ετῶν) in a third-century tax document (*P. Oxy.*, 2346). In A.D. 250 it appears to have been usual to hold the posts of cosmète and *agoranomus* first (*SB.*, 7696, lines 69 seqq.). THE ARCHIEREUS: first in *P. Princ.*, 126 (c. A.D. 150). THE EUTHENIARCH: a πρὸς τῇ εὐθηνίᾳ is found at Hermopolis as early as A.D. 111 (*S.P.P.*, XXII. 94), but the eutheniarchy does not seem to have been a regular magistracy until the very end of the second century (Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, pp. 231-2).
27. CROWNING AND SACRIFICE: *Chr.*, i. 41. FESTIVITIES: *P. Oxy.*, 2147. ATTENDANTS (παλαιστροφύλακες): *P. Amh.*, 124 (= *Chr.*, i. 152); also two for the ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηνίας and ἀρχιερεὺς Σεβαστῶν, and one each for the other ἀρχιερεῖς. LETTERS WRITTEN BY THE BOARD: *P. Amh.*, 70 (= *Chr.*, i. 149), dealing with the reduction

- of the cost of the gymnasiarchy (A.D. 114-17), *P. Ryl.*, 77, dealing with the filling of the office of cosmète (A.D. 192); cf. *P.L. Bat.*, III, 2, *P. Mil. Vogliano*, 61.
- JOINT RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINANCE: *vid. inf.*, note 37, cf. also *P. Giss.*, 19, [ὁ ἐπιτάξας στρατηγὸς τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν ἐπιτίθησι τὸ βάρωσ (temp. Hadrian). DECREES: *P. Oxy.*, 473 (= *Chr.*, I, 33), [ἔδοξε τοῖς τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ὀξυρυχίτων ἀρχουσι καὶ τῶ δήμῳ [καὶ Ἰωβαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσι (temp. Antonius Pius). Embassies from the πόλις of Oxyrhynchus to the prefect's court are mentioned in *P. Oxy.*, 1102, *P.S.I.*, 1357; cf. *P.S.I.*, 1434.
28. VOLUNTARY CANDIDATURE: *P.S.I.*, 1159 (A.D. 132), ἀνθ' ἧς ὑπέσχετο . . . γυμνασιαρχίας, cf. the analysis of *P. Ryl.*, 77, below. *SB.*, 7746 (57-6 B.C.) is a very early example of voluntary acceptance of the gymnasiarchy being emphasized. CORONATION FEE: *P. Ryl.*, 77 (here called εἰσιτήριον, A.D. 192; in the third century the term στεπτικόν is used, *P. Oxy.*, 1413). GYMNASIARCH'S EXPENSES: oil, *P. Oxy.*, 473 (= *Chr.*, I, 33), ἀλειμμάτων ἀφθόνῳ χορηγία] (temp. Pius), cf. *P. Oxy.*, 1413, 1665, *C.P. Herm.*, 57-62 (third century); fuel, *P. Lond.*, III, p. 104 (A.D. 42), *P. Brem.*, (A.D. 118), *SB.*, 9574 (second century). EUTHENIARCHS' EXPENSES: mills and bakeries, *P. Oxy.*, 908 (= *Chr.*, I, 426); corn, *P. Tebt.*, 397 (= *Chr.*, II, 321), *S.P.P.*, XXII, 94; cf. *P. Leit.*, 7. MAGISTRATES' GENERAL EXPENSES: water-supply, *P. Lond.*, III, p. 181 (= *Chr.*, I, 193); θεωρικά, *P. Oxy.*, 519 (= *Chr.*, I, 492), 1333, cf. 473 (= *Chr.*, I, 33), τὰ τε [θε]ωρικά χρήματα. TOTALS: for exegete, *P. Ryl.*, 77; for gymnasiarch, *P. Amh.*, 70 (= *Chr.*, I, 149); the interpretation of this fragmentary document is uncertain, but it is not unreasonable to regard the four talents plus in line 25 as expenses still accruing to the office.
29. ATTEMPT TO REDUCE EXPENSES: *P. Amh.*, 70 (= *Chr.*, I, 149). PARTITION OF GYMNASIARCHY: *B.G.U.*, 760 (= *Chr.*, I, 150), *P. Lond.*, III, p. 181 (= *Chr.*, I, 193), *P. Oxy.*, 1117; of eutheniarchy, *P. Oxy.*, 908 (= *Chr.*, I, 426), according to the explanation given by Van Groningen, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-3 (the number may however have been as high as six), cf. *P. Leit.*, 7; of agoranomy, *P. Oxy.*, 99 (two in A.D. 55), 375, 380 (three in A.D. 79), 73 (five in A.D. 94), *P.L. Bat.*, XIII, 24 (seven plus, reign of Trajan); the offices of exegete, cosmète, and *archiereus* are not known to have been divided till the third century, when persons who have held these offices ἐκ μέρους are mentioned (*B.G.U.*, 144, *P. Flor.*, 21); an ἑναρχος κοσμητής, which might imply that the office was divided, is found in a letter placed in the second century by its editors (*P.L. Bat.*, I, 13) and a document of late second- or early third-century date (*P. Strassb.*, 339). The numerous cosmètes who appear in *P. Ryl.*, 77, probably include ex-cosmètes (*vid. inf.*).
30. *P. Ryl.*, 77, cf. the editors' commentary and Jouguet, *R.E.G.*, 1917, pp. 294 seqq., and Van Groningen, *Mnemosyne*, 1923, pp. 421 seqq. Apollonius γυμνασιάρχ., who takes part, may be the other gymnasiarch of the year or merely an ex-gymnasiarch.
31. Ἐπιλογχος is evidently to be connected with ἐπιλαγγάνω; the use of this word and not one connected with κλήρος, which is used with reference to balloting by the *epistrategus*, is, I think, significant, and indicates that the lot was not drawn by a higher authority. That office was annual at this period is demonstrated by Van Groningen, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7. For a list of minors known to have held ἀρχαί see Lewis *ad P. Leit.*, 8.
32. On the κοινά see Jouguet, *R.E.G.*, 1917, pp. 294 seqq. FIRST κοινόν IN A.D. 195: *P. Ryl.*, 86, τῷ κοινῷ τῶν κοσμητῶν διὰ Διογένους καὶ Ἀγα[θοῦ Δαί]μονος κοσμη[τε]υσάντων. DUTY OF NOMINATING IN THE THIRD CENTURY: *vid. inf.*, note 42.
- FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: *P. Ryl.*, 86, cf. *P. Oxy.*, 891, ὥστε σὲ μὲν προστῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἀναλώματα ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάγματος δοθῆναι (third century); cf. *P. Oxy.*, 2569. DISTRIBUTION OF OIL: *C.P. Herm.*, 57-62, *P. Oxy.*, 1413, especially line 22, οἱ μέλλοντες γυμ[νασιαρχεῖν]; cf. *P. Oxy.*, 1418, κατ'

ἔτος γυμνασιαρχῆσάι με ἡμέρας πέντε. Note that by this date the gymnasiarchy was not filled on every day of the year; in *P. Erlang.*, 18 (A.D. 248) the gymnasiarchs appear to function for nine months only, and Van Groningen, *Actes V<sup>e</sup> Congr. de Pap.*, pp. 505-11, suggests that the office had to be filled specially to enable a festival to be held that year (*P. Oxy.*, 1416). The offices of *agoranomus* and *eutheniarch* certainly lapsed at Oxyrhynchus during part of the third century (*P. Oxy.*, 1252, verso). For further examples of partition of magistracies in the third and fourth century see *P. Leit.*, 7, *P. Antin.*, 31, and *SB.*, 7696, line 94, δύο ἡμέρα[s] ἀρχουσιν μόνον.

33. *Κοινὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων*: *P. Oxy.*, 54 (= *Chr.*, I. 34). No doubt at this date (A.D. 201) the newly created council was not yet functioning but still being constituted.
34. Ἐπίκρισις BY THE STRATEGUS, ROYAL SCRIBE, AND OTHERS: for metropolitans, *P. Oxy.*, 1452, 714, 1028, for οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου, *P. Oxy.*, 257 (= *Chr.*, I. 147), 1266, 1452. In some cases minor officials act alone, ἐπικριταί or πρὸς τῇ ἐπικ(ρίσει), in *P. Tebt.*, 320, *B.G.U.*, 324 (= *Chr.*, I. 219), 562 (= *Chr.*, I. 220), βιβλιοφύλακες in *P. Oxy.*, 478. At Oxyrhynchus a distinction can be drawn between control by government officials in the first two centuries A.D. and control by municipal officials in the third century, Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil*, pp. 113-114. INSPECTION OF MARKET BY STRATEGUS: *Chr.*, I. 41, col. III (third century). DECLARATIONS OF PRODUCERS TO STRATEGUS: the addressees in *P. Oxy.*, 1454, the only declaration of this kind extant for a metropolitan market (by the bakers of Oxyrhynchus), are unknown, but cannot have been the eutheniarch, who did not exist in A.D. 116, nor the *agoranomus*, who is mentioned in the document as supplying some grain to the bakers; that they included the *strategus* is probable from *B.G.U.*, 649 (= *Chr.*, I. 428), which is not strictly relevant, as the market concerned is that of Alexandria; cf. also *B.G.U.*, 92 (= *Chr.*, I. 427) and 730. TOWN WATER-SUPPLY: *P. Lond.*, III. p. 181 (= *Chr.*, I. 193); the fact that the gymnasiarchs, exegete, and cosmete contributed to the fund does not prove that they had any control; cf. *P. Oxy.*, 2569. SUPERINTENDENTS OF WORKS: *P. Amh.*, 64. *P. Oxy.*, 54 (= *Chr.*, I. 34).
35. The finances of the metropoleis are discussed at length by Jouguet, *Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, pp. 415 seqq.; cf. Jones, *Greek City*, Chap. xvii, Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 681 seqq. I do not know why Wilcken (*Grundzüge*, p. 191) regards the *octroi* of *P. Lond.*, III, pp. 91-2 (= *Chr.*, I. 274), as municipal; cf. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 270. LEVY OF FUEL BY GYMNASIARCHS: *B.G.U.*, 760 (= *Chr.*, I. 150), *P. Lond.*, III. p. 104, *P. Brem.*, 47, *SB.*, 9574, where the gymnasiarch acknowledges receipt from the village authorities of τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα οἰμῶν (l. ὑμῶν) ἄχυρα μηνῶν δύο for heating the gymnasium bath; this suggests the fuel was requisitioned, and we should perhaps make a distinction between the fuel itself and the transport of the fuel, which is known to have been paid for (*vid. sup.*, note 28). BATH TAX: Wilcken, *Ostraka*, pp. 165-70, Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-9; I think it is probable that this tax is concerned with village baths, especially as some of the payments are made to the θεσσαυρὸς ἱερῶν and temples are known to have owned baths in villages, cf. Wilcken, *Hermes*, 1885, pp. 430 seqq. (but see the editors' note to *P. Mich.*, 234). CORONATION FEES: *vid. sup.*, note 28. CHARGES FOR SHOP SITES: *C. P. Herm.*, 102 (= *Chr.*, I. 296), *P. Oxy.*, 2109. BATH ATTENDANT: *P. Giss.*, 50. There is evidence for government officials collecting a tax for bricks for public buildings at Thebes (*O. Tait.*, 745, A.D. 139).
36. ENDOWMENT OF GYMNASIA, *vid. sup.*, note 14. BEQUESTS: *P. Oxy.*, 1102 (c. A.D. 146), 705 (= *Chr.*, I. 153, A.D. 202), cf. 1015, *P. Amh.*, 64. Αἰώνιος γυμνασιάρχος; *C.P. Herm.*, 62, 127v, *SB.*, 9219; Van Groningen, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-90, takes a different view of the title.



37. PROPERTY OF THE GYMNASIARCHS: *P. Oxy.*, 88, *προνοητῆς οἴκου γυμνασιάρχων* (A.D. 179), *P. Amh.*, 64, *ἐκ τῶν τῆς γυμνασιάρχιδος* (A.D. 107); cf. Van Groningen, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 seqq. and Oertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 322 seqq. The objection to my view of the *οἶκος γυμνασιάρχων* is that logically it should be termed *οἶκος γυμνασίου* (*γυμνασιάρχιδος*). The alternative explanations are that it means (a) the property of the gymnasiarchs in office, sequestered for the purpose of their office, or (b) sums deposited by the gymnasiarchs in advance to cover the expenses of their office. The objection to both views is that in fact the expenses of the gymnasium were covered either by direct payment by the gymnasiarchs, or by payments from the civic account (in the third century). Van Groningen's theory that originally all payments were made by the individual gymnasiarch, but that when the office was subdivided the *οἶκος* was instituted, will not stand, for even in the third century individual gymnasiarchs had to find their own oil for their days of office, cf. *P. Oxy.*, 1665. By this time, the heating of the baths had become a charge on the civic account (*C.P. Herm.*, 66-7), which had perhaps absorbed the gymnasium endowments, of which nothing more is heard. On the other hand the reference to τὸν οἶκον [τ]ῶν ἐξηγητῶν in *P. Strassb.*, 339 (late second or early third century) points to the *οἶκος* being directly related to the magistracy (unless *οἶκος* in this very fragmentary account is used literally of a house). CIVIC FUND: *P. Amh.*, 64, τῶν τῆς πό[λ]εως λημμάτων (A.D. 107), *P.L. Bat.*, III, 2, ἐκ τοῦ ποδαιτικοῦ λόγου (before A.D. 150-1), *P. Oxy.*, 2135, τοῖς τῆς πόλεως λόγοις (A.D. 188), *P. Ryl.*, 86, [πο]λειτικῶν καὶ ἱερατικῶν χρημ[ά]των (A.D. 195), *P. Oxy.*, 54 (= *Chr.*, I, 34), τοῦ τῆς πόλεως λόγου (A.D. 201). TREASURER OF HERMOPOLIS: *P. Ryl.*, 86, ταμίας [πο]λειτικῶν καὶ ἱερατικῶν χρημ[ά]των (A.D. 195), with whom should be compared the ταμίας at Heracleopolis in *P. Hib.*, 217 (A.D. 176-80); of Oxyrhynchus, *P. Oxy.*, 2127 (ἀργυροταμίας). FINANCIAL TRANSACTION AT OXYRHYNCHUS: *P. Oxy.*, III 17 (c. A.D. 178), 54 (A.D. 201); in the case of peculation (*P. Oxy.*, III 17) the money was to be restored not by the whole board but by the gymnasiarchs and another magistrate whose title is lost. In an important discussion of the finances of the metropoleis before the Severan reforms (*P.L. Bat.*, III, pp. 6-11) Miss Wegener re-edits this papyrus and interprets it somewhat differently; in particular she believes that a ταμίας did exist, but is not mentioned here because he was a mere agent, and she would identify Theon, one of responsible officials, with the *strategus*. CONTROL OF STRATEGUS: *P. Amh.*, 64 (A.D. 107) and Wegener, *loc. cit.* Mention should be made in connexion with city finance of the mysterious officer or board ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων mentioned at Alexandria (*P. Fayûm*, 87, *SB.*, 592), Antinoopolis (*I.G.R.*, I, 1143, *P. Oxy.*, 2130), Oxyrhynchus (*P. Ryl.*, 599), and Hermopolis (*P. Ryl.*, 77). At Alexandria he receives the rent of ὑπάρχοντα οἴκου πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρέων (πρότερον) Ἰουλίου Ἀσκληπιάδου φιλοσόφου. At Oxyrhynchus an application to join the *gerusia* is sent to a magistrate διέποντι καὶ τὰ στέμματα. At Hermopolis they (οἱ διέποντες τῶν στεμμάτων διοίκησιν) seem to be occupied in taking bail and distraining property. The title of the office is presumably to be connected with the coronation of magistrates; perhaps the board exacted securities from magistrates for the due performance of their duties and seized their property if they defaulted.
38. THE WILL OF AURELIUS HORION: *P. Oxy.*, 705 (= *Chr.*, I, 153 and 407; A.D. 202).
39. THE DATE OF SEVERUS' VISIT: Hasebrock, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. des K. Sept. Sev.*, p. 118, Harnestad, *Class. et Med.*, VI, pp. 194 seqq. RESTORATION OF ALEXANDRIAN COUNCIL: *Hist. Aug.*, *Severus*, 17.
40. On the third-century municipalities see Skeat-Wegener, 'A Trial before the Prefect Sabinus' (= *SB.*, 7696), *J.E.A.*, 1935, pp. 224-47, Wegener, *Actes V<sup>e</sup> Congr. de Pap.*, pp. 512-20, *Symbolae van Oven*, pp. 160-90, *Mnemosyne*, 1948, pp. 15-42, 115-32, 297-326. MEMBERSHIP OF COUNCILS: The βουλευτῆς ὑπέρ

τὸ(ν) ἀριθμὸν in *P. Lips.*, 18 (reign of Maximian) indicates that there was a fixed number; Miss Wegener, *Symb. van Oven*, loc. cit., has shown that membership was probably hereditary, that members could not serve while minors, but once elected served for life, and that they had to have a certain πόρος (cf. *SB.*, 7261). Co-optation of new members may be referred to in *P. Oxy.*, 1413, lines 4, 12, but it is also possible that *ονομάσατε δὲ καὶ βουλευτὰς* refers to the nomination of councillors to magistracies (Wegener, *Symb. van. Oven*, pp. 163-4); that one could be drafted on to the council is none the less clear from the question addressed to an oracle *εἰ γίνομαι βουλευτής*; (*P. Oxy.*, 1477). THE *PRYTANIS*: Oertel, op. cit., pp. 343-9; in the second century the exegete is sometimes styled ἀρχιπρύτανις (*vid. sup.*, note 26), and a ὑπηρέτης ἐξηγητικός καὶ πρυτανικός is attested (*P. Mil. Vogliano*, 71), but the third-century *prytanis* must be essentially a new creation. SUMMONS AND AGENDA OF MEETINGS: *P. Oxy.*, 1412, *SB.*, 7666, lines 30-3. PRESIDENCY AT MEETINGS: *ib.*, *P. Oxy.*, 1413-15, *P. Erlang.*, 18; from *SB.*, 7696, lines 39 seqq., it seems that certain business could not legally be transacted in his absence. CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION: *B.G.U.*, 362, col. v (= *Chr.*, 1. 96), *C.P. Herm.*, *passim* (letters to the council and from the council are nearly always διὰ πρυτάνεως), *P. Beatty Panop.*, 1. RESPONSIBILITY TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: *P. Oxy.*, 1252v. FINANCE: countersigns payments from civic funds, *C.P. Herm.*, 86, 94 (= *Chr.*, 1. 195, 194), *P. Oxy.*, 55 (= *Chr.*, 1. 196); lets civic property, *C.P. Herm.*, 119r, *P. Oxy.*, 2109, *P.S.I.*, 1070, 1330; he is styled διέπων καὶ τὰ πολιτικά in *P. Oxy.*, 55, 2109. See *P. Erlang.*, 18 (as re-edited by Wegener, *Mnem.*, 1948, pp. 311-3) for a good statement of his powers in general. APPOINTMENT: *P. Oxy.*, 1252v, [παρὰ τοῦ π]ρυτάνε[ω]ς· αὐτὸς τοῖνυν ἐγώ, ἢ γ[ε]μῶν κύριε, ἰ[σ]τοχ[ω]ς χειροτονη[θείς] διὰ τῆς εὐτυχούς σου δεξιᾶς; his motive in emphasizing the prefect's share in the appointment is obvious—he is hinting that as the prefect put him into the post he must help him through his difficulties. For the council's share in his appointment cf. *P. Erlang.*, 18, ἐπεὶ γὰρ πρύτανι ἐχειροτονήσατε. Although in *P. Oxy.*, 1414 the *prytanis* says ὁ νόμος κ[ε]λεύει πρό ἐξαμήνου τὸν μελλοπύτανιν ὀνομάζεσθαι, the appointment in *SB.*, 7696, lines 45-6, was made only nineteen days before the year's term began. The creation of the council involved the creation of other magistrates besides the *prytanis*. The *hypomnematographus* (Oertel's doubts, op. cit., pp. 351-3, of his existence in the metropoleis seem to me exaggerated especially in view of *P. Oxy.*, 1413, 1414, where a former *hypomnematographus* whom there is no reason to consider an Alexandrian is a councillor of Oxyrhynchus, see Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, pp. 349 seqq.) probably kept the minutes, cf. the phrases ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ὑπομνηματισθεῖσιν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ or ἐπὶ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς in *C.P. Herm.*, 66, 67, 101; a board of two or more occurs in *P. Herm. Rees.* 18 and *P.S.I.*, 1254. The syndic, who intervenes in the debates of the council (*P. Oxy.*, 1413, 1414) and assembly (*P. Oxy.*, 41 = *Chr.*, 1. 45) at Oxyrhynchus, seems to have been the legal representative of the council (cf. *P. Oxy.*, 1417, *C.P. Herm.*, 23, col. 11, 25, col. 11). His importance is well brought out in *P. Oxy.*, 2407, where he presides over a meeting of a σύλλογος, presents a financial report for submission to the prefect, and controls certain appointments by the tribes; for the later syndic see note 53 below, *ad fin.* The σκρῆιβας and λογογράφος who appear late in the third century may have performed much the same functions as the *hypomnematographus* and syndic; the former has to sign the appointments of officials by the council (*P. Oxy.*, 1191), both were liable to represent the city before the prefect (*ib.*, 59, *P. Amh.*, 82). *P. Gen., inv.*, 108 (*Recherches de Papyrologie*, 11, pp. 37 seqq.) mentions an ὀρθογράφος βουλῆς).

41. A MEETING AD HOC: *P. Oxy.*, 1412 (c. A.D. 284, called πρόσκλητος βουλῆ); meetings at regular intervals are implied by adjournments of business εἰς τὴν ἐξῆς βουλῆν (*P. Oxy.*, 1414, 1416). Procedure in the council is illustrated by the

minutes preserved in *P. Oxy.*, 1413-15, *P. Erlang.*, 18, *P. Oxy.*, 2417, *P. Ross. Georg.*, II. 40; cf. *P. Oxy.*, 2407. *SB.*, 7696, line 34, shows that a nominator and seconder, *εισηγητῆς καὶ ἐπιψηφιστῆς*, were still formally required. NOMINATIONS BY *κοινά*: *P. Oxy.*, 1252*v* (an exceptional case where the gymnasiarchs nominate to the recently revived eutheniarchy), 2130, cf. 1413, line 9, *ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ὀνομάσατε ἄλλους ἵνα κἂν τὸ ἐξηγητικὸν συσταθῆι. οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ εἶπ(ον)· προτραπήτω Ἴων υἱὸς . . .*, *SB.*, 7696, lines 110-11, *ὁ τότε πρύτανις κελεύσα[ς] αὐτὸν τὴν ὀνομασία[ν] ποιεῖν . . . τὸν γυμνασιάρχον* τ[ὸν] γυμνασιάρχου τὸν ἀρχιερατῆα τοὺς ἀρχιεράτας τοὺς κοσμητάς τ[ὸν] κ[οσμητήν]. NOMINATION BY TRIBES: for councillors? (but *vid. sup.*, note 40), *P. Oxy.*, 1413, line 12, *ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(ε)· καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ ὀνομασάτωσαν ὀνομάσατε δὲ καὶ βουλευτάς. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης φυλῆς εἶπ(ον)*; for officials (public banker), *P. Oxy.*, 1415, [*ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ἀναπληροῦτε τὸ λειτουργημα, . . . [ὀνομάσαθε ὃν] βούλεσθαι (I. βουλευθε)· οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς [ . . . φυλῆς εἶπ(ον) . . . ]*, and later, *οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· οὐκ ἀντιλέξει τῇ φυλῇ Πτολεμαῖος*]; in *P. Oxy.*, 2407 the tribes are apparently required to fill the *λευκωμα ἀρχόντων*. NOMINATION BY PREDECESSOR: *P. Oxy.*, 1204, 2343 (*decaproti*); cf. nomination *ἐξ ἀντονομασίας* in *P. Oxy.*, 1642, lines 15-18, 1405. SURRENDER OF PROPERTY (*ἔκστασις*): *B.G.U.*, 473 (= *Chr.*, II. 375), *P. Oxy.*, 1405, 1417, 1642, *C.P.R.* 20 (= *Chr.*, I. 402), *SB.*, 7696, lines 96-7; cf. the syndic's suggestion to a troublesome *ex-hypomnematographus*, *P. Oxy.*, 2407, lines 46 seqq., that he should make a nomination himself if his credit is good (*καὶ σὺ ἐὰν πιστευθῆς ὅσ[ο]υς ἐὰν δ[ε] νηθῆς [ἔπε]ξε[υρεῖ]ν τῇ σεαυτοῦ πίστει κατάλεξον*). It seems to have been introduced by Severus as a means whereby a man could escape the office to which he had been nominated by ceding his property to his nominator, who then had to serve in his stead; it always required government approval and was abolished by Diocletian. Despite Miss Wegener's study, *Mnem.*, 1948, pp. 115 seqq., much about it remains obscure, in particular the amount of property ceded, whether it was the whole or only two thirds. COMPLAINTS AND LEGAL PROCEEDINGS: *C.P.R.*, 20 (= *Chr.*, I. 402), *P. Oxy.*, 1204, 1642, 2130, 2343, cf. *P. Leit.*, 10; in *SB.*, 7696 Arsinoite villagers complain to the prefect that they have been appointed to magistracies by the council of Arsinoe, contrary to a law of Severus (cf. Wegener, *Mnem.*, 1948, pp. 297 seqq., and the villager wrongfully *χειροτονηθεὶς εἰς ἀρχήν* in *P. Strassb.*, 276). REFUSAL TO NOMINATE: *P. Oxy.*, 1252*v*; nomination by the *prytanis* is implied in *C.P.R.*, 20 (= *Chr.*, I. 402), *B.G.U.*, 8, col. II. *SB.*, 7696, lines 110-12, may imply that the *prytanis* had to nominate if the *τάγμα* refused; *ib.*, line 51, the *prytanis* seals (*ἐπισφραγίζει*) the candidates after a meeting.

42. The context in which *ὑμῖς ψηφιεῖσθε* occurs, with reference to the councillors, is quite obscure (*P. Oxy.*, 1415, line 16). By A.D. 250 it was not necessary for magistrates to be members of the council (*SB.*, 7696, lines 68-70, where *ιδιώται* are regularly made *cosmetes*). The council could fix the length of service for individual members of a board of magistrates, as well as the order of rotation, *P. Erlang.*, 18, cf. *P. Leit.*, 7. The responsibility of the council is emphasized in *P. Oxy.*, 58 (= *Chr.*, I. 378), *ἵνα ἐκάστης οὐσίας ἕνα τινὰ φροντιστὴν ἀξιόδ[ο]χρων κινδύνῳ ἐκάστης βουλῆς αἰρεθῆναι ποιήσῃτε*.

