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EDITORS

MUSTAFA ADAK

RIET VAN BREMEN

THOMAS CORSTEN

KORAY KONUK

KONRAD STAUNER

BURAK TAKMER



 **KABALCI**

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Marcus CHIN* – Leah LAZAR**

Antipatros of Derbe, Akmoneia and Rome in a Notebook of William Mitchell Ramsay

ABSTRACT: This article presents new readings in a late Hellenistic honorific inscription found at Uşak, recorded by William Mitchell Ramsay in 1914. The inscription, erected by an unidentified Phrygian community, honours Antipatros of Derbe, a Lycaonian dynast known from passages in Cicero and Strabo. After presenting a revised text and translation, the authors discuss the unpublished readings and explore the historical significance of this fragmentary and enigmatic inscription. They build on previous discussions of Antipatros' role as a supra-civic intermediary between Asia Minor and Rome, but also explore what this text, somewhat unusual in its first century B.C. context for its honouring of a foreign individual, can tell about the development of civic culture in Phrygia in the late Hellenistic period.

KEYWORDS: Antipatros of Derbe, William Mitchell Ramsay, Akmoneia, Phrygia, honorific inscription.

The following article presents new readings in a late Hellenistic honorific inscription from central Turkey concerning the local ruler Antipatros of Derbe, recorded in an unpublished notebook belonging to the Scottish archaeologist and biblical scholar William Mitchell Ramsay. Some of Ramsay's notebooks, the product of his extensive travels in Turkey in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, have come into the collection of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents at Oxford, and many of these record inscriptions he encountered in the course of his travels. Their further study, apart from revealing knowledge of previously unknown texts, stands to illuminate readings and provide material for reassessing known inscriptions. One such case is the present inscription: although the new readings are slight, they offer a basis for deeper reflection on its historical context, which has so far only been discussed to any extent by Ronald Syme and Louis Robert.

In his second notebook of 1914, Ramsay recorded a stone he saw at Uşak, an inscription concerning one Antipatros of Derbe (see Figure 1).¹ He gives no information about the physical form of the monument or its exact location. It appears that much of the inscription, including its beginning, was lost. The surviving text seems to present an honorific decree, beginning in line 2 and introduced by ἐπεὶ, and preceded by text whose character is difficult to determine. We assume that Antipatros was awarded honours in a clause beginning in the fragmentary lower part of the inscription.

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We would especially like to thank Peter Thonemann (for initiating and supporting our study of Ramsay's notebooks), Charles Crowther, Martin Hallmannsecker, Juliane Zachhuber, and audience members at the British Epigraphic Society Meeting in Cambridge in December 2018 for their comments and advice.

¹ The notebook has been designated as 1914B and the record of the text is on folia 2v–3r. Ramsay's interest in Phrygia began decades before 1914 but was focused mostly on the region's late antique and Christian history; see Ramsay 1883.

In their first publication of the inscription in 1911, Keil and von Premerstein identified this Antipatros with the first-century B.C. dynast known from brief references in Cicero and Strabo, who ruled Derbe and Laranda in Lycaonia (in southern Anatolia, some four hundred kilometres away from Uşak – see Figure 2). Cicero, in a letter of 46 B.C. to Quintus Philippus, the proconsul of Asia, reports that he had developed «not only ties of hospitality but even of intimate friendship» with Antipatros during his time in Cilicia.² Strabo paints Antipatros in a rather different light, labelling him a «brigand».³ Antipatros nevertheless clearly ruled for some time: he was installed as Derbe's ruler by 51 B.C. at the latest, the year of Cicero's proconsulship of Cilicia, and met his death at the hands of the Galatian king Amyntas probably sometime after the battle of Actium.⁴

Keil and von Premerstein recorded only the first seven lines of the preserved text (Ramsay records these with some differences, and also includes an additional fourteen lines).⁵ Unlike Ramsay, they describe the monument as «a block of whiteish marble, likely originating from a base, reworked in modern times».⁶ While they date the letter forms of the inscription to the beginning of the first century A.D., an earlier date in the late first century B.C. is more likely, given the identification of Antipatros and Strabo's report of his death at the hands of Amyntas.⁷ In their discussion, Keil and von Premerstein speculate as to the community responsible for the passing of the decree, identifying Temenothyrai (located at modern Uşak) and Akmoneia (a short distance to the west) as possibilities; they note that it is difficult to identify the origins of many ancient monuments found at Uşak.⁸ Their edition was the basis of subsequent discussions of Antipatros.⁹ Syme, in the most extensive of these, surveys the evidence for Antipatros' career over several insightful pages, describing Antipatros' Lycaonian powerbase and providing *comparanda* of other strongmen with connections to Rome in first century B.C. Anatolia.

