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C. P. JONES

Diotrephes of Antioch*

A. R. R. SHEPPARD has recently published an inscription from the archaeological depot at Denizli. The stone is described as a «plaque of white marble, possibly cut from a statue base», and has no reported provenance.¹ As SHEPPARD observes, the references to wars (line 10) and to the cult of Roma without the emperor (line 14) impose a date not later than the triumphal period, while the itacism (τειμαῖς, line 1) and the variation in the treatment of mute iota (included in lines 6 and 10 but omitted in lines 7, 8, 12) favor a date in the first century rather than the second.² The cursive epsilon, sigma, and omega are no argument against such a date.³ In what follows I make some suggestions about the constitution of the text and the identity of the honorand; this identification implies a more precise date, and also a precise provenance.

SHEPPARD's text is as follows:

[ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν ταῖς μεγίσταις τει[μαῖς κ]αὶ ἔθα-
[ψε Διοτρέφου]ς ῥήτορα, ἱερέα θεο[ῦ .].νος
[καὶ θεᾶς Ῥώμης ἀπὸ τῶν προ]γόνων, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ ἔ-
4 [πιφανεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρ]ίδος τελέσαντα [λειτου]ρ-

* I am very grateful to GLEN BOWERSOCK, CHRISTIAN HABICHT, and LOUIS ROBERT for their comments. All dates are B. C. unless otherwise indicated. Epigraphic corpora of individual cities are cited in the form «I Erythrai» etc. The Bulletin épigraphique of J. and L. ROBERT is cited by the year of REG and the number of the item, e.g. «Bull. 1960. 318». I have used the following special abbreviations: HOLLEAUX, Etudes = M. HOLLEAUX, Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques I-VI, ed. L. ROBERT, Paris 1938-68; REYNOLDS, Aphrodisias = J. M. REYNOLDS, Aphrodisias and Rome, JRS Monographs I, London 1982; La Carie = J. and L. ROBERT, La Carie II: Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs, Paris 1954; ROBERT, Et. anat. = L. ROBERT, Etudes anatoliennes, Paris 1937; ROBERT, Laodicée = L. ROBERT in J. DES GAGNIERS et al., Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée, Québec and Paris 1969; SHEPPARD = A. R. R. SHEPPARD, R. E. C. A. M. Notes and Studies No. 7: Inscriptions from Uşak, Denizli and Hisar Köy, AS 31, 1981, 19-27.

¹ SHEPPARD 20-22.

² Cf. T. DREW-BEAR on a first-century inscription of Aphrodisias (now REYNOLDS, Aphrodisias no. 5), BCH 96, 1972, 446.

³ See especially ROBERT, Hellenica 11/12, 1960, 588, and also Bull. 1978. 19 no. 569.

[γίας, γυμνασιάρχῆσαντα] καὶ κατορθώσα[ν]τα π[ολλά]
 [.....] ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολε[ί-]
 [ταις με]γαλοψύχως τῇ πόλει πάντο-
 8 [τε] καὶ δικαιοσύνη διεν[εγκ]ό[ν]-
 [τα μεγαλοπρ]επῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως καὶ εὖσε-
 [βῶς ἀσυλίαν παρέχοντα] ἐν πολέμοις καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ,
 [γεγονότα ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρ]α καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην.

vacat

12 [ὁ δῆμος οὖν ἐτείμησε]ν καὶ ἐσ[σ]τεφάνωσεν χρυσῶ
 [στεφάνῳ Διο]τρέφους τοῦ Διοτρέφους
 [ιερέα θεοῦ . . νος καὶ ἱερέ]α τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ γυμνασιάρ-
 [χον, σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτη]ν γεγονότα τοῦ δήμου.

The length of line is best discussed first. The number of letters in the extant, right-hand part of the stone ranges from nineteen (line 3) to twenty-three (line 1): I do not count line 15, which ends short of the margin. In the missing part the one line that can be restored automatically is the first, where seventeen or eighteen letters are missing. Since the stone is not broken evenly on the left, and on the right the letters do not always go fully to the margin, it is difficult to establish an average number of letters per line. In my supplements of the left-hand part I have assumed a minimum of seventeen (lines 3, 7, 12, 14) and a maximum of twenty (line 2); overall I have assumed a minimum of thirty-six letters per line (line 3) and a maximum of forty-one (lines 1, 2, 8, 10).

Line 1. SHEPPARD's restoration is certainly right. The formula is found in this and related forms in a number of cities of Caria, of which Aphrodisias is only one.⁴ This is technically an honorific inscription, and since these were often placed on a tomb or heroon the plaque is more likely to have come from such a monument than, as SHEPPARD suggests, to have been «cut from a statue base».⁵ The word δῆμος need not imply that the assembly alone honored the deceased, but denotes both the *boule* and the *demos*.⁶ The «greatest honors» and the public burial already indicate that the subject is a person of consequence.⁷

Line 2. I will return to the identity of the honorand later, but will discuss here the space available for restoring his name. It is natural to ask if the son and grandson of a Diotrophes could have had the same name himself. In the accusative it

⁴ SHEPPARD cites MAMA VIII 464 and 471; for a discussion of this formula and its dispersion in Caria, La Carie 176.

