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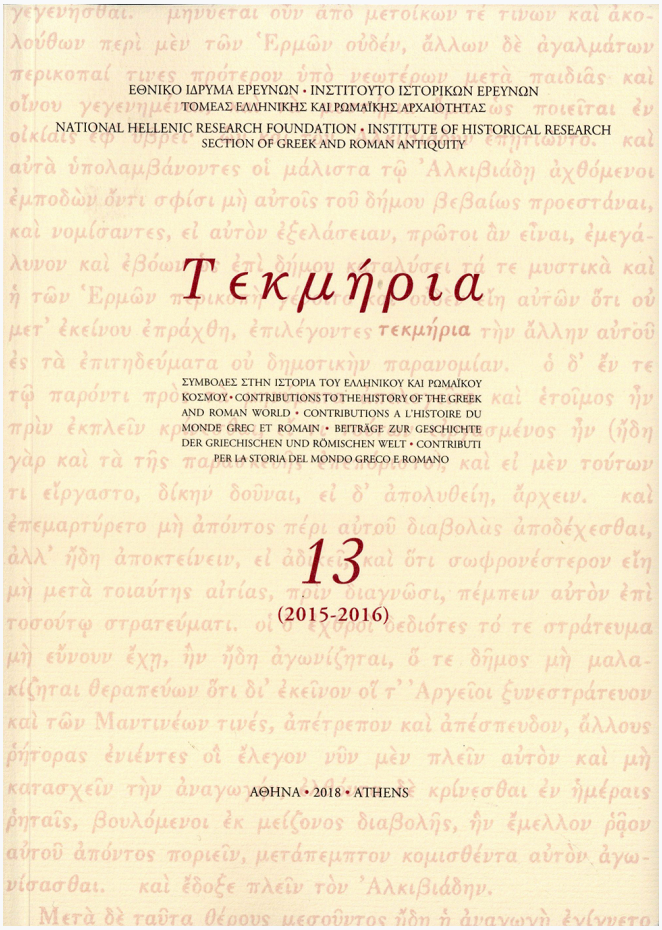

The design of the “archive wall” at Aphrodisias

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CHRISTINA KOKKINIA

The design of the "archive wall" at Aphrodisias

Large epigraphic dossiers are among the most intriguing artifacts to survive from antiquity. In the few such monuments known from the Greco-Roman world, architecture appears to merge with rhetoric, and art with documentation. These monuments may combine honorific, commemorative and ornamental aspects. They invariably pose questions of interpretation, not only because of their complexity, but also because of their fragmentary state of preservation, and because we know too little about the processes behind their creation. This study revisits a collection of documents that was inscribed on a wall at the theater of Aphrodisias in Caria in the third century CE, in pursuit of a better understanding of the motivations behind such inscriptions.[1]

1. My interest in the "archive wall" began during an enjoyable stay at Aphrodisias in the summer of 2003, for which I sincerely thank Ch. Ratté (New York) and R.R.R. Smith (Oxford) of the Aphrodisias excavations. A. Chaniotis (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton) kindly provided information and also photographs and measurements that he took on-site at Aphrodisias, J. Coulton (Oxford and Athens) helpfully discussed the archaeology of the site, and J. Stoop (Sydney) offered valuable comments on various aspects of the topic.

The following abbreviations are used frequently in this paper:

Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" = G. Bowersock, review of Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, in *Gnomon* 56 (1984) 48-53.

IAph2007 = J. Reynolds, Ch. Roueché and G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* (2007), http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007 (last accessed 24.10.2015).

Jones, "Review of Reynolds" = C. P. Jones, review of Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, in *AJPh* 106 (1985) 262-264.

Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* = J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome. Documents from the excavation of the theatre at Aphrodisias conducted by Professor K.T. Erim, together with some related texts* (Journal of Roman Studies Monographs 1, London 1982).

Smith, *Zoilos* = R.R.R. Smith, *The Monument of C. Julius Zoilo*s (Aphrodisias 1: Results of the Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria Conducted by New York University; Mainz am Rhein 1993).

The inscriptions are known as the "archive wall" but, as has been sufficiently established in the past, the wall was not truly itself an archive.[2] Nor has it been possible to classify the dossier in terms of any known type of archival storage, public or private. I propose to take a new approach to the dossier, and to try to describe the connection between the inscriptions' layout and the content of the individual documents – in other words, to assess the relation between external and internal characteristics, between the form and the content, of this epigraphic dossier. My underlying assumption is that the layout of the dossier reflects the interests of those at Aphrodisias who gathered these official documents and presented them to the public in this specific monumental setting.

I will argue that the inscriptions' original design was centripetal, so that the organization of the dossier focused the viewer's attention on certain documents that were inscribed in the middle section of the wall. I will argue, further, that chronological sequence was not a primary criterion in the arranging of the documents.[3] Of greater concern than chronological ordering, to those who chose and arranged these documents for inscribing, was the documents' rhetoric, and specifically, the relevance of that rhetoric to Aphrodisias of the third century CE. Finally, I will draw attention to the fact that, within a dossier that commemorates the city, there is a notable number of honorific references to ambassadors (including a letter which, as I will suggest, may have been penned by Cornelius Sulla). I will finally consider the possible function of this inscribed dossier within a larger cluster of monuments on display at the parodos of the theater.

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2. Nor two archives, as Reynolds had suggested; J. Reynolds, "Aphrodisias, A Free and Federate City", in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik* (*Vestigia* 17, 1973) 115-122, at 115-117. Strong arguments against calling the display at Aphrodisias' theater an archive: Jones, "Review of Reynolds" 263; A. Chaniotis, "The Perception of Imperial Power in Aphrodisias: The Epigraphic Evidence", in L. de Blois, O. Hekster, G. de Kleijn and S. Mols (eds.), *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power. Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C. - A.D. 476), Rome, March 20-23, 2002* (Amsterdam 2003) 250-260, at 251-252.

3. The opinion that the texts are arranged in chronological order was expressed by Reynolds in the standard edition, Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 37 and *passim*.

Archaeological overview

The graphic representation of the "archive wall" in fig. 1 is based on a drawing by M. Woudhuysen published in the standard edition of the dossier (Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*).[4] To that drawing I have added: grey shading to indicate the area of the inscribed surface; labels designating the position and numbering of the documents, and a descriptive title for each; the date of each text that preserves an emperor's *tribunicia potestas*; labels for the position and numbering of the columns; a numbering of the wall courses; and the cardinal points "East" and "West". The numbering and positions of the documents, columns, and wall courses are generally those given in the standard edition, but with two exceptions: column VI with document 4 is here considered part of the epigraphic display of the "archive wall",[5] and I assign compound numbers (6/1, 7/2 and 8/3) to courses that span the entire length of the wall.[6] I have modified the reconstruction of the west and east ends of the wall to reflect the observations, and the reservations, expressed here about the form and even the existence of the pilasters and pilaster capitals at both ends of the wall. Finally, at the west end of column V, I have inserted arrows to indicate that the documents inscribed in column V and column VI are closer than the drawing suggests.[7]

Fig. 1, here, includes the drawings of inscribed fragments and blocks that are shown in the drawing by M. Woudhuysen. These inscribed fragments and blocks are not those found in situ, but those that were incorporated into the wall

4. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 34-35, fig. 4, where it is called a "hypothetical reconstruction showing the position of new fragments." The drawing is reproduced here by kind permission of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

5. See below, 37-38.

6. Reynolds numbers the courses from top to bottom, with the result that each course of the shorter, west part of the wall receives a different number than the same course at the east. Rather than abandon this system of numbering altogether, I adopt a system of compound numbering for the courses that exist at both east and west. Each compound number, such as "6/1", designates first the course at the east, and then the course at the west; hence, "course 6/1" is course 6 (at east) and course 1 (at west).

7. The closeness of these texts is shown in Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* plate XII and here, pl. 1.

through the efforts of J. Reynolds and her team.[8] To see which blocks were found in situ, see the photograph of the wall in Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome, pl. VIII. All approximate measurements are based on Woudhuysen's drawing. Precise measurements, if not otherwise stated, have been provided by Angelos Chaniotis.

Built in the late first century BCE, the "archive wall" was the north end wall of the stage building of Aphrodisias' theater.[9] The wall was built of blocks of local marble set in alternately high and low courses. Below these was a taller course of orthostates.[10] There is no evidence that the wall initially carried inscriptions. Around the middle of the third century CE, however, it had been all but covered on its north, exterior face with inscriptions in Greek.[11]

The wall was c. 11 m in length. For the first 6,5 m measuring from its west end, it was approximately 2,5 m tall. In that same 6,5 m span, at a height of c. 2 m, a row of brackets once supported decorative arches.[12] The wall was

8. See Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 34-35, fig. 4; cf. the photograph *op. cit*. pl. VIII. Most of the smaller inscribed fragments depicted in *Aphrodisias and Rome*, fig. 4, were not placed in the wall at Aphrodisias. There are exceptions: in column V, three adjoining fragments of document 21, which contain the right ends of lines 2-7 of that document, were included in the drawing in *Aphrodisias and Rome*, fig. 4 and were also placed in the wall; cf. the photograph in *Aphrodisias and Rome*, pl. XII and pl. Ia, here. There have been further alterations to the state of the wall since the date of the photographs printed in *Aphrodisias and Rome.* Compare, for example, the depiction of blocks from column V as shown in pl. Ia, here, with the photograph in pl. XII in *Aphrodisias and Rome*: a block, broken diagonally in two, from the middle section of document 17, which is shown in the wall in pl. Ia, is not in the photograph, pl. XII, in *Aphrodisias and Rome*, nor does it appear in the drawing, fig. 4.

9. Between 30 and 27 BCE: N. de Chaisemartin and D. Theodorescu, "Le bâtiment de scène du théâtre d'Aphrodisias: restitution et étude fonctionnelle de la structure scénique", in J.-Ch. Dumont (ed.), *De la tablette* à *la scène. Actes du colloque de Paris X-Nanterre, 31 octobre-1er novembre 2004* (*Pallas* 71, 2006), 57-70, at 57-58.

10. Reynolds uses the term 'dado' to refer to this orthostate course.

11. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 33: the letter forms are those of Aphrodisian inscriptions dated between 150 and 300 CE. The latest document in the dossier is a letter by the emperor Gordian dated to 243 CE. See below, 35-36 on this letter and 16-22 on the dating of the epigraphic phases of the collection of documents.

12. The arches had theatrical masks carved on the keystones: Chaisemartin and

significantly taller in its eastern section than at the west; on the basis of surviving inscribed blocks, Reynolds calculated that the eastern part of the wall was at least 5,5 m tall. Although the entire east end of this taller section was dismantled in the Late Roman period and later rebuilt in rough masonry, several blocks and fragments of the original wall have been recovered.[13]

At its west end the "archive wall" met the *proskenion* (stage front) of the theater. At this point, the *proskenion* terminated in a pilaster facing west, toward the orchestra. Reynolds proposed that there was also a north-facing pilaster at the northwest corner of the "archive wall", but this conclusion seems unsupported. On the north face of the west end of the "archive wall" (see fig. 1 [column VI] and pl. Ia and b), the uppermost block is indeed worked to form a pilaster capital and the top of a pilaster shaft. But the block directly below this capital (in course 7/2), which is approximately twice as wide as the capital, is not fashioned to give the appearance of a pilaster shaft. The west face of the same block has been worked in two levels: the lefthand surface carries a pilaster shaft in relief that continues the relief from the course above, and the surface to the right is recessed. But the north face of the capital block and the course below it do not comprise such a pilaster.

Having interpreted the blocks found at the west end of the "archive wall" as forming a pilaster, Reynolds assumed a corresponding pilaster at the east end.[14] As noted above, however, the surviving blocks at the west end of the "archive wall" do not preserve a pilaster shaft in courses below the capital. And, as to the east end, Reynolds assigned to that part of the wall an inscribed block which is not certain to have been part of the original construction in that location; this block measured, originally, c. 0,4 m in width x 1,75 m in height. It was therefore approximately equal in height to three of the high courses plus four of the low courses of the eastern part of the wall.[15] While a pilaster

Theodorescu, "Le bâtiment de scène" 59 (see n. 9). Reynolds (*Aphrodisias and Rome* 33 and *passim*), assumes that the brackets supported a vault, but it is not clear that there was a parallel wall to the north to carry the other side of a vault or ceiling in the first century.

13. The blocks were removed at an uncertain date in the Late Roman period for reuse in the city wall; Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* xv; 54.

14. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 20; 33; cf. Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 50; 51.

15. The block was found and sketched in 1705: Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 41, with pl. V.2 and VI. The block's original size can be reconstructed from the dimensions of an inscribed fragment which Reynolds re-discovered and which is now in the

of different construction than the wall structure is possible, the east corner would more probably have been built of alternate high and low courses, so as to bond with the wall and match the arrangement at the western corner. Reynolds' reconstruction of the east end of this wall is therefore accepted here only as a working hypothesis.