43. ELECTIONS: of (1) *ἄρχοντες*, *P. Oxy.*, 1252*v* (eutheniarchs and, in general, *τὸ συνεχῶς τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων [ἀποδεί]ξως*), 1413 (exegetes and, in general, *καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ ὀνομασάτωσαν*), 2130 (gymnasiarchs), (2) superintendents, *C.P. Herm.*, 82-3, 86 (= *Chr.*, I. 195), 92, (3) *prytanis*, *vid. sup.*, note 40, (4) nomarchs, *B.G.U.*, 8, col. II, *ἡ κρ[ατ]ίστη βουλ[ή] διὰ τῶν αἰρεθέντων . . . νομάρ[χ]ων* (for their duties see Oertel, *op. cit.*, p. 166), (5) public banker, *P. Oxy.*, 1415, (6) distributors of seed corn, *P. Oxy.*, 1031, *αἰρεθείσι ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς ἐπὶ ἀναδόσεως σπερμάτων*, *SB.*, 9358, cf. *P. Flor.*, 21, (7) collectors of taxes on catocic land, *B.G.U.*, 1588, *Πτολεμαίειον Ἀρωαιοιτῶν πόλεως* ἀρχοντ[ε]ς βουλή δι[ὰ] . . . αἰρεθέντων ἐπὶ τῶν κα[τ]αλοχ[ισ]μῶν εἰσ[π]ράξεως,

- (8) superintendents of flooding, &c., *P. Flor.*, 21, αἰρεθείαι ὑπὸ τῆς κρα(τίστῃς) βουλῆς ἐπὶ τε λιμνασμοῦ [καὶ] . . . κατασπορᾶς καὶ τῆς σπερμάτων ἀν[αδόσεως], (9) *decaproti*, first recorded in *P. Lond.*, III, p. 62 seqq. (probably A.D. 227); dams and canals, *P. Oxy.*, 1409; sale of state lands, *P. Lond.*, III, p. 110 (= *Chr.*, I. 375); land declarations, *P. Leit.*, 16, *P. Thead.*, 54, 55; tenants of public land, *B.G.U.*, 7; ἐμβολή, *P. Oxy.*, 62v (= *Chr.*, I. 278), 1260; collection of corn, *P. Oxy.*, 1444, 1571, 2126, *B.G.U.*, 552-7, 579 (= *Chr.*, I. 279), 743-4, &c.; collection of money, *P.S.I.*, 461, *C.P. Herm.*, 127r; see Turner, *J.E.A.*, 1936, pp. 7-19, (10) *annonna* officials, *C.P. Herm.*, 97, *P. Tebt.*, 403, *P. Oxy.*, 1412, 1415, *P. Beatty Panop.*, 1, *passim*, (11) φροντισταὶ οὐσιῶν, *P. Oxy.*, 58 (= *Chr.*, I. 378), a letter from a high Roman official, perhaps the *procurator usiacus*; cf. *P. Beatty Panop.*, 1, lines 369 seqq., (12) ἐπιμεληταὶ of temples, *B.G.U.*, 362 (= *Chr.*, I. 96), cf. *C.P. Herm.*, 7, col. 11 and *P. Thead.*, 34 (A.D. 324). There was an ἐπιμελητῆς Σαραπίου φυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν {καὶ} τῆς πόλεως at Oxyrhynchus as early as c. A.D. 170 (*P. Oxy.*, 2563), (13) inspectors of assigned lands, *P. Flor.*, 6 (as restored by Rostovtzeff, 'Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Kolonates', *Archiv Pap.*, Beiheft I, p. 189, note 1), ἐπισκέπτης γ[ὰ]ρ ἐχειροτονήθη ἀμ' ἄλλοις γῆς διαμισθο[υμένη]ς παρὰ [τῆς κρ. βου]λῆς δι' ὄλ[ο]υ τ[ο]ῦ νομοῦ δ[ιαφε]ρούσης τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ; for ἐπιβολή and ἐπιμερισμός see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 293-6, Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-2.
44. *STRATEGUS* ORDERS ELECTION OF OFFICIALS: *P. Oxy.*, 1415, 58 (= *Chr.*, I. 378), *P. Beatty Panop.* 1, *passim*. where there are also numerous examples of the *strategus* notifying people that they have been elected to a post by the council. RESPONSIBILITY OF *STRATEGUS* FOR *DECAPROTI*: *P. Oxy.*, 62v (= *Chr.*, I. 278), *P. Beatty Panop.*, 2, lines 68-71. SUBORDINATION OF *DECAPROTI* TO *STRATEGUS*: *B.G.U.*, 7, *P. Oxy.*, 1409, *P. Lond.*, III, p. 110 (= *Chr.*, I. 375), *P.S.I.*, 461.
45. *Ἐπιγνάρχαι* OF NOME AND TOPARCHY: Oertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-4, Parsons, note to *P. Oxy.*, 2568, lines 1-3. *Νυκτοστράτηγοι*: Oertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-3.
46. VILLAGE OFFICIALS: Jouguet, *Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, pp. 396 seqq., *P. Cair. Isidor.*, pp. 11-17. *Φυλαί*: first mentioned in A.D. 207. *P. Oxy.*, 2131, τοῦ νυνὶ ἀμφοδογραμματέως πρώτης φυλῆς. SYSTEM OF ROTATION: ib., τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἀμφοδου (N.B. the equivalence of φυλή and ἀμφοδου) . . . μέλλοντος λει[το]υ[ρ]εῖν ἀκολουθῶν τῷ γενομένῳ ὑπὸ . . . τοῦ κρα(τίστου) ἐπιστρ(ατηγοῦ) τῶν ἀμφοδων κλήρω, *P.S.I.*, 1232, τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦντος ἀμφοδου (Heracleopolis); *P. Oxy.*, 2407 contains the minutes of a stormy meeting of a σύλλογος on the last day of the official year (late third century), which deals *inter alia* with the replacement of the first tribe by the second as duty tribe for appointments. On the period of rotation (*περίοδος*) see Wegener, *Actes V<sup>e</sup> Congr.*, loc. cit., and Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil*, pp. 12-13, 45-6. In an unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyrus belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society a man is appointed to the office of *practor* ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς εἰ καὶ φυλ(ῆς) ἀμφοδογρ(αμματέως) τῆς πέμπτης περιόδου (A.D. 232-3); apart from proving the existence of a sixth tribe at Oxyrhynchus, the papyrus shows that there were now two tribes working together in tandem to provide the necessary officials each year (I am indebted to Dr. John Rea for my information on this papyrus, and to Professor E. G. Turner for permission to use it). GROUPING OF ἀμφοδα: *P. Oxy.*, 1116 (= *Chr.*, I. 403), συστάτου ἀμφοδου Δρόμου Γυμ(ν)ασίου καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφοδων (called φυλή in the same document), *P. Flor.*, 39 (= *Chr.*, I. 405), συστάτης τῆς μελλούσης λειτου[ρ]εῖν φυλῆς καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφοδων; these two documents dated A.D. 363 and 396 illustrate the conservatism of terminology. *Ἀμφοδογραμματέως*: Mertens, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-16; attested at Oxyrhynchus between A.D. 207 and 244-5. *Φύλαρχος*: *P. Oxy.*, 1119 (= *Chr.*, I. 397), ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ἀμφοδογραμματέως . . . τῷ τῶν μελλόντων λειτουργεῖν ἀμφοδων φυλάρχῳ, cf. *S.B.*, 7375. He was replaced at Oxyrhynchus by the *systates* from at least A.D. 287, *vid. inf.*, note 56. Councillors are not

- eligible for the post in *P. Oxy.*, 2664 (election ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν). METHOD OF APPOINTMENT: *P. Lond.*, III, pp. 29-31 (ἐν κλήρω), *P. Oxy.*, 1187, παραγγέλλεται τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μελλόντων λειτουργεῖν τῷ εἰσιόντι ἔτει ἀμφοδῶν συνελθεῖν σήμερον ἐν τῷ συνῆθει τόπῳ καὶ ὀνομάσαι ὃν ἕαν αἰρῶνται φύλαρχον ὄντα εὐπορον καὶ ἐπιτήδειον (A.D. 254); Mertens, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 seqq., Parsons, *J.R.S.*, LVII (1967), pp. 135-6.
47. *P. Oxy.*, 2128 includes among payments out of municipal funds one to the δημοσία τράπεζα, which must therefore have been separate. ELECTION OF δημοσίων χρημάτων τραπέδης (sic): *P. Oxy.*, 1415. Ταμίας τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λόγου SUBORDINATE TO PRYTANIS: *C.P. Herm.*, 94 (= *Chr.*, I. 194), *P. Oxy.*, 55 (= *Chr.*, I. 196). EXPENSES OF PRYTANIS: *P. Oxy.*, 1252v, τὰ ἐπικείμενά μοι ἀν[α]λώματα εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν δημοσίων λουτρῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ λ[οιπὰ] πολι[τι]κὰ δαπάνηματα, *P. Erlang.*, 18. EXPENSES OF OTHER MAGISTRATES: as well as note 28 above cf. *P. Leit.*, 7, where an ex-eutheniarch claims that he has been compelled to pay 500 talents towards the *agoranomia*, in addition to 1000 talents towards the eutheniarchy of the current year, although he is entitled to a year's respite. In a trial before the prefect in A.D. 285-90 (*P. Oxy.*, 2612) a man declares he can only undertake the eutheniarchy μετὰ χειραγωγίας, which seems to be a monetary advance made through the *prytanis* (cf. *P. Erlang.*, 18). See also *P. Oxy.*, 2569 (expenses of exegetes), and for βουλευτικὰ χρήματα *P. Oxy.*, 1413 (*vid. inf.*), 1416, 1501. CIVIC AUDIT: *C.P. Herm.*, 82-3, 86 (= *Chr.*, I. 195), 92-4, 98-9. Στεπτικά OF MAGISTRATES: *P. Oxy.*, 1413, ὁ Πλουτίων στεπτικὸν ἐτι ὀφείλει ἥς ἀνεδέξατο ἀπὸ τιμῶν ἐξηγητίας; of councillors (but see note 40), *ib.*, ὀνομάσατε οὖν καὶ βουλευτὰς ἵνα τὰ στεπτικά αὐτῶν εἰσ[ί]; Jouguet, *Rev. ég.*, 1919, p. 67, restores εἰσ[ε]νεχθῆναι δύνηται ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτικῶν χρημάτων. RENT OF CITY LANDS, ETC.: in *C.P. Herm.*, 119r, there are a number of offers to rent land from the πολιτικός λόγος, but it is doubtful whether these lands were city property or state lands assigned to the city, probably the latter, *vid. inf.*, note 48; in *P. Fayûm*, 88, there is, however, a mention of a κλήρος of the οἶκος πόλεως and in *P. Strassb.*, 25, of a πολιτικὴ οὐσία; cf. *P. Oxy.*, 2109. INTEREST: in *C.P. Herm.*, 98-9 (audit of civic account) τόκοι are mentioned; cf. *C.P. Herm.*, 23, ἔδα[νι]-σατο ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ χρήματος. RENT OF SITES: *vid. sup.*, note 35. RATE: *C.P. Herm.*, 101. PAYMENTS: for public works, *P. Got.*, 7, re-edited Skeat, *P. Beatty Panop.*, p. xxxii, *C.P. Herm.*, 82, 83, 86, 92-4, *P. Oxy.*, 55 (= *Chr.*, I. 196), 2127, for water-supply, *C.P. Herm.*, 96 (ὑδροπαροχίας) *P. Oxy.*, 2569, cf. *P. Harr.*, 79, *P. Oxy.*, 2128 (ὑδροπαρόχους); for heating baths, *C.P. Herm.*, 66, 67, *P. Oxy.*, 2127, εἰς ὑπόκαυσιν βαλ. γ[υ]μ.; festivals, &c., *ib.*, [ὑπὲρ τῆς κα]τὰ τὴν ἐξηγητιαν πομπαγωγίας, [ὑπὲρ] θυσιῶν δύο γενομ. ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ; cf. *P. Oxy.*, 1416, and the well-known pensions granted to athletic victors, for which the municipalities had to pay (*Chr.* I. 157), and which *P. Oxy.*, 2338 shows being extended to other sorts of victors, trumpeters, heralds, etc.; for baking monopoly, *P. Oxy.*, 2128, διεγράφη εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν τρά[π]εζαν ὡνῆς πελοχικ(οῦ) καὶ καθαρουργ(ίας), cf. *P. Fouad.*, 52; for night-watchmen, *P. Oxy.*, 2128, Διονυσίῳ τῷ κ(αί) Περτριωνῶ ἐπὶ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων.
48. *P. Oxy.*, 890 (= *Chr.*, I. 280), τοὺς ἀπαιτεῖσ[θα]ι μέλλοντας ἀφ' ὧν [δ]φ[εἰλ]ουσι τῇ π[ό]λει χωροῦντων [εἰς] διαγραφῆν τῶν ἐκ λόγου τῆς [πό]λεως διαγραφομένων καὶ νῦν [γ]ραφομέν[ων] σοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι τὴν εἰσπραξίν τοῦ ἱερωτάτου [ταμείου]. THE NOMARCHIC REVENUES: *P. Strassb.*, 58-64, κατέβαλεν ἰς τὸν τῆς βουλῆς λόγον διὰ τῶν αἰρεθέντων ἰς τὸ προστήναι τῶν τῆς νομαρχίας διαφερόντων. RENT OF ASSIGNED LANDS: *C.P. Herm.*, 119r, especially col. IV, βούλομαι ὀνήσασθαι ἀπὸ πολιτικοῦ λόγου οἰκίαν . . . ἀφ' ὧν οὐδὲν περιγίνετ[αι] τῷ πολιτικῷ λόγῳ . . . προσβληθέντα τῇ πόλει ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς κελευ[σ]θεῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς διασημοτάτης μνήμης Κλαυδίου Θεοδώρου. The other documents are offers to μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ πολιτικοῦ λόγου: the rent is to be paid εἰς τὸ δημόσιον with the proviso τῶν δημοσίων πάντων τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπιμερισμῶν ὄντων πρὸς τὸν τῆς πόλεως λόγον; cf. perhaps *C.P.R.*, 39 (= *Chr.*, II. 275), *P.S.I.*, 1070, 1330.

49. The half city status of the metropoleis in the third century is curiously symbolized in the coins which they issued, which were not, as elsewhere in the empire, of bronze but of lead; see Milne, *Catalogue of Alex. Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, nos. 5276 (*Ἀρσινουαίων πόλεως*), 5277 (*Ἀθριβίς*), 5278–9 (*Μέμφις*), 5280 seqq. (*Οἶξ*).
50. On the fourth-century administration there is a useful collection of material in Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte* (284–382). Gelzer (*Studien zur byz. Verwalt. Aeg.*, pp. 57 seqq.), followed by Wilcken (*Grundzüge*, p. 76) and all the modern authorities, dates the municipalization of Egypt to A.D. 307–10, on the ground that the toparchy disappears in favour of the *pagus* between those years. This needs some modification, especially as the change from toparchy to *pagus* was of minor importance and might well be a later refinement. One would expect some change in the status of the metropoleis to have been involved in the general reorganization of A.D. 297 recorded by Eutropius (IX. 23), and this is supported by *P. Cair. Isidor.*, 1, a prefectorial edict, which shows that *οἱ ἀρχόντες καὶ οἱ προπολιτευόμενοι ἐκά[σ]της πόλεως* were already responsible for the taxation of the villages in A.D. 297, and which strikingly fails to mention the *strategus*. On the other hand, we can hardly regard municipalization as complete until the *strategus* had been deposed from the pre-eminent position which he had held and still held in A.D. 298 (*P. Beatty Panop.*, 1); cf. too that in A.D. 305 it is to him, and not to the council, that comarchs address a petition (*P.L. Bat.*, xvi. 32). Clearly there was a period of piecemeal development, completed when the *exactor* and *praepositi pagi* had been installed. LIBYA INFERIOR: it included the former nomes of Libya, Marmarice, and Ammoniac, Lallemand, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–8. THEBAIS: *P. Beatty Panop.*, 1 reveals that by A.D. 298 there was an Upper and a Lower division, each under a procurator, but with a common *praeses*, and indicates that it extended further north than the old *epistrategia* to include the Hermopolite and Antinoopolite nomes: on the date of its creation cf. Skeat, *P. Beatty Panop.*, pp. xvii seqq. AEGYPTUS JOVIA AND AEGYPTUS HERCULIA: Gelzer (*op. cit.*, pp. 2–36) and Wilcken (*op. cit.*, pp. 71–6) consider that Herculia replaced the Heptanomia, but the evidence they cite proves only that Heptanomia was in Herculia, not that it was co-extensive with it. *P. Oxy.*, 2113–14, which record a *ἡγεμών* of Herculia and an *ἐπίτροπος* of Heptanomia (different persons) in the same year (A.D. 316) suggest that Heptanomia survived as a subdivision of Herculia, although it is possible that the title Heptanomia continued to be used incorrectly (the use may even have continued after the creation of Augustamnica in A.D. 341, see *P. Ross. Georg.*, v. 27, with Rees, *J.J.P.*, vi, p. 84). *P. Ryl.*, 616 (c. A.D. 312), which is unfortunately incomplete so that its evidence is not quite conclusive, relates to a province in the Central and Western Delta apparently corresponding to the later Aegyptus. This province must be Jovia, and Herculia may well have been equivalent to the later Augustamnica (including Heptanomia). The date of the creation of these provinces is much disputed; see most recently De Salvo, *Aegyptus*, 1964, pp. 34–46, who argues for A.D. 314–15. Herculia is called *Μερκουριανὴ Αἴγυπτος* in *P. Ryl.*, 659 and *P. Thead.*, 20. The date of the revolt of Domitius Domitianus is much disputed. If it was not 296–7 but 297–8, as seems probable (see Skeat, *P. Beatty Panop.* pp. x–xv), the reforms will have been begun before the revolt, and may have provoked it.
51. On the change from bureaucratic to civic terminology and its significance see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 76–9. The latest instances of *μητρόπολις* is *P. Lips.*, 19 (A.D. 319–20). *Πόλις* was of course very frequently used (incorrectly) in the third century and earlier. *Πολιτεία* is also used in the Byzantine period; a good example of its territorial use is *B.G.U.*, 304, *τοῦ βορρ(ινοῦ) σκέλους ταύτης τῆς πολ(ι)τ(είας)*. The cumbersome *τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν κωμῶν τῆς ἐνορίας τῆς ὑμετέρας* occurs in *P. Lips.*, 64 (= *Chr.*, i. 281); *τῆς Λυκοπολιτῶν ἐνορίας* is mentioned as early as A.D. 300 (*P. Beatty Panop.*, 2, line 136); cf. *P. Oxy.*, 1101. *Νομός* is

frequent in Byzantine papyri, see *P. Lond.*, v, *passim*. For the correspondence of the Arabic *Kuras* with the Greek cities see Grohmann, *Stud. zur hist. Geographie des frühmittelalten Ägypten*, who emphasizes the importance of the pagarchies in this process. There was often, it may be noted, some vacillation between the metropolis and nome; in the *Breviarium* of Meletius (Migne, *P.G.*, xxv. 376-7) *Φθενετύ* and *ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα* are preferred to the usual Buto and Hermopolis Minor, and, on the other hand, *Φάκουσαι* is preferred to the more usual Arabia; at Ephesus the bishop of Sethroites sometimes signs as *Σεθροίτου* (Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. I, vol. i, pars ii, p. 7, vii, p. 88), sometimes as *Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Σεθροίτου* (vol. cit., pars vii, p. 115). Ptolemais was so preferred that in *P. Michaelid.*, 44 (A.D. 527) we find a *Πτολεμαῖδος νομός*, but it is absent from all the conciliar lists after the *Breviarium* and even there no bishop is recorded. It seems never to have been a see (because of its staunch adherence to Hellenism?), unless the bishop of Thynis who is recorded in 431 (vol. cit., pars ii, p. 7, pars vii, pp. 88, 116), 452 (op. cit., Tom. II, vol. v, p. 17), and 459 (Mansi, vii. 917) is the bishop of Ptolemais, metropolis of the Thinite nome? Munier prefers to identify *Θύνεως* with *Θέννησος* (op. cit., Index, *s.v.*), and Honigmann, *Le Synekdémous de Hiéroclès*, p. 47, suggests *Θώνις*.

52. See Wilcken, loc. cit., Lallemand, op. cit., 96 seqq. LATEST TOPARCHY: *P. Grenf.*, II. 78 (= *Chr.*, II. 63; March, A.D. 307); the editor of *P. Strassb.*, 325 wishes to expand *τοπ(αρχίας)* there, although the papyrus dates from after the introduction of the indiction cycle (A.D. 321?). LATEST DECAPROTUS: *P. Amh.*, 83 (= *Chr.*, I. 230, A.D. 303-6); in a series of ostracron receipts the *decaproti* are replaced by *sitologi* between March and September, A.D. 302 at Caranis (*O. Mich.*, 1076-7), and between July, A.D. 303 and September, A.D. 304 at Thebes (*O. Tait.*, 2089-90); see further Lallemand, op. cit., p. 206. FIRST *PAGUS* AND *PRAEPOSITUS PAGI*: *P. Cair. Isidor.*, 125 (August, A.D. 308), 126 (A.D. 308-9), see Boak, *Mel. Maspéro*, II, pp. 125 seqq. For the suggestion that *P. Ryl.*, 658 refers to a *praepositus pagi* in c. A.D. 299 see *Chr. d'Ég.*, 1959, p. 124; the *praepositi* in *P. Oxy.*, 2561 (A.D. 293-305) could be military. The *pagi* did not correspond exactly with the toparchies (e.g. the Oxyrhynchite had ten *pagi*, but only six toparchies), nor the *praepositus pagi* with the *decaprotus*; the former, who often receives petitions, adjudicates disputes, etc. (e.g. *P. Lond.*, III, p. 128 = *Chr.*, II. 95, *SB.*, 9187-8, *P. Cair. Isidor.*, 76), is much more like a miniature *strategus*. The *πρωτοστάτης* attested in A.D. 296 (*SB.*, 9502) and 298 (*P. Cair. Isidor.*, 64) may be a temporary forerunner of the *praepositus pagi*. LATEST *STRATEGI*: Oxyrhynchus, *P. Oxy.*, 1057 (A.D. 362), Hermopolis, *P. Lond.*, 1651 (A.D. 363), *P. Strassb.*, 272 (A.D. 369), Arsinoe, *P. Amh.*, 138 (A.D. 326), Diopolis Minor, *P. Antin.*, 32 (A.D. 339); see Thomas, *Chr. d'Ég.*, 1960, pp. 262 seqq., Lallemand, op. cit., p. 120. FIRST *EXACTOR*: *P. Giss.*, 103r (A.D. 309); *P. Cair. cat.*, 10466 may be earlier than September, A.D. 308, cf. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des Préfets d'Égypte*, p. 107. *Στρατηγός ἦτοι ἐξάκτωρ*: *P. Giss.*, 103r (A.D. 309), *P. Cairo Preis.*, 8 (= *Chr.*, I. 240, A.D. 322), *SB.*, 4513 (c. A.D. 369-70), etc., and even as late as the last decade of the fourth century according to *P. Ross. Georg.*, v. 60. The exact equivalence of the two titles is proved conclusively by *P. Merton*, 91, a petition to the *strategus* asking for action, whereas the *praeses* gave his instructions to the *exactor*. FIRST *RIPARII*: *P. Oxy.*, 897 (A.D. 346), the first certain example; *ῥίτιπ[α]ρίων* is a possible restoration in *SB.*, 6294 (A.D. 336); an *ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης Ὀξύρυγχέιτου* is found in 341, *P. Oxy.*, 991. FIRST *CURATOR* (*λογίστης*): *P. Oxy.*, 2187 (A.D. 304). FIRST *DEFENSOR* (*ἐκδικος*): an unpublished papyrus belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society (quoted by permission of Professor E. G. Turner), addressed to him jointly with the *curator* (A.D. 331), *P.S.I.*, 767 (A.D. 331 or 332), *P. Oxy.*, 1426 (A.D. 332). In all these papyri he is called *ἐκδικος*, but he is elsewhere addressed as *δεφήσωρ* or *σύνδικος*; the latter suggests a connexion between him and the third-century syndic, cf. Rees, *J. J. P.*, vi, pp. 75 seqq.

53. EQUESTRIAN EXACTORES: *Cod. Theod.*, XI, vii. 1 (Africa, A.D. 313). LETTER OF PRYTANIS: *P. Abinn.*, 58 (= *Chr.*, I. 44); the editors follow Martin, *Actes V<sup>e</sup> Congr. de Papyrologie*, pp. 260-85, in referring the request to an honorary appointment to the *exactoria*, but cf. Jones, *Greek City*, p. 332. EXACTORES ELECTED: *Cod. Theod.*, XII, vi. 20 (A.D. 386), cf. *P.S.I.*, 684; cf. law 22, addressed to the *praefectus Augustalis* in the same year. POWERS OF EXACTOR: Thomas, *Chr. d'Ég.*, 1959, pp. 124 seqq. PLURALITY OF EXACTORES: letter to *exactores* of Hermopolis, *B.G.U.*, 1027 (= *Chr.*, I. 424); notification from the council of Hermopolis to three *πολιτευομένοις στρατη[γοῖς] ἤτοι [ἐ]ξάκτοροι* (which also shows that *exactores* were now decurions), *P.L. Bat.*, XIII. 10; cf. *P. Lond.*, 1911, *P. Prince.*, 345, and *ἐναρχος στρατηγός* (= *exactor*) in *P. Lond.*, 1651 (A.D. 363) and *P.L. Bat.*, XI. 3 (A.D. 325). DEFENSOR: method of appointment, *Cod. Theod.*, I. xxix. 1 (A.D. 364), 3 and 4 (A.D. 368), 6 (A.D. 387). JURISDICTION: *ib.*, law 2, *SB.*, 8246; powers in general, Rees, *J.J.P.*, VI, pp. 73 seqq. CURATOR: appointment: Jones, *L.R.E.*, p. 726; for the share taken by the imperial government see *SB.*, 9558 (A.D. 325), where a *curator* who is giving up his post says *ἐγχειρ[ισθεῖσάν μ]οι πιστεῖν τῆς λογιστείας ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν . . . ὑπανεχώρησα*; powers: Rees, *J.J.P.*, VII/VIII, pp. 83-105, Lallemand, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-14; plurality: *P. Oxy.*, 2347 (A.D. 362), *λογισταῖς* of Oxyrhynchus. *Νυκτοστράτηγος*: Oertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-3. RIPARIUS: *ib.*, pp. 284-6, Lallemand, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-5; two *riparii* take part in the debate of the council of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 370 (*P. Oxy.*, 2110).
54. *Πρύτανις* and *πρόεδρος* are used indifferently in *P. Oxy.*, 2110 (A.D. 370): for *προπολιτευόμενος* see *P. Cair. Isidor.*, I (A.D. 297); perhaps used earlier, if the relevant part of *P. Oxy.*, 2343 (lines 17 seqq.) is to be dated c. A.D. 288. Note the odd *ἐναρχος μελλοπρόεδρος* in *P. L. Bat.*, XIII. 10. JURISDICTION OF PRYTANIS: *C.P.R.*, 19 (= *Chr.*, II. 69); cf. Lallemand, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-31. ELECTION OF PRAEPOSITI PAGORUM: in *P. Oxy.*, 2110, nominations *εἰς τὰς παραρχίας* are discussed in the council, and at this date (A.D. 370) this can only refer to the *praepositus pagi*, and not to the office of pagarch (which was always an imperial appointment). LATEST MAGISTRATES: *archiereus*, *Cod. Theod.*, XII. i. 112 (A.D. 386), addressed to the *praefectus Augustalis*, lays down that the *archierosyne* shall be imposed on pagans; gymnasiarch, *P. Oxy.*, 2110 (A.D. 370); cosmete, *P. Antin.*, 31 (A.D. 347); exegete, *P. Ryl.*, 657 (A.D. 323-4). CONDUCTORES: *P. Oxy.*, 900 (= *Chr.*, I. 437, A.D. 322), *ὑποβληθέντος ἐτι εἰς κονδουκτορίαν τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου*, 2110 (A.D. 370), *εἰς τὰς παραρχίας καὶ κονδουκτορίας*. TAXATION OFFICIALS: *P. Oxy.*, 60 (= *Chr.*, I. 43), 2110, *ὁ πρόεδρος ἐχειροτόνησέν με εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἐρεᾶς ἐσθῆτος*, *P. Lips.*, 40, col. III, *ὑποβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν β[ε]βουλητῶν εἰς τὸν κεφαλαιωτήν*, *P. Giss.*, 54 (= *Chr.*, I. 420), *ὀνομάσθης . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ μελλοπροέδρου διαδότην*, *P. Lond.*, III, p. 128 (= *Chr.*, II. 95), *εἰς τί αὐτῷ ὁ πρόεδρος ἐπεβούλευσεν; ἠθέλησεν αὐτὸν ἐπιμελητὴν κριθῆς γείνεσθαι*. τὸν μὴ βουλευόντα; [τῶ]ν μὴ βουλευόντα. οὐ δυνήσεται, *P. Cairo Preis.*, 13, 14, 16, 17, *P. Merton*, 90.
55. *P. Oxy.*, 2110.
56. PRESENTATION: to *praepositus pagi*, *P. Cair. Isidor.*, 125, *P. Amh.*, 139 (= *Chr.*, I. 406), *P. Thead.*, 50, *P. Oxy.*, 2124, *P.S.I.*, 1106; to *strategus* (= *exactor*), *P. Leit.*, 3, village *σιτολόγοι* (c. A.D. 313, i.e. after the institution of the *praepositus pagi*), *P.L. Bat.*, XI. 3, *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφ[ο]δάρχας*, called a *δημοτικὴ λειτουργία*; to *exactor*, *SB.*, 4513; to *νυκτοστράτηγος*, *P. Lips.*, 65 (= *Chr.*, I. 404); to *riparii*, *P. Oxy.*, 1033 (= *Chr.*, I. 476). The presenting officer of the tribe is still called *φύλαρχος* in *SB.*, 4513, but elsewhere *σοστάτης*, with or without *φυλῆς*, first in *P.S.I.*, 164 (A.D. 287); cf. note 46 above, and the *σοστάταις μητροπόλεως* in *P. Beatty Panop.*, I, line 338; the office of *systates* is discussed by Mertens, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-45. PRESENTATION FOR STATE SERVICES TO CURATOR: *P.S.I.*, 1108 (postman), *P. Oxy.*, 86 (= *Chr.*, I. 46, sailor), 1116 (= *Chr.*, I. 403, service in