⁵ J. and L. ROBERT (previous n.) observe, «les inscriptions de ce type étaient ordinairement gravées sur la tombe elle-même»: further, ROBERT, Laodicée 266.

⁶ Thus in the inscription from Antioch on the Maeander listing the cities that honored a deceased Antiochene, they are all referred to as ὁ δῆμος τῶν δεινῶν: K. BURESCH, MDAI(A) 19, 1894, 102–03.

⁷ On public burial, L. ROBERT, REA 62, 1960, 337 (OMS II 853); L. ROBERT, AC 37, 1968, 414–15; P. HERRMANN, AAWW 1974, 443–44.

might have taken the older form Διοτρέφη or the later and commoner Διοτρέφην.⁸ In line 2, if the shorter form was used and movable nu was employed as in the only other observable case (line 12), the supplement would amount to twenty letters, the longest of any: however, this is palliated by the fact that omicron and tau, rho and epsilon could have been pushed together as they are in the second Διοτρέφους of line 13. In that line, even if iota adscript was used after στεφάνωι the supplement would require nineteen letters and thus be within the normal range.

The god's name at the end of the line is tentatively restored by SHEPPARD in his apparatus as Μηνός. This seems inevitable, as the letter before the nu appears to have had a right hand vertical.⁹

Line 3. SHEPPARD'S supplement of the left hand part looks right except for a detail: the phrase is always ἀπό, διὰ or ἐκ προγόνων, without the article.¹⁰

Line 4. To begin with the noun at the end of the line, this does not look like λειτουργίας: the photograph seems to show, after a space of about three letters, the top of a curved letter, then what could be the upper loop of a beta, then after a space a vertical and a triangular letter: surely a word that recurs constantly in inscriptions of benefactors, πρεσβείας. τελεῖν is a verb several times associated with embassies from the first century on, for example in an honorific inscription for Iollas of Sardis, apparently from the middle of the century, which has several similarities to this one: πολλὰς πρεσβείας τελέσαντα ἐπιτυχῶς, καὶ πολλοὺς κινδύνους καὶ ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐκδικασίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ἀναδεξάμενον καὶ κατορθώσαντα, . . . καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν συμφερόντων περιποίησαντα τῇ πατρίδι.¹¹ I have not found a parallel which would complete the adjective agreeing with πρεσβείας at the beginning of the line. ἐπιφανεῖς might be right; so might ἐπισφαλεῖς or ἐπιπόνους, since inscriptions often mention the dangers which embassies involved;¹² ἐπικινδύνους is too long.

Line 5. It is best to start with the words καὶ κατορθώσαντα. In inscriptions the verb usually means 'accomplish successfully', with reference to actions performed or missions carried out in the face of obstacles or danger; it is used in all three

⁸ E. SCHWEIZER (SCHWYZER), *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1898, 155 sect. 2 (b); MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri I* 2², 1938, 39–40; FRANCIS T. GIGNAC, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri II*, Milan 1981, 69–70.

⁹ On the implications of this supplement, see below, p. 377.

¹⁰ A wide selection of examples in Syll.³, Index s. v. πρόγονοι.

¹¹ ISardis 27 lines 7–11: on the date see BUCKLER and ROBINSON ad loc. πρεσβείας τελεῖν again in DEMITSAS, *Ἡ Μακεδονία*, Athens 1896, I 286 no. 253 (Pelagonia, imperial); IStratonikeia 678, 679 (restored), 690 (restored), 1028 (Carian Stratonikeia, all imperial); DREWBear (above, n. 2), 444 line 17 (Aphrodisias, first century); LE BAS-WADDINGTON 1604 line 7 (Aphrodisias, imperial); La Carie 106 no. 70 (Tabai, first century or early empire).

¹² Cf. Iollas of Sardis above: a selection of references in D. KIENAST, RE Suppl. 13, 1973, 546.

voices, and is usually transitive in the active and frequently so in the middle.¹³ It very often refers to the outcome of embassies, with the body represented by the embassy appearing in the dative. The inscription for Iollas of Sardis has already been quoted; in a decree of the *koinon* of Asia for ambassadors from Aphrodisias, probably of Mithridatic date, πο[ήσαντες τή]ν πρεσβήαν καλήν και εὐτυχή . . . κατορθώσαντο τὰ μέγιστα και συμφέροντα τοῖς [ἐν πάσῃ τῇ] Ἰασίᾳ δήμοις τε και ἔθνεσιν;¹⁴ in imperial Thyatira, πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα προῖκα και κατορθωσάμενον τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι.¹⁵ That corroborates the reading πρεσβείας in line 4, but also suggests that γυμνασιαρχήσαντα does not belong to the left of 5; it will be seen later that it fits excellently in 10.

If that is right, it leaves open the whole first half of line 5, some eighteen letters or so, for the end of the phrase beginning in line 3, και πολλάς . . . τελέσαντα πρεσβείας. Mentions of embassies often include the persons or the place to which the ambassadors went. Since the present honorand was a priest of Rome, it is a reasonable supposition that like priests of Rome in other cities, Iollas of Sardis for example, he went to the Romans either in Rome or in Asia.¹⁶ A frequent expression of the late Hellenistic and the imperial periods for the Roman authorities is οἱ ἡγούμενοι: thus the decree of the *koinon* of Asia from Aphrodisias records a decision πέμψαι πρεσβευτάς πρὸς [τὴν τε σύνκλητον και το]ύς ἡγουμένους.¹⁷ [πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους] would fit here: there does not seem to be room to indicate more precisely where the honorand met them, but since the phrase covers his whole diplomatic career the omission is no doubt deliberate.