Many of the inscribed blocks were excavated *in situ*, and others have been discovered in the vicinity.[16] Sixteen documents, arranged in five columns, have been thus recovered and their reconstructed arrangement is quite secure.[17] In Reynolds' edition of the dossier, these 16 securely attested documents are numbered 4 and 7-21, and the columns are numbered II-VI. [18] The original size of the dossier is not known with certainty. Reynolds postulates that one more column existed (column I), consisting of the reported inscriptions on the large block, mentioned above, which she assigned to the east end of the wall,[19] and which held at least one document (document 6).

A visitor to the theater in the third century CE, when using the north parodos to enter the building, saw the "archive wall" on his left. On his right, he saw a heroon for the local aristocrat Aristokles Molossos, who had donated the theater's marble auditorium many generations earlier.[20] Further toward the entrance, a small trapezoidal enclosure next to the Molosseion appears to have

museum at Aphrodisias. See *Aphrodisias and Rome* 41; fragment: pl. V.1. The fragment preserves 10 lines of text and measures 0,21 x 0,33 m. Since the original block, according to the copy of the text made in 1705, contained 53 lines of 14-16 letters, it can be estimated to have measured c. 0,4 x 1,75 m.

16. The theater was excavated in the 1960s; see K. Erim and J. Reynolds, "A letter of Gordian III from Aphrodisias in Caria", *JRS* 59 (1969) 56-58 for the first publication of an inscription from excavations in the theater, an epistle of Gordian III carved in the north retaining wall of the cavea, document 22 in Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*; for the "archive wall" itself see Reynolds, "Aphrodisias, A Free and Federate City" and *ead*., *Aphrodisias and Rome* 33-135.

17. The position of smaller fragments is not always secure: see Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 51-52 on fragment inv. no. 75.141; and cf. below, 39-40.

18. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 22-26 (document 4) and 33-135 (documents 7-21).

19. For this block, now lost except for a small fragment, see n. 15.

20. N. de Chaisemartin, "Le théâtre d'Aphrodisias, espace civique et identitaire", in O. Henry (ed.), *Archéologies et espaces parcourus. Premières Rencontres d'Archéologie de l'IFEA Istanbul, 11-13 Novembre 2010*, Istanbul 2012, 74-84, at 75-76; 80; and cf. the plan fig. 1 on p. 74.

held statues of two local benefactors of an even earlier period, Artemidoros, son of Apollonios, and C. Iulius Zoilos.[21] Upon entering the theater and before walking up the steps to the cavea, on a bright morning our visitor would stand in the shadows cast by a series of statues of local honorands displayed on a raised platform on the stage front.[22]

In the immediate environs of the "archive wall", then, there were a number of honorific monuments for local benefactors. What, if anything, connected this inscribed dossier to the monuments surrounding it? The dossier's possible role within a wider context will be discussed in the final sections of this paper. First, I will consider whether the documents were intended as a dossier at all, and then I will look at each individual document and its location within the whole in order to establish the dossier's internal organization.

Epigraphic overview and epigraphic phases

The inscriptions in column II included the longest document by far in this dossier, which is a senatorial decree known as the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* (document 8), and a triumviral decree (document 7). These two inscriptions spanned 9 wall courses according to Reynolds' reconstruction, over an area c. 4,6 m high and c. 3 m wide. Column II was more than twice as high as the other columns and had approximately the same width as column V. Columns III-V began just under the brackets and extended over 4 wall courses. Column III was c. 1,6 m high and 0,90-1 m wide; column IV was also c. 1,6 m high, and c. 2 m wide. Column V was c. 1,9 m high and c. 2,8 m wide. It is uncertain whether column VI was inscribed over 2 or 3 courses (see below); its inscriptions extended c. 1 to 1,2 m in height.

21. Artemidoros: Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, document 27. Zoilos: Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, document 38. N. de Chaisemartin, "Le théâtre d'Aphrodisias" (see n. 20) 81, for the enclosure between the Molosseion and the north analemma of the theater, and the hypothesis that Artemidoros' and Zoilos' statues were set up there.

22. R.R.R. Smith, *Aphrodisias II: Roman Portrait Statuary from Aphrodisias* (Mainz am Rhein 2006) 54-55: probably in the Antonine period, the theater orchestra was lowered "to create a sunken arena for amphitheater games". This conversion created "a new stage for performing and speaking at the old orchestra level, which made the old logeion stage redundant". The old logeion stage now became a raised statue gallery, which carried a series of at least ten statues. Inscriptions on the logeion's cornice inform us that statues had been moved from elsewhere to be set up on the logeion.

Across the surface of the wall, the upper 30-40 cm of the orthostate course was worked smooth to allow for the inscribing of some text in each column. The final line in each of the columns is not horizontally aligned with the final line in the others, and the surface prepared for inscribing in each column does not have the same lower edge.[23] In some sections of the wall, surface that was left unsmoothed provides narrow vertical balks, or dividers, between columns of inscribed text.

Letter sizes range from 1,5 to 2,5 cm, with one marked exception: the letters of a heading at the top of column IV are 8 cm high. Lettering in the higher courses is generally larger than lettering in the lower courses. This is true for the uppermost lines of document 8 (in column II) and for the lines of documents 15, 10, and 16 (at the top of columns III, IV, and V, respectively). A 'subtitle' below document 21 (in column V) constitutes the most notable exception to this pattern (see below).

The inscribed surface of the stones is well preserved. Where text is missing, it is possible to reconstruct at least the general content of the documents. Among the 16 documents that are certain to have been carved on the wall are included the senatorial decree of 39 BCE in column II (document 8) and 11 letters of Roman emperors with dates ranging from Octavian/Augustus to Gordian III. The majority of the Imperial letters address the city of Aphrodisias (documents 15-21). In addition, three Imperial letters address Ephesos, Samos and Smyrna, respectively (documents 12, 13, 14), and one Imperial letter addresses an individual (document 10). The dossier also includes a triumviral decree (document 7), a list of excerpts recording early awards to the sympolity of Plarasa and Aphrodisias (document 9), a letter by an individual to the same sympolity (document 11) and, finally, in column VI, a letter to Plarasa/Aphrodisias whose author and date are uncertain (document 4).[24]

The texts of all of the documents attest to Aphrodisias' good relations with Roman rule. The letter forms of the inscriptions are very similar, and they consistently point to a date in the second or third century AD. These common features aside, certain features distinguish the inscriptions on the orthostate

23. Below this irregular edge, the unpolished orthostate measures 69-78 cm in height; see Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 33.

24. Reynolds (*Aphrodisias and Rome* 23-24) proposes that the author of document 4 may have been the king of Bithynia Nicomedes IV. Bowersock ("Review of Reynolds" 51) argues convincingly against the suggestion; cf. below, 38-42.

course from those in other courses.[25] Firstly, the documents inscribed on courses 1-8/3 do not, as a rule, extend onto the orthostate course. That is, the bottom of course 8/3 coincides more or less with the ends of documents.[26] In column II, document 8 ends a few centimeters above the bottom of course 8/3 (and document 7 begins in that same course). In columns III and IV, documents 12 and 9, respectively, end precisely at the bottom of course 8/3. Only document 19 in column V continues from course 8/3 and onto an orthostate block, and only in its final line.

Secondly, the documents that begin on the orthostate course and those that begin on courses above it are not always vertically aligned. At the bottom of column III, document 11 extends further to the east and west of the documents preceding it in the same column. Similarly, at the bottom of column IV, document 20 extends further to the west than all of the documents above it. In addition, document 20 is separated from the other documents in the same wall course by vertical raised dividers at left and right. Again, at the bottom of column V, the lefthand margin of document 21 is inscribed a few centimeters further to the right than the documents above it, and the document is separated from the document to its left in the same course (document 20) by a vertical divider.

In addition, some documents of the second lowest and lowest course (course 8/3 and the orthostate course) differ from those inscribed above them in the quality, size, and spacing of their letters: a) the letters of document 7 (at the bottom of column II) and document 11 (at the bottom of column III) are slightly shallower than those of the documents inscribed above them (see pl. IIa); b) the letters of document 20 (at the bottom of column IV) and document 21 (at the bottom of column V) are less regular than those of the other documents (see pl. IIb). This difference is most marked in the case of document 20; c) the third section in the excerpts preserved in document 9 (column IV) is inscribed in smaller letters which have narrower interlinear spacing than the first two sections of that document, so that it seems to have been squeezed in just above the orthostate course; d) the lettering of document 19 (column V)

25. Features of the individual documents are discussed more fully below, 22-42.

26. The approximate coinciding of the end of a document with the bottom of course 8/3 is certainly true for the texts in columns II-IV. It may also be true of column VI provided we accept Reynolds' reconstruction of the lower part of that column, but see the reservations expressed below, 39-40.

is cramped in comparison with the text carved in the higher courses in that column.[27] When inscribing document 19, the mason appears to have tried to fit the entire inscription into course 8/3, without success.

Reynolds argued in favor of the documents of the "archive wall" having been inscribed in two phases because, as she observed, Gordian's letters (documents 20 and 21, in columns IV and V, respectively) appear to have been carved by hands different from those of the rest of the documents.[28] Reynolds adds that these two documents are differently aligned than the texts above them, and are to be regarded as an addition to the original design. On that interpretation, Reynolds regarded documents 7 and 11, both carved on the orthostate course (in columns II and III, respectively), as having formed part of the original epigraphic program.

In his review of Reynolds' edition of these texts, G. Bowersock drew attention to the fact that a number of documents end at the bottom of course 8/3, and rightly pointed out that this cannot be coincidental.[29] In addition, though not entirely convincingly, Bowersock proposed that the opening up of the orthostate course for inscribing the last line of document 19 (in column V) caused the designers of the dossier to open up the corresponding course on the other end of the wall too, to create a balance, and that documents 7 and 11 (in columns II and III, respectively) were obtained from the city's archive for that purpose. Document 20 (at the bottom of column IV), according to Bowersock, was then used to fill in the central section of the orthostate course.[30]

Reynolds' and Bowersock's reconstruction of the phases of this dossier's inscribing leave questions unanswered. Against Reynolds' suggestion that Gordian's letters (documents 20 and 21) constitute the sole addition to the original design, for the reason that they are not aligned with the documents

27. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* pl. XII.

28. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 36.

29. Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 51: "since no courses above this level [level 8/3] coincide at the bottom with the end of a text". This is not true, because document 10 (in column IV) and document 17 (in column V) coincide at the bottom with the ends of courses 6/1 and 7/2 respectively. But it is true that no courses above level 8/3 coincide at the bottom with the ends of texts in several columns.

30. Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 51: "Once the new course was opened up for the Alexander letter [document 19] it looks as if the corresponding course was opened up on the other side of the wall to create a balance".

further up the two columns IV and V, it can be objected that document 11, at the bottom of column III, is also not aligned with texts inscribed in the higher courses of its column.[31] Reynolds also pointed out that the inscriptions of documents 20 and 21 are of poor quality. But as we have seen, poor quality is also a mark of the shallower inscriptions of document 7 (column II) and document 11 (column III).

Undercutting Bowersock's proposal that the extending of document 19 (column V) into the orthostate course prompted the use of the orthostate blocks for inscriptions in other columns is the fact that, as mentioned above, document 19 extended into the orthostate course by only a single line of text. That slight incursion would not have significantly disturbed the balance of the epigraphic presentation. The carving of four further documents on the orthostates (documents 7, 11, 20, and 21) is not easily explained as a response to that minor extension of a single inscribed line into the orthostate course.[32] Though nothing speaks against individual documents having been used to fill up space, it seems unlikely that the entire orthostate course was inscribed for purposes of symmetry.

Taken together, the external characteristics of the documents inscribed on the orthostate course suggest that documents 7, 11, 20, and 21 were added later than the original design. It appears that the "archive wall" was created in two epigraphic phases: the inscribing, first, of documents that started above the orthostates and second, of those carved on the orthostate course. These two phases should be understood as the major epigraphic phases of the monument, within which the inscribing of some of the individual documents or sections

31. See Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* pl. X; cf. below, 26-27.

32. Bowersock does not include document 21, which is located immediately below document 19 (in column V), in his discussion of why the inscriptions in the dossier extended to the orthostate course (Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 51). He mentions document 21 only to say that document 20 is erroneously given twice as 21 in Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 37. There are in fact three errors in the designation of documents 20 and 21 in Reynolds, *op. cit.* 37: in the list of documents of column IV, instead of "*e* Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias (document 21)", read "*e* Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias (document 20)"; in the list of documents of column V, instead of "*e* Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias (document 20)", read "*e* Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias (document 21)"; and instead of "The position of the letter of Gordian III (doc. 21)", read "The position of the letter of Gordian III (doc. 20)".

might represent minor epigraphic phases in their own right. Minor additions to the original design need not have been made all at once or exclusively in the orthostate course, and the external features of inscriptions added later need not differ noticeably from those of earlier texts.

