

# New Lists of Foreign Judges from Alabanda in Caria

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**T**HIS PAPER presents a group of name lists of foreign judges discovered in the excavations carried out by a team of archaeologists from Atatürk University in Erzurum led by Prof. Dr. Ali Tavukçu in the Carian city of Alabanda in the 2021 and 2022 campaigns. The ancient settlement lies approximately 7 km west of the Çine District of Aydın Province; it was regarded as one of the most important cities of inner Caria according to Strabo.<sup>1</sup> The first seasons of the excavation have concentrated on the *bouleuterion*, which has yielded numerous interesting name lists, some of which form the subject of this paper. Four marble blocks with inscriptions were found in front of the *scaenae frons* of the *bouleuterion*, constituting a single monument. After a brief assessment, it was understood that these

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 14.2.22. On the history of Alabanda in general see E. Babelon, "Alabanda et Antioche. Villes de Carie," *RN SER.* III 8 (1890) 417–434; J. Nollé, "Stephanos von Byzantion über Alabanda. Zum Gründungsmythos der nordkarischen Stadt," *Chiron* 44 (2014) 233–252. All the epigraphic and literary testimony has now been brought together by W. Blümel, *I. Nordkarien* pp.129–210. On the archaeological remains and the most recent discoveries from the Alabanda excavations see Z. Aydın Tavukçu, "Alabanda: Tarihi Coğrafya, Topografya, Araştırma ve Kazılar," *Atatürk Üniv. Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü Dergisi* 35 (2015) 223–256; "İlk Kazılar Işığında Alabanda Bouleuterionu," *Sosyal Beşeri ve İdari Bilimler Alanında Yenilikçi Yaklaşımlar* 3 (2018) 9–27; "Alabanda 2021," 42. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1. Cilt* (2022) 119–128; "Alabanda Antik Kentinin Peyzaj Projesi Kapsamında Turizm Potansiyelinin Değerlendirilmesi," *Current Perspectives in Social Sciences* 26 (2022) 325–335; "Alabanda 2022," 43. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (2022) in press.

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name lists documented foreign judges visiting the city of Alabanda.

The institution of foreign judges is a well-known phenomenon attested in the epigraphy of the Hellenistic period, serving to reduce potential civic complaints and disturbances arising from judicial impasses.<sup>2</sup> There is a gap between the late Hellenistic period and the end of first century A.D. in terms of attested foreign judges, yet it is indisputable that the practice persisted throughout the High Empire, even though there was a certain decline in its use;<sup>3</sup> and the inscriptions from the Imperial period no longer fall in the category of honorary decrees for judges in gratitude for their integrity in carrying out their duties, but appear in the much more condensed, frequently abbreviated form of lists of the members of each foreign delegation.<sup>4</sup> It is doubtful that these show a general continuation of the institution into the High Empire;<sup>5</sup> it appears to be confined to Mylasa, Stratonikeia, Thessaly(?), Sparta, the so-called Lycian *metapempta dikasteria*, and now Alabanda.<sup>6</sup> We present here the first edition of the new texts together with commentary.

<sup>2</sup> L. Girdvainyte, in K. Czajkowski et al. (eds.), *Law in the Roman Provinces* (Oxford 2020) 217. The tradition in the Hellenistic period of inviting foreign judges has been the subject of many studies: e.g. P. Gauthier, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy 1972); L. Robert, in E. von Caemmerer et al. (eds.), *XENION. Festschrift für Pan. J. Zepos I* (Athens 1973) 765–782 = *OMS V* 137–154]; C. Crowther, “Foreign Judges and Regional Variations,” in H. Elton et al. (eds.), *Regionalism in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Bordeaux 2007) 53–59; A. Cassayre, *La justice dans les cités grecques: de la formation des royaumes hellénistiques au legs d’Attale* (Rennes 2010).

<sup>3</sup> For possible reasons for this decline see J. Fournier, *Entre tutelle romaine et autonomie civique. L’administration judiciaire dans les provinces hellénophones de l’Empire romain* (Athens 2010) 539.

<sup>4</sup> Fournier, *L’administration judiciaire* 227.

<sup>5</sup> G. Kantor, in E. M. Harris et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Law* (2015: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199599257.013.25>, accessed 18 Dec. 2023).