Lines 5–6. SHEPPARD observes of his restoration of line 6, «The apparent distinction between <the People> and the <citizens> is unusual.» On the photograph I see nothing of the first ἐν and only part of the cross-stroke of the following tau. It has already been noticed that phrases in which κατορθοῦν refers to the outcome of embassies frequently contain a dative of interest; it follows that τῶι δήμῳι should be attached to κατορθώσαντα, and that the και does not conjoin two prepositional phrases but begins a new participial one. At the end of line 5 the pi seen by SHEPPARD is not visible on the photograph, but if it is there πολλά could be right;¹⁸ however, given the uncertainty of the reading and the flexibility of the verb κατορθοῦν it seems better to leave the words preceding τῶι δήμῳι blank.

¹³ There is a large number of references, mainly literary, in LIDDELL and SCOTT s.v. 2b, II, III. In inscriptions I have not noticed the verb used intransitively in the active, as it is in literature, but there is no reason why it should not be.

¹⁴ DREW-BEAR (above, n. 2), 444 lines 21–24, with discussion, 459.

¹⁵ IGR IV 1244.

¹⁶ ISardis 27 line 14. For priests of Rome as ambassadors see now A. BALLAND, *Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon, Fouilles de Xanthos VII*, Paris 1981, 242 with bibliography; E. BOWIE, YCS 27, 1982, 35 n. 22.

¹⁷ DREW-BEAR (n. 2) 444 lines 5–6, with ample discussion, 453–55.

¹⁸ For κατορθοῦν followed by πολλά και μεγάλα, Plato, *Meno* 99 C; Dem. de cor. 285.

At the end of line 6, ἐν τοῖς ΠΟΛΕ recalls a phrase found in inscriptions of this period, ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις: thus in inscriptions of Aphrodisias for Callicrates son of Pythodoros, apparently of triumphal date, ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρχὰς ἀνυπευθύνους τελέσαντα, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνστάσι τῆ πατρίδι πολέμοις ἀγωνισάμενον ἀνδρείως;¹⁹ at Tlos, probably in the second century, ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπ'ἀνδρως ἀγωνισάμενον.²⁰ In the present inscription, the more vague ἐν πολέμοις is used in line 10 to summarize the honorand's career 'in wars and in peace': in this line, ἐν τοῖς πολέ[μοις] suits the traces at least as well as ἐν τοῖς πολε[ίταις].

Lines 7–8. If καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις is right, the whole phrase should have ended in the first half of line 8. μεγαλοψύχως, which means either 'magnanimously' or 'generously',²¹ gives some idea of its drift. πάντοτε may be right, since this synonym of ἀεί is found in documents from the first century on: the space to the left of line 8 could be filled by ἐπιδόντα (ἐπιδίδοντα) ἑαυτὸν for example.²² However, ΠΑΝΤΟ could also be πᾶν τό, and refer to the frequent claim that a benefactor complied with 'everything requested' of him, προθύμως ἑαυτὸν εἰς πᾶν τὸ παρακαλούμενον ἐπιδίδωσιν and the like.²³ At Samothrace under Ptolemy Euergetes Hippomedon son of Agesilaos is described as βουλόμενος ὑπακούειν πάντα τὰ ἀξιούμενα [ἀεί] τῆ πόλει:²⁴ here [ὑπακούσαντα με]γαλοψύχως τῆ πόλει πᾶν τὸ [ἀξιούμενον] would fit satisfactorily. I do not see a clear choice between these two ways of supplementing the text, and adopt the latter one below only tentatively.

Line 8. διενεγκόντα is an excellent suggestion (though the gamma might be nu). This use of διαφέρειν has been studied by ROBERT, who finds that it begins in epigraphy in the middle of the second century, and becomes especially common in Asia Minor under the empire.²⁵ To the left of the line, it is not immediately clear whether καὶ begins a new phrase, or connects δικαιοσύνη to one or more preceding nouns such as ἀρετῆ and πίστει.²⁶ The first construction would make the

¹⁹ ROBERT, *Et. anat.* 313 line 5 (REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias* no. 28); REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias* no. 30 lines 4–5.

²⁰ TAM II 582 lines 7–8 (on the date, *Bull.* 1950. 183 pp. 192–93).

²¹ For the first sense, HOLLEAUX, *Etudes* III 86, 97: the latter is frequent in inscriptions of benefactors under the empire, cf. BALLAND (n. 16) 243.

²² ROBERT, *Hellenica* 6, 1948, 109 and n. 1; *Bull.* 1958. 506. For ἐπιδούναί ἑαυτὸν see next note.

²³ IDelos 1517 lines 24–25, with the discussion of HOLLEAUX, *Etudes* III 96. Compare expressions such as πολλοῖς χρήσιμος γίνεται εἰς ἅ ἂν τις αὐτὸν παρακαλῆι, IG XII, 9, 898, 900–902 (Chalcis); *Syll.*³ 330 lines 28–29 (Ilion 1); Ilion 40 lines 4–6.