- the temple of Augustus at Alexandria); to λογιστής, ἔκδικος and γραμματεὺς (?), *P. Oxy.*, 1426 (workmen on Trajan's canal); also to *praepositus pagi*, *P. Oxy.*, 1425 (donkey-driver at Pelusium).
57. CONFUSION OF 'PUBLIC' AND 'CIVIC': Ulpian, *Dig.*, l. xvi. 15, *P. Oxy.*, 84 (= *Chr.*, I. 197), δημοσίων χρ[η]μάτων τραπ. Ὁξ. πολιτικῆς τραπέζης . . . εἰς δημόσια πολιτικά ἔργα. PAYMENTS BY BANK FOR THE BATHS: *P. Oxy.*, 1430 (A.D. 324), 1499 (A.D. 309). A πολ(ιτικῆ) τρά(πεζα) also appears in *P. Strassb.*, 28 (c. A.D. 305), giving a receipt for φόρος προβάτων to the shepherd of a private οὐσία. Hunt in his note on *P. Oxy.*, 1419 takes φόρος προβάτων to be a tax, Preisigke in his note ad loc. gives a more probable explanation that it was a rent and that the civic bank gave the receipt because the owner of the οὐσία kept his account at it. In *P. Cair. Isidor.*, 78 (A.D. 324) trespassing animals are sold and the money goes partly to τῷ πολιτικῷ λόγῳ, whereas in the otherwise parallel document *P. Merton*, 92 it goes to τῷ ταμείῳ. DISAPPEARANCE OF THE TREASURER: in 283 the ταμίαις pays on the order of the πρύτανις (*P. Oxy.*, 55 (= *Chr.*, I. 196)), in 306 ὁ τῶν πολιτικῶν [ἐπί]τροπος pays on the order of the λογιστής (*P. Oxy.*, 1104), in 316 a δημοσίων χρ[η]μάτων τραπ. Ὁξ. πολιτικῆς τραπέζης pays on the order of the λογιστής (*P. Oxy.*, 84 (= *Chr.*, I. 197)). The ἐπίτροπος is otherwise unknown and probably a transitional expedient; cf. perhaps *P.S.I.*, 310.
58. *P. Flor.*, 95 (A.D. 375-7), *P. Lips.*, 62 (A.D. 384-5), receipts by the χρυσώνης of Antinoopolis (the capital of the Lower Thebaid) to collectors ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς πολιτίας). Χρυσώνης IN A.D. 335: *P. Würzb.*, 15. Ἡ τῆς ἐπαρχίας τράπεζα (c. A.D. 339): *P. Cairo Preis.*, 33. Some connexion between the public bank of the nome and state revenues seems to have remained in the early years of the fourth century, see *P. Princ.*, 133 (A.D. 303), *P. Cair. Isidor.*, 11 (A.D. 312), cf. *B.G.U.*, 620 (= *Chr.*, I. 186), *O. Strassb.*, 168, 170-2, *P. Cair. Isidor.*, 54, but this cannot have persisted. Taxes are still paid to a 'public bank' in A.D. 341 and 349 (*P.S.I.*, 781, *P. Amh.*, 140); on my view the bank in question is that of the province; for different view see Lallemand, op. cit., pp. 218-9.
59. *P. Oxy.*, 41 (= *Chr.*, I. 45). We possess no record of a public meeting which can be dated with certainty after the completion of municipalization.
60. For Hierocles, Georgius Cyprius, and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XLII-XLVII, XLVIII, 1-5, 7. The fourth-century evidence is tabulated in Lallemand, op. cit., pp. 102-5. For the nomes mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium see Gauthier, op. cit., pp. 195-9.
61. TOWNS OF CASIOTIS: Ptol., iv. v. 5, Γέρρον, 6, Κάσιον, Ὀστρακίνη, Ῥινοκόρουρα, *Itin. Ant.*, 151, Rinocorura, 152, Ostracena, Cassio, Pentaschæno; cf. Abel, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1939, pp. 207 seqq., 530 seqq., 1940, pp. 55 seqq., 224 seqq.; *P. Ryl.*, 627-8, 630-8, relate to a journey from Egypt to Syria and back c. A.D. 323: between Pelusium and the border the itinerary mentions Γέρας, Πεντάσχοιον, Κάσιον, Ὀστρακίνη, Ῥινοκόρουρα. The Medaba map marks Rhinocolura, Ostracine, Casium, and a town beginning ΤΟΑΦ, then a gap and Pelusium. This must be Aphaeneum (Abel, loc. cit., 1940, pp. 61-2). A fifth-century geographical papyrus, edited Noordegraaf, *Mnemosyne*, 1938, pp. 273-310, of barbarous orthography, records it as τ[α]φ[ν]αειν, between Pelusium and Πεντασχαλος (sic). Georgius' MSS. have Ἀφθαίον, no doubt wrongly, and it is improbable that there is any connexion with the Aphthite nome of the Saite period (Herod., II. 166). TOWNS OF LIBYA: Ptol., iv. v. 3, Ἀντίφραι, Ζυγρίς, Ζαγυλις, 14, Πηδωνία.
62. Amm. Marc., xxii, xvi. 5 and 3, Soz., *H.E.*, VIII. 19.
63. The Antinoopolite was a nome by A.D. 300 (*P. Beatty Panop.*, 2). *P. Lips.*, 55 (A.D. 375-9) refers to Κωνσταντινῆ καὶ Δι[ο]κλητιανὸς πόλις. Maximianopolis is still called Καινή in an official document of A.D. 300 (*P. Beatty Panop.*, 2, line 153); first attested as Μαξιμιανόπολις in A.D. 314 (*P. Erlang.*, 52). Cusae and

- Tou are mentioned in A.D. 262 as villages of the Hermopolite in *B.G.U.*, 553. The Cussite is a nome in *P. Beatty Panop.*, 2 (A.D. 300), cf. *P. Strassb.*, 152 (A.D. 298-9). In SB. 8942 (298-9) it is a city. The equation of Tou to Theodosiopolis is given in the Coptic Notitia (Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église copte*, p. 56, line 99); called  $\delta$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  Θεοδοσιοπολίτης νομός, *P. L. Bat.*, xvi. 10 (there is insufficient reason for identifying it with the Theodosiopolis of Middle Egypt. Coptos was renamed Justinianopolis (Georgius Cyprus, 772).
64. In comparison with the former Heptanomia, Arcadia had lost Hermopolis and Antinoopolis and gained Letopolis. On Theodosiopolis-Arsinoites see *P. Tebt.*, II, pp. 363-5; on the other hand there was a πάγαραχος τῆς Ἀρσινοιτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιοπολιτῶν in the seventh century (*S.P.P.*, xx. 240, cf. *SB.*, 4751, 4858). NILOPOLIS: village of the Heracleopolite, *Ptol.*, iv. v. 26; nome, *B.G.U.*, 1568 (A.D. 261), where I would restore  $N[\epsilon\iota\lambda\upsilon\upsilon]\pi\omicron[\lambda]\acute{\epsilon}[\tau\omicron]\upsilon$  instead of  $N[\iota\kappa\iota\upsilon\upsilon]-\pi\omicron[\lambda]\acute{\epsilon}[\tau\omicron]\upsilon$ , which is otherwise unknown, *P. Oxy.*, 2415 (late third century), cf. *Theb. O.*, 132.
65. ATHRIBIS IN AEGYPTUS IN A.D. 372-4: *SB.*, 8699. THMUIS AND PANEPHYSIS METROPOLEIS OF THE MENDESIAN AND NESYT: *Ptol.*, iv. v. 22, 23. THENNESUS: Joh. Cassianus, *Coll.*, xi. 1, Migne, *P.L.*, XLIX. 847; omitted by Hierocles, unless his Σκέννα is a miswriting of this; however, Honigmann, *Le Synekdémous d'Hieroclès*, p. 58, would connect it with Scenae extra Gerasa known from *Not. Dig. Or.*, xxviii. 29 (Abel, loc. cit., 1940, pp. 236-7), and with Georgius' Ἰτράγερος, written Ἰτράγερος in one MS., which he thinks may come from [Σκηναί] Ἰ[ν]τρα Γέρος (Γέρρα).
66. For Aegyptus there is an important source in addition to Hierocles and Georgius, *P. Ryl.*, 616, a taxation list of Aegyptus Jovia of c. A.D. 312. It is unfortunately not complete but contains all the names given by Hierocles except Alexandria, Sais, Busiris, Cynopolis, and the Oasis. MAREOTES: Just., *Edict* 13, §§ 9, 17, 19-21. Mareotes is here always coupled with Menelaites as one city; this may account for its omission by Hierocles. BUTO METROPOLIS OF PHTHENETU: *Ptol.*, iv. v. 20; Georgius gives a second Leontopolis for Buto—the identification is proved by the Coptic Notitia, Munier, op. cit., p. 53, lines 25-6, but cf. Honigmann, op. cit., pp. 58-9. Βουτικός (νομός) is found in Epiphan., *Haer.*, III, p. 1092. NICIU METROPOLIS OF PROSOPITE: *Ptol.*, iv. v. 20. TAUA METROPOLIS OF PHTHEMPHUTHI AND PACHNEMUNIS METROPOLIS OF THE LOWER SEBENNYTIC: *Ptol.*, iv. v. 21. LOWER CYNOPOLIS: in the Busirite, Strabo, xvii. i. 19, p. 802; nome, *P. Oxy.*, 2136 (A.D. 291), cf. 1256 (A.D. 282 the Cynopolite of Middle Egypt is referred to as Ἄνω Κυνοπολίτης); joint see with Busiris, Migne, *P.G.*, xxv. 376, Ἐρμαίων ἐν Κυνῶ καὶ Βουσίρῃ. PHLABONITE: *Theb. O.*, 132 (third century), *P. Ryl.*, 616 (c. A.D. 312), Φράγιους, the form used in the sixth-century lists. CLEOPATRIS: *P. Ryl.* 616. SCHEDIA: Strabo, xvii. i. 16, p. 800, cf. *SB.*, 9210; joint see with Menelaites, Migne, *P.G.*, xxvi. 808, Ἀγαθοδαίμων Σχεδίας καὶ Μενελαίου. A bishop of Schedia alone is in the Nicaean list of A.D. 325 (Munier, op. cit., p. 5, line 13, where, however, it is placed in the Thebaid; that there was a Schedia in Upper Egypt is known from elsewhere, Gauthier, op. cit., p. 83). ZENONOPOLIS: Munier, loc. cit., p. 54, line 50 (identified with Terenuthis?). PAPHNA: Pococke, *Description of the East*, vol. I, book v, chap. xvii, Φάρανος; the identification is doubted by Honigmann, op. cit., p. 59. SONDRΑ: could it possibly be the Coptic Songar (Munier, op. cit., p. 53, line 34)? Lower Cynopolis was renamed Nova Justinianopolis (Mansi, ix. 391, cf. 175).
67. TERENCE: in the Prosopite, *P. Gen.*, 29, *B.G.U.*, 453 (= *Chr.*, II. 144), 648 (= *Chr.*, I. 360); centre of the nitre monopoly and connexion with the Oasis, *P. Abinn.*, 9 (= *Chr.*, I. 322); the lesser Oasis was in the late third century attached to Oxyrhynchus (*vid. sup.*, note 20). GREAT OASIS: I adopt the brilliant emendation of Georgius suggested by Wilcken (*Archiv Pap.*, IV, pp. 478-80),

based on *P. Lips.*, 64 (= *Chr.*, I. 281), col. 11 (assessments of *Ἰβις*, *Μῶθις*, and *Τρίμιθις* under the Oasis of the Thebaid; in *Chr.*, I, p. 331 Wilcken gives the amounts as 13661, 44671, and 31010 *denarii* respectively, which add up to the required total; the figure for Hibis in his text must therefore be a misprint). It is called *Ἰβιτῶν νομός* in the early fourth century (*P. Grenf.*, II. 74).

68. PARALUS: first in *P. Ryl.*, 616, where the rate of assessment is high, which suggests that sparseness of population was not the reason for the absence of municipal organization. HELEARCHIA: first datable reference *P. Ryl.*, 616 (c. A.D. 312); also in *P. Oxy.*, 2415 (late third century). THE ECCLESIASTICAL PARTITION OF HELEARCHIA: Migne, *P.G.*, xxvi. 808, *Ἀγαθὸς Φραγόνεως καὶ μέρους Ἐλεαρχίας τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Ἀμμώνιος Παχνεμουνέως καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέρους τῆς Ἐλεαρχίας*.

#### *Ecclesiastical Organization*

There are no reliable ancient Notitiae of the patriarchate of Alexandria. The map, the names from which are recorded in Pocockes's *Description of the East*, vol. i, book v, chap. xvii (an improved text of Munier, op. cit., pp. 59-62), must I think, for the reason stated in Chapter XII, note 17, be regarded as the work of an antiquary of comparatively modern times. It has, nevertheless, a certain value as its author appears to have used sources not accessible to us. The Coptic Notitia (Munier, op. cit., pp. 43-57) is a curious jumble of medieval fact and antiquarian learning. The ideal of the compiler seems to have been to compose a list in triplicate—Greek, Coptic, and Arabic—but for some ancient sees known to him only from Greek sources he was unable to find Coptic or Arabic equivalents (especially on page 49, where *Ἐσχετία*, *Ἀναυκρατία*, *Ἀλφοκράνων* from the Nicene list, *Πανέφουσον*, &c. are recorded) and for some medieval sees he was obliged to forge Greek names (e.g. *Τβωλβουθίω* and *Ἄγνου* for Rosetta and Nestarawah). The Notitia provides some valuable equations of Greek, Coptic, and Arabic names, but is very little use as a Notitia. One must therefore fall back on the conciliar lists and similar documents. There is no list which is even approximately complete and it is only by combining many lists of diverse dates that a Notitia can be compiled. A Notitia so formed is obviously unsatisfactory and is likely to omit many sees—since many sees are known from one bishop only—but it is the best that can be produced in the circumstances. Most of the cities seem to have been bishoprics. An exception is Mareotes, which was, according to Socrates (*H.E.*, I. 27), directly subject to the patriarch of Alexandria; it is given by the Greek Notitia but probably wrongly; it is omitted in the Coptic Notitia and no bishops are known. Another exception is Ptolemais (*vid. sup.*, note 52). Costus and Sondra are in neither Notitia and have no known bishops. In Libya and Casiotis (which are not included in the Coptic Notitia) Pentaschoenum, Pedonia, and Ammoniacae are omitted by the Greek Notitia and have no known bishops. These, therefore, may not have been bishoprics, though the conclusion is far from certain, seeing that the authors of the Notitiae probably derived their information from conciliar lists. No bishops are known of Zenonopolis, Lower Diospolis, Theodosiopolis of Thebais I, Diocletianopolis of Thebaid II, and Apollonopolis of Thebaid I. All these cities are, however, recorded as sees by the Coptic Notitia, and probably were bishoprics. Of the four villages included by Georgius in the NW. Delta only one, Coprithis, was a bishopric. The Regio Paralus and the fort of Clysma were bishoprics. The Helearchia was at first divided between Phlabonis and Pachne-munis, but later became a separate bishopric. In addition to these sees a fair number of others are known: Tamiathis (Damietta), Sele (near Pelusium, *Itin. Ant.*, 171), Babylon, Scenae Mandrae (south of Babylon, *Itin. Ant.*, 169), and in Upper Egypt, Philae, Syene, Praesentia (cf. *S.P.P.*, xx. 84); also Psincho and Achaea, which are otherwise unknown. Several of these were military posts (*Not. Dig. Or.*, xxviii. 15, Babilona, 26, Scenas Mandrorum, 27, Selle, xxxi. 15, Presentia, 37, Filas).

## NOTES ON CHAPTER XII

1. For the first four paragraphs see Herod., iv. 150 seqq. Battus' real name, Aristoteles, is given in Pindar, *Pyth.*, v. 117 and schol., Diod., viii. 29, Heraclides Ponticus, iv. 1, *F.H.G.*, II, p. 212. For the foundation of Cyrene see also the decree published by Oliverio, *Riv. Fil.*, 1928, pp. 224-5 (*S.E.G.*, IX. 3); for recent bibliography see *S.E.G.*, xx. 714. New finds of pottery dating from the period of the settlements are discussed by John Boardman, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, LXI, pp. 149-56; they suggest that secondary settlements were made very quickly, at Ptolemais and Teucheira within ten years or so of the foundation of Cyrene.
2. TABOOS OF CYRENAEAN WOMEN: Herod., iv. 186. MEANING OF NAME BATTUS: id., iv. 155; the hieroglyphic symbol of the bee (= King of Lower Egypt) was pronounced Bit, see Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 97-8.
3. FOUNDATION OF BARCA: Herod., iv. 160. TABOOS OF BARCAN WOMEN: id., iv. 186. KING ALAZEIR: id., iv. 164. DEMONAX'S CONSTITUTION: id., iv. 161.
4. EUESPERIDES: Herod., iv. 204; its coinage begins early in the fifth century, *B.M.C., Cyrenaica*, p. clxxxix, but pottery of the first quarter of the sixth century has been found there, see Boardman, loc. cit. in n. 1. TAUCHEIRA: Herod., iv. 171; schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv. 26 states that Cyrene founded Taucheira. Pottery of the last quarter of the seventh century has been found there, see Boardman, loc. cit. For Battiad relations with Persia see B. M. Mitchell, *J.H.S.*, LXXXVI (1966), pp. 99 seqq.
5. ARCESILAUS IV: Pindar, *Pyth.*, v. 19-20, βασιλεὺς ἐσσί μεγαλῶν πολιῶν. CARRHOTAS AND EUESPERIDES: schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.*, v. 34. DEATH OF ARCESILAUS IV: Heraclides Ponticus, iv. 4, *F.H.G.*, II, p. 212 (he is called Battus).
6. ALLIANCE COINS: *B.M.C., Cyrenaica*, pp. xli-xlii (ΚΥΡΑ-ΕΥ or ΕΥΕΣ), pp. 107-8 (BAP-TE, BAP-KY). TAUCHEIRA UNDER BARCA: Herod., iv. 171, κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης. BARCA AND ACORIS: Theopompus, fr. 111, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 295. CYRENAICA IN 350: Scylax, 108. DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN CYRENE: Arist., *Pol.*, vi. ii. 11, p. 1319b. CIVIL WAR IN CYRENE: Diod., xiv. 34. GYLIPPUS AT EUESPERIDES: Thuc., vii. 50. MESSENIANS AT EUESPERIDES: Paus., iv. xxvi. 2-4; these Messenians are also mentioned in Diod., xiv. 34, at Cyrene.
7. THE LIBYAN TRIBES: Herod., iv. 170-2. CYRENAEAN OLIVES: Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, iv. iii. 1. FERTILITY OF EUESPERIDES: Herod., iv. 198. GIFTS OF CORN BY CYRENE: *S.E.G.*, IX. 2. BARCAN AND CYRENAEAN HORSES: Soph., *Electra*, 727 and schol., Diod., xvii. 49. LIBYANS AS HORSEMEN: Herod., iv. 170, 189, vii. 86, Pindar, *Pyth.*, ix. 217 and schol. SILPHIUM: Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* I. vi. 12, φιλεῖ δὲ μάλιστα χωρία τὰ ὕψιμα, vi. iii. 3, ἴδιον δὲ τὸ φεύγειν τὴν ἐργαζομένην, cf. III. ii. 1, *Caus. Plant.*, I. xvi. 9, III. i. 4-5. THE SILPHUM TRACT: Strabo, xvii. iii. 23, pp. 838-9. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 33; Strabo distinguishes it from the Cyrenaean territory (xvii. iii. 22, p. 837, ὁμορεῖ δὲ τῇ Κυρηναίᾳ ἢ τὸ σίλφιον φέρουσα); Ptolemy (iv. iv. 6) also places ἡ σιλφιοφόρος χώρα far in the interior. SILPHIUM GATHERED BY THE LIBYANS: Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, ix. i. 7, τὴν ὠραν τῆς ἐντομῆς ἴσασι οἱ Λίβυες· οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ σίλφιον λέγοντες. ROYAL MONOPOLY: Arist., fr. 528 (Teubner), Βάπτως . . . ὃν τιμήσαντες Λίβυες ἐχαρίσαντο αὐτῷ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν λαχάνων τὸ σίλφιον.
8. SUBMISSION TO ALEXANDER: Diod., xvii. 49, Q. Curtius, iv. (vii) 30. THIBRON: Diod., xviii. 19-21; his death is recorded in Arrian, τὰ μετ' Ἀλέξ., I. 17-18.
9. PTOLEMAIC CONSTITUTION: the best text is that of Oliverio, *Riv. Fil.*, 1928, p. 183 (*S.E.G.*, IX. 1); discussions also by de Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.*, 1926, p. 145, Heichelheim, *Klio*, xxi, p. 175, Cary, *J.H.S.*, 1928, p. 222, Segrè, *Boll. Ist. Dir.*

- Rom.*, 1928, p. 5. Oliverio and de Sanctis hold that the inscription records the federal constitution of c. 265 B.C. on the ground that Cyrenaean citizenship is granted to children of (Cyrenaean men and) Libyan women within Catabathmus and Automalax, i.e. from all Ptolemaic Cyrenaica. Heichelheim points out that Ptolemy is not called king, and that, therefore, the inscription is before 306 B.C.; further, that the Alexandrian minae of the inscription went out of currency under Ptolemy II. Cary further points out that the constitution makes no allusion to any federal organization. I agree with Cary that 322 is the most suitable date in view of the prominence of exiles in the inscription. The clause limiting the franchise to children of Libyan women within Cyrenaica can, I think, be explained thus. The principal object of the clause was to enfranchise half-breeds with Cyrenaean fathers, but, to prevent persons who might be claimed as Carthaginian or Egyptian subjects being given the Cyrenaean citizenship, children of Libyan women domiciled in Carthaginian or Egyptian territory were excluded. For further bibliography see *S.E.G.*, XIII. 616, XVII. 793, XVIII. 726, XX. 713.
10. REVOLT IN 313: Diod., XIX. 79. REIGN OF OPHELLAS: *id.*, XX. 40-2. RECONQUEST IN 308: Suidas, s.v. *Διμήτριος*. RECONQUEST IN 301: Paus., I. vi. 8. COINS: *B.M.C., Cyrenaica*, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvii, *Κυρναίων Πτολεμαίων* and *δάμω*. DEMOPHANES AND ECEDEMUS: Plut., *Philopoemen*, I, Polyb., X. 22. COINS: *B.M.C., Cyrenaica*, pp. cxxxiv-cxxxvii, *κοινόν* with monogram ΚΘ; it may be noted that Macedonia was organized under the Antigonids as a *κοινόν*, cf. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, no. 55. For recent discussion of Ophellas and Magas and some new evidence on Magas see J. S. Machu, *Revue Historique*, CCV (1951), pp. 41 seqq., F. Chamoux, *ibid.*, CCXVI (1956), pp. 18 seqq., and *B.C.H.*, LXXXII (1958), pp. 580 seqq., P. M. Fraser, *Berytus*, XII (1956-8), p. 108 and *J.E.A.*, XLIII (1957), p. 108, *S.E.G.*, IX. 112, XVII. 817.
11. PORT OF CYRENE: Scylax, 108, Diod., XVIII. 20, Arrian, *τὰ μετ' Ἀλέξ.*, I. 18; it is first called Apollonia in *S.E.G.*, XX. 709. EUESPERIDES-BERENICE: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 31, Ptol., IV. iv. 3, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἐσπερίς* and *Βερενίκαι* (6). The site was probably moved to that of modern Benghazi at the same time as the change of name, for the surface finds of coins from the Euesperides site show nothing but one obvious stray which is later than 258 B.C., see R. C. Bond and J. M. Swales, *Libya Antiqua*, II (1965), p. 91. TAUCHEIRA-ARSINOË: Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 32, Ptol., IV. iv. 3, Strabo, XVII. iii. 20, p. 836, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ταύχειρα* and *Ἀρσινόη* (1 and 2). Barca is often identified with Ptolemais in the geographers, e.g. Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 32, 'Ptolemais antiquo nomine Barce', Strabo, XVII. iii. 20, pp. 836-7, *ἡ Βάρκη πρότερον νῦν δὲ Πτολεμαίς*, Steph. Byz., s.v. *Βάρκη*. Ptolemy, however, shows that Ptolemais was on the coast and Barca lay inland (IV. iv. 3 and 7); cf. Scylax, 108, *ἐκ δὲ λιμένος τῆς Κυρήνης μέχρι λιμένος τοῦ κατὰ Βάρκην στάδια φ'*: *ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ Βαρκαίων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀπέχει στάδια ρ'*. Pentapolis first occurs in Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 31, 'Cyrenaica eadem Pentapolitana regio'. In the later second century A.D. it was replaced by the term Hexapolis, see *S.E.G.*, XX. 727, but it had returned to use by the time of Diocletian.
12. APION'S WILL: Justin, XXXIX. 5, Livy, *Epit.*, 70, 'Ptolemaeus Cyrenarum rex, cui cognomen Apionis fuit, mortuus heredem populum Romanum reliquit et eius regni civitates senatus liberas esse iussit', Tac., *Ann.*, XIV. 18, 'agrorum quos regis Apionis quondam avitos et populo Romano cum regno relictos', Hyginus, *Corp. Agrim. Rom.*, I, pp. 85-6, ed. Thulin, Cic., *de leg. agr.*, II. 51. TROUBLES IN CYRENAICA: Plut., *Luc.*, 2, cf. *de mul. virt.*, 19, and Polyaeus, VIII. 38. MADE PROVINCE: Appian, *B.C.*, I. 111, Sallust, *frag.*, II. 43. UNITED WITH CRETE: *B.M.C., Cyrenaica*, pp. ccviii-ccix, Cic., *pro Plancio*, 63 and 85. GRANTED TO CLEOPATRA SELENE: Plut., *Ant.*, 54, Cassius Dio, XLIX. 32, 41. SENATORIAL PROVINCE WITH CRETE: Strabo, XVII. iii. 25, p. 840, Cassius Dio, LIII. 12. For

new evidence and recent discussion of the period after 96 B.C. see J. M. Reynolds, *J.R.S.*, LII (1962), pp. 67 seqq., S. I. Oost, *Classical Philology*, LVIII (1963), pp. 11 seqq., E. Badian, *J.R.S.*, LV (1965), pp. 118 seqq.; the inscriptions suggest that there was still no regular provincial government in 67 B.C. Cf. L. Gasperini, *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia*, v (1967), pp. 53 seqq.