<sup>6</sup> For a brief list of foreign judges attested in the Imperial period see

## BLOCK 1.a (front side)

Limestone block. Slightly broken on the upper right side. Some minor cracks visible on the stone. The surface of the stone is partly weathered. Broken at top and bottom. Measurements: h. 53 cm, w. 64, th. 25.5. The block contains two separate texts (or three?).<sup>7</sup>



Figure 1: Block 1.a, inscriptions 1 and 2

Fournier, *L'administration judiciaire* 607–609. Apart from these, there are also two other cases where *xenokritai* are attested, in Pinara (*TAM* II.2 508) and in Perge (*I.Perge* II 323) listing donations by the honorand (5000 drachmae to each of the four divisions of *xenokritai* at Pinara, one denarius to each *xenokrites* at Perge). However, D. Nörr doubts that these were in fact the foreign judges as we know them and argues that they may have been active as *recuperatores* in a gubernatorial court, who should not be confused with the foreign judges to whom Greek cities resorted: D. Nörr, in W. Eck (ed.), *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen* (Munich 1999) 257–301.

<sup>7</sup> Some letter traces are visible in the lower space between the two texts suggesting that the stone was used for re-inscribing in later antiquity. Only ΦΙΑΡ and ΦΙΟ (letter height 1.5–3 cm) are legible, but it does not seem possible to make any sense of them. All photographs here are from the archive of the Alabanda excavations.

*Inscription 1*

Line height 1.5–2.5 cm (0.5 in line 1).

- [-----]  
 [-----] γραμματεὺς  
 2 [-----] ΑΛ[<sup>ca. 6</sup>] δικαστής,  
 [-----] ΛΙΕΘ[<sup>ca. 3-4</sup>] Σ Ἀπολλωνίου  
 4 [----] Θεμισκός Μεννέου  
 [-----] γραμματεὺς  
 6 [----] Σ . ΛΛΥ . ΙΩΝ[ - - ]  
 [----] Σ Ἀπολλωνίου δικαστής,  
 8 Καλλίθεμις Ἀρτεμιδώρου  
<sup>vac.</sup> γραμματεὺς ☩  
 10 <sup>vac.</sup> οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας <sup>vac.</sup>  
 Ποιμανηνοὶ Τείμων Εὐκρά-  
 12 του δι(καστής), γρ(αμματεὺς) Μηνόδωρος Ἀρτεμιδώρου.  
 Μειληπολίται δι(καστής) Μ(ἄρκος) Μάρκι-  
 14 ος Σεουῆρος, γρ(αμματεὺς) Λούκιος  
 Ἴουλιανού. ☩ Ἀπολλωνιᾶ(σ)-  
 16 [ται] πρὸς τῷ Ῥυνδάκῳ δικ(αστής) ΛΙ . . ΑΠΟΛΛ  
 [-----]

7–9: Even though the composition in the name lists presented here is largely the same as in the Mylasan texts where the name of the judge in abbreviated form (Δ, ΔΙ, ΔΙΚ, ΔΚ) followed by that of his secretary (ΓΡ) always appears after the initial mention of the delegation's homeland, we note some differences in our case: the name is sometimes preceded by the titles judge and secretary, as is evident in these lines, whereas it is given in a mixed order in line 12 and the titles come first in 13–14. It is also worth mentioning that the titles are not always abbreviated, as is also the case in the Mylasan lists.

10 οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας: This expression unambiguously and most interestingly indicates that the following judges and secretaries are from the province of Asia, implying that the prior ones are

from a different province. In the only relevant parallel for this kind of judge list, in the neighbouring city of Mylasa, we have only ethnic references, namely Λύκιοι<sup>8</sup> (also found in our lists, see Block 1.c) and in a single case the judges of Erythrai who identify themselves as Ἀσιωνοὶ Ἴωνες, meaning the Koinon of the Ionians according to the editors of *I.Mylasa* and *I.Erythrai*.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Martin Hallmansecker has recently proposed that Ἀσιωνοὶ Ἴωνες in this context is an ethno-cultural reference, primarily because there are no instances of a koinon dispatching a delegation of judges.<sup>10</sup>

16 δικ(αστῆς) ΔΙ . . ΑΠΟΛΛ: The dot before delta and after kappa indicates that ΔΙΚ is an abbreviation, while it was either written in full or abbreviated ΔΙ in the previous lines. It is doubtful that the remaining ΔΙ . . ΑΠΟΛΛ belongs to this line in view of the entirely different lettering style. Moreover, the size of the letters seems a bit large in comparison with the rest of the line and also not levelled with the previous lines. If it were indeed associated with this line, it could then provide the name of the judge mentioned there, such as Ἀπολλ[ώνιος?]. In this case, ΔΙ might well be the abbreviated beginning of his gentilicium. But this seems most doubtful. Given that there are separate texts carved on the block, it can also be interpreted as the first line of another list carved at a later date in the right corner of the stone, which is now completely broken off.