²⁴ IG XII, 8, 156 lines 13–14 (*Syll.*³ 502), cf. L. ROBERT, *BCH* 59, 1935, 425–27 (OMSI 182–84). DITTENBERGER in *Syll.*² 221 supplied ἀεί in place of KERN's ὑπό (his justification, *ibid.* n. 6, is excised from the third edition).

²⁵ L. ROBERT, *RPh* sér. 3, 1, 1927, 104–05 (OMSI 1059–60); further bibliography in *Hellenica* 13, 1965, 38 n. 1, *Bull.* 1973. 426. For the second aorist form, much rarer than the present or the first aorist, MAMA VIII 117 (Alkaran, SW of Lystra), 514 (Aphrodisias).

²⁶ For both ἀρετῆ and πίστει joined with δικαιοσύνη, cf. OGIS 438 lines 7–8 (Poimane-

whole phrase very brief, and I incline to think the second correct. If πάντοτε is the right reading, then και πίστει και ἀρετῇ would make a supplement of nineteen letters: if πᾶν τὸ ἀξιούμενον is, και πίστει would make one of the same number. δικαιοσύνη is a quality often praised in benefactors, and implies <righteousness> as much as <justice>. It was easy for the rich, especially in wartime, to take advantage of their inferiors: thus the same anonymous benefactor of Tlos who <fought bravely in the wars> is described as ἐν πάσῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ και κακοπαθῶς και ἐπιτυχῶς και δικαίως ἀναστρεφόμενον; in the triumphal period Callicrates of Aphrodisias is said to have held all the magistracies καθαρῶς και δικαίως και συμφερόντως τῇ πόλει.²⁷

Line 9. SHEPPARD understands the two adverbs μεγαλοπρεπῶς και ἐνδόξως to end one phrase, and και εὐσεβῶς to begin a new one: «. . . with brilliance and distinction, piously [ensuring security] in wars and peace.» ἀσυλίαν παρέχοντα, though presented with no sign of hesitation, is impossible: ἀσυλία is not <security> but <inviolability>, and it could be recognized by a state or head of state but not <provided> by a private citizen.²⁸ Furthermore, the participle γυμνασιαρχήσαντα expelled from line 5 can only go in line 9 or 10, and there is not enough room for it in 9, whereas in 10 it takes exactly the same number of letters as ἀσυλίαν παρέχοντα. I therefore understand it to be qualified by all these adverbs, and ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις to begin a new phrase continuing to the end of line 11. μεγαλοπρεπῶς and ἐνδόξως are combined in other inscriptions of benefactors, and suit a gymnasiarch very well:²⁹ εὐσεβῶς is much less often applied to such officials,³⁰ but the famous inscription for Menas of Sestos shows how the public expectation of a gymnasiarch fused the concepts of generosity and piety:³¹ references to Menas' sacrifices mingle with such expressions as φιλοδοξία (lines 69, 70), φιλαγάθως και μεγαλομερῶς (line 68), φιλανθρωπία (lines 73, 74), τὸ ἔνδοξον (line 75). If the present argument is correct, the phrase ending with the participle in line 10 begins to the left of line 9, where some eight letters are unaccounted for. [καλῶς και] would fit, and

nos, first century); TAM II 197 line 12 (IGR III 596: Sidyma, imperial), both cited by ROBERT (previous n.), 105 (1060).

²⁷ TAM II 582 lines 13–15; REYNOLDS, Aphrodisias no. 30 lines 11–13.

²⁸ On the meaning of ἀσυλία, P. HERRMANN, *Anadolu* 9, 1965, 121–38 (Bull. 1969. 495). SHEPPARD seems to have obtained his supplement from Plut. de vit. aere al. 828 D, cited in LIDDELL and SCOTT s.v. ἀσυλία 3: but that concerns Ephesian Artemis giving sanctuary to debtors.

²⁹ MDAI(A) 24, 1899, 222 no. 52 lines 7–8 (Lydian Attaleia, imperial); OGIS 513 lines 11–12 (Pergamon, third century A.D.), 549 lines 4–5 (Ancyra, same date); BEAN and MITFORD, *DAWW* 102, 1970, 39 no. 19 line 9 (Aydolin Kalesi, eastern Pamphylia, same date). For a gymnasiarch, cf. MDAI(A) 27, 1902, 99–100 no. 98 (Pergamon, late Hellenistic?), [γυμνασιαρχήσ]αντα φιλοδόξως και μεγαλ[οπρεπῶς].

³⁰ I have noticed only MDAI(A) 32, 1907, 273–78 no. 10 lines 16–17, δικαίως και εὐσεβῶς τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις τοὺς στεφάνους ἀποδοῦς.

³¹ OGIS 339 (ISestos 1).

these strings of adverbs not infrequently begin with *καλῶς*:³² it would have to follow that there was no *καί* joining this phrase to the previous one, as also seems to be true in line 10.