The question of whether minor epigraphic phases can be identified concerns mainly documents 9 and 19. Document 9, in column IV, is a list of privileges granted to Aphrodisias by the Romans, whose last section was squeezed in just above the orthostate course.[33] Several explanations might be suggested as to why that section was inscribed in the inadequate space between the previous section of document 9 and the orthostate. Intending to inscribe all three sections, the mason may have miscalculated the space available above the orthostate. Alternatively, the mason inscribed the first two paragraphs of document 9, and the last paragraph was added as an afterthought. This could have happened either during the first phase of inscription or when the inscriptions were extended beyond course 8/3, to fill-in empty space or, finally, after the first phase but independently from the second, at a point in time when the Aphrodisians decided to underline the importance of their embassies to Rome and the privileges granted to Aphrodisian ambassadors by the Romans.

I leave aside for the moment the questions of whether the documents inscribed entirely on the orthostates were all added at once, when they were added, and why, because to answer these questions one must first take into account certain internal characteristics of the documents. By contrast, the debate about the date of the original design has focused mainly on external features. The date of inscription of document 19 is also important in this context.

Reynolds detects slight variations between the letter forms of documents 7 and 19, on the one hand, and those of the rest of the dossier, but she considers these variations to be insignificant for the documents' dating.[34] In contrast, she considers the difference in the quality of inscribing of documents 20 and 21 and the rest of the documents to be significant to their dating, and this leads her to place documents 20 and 21 in the second phase of inscribing and to date the first phase in relation to the date of the latest document carved on the wall excepting documents 20 and 21. This is document 19 (in column V), a letter of Severus Alexander from the year 224 CE.

33. See below, 32.

34. In an article of 1973 ("Aphrodisias, A Free and Federate City" 115; see above, n. 2), Reynolds recognizes these differences in document 19. In Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 36, she adds that she has detected these differences also in document 7.

Giving more weight to the differences between the letter forms of documents 7 and 19 as compared with those of the other documents, Bowersock proposes that both 7 and 19 were additions to the original design.[35] On that view, the original phase of inscribing dates from the time of the joint reign of Severus and Caracalla, the emperors who were the authors of the epistles documents 17 and 18. While document 18 lacks Imperial titulatures, document 17 preserves full titulatures, and the number of the *tribunicia potestas* survives: the letter dates from the year 198 CE.[36] Hence, the suggested dates for the original design of the "archive wall" are 198 CE (Bowersock) and 224 CE (Reynolds).

I propose that an external feature so far overlooked in this context may provide a conclusive clue for dating the original design. On the orthostate block where the first line of document 20 (in column IV) ends and nearly abuts the final line of document 19 to its right (in column V), the two lines of text are separated by a thin vertical strip of rough stone, the height of only that one line of text (see fig. 1 and pl. IIb). A second vertical divider, located below and slightly to the right of that narrow raised strip, separates the seven lower lines of document 20 (at left) from document 21 (at right). This lower divider is approximately twice the width of the one above it, and of similar width as the divider that separates the lefthand edge of document 20 from document 11. I propose that the lettering on either side of the short, narrow divider (lettering in the first line of document 20 and the last line of document 19) was allowed only a narrow separation because the last line of document 19 was already present when document 20 was added to the wall, and the inscriber of document 20 chose this solution to keep the texts from overlapping. For the inscribing of the second and lower lines of document 20, the wider separator was used; the block to its right was presumably uninscribed at the time. I conclude that the inscribing of document 19 antedates the inscribing of document 20, and that the inscribing of document 20 antedates the inscribing of document 21.

35. Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 51. I tend to agree with Reynolds that the variations between the letter forms of documents 7 and 19 are of little value for the purposes of dating; see pl. IIa showing parts of documents 7 and 8; and cf. pl. IIb, showing parts of documents 9, 18 and 19. Such slight variations in the forms of the letters could be attributable to different hands, possibly of inscribers working contemporaneously.

36. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 125.

This reconstruction of the process of inscribing opens up three possibilities in respect to the date of inscription of document 19. Either (a) document 19 was added below document 18 at some point between 224 CE (the date of document 19) and 239 CE (the date of document 20), it therefore represents a minor epigraphic phase of its own, and is irrelevant for the dating of other documents of the dossier; or (b) document 19 was added below document 18 when the decision was taken to extend the inscriptions to the orthostate course (at a date to be discussed shortly); or, finally, (c) document 19 belongs to the same epigraphic phase as the group of documents carved above it, as opposed to those carved in the orthostate course, in which case 224 CE (the date of document 19) is the most plausible date for the creation of the first epigraphic phase.

The first possibility requires that document 19 was inscribed later than document 18 and other documents of the first phase, but was nevertheless squeezed in at the bottom of column V of the "archive wall", where there was not enough space for it, instead of being positioned more advantageously somewhere else, for example on the cavea's analemma wall, where at least one Imperial letter was inscribed.[37] The second possibility requires that document 19 was chosen to fill in space between two sets of documents (those on the orthostate and those on higher courses), but was nevertheless inscribed before the second set (the documents on the orthostate), resulting in the miscalculation of writing space described above between the last line of document 19 and the first line of document 20. While neither possibility can be excluded, the third explanation is the least problematic, and Reynolds may have been right to date the original design of the "archive wall" to 224 CE.

The documents

In Reynold's edition, the documents are numbered and discussed in chronological order. Here, by contrast, I list and briefly discuss the texts as they were inscribed on the wall, from left to right from the perspective of the viewer.

Column I

Inscribed in a narrow column at the eastern end of the wall, there may have been a letter to Plarasa/Aphrodisias (**document 6**).[38] The existence of this

37. Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome, document 22.

38. *IAph2007*.8.25.

column is uncertain. It is adduced from the discovery, in the city-wall, of a tall, narrow, inscribed stone which was first published in 1728.[39] Document 6 is a typically phrased letter of recommendation for an ambassador, in this case the local notable Solon, son of Demetrios. The author was a triumvir[40] but his name is not preserved. A man named Σόλων Δημητρίου is attested in document 12 as having undertaken an embassy to Octavian, to report the effects on Plarasa/Aphrodisias of the war against Quintus Labienus in 40-39 BCE. It seems likely, therefore, as Reynolds concluded, that the recommendation preserved in document 6 was penned by Octavian in or shortly after 39 BCE. However, we have no additional information about Solon's activities during the triumvirate, and they could have included an embassy to Marcus Antonius.[41]

Document 6 ends without a valedictory formula. Instead, the phrase γράμματα Καίσαρος, followed by a leaf, was carved beneath the last line of Octavian's epistle. Earlier scholars, therefore, had concluded that a letter of Julius Caesar was positioned below document 6.[42] Reynolds argued against that opinion on the grounds that, in or shortly after 39 BCE, "Caesar" alone without θεός or δικτάτωρ would have referred not to Julius Caesar but to Octavian, and a second communication from Octavian would not have received a new heading if it was cut immediately below document 6.[43] However, since the inscriptions date from the third century CE, we might expect a title to a document, given at the time of inscription, to use such names of historical personalities as a third-century audience would recognize. This is a convincing hypothesis in the case of another document of the "archive wall", document 13. Document 13 is a letter by Octavian, probably of 38 BCE, whose heading includes the title

39. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 41-42; cf. above, 13-14 with n. 15.

40. See lines 5-7: τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆ<ς> | τῶν δημοσίων πρα|γμάτων διατάξεως.

41. The question of who authored document 6 has not yet been answered beyond doubt. A. Giovannini argues for returning to the earlier view that this was a letter of Antony, based on a change in punctuation and a new interpretation of the last lines; see A. Giovannini, "Lettre d'un triumvir a Aphrodisias. Octave ou Marc Antoine?", in M. Piérart and O. Curty (eds), Historia testis. Melanges d'epigraphie, d'histoire ancienne et de philologie offerts a Tadeusz Zawadzki (Fribourg 1989), 61-67.

42. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 42 (earlier editions); 47 "Hitherto it has been assumed by most editors that this line was inset as a heading and that it referred to a communication from Julius Caesar which followed".

43. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 47.

Αὔγουστος.[44] Similarly, γράμματα Καίσαρος could be the title, added in the third century CE, of a letter of Julius Caesar.

There is another reason why the view expressed by earlier scholars is worth considering, that a letter by Julius Caesar probably followed below document 6: column I would have had the same height as column II, which held some 95 lines of text above the orthostate. Since document 6, as preserved in the block mentioned above, is only 52 lines long, there must have been room for more inscriptions below that document. Supposing column I held two epistles, one by Octavian and another by Caesar, the two columns at the east and west ends would have displayed letters of the actors of the Late Republic who had been important for Aphrodisias' relations with Rome, in reverse chronological order.[45]

Column II

Column II held **document 8**,[46] the Greek translation of a senatorial resolution enacted in 39 BCE that has come to be known as the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*, and concerns the legally and fiscally privileged status granted by the Romans to the sympolity of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, to their citizens, and to the local Aphrodite temple and sanctuary. The detailed, and very extensive, resolution is only partly preserved, but has been largely restored by Reynolds.[47] Nearly half of the blocks of this section of wall have been found in their original place. The two topmost blocks to have been preserved *in situ* belong to the fourth course of stones.[48] They contain the right parts of lines 34-45 of the *senatus consultum*.[49] According to Reynolds' reconstruction,

44. Reynolds argued that Octavian was named twice Augustus in the "archive wall" when he did not yet possess this title, in documents 7 and 13, where Octavian is named Αὔγουστος and Σεβαστός respectively (Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 50 and 104-105). However, in the case of document 7 the placing of the fragment (inv. no. 75.141) on which [Σ]εβαστός was carved is doubtful. See Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 52, and cf. below on document 7.

45. Cf. below on column VI.

46. *IAph2007*.8.27.

47. See her extensive commentary in Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 54-91.

48. See, in Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* pl. VII, the lower left part of a photograph taken during excavation.

49. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 56 with pl. IX; for the text see *op. cit.* 57-61; in

the document originally extended over eight courses of blocks of stones. It comprised 95 long lines and occupied the entire column II but for 11 lines taken up by a triumviral decree at the bottom of the column.

The initial line of this triumviral decree, **document 7**,[50] was carved in the next-to-lowest course (8/3), and the rest of the document in the orthostate course.[51] This document too is only partly preserved. It is carved in letters considerably shallower and less regular than those of document 8 above it (see pl. II.a). The initial line, as reconstructed in the standard edition, reads: [Γάϊος Καῖσαρ Σ]εβαστὸς αὐτοκ[ρ]άτωρ, [Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ?αὐτοκράτωρ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τῶν δημ]οσίων πραγμάτων vac διατάξεως λέγουσιν vac. Of course Octavian was not titled Augustus ([Σ]εβαστός) when this decree was issued. According to Reynolds' interpretation, however, the epithet was added to the prescript of the document to help an audience of the third century identify this Caesar as Caesar Augustus. At first glance it seems in favor of this interpretation that the same epithet was added to Octavian's name in another instance in this dossier, in document 13. However, in that instance, the addition was part of a title to a document, provided at the time of inscription.[52] By contrast, Reynolds' explanation for the presence of the epithet in document 7 entails that Σεβαστός was inserted in the prescript of the document itself. To my knowledge, this would be without parallel. It seems more likely that the fragment containing the title does not belong here.[53] Otherwise the content of document 7, as far as it can be reconstructed, appears unremarkable. In l. 9 there is a mention of the freedom of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, among other cities.[54]

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the reconstruction drawing shown in fig. 5, the preserved stones (whether *in situ* or assigned a place by Reynolds and her team) appear on a white background; restorations appear on a grey background.

50. *IAph2007*.8.26.

51. See the photograph Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* pl. IX.

52. Cf. below on document 13.

53. The fragment was found elsewhere, and G. Bowersock has rightly doubted its placement. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 56: the fragment is "shown by its context to have belonged in course 8"; cf. *op. cit*. 50: "the location of the fragment which contains [Σεβαστός] is guaranteed by the place of its first six lines in doc. 8, ll. 90-5". But see Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 51-52.

54. S. Mitchell, in his review of Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome, ClR* ns34 (1984) 291-297, at 295, compares the list of cities that appear here with those that are said to have

Column III

Next to these two documents, moving right from the perspective of the viewer, three letters carved in column III are very well preserved. In a letter to Aphrodisias from the year 119 CE, the emperor Hadrian releases the city from payment of certain taxes (**document 15**).[55] Though the letter is rather sober, the Aphrodisians must have welcomed Hadrian's statement that the city was "in other respects worthy of honor" and was "also removed from the formula provinciae".[56] This brings to mind the coins of Aphrodisias from Hadrian's reign that celebrated the ἐλευθερία τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων.[57]

Below the letter by Hadrian is a letter of Octavian to Ephesos (**document 12**).[58] In this letter, Octavian instructs the Ephesians to help Aphrodisias recover the treasures looted from the city during the war with Labienus, and to return to Aphrodisias a statue of Eros offered to Aphrodite by Julius Caesar. The statue had been looted from Aphrodisias and then dedicated to Artemis of Ephesos. Apparently, Octavian here intervenes in favor of Aphrodisias in a conflict with Ephesos. His last words are flattering for Aphrodisias: "For it is necessary that I take care of the Aphrodisians, on whom I have bestowed such great benefits as to think that you will have heard of them (the benefits) too".[59] Octavian's positive reaction (from the point of view of the Aphrodisians) was the result of an embassy led by Solon, son of Demetrios, apparently the person mentioned in document 6 (cf. above).