<sup>8</sup> *I.Mylasa* I 361, 362, 366, 369, 370, 372; F. Rumscheid, “Inschriften aus Milas im Museum Bodrum,” *EpigrAnat* 37 (2004) 43–61, at 59–60, no. 18 [SEG LIV 1103].

<sup>9</sup> W. Blümel, *I.Mylasa* I 365; H. Engelmann, *I.Erythrai* I 125.

<sup>10</sup> M. Hallmansecker, *Roman Ionia. Constructions of Cultural Identity in Western Asia Minor* (Cambridge 2022) 58 n.66.

*Inscription 2*

Figure 2 : Block 1.a detail, 2.a-b

2.a

Letter height 1.5–2.2 cm.

[- - - - -]

ΑΣΠΙΕ[- - - - -]

2 δίκαστ[ής- - -]

Μάρκος Ἰούλ[ιος]

4 Καπίτων Ω

Μηνόδωρος

6 Ἔστιαίου Ω

γραμματεύς.

2.b

Letter height 1.3–2.0 cm.

οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Βι-

2 θυνίας δικασ-

ταὶ καὶ γραμμα-

4 τεῖς εὐχαριστοῦ-

σιν Κλάδω

6 Ἀθηναίου δημοσίῳ.

2.b: “The judges and secretaries from Bithynia are grateful to Klados, son of Athenaios, the public servant.”

There is no conclusive evidence to help us date inscriptions 1 and 2 with any precision, and it is not even clear whether the two were carved at the same time. The lines in 2.b are squeezed in comparison to the those in 2.a, despite seeming to have sufficient space (this may also be attributed to an error by the stonemason in calculating the available space). This possibly indicates that 2.b was a later addition. The similarity of the letter shapes (the omegas and sigmas in particular) suggests either that the two texts were carved simultaneously or that the first precedes the second by a small interval. It can be said that the lettering in 1 does not differ significantly from that of 2. The only anomaly is that some omegas are circular rather than lunate, which is inconsistent with the general palaeography of the texts. However,

this phenomenon is commonly observed in inscriptions and does not pose a significant issue. Thus, it can be stated that all the inscriptions on this stone likely date to the same period, which we presume to be the second century A.D.

The only relevant parallels for texts of this kind that can help us in dating are at Mylasa at the temple of Zeus Osogo (see below for further details), a series of dedications made by foreign judges originating from the provinces of Asia and (even more often) Lycia-Pamphylia. Two inscriptions from this series are dated to A.D. 93/4 and 112/3 by the mention of the proconsuls of Asia, L. Iunius Caesennius Paetus and Cornelius Tacitus.<sup>11</sup> The rest are dated approximately to the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century on palaeographical grounds by Wolfgang Blümel.<sup>12</sup> We do not have photographs to control this, but at least a drawing by Richard Meister; this shows some similarities but at the same time some dissimilarities in letter forms.<sup>13</sup> Even though Mylasa and Alabanda are geographically so close to each other, we can hardly say that the Mylasan and Alabandan texts are contemporary based solely on their letter forms. However, it cannot be completely ruled out.

In fact, an inscription from Sparta attests to the presence of a foreign judge in Alabanda in the first half of the second century:<sup>14</sup> the Spartan Eudokimos, among other offices, both served as *dikastagogos* (escorting foreign judges from their homeland to the host city) and was sent to Alabanda as a *xenokrites*.<sup>15</sup> In his

<sup>11</sup> *I.Mylasa* I 364 and 365.

<sup>12</sup> *I. Mylasa* I p.141. For a more narrow dating see G. Kantor, "Towards the Dating of the Inscriptions of Foreign Judges at Mylasa" *EpigrAnat* 49 (2016) 131.

<sup>13</sup> R. Meister, "Die Tacitusinschrift von Mylasa," *ÖJh* 27 (1932) 234–244, at 237–238, fig. 117.

<sup>14</sup> *SEG* XI 491: Εὐδόκιμος Δαμοκράτους τοῦ Σπένδων/τος, διαβέτης, σειτόνης τὸ β' ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, / καταγγελεὺς τῶν Εὐρυκλείων, χοραγός, / δικασταγωγός ἀπὸ Σάμου, ξενοκρίτης / εἰς Ἀλάβαντα κτλ.