13. GOVERNOR-GENERAL: Polyb., xv. 25, § 12, *Λιβυάρχη* τῶν κατὰ Κυρήνην τόπων. INSCRIPTIONS OF CITIES: *S.E.G.*, ix. 5 = xvi. 865, xviii. 727 (decrees of Cyrene on ruler-cult), ix. 52, 53 (Ptolemy VII, Cleopatra III honoured by Cyrene), 357, 358 (Arsinoë II, Ptolemy VI honoured by Ptolemais), ix. 55, *Φίλωνα Κάστωρος τὸν ἀρχισωματοφύλακα τῷ βασιλεῦς καὶ στραταγὸν Κυραναῖοι*; this personage was presumably the nominated *strategus* of Cyrene seeing that he held high court rank; for new inscriptions to officials see *S.E.G.*, xviii. 732-6. ROMAN JUDICIAL ARRANGEMENTS: *S.E.G.*, ix. 8, F. de Visscher, *Les Édits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrène*, Louvain, 1940, cf. *S.E.G.*, xiv. 888, xvi. 866, xviii. 728. STRABO ON CYRENAICA: Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. vii. 2, § 115; it may be noted that Oliverio's revision of the text of the constitutional decree (*Riv. Fil.*, 1928, p. 186) refutes the idea that Libyans were admitted to the citizenship in 322 B.C. JEWISH COMMUNITY: *I.G.R.*, i. 1024, *S.E.G.*, xvi. 931, xvii. 823.
14. COMMISSIONER UNDER NERO: Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 18, cf. *S.E.G.*, ix. 352, G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Annuario*, xxxix-xl (1961-2), p. 323, no. 190; under Vespasian, Hyginus, loc. cit., cf. *S.E.G.*, ix. 165-7, 360. PTOLEMY'S WILL: *S.E.G.*, ix. 7, *ἡ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ τῇ χώρᾳ*. WESTERN BOUNDARY OF CYRENAICA: Polyb., iii. 39, Eratosthenes *apud* Strab., ii. v. 20, p. 123, Strabo, xvii. iii. 20, p. 836, Oliverio, *Riv. Fil.*, 1928, pp. 197-8. EASTERN BOUNDARY OF CYRENAICA: Strabo, xvii. i. 13, p. 798, xvii. iii. 22, p. 838, Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 38, Oliverio, loc. cit. SILPHIUM TRACT: Pliny, *N.H.*, xix. 39, 40. For Hadriane, *vid. inf.*, note 15.
15. TRANSFER OF MARMARICE: the old boundary of Catabathmus is given by Pliny and Strabo (*vid. sup.*, note 14), neither of whom knows of a Marmaric nome; Ptolemy (iv. v. 1) puts the boundary at Darnis and calls the country from there to Catabathmus the Marmaric nome (under Egypt); cf. also *R.E.G.*, 1919, p. 504, *I.G.R.*, iv. 1624, M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, *Il papiro vaticano greco* 11, Vatican City, 1931, P. Romanelli, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*, xxv (1940), pp. 215 seqq., where it is suggested that the change was part of a reorganization after the Jewish Revolt of A.D. 115. MARMARIC WARS: under Augustus, Florus, ii. 31 (iv. 12), cf. *O.G.I.*, 767, *S.E.G.*, ix. 63; under Claudius Gothicus, *S.E.G.*, ix. 9. JEWISH REVOLTS: under Vespasian, Jos., *Bell.*, vii. xi. 1-3, §§ 437-50; under Trajan, Cassius Dio, lxxviii. 32, Orosius, vii. 12, Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 2, Syncellus, i. p. 659, ed. Bonn, Eus., *Chron.*, p. 219, ed. Karst, Hieron., *Chron.*, p. 198, ed. Helm, cf. *Africa Italiana*, i (1927-8), p. 318, 'viam quae tumultu Iudaico eversa et corrupta erat', p. 321, 'balineum cum porticibus et sphaeristeriis ceterisque adiacentibus quae tumultu Iudaico diruta at exusta erant' (*A.É.*, 1928, i, 2); P. M. Fraser, *J.R.S.*, xl (1950), pp. 77 seqq. *A.É.*, 1951, no. 122, 1953, no. 120, *S.E.G.*, ix. 252, xvii. 800, 804, *A.É.*, 1960, no. 268; for some of the evidence suggesting that the province was reasonably prosperous in the later second century see J. M. Reynolds, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, clxxxv (1958-9), pp. 24 seqq. The colonization of Cyrenaica is recorded by *S.E.G.*, xvii. 584 and Orosius, Eus., *Chron.*, and Hieron., *Chron.*, loc. cit. COLONIES OF CYRENE AND TAUCHEIRA: *S.E.G.*, xvii. 584, *Tab. Peut.*, viii. 4, 5, but none of the many civic inscriptions from Cyrene refers to colonial status. HADRIANE: *Itin. Ant.*, 67, Georgius, 793, Hierocles, 733, 2; Hadrianopolis, *Tab. Peut.*, viii. 4, *S.E.G.*, xx. 772; cf. R. G. Goodchild, *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia*, iv (1961), pp. 87 seqq., suggesting that it was deliberately sited in order to provide a centre of Hellenism between the two cities of Berenice and Teucheira where Jewish communities had been particularly strong. DESTRUCTION OF THE SILPHIUM: Pliny, *N.H.*, xix. 39, 40.

16. *Amm. Marc.*, xxii. xvi. 4, 5; he is inaccurate as to the boundaries, placing Darnis in Pentapolis despite *Itin. Ant.*, 70, 'Cyrene-fines Marmariae-Limniadae-Darnis', and Hierocles and Georgius. He also places Chaerecla and Neapolis in the other Libya despite *Ptol.*, iv. iv. 7. Synesius, *Ep.*, 62, 69, 78, 104, 107, 125, 129, 131, Migne, *P.G.*, LXVI. 1405 seqq. The province is called Libya Superior in an inscription of A.D. 311-3 (*A.É.*, 1963, p. 37). By that time Ptolemais had succeeded Cyrene as the chief administrative centre of the Pentapolis, but the archaeological evidence shows that Cyrene was by no means moribund, see Goodchild, loc. cit. in note 15. BISHOP OF ANTIPYRGUS AT NICAËA: Gelzer, *Patr. Nic. Nom.*, p. lx, no. 18, *Σαραπίων Ἀντιπύργου*; Antipyrgus was an ancient town, being mentioned by Scylax, 108. BISHOP OF MARMARICE AT NICAËA: Soc., *H.E.*, I. 8, *Θεώνας Μαρμαρικῆς*.
17. *Proc.*, *Aed.*, vi. 2. For archaeological evidence from this period, see R. G. Goodchild, *J.R.S.*, xli (1951), pp. 11 seqq., xliii (1953), pp. 65 seqq. (military), *Illustrated London News*, 14th Dec. 1957, R. M. Harrison, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xxxii (1964), pp. 1 seqq. (churches) THEODORIAS: *S.E.G.*, xviii. 768. For Hierocles and Georgius Cyprius and the principal conciliar lists see Tables XLVIII, 6, 8-11; XLIX. There is no genuine Notitia of Cyrenaica. The curious eighteenth-century map, the names on which are preserved in Pococke, *Description of the East*, vol. i, book v, chap. xvii, was not drawn from a Notitia but is apparently the work of a scholar learned in the fathers. This is, I think, proved by the following facts. The map records as bishoprics *Υδραξ* and *Παλαβίσκη*. These two villages are mentioned in Synesius (*Ep.*, 67, Migne, *P.G.*, LXVI. 1412 seqq.) as having had a bishop (one between them) for a short period when they were in schism with Erythrum. This temporary stage is unlikely to have been recorded in any Notitia, and can only have been known to the author of the map from Synesius. The author of the map was, however, better read than myself (or le Quien) for he records a bishopric which I cannot trace, *Ἀππουχος* (cf. *Ptol.*, iv. iv. 3). Pentapolis seems to have been very rich in bishoprics. Besides the five old cities (Hadriane appears neither on the map nor in any other ecclesiastical document) the following villages were bishoprics (all are on the map): Barca, Erythrum (cf. *Ptol.*, iv. iv. 3), Olbia (Synesius, *Ep.*, 76, Migne, *P.G.*, LXVI. 1441, calls it *δήμος κομητῆς*), Dysthis, and Tesila (Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. iii. p. 33, 'Pentapoleos Tesila'; map, *Σικελία*, cf. Soc., *H.E.*, III. 25, *Ἐνάργιος Σικελῶν*), Boreum (Nicetas Choniata, *Thesaurus* v. 7, from Philostorgius), Theodorias (*S.E.G.*, xviii. 768). In Marmarice the three cities, Darnis, Antipyrgus, and Marmarice were all bishoprics and are put on the map. There were also at any rate two village sees, Septimiace (cf. *P. Marmarica*, col. iv. 40 *Σεπτουμακῆς*), and Limnias (?), recorded (as *Λέμανδος*) in Pentapolis on the map, but according to the Antonine Itinerary (*vid. sup.*, note 16) in Marmarice.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER XIII

- I. SALAMIS AND TEUCER: Strabo, xiv. vi. 3, p. 682, Pindar, *Nem.*, iv. 75 and schol., Isocrates, *Euag.*, 18. SOLI AND DEMOPHON: Plut., *Solon*, 26; and Acamas and Phalerus, Strabo, xiv. vi. 3, p. 683. PAPHOS AND AGAPENOR: Strabo, xiv. vi. 3, p. 683; cf. *Iliad*, II. 603-11. LAPETHUS AND PRAXANDER: Strabo, xiv. vi. 3, p. 682. CHYTRI: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Χύτροι*, *Κύπρου πόλις ἦν ὀνομάσθαι μὲν Ξεναγόρας φησὶν ἀπὸ Χύτρον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀκάμαντος*. GREEK ORIGIN OF CYPRIOT CITIES: Herod., VII. 90, *οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνοσ καὶ Ἀθηνῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου*. CURIUM: id., v. 113, *οἱ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργείων ἀποικοί*, cf. Strabo, xvi. vi. 3, p. 683; Steph. Byz. (s.v. *Κούριον*) calls it a foundation of Cureus son of Cinyras, and thus reckons it aboriginal (*vid. inf.*). The scholiast on Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 446, quoting Eratosthenes, names Teucer,

- Acamas, Praxander, Agapenor, and Cepheus as Cypriot founders; which city the last, an Arcadian hero, founded is not known. AGAMEMNON'S INVASION: Theopompus, *fr.*, 111, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 295, "Ἕλληνες οἱ σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν Κύπρον κατέσχεον ἀπελάσαντες τοὺς μετὰ Κινύρου. The archaeological evidence is summarized in Myres, *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*. On the Cypriot dialect see Buck, *Greek Dialects* (revised edition, 1927), pp. 6 seqq. On the Cretan affinities of the Cypriot syllabary, Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, pp. 68 seqq.
2. ESARHADDON'S STELE: Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II. 690; for the reading of the Greek names see Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p. 262. LEDRA: Soz., *H.E.*, I. 11.
3. AMATHUS: Theopompus, loc. cit., τοὺς μετὰ Κινύρου ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπολιπεῖς οἱ Ἀμαθοῦσιοι, Scylax, 103, Ἀμαθοῦς (αὐτόχθονές εἰσι); cf. *Iliad*, XI. 20, and Pindar, *Pyth.*, II. 27 and schol.; also Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀμαθοῦς, πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη . . . ἀπὸ Ἀμάθους δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐκλήθη ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Κινύρου μητρὸς Ἀμαθούσης. The 'autochthonous' character of Amathus is confirmed by inscriptions written in the Cypriot syllabary in an unknown language (*Zeitschr. für Sprachforschung*, LII, 1924, pp. 194-202). CARPASIA: Steph. Byz., s.v. Καρπασία, πόλις Κύπρου ἢ Πυγμαλίων ἐκτίσεν ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς Κυπριακοῖς. MARIUM: Diod., XII. 3; coins, *B.M.C.*, *Cyprus*, pp. lvii-lviii. CERYNIA: Scylax, 103. APHRODISIUM-URANIA: Ἀφροδίσιον, Strabo, XIV. vi. 3, p. 682, Ptolemy, v. xiii. 4; Οὐρανία, Diod., xx. 47, Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XIII. 452.
4. CHARIOTS: Herod., v. 113. SURVIVAL OF SYLLABARY: *C.Q.*, XLIV (1950), pp. 97 seqq.
5. CYPRUS UNDER AMASIS: Herod., II. 182. SUBMITS TO CAMBYSES: id., III. 19. IN FIFTH SATRAPY: id., III. 91. CONTINGENTS TO PERSIAN FLEET: id., VII. 90. CYPRUS IN THE IONIAN REVOLT: id., v. 113 seqq. REVOLT IN 479: Thuc., I. 94. ATHENIAN FLEET AT CYPRUS: Thuc., I. 104, cf. *I.G.*, I. 433. CIMON IN CYPRUS: Thuc., I. 112, Diod., XII. 3, 4. PERSO-PHOENICIAN ATTACK ON IDALIU: *G.D.I.*, 60. BAALMELIK AND AZBAAL: *C. R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1887, pp. 203-10. ABDEMON IN SALAMIS: Theopompus, loc. cit., Ἀδύμονα . . . τὸν Κιτιέα, Diod., XIV. 98, Ἀβδήμονα τὸν Τύρου, Isocrates, *Euag.*, 19-20. EUANTHES IN CHYTRI: *B.M.C.*, *Cyprus*, p. xcvi, note 2. CAREER OF EVAGORAS: Theopompus, loc. cit., Diod., XIV. 98, 110, xv. 2-4, 8-9. INSCRIPTIONS OF MELEKIATHON AT TAMASUS: Euting, *Sb. Ak. Berlin*, 1887, pp. 115-23; of Pumiathon, king of Citium, Idalium, and Tamasus (year 21), *C.I.S.*, I. 10; in year 8 he was king of Citium and Idalium alone (*C.I.S.*, I. 92), like his father (*C.I.S.*, I. 88-90). PASICYPRUS: Duris *apud* Ath., IV. 167c, Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τὴν Τύρου πολιορκίαν Πινυταγόραν ἀποστέλλων ἄλλας τε δωρεὰς ἔδωκε καὶ χωρίον ὃ ἤτήσατο. πρότερον δὲ τοῦτο Πασίκυπρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέδοτο δι' ἀσωτίαν πενήκοντα ταλάντων Πινυτάωνι τῷ Κιτιεῖ, ἅμα τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. Pumiathon was no longer king of Tamasus in the year 37 of his reign (*C.I.S.*, I. 11); hence it may be inferred that Pasicyprus' kingdom was Tamasus. LAPETHUS: Scylax, 103, Λάπηθος Φωνίκων.
6. CYPRUS IN THE SATRAPY REVOLT: Diod., XVI. 42, ἐν γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ πόλεις ἦσαν ἀξιόλογοι μὲν ἐννέα, ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτας ὑπῆρχε τεταγμένα μικρὰ πόλιστατα τὰ προσκυροῦντα ταῖς ἐννέα πόλεσιν. ἐκάστη δὲ τούτων εἶχε βασιλεὺς τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἄρχοντα τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν ὑποτεταγμένον. For details, *vid. inf.*, note 7.
7. CYPRIOT KINGS AT TYRE: Arrian, *Anab.*, II. 22, τὴν τε Πινυταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως πενήτην . . . καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Ἀμαθοῦσιου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πασικράτους τοῦ (Κ)ουριέως, Plut., *Alex.*, 29 (331 B.C.), Νικοκρέων ὁ Σαλαμίνιος καὶ Πασικράτης ὁ Σόλιος. TRANSFER OF TAMASUS: *vid. sup.*, note 5. PTOLEMY IN 322 B.C.: Arrian, τὰ μετ' Ἀλέξ., 24. ANTIGONUS IN 315 B.C.: Diod., XIX. 59. PTOLEMY'S CAMPAIGN IN 315: id., XIX. 62. EXECUTION OF PUMIATHON, ETC.: id., XIX. 79. DEATH OF NICOCREON: *Marmor Parium*, B, 17, *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, p. 1004; Menelaus is called στρατηγός (of Cyprus) by Diod., XX. 21 (310 B.C.); he issued coins as king



- of Salamis, *B.M.C., Cyprus*, pp. cxiii-cxiv. ERA OF CITIUM: *C.I.S.*, I. 93, cf. *Rev. arch.*, 1874, p. 90. NICOCLES OF PAPHOS: Diod., xx. 21; in Macho *apud Ath.*, VIII. 349e, and in the table of contents to Diod., xx, Nicocreon is substituted for Nicocles. ANDROCLES OF AMATHUS: *I.G.*, xi. 135. EUNOSTUS OF SOLI: *Ath.*, XIII. 576e.
8. DEMETRIUS CONQUERS CYPRUS: Diod., xx. 47. PTOLEMY RECONQUERS: Plut., *Demetrius*, 35. ROMAN ANNEXATION: Cassius Dio, xxxviii. 30, xxxix. 22. UNITED WITH CILICIA: Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 21, § 6. GRANTED BY CAESAR: Cassius Dio, xlii. 35; by Antony, id., xlix. 32, 41. IMPERIAL PROVINCE: id., liii. 12. TRANSFERRED TO THE SENATE: id., liv. 4.
9. *Στρατηγ[οῦ τῆς νῆ]σ[ου]* UNDER PTOLEMY IV: *O.G.I.*, 84. *Στρατηγός καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς νήσου (τῶν κατὰ τὴν νήσον)* UNDER PTOLEMY V AND VI: ib., 93, 105. *Στρατηγός καὶ ναύαρχος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς* FROM PTOLEMY VII: ib., 143, 145, 151-3, 155, 157-62. TROOPS: ib., 151 (Achaean), 145 (Ionians), 108, 153 (Cretans), 146-7 (Lycians), 148, 157 (Cilicians), 143 (Thracians). SUPERINTENDENT OF MINES: ib., 165, *τὸν ἀντισ[τρ]ά[τ]ηγον τῆς νήσου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων*. PROVINCES: *Rev. d'Ass.*, III, pp. 72 seqq., Ptol., v. xiii. 5; for *Κρόμμυον*, Strabo, xiv. vi. 3, p. 682, Ptol., v. xiii. 4. I think it probable that this section of Ptolemy is derived from an ancient source; it seems unlikely that the arrangement survived in the Roman period.
10. ERAS OF CITIUM AND LAPETHUS: G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, I, p. 159<sup>5</sup>, 178<sup>9</sup>. PAPHOS: *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, lvi (1961), p. 11, no. 25; cf. *O.G.I.*, 84, also 163, 166, 172. SALAMIS: ib., 108, also 156. CURIUM: ib., 152. ARSINOE: ib., 155. FOUNDATION OF ARSINOE: Steph. Byz., s.v. *Μάριον* and *Ἄρσινόη* (7). INSCRIPTION AT CHYTRI: *O.G.I.*, 160, *ἡ πόλις ἡ [ . . ]*; it is, of course, possible that not *Χυτρίων* but the name of the suzerain city should be restored. INSCRIPTIONS OF CARPASIOTS: *I.G.*, II. 966, 967. SUFFETE AT CITIUM: *C.I.S.*, I. 47; treasurer, ib., 74. DECREES OF CURIUM AND CHYTRI: *S.E.G.*, xx. 181, Wadd., 2767. MAGISTRATES AT PAPHOS: *O.G.I.*, 164, *τῶν ἐν Πάφῳ γυμνασιαρχηκότων*, 165, *τὸν γυμνασιάρχον*, 166, *δὲς γραμματεῦσαντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡρχεκότα τῆς πόλεως . . . τὸν γραμματέα τῆς πόλε[ω]ς γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καλῶς τὸ β'* L. CITY GOVERNORS: *O.G.I.*, 20, *φρούραρχο[ς]* <καὶ> *κατὰ Κίτιον* (under Ptolemy I), 113, *τὸν ἀρχισωματοφύλακα καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως* (Citiium under Ptolemy VI), 134, *τὸν γενόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἱππάρχην ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν* (Citiium under Ptolemy VIII), 155, *ἐπὶ Σαλαμίνος* (under Ptolemy VIII), Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 275, no. 171, *[τ]ῶν [ἀρχι]σωματοφυλάκων τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως* (at Amathus).
11. *Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Κυπρίων*: *O.G.I.*, 164, 165.
12. SENTIMENTS OF THE CYPRIOTS: Cassius Dio, xxxix. 22, *οἱ Κύπριοι τὸν Κάτωνα οὐκ ἀκούσιως, ἀτε καὶ φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντὶ δούλων ἐσεσθαι προσδοκῆσαντες, ἐσεδέξαντο*. The constitutional reorganization of the cities is to be inferred from *I.G.R.*, III. 930, *τιμητεύσας, [κατα]λέξας τὴν βουλὴν* (Soli, c. A.D. 50?). NEGLECT BY ROMANS: Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 21, § 6, Q. Volusium . . . *misi in Cyprum . . . ne cives Romani pauci qui illic negotiantur ius sibi dictum negarent*. The 'vectigal praetorium' is mentioned in the same letter (§§ 7, 11), the Salamis incident there (§§ 10-13) and in *ad Att.*, vi. 2, §§ 7-9.
13. SALE OF ROYAL PROPERTY: Strabo, xiv. vi. 6, pp. 684-5, *Κάτων δὲ ἐπελθὼν παρέλαβε τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν οὐσίαν διέθετο*. GRANT OF CYPRIOT MINES TO HEROD: Jos., *Ant.*, xvi. iv. 5, § 128.
14. The following cities are mentioned in inscriptions of the Roman period: Soli (*I.G.R.*, III. 930), Lapethus (ib., 934), Paphos (with the style *Σεβαστή*, cf. Cassius Dio, liv. 23, later *Σεβαστή Κλαυδία Φλαυονία*, the metropolis of the island, *I.G.R.*, III. 937, 939, &c.), Curium (ib., 971), Citiium (ib., 976 and Dessau, 275), Salamis (*I.G.R.*, III. 985, 989, 991), Cerynia (*Opusc. Arch.*, 10); for Amathus see Tac., *Ann.*, III. 62. Pliny (*N.H.*, v. 130) gives 'Neapaphos, Pala-

paphos, Curias, Citium, Corinaeum, Salamin, Amathus, Lapethos, Soloe, Tamasos, Epidaurum, Chytri, Arsinoe, Carpasium, Golgoe'. This list is obviously not official, but, as the spelling shows, derived from Greek sources; Epidaurum is otherwise unknown; Golgi was, according to Steph. Byz. (s.v. Γολγοί) a foundation of Sicyon—it is not mentioned in historical times.

15. For Hierocles, Georgius Cyprius, and the principal episcopal lists see Table L. SALAMIS—CONSTANTIA: Oberhummer, 'Constantia (5)', *P.W.*, IV, 953. A Cypriot city of Theodosiana is recorded in A.D. 451 (Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. i, pp. 64, 77 [273], 150 [346]); it is not identical with Constantia, Amathus, Arsinoe, Chytri, Lapethus, Soli, or Tamasus. TRIMETHUS: Ptol., v. xiii. 6; bishop Spyridon at Nicaea, Soc., *H.E.*, I. 8, cf. I. 12, *μῆς τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεων ὀνόματι Τριμιθοῦντος*; bishop at Constantinople, Mansi, III, 570. Trimethus might be the Theodosiana mentioned above; in that case Theodosius II would have given it city rank. VILLAGE BISHOPRICS IN CYPRUS: Soz., *H.E.*, VII, 19, *ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ἔθνεσιν ἔστιν ὅπη καὶ ἐν κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι ἱεροῦνται ὡς παρὰ Ἀραβίους καὶ Κύπριους ἔγγων*. In the absence of any Notitia and the paucity of Cypriot signatures at councils not much more can be said of the ecclesiastical organization of Cyprus. The cities presumably each had a bishop. Only one village bishopric is known, Ledra (Soz., *H.E.*, I. 11).

## APPENDIX I: PLINY

It has long been recognized that Pliny derived much of his geographical information from the statistical survey of the empire carried out by Marcus Agrippa and Augustus. He explicitly acknowledges his debt for Italy only. His words are sufficiently important to be quoted in full (III. 46): 'Nunc ambitum eius urbesque enumerabimus, qua in re praefari necessarium est auctorem nos divum Augustum secuturos, discriptionemque ab eo factam Italiae totius in regiones XI, sed ordine eo qui litorum tractu fiet, urbium quidem vicinitates oratione utique praepropera servari non posse, itaque interiore exin parte digestionem in litteras eiusdem nos secuturos, coloniarum mentione signata quas ille in eo prodidit numero.' From this statement and from the description of Italy which follows can be deduced both the form of the documents which Pliny used and his method of using them. The documents were lists of cities in the strict sense of the term. This fact is emphasized by the form in which the names are given, the nominative plural masculine of the ethnic; the items, that is, were not places but communities. The communities were arranged first under the administrative divisions, next by status, and finally in alphabetical order—or rather, as Pliny says, under the letters of the alphabet, for within each letter there is no attempt at alphabetical arrangement. Pliny, unfortunately for my purposes, did not transcribe the official lists of cities exactly. His object was to write a geographical survey, and he therefore endeavoured as far as was practicable to rearrange them on geographical lines and to supplement them from other sources, as well as to insert information on natural features, promontories, mountains, rivers, and so forth. For the coasts he invariably possessed fuller information than that provided by the official lists, information probably derived from *peripli*. For the coasts therefore he hardly used the official lists, giving instead a list, in geographical order, of promontories, river mouths, and towns, not distinguishing those which had the rank of cities from those which had not. The only use he made of the official lists was to insert notes on the status of such cities as were privileged in any way, colonies, *municipia*, of Latin rights, federate or free. For the interior the extent to which Pliny used the official lists, and the way in which he used them, vary considerably from province to province. In the Latin-speaking provinces he generally had not much information from other sources, and he therefore relied almost entirely on the official lists. His first step was naturally to cross off the cities already recorded on the coast; he sometimes, it may be noted, failed to do this accurately, and thus recorded a coastal city as lying in the interior. He might then reproduce the truncated lists in their original form, merely abbreviating them by omitting unimportant cities and adding geographical or historical notes; he sometimes also substituted the name of the town for that of the community. He might again while preserving the

main framework, the grouping under administrative divisions, attempt a geographical order within these divisions. He might again ignore the administrative divisions and describe the cities of a province as a whole, either arranging them in geographical order or classifying them by status and arranging them alphabetically within their classes. In the Greek-speaking provinces, on the other hand, Pliny usually possessed an abundance of non-official material; many geographers had written of Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Pliny seems unfortunately to have set a higher value upon these literary sources than on the official lists, and he makes comparatively little use of the latter. There are only a few mangled excerpts, buried in a turbid mass of miscellaneous geographical information and sometimes inextricably confused with it. The task of disentangling these excerpts, of determining exactly how much is official and how much literary, is a difficult one and demands the greatest care.

I have enumerated above four characteristics of the official lists of Italy. The characteristics serve as clues in identifying other official lists. First there is the grouping of the communities under the official subdivisions, the *regiones* in Italy, in the provinces the *conventus*. Where a list is arranged by *conventus* it may I think certainly be taken as being derived from official sources, for none but an official list would use this grouping. The converse, however, does not hold. Some provinces may, owing to their small size or to the small number of communities which they comprised, have not been divided into *conventus*. In other provinces, which were divided into *conventus*, Pliny ignores the official grouping. The clearest instance of this is Lusitania (IV. 117-8), where Pliny actually gives the capitals of the three *conventus*, and then gives a list of the communities of the province which ignores the *conventus* entirely.