Below Octavian's letter, at the bottom of column III, we find a letter to

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been granted relief from taxation by Antonius in Appian, *BC* 5.7.

55. *IAph2007*.8.34

56. Ll. 13-14: εἰδὼς τὴν πόλιν τά τε ἄλλα τειμῆς οὖσαν ἀξίαν καὶ ἐξῃρημένη<ν> τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας.

57. D. MacDonald, *The Coinage of Aphrodisias* (London 1992) 82.

58. *IAph2007*.8.31.

59. Ll. 19-20: Ἀνάνκη γάρ μοι [[Ἀφροδεισιέων]] ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν οὓς τηλικαῦτα εὐεργέτηκα ἣν καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν νομίζω. The translation offered above assumes that the accusative singular of the relative pronoun ἣν appears in the feminine gender because of attraction, or simply confusion, due to the preceding feminine substantive πρόνοιαν. Instead of ἣν, the author probably intended the accusative of the neutral: τηλικαῦτα εὐεργέτηκα ἃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν νομίζω. Otherwise the syntax would be hopelessly garbled (as opposed to merely awkward: Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome 103).

Plarasa/Aphrodisias by a man named Stephanos (**document 11**).[60] The text of document 11 exceeds the margins on both sides, 4 cm on the left so that line beginnings closely abut the right-hand margin of column II, and 15 cm on the right so that line endings push into the left-hand margin of column IV. This, in turn, causes documents 20 and 21, at the bottom of columns IV and V, respectively, each to be arranged several centimeters to the right in comparison with the documents directly above them. Document 11, like document 12, belongs in the historical context of the war against Labienus and the looting of Aphrodisian property, here slaves and a golden crown. Though the document is preserved intact, I am unsure as to its significance. To judge by the tone in which Stefanos receives orders in the next document (document 10), he was of low status, most likely a subordinate of Marcus Antonius.[61] Possibly, the number of slaves was so large, and the crown returned so important, as to make this episode in the aftermath of the war against Labienus worth recalling in the third century CE. Could this, then, have been the golden crown sent to Aphrodite of Aphrodisias by Cornelius Sulla during the First Mithridatic War?[62] I doubt that, in such case, it would have been referred to as the crown "which had been carried off by Pythes son of Oumanios", as it is in this document. One would expect instead the crown "which had been dedicated by Cornelius Sulla" or a similar expression. I believe that this document's role in the dossier was not so much to commemorate the recovering of important property as to provide a link between the previous and the next document. The letter is connected to the previous document through its explicit mention of the war of Labienus, and to the next document through the person of its sender: the sender of document 11 is the recipient of document 10, located at the top of column IV.

Column IV

In column IV, carved beneath the large heading ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ, we find a curt missive by Octavian addressing Stephanos, the author of document 11

60. *IAph2007*.8.30.

61. See Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 100; cf. E. Badian, "Notes on some documents from Aphrodisias concerning Octavian" *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 25 (1984) 157-170, at 158-162.

62. Appian, *BC* 1-11.97; cf. C. P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* (Cambridge MA, 1999), 100.

(**document 10**).[63] The inscription is well preserved, like all documents in this column.[64] The salutation Καῖσαρ Στεφάνῳ χαίρειν is centered in relation to the following lines. The letter opens with the mention of a prominent local man, Octavian's freedman C. Julius Zoilos[65] and, in the next sentence, refers to Aphrodisias without mentioning the city's name. Octavian speaks instead of "his" (Zoilos') patris:

Ὡς Ζωΐλον τὸν ἐμὸν φιλῶ ἐπίστασαι· τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσα καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ συνέστησα.

"You know how I love my dear Zoilos. I have freed his city and recommended her to Antonius".

Stephanos, the letter's recipient, is assumed to know Zoilos, to know of Zoilos' close relationship with Octavian, and to know which city Zoilos comes from. Like Theophanes of Mytilene and Seleukos of Rhosos, Zoilos obtained privileges for his city through his association with one of the powerful Romans of the late republic. In the case of Theophanes and Seleukos, however, the grammar of the texts leaves no room for downplaying their role in securing those privileges. Inscriptions and literary evidence alike speak of privileges secured "through Seleukos" and "through Theophanes": "διὰ Σέλευκον"[66] and "διὰ Θεοφάνη".[67] By contrast, in the case of Zoilos modern scholars could not agree on the meaning of Octavian's statement. Reynolds understood Octavian's words to mean that Aphrodisias owed its freedom to Zoilos. E. Badian has disagreed, arguing that this is "neither stated nor implied".[68] Reynolds' view is more convincing. For if Octavian's love for Zoilos was not to be connected to Aphrodisias' elevated status, then we must assume that Octavian's letter

63. *IAph2007*.8.29.

64. With the exception, here as elsewhere on the wall, of the name Aphrodisias which was erased later, presumably when the city was renamed Stauroupolis (City of the Cross).

65. Smith, *Zoilos*; cf. below, n. 70.

66. A. Raggi, *Seleuco di Rhosos. Cittadinanza e privilegi nell'Oriente greco in età tardo-repubblicana* (Pisa 2006) (*IGLS* 718=*RDGE* 58), l. 81; ll. 92-93.

67. Plutarch, *Pompeius* 42.8, cf. Velleius Paterculus 2.18.3 ("Theophanis gratiam"); see L. Robert, "Théophane de Mytilène à Constantinople" *CRAI* (1969) 42-64.

68. Badian, "Notes" (see n. 38) 158.

opens with a statement that is irrelevant to what follows,[69] and this is highly unlikely. Stephanos is being told, or rather reminded, that Aphrodisias is the city of Zoilos whom Stephanos knows or has heard of, and who is very dear to Octavian. So dear in fact, that Octavian freed Zoilos' city.

This need not have been the entire truth – as it was not the entire truth that Octavian gave the gift of freedom to Aphrodisias single-handedly without the involvement of the Roman senate – but it is what the rhetoric of this letter clearly implied to its addressee. As for visitors to the city who, in the third century CE and later, maybe read those lines on the wall, they needed only look around the corner to be informed of Zoilos' importance. Zoilos had paid for the lavish stage building on whose northern wall the "archive" was eternalized, and his dedicatory inscription was carved twice in monumental letters on the facade.[70] Moreover, the stage building was only one of Zoilos' many gifts to the city.[71] Document 10 of the "archive wall" portrayed him as the connecting link between Aphrodisias and the first *princeps*. Octavian instructs Stephanos to take pains to assure that his favorite city is not troubled in any way:

Ll. 3-4: Μίαν πόλιν ταύτην ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας ἐμαυτῷ εἴληπφα. vac. Τούτους οὕτω θέλω φυλαχθῆναι ὡς ἐμοὺς πολείτας.

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69. Badian, *loc. cit.*, assumes that this is the case. Badian discusses this letter as a specimen of traditional patronal epistolography which addressed many audiences at once. Octavian's rhetoric in this letter may well have addressed many audiences at once, but it does not follow that such a letter might begin with a statement which, as Badian writes, was "totally irrelevant" to the actual addressee Stephanus. The art of writing such epistles involved, among other things, producing letters that made sense to their recipient while at the same time addressing more than one audiences.

70. Two identical texts, Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* document 36; it was later established that the second text (b) was carved on a higher storey; Smith, *Zoilos* 7: "The dedication, in which Zoilos vaunts his status as a freedman of Caesar, was inscribed twice on the facade in monumental letters, in different storeys." Zoilos also paid for the first phase or the new marble temple of Aphrodite, and he may have been involved in the early stages of the design and construction of a new urban center for Aphrodisias (Smith, *loc.cit*). Cf. R. Raja, "Expressing public identities in urban spaces: the case of Aphrodisias in Caria", in C. P. Dickenson and O. van Nijf (eds), *Public Space in the Post-Classical City. Proceedings of a one day colloquium held at Fransum 23rd July 2007* (Leuven 2013) 148-172.

71. Smith, *Zoilos* 7.

"This is the one city that I have taken for myself out of all of Asia. I want these (the Aphrodisians) to be protected as if they were my own fellow citizens".

The reader cannot have missed the link among the phrases "τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ", "μίαν πόλιν...ἐμαυτῷ εἵληπφα" and "ὡς ἐμοὺς πολείτας". Zoilos' city had become Octavian's. As the next document shows (document 13), it was not entirely true that the Aphrodisians enjoyed Octavian's favor on account of Zoilos' relationship with his master. Nonetheless, Octavian's verbal gifts to the city were real. And they were impressive as an honor to Octavian's libertus. Stephanos on the other hand is treated differently. Octavian gives him directions in a dry tone, and concludes with a warning: "I will see to it that you carry out my instructions".

Below Octavian's letter to Stephanos, we see a subscript of Octavian to the Samians (**document 13**).[72] Reynolds dates this document to the first half of 38 BCE.[73] The subscript is introduced by a phrase carved in the middle of the column: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱὸς Αὔγουστος Σαμίοις ὑπὸ τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑπέγραψεν. Octavian, then, is given the title Augustus which he received in 27 BCE. This does not necessarily speak against Reynolds' early dating though, because the phrase quoted above was provided as a heading, presumably at the time of inscription, and did not form part of the subscript itself. In his response to the Samians, Octavian refuses to concede to Samos "the gift of liberty", which he has given "to no people other than the Aphrodisians".[74] Unsurprisingly, there is no mention of Zoilos in this letter. Instead, Octavian explains his preferential treatment of Aphrodisias with reference to the city's conduct during "the war", by which he most likely meant the war against Labienus and the Parthians.[75]

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72. *IAph2007*.8.32.

73. *IAph2007*.8.32 "early 38 B.C.", cf. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 105; Badian, "Notes" (see n. 38) 166-169, argues for a date in 31 BCE; Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 52, dates the document in the late twenties; M. Toher, "The date of Nicolaus' Βίος Καίσαρος", *GRBS* 26 (1985), 199-206, at 202, cautiously agrees with Bowersock.

74. Ll. 2-3: τὸ φιλάνθρωπον τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδενὶ δέδωκα δήμῳ πλὴν τῷ τῶν [[Ἀφροδεισιέων]] ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσας δοριάλωτος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοιαν ἐγένετο.

75. As opposed to that against Antonius. According to Bowersock, "Review of

In the next document (**document 14**),[76] apparently also a subscript, the emperor Trajan writes to the Smyrnaeans in 100/101 CE[77] to warn them not to try to force anyone from the free cities to undertake liturgies of any kind, "and particularly not from Aphrodisias, a city which is exempted even from the *formula provinciae*".[78] Clearly this curt missive to Smyrna was the happy (from the point of view of Aphrodisias) outcome of action taken on the part of the Aphrodisians in support of their citizen T. Julianus Attalus, whom the Smyrnaeans, it seems, had tried to force to undertake a liturgy.[79] The emperor decided the case in favor of the Aphrodisian notable. What is more, he phrased his decision in general terms, such as could serve to ward off similar claims on Aphrodisian citizens in the future.

Documents 13 and 14, and the first paragraph of the following document (document 9) were inscribed on a high block in course 7/2.[80] On the blocks on either side, the surface of the wall has been left rough and forms balks, or vertical dividers, between column IV and columns III and V on either side. The dividers separate the 19 lines inscribed on this block from the rest of the inscribed stones in course 7/2. It seems that, while flattening the wall surface for the inscriptions, the masons formed a separate field for this section of column IV.

Reynolds" 52, Octavian's response was nevertheless probably given in the late twenties. While very flattering for Aphrodisias, it is a safe guess that Augustus' words were not eternalized on the island of Samos, unless maybe as part of a dossier including some later document by which Augustus eventually granted Samos the status of *civitas libera* – if indeed he did as Cassius Dio 54.9.7 claims: Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ ἐκ τούτων ἐγαυροῦτο, ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος ἔς τε τὴν Σάμον ἐπανῆλθε κἀνταῦθα αὖθις ἐχείμασε, καὶ ἐκείνοις τε ἐλευθερίαν μισθὸν τῆς διατριβῆς ἀντέδωκε; cf. Bowersock, *loc.cit.*

76. *IAph2007*.8.33.

77. Or 101/102; see for the date Jones, "Review of Reynolds" 264. If there was a titulature and a greeting these have been reduced to: *vacat* αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς Σμυρναίοις *vacat.* In Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 113, it is stated that this document was carved below document 12, and therefore in column III. This is clearly a misprint.