<sup>15</sup> It is generally held that kinship ties are one of the driving forces behind

comprehensive study of the *xenokritai*, D. Nörr suggested that the Spartan judge Eudokimos may have been a member of the body of provincial *recuperatores* as in the other *xenokritai* cases.<sup>16</sup> J. Fournier, however, claims that the office of ξενοκρίτης he held at Alabanda was more likely his participation in a foreign court of the traditional Greek type, than in a gubernatorial commission.<sup>17</sup> The fact that the new material presented in this paper is more or less contemporary with the Spartan inscription demonstrates that Fournier's view is more probable because it is now attested that in Alabanda the use of foreign judges took place in the second century. In our opinion, it is also supported by the fact that Alabanda is listed by Pliny the Elder as one of the free cities,<sup>18</sup> which means that a Roman governor could not intervene in judicial matters by appointing a commission of judges called *recuperatores*.

2a, 1–7: Whether these lines are a continuation of inscription 1 on the left side of the stone, or are related to the following lines (see the discussion above) is unclear. If the latter is correct, it would be very likely that the judge Capito and the secretary Menodoros hailed from one of the Bithynian cities. However, the names of this judge and secretary are also inscribed on Block 4 under the delegation list of Aspendos in Pamphylia. As it is not unusual for the same judges to serve on more than one

the exchange of foreign judges, see Fournier, *L'administration judiciaire* 539; so inviting a Spartan is not surprising in this respect, given that in the third century Alabanda proclaimed itself a colony of Sparta as its coins testify: *BMC Caria* p.xxx; cf. O. Curty, "La parenté légendaire à l'époque hellénistique," *Kernos* 12 (1999) 167–194, at 173. Such a connection is already attested between the Euboian city Karystos and Alabanda in the first century B.C.: *IG XII.9 4* = O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre les cités grecques* (Geneva 1995) 65, no. 31, and between Alabanda and Termessos in 93/4: *IMylasa* 364, ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Καισενίου Παίτου, / Τερμησσεῶν τῶν Μειζόνων / αὐτονόμων καὶ συγγενῶν Μυλασέων, / δικ(αστῆς) Τειμοκράτη κτλ.

<sup>16</sup> Nörr, in *Lokale Autonomie* 280–283 [*SEG XLIX* 2506].

<sup>17</sup> Fournier, *L'administration judiciaire* 538.

<sup>18</sup> *HN* 5.109, *praeterea sunt Thydonos, Pyrrha, Eurome, Heraclea, Amyzon, Alabanda libera, quae conventum eum cognominavit.*



occasion,<sup>19</sup> we may also posit that they are identical. In such a case, it can be well conceived that the judges from Lycia and Pamphylia followed the judges from Asia inscribed on the left-hand side of the block.

2.b 1–3, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Βιθυνίας δικασταί: This phrase is most interesting, raising the question whether Bithynia here is a geographical term or denotes the *provincia Bithynia et Pontus*. Because in inscription 1 the judges and secretaries certainly refer to the province of Asia as their provenance, the same might be expected here and these judges and secretaries might wish to emphasize their provincial affiliation too. The problem would be that the official appellation of the province is incomplete, as it does not include Pontus. However, the name of the province was recorded in differing ways. The study of Gabriela Wesch-Klein collecting the epigraphic data proves that from its foundation in 64 B.C. until the reign of Nero, it was officially called Bithynia (our inscription is definitely later than Nero, so this cannot be a solution to our problem). From Nero's reign until A.D. 195 the name was *Pontus et Bithynia*, and was subsequently referred to as *Bithynia et Pontus* according to historical sources.<sup>20</sup> In her compilation of the documents, she found only two exceptions later than Nero's reign where Pontus is omitted. One of these is fragmentary and it seems possible to restore the missing part as *Bithyn[iae et Ponti]*.<sup>21</sup> But the other is complete,<sup>22</sup> and Wesch-Klein thinks that it could stem from negligence. We have also a literary source for this matter, Cassius Dio, who repeatedly refers

<sup>19</sup> *I.Mylasa* I 365 and 368.

<sup>20</sup> G. Wesch-Klein, "Bithynia, Pontus et Bithynia, Bithynia et Pontus: Ein Provinzname im Wandel der Zeit," *ZPE* 136 (2001) 251–256. Cf. F. Baz, "Considerations for the Administration of the Province Pontus et Bithynia during the Imperial Period," *Cedrus* 1 (2013) 262.

<sup>21</sup> Wesch-Klein, *ZPE* 136 (2001) 256, List 2, no. 4 (*AE* 1980, 61), *curat[- - provin]c[iae] Bithyn[iae - -]*.