The second test is classification by status. This I think is also a good test, for such a classification was obviously of great importance for official purposes, but of no great interest to a geographer. The official classification is preserved in its original form only where the grouping by *conventus* has been preserved, for in the original documents the classification by status was subordinate to the grouping by official territorial divisions. In several lists, Lusitania, for instance, and Africa (v. 29, 30), Pliny gives a classification by status which ignores the *conventus*. In these lists Pliny is not reproducing the official lists as they stood. What he did was apparently to pick out the colonies, *municipia*, Latin cities, and so forth out of the list of each *conventus*, and thus to assemble complete lists of the colonies, *municipia*, Latin cities, and so forth of the province. Thus classification by status, whether within *conventus* or not, is derived directly or indirectly from official sources. The absence of such a classification is no disproof that Pliny was using official sources. He preferred when he could a geographical order. In the *conventus* of Corduba and Hispalis (III. 10 and 11) in Baetica he attempts a geographical arrangement. Similarly, in the three provinces of Belgica, Lugdunensis, and Aquitania (IV. 106-9) the order of the communities is geographical. In these cases he notes the

status of privileged communities. Notes of privileged status also occur in his accounts of the coasts. The majority of these notes are no doubt derived from official lists, but not, I think, all. These notes sometimes mention grants of privilege by emperors later than Augustus, whereas the official lists are, as I shall endeavour to prove later, all of the reign of Augustus. These notes must, then, be in some cases derived from other sources, generally no doubt from Pliny's personal knowledge.

The third test is the use of the ethnic. The ethnic was not, it may be noted, always given as in the Italian lists in the masculine plural. Another usage which seems to be equally official is to speak of, say, the colony of Apamea as *colonia Apamena* (v. 149). This usage, though usually reserved for colonies, was in some provinces extended to all cities; in Africa (v. 29, 30) the names are all given in the neuter singular of the ethnic, in agreement with *oppidum*. The use of the ethnic is a good test as far as cities and not tribes are concerned. Tribes cannot be mentioned otherwise than by their ethnic. For cities, on the other hand, the use of the ethnic, while natural in the official lists, which were lists of communities, is unnatural in a geographical work, which deals with places. When Pliny gives the name of a city in the ethnic it is therefore very probable that he is quoting an official list. The converse does not hold. In the first place, the official lists do not seem invariably to have used the ethnic. The lists of Baetica (III. 10-15) are certainly official: the cities are grouped by *conventus*, and in some *conventus* are classified by status and alphabetically. Yet the names are all of towns. In the second place, Pliny freely converted ethnics into place-names. Even when he retained the classification of the official lists, he occasionally altered the form under which the names were given. When he adopted a geographical arrangement he normally gave place-names.

The fourth test is alphabetical order. This is, I think, the least reliable. The official lists, it is true, seem to have observed an alphabetical order within the classification by status and by *conventus*, and this order is sometimes preserved by Pliny, in the *conventus* of Astiga and Gades for instance in Baetica (III. 12 and 15), and those of Tarraco, Caesaraugusta and Nova Carthago in Hispania Citerior (III. 23-5). Pliny, however, often abandoned alphabetical arrangement in favour of geographical, and, what is more important, he sometimes arranged lists in alphabetical order himself. In the lists which Pliny has rearranged ignoring the *conventus*, he generally observes an alphabetical order, in Gallia Narbonensis (III. 36-7), Africa (III. 29, 30), and Lusitania (IV. 117-18) for instance. In these cases the alphabetical order must be due to Pliny, though it was suggested to him by the alphabetical arrangement of the lists of *conventus* which he amalgamated. But Pliny also arranged lists which he had compiled himself in alphabetical order. His lists of painters (XXXV. 146) and his four lists of sculptors in marble (XXXIV. 72-83, 85, 86-90, 91) are all alphabetical. There are alphabetical lists of towns which are clearly not official. Such is the list of the most celebrated towns of Phrygia (v. 145). This cannot be

official because Phrygia was not an official unit. The names are evidently culled from literary sources, some of them of considerable antiquity, for Celaenae is given under that name, which had been superseded by Apamea since the third century B.C., and Ancyra is reckoned as a Phrygian town, though it had been Galatian since the third century B.C. Here Pliny has arranged in alphabetical order names of towns which he had noted down in course of his reading as being stated to be Phrygian. There are other alphabetical lists which seem to be conflated from a mixture of official and literary data. The list of Cilicia (v. 93) is of this mixed type. It contains one item, Anazarbeni, which is certainly official, as the use of the ethnic proves. The other items are all place-names, and include two which could not have belonged to an official list of Cilicia—Castabala because it was officially known as Hieropolis on the Pyramus, Iconium because it was not in Cilicia. The alphabetical list of Coele Syria (v. 81-2) is a similar composite list, containing some official items, distinguished by being given in the ethnic, mixed with place-names from diverse sources. The test case here which proves that the alphabetical order cannot be official is Bambyce, which is given under B. The official name of the city was Hierapolis, and in an official list it would therefore come under H.

In the eastern provinces, as I have said, Pliny made comparatively little use of the official lists. I can detect only the following excerpts. First there are the lists of the *conventus* of Asia (cited in chap. II, notes 55-6, 65, 73, 79, 83, 86-7, 91, 97). The authenticity of these is guaranteed by the arrangement under *conventus* and by the use of the ethnic; no principle can be discerned in the order of the names in each *conventus*. Secondly, there is a list of Galatian communities (cited in chap. v, note 22). The only clue is here the use of the ethnic; they are in alphabetical order, but the order is probably due to Pliny, since the communities would originally have been arranged by *conventus*. Thirdly, there is a very short list of Bithynian cities (v. 149, 'colonia Apamena, Agrippenses, Iuliopolitae, Bithynion'). The first three are evidently, being in the ethnic, official, the fourth may be an addition by Pliny. Fourthly, there is in Cilicia (v. 93) the item *Anazarbeni* in a list which otherwise seems to be derived from other sources. Fifthly, there are the lists of Syria and Coele Syria (cited in chap. x, note 47, and discussed pp. 262-4). Sixthly, there is the list of the nomes of Egypt (cited in chap. XI, note 18). This is of course rather different from the other lists in that it is a list not of communities but of administrative districts; the names are accordingly given not in the plural of the ethnic, but in the masculine singular, in agreement with *nomus*. The original was probably, to judge by the forms of the terminations, in Greek; it may be noted that Pliny the Younger, giving Harpocras' *origo* for official purposes, writes *νομοῦ Μεμφίτου* in Greek (*Ep.* x. 10). The arrangement is irregular but shows signs of having been based on the Roman *conventus*; the nomes of the Thebaid are given first, then those of the region of Pelusium. Then the rest are lumped together. The *conventus* of Pelusium is known to have existed under the Romans (Wilcken, *Archiv*

*Pap.*, IV, p. 375), and did not, so far as is known, exist previously. Pliny's grouping is therefore proof of his having used an official Roman list. Seventhly, there is the list of the toparchies of Judaea (cited in chap. x, note 63). It is, I think, probably official, since Pliny is not likely to have found an exhaustive list of the toparchies of Judaea in any literary source; it is independent of Josephus' list (*Bell.* III. iii. 5, §§ 54-5). The original was, to judge by the terminations, like the list of Egyptian nomes, in Greek; Pliny has not, however, always preserved the official adjectival form.

In addition to the lists of communities the official documents seem to have contained certain statistical data. Pliny often quotes the dimensions of provinces from Agrippa. Of more interest for my purposes are the totals of communities. These are nowhere stated to be official, but they bear in some cases every mark of being so. The descriptions of several provinces are preceded by statistical information. In Baetica (III. 7) there are stated to have been in all 175 *oppida*, of which 9 were colonies, 10 *municipia*, 27 Latin, 6 free, 3 federate, 120 stipendiary. Similarly in Hispania Citerior (III. 18) there are stated to have been 293 *civitates* and 179 *oppida*, which are classified as in Baetica. In Lusitania (IV. 117) there were 45 *populi*, divided into colonies, *municipia*, Latin cities, and stipendiary communities. In Africa (v. 29 and 30) there were 516 *populi*, of which 6 were colonies, 15 towns of Roman citizens, 1 a Latin town, 1 a stipendiary town, and 30 free towns. The balance were not towns (*oppida*) but tribal communities (*civitates*). Classified lists such as these are obviously official. No such elaborate statistics are given for any of the eastern provinces, but some totals are given which are probably official. Asia (v. 150) is said to have comprised 282 *populi*, Galatia (v. 146) 195 *populi ac tetrarchiae*, Bithynia (v. 143) 12 *civitates*. The total of Lycian *oppida* (v. 101), 36, is less certainly official, but the contrast of 36 as the actual number to the traditional 70 implies that it is official.

The official documents used by Pliny seem almost invariably to have been published by Augustus and Agrippa. In Italy Pliny states that he used Augustus' survey. Internal evidence shows that the lists of the provinces which he used were at any rate considerably earlier than his own time. Vespasian, as Pliny himself observes (III. 30), gave Latin rights to the whole of Spain. Yet in Pliny's lists the Latin towns are a privileged minority. His authority for Spain was therefore earlier than Vespasian at any rate. In Narbonensis Pliny adds to his list a note (III. 37) that Galba had added the Avatici and Bodiontici to the province. For Narbonensis, then, his authority was earlier than Galba's reign. He possesses no official information about Britain and only scattered facts about Mauretania, provinces which were annexed after Augustus' reign. His information about Pannonia and Moesia is very meagre, mere lists of tribes; these provinces had evidently not been organized at the date when his authority was compiled. In the east similarly Pliny possessed no official information about Thrace or Cappadocia, which were still ruled by client kings in the reign of Augustus. Of the official lists the majority can be dated to the

reign of Augustus. In Asia the test cases are *Tripolitani iudem et Antonio-politae*—the surname in honour of Antony, which is otherwise unknown, cannot have long survived Antony's death—and *Hierocometae*—Hiera Come took the name of Hierocaesarea under Tiberius if not under Augustus himself (Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen*, 8; Keil and Premerstein, 'Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIII, p. 56). In the Bithynian list the item *Agrippenses* is a proof of early date; the community which thus honoured Marcus Agrippa—its real name is unknown—soon dropped this name. In Galatia the fact that the *Lystreni* are not given the rank of a colony proves that the list is anterior to the date of the colonization of Lystra, that is about 6 B.C. The one surviving item of the Cilician list, *Anazarbeni*, must belong to a list drawn up before 19 B.C., for from that date the official name of the *Anazarbeni* was *Caesarienses ad Anazarbum* (see chap. VIII, note 21). In Syria the item *Hemeseni* must date from before 20 B.C., for from that date till the reign of Vespasian Emesa was ruled by client princes of the Samsigeramid house (see chap. x, note 48). The list of the toparchies of Judaea would best fit the period immediately following the deposition of Archelaus; it includes on the coast the toparchy of Joppa which had belonged to Archelaus' ethnarchy, but not that of Jamnia which belonged to Salome. The only item of official information which must be post-Augustan is the number of the Lycian cities, for the Lycians were free till the reign of Claudius, and no official survey of Lycia would therefore have existed till then.



## APPENDIX II: PTOLEMY

THE extent to which Ptolemy used official documents was very limited. He was first and foremost a geographer; his primary object was to locate places on the map by latitude and longitude. This information was not to be found in the official surveys of the empire, which were, as I have shown, lists of communities or administrative units, grouped, it is true, in districts, provinces and *conventus*, but within the *conventus* arranged not geographically but by status and alphabetically. Ptolemy's lists of cities must be derived from unofficial, purely geographical surveys, since the position of each city is plotted. They bear in fact no relation to the official lists of communities. They are lists of places, many of which were cities, but some of which were not. As Ptolemy made no attempt to distinguish the cities from the rest, they are useless to a student of the political geography of the empire.

There is only one instance in the east in which Ptolemy seems to have made use of an official list of communities. The *δῆμοι* of Asia (v. ii. 13, 15, 18) are, I think, derived from this source. It may be noted in the first place that Ptolemy is unable to place them exactly on the map. His source was therefore not a geographical survey. In the second place he gives the names in the ethnic. Some of the names are those of tribes and the use of the ethnic in these cases is not unnatural. Some, however, are undoubtedly names of cities. In these cases the use of the ethnic is unnatural in a geographical work, and can only be explained by their having been derived from a list of communities. This list of communities can only be the official provincial list. If Ptolemy was using the official list two peculiar facts, besides the absence of latitude and longitude and the use of the ethnic, are explicable. One is the use of the term *δῆμος*. It is generally taken to mean tribes, but, apart from the fact that many of them are not tribes, Ptolemy uses *ἔθνος* for tribe. On my hypothesis *δῆμος* is simply the translation of *populus*, which was, as appears from Pliny's excerpts from the official lists of Asia, the technical term used in them for communities. The other peculiar fact is that one of the *δῆμοι*, *Φυλακήνσιοι*, has a Latin termination; *-ήνσιοι* is merely *-enses* transliterated. This fact proves that Ptolemy was using a source written in Latin. Five of Ptolemy's *δῆμοι* appear among Pliny's *populi*—*Μυσομακέδωνες*, *Λυκάωνες*, *Θεμισώνιοι*, *Πεληνηνοί*, and *Ἱεραπολίται*. The other eight are additions to our knowledge—*Ὀλυμπηνοί*, *Γριμενοθυρίται*, *Πενταδημίται*, *Ἐριζηνοί*, *Μοκκαδηνοί*, *Κιδνησοεῖς*, *Μοξεανοί*, and *Φυλακήνσιοι*. The value of Ptolemy's contribution is unfortunately much diminished by the fact that he ignored the arrangement of the official list and distributed the items he found in it amongst his own districts of Asia. He sometimes did this quite incorrectly; for instance he placed the *Μυσομακέδωνες*, who were really in the *conventus* of Ephesus (Pliny, *N.H.*, v. 120), in Greater Mysia. I am inclined to think that the

official list which Ptolemy used was the same as that used by Pliny, that is, Agrippa's. It was certainly out of date in Ptolemy's own time. Ptolemy in one case added a note to bring the official survey up to date—*Γριμενοθυρίται ὄν' ἐστὼν ἡ Τραιανόπολις*. He failed to note that the *Ὀλυμπηνοί* had become the *Ἀδριανοὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον* and that the *Μοκκαθηνοί* had split into two cities, Silandus and Temenothyrae, under the Flavians.

There are three instances where Ptolemy gives what purport to be official administrative units, Egypt, Thrace, and Cappadocia (the old kingdom, not the province). His list of the nomes of Egypt (IV. v) can be checked by the contemporary nome coinage. By this test it seems to be accurate for the Lower Country and the Heptanomia, but singularly defective for the Thebaid (see chap. XI, notes 21, 67). The errors and omissions in the Thebaid preclude, it seems to me, the idea that Ptolemy was using an official document. The excellence of Ptolemy's account of lower and middle Egypt must be due to his personal knowledge of the country round his own home, Alexandria.

The list of the Thracian *strategiae* (III. xi. 6) is more probably derived from an official source. It cannot be due to personal knowledge, for it represents a state of affairs obsolete in Ptolemy's day (see pp. 10-11). It is not derived from a strictly geographical source, for Ptolemy is unable to locate the *strategiae* exactly but gives the vaguest indication of their situation. It was probably derived from a bare list such as would be contained in the official survey. As far as it can be checked it seems to be accurate, not for Ptolemy's own time but for an earlier period. Three names, Astice, Selletice, and Denteletice are confirmed by inscriptions of the early principate (*I.G.R.* I. 677, 801); these inscriptions speak of *strategi* of subdivisions of Astice, Selletice, and Denteletice and apparently belong to a later period than that of Ptolemy's source, when Ptolemy's *strategiae* had been subdivided into smaller *strategiae*. Pliny mentions the *regio Astice* and the *regio Caenica* (*N.H.* IV. 45, 47). The *regio Serdica* and *Urdicensis* are mentioned on unofficial inscriptions of the late second and third centuries (Dessau, 2041, 2043, 4068). The *strategiae* were by that time officially obsolete, but they apparently survived in popular usage.

The list of the Cappadocian *strategiae* (v. vi. 11-14, 17, 22-5; Melitene (21) is not given the title of *strategia*) is accurate. It tallies exactly with that of Strabo (XII. i. 4, p. 534) who knew the country well. Ptolemy evidently did not derive it from a geographical source, for his attempt to place the *strategiae* on the map results in fantastic confusion. What Ptolemy had before him must have been a bare list, which he tried to fit on to his geographical data. This list was probably an official survey. To the Cappadocian *strategiae* may be added the *strategia Antiochiane* (v. vi. 16), a province of the kingdom of Antiochus IV (cf. his coins inscribed *Λυκαόνων*, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 713), which remained an administrative district in the second century (Dessau, 1364, 'Lycaon. An[tioch]ian.').

There remain to be discussed the districts to which Ptolemy does not

give any specific title. They are sometimes, like the *strategiae* of Cappadocia, integral parts of the map, serving as headings under which the cities are grouped; sometimes, like the *strategiae* of Thrace, they are added as notes. They are of the most diverse types. Although Ptolemy uses the Roman provinces as primary headings, he never seems to use the *conventus* as subheadings. He prefers either obsolete administrative units of bureaucratic type, *κωνά*, or merely the districts of popular geography. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish what type of heading he is using. *Κωνά* often had the same names and sometimes corresponded roughly in area with the districts of popular geography, and administrative districts of bureaucratic type often survived in popular usage after they had become for practical purposes obsolete.

In Asia (v. ii) the subheadings are clearly popular; they are Aeolis, Ionia, Doris, Greater and Lesser Mysia, Lydia, Maeonia, Caria, Greater and Lesser Phrygia. In Bithynia (v. i) there are, besides the territory of Chalcedon and two tribal areas, the Caucones and the Mariandyni, which clearly belong to popular geography, three districts, Timonitis, Bogdomanis, and Zygiane, which to judge by their grammatical form are bureaucratic units; the first is stated by Strabo (xii. iii. 41, p. 562) to have been a district, probably a hyparchy, of Paphlagonia. In Lycia (v. iii) Cragus and Masicytes are known to have been *συντέλεια* of the Lycian League. Cabalis and Milyas, on the other hand, are probably taken from popular geography. In Lycia it seems probable that Ptolemy used an official list of cities belonging to the league, though he added to it and omitted from it (see chap. III, note 19). In Galatia, Pamphylia, and Cappadocia (v. iv, v, vi) many of the names are probably of popular origin, Isauria, Paphlagonia, Pamphylia, Armenia Minor, Pisidia and 'a part of Pisidia', Lycaonia and 'a part of Lycaonia', 'a part of Phrygia', and 'a part of Cilicia Tracheia'. The division of some of these districts into two halves probably indicates that Ptolemy was imposing the Roman provincial boundaries on to a map showing the popular districts. It must, however, be admitted that most of these districts figure on inscriptions of governors and procurators (Dessau, 263, 268, 1017, 1038-9, 8819a, 8971) and may therefore have had some official existence. Some are known to have been *κωνά*, e.g. Pamphylia (*I.G.R.* III. 474, Πα[μ]φυλιαρχῶν), Armenia Minor (ib. 132, Ἀρμενιάρχην), Paphlagonia (ib., 134 [Παφλαγονιά]ρχην, cf. the coins of Pompeiopolis, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 507, μητρο. Παφλα.), Lycaonia (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 713-4), and Isauria (*I.G.R.*, III, 879, 880). Two other districts certainly were *κωνά* and can be nothing else, Pontus Galaticus and Pontus Polemoniacus; Pontus Cappadocicus seems to be a figment of Ptolemy's imagination (see chap. vi, notes 43, 45). The three tribes of the Gauls are probably taken from popular geography, though they were actually *populi* in the official sense. There remain Cabalis and the tribes of the Oroandeis, Obizeni, and Proseilemmenitae. These may have been taken from some official document. 'Pamphyliae Cabaliam', 'Oroandicum Pisidiae tractum', and 'Lycaoniae partem Obizenen' are mentioned by Pliny in a passage

(*N.H.*, v. 147) which may be derived from an official source—it immediately follows his official list of the communities of Galatia. The Proseilemmenitae have an official ring, and a community of the name is actually known, but not where Ptolemy puts it (*I.G.R.*, III. 148). Finally it may be noted that Armenia Minor has subdivisions, apparently of a bureaucratic character (see chap. vi, note 46).

In Cilicia (v. vii) there are, apart from Cilicia proper, a popular district (and also a *κοινόν*), a number of districts which appear to be of the bureaucratic type and to date from the kingdoms of the Tarcondimotids and the Teucrids and Antiochus IV (see chap. VIII, notes 32–7). In Syria (v. xiv) the districts are a strange jumble. Palmyrene is the territory of Palmyra. Pieria and Casiotis are purely popular terms. Batanaea is an administrative district of the Agrippan kingdom, which perhaps survived under Roman rule (see chap. x, note 79). Apamene, Cyrrhестice, and Chalcidice are in my view Seleucid satrapies (see chap. x, note 21). The fourth Seleucid satrapy, that of Antioch, has disappeared. It seems to have been replaced by Seleucis which should mean all northern Syria, but is reduced by Ptolemy to three villages near Antioch. Laodicene (of Libanus) is a mysterious unit which may be a Seleucid administrative district. Chalybonitis is a yet more mysterious unit. The fame of Chalybon lay in the distant past, when it had supplied the wine drunk at the Great King's table (Poseidonius apud Ath., I. 28d, Strabo, xv. iii. 22, p. 735, cf. Ezekiel, xxvii. 18). It had by the beginning of our era been completely eclipsed by Abila in whose tetrarchy it lay. Chalybonitis must be a Seleucid or Ptolemaic unit; it probably is the latter to judge by its termination (see chap. x, note 19). There remain three districts which were popular geographical units and also *κοινά*—Commagene, Phoenice, and Coele Syria. There were in 119–20 A.D. four *ἐπαρχεῖαι* which met at Antioch to worship the emperor (*S.É.G.*, VII. 847). One of these was certainly Syria proper, whose metropolis was Antioch. Another was Commagene, whose metropolis was Samosata (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 776). The other two, Phoenice and Coele Syria, were in Trajan's reign united under Tyre as metropolis (*C.R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1929, p. 89). They were separated in Hadrian's reign, when Damascus assumed the title of metropolis (*B.M.C., Galatia, &c.*, p. 283), presumably of Coele Syria, which is equivalent to the Decapolis (cf. Ptol., v. xiv. 18, and the coins of Philadelphia, Abila, and Gadara, Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 786–7).

Ptolemy's divisions of Palestine (v. xv) appear to follow popular lines. They are Galilee, Samaria, Judaea (with a subdivision 'across the Jordan'), and Idumaea. These divisions were also for the most part, as Josephus' survey of Palestine (*Bell.*, III. iii. 1–5, §§ 35–57) shows, official. Josephus, however, does not recognize Idumaea, merging it in Judaea, and definitely distinguishes Peraea from Judaea. Had Ptolemy derived his divisions from an official source, he would probably have followed this scheme, and in particular would have used the official term Peraea instead of the periphrasis 'across the Jordan'.

In Arabia Ptolemy gives no divisions. In Cyprus (v. xiii. 5) he gives a very curious division, Salamina, Paphia, Amathusia, Lapethia. These can hardly be *κωά* or *conventus*, since the cities of Cyprus formed one *κωόν*, and they were so few that a division into *conventus* cannot have been necessary. The only clue to Ptolemy's scheme is a Phoenician inscription of the third century B.C. which implies that Cyprus was then divided into districts, one of which had its capital at Lapethus (see chap. XIII, note 9). Ptolemy's four divisions are apparently these administrative districts, which must have been long obsolete in his day.

### APPENDIX III: HIEROCLES AND GEORGIUS

THE Synecdemus of Hierocles and the document dubbed by Gelzer, who first recognized its true character, the Description of Georgius Cyprius have every appearance of being based on, if not transcribed from, official registers. Both documents are bare lists of cities and other units of government, the latter distinguished by their official titles of 'region', *saltus*, and so forth. The names are grouped under provinces—and in Georgius also under dioceses. In Hierocles the titles of the provincial governors are given. Very occasionally additional information of a geographical or hagiographical nature is given in Georgius, chiefly in the form of notes which are obviously insertions.

Both lists, it may be noted, owe their preservation during the Middle Ages to the fact that they were mistaken for episcopal Notitiae. Hierocles' list, which covers the whole eastern empire, was apparently taken for a Notitia of all the eastern patriarchates; copies of it are usually found associated with Notitiae of Constantinople (see the introduction to Burckhardt's edition, pp. vi–xii). Georgius' list is preserved as an appendix to a Notitia of Constantinople, the compiler of which evidently regarded it as a Notitia of the other four patriarchates. Owing to this circumstance we possess the Description only for the civil dioceses of Oriens and Egypt and for the Roman possessions in the west at the date of the composition of the work. Both lists have been to a certain extent contaminated by copyists who regarded them as Notitiae. The contaminations in Hierocles are more serious and will be discussed later.

There is evidence that the Synecdemus as we possess it is an epitome of the original work which bore that name. Its title, 'The Fellow Traveller', suggests something more than a mere register of names, something more in the nature of a guide-book. The order of the cities within the provinces is, as Ramsay has acutely detected, geographical (it is not official, for the metropolis not infrequently does not come first), and this geographical arrangement would be more intelligible if the names were not a bare catalogue but occurred in a descriptive text. Finally, Constantine Porphyrogenetus (*de Them.*, II ad init.; III, p. 46, ed. Bonn) quotes from the Synecdemus of Hierocles the statement that the Dolonci were a race of Thrace; no such antiquarian information occurs in our text. It is therefore a plausible supposition that the original Synecdemus was a descriptive guide-book, based, as the surviving epitome shows, mainly on an official register, and that what we possess is an epitome formed by culling the names from the guide-book. The list of Georgius Cyprius, on the other hand, bears no marks of having ever been anything other than it now is. The names are arranged in what may be an official order of precedence—the metropolis always comes first. The list is probably much closer to the official register.

The dates of the two documents can only be inferred from internal evidence. Wesseling, who first recognized the Synecdemus as a civil register, dated its composition to the early years of Justinian, on the ground that it records one foundation of Justinian, Justinianopolis of Pisidia, but ignores all Justinian's other foundations and his provincial reorganization (Const. Porph., III, pp. 381 seqq., ed. Bonn). It should be noted, however, that the Synecdemus omits all Anastasius' foundations save one, Anastasiopolis of Caria; the Anastasiopoleis of Rhodope, Haemimontus, Lycia, Phrygia Pacatiana, Galatia I, Euphratensis and Osrhoene, and Dara of Mesopotamia are all ignored. Similarly the Synecdemus ignores Zeno's foundations in Lycia, Isauria, and Aegyptus, and all but one of Leo's; it gives Leontopolis of Osrhoene, but omits the Leontopoleis of Helenopontus, Lycaonia, and Aegyptus, and the Verinopoleis of Lycaonia and Galatia I. It gives one of Marcian's foundations, Marcianopolis of Caria, but omits the other, Marciane of Lycia. Hierocles also omits some cities named after Eudocia (Eudocias of Lycaonia), Theodosius (? II) (Theodosiopolis and Nova Theodosiopolis of Europe, Theodosiopolis-Augaza of Asia, Theodosiopolis of Pisidia, and Theodosiana of Cyprus), and Valentinian (? III) (Valentinianopolis of Asia). He is, on the other hand, singularly rich in dynastic names recalling members of the Theodosian house, Arcadius, Eudoxia, Theodosius, Pulcheria, Eudocia; some of these names, e.g. Eudoxiopolis of Pisidia and Pulcherianopolis of Phrygia Pacatiana, are otherwise unknown and cannot have been current long, others, e.g. Eudoxiopolis of Europe and Theodosiana of Phrygia Pacatiana, are not recorded after the middle of the fifth century. To this evidence may be added the remarkable resemblance of the Chalcedonian lists to Hierocles in certain provinces. The inference from these facts is that Hierocles, though he may have lived in the reign of Justinian, used a register originally drawn up in the reign of Theodosius II; the later additions may be due to Hierocles himself, or, alternatively, the register may have been kept up to date in a very haphazard way.