78. Ll. 3: ἐξῃρημένης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας.

79. Τιβέριον Ἰουλιανὸν Ἄτταλον ἀπολύω τοῦ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ναοῦ καὶ μάλιστα μαρτυρούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος. Μαρτυρούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος is a common gloss referring to encomiastic decrees sent to the emperor.

80. Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome pl. XI and here fig. 1.

Below Trajan's subscript, the Aphrodisians inscribed extracts from documents attesting to privileges granted to their city by the Romans (**document 9**).[81] Some of the clauses repeat passages from the senatus consultum in column II (document 8).[82] The privileges listed in document 9 are inscribed in 15 lines and are divided in three sections or paragraphs, of 6, 3, and 6 lines respectively. The first lines of all three paragraphs begin in the margin. Aside from this similarity, there are noticeable differences between the first two paragraphs and the third, both in form and in content. The first two paragraphs both attest to privileges concerning freedom from Roman troops, from billeting, and from taxes and contributions. Both are inscribed in letters of 2 cm height, and both begin with the word εἶδος. The third paragraph, by contrast, which begins in l. 9 of this document, is inscribed in smaller letters, 1,5 cm high, and concerns privileges for Aphrodisian ambassadors to Rome. This section differs from the other two also in that it is inscribed with closer horizontal spacing, and with more ligatures. As Reynolds rightly remarks, it seems that the mason had to squeeze the third section in, "for which space (or adequate space) had not originally been allowed".[83]

On the lowest course in column IV there is a letter of the emperor Gordian III to Aphrodisias (**document 20**).[84] The letter is dated with Gordian's holding of the tribunician power for the second time, that is, between December 10, 238 and December 9, 239 CE.[85] It is a routine response to a decree of congratulation on Gordian's accession,[86] in which the emperor commends the Aphrodisians for their loyalty, and promises to uphold their rights. The city's freedom is not mentioned explicitly. Apart from a reference to Aphrodisias' "antiquity" and the city's friendship with "the Romans" this letter's rhetoric

81. *IAph2007*.8.28. Document 9 is inscribed below document 14, not "below doc. 17", as is printed in Reynolds 1982, 92. Document 17 was inscribed in column V.

82. See Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 94-95.

83. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 92, and see above, 20.

84. *IAph2007*.8.102. In Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 37, where the documents are listed with regard to their layout on the wall, document 20 is referred to as belonging to column V, and document 21 as belonging to column IV. In truth document 20 is the last document of column IV, and document 21 is the last document of column V.

85. D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle: Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, (Darmstadt 1996) 195.

86. Ll. 5-6. Cf. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 132.

appears unremarkable. The letter's lines begin a few centimeters further to the right, from the perspective of the viewer, compared to the lines of the preceding documents in the same column, and they extend c. 10 cm further to the right in relation to the inscriptions of the rest of the column. The letters are, in Reynolds' words "less carefully cut than in previous documents".[87] The document is separated from the document to the left (document 11 in column III) and the document to the right (document 21 in column V) of it by vertical raised dividers.[88] These dividers are rough and irregular compared to the ones found higher up in the same column.[89]

Column V

On the uppermost course of column V we find a letter by the emperor Commodus to Aphrodisias (**document 16**),[90] dating from the year 189 CE. Unfortunately, parts of this letter have been lost, but the general sense is more or less clear. In a decree sent to the emperor, the Aphrodisians had requested of him that the proconsul visit their city to tend to problems with their internal financial administration (ll. 6-8). In response, Commodus writes to the Aphrodisians that he had instructed his governor to visit the city and to stay for as long as necessary to deal with the problems at hand (l. 13-14). In this context, it appears, the emperor mentions the city's rights as a *civitas libera*, but his exact words are not preserved.[91]

Below Commodus' letter we find a letter of the emperors Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias from the year 198 CE (**document 17**).[92] This letter occupied a large space on the wall, because the inscription includes the two emperors' full titulatures. The emperors' communication itself comprised just four lines (ll. 9-12) that are now only partly preserved. It was written

87. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 131.

88. Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome pl. XI.

89. In the second course on either side of documents 13 and 14, and the first part of document 9; see above. Cf. Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 51 on the dividers on either side of document 20.

90. *IAph2007*.8.35.

91. L. 12; see C. Kokkinia, "Aphrodisias' 'Rights of Liberty'. Diplomatic Strategies and the Roman Governor", in Ch. Ratté and R. R. R. Smith (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New Research on the City and its Monuments* (Portsmouth 2008) 51-60, at 53-55.

92. *IAph2007*.8.36.

in response to a decree of the Aphrodisians congratulating the emperors on progress made in the war against the Parthians.[93] The emperors appear to have mentioned the city goddess Aphrodite in the beginning of their letter (l. 9), and they confirm Aphrodisias' rights (ll. 11-12), but too much is lost to be able to reconstruct the details.[94]

There followed a second epistle of Septimius Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias (**document 18**)[95], this one without the titulatures. This document too is only partly preserved. To judge from what survives from its content, it seems very similar to the previous letter by Severus and Caracalla (document 17). Here too, there is mention of the city goddess (l. 4) and, probably, of preserving Aphrodisias' legal status (l. 5). Lines 2-4 are drafted as if from Caracalla alone. Possibly, then, since it has no titulatures and therefore no dating of its own, this letter dates from the same year as the previous one (198 CE), and was written in response to a civic decree congratulating Caracalla on his elevation to Augustus.[96]

Below the two letters by Severus and Caracalla we find a letter by the emperor Severus Alexander from 224 CE (**document 19**).[97] Mention of the recipient is lost. To judge by what remains from its content, however, the letter must have been addressed to Aphrodisias, because it mentions the city's rights (l. 3). Aside from the recipient, few other restorations can be made with any degree of confidence, because the wording, as far as it survives, suggests that this emperor wrote something different on the subject of Aphrodisias' liberty than what is known from other imperial letters in this dossier. A petition is mentioned (l. 4 ἀξιώσεως), and the verb ἀκροάσεται (l. 5) seems to point to a hearing, which, since the verb is in the future tense, had not yet taken place when the imperial epistle was written. We do not know who was to conduct the hearing, nor do we know what the petition aimed to achieve.

93. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 125, on the occasion probably not having been the fall of Ctesiphon.

94. A letter of 250 CE, found in the city wall but most likely originating from the theatre, is very similar to documents 17 and 18 in what concerns their reference to the city goddess; see Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* document 25.

95. *IAph2007*.8.37.

96. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 127-128.

97. *IAph2007*.8.99.

Also in terms of layout, document 19 presents differences from the other documents of the dossier. Firstly, the usual visual indicators to mark the end of one document and the begining of another were absent in the case of documents 18 and 19. Assuming Reynolds' reconstruction of the end of document 18 is correct, this document's final line reached the right margin of the column.[98] Below the final line of document 18, the initial line of document 19 follows with a bare minimum of interlinear space, and the initial letter of the same document projects only slightly into the margin.[99] Secondly, the lines of document 19 are cramped compared to the text in the higher courses.[100] Finally, the final line of document 19 is carved on the lowest course (orthostate course). This is insofar noteworthy as none of the other documents which begin on the higher courses extend beyond course 8/3 to the orthostate course.[101]

At the bottom of column V there is a letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias from the year 243 CE (**document 21**).[102] The text is not exactly aligned with the documents above it. Its lines begin a few centimeters further to the right. It is separated from the other letter of Gordian, preserved in document 20 and located at the bottom of column IV in the same course, by a raised vertical divider. Reynolds notes that the letters are "less carefully cut than the pre-Gordianic texts",[103] but the differences are less marked here than in the case of document 20. The letter, which is well preserved, must have been considered among the gems of this collection, to judge from its content. It appears that Aphrodisias had appealed to the emperor to protest a decree of the provincial council of Asia requiring the city to help those who had suffered from a recent earthquake. Gordian answers that the resolution was "not a command, for it is not possible to issue a command to those who are free". "Among free men," the emperor continues, "and you have a very great share of freedom, the only law in such matters is what you are willing to do":[104] τοῖς

98. Reynolds' tentative restoration of the two final lines of document 18 (ll. 4-5), includes the positioning of a group of small fragments; Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 127.

99. See Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* pl. XII, and here, plate IIb.

100. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* pl. XII.

101. See above, 16-18.

102. *IAph2007*.8.103.

103. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 133.

104. Translation Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome 134. I believe this translation to be correct, despite the fact that the relative pronoun οὗ cannot, in terms of syntax,

γὰρ ἐλευθέροις, οὗ πλεῖστον με[τέ]χετε, μόνος ἐστὶν πρὸς τὰ το[ι]αῦτα νόμος τὸ ἑκούσιον. The words "νόμος τὸ ἑκούσιον" were set out from the rest of the text by an uninscribed space before, and a star after the phrase. Coins dating from the reign of Gordian III celebrate the "freedom of the Aphrodisians" and the "free people" of Aphrodisias.[105]

Document 21 is alone in that it features a subtitle. The orthostate surface was smoothed to provide space for adding half a line below the epistle. In this writing space the words θεία ἀντιγραφὴ κατὰ Λαοδι[κ]εῖς ἡ προτεταγμένη were inscribed in larger letters.[106] The meaning of this phrase is uncertain. Προτεταγμένη can mean a number of things. In this context it means most likely "the previous" and refers to Gordian's "divine letter" (θεία ἀντιγραφή). Κατὰ Λαοδι[κ]εῖς is not readily understood either. Κατά seems to be used in the sense "towards the purpose of".[107] Laodicea is not mentioned in document 21. Despite the uncertain meaning of the phrase, the subtitle suggests that Laodicea had played a role in the matter settled by Gordian.

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relate directly to the dative plural τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. It relates instead to the idea of freedom, that is τὸ ἐλεύθερον, as Reynolds argues (Aphrodisias and Rome 135), who suggests that the phrase "seems to be a kind of echo of Thucydides 3.83", τὸ εὔηθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει. I would add Thucydides' use of τὸ ἐλεύθερον in one of his most famous passages, 2.43 in Pericles' Funeral Oration: οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες καὶ τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον κρίναντες μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους.

105. MacDonald "The Coinage of Aphrodisias" (see n. 35) 127 with pl. XXI: (type 178) assarion with Gordian III wearing cuirass and paludamentum. On the reverse (R416) the Demos is shown standing, crowned with a wreath by Eleutheria, and holding chlamys, scepter, and phiale over a flaming altar. The inscription reads Δῆμος Ἐλευθερία Ἀφροδισιέων. Cf. MacDonald, *op. cit.*, 132 with plate XXIII, bust of Demos with inscription Ἐλεύθερος Δῆμος.

106. See Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* pl. XII. If we knew more about column I and document 6 we might be able to decide whether the words "γράμματα Καίσαρος" that appear at the end of that document might also refer to the preceding letter. In that case, however, there is reason to suspect that another document was carved below document 6 (see above, 23-24). In addition, titles (as opposed to subtitles) are much more common, both in the "archive wall" and in epigraphic dossiers in general.

107. *LSJ* v.s. B III. "Against" is less likely because in that case one would expect a genitive instead of an accusative (κατά Λαοδικέων instead of κατά Λαοδικεῖς).

Column VI

In the column at the west end of the wall, part of a letter addressed to Plarasa/Aphrodisias survives (**document 4**).[108] The letter praises the services of an ambassador named Artemidoros, without a patronymic. This man may be identical with the *stephanephoros* known from another document from the theatre: a decree of Plarasa/Aphrodisias mentions an Artemidoros, also without a patronymic.[109] That decree was inscribed on a Doric entablature on the stage front,[110] and dates back to 88 BCE, during the First Mithridatic War. The decree says that Artemidoros was elected to lead an embassy to the Roman proconsul Quintus Oppius. Finally, in a third document from the theatre, Oppius mentions an Artemidoros, son of Myon, as having participated in an embassy to him.[111] This third document, a letter of Oppius to Plarasa/Aphrodisias, was also inscribed on the stage front, like the decree of Plarasa/Aphrodisias. Oppius' letter is carved around the corner on the same stones as document 4 but on the side facing the orchestra. Therefore, all three inscriptions from the theatre mentioning an Artemidoros were in close proximity to each other.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος is a very common name in inscriptions of Aphrodisias,[112] and it is not certain beyond doubt that the Artemidoros mentioned without a patronymic and praised in document 4 is the person of the same name of the decree of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, or the Artemidoros, son of Myon, of Quintus Oppius' letter. Oppius names Artemidoros, son of Myon, as one among other members of the embassy from Plarasa/Aphrodisias, and there is nothing to suggest that he was the embassy's leader, as the decree for Artemidoros states. Nevertheless, Reynolds assumed, tentatively, that these three documents all refer to the same member of the local elite, and suggested that the northwestern corner of the stage building formed an honorific complex for the ambassador and stephanephoros Artemidoros, son of Myon.[113] She assumed,

108. *IAph2007*.8.24.

109. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, document 2 = *IAph2007*.8.3.

110. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 11; cf. *IAph2007*.8.3.

111. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, document 3 = *IAph2007*.8.2.

112. See I. Bourzinakou, Die Prosopographie von Aphrodisias (Heidelberg 2012), numbers 471-535. For the name Μύων see *op. cit.* numbers 1819-1836.

113. Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome, 16; 18; 24. According to another inscription of the first century BCE, an Artemidoros, son of Myon, built the front hall of a temple at Aphrodisias. CIG 2754 = *IAph2007*.12.903. It is a fragment from a dedication in large

further, that document 4 did not form part of the epigraphic dossier of the "archive wall", but belonged instead to the complex in honor of Artemidoros. This last assumption has been questioned, with good cause.[114]

It is possible, of course, that either a person named Artemidoros or homonymous members of the same family were commemorated more than once at Aphrodisias' theatre. However, to posit a honorific complex for Artemidoros situated around the corner on the same building is inadequate for disassociating document 4 from the dossier of the north wall. On the contrary, it makes it likely that document 4 belonged to both epigraphic groups, that of the west and that of the north sides of the stage building, and therefore associated the "archive wall" with the stage front. If this is the case, we need to understand this document's connection to the other documents of the "archive wall".

To begin with, it is worth trying to solve the question of this letter's author. Reynolds' suggestion that the author may have been the Bithynian king Nicomedes IV, has met with little enthusiasm.[115] Unless the presumption is accepted that document 4 belonged to a different honorific complex than the rest of the wall, one expects the author of this letter to have been a Roman,

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letters (9,5 cm according to *IAph2007*) found in the city walls and dated by Reynolds in the late first century BCE based on the lettering: [·· ? ··] τὸ πρόδομον Ἀρτεμίδωρος Μύ[?ωνος ·· ? ··]|[·· ? ·· Ἀ]πολλών<ι>ος Ἀρτεμιδώρου οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτο[ῦ ·· ? ··]. Reynolds refers to this inscription in Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome 150, number 5, where she proposes a date in the first century BCE but fails to mention that this Artemidoros is the most probable candidate among those listed in her Appendix III as having been the Artemidoros of Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome documents 2, 3, and 4, assuming these documents refer to the same person. Finally, it is unclear whether Reynolds considers Μύων to be Artemidoros' alias name instead of his patronymic; or whether the title "Building inscription of Artemidoros Muon" in IAph2007 is merely a misprint. For the possible interpretation of πρόδομος, also πρόδομον, as the front hall of a temple LSJ s.v.

114. Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 51 (his discussion of document 4); cf. Jones, "Review of Reynolds" 264 who adds that the writing is indistinguishable in style from that of the other documents carved on the north wall.

115. Reynolds' suggestion is accepted by Rigsby. It is rejected by Mitchell, Bowersock, and Jones. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 23-24; K. J. Rigsby, "Review of Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*", *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 102-104, at 103; Mitchell, "Review of Reynolds" (see n. 32) 294; Bowersock, "Review of Reynolds" 51; C. P. Jones, "A Letter to Aphrodisias", *Classical Views* 29 (1985), 309-317.

as in all other letters of the "archive wall".[116] A closer look at the inscriptions preserving this letter reveals some difficulties, however, that need to be addressed before turning to the problem of its authorship.

Firstly, the lines of document 4 were not inscribed as far from the lines of the preceding column (column V) as the reconstruction drawing in Reynolds' edition suggests. The length of the inscribed lines on the corner block in course 7/2 can be determined through secure restorations of the missing letters in several cases. This allows the conclusion that the inscribed lines of document 4 covered the entire north face of the corner block in this course. As Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* plate XII, and here plate Ia show, the left margin of column VI was very close to the right margin of column V.[117] Column VI, then, belongs further to the left. It was carved immediately next to column V and there was no empty space between the two columns.[118]

According to Reynolds' reconstruction, document 4 was inscribed on three stone blocks, one of which belonged to the second course (7/2) of column VI; the other two were placed side by side in the third course (8/3).[119] In course 7/2, the right part of the block was found *in situ*, and a number of fragments have been assigned to it.[120] Of the two blocks that were, according to Reynolds, placed side by side in course 8/3, the one on the right-hand side was found reused in a Byzantine wall. This block is roughly worked below the last inscribed line.[121] From the block which, according to Reynolds, held the left part of the inscriptions in column VI and course 8/3, only a few inscribed fragments were found fallen nearby.[122]

But the assignment of the blocks and fragments to course 8/3 may not be secure. The inscriptions of the upper block (in course 7/2), whose place on the wall is secure because that stone was excavated *in situ*, correspond to lines

116. With the exception of Stephanos, the author of document 7, who was a subordinate of a Roman potentate.

117. Document 21 is the only document of column V whose right part is preserved.

118. Cf. above, 11.

119. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 20.

120. *Op.cit*., 20 with plates III.1 and III.2. In her description, Reynolds speaks of the block on the "left-hand" side having been found *in situ*. From the perspective of the viewer, however, the block was on the right, the fragments on the left-hand side.

121. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 20: "includes the dado". See *op. cit.*, pl. III.4.

122. *Op.cit*., 20 and pl. III.3.

1-19 of document 4. Despite some *lacunae*, ll. 1-19 are easy to make sense of. Lines 20-31 by contrast, as their inscriptions are reconstructed in Reynolds' edition, present difficulties. If there are compelling arguments, concerning the stone's size and shape, for assigning the right-hand block in course 8/3, Reynolds does not mention them. As far as the text is concerned, too much is missing to be able to argue on the grounds of content that line 20 of Reynolds' text constitutes a meaningful continuation of line 19. Further, it is not clear exactly how the group of fragments on the left joins with the block on the right, nor is it always easy to follow Reynolds' readings based on the photograph of the combined fragments provided in her edition.[123] Since its lower surface is unworked, and in the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, the block found in the Byzantine wall is more plausibly assigned to the orthostate course. If it belongs to the orthostate course, then the document inscribed in column VI was c. 7 lines longer than assumed. The now missing lines would have been inscribed between line 19 and line 20 of document 4 as edited by Reynolds.

The top-most stone, in course 6/1, was left blank on this face.[124] As mentioned above, the right-hand side of this block is worked into a narrow pilaster capital, including the top of a pilaster-shaft. Though the surface of this pilaster-shaft was smoothed, it did not carry inscriptions. The surface to the left-hand of the pilaster-shaft does not seem to have been polished for inscription. Directly below, in course 7/2, the second inscribed line mentions the recipients of the letter. It follows that the name of the sender of document 4 must have occupied the first line of the letter, which was carved at the top of this block.

123. *Op.cit.*, pl. III.4. To name three specific difficulties: a) it is unclear that there was an uninscribed space in l. 21 between ἀπο and δεχό[μ]ε̣θα ("ἀπο vac δεχό[μ]ε̣θα"), since the surface of the stone between ΑΠΟ and ΔΕΧ does not seem to be preserved, to judge from the photograph; b) it is not clear that anything survives from line 25 aside from the upper part of a Sigma; c) the letters ΑΛΕΞ̣ΑΜΕ in line 26 do not seem to correspond to the traces visible in the photograph.

124. See pl. Ib and cf. above, 13 on the crowing capital. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 16: the capital was found "loose in excavation at the north end of the stage front". On its west face which looked towards the theater's orchestra, the capital was inscribed with the beginning of a letter by the Roman proconsul Quintus Oppius during the war against Mithridates, dating from or shortly after 85 BCE: Reynolds *op. cit.*, document 3.

Unfortunately, this line is almost entirely missing. Reynolds, therefore, restored in the first line the name of the sender as [βασιλεὺς Βιθυνῶν Νικομή]δη[ς].[125]

In fact only the Delta and, after the Delta, the foot of what must have been a vertical stroke survives from this line. If the name can be restored at all on the basis of just one letter and the remaining trace of another, then it would seem more plausible to restore in the first line of this document the name of Cornelius Sulla. Sulla was important for Aphrodisias' early ties with Rome,[126] and he claimed a special relation to Aphrodite. He negotiated with Mithridates and signed, at Dardanos in 85 BCE, the treaty ending the First Mithridatic War. To judge by the space available in the first line of document 4, it is possible that Λεύκιος Κορνήλιος, in an abbreviated form, was carved there. Following that, when writing to Aphrodisias Sulla is likely to have used – and the Aphrodisians are unlikely to have abbreviated away – the epithet Ἐπαφρόδιτος ([Ἐπαφρό]δι̣[τος]). Plutarch writes that Sulla used this epithet when writing to Greeks, and inscriptions have survived to attest that he did indeed use it in his correspondence with Greek cities.[127] Finally, Cornelius Sulla, like the author of document 4, used the first person plural, (ὑγιαίνομεν etc.), in a similar letter to Stratonikeia, in which he thanks that city for support against Mithridates.[128]

Document 4 has some similarity with regard to content with the letter presumably inscribed on the other end of the wall, in that it is essentially a letter of recommendation attesting to the good services of an ambassador.

125. *IAph2007*.8.24. In *Aphrodisias and Rome* the restoration reads [?Βασιλεὺς Βιθυνῶν Νικομ]ήδης.

126. L. Robert, "Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias", *Antiquité Classique* 35 (1966), 377-432, at 415.

127. See M. Segre, Iscrizioni di Cos, (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente VI, Rome 1993) ED 7 (Kos) l. 1-2; IStratonikeia 505 (Lagina) l. 1. Plutarch, Sulla 34.2: αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι γράφων καὶ χρηματίζων ἑαυτὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἀνηγόρευε, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τροπαίοις οὕτως ἀναγέγραπται· ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΑΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣ; cf. De fortuna Romanorum 318d: καὶ Ῥωμαϊστὶ μὲν Φήλιξ ὠνομάζετο, τοῖς δ' Ἕλλησιν οὕτως ἔγραφε 'Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Σύλλας Ἐπαφρόδιτος.' καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τρόπαια κατὰ τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν οὕτως ἐπιγέγραπται, καὶ εἰκότως· 'πλεῖστον γὰρ Ἀφροδίτης' οὐ 'νύξ' κατὰ Μένανδρον, ἀλλὰ τύχη μετέσχηκεν.

128. *IStratonikeia* 505 (Lagina).

None of the other documents carved on this wall is as honorable for a citizen of Aphrodisias as the letters placed on the east and west ends are for Solon and Artemidoros, with the exception of document 10 at the top of the middle column, which conveys great honor to C. Julius Zoilos (that is, to his memory and to his heirs, if any were alive in the third century CE).[129] If the writer of document 6 was Octavian, as discussed above, and assuming with Reynolds that column I formed part of the "archive wall", the Aphrodisians placed a letter by Octavian-Augustus, who represented the height of Rome's favor for the city, on the higher part of that column at the east corner. Below that they appear to have carved a communication of Julius Caesar. And on the west corner, possibly, a letter of Cornelius Sulla.

Aphrodisias' third-century epigraphic tableau

Some of the epistles inscribed on this wall have been shortened by omitting imperial titulatures and greeting formulas.[130] In other cases, writing space was won by inscribing the lines and letters of documents closer together.[131] Conversely, space was left uninscribed to make particular elements, either entire documents or individual phrases and words, stand out from the rest of the inscribed texts.[132] Finally, writing space was administered so as to avoid splitting documents between columns. In this large expanse of texts, none of the documents continues from one column to the next. These observations clearly suggest that the dossier's design allocates certain amounts of wall space to specific units of text, as opposed to regarding the series of documents as an indiscriminate mass of text, somehow to be accommodated between the two corners. The principal, or principals, however, according to which the text units were positioned on the wall is not obvious.

In Reynolds' view, the primary criterion for arranging the documents on the parodos wall was chronology, in the sense that a linear chronological sequence of the documents was aimed at, from left to right from the perspective of the viewer, and from top to bottom of each inscribed column. But, according to Reynolds, the principal of confining individual documents within

129. On possible descendants of Zoilos see Smith, *Zoilos* 7-8; cf. below.

130. Documents 14, 18.

131. Documents 9, 19.

132. As was the case, for example, with the salutation of document 1, on which see above, 28.

one column affected the order of the documents within the dossier. Reynolds assumed that the chronological order of the documents was altered so as to fill the space available in each column, resulting in what she refers to as "the peculiar placing" of document 15.[133]

One must agree with Reynolds that the documents' suitability for filling up space within a column was taken into account when designing the "archive wall", since no documents are split between columns. It is, however, far from certain that chronology was the primary criterion for arranging the documents. Even taking into account that there were two major phases of inscription, and excluding the documents of the later phase, there are, among the documents inscribed in the first phase, more than one cases with "peculiar placing" from the point of view of chronology. As numbered in the standard edition according to chronology, the sequence of the 13 documents inscribed above the orthostate is, from left to right: 6-8-15-12-10-13-14-9-16-17-18-19-4. It is evident from this sequence that chronology was accounted for to some extent. There are, however, four documents (documents 15, 10, 9, 4) placed out of chronological order, not one, which makes it less likely that chronology was the primary criterion.