<sup>22</sup> Wesch-Klein, *ZPE* 136 (2001) 256, List 2, no. 2 (*I.Tralleis* 54), ἡγεμόνος Βειθυνίας.

to the province simply as Bithynia,<sup>23</sup> and Wesch-Klein argues that here we possibly are dealing with a use of language in a classicizing style.<sup>24</sup> We have identified another example for her exception list. The series of honorary inscriptions from Ancyra documenting the *cursus honorum* of a prominent senator C. Iulius Severus in the mid-second century states that he was appointed to Bithynia as a *corrector* and *curator* by the deified Hadrian.<sup>25</sup> His appointment to this office certainly means that he was sent to the province of Bithynia and Pontus, obviously not to the Bithynian region. All of these documents demonstrate that our case is not unique and we can conclude that the Βιθυνία in our inscription is the province itself and the judges simply underline that they come from the Bithynian part of the double province.

2.b 4–5 εὐχαριστοῦσιν: The judges and secretaries collectively express their gratitude to a certain Klados, son of Athenaios, who was apparently a *demosios* (see below). This gesture seems unusual and we lack further evidence to make a sound comparison. The only example available is in the judge lists in Mylasa. These inscriptions, carved on at least three different columns and discovered at the sanctuary of Zeus Osogo, were written at various times in a rather disorderly manner. Both the findspots of these inscriptions and the dedications to the god on them have led scholars justifiably to think that these are dedications to Zeus Osogo, presumably as thanks for the successful completion of their work.<sup>26</sup> However, the situation in our case is markedly different, as gratitude is here bestowed upon a specific public servant, not upon a deity. It may seem unconventional, but the presence of *demosioi* in the judicial operations of cities is extensively documented. In fourth century B.C. Athens, the

<sup>23</sup> Cass. Dio 69.14.4, 78.39.5, 79.3.1.

<sup>24</sup> Wesch-Klein, *ZPE* 136 (2001) 254: “Dafür könnte man eventuell einen antikisierenden Sprachgebrauch geltend machen.”

<sup>25</sup> *I.Ancyra* 74–76.

<sup>26</sup> W. H. Waddington, *LBW* II (1870) p.107; Meister, *ÖJh* 27 (1932) 242–243; Blümel, *IMylasa* I p.141. Cf. also Kantor, *EpigrAnat* 49 (2016) 131.

*demosioi* played a ubiquitous role in the administration of justice. According to Aristotle, they fulfilled a range of functions in the judicial processes, from organizing the selection of jurors by lot to overseeing their entrance into the courtroom and frequently escorting members of the public to their seats.<sup>27</sup> As Photius states in summary, a public slave is the slave of the city working for the courts and public works projects.<sup>28</sup>

The connection between the *demosios* and judges is also supported by epigraphic evidence. For example, in a *lex sacra* from the small city of Pednelissos in Pisidia,<sup>29</sup> dated to the early Hellenistic period,<sup>30</sup> a juridical procedure is described, making evident that the judges were accompanied by the public servants to taste the sacrificial meat together. So it is almost certain that Klados is not a personal servant of the Bithynian judges, in contrast to the Mylasa case, as it would be unfitting for them to express gratitude to someone already working for them. It is more probable that he was a *demosios* of Alabanda, who oversaw the entire organization of the trials and thus aided the judges in

<sup>27</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 65.4. For a detailed analysis of the literary sources concerning the relation of *demosioi* with the judges see P. Ismard, *Democracy's Slaves. A Political History of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge [Mass.] 2017) 37.

<sup>28</sup> Phot. *Lex.* s.v. δημόσιος: ὁ τῆς πόλεως δοῦλος, ὃς ὑπηρετεῖ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἔργοις.

<sup>29</sup> SEG II 710 = LSAM 79 = CGRN 213 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/213/>, consulted 14 December 2023). On this inscription (with further bibliography) see also A. Coşkun, "Was Pednelissos a 'Galatian Polis'? A Note on SEG II 710 and the Debate on the Location of Paul's Galatians," *Philia* 6 (2020) 62–73. See also A. Weiß, *Sklave der Stadt. Untersuchungen zur öffentlichen Sklaverei in den Städten des Römischen Reiches* (Stuttgart 2004) 36: "Möglicherweise sind auch die *demosioi* in Pednelissos als persönliche Diener der Richter der Stadt zu interpretieren, die gleichsam als integraler Bestandteil des Amtes gesehen wurden und die deshalb bei der feierlichen Eidesleistung zusammen mit ihren Herren von dem Opferfleisch kosten sollten."