The Description is dated by Gelzer (introduction, pp. xiii seqq.) to the closing years of the sixth century, principally on the ground that the information about Mesopotamia, Armenia IV, and the western possessions contained in it will suit no earlier date. Here again I doubt if the solution of the problem is so simple. The Description contains two notes of authorship, under Lapethus of Cyprus the words *ἐν ἧ ἐγεννήθη Γεώργιος ὁ Κύπριος ὁ γράψας τὴν βίβλον ἐξ ἧς ταῦτα μετελήφθησαν*, and under the Clima of Sophene in Armenia IV, the words, *χωρίον ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ κλίμα λεγόμενον Ἰαλιμβάνων ὅθεν ὀρμάται ὁ τὴν παροῦσαν φιλοπνήσας βίβλον Βασίλειος*. Gelzer infers that Georgius of Lapethus is the author of the Description and Basil of Ialimbanon of the Notitia in which it is incorporated. It is evident, however, that the author of the Description in its present form took a peculiar interest in Mesopotamia and Armenia IV, which he described in far greater detail than the other provinces. He is therefore much more likely to be Basil of Ialimbanon than Georgius of Lapethus. From this it

follows that the Description is a complex work, originally written by Georgius and revised and expanded by Basil. Basil must, as his account of Mesopotamia and Armenia IV shows, have lived in the late sixth century. He must, therefore, be responsible for the sections on the western possessions, which also belong to this date; they are, it may be noted, in contrast to the account of Mesopotamia and Armenia IV, very inaccurate and confused. The original Description written by Georgius was, then, an account of the eastern empire only, a fact which suggests that it was written before Justinian's western conquests. This inference is supported by the fact that some of Justinian's changes are omitted in the eastern provinces. The re-foundation of Anazarbus, Dara, and Martyropolis as Justinianopolis (Mansi, ix. 391, 395, Malalas, p. 427, ed. Bonn) and of Cynopolis of Aegyptus II as Nova Justiniana (Mansi, ix. 391, cf. 175), the elevation of Anasarthra to city rank as Theodoropolis (see chap. x, note 54), and the transference of Mareotes and Menelaïtes from Aegyptus I to Libya (Just., *Edict XIII*) are all ignored. The creation of the province of Theodorias, the re-foundation of Coptos as Justinianopolis, and the foundation of Justinianopolis of Phoenice Libanensis are, it is true, recorded, but these are probably due to Basil's revision. The first is a notable change which he could hardly have ignored; it is noteworthy that there are signs of a correction having been made in the text, some MSS. giving Paltus both in Syria and in Theodorias. The second is an obvious gloss, the words *ἦτοι Ἰουστινιανούπολις* being inserted after Coptos. In the last case there is a confusion, and the whole entry, *Ἐδάριος ἦτοι Ἰουστινιανούπολις*, is probably a gloss. Actually the former name of Justinianopolis was Barcusa, which is not recorded in the Description, while Euaria did not become a city till after Justinian's reign (see chap. x, note 54). The Description is therefore probably earlier than Justinian. It is, on the other hand, more up to date than the Synecdemus, including one foundation of Leo (in Aegyptus I), two of Zeno (in Isauria and Aegyptus I) and three of Anastasius (Resapha, Anastasia of Osrhoene, and Dara), and recording the division of Aegyptus into two provinces, changes all ignored by Hierocles. But there are signs that some of these entries are alterations or interpolations. Aegyptus II has no metropolis and *Σερμιούπολις ἦτοι Ἀναστασιούπολις ἢ σήμερον Ῥατταφά* is an item which Basil has clearly expanded if not inserted. It is noteworthy that in two places corruptions in the text of Hierocles are carried a stage farther in that of Georgius: *Σάλτων Ἐραγιζηνόν* has become *Σαλγενορατίξενον* in Hierocles and *Σάντων* in Georgius; and similarly *Ζυγρίς Ζαγυλῆς* has passed through *Ζωργοζαγούλης* to *Οτρανζάλης*. This suggests that Georgius was working on the same register as Hierocles, which had deteriorated in the interval, or that he used the archetype of Hierocles.

It is not easy to test the accuracy of the Synecdemus and the Description. The only first-hand official registers surviving are those of Honorias, Paphlagonia, Pontus Polemoniacus, Helenopontus, and Armenia I and II, preserved in Justinian's twenty-ninth and thirty-first Novels. In Honorias, Paphlagonia, and Armenia II Justinian confirms Hierocles. In Pontus



Polemoniacus Hierocles omits the forts of the Black Sea coast east of Trapezus. In Helenopontus he omits the city of Euchaita, in Armenia I that of Verisa. There is no indication that either of these cities was a recent foundation; indeed Justinian implies the reverse in calling Leontopolis of Helenopontus (the former Saltus Zalichen) a newly created city. The Novels provide two other pieces of evidence. In the thirtieth Novel it is stated that Cappadocia (I) contained one city only, Caesarea, and thirteen units of imperial land. Hierocles gives two cities besides Caesarea, Nyssa and Therma, and one 'region' only, that of Podandus. In Edict XIII Justinian ordered the transfer of the cities of Mareotes and Mene-laïtes from Aegyptus to Libya. Hierocles omits Mareotes. In general, therefore, the Novels do not inspire great confidence in Hierocles' accuracy. In only one point do the Novels provide a check on Georgius Cyprius, and in this one point they prove his superior accuracy. Georgius records both Menelaïtes and Mareotes.

The two lists can also be checked against one another. The comparative tables in Appendix IV give their discrepancies. Hierocles again shows up badly, omitting many items recorded by Georgius. Only in one case, that already cited of Mareotes, is there any independent evidence which definitely proves that Hierocles is wrong and Georgius right. But there are several in which there is a very strong presumption that Georgius is right. The Egyptian nomes invariably become cities; Hierocles omits not only Mareotes but Marmarice. It is highly probable that places which were cities in the principate and remained important enough to be bishoprics in the Byzantine age were still cities in the Byzantine age. Hierocles omits Nicopolis of Palestine I, which issued coins, and Domitiopolis of Isauria which is recorded by Ptolemy, as well as Marcopolis in Osrhoene, which is certainly identical with the city of Anthemus which issued coins. Hierocles also omits Caesarea in Euphratensis which had been known by that name since the early fourth century at least; the dynastic name is here almost proof of city status. He furthermore leaves the Jordan valley a complete blank, omitting the 'regions' of Jericho, Livias, Amathus, and Gadara, which had probably had a continuous existence since they were toparchies of the Herodian kingdom. He adds only four items unknown to Georgius, the village of Neila in Arabia, Bitarus in Palestine III, Castrum Clysmā in Augustamnica I, Ariza in Palestine I; the last is otherwise unknown. In general, then, Hierocles seems to be far less reliable than Georgius. It may be noted that he is particularly apt to omit units of government which are not cities, 'regions', *climata*, *saltus*, and villages.

In the dioceses of Thrace, Asiana, and Pontica the Description unfortunately does not survive to check Hierocles. Except in the very limited area covered by the Novels we are reduced to checking him by the ecclesiastical documents. Something must be said of these although they are not civil registers and make no pretence to be so. They fall into two classes, the Notitiae and the conciliar lists. The conciliar lists, in which I include lists of bishops present at councils, lists of signatures to canons

given at councils, and also lists of signatures to synodical letters and similar documents, are a very valuable check on the Notitiae but are not exhaustive lists of all the bishoprics of the east or even with a few exceptions of a particular province. All bishops did not sign or attend, and only those who did are recorded as a rule; at the council of Chalcedon some metropolitans signed for all their suffragans, but even these lists may not be complete as some sees may have been vacant. The Notitiae on the other hand are complete registers of sees; they begin with a list of metropolitan sees, then follows a list of archbishoprics, and finally the suffragan sees are registered under their metropolitans. We possess no ancient Notitia of Jerusalem and no genuine ancient Notitia of Alexandria (see chap. XI, note 69, XII, note 17). We possess one relatively very ancient Notitia of Antioch, dated 570. The oldest copy is in Syriac; a Greek reconstruction is given by Honigmann in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 1925, pp. 60 seqq. We possess a large number of Notitiae of Constantinople, but all are of comparatively late date. The earliest appear to be Parthey VII, of which a more complete copy is published by Gelzer in *Abh. Ak. München*, XXI, p. 529, Parthey VIII and IX, and Parthey I, republished by Gelzer in his edition of Georgius Cyprius. These Notitiae are prior to the reorganization of the church by Leo the Wise (886-908). How much earlier they are it is difficult to say. All contain sees which first appear at the Sixth General Council (680), VIII and IX contain sees which first appear at the Seventh (787), I contains a number of sees known only to the later Notitiae. The four are generally arranged in the order given above on the ground that VII has the shortest list of archbishoprics, VIII (with which IX is closely associated) adds five to the list, and I adds three more and makes Amorium the metropolis of a new province.

All are inaccurate, as a mutual comparison shows. I, the latest, omits three sees in Europe recorded by VIII and IX and at the Seventh General Council. VII, the earliest, is particularly bad. It omits Anaea in Asia, Hyde in Lycaonia, Magydus in Pamphylia, Trapezopolis in Phrygia Pacatiana, and Helenopolis, Caesarea, and Hadriani in Bithynia, which are recorded in all the others. It cannot be alleged that these sees were created after the composition of VII, as they all figure at early councils. VIII has its peculiar errors: it omits Daldis and Stratonicea in Lydia and Pogla in Pamphylia, which figure in all the others. VII and I omit Hadrianea in Hellespont and Atenia in Pisidia, which VIII and IX record. IX and I alone record Parlais which is known to have been a see from the fourth century. I alone records Sinethandus, Malus, and Tityassus in Pisidia and Myrcia and Orcistus in Galatia Salutaris; these are all known to have been early sees from the conciliar lists. More striking yet is the omission by all four early Notitiae of a number of sees recorded at early councils and in the later Notitiae. Examples are Pinara in Lycia, Temnus and Aegae in Asia, Colossae, Ceretapa, Themisonium, Sanaus, Acmonia, Diocleia, Aristium, and Cidyessus in Phrygia Pacatiana. All the Notitiae omit a number of sees known from the early conciliar lists, but in these cases

the omission may not be due to inaccuracy; these sees may really have been since suppressed. It may be noted in passing that the Antiochene Notitia, though generally much superior to the Constantinopolitan, contains two probable errors. Zephyrium of Cilicia I and Neapolis of Arabia are omitted, though both are known to have been bishoprics as late as A.D. 451.

The Constantinopolitan Notitiae are thus an unsatisfactory check upon Hierocles, first because of their inaccuracy, which can be only partially remedied by the use of the conciliar lists, and secondly because of their late date; even with the assistance of the conciliar lists it is impossible to reconstruct a Notitia of the sixth century or earlier. But there is a third reason which applies equally to the Notitia of Antioch and to the conciliar lists in general. The organization of the church did not exactly follow that of the state. Normally, it is true, it did so and had done so from the beginning. Normally each city had its bishop, and very often other units of government also had their bishops. But not infrequently a small city, and quite frequently a *saltus*, independent village, or other similar unit of government, was ecclesiastically dependent on another city. Clear examples are the cities of Scythia, which were all in the see of the bishop of Tomi (Soz., *H.E.*, vii. 19), the city of Mareotes, which was directly subject to the bishop of Alexandria (Soc., *H.E.*, i. 27), the cities of Europe, groups of which were subject to the bishops of the more important cities (see chap. i, note 32), and the Helearchia, which was divided ecclesiastically between two neighbouring cities (Migne, *P.G.*, xxvi. 808). Assuming the substantial accuracy of Georgius as a civil list and of the Antiochene Notitia examples could be multiplied. Not infrequently, also, an important town, which was not a unit of government but subject to some city or part of some other unit of government, had its own bishop. Assuming the substantial accuracy of Georgius, the Antiochene Notitia and the conciliar lists of the civil dioceses of Oriens and Egypt give many examples. There are a few more firmly attested examples, e.g. Marathas, a village of Samosata but an independent see in the province of Edessa (see chap. x, note 50), and Bacatha, a village of Philadelphia but a bishopric in the patriarchate of Jerusalem (see chap. x, note 74).

Zeno attempted to bring the ecclesiastical organization more into line with the civil (*Cod. Just.*, i. iii. 35). His law ordered that every city should have its own bishop, with the exception of the Scythian cities, which were to remain under Tomi, and Isauropolis, which was to be united with Leontopolis. It is not clear whether this law was intended to apply to units of government other than cities; only cities are mentioned. The law also did not forbid the existence of bishops in towns which were not units of government. Even, therefore, if it had been strictly enforced some diversity between the civil and ecclesiastical organization would have survived. There is evidence which suggests that it was not strictly enforced. Nicopolis of Euphratensis and Dium of Arabia are recorded as cities both in Hierocles and Georgius, but neither appears in the Notitia of Antioch

nor in any ecclesiastical document. In Europe there is no record in the Notitiae or in the conciliar lists of the majority of the cities which had by ancient custom not been bishoprics in 431.

The absence of a name in the ecclesiastical documents is, therefore, no proof that it was not a unit of government, and, conversely, the presence of a name is no proof that it was. In certain cases, however, the presence of a name in the ecclesiastical documents is a very strong presumption in favour of its having been a city. Towns with dynastic names seem in the Byzantine period invariably to have been cities. The ecclesiastical documents can therefore be used to fill in dynastic names omitted by Hierocles. In the second place it is very probable that a town which was a city in the principate and can be proved to be a bishopric by the ecclesiastical documents was a city in the Byzantine age. Here again the Notitiae and conciliar lists can be used to check Hierocles. In both these ways considerable additions and corrections can be made in Hierocles, but a complete restoration of the official register obviously cannot be thus obtained. It may be noted that no additions or corrections can be made in Georgius by these methods except the addition of a certain number of foundations or refoundations by Justinian. The accuracy of Georgius is thus once again vindicated.

It remains to endeavour to account for the errors and omissions in Hierocles. Ramsay long held the theory that Hierocles used Notitiae. As he later, I understand, abandoned this theory it is hardly necessary to discuss it in detail. The principal arguments against it are that Hierocles records very many units of government which to the best of our knowledge never were bishoprics, and that he regularly inserts official terms such as 'region', *saltus*, &c., which never figure in the Notitiae and very rarely in any ecclesiastical document. The theory also fails to account for the facts, since a large proportion of the units omitted by Hierocles were bishoprics. The only explanation I can offer is that Hierocles may not have thought it necessary to insert in his guide-book every place recorded in the official register, or that his epitomator running his eye over the text may well have missed many names. For the omission of cities the latter explanation is more probable, since the omissions are so extraordinarily erratic, quite important cities being left out and quite insignificant cities retained. But the strong tendency to omit units of government other than cities is more readily explained on the former hypothesis. Many omissions are also, as suggested above, explained by the date of Hierocles' source.

There remain certain errors due to contamination from the Notitiae. A clear instance is the insertion in some inferior MSS. of *Τριμηθούνητων* and *Λευκουσία* at the end of the list of Cyprus; the name *Leucosia* is mediaeval, the ancient name being *Ledra*. I regard three other items as interpolations, *Σαταλέων* in Lydia, *ὁ Τιμβριδῶν* in Pisidia, and *Μυρικίων* in Galatia Salutaris. All are suspect from their grammatical form. The cities in Hierocles are put in the nominative, the sees in the Notitiae in the

genitive, depending on  $\delta$  (*ἐπίσκοπος*). All three were probably inserted by scribes who happened to notice that a bishopric was absent in Hierocles' list. Actually the two first were in all probability cities which Hierocles had omitted; his lists of Lydia and Pisidia are very bad. The last is in my view a doublet of *Ῥεγεμαυρέκιον* in which the scribe did not recognize the familiar see of *Μυρικίων* (see chap. IV, note 16). A more serious dislocation has occurred in the two Cappadocias, where Hierocles follows the ecclesiastical distribution of the governmental units between the two provinces (see pp. 184 seqq.). I can offer no explanation of this anomaly save that the province of Caesarea (Cappadocia I) comes first in the Notitiae and must therefore have been particularly familiar to every scribe. Any copyist would, then, regarding Hierocles as a Notitia, feel tempted to make the necessary alterations. There is now an excellent annotated edition of both Hierocles and George in E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdémós d'Hieroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, Brussels, 1939.

## APPENDIX IV: TABLES

THE object of the following tables is to present for comparison in an easily accessible form the principal civil and ecclesiastical lists of the Byzantine period. In the first column are the names in the form in which they appear in the text of the book; variations of spelling are noted only when the name in the original is so deformed as to be unrecognizable. Bracketed items are equivalent names for the same unit; sometimes they are merely variant titles, sometimes one is the name of the district, the other of the chief town, sometimes they are two places within the same civil or ecclesiastical circumscription. The provinces are those of Hierocles, and the names are placed in his order, which seems to be most instructive; items not recorded by Hierocles are inserted where convenient. Under the headings Hierocles and Georgius the figures represent the order of their respective lists; metropoleis of provinces are marked M (where indicated as such in the original), 'regions' R, *climata* C, *saltus* S, estates (*χωρία, κλήροι, κτήματα*) E, villages (*κῶμαι*) V, tribes (*δῆμοι*) T, forts (*κάστρα, φρούρια*) F. In the columns under the Notitiae M represents metropoleis (when there are more than one in the same civil province they are marked M I, M II, &c.), A archbishoprics (of the province in which they are placed unless otherwise stated). The figures give the order of the suffragan sees (counting the metropolis as 1); where there are more than one metropolis their respective suffragans are marked I. 2, 3 . . ., II. 2, 3 . . . respectively; where suffragans are subject to a metropolis in a different civil province the fact is recorded in a note. In the columns representing the councils, synodical letters, and other ecclesiastical lists, sees whose bishops attended, signed, or are otherwise recorded are marked with a cross (+). The conciliar lists are not intended to be exhaustive but merely to serve as a check on the Notitiae if any or to supply the place of one if none exists. If, therefore, one or two lists give a tolerably complete record of a province I merely fill the gaps from other sources.

My sources are as follows:

Hierocles	Burckhardt, <i>Hieroclis Synecdemus</i> .
Georgius	Gelzer, <i>Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani</i> .
Not. VII (Const.)	Gelzer, <i>Abh. Ak. München</i> , xxi, pp. 529 seqq.
Nott. VIII, IX (Const.)	Parthey, <i>Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum</i> .
Not. I (Const.)	Gelzer, <i>Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani</i> .
Not. (Ant.)	Honigmann, <i>Byz. Zeitschr.</i> , 1925, pp. 73 seqq.
Greek Not. (Alex.)	Pococke, <i>Description of the East</i> , vol. i, ch. xvii.
Coptic Not. (Alex.)	Amélineau, <i>La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte</i> , App. iv.
Nic. I (325)	Gelzer, <i>Patrum Nicenorum Nomina</i> .
Brev. Mel. (c. 325)	Migne, <i>P.G.</i> , xxv. 376-7.
Tom. Ant. (362)	Migne, <i>P.G.</i> , xxvi. 808.
Const. I (381)	Mansi, III. 568-72.
Eph. (431)	Schwartz, <i>Act. Conc. Oec.</i> , Tom. I, esp. vol. i, pars ii,

- pp. 3-7, pars vii, pp. 84-8, 111-17, vol. III, pars i, pp. 52-6, 134-40, vol. V, pars i, pp. 85-8, 110-16.
- Const. 448 Schwartz, *Act. Conc. Oec.*, Tom. II, vol. I, pp. 145-6, 148-9, vol. III, pp. 129-34.
- Latr. (449) Schwartz, Tom. cit., vol. I, pp. 183-6, 192-5, vol. III, pp. 53-7, 252-8.
- Chalc. (451) Schwartz, Tom. cit., vol. I, pp. 55 seqq., 3 [199] seqq., 34 [230] seqq., 69 [265] seqq., 84 [280] seqq., 141 [337] seqq., 89 [448] seqq., vol. III, pp. 27 seqq. Names depending on the unsupported testimony of Dionysius Exiguus (vol. II, pp. 42 [132] seqq., 65 [157] seqq.) I have qualified with a (D).
- Ep. Leon. (458) Schwartz, Tom. cit., vol. V, pp. 11-98.
- Const. 459 Mansi, VII. 915-20.
- Const. 518 id., VIII. 1047-50.
- Jer. 518 id., VIII. 1071-4.
- Const. 519 id., VIII. 492-3.
- Const. 536 id., VIII. 877-80, 919-20, 923-8, 935-8, 947-52, 969-78, 1141-9.
- Jer. 536 id., VIII. 1171-6.
- Const. II (553) id., IX. 173-7, 191-4, 389-96.
- Const. III (680) id., XI. 209-12, 217-20, 223-4, &c., 687-96.
- QS. (692) id., XI. 987-1006.
- Nic. II (787) id., XII. 991-1000, 1087-1112, XIII. 134-52, 365-74, 379-98.

TABLE I  
PART OF INLAND DACIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Serdice	1 M	Nic. I, Ephesus, Ep. Leon.
2. Pautalia	2	Marcellinus Comes, 516, Migne, <i>P.L.</i> , LI. 939
3. Germana	3	

TABLE II  
EUROPE

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Nott. I and VII</i>	<i>Nott. VIII and IX</i>	<i>Eph.</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. { Eudoxiopolis	1	..	..	..	..	Chalc., Soc., <i>H.E.</i> , VII. 36
2. { Selymbria	..	A	A	..	..	Const. 536, Const. III
3. Heraclea	2	M	M	+	+	
4. Arcadiopolis	3	A	A	*	..	Const. II, Nic. II
5. Bizye	4	A	A	+	+	
6. Panium	5	2	2	†	..	Const. 536, Const. III, Nic. II
7. Orni	6	..	..	†	..	
8. Gannus	7	..	..	†	..	
9. Callipolis	8	3	3	‡	..	Const. 536
10. Morizus	9	..	..	..	..	
11. { Siltice	10	..	..	..	..	
12. { Druzipara	..	A	A	..	..	Const. II
13. Sausadia	11	..	..	+	..	
14. Aphrodisias	12	..	..	§	+	
15. Chersonese	..	4	4	..	..	Latr.
16. { Aprus	13	A	A	+	..	
17. { Nova Theodosiopolis	..	..	..	..	+	
18. Coela	14	5	5	+	+	
19. Rhaedestus	..	6	6	..	..	Nic. II
20. Lizicus	..	..	7	..	..	Nic. II
21. Tsorullus	..	..	8	..	..	Nic. II
22. Theodoropolis	..	..	9	..	..	Nic. II

\* Under Bizye.

† Under Heraclea.

‡ Under Coela.

§ Under Sausadia.

Note. Not. IX adds Adrancia as No. 4.

TABLE III  
THRACE

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Philippopolis	1	M	+	
2. Beroe*	2	A	+	
3. Diocletianopolis	3	2	+	
4. Sebastopolis	4	3	..	
5. Diospolis	5	4	..	Theophanes, I, p. 271, ed. Bonn

\* = Augusta Trajana.



TABLE IV  
HAEMIMONTUS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Hadrianopolis	1	M	Const. II
2. Anchialus	2	A	Const. 459, Const. II
3. Deultum	3	..	Ephesus (with Sozopolis), Chalc., Const. 459
4. Plotinopolis	4	4	Soc., <i>H.E.</i> , vii. 36
5. Tzoides	5	6	
6. Anastasiopolis	..	5*	
7. Mesembria	..	2†	Const. III and QS.
8. Sozopolis†	..	3	Ephesus (with Deultum), Const. III

\* Omitted by Not. I.

† Also an archbishopric.

‡ = Apollonia.

TABLE V  
RHODOPE

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Ephesus</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Aenus	1	A	..	Chalc. (D), Const. II
2. Maximianopolis	2	A	+	
3. Trajanopolis	3	M	+	
4. Maronea	4	A	+	
5. Topirus	5	2	+	
6. Nicopolis	6	A*	..	Soc., <i>H.E.</i> , vii. 36
7. Cereopyrgus	7	..	..	
8. Anastasiopolis	..	3	..	
9. Cypsela	..	A	..	Const. II

\* Of Thrace.

TABLE VI  
PART OF THE ISLANDS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Nott. VII, VIII, IX</i>	<i>Not. I</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Rhodes	1	M	M	+	
2. Cos	2	4	4	+	
3. Samos	3	2	2	..	QS., Nic. II
4. Chios	4	3	3	+	
5. Mitylene	5	A	A	+	
6. Methymna	6	A	A	†	Const. 519, Const. III, QS., Nic. II
7. Eresus	7*	..	..	†	
8. Tenedos	8	..	..	†	
9. Poroselene	9	..	..	†	
10. Amorgos	18	..	..	..	Const. 536 (with Siph- nos and Paros)
11. Astypalaea	19	..	13	..	
12. Nisyros	..	..	12	..	
13. Carpathos	..	A	A	..	Const. 519, Const. 536, Const. II

\* Πέτελος

† Under Mitylene

## TABLE VII

## ASIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Ephesus	1	M	+	
2. Anaea	2	23*	+	
3. Priene	3	24	+	
4. Magnesia Mae.	4	4	+	
5. Tralles	5	3	+	
6. Nysa	6	16	+	
7. Briulla	7	11	+	
8. Mastaura	8	9	+	
9. Aninetus	9	21	+	
10. Hypaepa	10	2	+	
11. Arcadiopolis	11	25	+	
12. Dioshieron	12	27	+	
13. Augaza	13	28	..	
14. Theodosiopolis	..	..	+	
15. Coloe	14	10	..	Ephesus
16. Algiza	15	..	+	
17. Nicaea	16†	..	..	
18. Palaeopolis	17	38	+	
19. Baretta	18	19	+	
20. Auliucome	19 V	15	..	
21. Valentinianopolis	..	..	+	
22. Neaule	20	26	+	
23. Colophon	21	30	+	
24. Metropolis	22	18	+	
25. Lebedus	23	31	+	
26. Teos	24	32	+	
27. Smyrna	25	A	+	
28. Clazomenae	26	34	+	
29. Erythrae	27	33	+	
30. Magnesia Sip.	28	20	+	
31. Aegae	29	..	+	Later Notitiae
32. Temnus	30	..	+	Later Notitiae
33. Phocaea	31	14	+	
34. Cyme	32	37	+	
35. Myrina	33	13	+	
36. Pergamum	34	22	+	
37. Elaea	35	5	+	
38. Pitane	36	12	+	
39. Tiara	37	..	..	
40. Perperene	..	..	..	
41. Theodosiopolis	38	36	+	
42. Adramyttium	39	6	+	
43. Antandrus	40	35	+	
44. Gargara	41	8	..	Const. 518, Const. II
45. Assus	42	7	+	
46. Maschacome	..	17	..	
47. Sion	..	29	+	
48. Monaule	..	..	+	

\* Omitted in Not. IX.

† Νικόπολις.

TABLE VIII  
HELLESPONT

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Cyzicus	1 M	M	+
2. Proconnesus	2	A	+
3. Baris	3	5	+
4. Parium	4	A	+
5. Lampsacus	5	7	+
6. Abydus	6	8	+
7. Dardanus	7	9	+
8. Ilium	8	10	+
9. Troas*	9	11	+
10. Scamandria	10	..	..
11. Polichne	11	..	..
12. Poemanenum	12	3	+
13. Artermea	13	..	..
14. Recita	14	..	..
15. Bladus	15	..	..
16. Scelenta	16	..	..
17. Miletopolis	17†	13	+
18. Germe	18	2	+
19. Attaus	19	..	..
20. Cerge	20	..	..
21. Sagara	21	..	..
22. Hadrianutherae	22	6	+
23. Pionia	23	12	+
24. Coniosine	24	..	..
25. Argiza	25	..	..
26. Xios Trados	26	..	..
27. Mandacada	27	..	..
28. Ergasteria	28	..	..
29. Mandrae	29	..	..
30. Hippi	30	..	..
31. Oce	31	4	+
32. Siderum	32	..	..
33. Scepsis	33	‡	+
34. Hadrianeia	..	14§	+

\* = Alexandria. † *Mόλις*.‡ In the later Nott. as *ἐγίου Κορηλίου*.