Line 10. I have argued above that *ἐν πολέμοις* begins a new phrase continuing to the end of 11. Similar summarizing phrases are found in other inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, usually though not always at the end. The equivalent phrase for a benefactor of Tlos, *ἐν πάσῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ . . . δικαίως ἀναστρεφόμενον*, was quoted above; so also the long recital of the benefactions of Acornion of Dionysopolis closes with the sentence *καθόλου δὲ κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν καιρῶν . . . τὴν μεγίστην ἐνδείκνυται σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος σωτηρίαν*.³³ I have not seen the present phrase used elsewhere in such contexts, though it is standard in classical and Hellenistic grants of *ἀτέλεια*, *ἀσφάλεια* and the like.³⁴

Line 11. SHEPPARD'S restoration must be generally right, even if the precise wording is uncertain: the *καί* before *σωτήρα* should be connective, not correlative with the following one, since Greek does not seem to say, 'both savior and benefactor'.³⁵

Line 12. The *vacat* shows that a separate text begins below. When several honorific inscriptions appear on one stone, they are usually for different members of the same family.³⁶ This can hardly be so here, and the second inscription must emanate from a body different to that in the first: in addition, the honors are different, 'greatest honors' and public burial in the first, honor and a gold crown (no doubt funerary)³⁷ in the second. A body frequently associated with the *demos* in the conferral of honors is the *gerousia*. At Sardis the great stele recording decrees passed in honor of Menogenes begins with the heading: *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαρδιανῶν καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτίμησαν Μηνογένην Ἰσιδώρου*; another stele of Sardis shows two crowns in relief, with *ἡ γερουσία* and *ὁ δῆμος* written above each, and the honorand's name (now lost) below; in one of the few inscriptions of Antioch on the Maeander, there is a list of cities honoring a deceased Antiochene in which both Nysa and its *gerousia* are shown to have sent a *ψήφισμα παραμυθητικόν*.³⁸ In the present inscription [*ὁ δῆμος οὖν*], though again presented as a certainty, lacks all parallel; [*ἡ γερουσία*] takes exactly the

³² Thus La Carie 98 no. 5 lines 15–16, κ. καὶ προσηκόντως καὶ ἀξίως αὐτῶν; 108 no. 9 lines 3–4, γυμνασιάρχῃσαντα τῶν γεραιῶν κ. καὶ φιλοδόξως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς; 177 no. 70 line 8, κ. καὶ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως.

³³ IGBulg. I² 13 lines 38–42 (Syll.³ 762; IGR I 662).

³⁴ Thus Syll.³ 348 lines 22–23, 357 lines 6–7, 399 line 9, etc. (index s.v. εἰρήνη).

³⁵ On the use and significance of these titles, A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World II*, Oxford 1972, 720–35.

³⁶ Thus (at random) La Carie 177 no. 70 (Heraclea by Salbace), MAMA VIII 465, 492, 499 (Aphrodisias).

³⁷ On funerary crowns see Index du Bulletin Epigraphique 1966–1973 s.v. couronne funéraire, and esp. L. ROBERT, RPh sér. 3, 33, 1959, 218–20; Bull. 1966. 272.

³⁸ ISardis 7 lines 1–5; ISardis 30; BURESCH (n. 6) 103 A lines 6–7, 9–10, cf. p. 129.

same number of letters. ROBERT has drawn attention to the way in which civic groups, especially those connected with the gymnasium like the *neoi* and *gerontes*, passed decrees in honor of their benefactors which had then to be ratified by the full citizenry.³⁹ Behind the present two inscriptions there probably stand two post-humous decrees, one passed by the *demos*, the other passed by the *gerousia* and then ratified by the *demos* at the same session.

Line 13. On the possible supplement Διοτρέφη see above on line 2.

Line 14. The supplement [ιερέα θεοῦ . . . νος καὶ ιερέα] τῆς Ῥώμης takes twenty-one letters and would make a total for the line of forty-two: moreover, the repetition of ιερέα is suspect.⁴⁰ Since the second inscription omits a number of the honorand's functions, his embassies for example, it may have mentioned only his priesthood of Rome, and [ρήτορα, ιερατεύσαντ]α τῆς Ῥώμης would fit satisfactorily: Callicrates of Aphrodisias is praised as γυμνασιαρχήσαντα μεγαλομερῶς καὶ πολυδαπάνως καὶ ιερατεύσαντα Ῥώμης.⁴¹

Line 15. Since the honorand is dead, γυμνασίαρ[χον] without a participle expressing past time is again suspect, and γυμνασιαρχήσαντα, as probably in line 10, is preferable. Once more, there is no need for the text of the second inscription to follow the first exactly, and I would continue with [καὶ εὐεργέτη]ν γεγονότα τοῦ δήμου (eighteen letters).

For the provenance SHEPPARD has two suggestions. «One city within the likely catchment area of Denizli depot definitely known to have had a cult of Dea Roma in pre-Augustan times is Tripolis (Yenice)»: ⁴² if that is right «the war referred to is probably Mithridates' invasion of Asia in 88.» The Hellenistic history of cities in the area of Denizli is so fitfully illuminated that the argument from silence is unusually hazardous: as SHEPPARD himself observes, evidence for the pre-Augustan cult of Roma at Aphrodisias, one of the richest of all epigraphical sites, is very recent.⁴³ SHEPPARD's other argument is more promising, even if curiously presented.⁴⁴ «The name Diotrophes and the prominent role of an orator in wartime may indicate a later date and a city more remote from Denizli. When Q. Labienus led the Parthians into Asia Minor in 39 B. C., the orators Zeno of Laodicea and Hy-

³⁹ L. ROBERT, *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, Paris 1966, 30 n. 37; cf. also RPh sér. 3, 41, 1967, 14 n. 3. There are very clear examples from Hellenistic Pergamon, MDAI(A) 32, 1907, 273–78 no. 10 lines 40–49, 278–84 no. 11 lines 50–56.