<sup>30</sup> The inscription is dated to the first century A.D. in the *editio princeps*, based on the letter forms, but as Coşkun, *Philia* 6 (2020) 65, emphasizes, referring to leading epigraphists on Asia Minor (yet not providing names), the lettering in the drawing seems more like early Hellenistic.

their work, earning for him their appreciation. As P. Ismard concludes, “The *demosioi*’s jobs were not performed collectively. The great majority of the inscriptions portray their work as a solitary activity. Even when several public slaves worked together on a common task, there is nothing to suggest they were organized into a collective whose members were jointly responsible for the result.”<sup>31</sup> It is uncertain whether Klados was exclusively in charge of organizing the legal procedures that occurred in Alabanda or if he received assistance from others. However, since he alone is named, it is more probable that he conducted the entire operation himself.

2.b 5–6 Κλάδω Ἀθηναίου δημοσίω: The personal name Klados has not been attested in Alabanda or in its surroundings to date.<sup>32</sup> It is rare for a *demosios* to have a patronymic.<sup>33</sup> In his attempt to resolve this issue, H. W. Pleket suggests that the *demosioi* were in fact occasionally free men who performed tasks typically reserved for slaves, thus opposing the conventional idea that the *demosioi* were slaves.<sup>34</sup> To support his view, he cites a passage from the edict of P. Fabius Persicus, governor of Asia during the Claudian period, forbidding free persons from performing the services of *δημόσιοι δούλοι*, to prevent excessive expenditure.<sup>35</sup> In our opinion, A. Weiß correctly notes that the edict implies that the phenomenon was known in pre-Claudian

<sup>31</sup> Ismard, *Democracy’s Slaves* 53.

<sup>32</sup> According to *LGNVB* 246, it occurs only once in Caria, but in Miletos, which is placed in Caria rather than Ionia by the *LGN* editors.

<sup>33</sup> This is attested in only a few cities of Asia Minor: *SEG XXIX* 1404 = Weiß, *Sklave der Stadt* 228 no. 266 (Hierapolis); *MAMA I* 418 = Weiß no. 276 (Orkistos); *SEG XXXIII* 965 = Weiß no. 277 = J. L. Ferrary, *Les mémoires de délégations du sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros I* (Paris 2014) 450–451 no. 175 (Parion); *TAM V.2* 1075, 1084, 1142 = Weiß nos. 287–289 (Thyateira); *I.Kübyra* 289 (not included in Weiß).

<sup>34</sup> H. W. Pleket, “A Free *δημόσιος*,” *ΖΡΕ* 42 (1981) 167–170; followed by J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1981, 558, and Ferrary, *Les mémoires de délégations* 451 n.46.

<sup>35</sup> I. *Ephesos I* 18.13–22.

times but then prohibited.<sup>36</sup> Otherwise, the provincials would have been ignoring an edict that presumably set standards for the entire province of Asia. Instead, he draws attention to the possibility that the *demosioi* with patronymics are rather exceptional cases and known in the inscriptions from Thyateira.<sup>37</sup> He asserts that they were possibly slaves serving in the city archives, yet with a privilege of bearing a patronymic as distinct from other *demosioi*. Our Klados is certainly not a servant in the city archives, but his involvement in judicial matters suggests that he may be a public slave rather than a civil servant of free birth.

BLOCK 1.b (left side)

There are four inscriptions on this side of the block, which were obviously carved at different times, as shown by the varied lettering shapes. The texts are incomplete on the left, upper, and lower parts of the stone. A dowel hole at the bottom indicates a secondary use of the block at a later time.



Figure 3: Block 1.b, inscriptions 1–4

<sup>36</sup> Weiß, *Sklave der Stadt* 82–83.

<sup>37</sup> TAM V.2 1075, 1084, 1142 = Weiß, *Sklave der Stadt*, no. 287–289.



options, [Ἀσπέ]γδοιοι and [Ἰσί]γδοιοι. We have not met the expression Ἀσπένδιος τῆς Παμφυλίας anywhere, yet it is not uncommon to see a geographical specification following an ethnicon.<sup>38</sup> Although there is a inscription attesting to Ἰσινδεὺς τῆς Παμφυλίας,<sup>39</sup> this option is the less probable because the ethnicon of Isinda in Pisidia is Ἰσινδεύς,<sup>40</sup> not Ἰσίνδιος.<sup>41</sup>

*Inscription 4*

Line height 4–5 cm.

[- - -]ΣΣΕΥ  
2 [- - -]ΡΟΥ

The left side of the block is broken off, making it impossible to determine how many letters are missing. The text might be restored as - - ]ς Σευ/[ή]ρου.

Date: All the inscriptions on this block are undoubtedly from the Roman Imperial period. Inscription 4 seems to have been engraved somewhat later than the others, presumably added in the third century, while the first three lists can be dated to sometime in the second century. Because of its regular script and different lettering style, it is quite possible that inscription 3 dates from an earlier period than the others.