§ Omitted by Nott. VII and I.

## TABLE IX

## LYDIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Sardis	1	M	+	+	
2. Philadelphia	2	2	..	+	
3. Tripolis	3	3	+	+	
4. Thyateira	4	4	..	+	
5. Saittae	5	5	+	+	
6. Maeonia	6	11	..	+	
7. Julianopolis	7	..	..	..	
8. Tralles	8	8	..	..	Const. II
9. Aureliopolis	9	6	..	+	
10. Attaleia	10	17	+	+	
11. Hermocapeleia	11	27	..	..	Nic. II
12. Acrasus	12	15	+	..	
13. Apollonshieron	13	12	+	+	
14. Tabala	14	26 (25)	+	+	
15. Bagis	15	18	..	+	
16. Ceraseis	16	24 (23)	+	..	
17. Mysotimolus	17	20	..	..	
18. Apollonis	18	16	..	+	
19. Hierocaesarea	19	21	+	..	
20. Mostene	20 and 23	14	..	+	
21. Satala	21*	25 (26)	+	+	
22. Gordus	22	7	..	+	
23. Sala	..	9	..	+	
24. Silandus	..	10	+	..	
25. Hyrcanis	..	13	..	+	
26. Blaundus	..	19	+	+	
27. Daldis	..	22†	..	+	
28. Stratonicæa	..	23 (24)†	+	+	

\* *Σαταλέων* (probably an interpolation).

† Omitted by Not. VIII.

TABLE X  
CARIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Miletus	1	A	..	Nic. I, Const. III, Nic. II
2. Heraclea Latm.	2	6	+	
3. Halicarnassus	3	22	+	
4. Myndus	4	26	+	
5. Cnidus	5	24	+	
6. Ceramus	6	29	..	Ephesus
7. Mylasa	7	18	..	Nic. II
8. Stratoneicea	8	16	+	
9. Amyzon	9	19	+	
10. Alinda	10	17	+	
11. Alabanda	11	15	+	
12. Orthosia	12	13	+	
13. Harpasa	13	11	+	
14. Neapolis	14	12	..	Const. III
15. Hyllarima	15	23	..	Const. III, Nic. II
16. Antioch	16	9	+	
17. Aphrodisias	17 M	M	+	
18. Heraclea Salb.	18	4	+	
19. Tabae	19	7	..	Const. II
20. Apollonia	20	5	+	
21. { Sebastopolis	21	..	..	
22. { Larba	..	8	..	
23. Iasus	22	20	+	
24. Eriza	23	3	+	
25. } Marcianopolis	24	..	..	
26. } Cidrama	..	28	..	
27. } Anastasiopolis	25	..	..	Const. II
28. } Bargylia	..	21	+	
29. Χωρία Πατριμόνια	26 E	..	..	
30. Cibyra	27	2	..	Nic. I, Const. I, Ephesus, Const. II
31. Κοκτημαδικαί	28 E	..	..	
32. Tapassa	..	10	..	
33. Metaba	..	25	..	
34. Hieron	..	27	..	
35. Anotetarte	..	14	..	

*Note.* Not. I adds Promissus (at the end).

TABLE XI  
PHRYGIA PACATIANA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Laodicea	1	M I	+	
2. Hierapolis	2	M II	..	Nic. I, Ephesus, Const. II
3. Mossyna	3	II. 6	+	
4. Attuda	4	II. 5	+	
5. Trapezopolis	5	I. 18*	+	
6. Colossae	6	..	+	Late Notitiae (as <i>Χῶναι</i> )
7. Ceretapa	7	..	+	Late Notitiae
8. Themisonium	8	..	+	Late Notitiae
9. Valentia	9	..	..	Ephesus
10. Sanaus	10	..	+	Late Notitiae
11. Dionysopolis	11†	II. 3‡	+	
12. Metellopolis	12§	II. 2	..	Nic. II
13. Attanassus	13	I. 17	+	
14. Lunda	14	..	..	Late Notitiae
15. Peltae	15	I. 5	+	
16. Eumeneia	16	I. 12	..	Const. I, Nic. II
17. Sibia	17	I. 19	+	
18. Pepuza	18	..	..	
19. Anastasiopolis	..	II. 4¶	..	Const. 518, Const. II
20. Bria	19	I. 8	..	Const. 536
21. Sebaste	20	I. 11	+	
22. Eluza	21	I. 9	+	
23. Acmoneia	22	..	+	Late Notitiae
24. Alia	23	I. 15	+	
25. Siocharax	24	..	+	
26. Diocleia	25	..	+	Late Notitiae
27. Aristium	26	..	+	Late Notitiae
28. Cidyessus	27	..	+	Late Notitiae
29. Appia	28	I. 6	..	Const. I, Const. 459, Const. III, Nic. II
30. Eudocias	29	..	..	
31. Aezani	30	I. 3	..	Const. 518
32. Tiberiopolis	31	I. 2	..	Const. 536
33. Cadi	32	I. 7	+	
34. Theodosiana	33	..	+	
35. Ancyra	34	} I. 4	..	
36. Synaus	35		+	
37. Temenothyrae	36	I. 13	+	
38. Trajanopolis	37	I. 10	..	Const. 536, Const. II
39. Pulcherianopolis	38	..	..	
40. Tripolis	..	I. 16	..	
41. Agathecome	..	I. 14	..	

\* Omitted by Notitia VII.

§ Σιτούπολις.

† Κοιούπολις.

|| Κράσσοις.

‡ Omitted by Not. VIII.

¶ Omitted by Not. IX.

TABLE XII  
PHRYGIA SALUTARIS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Eucarpia	1	14	+	
2. Hieropolis	2	13	+	
3. Otrus	3	18	+	
4. Stectorium	4	20	+	
5. Bruzus	5	17	+	
6. κλήρος ὀρεινῆς	6 E	..	..	} Late Notitiae (κλήροι)
7. κλήρος πολιτικῆς	7 E	..	..	
8. Ocoelia	8*	..	..	
9. Lysias	9	15	+	
10. Synnada	10	M	+	
11. Prymnessus	11	8	+	
12. Ipsus	12	7	+	
13. Polybotus	13	11†	+	
14. Docimium	14	5†	+	
15. Metropolis	15	..	..	
16. Meirus	16	9	..	Const. 536, Const. II
17. Nacoleia	17	4	+	
18. Dorylaeum	18	3	+	
19. Midaeum	19	6	+	
20. Lycaones	20 T	19	..	
21. Aurocla	21 T	25	+	
22. Amadassa	22 T	..	+	
23. Praepenissus	23 T	..	+	
24. Cotiaenum	..	2‡	..	Ephesus
25. Cinnaborium	..	21	+	
26. Augustopolis	..	16	..	Const. II
27. Eulandra	..	..	+	
28. Sibindus	..	10	..	
29. Phyteia	..	12	..	Nic. II
30. Cone Demetrio- polis	..	22	..	
31. Scordaspia	..	23	..	
32. Nicopolis	..	24	..	

\* Δεβαλικία.

† In province of Amorium in Not. I (nos. 5 and 3).

‡ Archbishopric in Not. I.

TABLE XIII  
LYCIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Phaselis	1	26	+	+	
2. Olympus	2	13	+(D)	+	
3. Gagae	3	9	..	..	
4. Acalissus	4	28	..	+	
5. Idebessus	5	29*	..	..	
λ 6. Limyra	6	4	+	+	
λ 7. Arycanda	7	8	..	..	Nic. II
8. Podalia	8	7	..	+	
9. Choma	9	22	+	+	
10. Milyas	10 R	..	..	..	
λ 11. Myra	11 M	M	+	+	
12. Arneae	12	10	..	..	
13. Cyaneae	13	37	..	..	
λ 14. Aperlae	14	6	..	..	
15. Phellus	15	24	..	..	Const. II
λ 16. Antiphellus	16	25	+	+	
17. Candyba	17	23†	..	..	Nic. II
18. Eudocias	18	32‡	..	..	Const. 518
λ 19. Patara	19	34	+	+	
λ 20. Xanthus	20	18	..	+	
21. Comba	21	33	..	..	QS. and Nic. II
22. Nisa	22	36	..	..	Nic. II
λ 23. Pinara	23	..	..	+	Late Notitiae
λ 24. Sidyma	24	11	..	+	
25. Tlos	25	14	+	+	
λ 26. Telmessus	26	3§	+	..	
λ 27. Caunus	27	16	+	+	
28. Araxa	28	5	+	+	
29. Bubon	29	19	+	+	
λ 30. Oenoanda	30	21	..	+	
31. Balbura	31	35	+	+	
32. Mastaura	32 V	2	..	..	
33. Corydalla	..	15	+	+	
λ 34. Rhodiapolis	..	27	..	..	Const. 518
35. Marciana	..	20	..	..	Const. 459, 518, 519
36. Zenonopolis	..	12	..	..	Nic. II
37. Acarassus	..	17	+	+	
38. Palia	..	31	..	..	
39. Myle	..	38	..	..	Nic. II
40. Ascanda	..	30	..	+	

\* Omitted by Not. IX.

† Omitted by Not. VII.

‡ Or Justinianopolis in Not. VII.

§ Or Anastasiopolis in Nott. VIII and IX.

|| Or Justinianopolis in Nott. VIII and IX.



TABLE XIV  
GALATIA I

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Ancyra	1 M	M	+	
2. Tavium	2	2	+	
3. Aspona	3	4	+	
4. Cinna	4	7	+	
5. { Lagania	5 R	..	+	
6. { Anastasiopolis	..	8	..	
7. Mnizus	6 R	6	+	
8. Juliopolis	7	3	+	
9. Verinopolis	..	5	..	Const. III and Nic. II

TABLE XV  
GALATIA SALUTARIS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Nott. VII, VIII, IX</i>	<i>Not. I</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
✓ 1. Pessinus	1	M	M I	+	
2. Myrcia	2 R*	..	I. 2	+	
3. Petnissus	3	5	I. 4	+(D)	
✓ 4. Amorium	4	2†	M II	+	
5. Claneus	5	3	II. 4	..	Const. III, Nic. II
6. Trocnades	6 R	6	I. 5	+	
7. Eudoxias	7	4	I. 3	+	
8. Germa	9	7†	I. 6†	..	Const. II, Nic. II
✗ 9. Orcistus ✗	..	..	I. 8	+	
10. Palia-Justinia- nopolis	..	8	I. 7	..	
11. Pissia	..	..	II. 6	..	

\* Duplicated by *Μυρικίων* (8), probably a gloss. † Archbishopric in VIII.

‡ *Γερμοκολωνίας*. The *Notitiae* also give an archbishopric *τῶν Γερμίων* in Galatia Salutaris.

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE XVI  
LYCAONIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Iconium	1 M	M	+	
2. Lystra	2	2	+	
3. Misthia	3	6*	+	
4. Amblada	4	4	+	
5. Vasada	5	3	+	
6. Homonada	6	5†	+	
7. Ilistra	7	15	+	
8. Laranda	8	7	+	
9. Derbe	9	9	+	
10. Barata	10	8	+	
11. Hyde	11	10‡	+	
12. Isauropolis	12	..	+	
13. Leontopolis	..	A	..	
14. Corna	13	..	+	
15. Savatra	14	11	+	
16. Perta	15	16	+	
17. Cana	16	12	+	
18. Gdammaua	17	14§	+	
19. { <i>Ptyyon</i>	18 R	..	..	
20. { Psibela- Verinopolis	..	13	..	Const. III and QS.

\* Archbishopric in Nott. VIII and I. † Also as no. 12 in the province of Side.

‡ Omitted in Not. VII.

§ Or Eudocias in Not. I.

*Note.* Some MSS. of Not. VII insert Posala after Derbe and Rhoina or Pyrgi after Ilistra. Posala appears at Const. I.

TABLE XVII

## PISIDIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Nott. VII and VIII</i>	<i>Not. IX</i>	<i>Not. I</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Antioch	1	M	..	M	+	+	
2. Neapolis	2	11	9	A	+	+	
3. Limenae	3	10	..	8	+	+	
4. Sabinae	4	..	..	..	..	..	
5. Atenia	5	5*	4	..	..	..	
6. Pappa	6	20	18	20	..	..	Nic. II
7. Sinethandus	7	..	..	17	+	..	
8. Laodicea	8	12	10	9	+	..	
9. Tyriaeum	9	7	6	5	+	..	
10. Hadriano- polis	10	9	8	7	+	+	
11. Philomelium	11	2	1	†	+	+	
12. Sozopolis‡	12	4	3	3	+	+	
13. Tymandus	13	17	15	14	..	+	
14. Metropolis	14	19	17	19	+	+	
15. Apamea	15	6	5	4	+	+	
16. Eudoxiopolis	16	..	..	..	..	..	
17. Sagalassus	17	3	2	2	+	..	
18. Baris	18	8	7	6	..	..	Nic. I and II
19. Seleucia	19	13	11	10	+	+	
20. Timbriada	20§	16	14	13	..	..	Const. III, QS., Nic. II
21. Themisonius	21	..	..	..	..	..	
22. { Conana	..	..	..	15	..	..	
23. { Justiniano- polis	22	18	16	..	..	..	
24. Malus	23	..	..	16	..	+	
25. Adada	24	14	12	11	+	+	
26. Zorzela	25	15	13	12	..	+	
27. Tityassus	26	..	..	18	..	..	Const. I, QS., Nic. II
28. Parlais	..	..	19	21	+	+	
29. Theodosio- polis	..	..	..	..	+	+	
30. Bindaicum	..	..	20	22	..	..	QS.

\* Omitted by Not. VII.

† = Apollonia.

† In province of Amorium (no. 2).

§ ὁ Τιμβριάδων (probably a gloss).

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE XVIII  
PAMPHYLIA

	Hierocles	Notitiae	Ephesus	Chalc.	Ep. Leon.	Other Councils, &c.
1. Perge	1	M 1	+	+	+	
2. Sillyum	2	I. 19*	..	+	..	
3. Magydus	3	I. 3†	..	+	..	
4. Attaleia	4	I. 2	+	..	..	
5. Olbia	5 T†	..	..	..	..	
6. Trebenna	6	I. 20	..	..	+	
7. Onobara	7 T§	I. 16	..	..	..	
8. Jovia	8	..	..	..	..	
9. Termessus	9	I. 5	}+	..	+	} Const. 448
10. Eudocias	10	I. 4	..	..	+	
11. Perminundeis	11 T	..	..	..	..	
12. Pogla	12 T	I. 14	..	+	+	
13. Isinda	13	I. 6	+	+	..	
14. Verbe	14	I. 18	..	..	..	Nic. I
15. Sibidunda	15 ¶¶	..	..	..	..	
16. Andeda	16?***	I. 17	..	..	..	
17. (χωρία Μιλυδικά	17 E	..	..	..	..	
18. (Lagbe	..	I. 8	..	..	..	QS., Nic. II
19. Olbasa	18	I. 8	..	..	..	
20. Palaeopolis	19	I. 9	+	..	+	
21. Lysinia	20	..	..	+	+	
22. Comama	21	..	..	..	+	
23. Colbasa	22	..	..	..	..	Const. 536
24. Crerna	23	I. 10	..	..	..	Nic. II
25. Panemuteichus	24	..	+	..	+	
26. Ariassus	25	I. 13	..	+	+	
27. Maximianopolis	26	I. 7	..	..	+	
28. „	27 E	..	..	..	..	
29. Salamara	28 R	..	..	..	..	
30. Limobrama	29	..	..	..	..	
31. Codrula	30	I. 11	..	+	+	
32. Osieni	31 T††	..	..	..	..	
33. Isbus	32 T	II. 14	..	..	..	
34. Pednelissus	33	I. 12	..	..	+	
35. Hadriani	..	I. 15	..	..	+	
36. Selge	34	II. 2 ††	+	..	..	
37. (Primupolis	35	..	..	..	..	Const. 448
38. (Aspendus	..	II. 3	+	..	..	
39. Side	36	M II	+	+	..	
40. Sennea	37	II. 7	+	..	..	
41. Lyrbe	38	II. 15	+	..	..	
42. Casae	39	II. 6	§§	..	..	
43. Cotenna	40	..	+	+	..	
44. Etenna	..	II. 4	+	+	..	
45. Erymna	41	II. 5	+	..	..	
46. Coracesium	42	II. 9	+	+	..	
47. Syedra	43	II. 10	..	+	..	
48. Carallia	44	II. 8	+	..	..	
49. Colybrassus	45	II. 16	+	..	..	
50. Mylome- Justinianopolis	..	II. 11	..	..	..	

\* Alternative metropolis in Not. I. † Omitted by Not. VII. ‡ δήμον Ουλίαμβος.

§ δήμον Καναύρα.

|| δήμον Μενδενέω.

¶ Σίδανδα.

\*\* Μυοδία.

†† Δημοσσία.

‡‡ Archbishopric in Not. I.

§§ Under the same bishop as Sennea.

Note. Not. I adds Κῶων to the province of Perge (at the end).

TABLE XIX  
BITHYNIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Not. VII</i>	<i>Nott. VIII, IX</i>	<i>Not. I</i>	<i>Const. III</i>	<i>QS.</i>
1. Chalcedon	1	M III	M III	M III	+	+
2. Helenopolis	2	..	I. 4	I. 4	+	+
3. Praenetus	3	I. 4	I. 3	I. 3	+	+
4. Nicomedia	4	M I	M I	M I	+	+
5. Nicaea	5	M II	M II	M II	+	+
6. Basilinopolis	6	I. 3	I. 5	I. 5	+	+
7. Cius	7	A	A	A	+	+
8. Apamea	8	A	A	A	..	+
9. Prusa	9	I. 2	I. 2	I. 2	+	..
10. Caesarea	10	..	I. 10	I. 9	+	..
11. Apollonia	11	I. 5	I. 7	I. 7	+	+
12. Dascylium	12	I. 6	I. 6	I. 6	+	+
13. (Neocaesarea	13	I. 8	I. 8	..	..	+
14. (Eriste	..	..	..	I. 12	..	..
15. Hadriani	14	..	I. 9	I. 8	+	..
16. Tottaium	15 R	..	..	II. 4	..	..
17. Doris	16 R	..	..	..	..	..
18. Daphnusia	..	..	..	I. 11	..	..
19. Gallus	..	I. 7	} I. 11	I. 10	+	+
20. Cadosia or Lophi	..	I. 9				
21. Mela or Modrene	..	II. 2	II. 2	II. 2	+	..
22. Linoe	..	II. 3	II. 3	II. 3	..	+
23. Gordoserba	..	II. 4	II. 4	II. 6	+	+
24. Numerica	..	..	..	II. 7	..	..
25. Maximianae	..	..	..	II. 5	..	..

TABLE XX  
HONORIAS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Justinian</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Claudiopolis	1	+	M	+
2. Prusias	2	+	3	+
3. Heraclea	3	+	2	+
4. Tieum	4	+	4	+
5. Creteia	5	+	5	+
6. Hadrianopolis	6	+	6	+

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE XXI  
PAPHLAGONIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Justinian</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Gangra	1	+	M	+
2. Pompeiopolis	2	+	A	+
3. Sora	3	+	5	+
4. Amastris	4	+	2*	+
5. Ionopolis†	5	+	3	+
6. Dadybra	6	+	4	+

\* Archbishopric in Nott. VIII and I.

† = Abonuteichus (see p. 419).

TABLE XXII  
HELENOPONTUS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Justinian</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Amaseia	1	+	M	+	+	
2. Ibora	2	+	4	+	+	
3. Zela	3	+	7*	+	+	
4. { Zalichen	4 S	..	} 6	..	..	Nic. II
5. { Leontopolis	..	+		..	..	
6. Andrapa	5	+	5	+	+	
7. Amisus	6	+	2	+(D)	+	
8. Sinope	7	+	3	+	+	
9. Euchaita	..	+	A	..	..	Const. III, Nic. II.

\* Transferred to Pamphylia by Nott. VIII and IX.

TABLE XXIII  
PONTUS POLEMONIACUS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Justinian</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Neocaesarea	1	+	M	+	+	
2. Comana	2	+	4	..	+	
3. Polemonium	3	+	3	+	+	
4. Cerasus	4	+	2	+	+	
5. Trapezus	5	+	1*	+	..	
6. Pityus	..	F	..	..	..	Nic. I
7. Sebastopolis	..	+	A†	..	..	
8. Petra	..	+	†	..	..	

\* Also as an archbishopric in Nott. VIII and I.

† Of Abasgia.

‡ In the province of Lazica.

TABLE XXIV  
ARMENIA I

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Justinian</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>
1. Sebasteia	1	+	M	+
2. Nicopolis	2	+	3	+
3. Colonia	3	+	5	+
4. Satala	4	+	4	+
5. Sebastopolis	5	+	2	+
6. Verisa	..	+	6	+

*Note.* The Nott. record an archbishopric of this province (which they call Armenia II), Heracleopolis.

TABLE XXV  
CAPPADOCIA I

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Caesarea	1	M	+	+	
2. Nyssa	2	3	+(D)	+	
3. Therma	3	2	+(D)	..	Const. III, QS.
4. Podandus	4 R	..	..	..	
5. Camulianae	..	5	..	..	Const. II and III
6. Ciscisus	..	6	..	..	QS.

*Note.* The late Nott. add Euaesa, Severias, Arathia, and Aepolii.

TABLE XXVI  
CAPPADOCIA II

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Notitiae</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Tyana	1	M 1	+	
2. Faustinopolis	2	I. 3	+	
3. Cybistra	3	I. 2	+	
4. Nazianzus	4	II. 2	+	
5. Sasima	5	I. 4	+	
6. Parnassus	6	II. 4	+	
7. Colonia*	..	II. 3	+	
8. Doara	7 R	II. 5	+	
9. Mocissus	8 R	M II	..	Const. 536, Const. II

\* = Archelais.

*Note.* The late Nott. add Matiane to the province of Mocissus.

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE XXVII  
ARMENIA II

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Justinian</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Melitene	1	+	M	+
2. Arca	2	+	2	+
3. Arabissus	3	+	4	+
4. Cucusus	4	+	3	+
5. Comana	5	+	6	+
6. Ariaratheia	6	+	5	+

TABLE XXVIII  
CILICIA I

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Tarsus	1 M	1 M	M	+
2. Pompeiopolis	2	2	4	+
3. Sebaste	3	3	3	+
4. Corycus	4	4	7	+
5. Adana	5	5	2	+
6. Augusta	6	6	6	+
7. Mallus	7	7	5	+
8. Zephyrium	8	8	..	+

TABLE XXIX  
CILICIA II

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Anazarbus	1 M	1 M	M	+
2. Mopsuestia	2	2	7	+
3. Aegae	3	3	9	+
4. Epiphaneia	4	4	2	+
5. Alexandria	5	7	3	+
6. Rhosus	6	9	6	+
7. Irenopolis	7	5	4	+
8. Flaviopolis	8	6	5	+
9. Castabala	9	8	8	+



TABLE XXX  
ISAURIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Seleucia	1 M	1 M	M	+	+	
2. Celenderis	2	2	7	+	+	
3. Anemurium	3	3	8	+	+	
4. Titiopolis	4	4	9	+ (D)	..	QS.
5. {Lamus	5	5	10	..	}	+
6. {Charadrus	..	..	..	+		
7. Antioch	6	6	11	+	+	
8. {Juliosebaste*	7	7	..	..	+	
9. {Nephelis	..	..	12	+	..	
10. Cestrus	8	8	13	+	+	
11. Selinus	9	9	14	+	+	
12. Iotape	10	10	15	+	+	
13. Diocaesarea	11	11	3	+	+	
14. Olba	12	12	4	+ b	+	
15. Claudiopolis	13	15	2	+	..	
16. Hierapolis	14	13	..	+	+	
17. Dalisandus	15	14	5†	+	+	
18. Germanicopolis	16	17	18	+	..	
19. Irenopolis	17	16	17	+	+	
20. Philadelphia	18	20	16	+	+	
21. Meloe	19	22	24	..	..	
22. Adrassus	20	21	23	..	..	Const. II, QS.
23. Zbide	21	20	21	+	+	
24. Neapolis	22	18	25	..	..	
25. Lauzada	23	24	..	..	..	Nic. II
26. Domitiopolis	..	23	20	+	+	
27. Zenonopolis	..	19	22	..	..	Nic. II†
28. Casae	..	25 C	..	..	..	
29. Banaba	..	26 C	§	..	..	
30. Cotrada	..	27 C	A	..	..	QS., Nic. II
31. Bolbosus	..	28 C	..	..	..	
32. Sebela	..	..	6	..	..	QS., Nic. II
33. Musbada	..	..	19	..	..	Nic. II

\* = Ninica Claudiopolis.

† Also No. 13 in the province of Side.

‡ I think it probable that the Zenonopolis of Pamphylia recorded at Const. II is this city; the boundary between Isauria and Pamphylia was vague (see p. 415).

§ No. 17 in the province of Side.

|| Of Isauria in Constantinopolitan Notitiae.

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE XXXI  
OSRHOENE

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Eph.</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Ep. Leon.</i>	<i>Const. II</i>
1. Edessa	1	1 M	M	+	+	+	+
2. Constantia	2	3	5	..	+	..	+
3. Theodosiopolis	3	4	*	..	..	..	..
4. Carrhae	4	2	4	+	+	..	..
5. Batnae	5	5	7	..	..	+	+
6. Nea Valentia	6	7	13	..	..	..	..
7. { Callinicum	7	6	12	..	+ (D)	+	..
8. { Leontopolis							
9. BIRTHA	8	8	2	..	..	..	..
10. Monithilla	..	9	..	..	..	..	..
11. Therimachon	..	10	8	..	..	..	..
12. Moniauga	..	11	..	..	..	..	..
13. Macarta	..	12	..	..	..	..	..
14. Marcopolis	..	13	6	+	+	..	..
15. Anastasia	..	14	..	..	..	..	..
16. Hemerium	..	15	9	+	..	..	..
17. Circesium	..	16	10	..	+	+	+
18. Marathas	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
19. Dausara	..	..	11	..	..	..	+
20. Macedonopolis	..	..	..	..	+	(D)	..

\* No. 2 in the province of Dara.

Note. Theodosiopolis is recorded under its old name of Rhesaina at Nicaea I.

TABLE XXXII  
MESOPOTAMIA AND ARMENIA IV

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Amida	1	Mes. 1 M	M 1	+	
2. Martyropolis	..	Mes. 2	1. 2	+	
3. Dara	..	Mes. 3	M 11	..	Const. II
4. Cephas	..	Mes. 4 F	1. 8	+	
5. Turabdiium	..	Mes. 5 F	11. 3	..	
6. Dadima	..	Arm. 1 M	..	..	Const. II
7. Arsamosata	..	Arm. 2	1. 5	..	Joh. Eph., <i>De Beat. Or.</i> , xi, <i>Patr. Or.</i> , xvii. 159
8. Citharizon	..	Arm. 5	1. 7	..	QS.
9. Sophene	..	Arm. 10 C	1. 6	+	
10. Anzitene	..	Arm. 11 C	..	+ (D)	
11. Balabitene	..	Arm. 14 C	1. 4	..	Const. 536
12. Asthianene	..	Arm. 17 C	..	..	
13. Ingilene	..	..	1. 3	+	
14. { Theodosiopolis of	..	..	*	..	Const. 448
Great Armenia					
15. { Camacha of	..	..	..	..	Const. III
Daranalis					
16. { Justinianopolis of	..	..	..	..	Const. II
Great Armenia					
17. { Acilisene	..	..	..	..	Const. 459

\* No. 4 of Caesarea of Cappadocia in the Constantinopolitan Nott.