⁴⁰ Thus in TAM III there are seven instances of ιερέος θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Διονύσου or Διὸς Σολύμεως (108–10, 113, 114, 153, 156; texts in R. MELLOR, ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ, *Hypomnema* 42, Göttingen 1975, 225), none in which ιερέος is repeated.

⁴¹ REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias* no. 30 lines 14–16.

⁴² SHEPPARD 21, citing MAMA VI 53 and SNG Copenhagen, Lydia 715, 716. On the site and history of Tripolis, Bull. 1971. 646, CH. HABICHT, JRS 65, 1975, 83–84.

⁴³ SHEPPARD, 21 n. 11, referring to J. M. REYNOLDS, PCPS 26, 1980, 70–73; see further the bibliography in L. ROBERT, CRAI 1978, 285 n. 68 and now REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias* nos. 1, 30.

⁴⁴ SHEPPARD 22.

breas of Mylasa rallied their cities against the invaders. Hybreas was the pupil of a certain Diotrephes of Antioch, thought by Radermacher to be from Antioch on the Maeander. Perhaps Diotrephes' unnamed son, himself an orator, fulfilled a comparable role in Antioch. That city is known to have had a cult of Roma as early as ca. 165 B. C.»

That Diotrephes was from Antioch on the Maeander is clearly stated by Strabo in his description of the city: σοφιστῆς δὲ παρὰ τούτοις ἔνδοξος γεγένηται Διοτρέφης, οὗ διήκουσεν Ὑβρέας, ὁ κατ' ἡμᾶς γενόμενος μέγιστος ῥήτωρ. In his detailed and interesting account of Hybreas a few pages later Strabo mentions that he began his career Διοτρέφους τοῦ Ἀντιοχέως ἀκροασάμενος.⁴⁵ Hybreas is well known not only from Strabo but from inscriptions and coins, which show that he was C. Julius Hybreas, son of Leon, and a priest of Roma who received a public cult after his death: he was probably fairly old when he led his vigorous but disastrous campaign of resistance in 39, since ten years later he was dead and his son had succeeded to his position.⁴⁶ It seems reasonable to assume that his teacher was active in the first half of the century, perhaps in the Mithridatic period.⁴⁷

A further step is hard to resist. There is just room for <Diotrephes> as the name of the honorand in the inscription; and in the first part, perhaps in both, he is described as a rhetor. The name <Diotrephes> is not very common, though in manuscripts it sometimes replaces the related <Ditirephes>. Apart from Strabo's sophist I have noticed some fifteen examples, most of them from cities of western Asia Minor, Ilion, Pergamon, Chios, Erythrai, Antioch on the Maeander, Hierapolis, Apamea: examples from elsewhere, Athens, Orkistos and other sites in eastern Phrygia, are late.⁴⁸ The only bearer of the name who is even slightly known to history is Strabo's sophist. Though that man could have had a son in the same profession, as Hybreas did,⁴⁹ it seems more economical to suppose that he and the honorand of the inscription are one and the same person: for the fact that the honorand is called a rhetor is no reason to suppose him different from the <sophist> in Stra-

⁴⁵ Str. 13, 630, 14, 659: RADERMACHER, RE V, 1903, 1150 no.2, refers only to the first passage.

⁴⁶ For bibliography on Hybreas, G. W. BOWERSOCK, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965, 5–6; L. ROBERT, AC 35, 1966, 419–20; RN sér. 6, 15, 1973, 48 n. 15; Ann. Coll. France, 1973–74, 535. The anecdote about his son's appearance before the younger M. Cicero (Sen. Rh. suas. 7, 14) shows that he was dead by 29.

⁴⁷ Thus RADERMACHER (n. 45), BOWERSOCK (previous n.) 5, putting Diotrephes among «politically active rhetors . . . from the time of the Mithridatic Wars.»

⁴⁸ Ilion: OGIS 219 line 1 (Iilion 32). Pergamon: IPergamon II 564 lines 1, 11. Chios: SEG XV 539, XIX 580 A 43. Erythrai: Syll.³ 442 lines 5–6 (IErythrai 29: restored). Antioch: see below, p. 378. Hierapolis: R. MÜNSTERBERG, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen*, Vienna 1911–27, 165. Apamea: MÜNSTERBERG 158. Athens: M. T. MITSOS, AE 1950–51, 26 no. 11 line 60. Orkistos and Phrygia: MAMA VII 304, 409, 475, 585. Note also III Ep. Jo. 9. For the manuscript corruption, Thuc. 8. 64. 2; Dion. Hal. I Ep. Amm. 5.