BLOCK 1.c (right side)

The text is incomplete on the right and bottom (but see below). A dowel hole is visible, as in Block 1.b.

<sup>38</sup> L. Robert, *Hellenica XI–XII* (Paris 1960) 157 n.2, and *Villes d'Asie Mineure*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1962) 415 n.1.

<sup>39</sup> *Achaïe* II 176; see also the commentary of J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1968, 274. As there is no doubt that Isinda (modern Korkuteli) is in Pisidia, τῆς Παμφυλίας must refer to the provincial affiliation of the city, and it should not be confused with Isinda in Lycia.

<sup>40</sup> D. French, “Isinda and Lagbe,” in *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia* (Oxford 1994) 53–92, at 69–70.

<sup>41</sup> Ἰσίνδιος is the ethnicon of a city named Isindos in Ionia: Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰσινδος.

Letter height 2.5–3.0 cm.



- Λύκιοι <sup>vac.</sup> Π[- - -]  
 2 δικ(αστής) ΑΠΟΛ[- - -]  
 ΝΙΟΣΙΔΑΓ[- - -]  
 4 Ρ Πολυκρι[- - -]  
 ΤΟΥΜΙΔΟΥ[- - -]  
 6 [ <sup>3-4</sup> ] ΝΤΙΤ[- - -]

Figure 3: Block 1.c

## BLOCK 2

There is yet another block discovered very near to Block 1.

H. 45 cm, w. 41 cm, th. 66.5 cm; line height 2.5–3.0 cm. Date: Early second century A.D.



- [- - -] ΑΤΑΡΕΙΣ  
 2 [- - -] ΛΩ  
 [- - -] ΡΟΥ  
 4 [- - -] ΟΣΓ  
 [- - -] ΙΗΣ  
 6 [- - -] ΟΥ

Figure 4: Block 2



The content fits together, line by line, with the inscription on Block 1.c, leaving no doubt that these two pieces belong to each other, which is supported by the lettering style. The reconstructed text is as follows:

- Λύκιοι <sup>vac.</sup> Παταρεῖς  
 2 δικ(αστής) <sup>vac.</sup> Απόλλώ-  
 νιος Ἰδάγρου  
 4 [γ]ρ(αμματεὺς) Πολύκρι[τ]ος γ'  
 τοῦ Μίδου ΙΗΣ  
 6 [ <sup>3-4</sup> ]Ν Τίτου

1: For Λύκιοι see above. Παταρεῖς: A Pataran delegation is also attested in the Mylasan lists, but the names of the judges and the accompanying staff are missing there (*I.Mylasa* I 367).

3 Ἰδάγρου: The name Idagras, obviously epichoric, is documented already once in Patara, see *LGPV* V.B 208.

### BLOCK 3

This is the third block discovered in the same location. The size and style of the letters are akin to those of Block 1.b. Thus it is highly likely that this block is an additional segment of the judge list, even though no reconstruction seems possible.

H. 49 cm, w. 33 cm, th. 67 cm; line height 2–5 cm. Date: Third century A.D.(?)



- ΟΝΗΣΑ[- -]  
 2 ΦΑ[- -]  
 ΣΗ[- -]

1 could be Ὀνήσα[νδρος or Ὀνησα[γόρας].

Figure 5: Block 3

## BLOCK 4

These two pieces were also unearthed at the same spot and it is clear that they belong to each other and fit together on the left upper side. Both fragments are broken on all sides.

Date: Early second century A.D.

Fr. a: H. 34 cm, w. 46 cm, th. 69 cm; letter height 1.7–2.0 cm.

Fr. b: H. 11 cm, w. 28 cm; letter height 1.7–2.0 cm.