Note. In Mesopotamia Georgius adds 24 forts and also 6 more in the *clima* of Arzanene. In Armenia IV he adds Chosomachon (4), Chozanon (5 *πολιχρη*), 4 forts (6-9) and 5 other *climata* (12, 13, 15, 16, 18). The Notitia gives one other see in the province of Dara, Mnasubium (4), and one other in that of Amida, Zeugma (9).

TABLE XXXIII  
SYRIA I

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Antioch	1	1	M I	+
2. Seleucia	2	2	I. 5	+
3. Laodicea	3	I M*	M II	+
4. Gabala	4	4*	I. 4	+
5. Paltus	5	2*	I. 7	+
6. Beroea	6	3	I. 2	+
7. Chalcis	7	4	I. 3	+
8. Anasartha	..	..	I. 6†	+
9. Gabbula	..	..	I. 8	+

\* In province Theodorias.

† Or Theodoropolis.

TABLE XXXIV  
SYRIA II

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Apamea	1	I M	M	+
2. Epiphaneia	2	3	2	+
3. Arethusa	3	2	8	+
4. Larissa	4	4	4	+
5. Mariamme	5	5	6	+
6. Balaneae	6	3*	5	+
7. Raphanaeae	7	7	7	+
8. Seleucia ad Belum	8	6	3	+

\* In province Theodorias.

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE XXXV  
EUPHRATENSIS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>	
1. Hierapolis	1	1	M I	+		
2. Cyrrhus	2	2	M II	+		
3. Samosata	3	3	I. 12	+		
4. Doliche	4	4	I. 8	+		
5. Zeugma	5	6	I. 2	+		
6. Germanicia	6	5	I. 9	+		
7. Perrhe	7	7	I. 6	+		
8. Nicopolis	8	9	..	..		
9. Scenarchia	9	10	..	..		
10. Eragiza	10 S*	14 S†	I. 11	..		
11. Urima	11	13	I. 7	+		
12. Europus	12	8	I. 10	+		
13. Neocaesarea	..	11	I. 5	+		
14. { Resapha	..	12	..	+		
15. { Anastasiopolis	..		..	..	..	
16. { Sergiopolis	..		M III	..	..	
17. Sura	..	..	I. 3	+		
18. Barbalissus	..	..	I. 4	..	Ephesus	
19. Agrippias	..	..	III. 2	..		
20. Zenobia	..	..	III. 3	..		
21. Orisa	..	..	III. 4	..		
22. Erigene	..	..	III. 5	..		
23. Orthalea	..	..	III. 6	..		

\* Σαλγενορατίξενον.

† Σάντων.

TABLE XXXVI  
PHOENICE

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Tyre	1	1 M	M 1	+	
2. Ptolemais	2	3	I. 4	+	
3. Sidon	3	2	I. 5	+	
4. Berytus	4	4	M II	+	
5. Byblus	5	5	I. 6	+	
6. Botrys	6	9	I. 7	+	
7. Tripolis	7	6	I. 13	+	
8. Arca	8	7	I. 3	+	
9. Orthosia	9	8	I. 8	+	
10. Arad	10	11	I. 9	+	
11. { Antarakus	11*	12	I. 10	+	} Eph. (Arad and Antarakus), Ep. Leon. (Arad and Constantia)
12. { Constantine		..	..	..	
13. Paneas	12	13	I. 11	+	
14. Gigarta	..	10 V	..	..	
15. Trieris	..	16 V	..	..	
16. Politiane	..	15 V	..	..	
17. Saltus Gonaiticus	..	14 S†	..	..	
18. Porphyreon	..	..	I. 2	+	
19. Sarepta	..	..	I. 14	..	
20. Rachla	..	..	I. 12	..	Const. II

\* Hierocles adds Παγωνάς to these two names.

† Γοναυτοιόσλων. The name is a gloss either here or in Table XXXVII, 14.

TABLE XXXVII  
PHOENICE LIBANENSIS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Emesa	1	1 M	M II	+	
2. Laodicea	2	2	1. 5	+	
3. Damascus	3	5	M I	+	
4. Heliopolis	4	3	1. 2	+	
5. Abila	5	4	1. 3	+	
6. Palmyra	6	9	1. 4	+	
7. Euaria	..	7*	1. 6	+	
8. { Justinianopolis	..	8*	..	..	} Const. 536, Const. II
9. { Barcusa	..	..	A	..	
10. Iabruda	..	6 C	1. 8	+	
11. Maglula	..	10 C	..	..	
12. κλίμα Ἀνατολικόν	..	13 C	..	..	
13. Salamias	..	12	A	..	
14. Saltus Gonaiticus	..	11 S	..	..	
15. Chonochora	..	..	1. 7	+	
16. Danaba	..	..	1. 9	+	
17. Coradea	..	..	1. 10	+	
18. Harlana	..	..	1. 11	+	
19. Saracens	..	..	1. 12	..	Ep. Leon.

\* Wrongly joined by ἤτροι.

TABLE XXXVIII  
ARABIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Notitia</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Bostra	1	1 M	M	+
2. Neila	2 V	..	20	+
3. Adraa	3 and 17	2	4	+
4. Dium	4	3	..	..
5. Hexacomia	5 V	19 V	..	..
6. Medaba	6	4	5	+
7. Gerasa	7	5	2	+
8. Esbus	8*	8	6	+
9. Philadelphia	9	7	3	+
10. Neapolis	10	9	..	+
11. { Hierapolis	11	10	..	..
12. { Maximianopolis	..	..	17	+
13. Philippopolis	12	11	18	+
14. { Phaena	13	12	..	+ †
15. { Chrysopolis	..	..	19	..
16. Constantine	14	13	12	+
17. Dionysias	15	14	15	+
18. Canatha	16	17	16	+
19. Neve	..	6	10	+
20. Zorava	..	..	8	+
21. Erre	..	..	9	+
22. Eutime	..	..	13	+

\* Μαιούδος.

† Αἶνου.

Note. The Notitia adds Dalmunda (7), Alamusa (11), Durea (21), and Παρεμβολή (14).  
Georgius adds Pentacomia (15), Tricomia (16), Enacomia (20), Saltus Bataneos (18),  
κλίμα Ἀνατολικῶν καὶ Δυσμῶν (32), Νέστης (?31), and twelve villages (21-30, 33-4).

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE XXXIX  
PALESTINE I

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Jer. 518</i>	<i>Jer. 536</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Caesarea	1 M	1 M	+	+	
2. Dorā	2	2	+	..	
3. Antipatris	3	3	..	..	Latr., Chalc.
4. Diospolis	4	4	+	..	
5. Jamnia	..	5	+	+	
6. Nicopolis	..	6	..	+	
7. Azotus Paralus	5	22	..	}+	
8. Azotus Hippinus	6	23	..		
9. Eleutheropolis	7	15	+	+	
10. Aelia	8	*	+	+	
11. Neapolis	9	16	+	+	
12. Sebaste	10	17	..	+	
13. Anthedon	11	13	+	+	
14. { Diocletianopolis	12	14	..	..	
15. { Sariphaea	..	..	..	+	
16. { Maiuma of Ascalon	..	..	+	..	
17. Sycamazon	13	24	+	+	
18. Ono	14	7	..	..	
19. Sozusa†	15	8	+	+	
20. Joppa	16	9	+	+	
21. Gaza	17	11	+	+	
22. Maiuma of Gaza	..	..	+	..	
23. Raphia	18	12	+	+	
24. Ascalon	19	10	+	+	
25. Bittylius	21	25	..	+	
26. Amathus	..	18 R	+	+	
27. Jericho	..	19 R	+	+	
28. Livias	..	20 R	..	+	
29. Gadara	..	21 R	..	+	
30. { Gerara	..	29 S	..	..	Chalc.
31. { Orda	..	..	+	+	
32. Saltus Constan- tinianus	..	28 S	..	..	
33. Menois	..	..	+	+	
34. Tricomia	..	26 V	..	..	
35. Bacatha	..	..	+	+	
36. Παρεμβολή	..	..	+	+	

\* Out of order at the head of the list.

† = Apollonia.

Note. Hierocles adds Ariza (20), Georgius Toxos (27), both otherwise unknown.

TABLE XL  
PALESTINE II

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Jer. 518</i>	<i>Jer. 536</i>
1. Scythopolis	1	1 M	+	+
2. Pella	2	2	+	+
3. Gadara	3	3	..	+
4. Abila	4	5	+	+
5. Capitolias	5	4	+	+
6. Hippos	6	11	+	+
7. Tiberias	7	8	+	+
8. Helenopolis	8	10	..	+
9. Diocaesarea	9	7	+	+
10. Maximianopolis	10	6	+	+
11. Gabae	11	9	..	+
12. Tetracomia	..	12 V	..	..
13. Gaulane	..	13 C	..	..
14. (Nais	..	14 V	..	..
15. (Exalo	..	..	..	+

TABLE XLI  
PALESTINE III

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Jer. 518</i>	<i>Jer. 536</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Petra	1	1 M	..	+	
2. Augustopolis	2	2	..	+	
3. Arindela	3	3	..	+	
4. Characmoba	4	4	..	+	
5. Areopolis	5	5	+	+	
6. Zoara	6	8	+	+	
7. Mapsis	7	6	..	..	
8. Bitarus	8	..	..	..	
9. Elusa	9	7	+	+	
10. Biroasaba	..	9	..	..	
11. Aela	..	10	..	+	
12. Pentacomia	..	11 V	..	..	
13. Mamopsora	..	12	..	..	
14. Metrocomia	..	13 V	..	..	
15. Saltus Hieraticus	10 S	14 S	..	..	
16. Iotabe	..	..	..	+	
17. Phaeno	..	..	+	+	
18. Pharan	..	..	..	..	Joh. Moschus, <i>Prat. Spir.</i> , 127, Migne, P.G., LXXXVII. 2987.

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE XLII  
AEGYPTUS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Eph.</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Alexandria	1	I. 1	+	+	
2. Hermopolis	2	I. 2	..	+	
3. Mareotes	..	I. 17	..	..	Greek Not.
4. Menelaïtes	3	I. 18	..	..	Nott.
5. Schedia	..	I. 19	..	..	Nic. I, Nott. } Tom. Ant.
6. Metelis	4	I. 3	+	..	
7. Costus	..	I. 4	..	..	
8. Psanis	..	I. 5 V	..	..	
9. Coprithis	..	I. 6 V	+	..	
10. { Buto	5	..	+	..	
11. { Leontopolis	..	I. 8	..	..	
12. Cabasa	6	II. 1	+	+	
13. Sais	7	I. 7	+	..	
14. Naucratis	8	I. 9	..	..	Ep. Leon., Const. 459
15. Andropolis	9	I. 10	..	..	Tom. Ant.
16. Niciu	10	I. 11	..	..	Brev. Mel., Ep. Leon., Const. 459
17. Zenonopolis	..	I. 12	..	..	Coptic Not.
18. Paphna	..	I. 13	..	..	Greek Not.,
19. Xoïs	11	II. 12	+	..	
20. Phlabonis	12	II. 2	+	+	Tom. Ant. (with part of Helearchia)
21. Pachnemunis	13	II. 3	..	..	Tom. Ant. (with part of Helearchia)
22. Diospolis	14	II. 4	..	..	Both Nott.
23. Sebennytus	15	II. 5	..	+	
24. Onuphis	16	I. 14	+	..	
25. Tœua	17	I. 15	+	+	
26. Cleopâtris	18	I. 16	+	+	
27. Cynopolis	19	II. 6	..	..	Const. II } Brev. } Mel.
28. Busiris	20	II. 7	..	+	
29. { Oasis	21	..	..	..	
30. { Terenuthis	..	I. 20	+	..	
31. Sondra	..	I. 21	..	..	
32. Helearchia	22	II. 8	+	..	see 20, 21
33. Paralus	23	II. 9 R	+	+	
34. Pariane	..	II. 10	..	..	
35. Richomerium	..	II. 11	..	..	



TABLE XLIII  
AUGUSTAMNICA I

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Ephesus</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>
1. Rhinocolura	1	5	+	..
2. Ostracine	2	6	+	..
3. Casium	3	8	+	..
4. Pentaschoenum	4	7	..	..
5. Aphnaeum	5	9	+	+
6. Gerae	6	12	..	+
7. Thennesus	7*	14	..	+
8. Pelusium	8	1 M	+	..
9. Sethroites	9	2	+	+
10. Hephaestus	10	10	+	..
11. Panephysis	11	11	+	..
12. Tanis	12	3	..	+
13. Thmuis	13	4	+	..
14. Tamiathis	..	..	+	..
15. Sele	..	..	+	..
16. Achaea	..	..	+	..

\* Σκέυνα.

Note. Georgius inserts Ἰράγερος (13), probably a dittography of Γέρος.

TABLE XLIV  
AUGUSTAMNICA II

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Brev. Mel.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Leontopolis	1	1 M	+	
2. Athribis	2	2	+	
3. Heliopolis	3	3	+	
4. Bubastis	4	4	+	
5. Pharbaethus	5	5	+	
6. { Arabia	6	6	..	
7. { Phacusa	..	..	+	
8. Clysmā	7 F	..	..	Ep. Leon., Const. 459, Const. II
9. Babylon	..	..	..	Latr., Const. 459
10. Scenae Mandrae	..	..	..	Ep. Leon.

## APPENDIX IV

## TABLE XLV

## ARCADIA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Brev. Mel.</i>	<i>Other sources</i>
1. Cynopolis	1	3	+	Greek Notitia Ephesus Nic. I
2. Oxyrynchus	2	1 M	+	
3. Heracleopolis	3	2	+	
4. (Arsinoites	4	5	+	
5. (Theodosiopolis	5	6	..	
6. Nilopolis	6	4	+	
7. Aphroditopolis	7	7	..	
8. Memphis	8	8	..	
9. Letopolis	9	9	+	

## TABLE XLVI

## LOWER THEBAID

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Brev. Mel.</i>	<i>Eph.</i>	<i>Other sources</i>
1. Hermopolis	1	2	+	+	Coptic Notitia
2. Theodosiopolis	2	3	..	..	
3. Antinoopolis	3	1 M	+	..	
4. Cusae	4	4	+	..	
5. Lycopolis	5	5	+	..	Soc., <i>H.E.</i> , I. 32
6. Hypselis	6	6	..	..	
7. Apollonopolis	7	7	..	+	
8. Antaeopolis	8	8	..	+	
9. Panopolis	9	9	..	+	
10. Oasis Magna	10	*	..	..	

\* In the Upper Thebaid as *κώμη Ἀνάσσης Μεγάλης*, &c.

TABLE XLVII  
UPPER THEBAID

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Brev. Mel.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Ptolemais	1	1 M	+	Eph., Ep. Leon., Const. 459  Coptic Notitia  Theophilus, <i>Ep. Pasch.</i> , Migne, <i>P.L.</i> , xxii. 828  Theophilus, <i>Ep. Pasch.</i> , Migne, <i>P.L.</i> , xxii. 812 Tom. Ant.
2. Thinis	..	..	..	
3. Diospolis	2	4	+	
4. Tentyra	3	5	+	
5. Maximianopolis	4	6	+	
6. Coptos	5	2*	+	
7. Thebes	6	7	+	
8. Diocletianopolis	7	3	..	
9. Hermonthis	8	10	+	
10. Latopolis	9	8	..	
11. Apollonopolis	10	11	..	
12. Ombi	11	9	..	
13. Philae	..	..	..	

\* Or Justinianopolis.

*Note.* At Ephesus and Chalcedon an apparently Egyptian see of Psincho is recorded.TABLE XLVIII  
LIBYA

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Paraetonium	1	2	Nic. I, Tom. Ant.
2. Zygris	2*	3†	Tom. Ant., Latr.
3. Zagylis	3*	4†	Latr., Ep. Leon., Const. 459
4. Pedonia	4	8	Const. 459
5. Antiphrae	5	7	Tom. Ant., Ep. Leon., Const. 459
6. Darnis	6	1 M	Ephesus
7. Ammoniacae	7	5	
8. Antipyrgus	..	6	Nic. I
9. Marmarice	..	9	Soc., <i>H.E.</i> , i. 8
10. Septimiace	..	..	Ephesus
11. Limnias	..	..	Theophilus, <i>Ep. Pasch.</i> , Migne, <i>P.L.</i> , xxii. 812

\* Combined as Ζωγροζαγούλης.

† Combined as Ὀτρανζάλης.

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE XLIX  
PENTAPOLIS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Ephesus</i>	<i>Latr.</i>	<i>Other Councils, &amp;c.</i>
1. Sozusa*	1	1	..	+	
2. Cyrene	2	2	..	+	
3. Ptolemais	3	3	+	..	
4. Taucheira	4	4	+	+	
5. Hadriane	5	5	..	..	
6. Berenice	6	6	..	..	Nic. I
7. Barca	..	..	+	+	
8. Olbia	..	..	+	..	
9. Dysthis	..	..	+	..	Const. 459
10. Erythrum	..	..	..	+	
11. Tesila	..	..	..	+	
12. Boreum	..	..	..	..	Nicetas Choniata, <i>Thesaurus</i> , v. 7.
13. Theodorias	..	..	..	..	<i>S.E.G.</i> , XVIII. 768.

\* = Apollonia.

TABLE L  
CYPRUS

	<i>Hierocles</i>	<i>Georgius</i>	<i>Const. I</i>	<i>Ephesus</i>	<i>Chalc.</i>	<i>Other sources</i>
1. Constantia	1 M	1 M	..	+	+	
2. Tamasus	2	10	+	..	+	
3. Citium	3	2	+	..	..	
4. Amathus	4	3	..	..	+	
5. Curium	5	4	..	+	..	
6. Paphos	6	5	+	+	..	
7. Arsinoe	7	6	..	..	+	
8. Soli	8	7	..	+	+	
9. Lapethus	9	8	..	..	+	
10. Chytri	11	11	..	+	+	
11. Carpasia	12	13	..	+	..	
12. Cerynia	13	9	..	..	..	<i>Acta SS.</i> , May 6 (Tom. II, p. 105)
13. Trimethus	..	12	+	..	..	
14. Ledra	..	..	..	..	..	<i>Soz.</i> , <i>H.E.</i> , I. 11

*Note.* Hierocles adds *Κιρβοία* (10). At Chalcedon an apparently Cypriot Theodosiana is recorded.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A.E.</i>	= <i>Année épigraphique.</i>
<i>A. J. A.</i>	= <i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>Abh. Ak. Berlin</i>	= <i>Abhandlungen der (königlich-) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>Abh. Ak. München</i>	= <i>Abhandlungen der (königlich-) bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>Abh.<sup>1</sup> Ges. Göttingen</i>	= <i>Abhandlungen der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.</i>
<i>Am. Exp. Syr.</i>	= <i>Publication of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900.</i>
<i>Annuario</i>	= <i>Annuario della Regia Scuola archeologica di Atene.</i>
<i>Anz. Ak. Wien</i>	= <i>Anzeiger der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften (in Wien).</i>
<i>Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ.</i>	= <i>Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.</i>
<i>Ath. Mith.</i>	= <i>Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>B.C.H.</i>	= <i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.</i>
<i>B.G.U.</i>	= <i>Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin, griechische Urkunden.</i>
<i>B.I.F.A.O.</i>	= <i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale.</i>
<i>B.M.C.</i>	= <i>British Museum Catalogue of Coins.</i>
<i>B.S.A.A.</i>	= <i>Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie.</i>
<i>C.A.H.</i>	= <i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
<i>Chr. d'Ég.</i>	= <i>Chronique d'Égypte.</i>
<i>C.I.G.</i>	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i>
<i>C.I.L.</i>	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
<i>C.I.S.</i>	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.</i>
<i>C. Or. Ptol.</i>	= <i>Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolemées (M. T. Lenger).</i>
<i>C.P. Herm.</i>	= <i>Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, Heft 5 (C. Wessely).</i>
<i>C.P. J.</i>	= <i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum.</i>
<i>C.P.R.</i>	= <i>Corpus Papyrorum Raineri (C. Wessely, L. Mitteis).</i>
<i>C.Q.</i>	= <i>Classical Quarterly.</i>
<i>C.R. Ac. Inscr.</i>	= <i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.</i>
<i>Chr.</i>	= <i>Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde (U. Wilcken, L. Mitteis).</i>
<i>Dessau</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (H. Dessau).</i>
<i>F. Gr. Hist.</i>	= <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (F. Jacoby).</i>
<i>F.H.G.</i>	= <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum (C. Müller).</i>
<i>G.D.I.</i>	= <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften (H. Collitz).</i>
<i>G.I.B.M.</i>	= <i>Greek inscriptions in the British Museum.</i>
<i>I.G.</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i>
<i>I.G. Bulg.</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae (G. Mihailov).</i>
<i>I.G.R.</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes (R. Cagnat).</i>
<i>I.L.N.</i>	= <i>Illustrated London News.</i>

- J.E.A.* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*  
*J.H.S.* = *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*  
*J.J.P.* = *Journal of Juristic Papyrology.*  
*J.K.F.* = *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*  
*J.P.O.S.* = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.*  
*J.R.S.* = *Journal of Roman Studies.*  
*Jahresh.* = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.*
- M.A.M.A.* = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua.*  
*Michel* = *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (C. Michel).  
*Mon. Linc.* = *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.*
- Monber. Ak. Berlin* = *Monatsberichte der (königlichen-)preussischen Akademie.*  
*Num. Chron.* = *Numismatic Chronicle.*  
*O.G.I.* = *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones selectae* (W. Dittenberger).  
*O. Mich.* = *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection* (L. Amundsen).  
*O. Tait* = *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and various other collections* (J. G. Tait).  
*O. Theb.* = *Theben Ostraca* (J. G. Milne).  
*Opusc. Arch.* = *Opuscula archaeologica (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae).*  
*Opusc. Ath.* = *Opuscula Atheniensa (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae).*
- P. Adler* = *The Adler Papyri* (E. N. Adler, J. G. Tait, F. M. Heichelheim, F. L. I. Griffith).  
*P. Amh.* = *The Amherst Papyri* (B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt).  
*P. Antin.* = *The Antinoopolis Papyri* (C. H. Roberts).  
*P. Baden* = *Veröffentlichungen aus dem Badischen Papyrussammlung*, iv (W. Spiegelberg, F. Bilabel).  
*P. Beatty Panop.* = *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (T. C. Skeat).  
*P. Brem.* = *Die Bremer Papyri* (U. Wilcken).  
*P. Cairo Isid.* = *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus* (A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie).  
*P. Cairo Preis.* = *Griechische Urkunden des ägyptischen Museums* (F. Preisigke).
- P.E.F.Q.S.* = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement.*  
*P. Eleph.* = *Elephantine Papyri* (O. Rubensohn, W. Schubart, W. Spiegelberg).  
*P. Enteux.* = *'Evréuxis: requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (O. Guérard).  
*P. Erlang.* = *Die Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* (W. Schubart).  
*P. Fayyum* = *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* (B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, D. G. Hogarth).
- P. Flor.* = *Papiri fiorentini* (G. Vitelli, D. Comparetti).  
*P. Fouad.* = *Les Papyrus Fouad I* (A. Bataille, O. Guérard, P. Jouguet).  
*P. Gen.* = *Les Papyrus de Genève* (J. Nicole).  
*P. Giss.* = *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen* (O. Eger, E. Kornemann, P. M. Meyer).

- P. Gnomon* = *B.G.U.*, v (W. Schubart).  
*P. Grenf.* = *Greek Papyri* (B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt).  
*P. Hal.* = *Dikaionmata, Auszüge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen herausgegeben von der Graeca Halensis.*  
*P. Hamb.* = *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek* (P. M. Meyer).  
*P. Harris* = *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham* (J. E. Powell).  
*P. Herm. Rees* = *Papyri from Hermopolis; and other documents of the Byzantine period* (B. R. Rees).  
*P. Hib.* = *The Hibeh Papyri* (B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt).  
*P. Iand.* = *Papyri Iandinae* (C. Kalbfleisch).  
*P. Leit.* = *Leitourgia Papyri; documents on public service in Egypt under Roman rule* (M. Lewes).  
*P. Lips.* = *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig* (L. Mitteis).  
*P. Lond.* = *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (F. G. Kenyon, H. I. Bell).  
*P.L. Bat.* = *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni Batavi* (C. Leemans).  
*P. Marmarica* = *Il papiro vaticano greco II* (M. Norsa, G. Vitelli).  
*P. Med.* = *Papyri milanesi* (S. Dari).  
*P. Merton* = *A descriptive catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the collection of W. Merton* (H. I. Bell and C. H. Roberts).  
*P. Meyer* = *Juristische Papyri* (P. M. Meyer).  
*P. Mich.* = *Papyri in the University of Michigan collection* (C. C. Edgar, A. E. R. Boak, J. G. Winter).  
*P. Michaelid.* = *Papyri Michaelidae; being a catalogue of the Greek and Latin papyri, tablets and ostraca in the library of Mr. Michaelides of Cairo* (D. S. Crawford).  
*P. Neutest.* = *Griechische Texte aus Ägypten* (P. M. Meyer).  
*P. Osl.* = *Papyri Osloenses* (S. Eitrem, L. Amundsen).  
*P. Oxy.* = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt and others).  
*P. Paris* = *Notices et extraits des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque Impériale*, xviii (Brunet de Presle).  
*P. Petrie* = *The Flinders Petrie Papyri* (J. P. Mahaffy, J. G. Smyly).  
*P. Princ.* = *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections* (A. C. Johnson, H. B. van Hoesen, E. H. Kase, S. P. Groorich).  
*P. Rev.* = *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (B. P. Grenfell, J. P. Mahaffy).  
*P. Ross. Georg.* = *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen* (O. Krüger, G. Zereteli, P. Jernstedt).  
*P. Ryl.* = *Catalogue of the Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, A. S. Hunt).  
*P.S.I.* = *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto* (G. Vitelli and others).  
*P. Sorbonne* = *Quelques Papyrus des collections de Gand et de Paris* (M. Hombert).  
*P. Strassb.* = *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg* (F. Preisigke).

- P. Tebt.* = *The Tebtunis Papyri* (B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, E. J. Goodspeed).
- P. Théad.* = *Papyrus de Théadelphie* (P. Jouguet).
- P. Tor.* = *Papyrus Graeci Regii Taurinensis Musaei Aegyptii* (A. Peyron).
- P.W.* = *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll).
- P. Würzb.* = 'Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung', *Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1933 (U. Wilcken).
- P. Zen. Cairo* = 'Zenon Papyri', *Cat. gén. des ant. ég. du Musée du Caire* (C. C. Edgar).
- P. Zen. Michigan* = 'Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan collection', *University of Michigan Studies*, xxiv (C. C. Edgar).
- R.E.A.* = *Revue des études anciennes.*
- R.E.G.* = *Revue des études grecques.*
- Rec. gen.* = *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure* (M. Babelon, Th. Reinach).
- Rend. Ac. Linc.* = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.*
- Rev. Ég.* = *Revue égyptologique.*
- R.I.D.A.* = *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité.*
- Riv. Fil.* = *Rivista di filologia.*
- Riv. st. Orient.* = *Rivista degli studi orientali.*
- S.E.G.* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
- Sb. Ak. Berlin* = *Sitzungsberichte der (königlich-)preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
- Sb. Ak. Munchen* = *Sitzungsberichte der (königlich-)bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
- Sb. Ak. Wien.* = *Sitzungsberichte der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.*
- SB.* = *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* (F. Preisigke, F. Bilabel).
- S.P.P.* = *Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde* (C. Wessely).
- Stud. Hell.* = *Studia Hellenistica.*
- Syll.* = *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (W. Dittenberger).
- T.A.M.* = *Tituli Asiae Minoris.*
- U.P.Z.* = *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* (U. Wilcken).
- Wadd.* = *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (P. Lebas, W. H. Waddington).
- Z.D.M.G.* = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
- Z.D.P.V.* = *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palestina Vereins.*

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