⁴⁹ Cf. n. 46.

bo.⁵⁰ If the identification is correct, then the «wars» will be those of Mithridates, just the period when it had been supposed that Strabo's Diotrephes was active.⁵¹ A prominent orator in Antioch on the Maeander would have had many opportunities to serve his city in this period: its neighbour to the west, Nysa, and the next important city to the south, Aphrodisias, are known to have been severely tested.⁵² Although there is no sign that Diotrephes faced the same dangers as Chairemon of Nysa, for example, still his career may well have served as a model for that of his more famous pupil Hybreas.

If the honorand of the inscription is Strabo's Diotrephes, and the stone comes from Antioch on the Maeander, something else falls into place. It is true that Antioch is «known to have had a cult of Rome as early as ca. 165 B.C.», but there is more to be said. In 167, the cities of Caria south of the Maeander were freed from Rhodian domination by Rome.⁵³ An inscription from the Samian Heraion appears to be a direct reflection of Antioch's new status. The Antiochenes had recently received an extension of their territory and an increase of their revenues, and as a result were now «better able to serve Roman interests with distinction,» *δυνατώτε-
ρους . . . εἰς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξυπηρετεῖν φιλοδόξως*.⁵⁴ The stone contains what appears to be a decree of Antioch ratifying a treaty with cities now incorporated into it, and a penalty clause putting the treaty under the tutelage of the goddess Roma: there follows a reply of the Samians to a request of the Antiochenes, in which they call them «well disposed to the Romans, the common benefactors of all.»⁵⁵ At the same time, Antioch celebrated its new wealth and status with a handsome issue of silver drachms and tetradrachms. The name «Diotrephes» appears on seemingly unique specimens of both denominations.⁵⁶ If the new inscription concerns Strabo's sophist, then the Diotrephes prominent after the liberation could be one of that man's ancestors, perhaps the grandfather mentioned in the second inscription here. It would be appropriate that the first Diotrephes was prominent in the days

⁵⁰ The overlap between these two words has been much discussed: cf. G. W. BOWERSOCK, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, 12–13, precisely on Strabo's usage.

⁵¹ Above, n. 47. On the diplomatic activity of the Greek cities in this period see also C. P. JONES, *Chiron* 4, 1974, 203–05.

⁵² Nysa: Syll.³ 741 (partly in WELLES, *Royal Correspondance* nos. 73, 74), the famous inscription of Chaeremon. Aphrodisias: see now REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias* 11–20 nos. 2 and 3. On the relations of Antioch and Aphrodisias, L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 13, 1965, 165–66.

⁵³ References in CH. HABICHT, *MDAI(A)* 72, 1957, 248, esp. Polyb. 30. 5. 12, on which see now WALBANK, *Commentary on Polybius* III 427.

⁵⁴ Published by HABICHT (previous n.) 242–52 no. 65 (*Bull.* 1960. 318 p. 188), lines 23–24.

⁵⁵ HABICHT (n. 53) lines 6, 20–21. On the expression *κοινοὶ εὐεργέται*, L. ROBERT, *CRAI* 1969, 57–61; I have not seen CL. WEHRLI, *SicGymn* 31, 1978, 479–96 (*SEG XXVIII* 1658).

⁵⁶ Drachm: A. LOEBBECKE, *Zeitschr. für Num.* 12, 1885, 322 no. 1 with Pl. XIII 3 (cf. *BMC Caria*, xxxi–xxxii, 14; E. BABELON, *RN sér.* 3, 8, 1890, 432–34). Tetradrachm: ROBERT, *Etudes déliennes*, *BCH Suppl.* I, Paris 1973, 447–48, with fig. 1.

of Antioch's new freedom, and that a descendant was a priest of Rome (from his ancestors) in the period of the Mithridatic wars.

The other priesthood held by the honorand is also notable, and might be considered an objection to identifying him as an Antiochene. The older handbooks give Men as one of the principal cults celebrated on the city's coinage: however, that was an error caused by confusion with the coinage of Pisidian Antioch.⁵⁷ If this inscription were from the city on the Maeander, it would be the first evidence for the cult of Men there. However, this cult is prominent in several of the cities of the region, notably Nysa, but also Aphrodisias and Attouda, on whose territory stood the medical and thermal sanctuary of Men Karou singled out by Strabo.⁵⁸ It is therefore easily possible that Men was worshipped at Antioch, and that Diotrephes was priest both of Men and of Roma: such simultaneous priesthoods of Roma and another god are not uncommon, though I have not found Men and Roma so joined.⁵⁹

There remain some uncertainties. The honorand's name is not preserved, and Διοτρέφη is even slightly long for the space. Similarly, the provenance of the stone is not recorded, and though Antioch, situated on a hill overlooking the confluence of the Morsynos and the Maeander,⁶⁰ is not too far from Denizli for a stray stone to have found its way there, a parallel would be desirable.⁶¹ On balance, however,

⁵⁷ Thus BMC Caria 15 no. 5; BABELON (previous n.) 434; B. V. HEAD, *Historia Numorum*², Oxford 1911, 608. That these coins belong to Pisidian Antioch was first noticed by WADDINGTON, E. BABELON, *Inventaire sommaire de la Collection Waddington*, Paris 1898, nos. 3566–70: cf. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Kleinasiatische Münzen II*, Vienna 1902, 357–58; La Carie 257 n. O.