As for constraints of space compeling the designers of this dossier to disregard chronology, it is not a thoroughly convincing hypothesis that long documents would inevitably have this effect. The documents inscribed on this wall, or indeed at the theatre, need not represent the sum of all documents concerning the city's good relations with Roman rule available to the Aphrodisians at the time of inscription.[134] Had it been imperative to present the documents in a linear chronological order, letters deemed too long could have been either

133. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 37: "Obviously the ordinator altered the [chronological] order of texts so as to fill his space in a satisfactory way, without carrying over part of any document from one column to the next. That may lie behind the peculiar placing of the letter of Hadrian (doc. 15) in col. 3" On. p. 112 she tentatively suggests that the letter of Hadrian (document 15) "might be incomplete; its position on the wall at a distance from its natural place in the chronological sequence (p. 37) could be the result of dislocation of the archive copy, and in the course of dislocation a tablet containing the final lines could have been lost (note that the inscribed copy also lacks the valedictory greeting)."

134. Cf. Reynolds, "Aphrodisias, A Free and Federate City" (see n. 2) 117.

excluded or cut down to size by omitting titulatures and salutations, instead of being inscribed where they did not belong in a linear chronology.

A closer look at the four documents of the original design which were placed out of chronological order undermines the assumption that these were inscribed wherever space could be found for them. It makes no sense, from the point of view of the economy of space, to place document 15, which preserves a letter by the emperor Hadrian, above the letter of Octavian document 12. Whether in this or in the reverse order, which would be chronologically correct, the two documents would occupy the same amount of space in column III. Nor is the position of the evidently early document 4 on the west end of the wall explained by evoking the document's suitability for carving on this instead of the east part of the wall near the early documents 7 and 8. Finally, if the position of the documents depended exclusively on chronology and available space within a column, the list preserved in document 9 need not have been placed at the bottom of column IV. It seems that chronological considerations and constraints of space, alone, do not adequately explain this dossier's design.

The chronology of the documents and the economy of space affected, but they did not define the internal architecture of this epigraphic monument. Unlike a real archive, and much like any other monument, the "archive wall" conveyed a message (or more). Like any other monument, it must have conveyed its message(s) to a great extent through visual means. Someone's creative will took texts from a drawer or archive and turned them into an epigraphic monument. The resulting artifact sought, with visual qualities, to attract the eye, and appeal to the eye if it was to attract readers.

What would one see if one stood before this wall? Presumably the first thing to draw attention would be the large heading carved above column IV at a height of less than 3 meters above the ground which read ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ.[135] Immediately below that heading was the first line of Octavian's letter to Stephanos (document 10), with the salutation Καῖσαρ Στεφάνῳ χαίρειν. These

135. See Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* pl. XI. A good photograph of part of column IV is printed in K. Erim, *Aphrodisias, City of Venus Aphrodite* (London 1986) 83. Reynolds supposes that there might have been "a more informative heading above the columns of lettering at the east end (Appendix I, no. 1)" (Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 36). However, the fragment Reynolds, *op. cit.* Appendix I, no. 1, with letters 3-3,5 cm high, was among those found fallen near the west end of the wall. As Reynolds writes in *Aphrodisias and Rome* 144, those fragments are likely to have come from documents 16-19 or document 4.

three words were centered in relation to lines 2-4 of the same document. Since lines 2-4 were approximately 70 characters long, and therefore much longer than the salutation formula, there were large uninscribed spaces on either side of this document's initial line. Also line 5, the final line of Octavian's letter, is centered in relation to lines 2-4. The initial and final lines of the two documents 13 and 14, which follow immediately below document 10, are marked off by similar means,[136] and the final line of the first paragraph of document 9, directly below document 14, is also centered. As an additional means of marking the beginnings of new sections in the inscriptions of column IV, the initial letters of the main sections of the documents are inscribed in the margins: the sections following the salutations of the letters project into the left margin of the column, and the same is true of the initial letters of each of the three sections of document 9. Finally, as mentioned above, on either side of the inscriptions of the second course of column IV, the surface of the wall has been left rough and forms balks between this column and columns III and V. Documents 13, 14 and the first section of document 9, therefore, are inscribed in a separate field.[137]

All this contrast with columns III and V on either side of column IV. In the inscriptions of these columns, the beginnings of documents and the beginnings of sections within documents are marked almost exclusively by initial letters inscribed in the left margins. There is some uninscribed space in these columns but it is scarce compared to column IV. In consequence, the documents in columns III and V must have been more difficult to read than those of column IV. What concerns their arrangement on the parodos wall, then, the documents of column IV stand out from the rest of the documents: they were separated by vertical balks, and they were structured in easily discernible paragraphs by means of uninscribed spaces on either side of a centered line, or by inscribing the first letter or letters in the margin in some lines, to give additional emphasis to certain sections. Moving away from the center of the composition, the inscriptions became denser.

136. The final lines of docs. 13 and 14 are centered in relation to the total width of the column. The initial line of document 13 was marked off by a large indentation, the initial line of document 14 by centering.

137. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 33 refers to these balks as "too haphazard to be planned decorative features", but in fact they occur only here and further down in the same column.

Column II was almost entirely taken up by the senatorial decree, a document of impressive size and complexity, which few people would have read in detail. Presumably therefore, a choice of its clauses was transferred to the central column and inscribed as part of document 9. As for the inscriptions on the east and west corners, that is, columns I and VI, these seem to have formed a separate element within the whole as concerns the nature of the documents they preserved, but we have too little secure information about their layout. The layout of the rest of the columns, however, is known well enough to suggest, according to the observations made above, that column IV was arranged so as to direct the viewer's attention first to the center of the composition, and to the relatively short, clearly marked paragraphs of the documents carved immediately below the heading ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ. The space between the center and the edges of the composition was filled with a choice of less important documents.

This centripetal arrangement appears to be the original design of the dossier, probably dating from 224 CE or shortly after. At the core of the composition the Aphrodisians positioned documents 10, 13, and 14, which expressed in pithy rhetoric the Romans' preference for their city and their intention to allow no-one to question Aphrodisias' privileged position: Aphrodisias was the "one city" which the first Roman emperor chose for himself "out of all of Asia", and he regarded her citizens as his own fellow-citizens (document 10); her freedom was given to her for a good reason, and other cities need not request of Rome similar honors because these were reserved only for those who deserved them (document 13); Aphrodisias was free from taxation and services not only with regard to Rome but also with regard to Asia; no-one could demand a service from Aphrodisian citizens (document 14). There follows, as an annex to these three documents, the list of extracts from privileges bestowed to Aphrodisias by Rome (document 9), apparently largely extracted from the *senatus consultum* that few people could be expected to read in detail.

It appears that, in the original design, the remaining documents all merely elaborated on that message. They were therefore distributed on the wall according to their chronological relation to the documents of that column: documents dating roughly from the same period or earlier than the documents included in the central column were inscribed left of that column; documents issued by emperors who were within living memory at the time of inscription were inscribed on the right of the central column.

From the point of view of chronology Hadrian's letter document 15 would have belonged in the central column after the letter of Trajan document 14, and it would have fitted in that space in place of document 9. Hadrian's somewhat businesslike style, however, and the 'ifs-and-buts' contained in his response made document 15 less suitable for the central column. The letter was included instead among the documents flanking the core of the composition. Apparently, it was not particularly important to place those documents in exact chronological order.

The documents' subject and style, and in particular the honorific rhetoric they employed, seems to have been at the top of the Aphrodisians' priorities when designing the epigraphic ensemble which was carved above the orthostate course. After the most important documents from this point of view were placed at the center of the composition, other documents were chosen for placing on either side. Few people would linger long enough at the theatre's parodos to read the entire dossier. The dossier's design, however, was such that even a quick and half-distracted reader would get the message. Looking at this wall, such a reader would catch a glimpse of a few concisely worded documents from Aphrodisias' most illustrious period in the middle of the composition. If these aroused his curiosity to read on, he would find that they were flanked on either side by similar documents from, respectively, the city's more remote and more recent history.

Aphrodisias had been honored with the status of *civitas libera* by the Roman rulers. As this dossier and other documents found at Aphrodisias allow us to infer, the city's privileges in connection with that status had been contested, both by rival cities within the province of Asia and by Roman tax collectors. The inscriptions at the theatre are a monument to the Aphrodisians' efforts to re-affirm and to assert in the face of opposition the honor bestowed to their city by the Roman rulers, and the tangible privileges that could be gained from that symbolic capital.

In this sense it is regrettable that Alexander Severus' letter document 19 is mostly lost. Since the original design appears to date from 224 CE, events during Alexander Severus' reign are likely to have prompted its creation, and that document might have held the key to understanding why the Aphrodisians designed and created the "archive wall" at that particular point in time. To judge from the remains of Severus' letter, those events may have involved a petition, and called for Roman arbitration.[138]

138. Cf. above, 34.

Arbitration too, in this case undertaken by the emperor, is attested in the letter which the Aphrodisians inscribed below document 19 almost 20 years later. In 243 CE, the Aphrodisians received a particularly honorable letter from the emperor Gordian III, preserved in document 21. This document, far from being a routine response, underlined Aphrodisias' freedom in the most flattering terms while trying to resolve a conflict in a highly diplomatic way. Understandably, the Aphrodisians wanted this letter carved among the most famous statements made by Romans in the city's interest and honor. The epigraphic dossier of the north wall of the stage building was therefore extended to the orthostate course. The Aphrodisians gave certain elements of Gordian's letter (document 21) extra space on the wall, and they literally underlined the entire document through the unusual epigraphic feature of providing it with an explanatory subtitle.[139]

As discussed earlier, some external characteristics of the documents inscribed on the orthostate course set them apart from those inscribed above it. I believe that they were inscribed together with document 21 on the orthostate course, when the Aphrodisians decided, in or shortly after 243 CE, to immortalize that document. They positioned an earlier letter of Gordian III (document 20, dating from 239 CE) to the left of document 21. Though this letter reads like a routine response to a congratulatory decree,[140] it was chosen for filling the space next to document 21 because it was sent by the emperor in office at the time of inscription, the same emperor, besides, who had paid Aphrodisias the compliments contained in document 21.

Documents 7 and 11 filled the space at the bottom of columns II and III respectively, to balance the composition when Gordian's letters were included. The triumviral decree document 7, granting some sort of exemption, is too badly damaged to allow an evaluation of its importance, but it probably antedates the extensive privileges described in the preceding document 8. It must have been chosen because it belonged to the same period as document 8 and, possibly, because its size was suitable for inscribing within the limits of this section of wall.[141] Document 11, by contrast, is well enough preserved

139. Cf. above, 36.

140. Cf. above, 32-33.

141. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* 50 on the date of document 7. On documents 7, 11, and 20 having been produced from the city's archives to be inscribed on the orthostate course later than the documents on the highest courses cf. Bowersock, "Review

for the modern reader to wonder why it was put on the wall at all. Apart from the fact that it was penned by the same Stephanos whom Octavian addresses in the next document (document 10), this letter seems unremarkable, and it may owe its immortalization to its convenient size for the purpose of complementing the composition.

The priorities of the Aphrodisians had not changed when they designed the strip of inscriptions which they added at the bottom of the original epigraphic program of the "archive wall", in or shortly after 243 CE. They carved Gordian's very honorable letter document 21, the most recent document at their disposal and apparently the document which prompted the extension of the inscriptions to the orthostate course, in the best lettering attested for this course, and directed the viewer's attention to it by means of a subtitle in larger letters. Since this was the latest document of the entire wall, it was placed below the letter of Gordian's mediate predecessor Alexander Severus (document 19) in column V.[142] The earlier documents chosen to supplement the composition in the orthostate course were positioned to its left. In the second phase too, then, content and rhetoric in first place, chronology and available space in second place, decided which documents were carved on the parodos wall, and where exactly within the composition.

Finally, we need to turn once more to the inscriptions on the eastern and western corners. As mentioned above, at least two documents seem to have been inscribed there: a letter by Octavian or Antony (document 6) on the east corner, below which may have been carved a letter by Julius Caesar;[143] on the west corner, a letter whose sender is unknown but could be Cornelius Sulla.[144] The two surviving letters belong to different periods. The letter of the west corner (document 4) probably dates from the period shortly after 88 BCE and is therefore earlier than document 6 of the east corner. However, the two letters are similar with regard to content, in that they both praise citizens of Aphrodisias. They are, in effect, letters of recommendation for, respectively, Solon and Artemidoros. Among the rest of the documents of the "archive wall", only Octavian's letter preserved in document 10 can be said to honor an individual as much as it honors the city.

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of Reynolds" 51. Cf. above, 15-20.