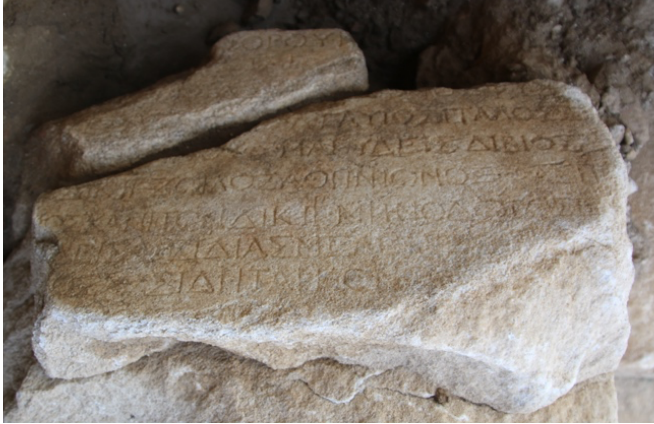


Figure 6: Block 4.a+b

- a. [- - - - -]ΟΡΟΥΙ[- - -]  
 2 [- - - - -]ΣΤΑΙ ☞ [- - -]  
 [- - - - -]ΑΣΑ[- - -]  
 4 [- - -]Ρ. ΑΤ[- - -]
- b. [- - -]ΔΙΟΣΦ[- - -]  
 2 [- - -] Λ(ούκιος) Γάυιος Ἴταλὸς δ[ικ(αστῆς)]  
 [- - -]ΟΥ ☞ Μαγυδεῖς Λίβιος [- - -]  
 4 [- - -] δικ(αστῆς) γρ(αμματεὺς) Ζωΐλος Ἀθηνίωνος ☞ Ἀσπέ[νδιοι-  
 - -]  
 [- - -]ΟΣ Καπίτων δικ(αστῆς) γρ(αμματεὺς) Μηνόδα[ρ]ος Ε[- - -]  
 6 [- - -]ΛΕΙΣ Μειδίας ΜΕΛΕ[- - -]  
 [- - -]ΟΣ ☞ Σιδῆται ΚΟΝ[- - -]

a.2: Either this could be restored as [δικα]σταί or it could be the last part of the ethnicon of a city, indicating the origin of the

delegation. Since the following judges and secretaries all come from Pamphylian cities (Maygdos, Aspendos, Attaleia(?), Side), one might expect a Pamphylian (or perhaps Lycian) city here too. But, so far as we have been able to determine, there is no ethnicon in either Pamphylia or Lycia ending in -στης, which increases the likelihood of [δικα]σταί.

b.2 Γάυιος: The members of the Gavia gens<sup>42</sup> do not seem to be widely attested in Asia Minor. However, their presence is known from several inscriptions in Attaleia, and it appears that the Gavii are one of the prominent families of the city.<sup>43</sup> Since this list pertains to the Pamphylian delegation, it is possible to argue that the judge Lucius Gavius Italos was from Attaleia. However, the remaining ΔΕΙΣ at the beginning of b.6 presents a significant obstacle to this interpretation since it can only be restored as [Αττα]λείς as far as Pamphylia is concerned. There is a possibility to change lambda to delta but this would not solve the problem either, as there is to our knowledge no ethnicon in Pamphylia ending in -δης.

b.3 Μαγυδεῖς: This constitutes the first complete attestation of the ethnicon of Pamphylia's harbour city Magydos in the epigraphic record, though it is fully documented as ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ on the coins<sup>44</sup> and in the one literary instance *ACO SER. II, II.4* (2013) 85, τῆς Μαγυδέων πόλεως τῆς Παμφύλων (A.D. 692).

<sup>42</sup> For this gentilicium see H. Solin and O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* (Hildesheim 1994) 86.

<sup>43</sup> N. Gökalp, *Attaleia Kent Tarihi ve Yazıt Korpusu* (diss. Akdeniz Univ. 2008) 90–94, nos. 4.1.2.10, 11, 13; 123, no. 4.3.1; 158, no. 4.4.59. For the family see also L. Dobson, *Die Primipilares. Entwicklung und Bedeutung, Laufbahnen und Persönlichkeiten eines römischen Offiziersranges* (Bonn 1978) 232–233, no. 113.

<sup>44</sup> E. Ünal, “Bronze Coinage of Magydos,” in O. Tekin (ed.), *Proceedings of Second International Congress on the History of Money and Numismatics in the Mediterranean World* (Istanbul 2018) 282–297. Epigraphically, the toponym has only been documented in the customs law of Asia: M. Cottier et al., *The Customs Law of Asia* (Oxford 2008) 36 line 26. Mustafa Adak has compiled all the epigraphic and literary evidence, along with a comprehensive commentary on the archaeology and history of the city: “Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Antalya II: Die pamphyliche Hafenstadt Magydos,” *EpigrAnat* 31 (1999) 53–68.

b.5 ΟΣ Καπίτων ... Μηνόδο[ρος]: For the possible identification of this delegation with the one in Block 1a inscription 2, see 405–406 above. If they were indeed the same individuals, the ΟΣ at the beginning of the line would belong to his gentilicium. Therefore, the possible restoration would be [Μᾶρκος Ἰούλι]ος Καπίτων and Ἐ[στιαίου].

b.6: ΛΕΙΣ: see the commentary above. It is possible to propose at the end Μελε[άγρου δικ(αστής), (nomen) γρ(αμματεὺς).]<sup>45</sup>

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