⁵⁸ Nysa: BMC Lydia lxxxiii–lxxxiv, 177–84; ROBERT, *Laodicée* 297; E. N. LANE, *Corpus Monumentorum Dei Menis II*, Leiden 1975, 19–34, III, Leiden 1976, 44–45. Aphrodisias: BMC Caria 34 no. 52; MAMA VIII 406, 445, 446 (406 and 446 are now REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias nos.* 29, 32); LANE, *op. cit.* I, Leiden 1971, 75–76, II 47, III 49–50. Attouda: BMC Caria xl, 65 nos. 16–18, 68 no. 39. LANE *op. cit.* II 48. Men Karou: Str. 12, 580; Athen. 2, 43 A; J. G. C. ANDERSON, *JHS* 17, 1897, 398; A. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*, BEFAR 188, Paris 1958, 475. On the general extension of the cult of Men in Caria, La Carie 74; for a Μηνόφιλος Μηνοφίλου possibly from Antioch on the Maeander, ROBERT, *Etudes déliennes* (n. 56) 445.

⁵⁹ MELLOR (n. 40) 129–30, 212 (Zeus), 225 (Zeus, Dionysos). Callicrates of Aphrodisias now appears to have been priest both of Roma and of Hecate: REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias no. 29* lines 5–6, no. 30 line 16.

⁶⁰ On the site of Antioch, see especially W. J. HAMILTON, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia I*, London 1842, 529–30; C. FELLOWS, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1852, 247–48; D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor I*, Princeton 1950, 128; ROBERT, *Etudes déliennes* (n. 56) 446–47. There is an excellent map of the region in A. PHILIPPSON, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien IV*, Petermanns Mitteilungen, *Ergänzungsheft* 180, 1914; that in *JHS* 18, 1898, pl. IV, is too small to be useful.

⁶¹ Cf. ROBERT, *Et. anat.* 433, «dans cette vallée du Méandre les pierres voyagent facilement», cf. *Laodicée* 361–62, *Bull.* 1978. 513. Moreover, in the present case the stone could

there seems at least a good chance that the new inscription is one of the rare stones of Antioch,⁶² that it honors the Diotrephe known from Strabo, and that it is therefore to be dated about the middle of the first century. Accordingly, I propose the following text:⁶³

- [ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν ταῖς μεγίσταις τει[μαῖς κ]αὶ ἔθα-
 [ψεν Διοτρέφη Διοτρέφου]ς, ῥήτορα, ἱερά θεο[ῦ Μ]ηνός
 [καὶ θεᾶς Ἑρώμης ἀπὸ πρ]ογόνων, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ ε-
 4 [± 8 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρ]ίδος τελέσαντα [πρε]σβ[ε]ρί[α]ς]
 [πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους] καὶ κατορθώσα[ντ]α π[± 4]
 [± 20] τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέ-
 [μοις ὑπακούσαντα e.g. με]γαλοψύχως τῇ πόλει πᾶν τὸ
 8 [ἀξιόμμενον, καὶ πίστει e.g.] καὶ δικαιοσύνη διεν[ενκ]ό[ν]-
 [τα, καλῶς e.g. καὶ μεγαλοπρ]επῶς καὶ ἐνδύξως καὶ εὖσε-
 [βῶς γυμνασιαρχήσαντα,] ἐν πολέμοις καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ
 [γεγονότα ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρ]α καὶ σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην.
- vacat*
- 12 [ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησε]ν καὶ ἔσστεφάνωσεν χρυσοῦ
 [στεφάνῳ Διοτρέφῃ Διο]τρέφους τοῦ Διοτρέφους,
 [ῥήτορα, ἱερατεύσαντ]α τῆς Ἑρώμης καὶ γυμνασιαρ-
 [χήσαντα καὶ εὐεργέτη]ν γεγονότα τοῦ δήμου.

have been moved by the intervention of authorities rather than naturally, which would make a long journey more credible.

⁶² I have noticed only the following: LE BAS-WADDINGTON 41 (IErythrai 116); U. VON WILAMOWITZ, ADAW 1909, 2, 56–59 no. 13 (IErythrai 117); IMagnesia 90 (decrees for external judges, ca. 200, cf. HABICHT [n. 53] 248 n. 124); BURESCH (n. 6) 102–32, cf. RhM 49, 1894, 424–60 (honors *post mortem*, first century A. D.); L. ROBERT, RPh sér. 3, 3, 1929, 133–34, cf. 8, 1934, 49 n. 1 (OMS II 1099–1100, 1161 n. 1), Et. anat. 430–33 (statue bases for athletes, imperial); W. S. STERRETT, An epigraphical journey in Asia Minor, Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens 2, 1883–84, publ. 1888, nos. 5 (see above, ROBERT, RPh 1929), 6 (funerary), 7 and 8 (fragments). ROBERT, Laodicée 361, suggests that the inscription published by W. M. RAMSAY, BCH 7, 1883, 270–72 no. 14 (honors for a benefactor, second or third century A. D.), is from Antioch.

⁶³ In line 11 I do not correct ἔσστεφάνωσεν: cf. MAYSER, Grammatik (n. 8) I 217, «diese zu allen Zeiten und in allen Dialekten . . . überaus häufige orthographische Eigentümlichkeit, das stimmlose σ vor stimmlosen Verschlusslauten zu verdoppeln.»