142. If indeed document 19 was already carved there, as the evidence seems to suggest; cf. above, 21.

143. Cf. above, 23-24.

144. Cf. above, 40-41.

Since that individual, C. Julius Zoilos, had paid for the building on which the inscriptions were carved, we should not be surprised to find a letter which exalts his contribution to Aphrodisias' well-being at the head of the central column (column IV) and therefore at the core of the composition. The fact, however, that letters of praise for other individuals were included, and may even have framed the composition, poses the question whether the dossier's design assigned a special place to documents in honor of important Aphrodisians. Such a hypothesis would agree with archaeological evidence, mentioned earlier, for numerous statues of important Aphrodisians at this part of the theatre, including a gallery of statues on the borders of the stage platform. Particularly a statue base for Zoilos found re-used in the vicinity of the "archive wall" is interesting. It was inscribed simply:

[ὁ] δῆμος
Γάιον Ἰούλιον Ζωίλ[ον][145]

There would have been no need to say more about this man if his statue stood where it appears to have, facing the "archive wall".[146] For partial observers such as Zoilos' heirs, the entire dossier, with Octavian's letter in the center declaring that the first emperor regarded Zoilos' city as his own, could be seen as an elaborate illustration of Zoilos' contribution to Aphrodisias' well-being. The earlier local hero Artemidoros shared in Zoilos' fame and was 'personally' present too, in the form of a statue. If Artemidoros' statue stood where archaeologists assume that it did, his likeness, his name, and his deeds were commemorated together at the north-western corner of Aphrodisias' theatre.[147]

145. This is how R.R.R. Smith, *Aphrodisias II: Roman Portrait Statuary* (Mainz 2006), 43 reads the inscription. Reynolds, by contrast, assumes that more text may be missing and reads [v. ὁ] δῆμος vac. [?ἐτείμησεν] / Γάιον Ἰούλιον Ζωίλ[ον·· ? ··] (*Aphrodisias and Rome*, document 38 = *IAph2007*.8.203). But Smith is more convincing. If [ἐτείμησεν] was inscribed after [ὁ] δῆμος in the first line of this stone, the inscription would be asymmetrical. In addition, to judge by the photograph of the base in Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, plate XXVIII.1, the piece missing from the right part of the base is too small for [ἐτείμησεν].

146. Cf. above, 14-15 with n. 21. Another possibility would be that Zoilos' statue was mounted on the terrace supported by the brackets preserved in the "archive wall", on which see above, 12.

147. Cf. above, 14-15 with n. 21.

Aphrodisian families did not conceal their involvement in embellishing their city. Zoilos' name was eternalized in a number of other inscriptions at Aphrodisias,[148] and we know of at least one more building which bore in large letters a dedication by Artemidoros son of Myon.[149] The city at large, and surviving descendants and heirs of Solon, Zoilos and Artemidoros in particular, had an interest in seeing the memory of these persons and their commitment to Aphrodisias' well-being perpetuated.[150] If the reconstruction suggested here is correct, then the design of Aphrodisias' epigraphic ensemble on the north wall of the stage building included documents honoring three local families, positioned, deliberately, in the center and the borders of the composition. Zoilos held center stage. The documents at the borders of the composition belonged to Aphrodisias' early history, and they served two purposes at once: to document the city's early connections to Rome, and to remind the public that those good relations were not gained by chance but were instead the result of the efforts of Aphrodisias' worthy citizens.

Maybe the "archive wall" is best seen as an epigraphic tableau with words serving as brushstrokes to depict Aphrodisias' grandeur and history. In this picture of the city's past, the initiative of individual citizens is highlighted, and the favor of the gods is omnipresent through the city-goddess Aphrodite. Thanks to Aphrodite, but also to the Aphrodisians' own efforts – their bravery in war, their loyalty to Rome and their engagement for their city – Aphrodisias enjoys Rome's full appreciation and recognition of a status which other important cities have been denied. This message is conveyed via a carefully designed disposition of testimonials which, together, are not so much a chronologically correct record of moments in the recent and early history of the city, but rather a monumentalized collection of imperial commendations belonging to an honorific context. They form an honorific dossier celebrating Aphrodisias, her goddess, and her citizens.

148. Smith, *Zoilos*.

149. Cf. above, 113.

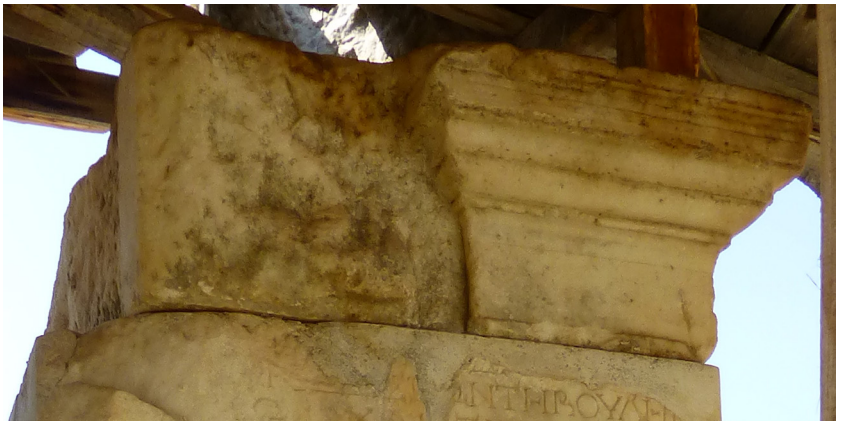
150. On possible descendants of Zoilos see Smith, *Zoilos* 7-8.

Summary

The epigraphic display carved on the north wall of the stage building of Aphrodisias' theatre in the 3rd century CE, commonly referred to as the "archive wall", is usually assumed to have been designed based on the chronology of the documents it includes. This paper argues instead in favor of a centripetal design, which placed in the center of the composition the most important documents in terms of their honorific value for Aphrodisias and its citizens. It is argued, here, that form and content, as expressed in the documents' rhetoric, and the concrete privileges which the documents attested to, were more important than chronology to the designers of this dossier. Further, it is argued that there were two epigraphic phases, with the original phase most likely dating from 224 CE and including all documents carved above the orthostate course, and a later phase dating from 243 CE or slightly later, in which the inscriptions were extended to the orthostate course. Finally, it is suggested that the earliest letter of the dossier (document 4), may have been a letter by Cornelius Sulla.

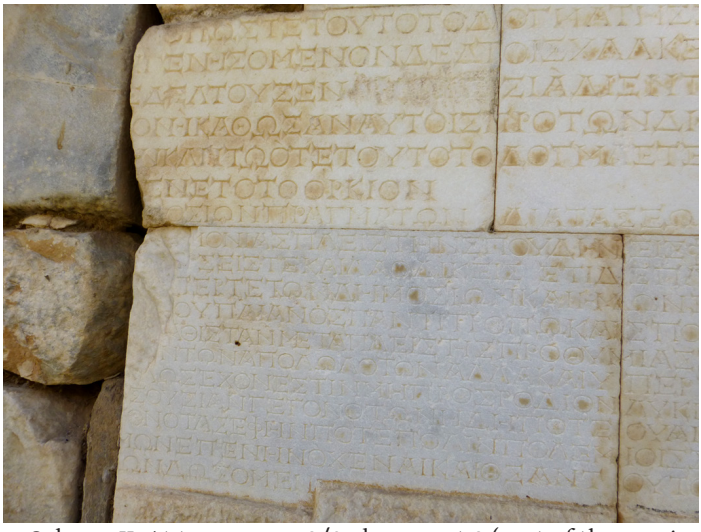
Plate I

a. Columns V and VI. Column VI at right, topped by a capital at west end; north face. (Phorograph: A. Chaniotis 2014)

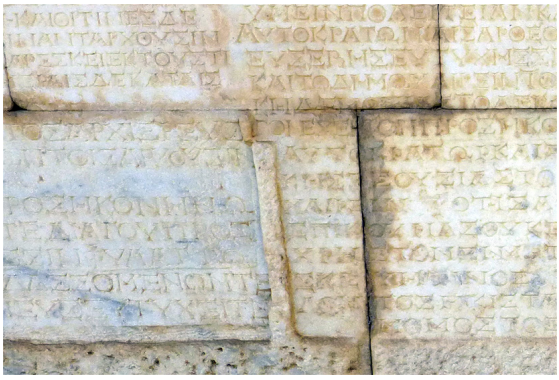


b. Column VI, course 6/1. North face of the archive wall, detail of west end, top course. (Photograph: A. Chaniotis 2014)

Plate II



a. Column II. At top, course 8/3, document 8 (part of the surviving block with the right half of ll. 90-95 and the first line of doc. 7). Orthostate course, document 7 (part of the surviving block with the right half of ll. 2-11) (Photograph: A. Chaniotis 2014)



b. Columns IV and V. At upper left, course 8/3 with document 9 (right ends of ll. 11-14); at upper right, document 18 (left part of l. 5) and document 19 (left part of ll. 1-5); below left, orthostate course with document 20 (right parts of ll. 1-2 and 4-8); below right, document 21 (left parts of ll. 1-8) (Photograph: A. Chaniotis 2014)

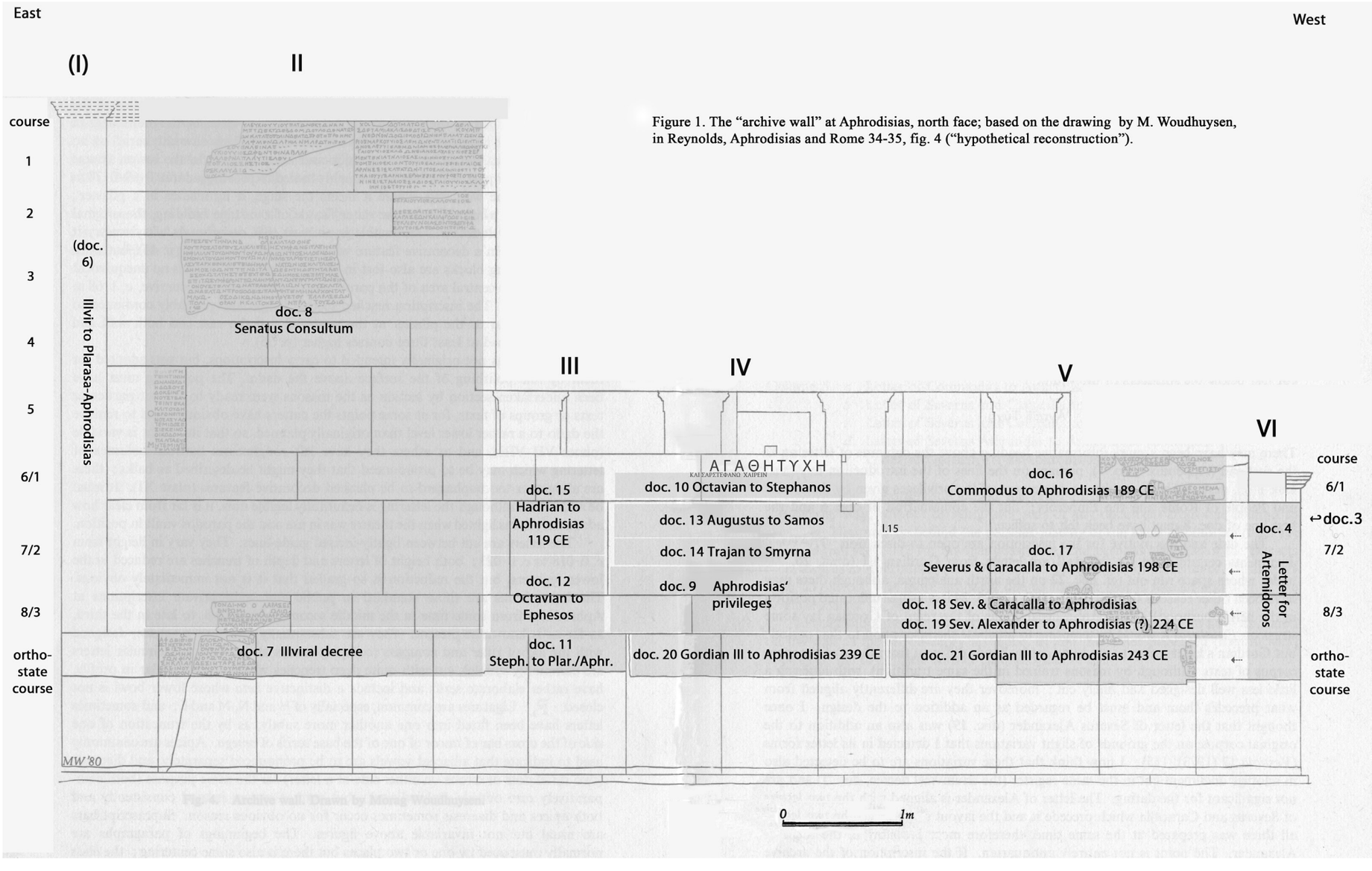


Figure 1. The "archive wall" at Aphrodisias, north face; based on the drawing by M. Woudhuysen, in Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome 34-35, fig. 4 ("hypothetical reconstruction").