We first present a revised text and translation of the inscription, before discussing the unpublished readings and considering its broader historical import.

Monument: Block of white marble found at Uşak, «in the Ssabach Mahalle quarter, at the Buldaily mosque in the courtyard of the madrasa».¹⁰ Height 1.13m, width 0.48m, depth 0.45m.

Editions: Keil – von Premerstein 1911 no. 248 (up to line 7); IGR IV 1694; recorded by W. M. Ramsay in 1914.

Line-length and lettering: Approximately 42 letters per line. Letter height 0.013m.

Date: Late first century B.C.

² Cic. *Fam.* 13.73.2: Cum Antipatro Derbete mihi non solum hospitium verum etiam summa familiaritas intercedit.

³ Strab. 12.1.4: ... ἡ περὶ Καστάβαλά τε καὶ Κύβιστρα μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ ληστοῦ Δέρβης («... the country around Kastabala and Kybistra, up to Derbe of Antipatros the brigand»).

⁴ Strab. 12.6.3: τῆς δ' Ἰσαυρικῆς ἔστιν ἐν πλευραῖς ἡ Δέρβη, μάλιστα τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐπιπεφυκὸς τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τυραννεῖον τοῦ Δερβήτου: τοῦ δ' ἦν καὶ τὰ Λάρανδα: ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἰσαυρα καὶ τὴν Δέρβην Ἀμόντας εἶχεν, ἐπιθέμενος τῷ Δερβήτῃ καὶ ἀνελὼν αὐτόν, τὰ δ' Ἰσαυρα παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λαβὼν. («Derbe, and in particular the tyrant's seat of Antipatros of Derbe which extended to Cappadocia, lies on the flanks of Isaurian territory; Laranda was also part of it. In our time Amyntas held Isaura and Derbe, after he attacked the man of Derbe and slew him, and received Isaura from the Romans.») For the probable date of Amyntas' invasion see Syme 1939, 129.

⁵ Keil – von Premerstein 1911, 135–136, no. 248.

⁶ Keil – von Premerstein 1911, 135: «Quader aus weißlichem Marmor, wohl von einer Basis herrührend, modern zugerichtet».

⁷ Strab. 12.6.3.

⁸ Keil – von Premerstein 1911, 133.

⁹ Discussions include Syme 1939, 128–131; Magie 1950, 1239; Robert 1980, 243–244; Mitchell 2018, 14–15.

¹⁰ Keil – von Premerstein 1911, 135: «Viertel Ssabach Mahalle, bei der Moschee Buldaily-Djamissi im Hofe der Medresse».

1	[	c.32	]ακμονει[c.3]
	[c.2]	ξιων καὶ ἔστησεν παρόντων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων. ἐπ[εῖ]	
	[	Ἄντ]ίπατρος Περιλάου Δερβήτης πολλὰς ἀποδείξ[εις]	
	[	παρέ]σχηται τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας ἐν παντ[ὶ και-]	
5	[	ρῶ]ι τοῖς [	c.27]
	[c.2]	ΟΘΥ[	c.28]
	[c.2]	ΝΟΜΟ[	c.30]
	[c.2]	ΔΑΙΣΟ[	c.28]
	[c.3]	ΥΝΚ[	c.27]
10	[c.2]	ΑΥΤΟ[	c.30]
	[c.3]	ΣΘΑ[	c.29]
	[		c.36]
	[		c.36]
	[		c.35]
15	[		c.35]
	[		c.36]
	[		c.34]
	[		c.34]
	[		c.34]
20	[		c.34]
	[		c.34]

1 [. . .] ONEI [. . .] Keil – von Premerstein. 2 [. . .] ἰων καὶ ἔστησεν παρόντων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐ[πεῖ] K – von P. 5–6 [τ]ῆς πισ[τῆς] | [πρ]οθυ[μίας?] K – von P. 7 νόμο[ς?] K – von P.

Translation

- 1 ... Akmoneia/ Akmoneians (?) ...
- 2 ... set up (?), in the presence of the consuls. Since
- 3 Antipatros of Derbe, son of Perilaos,
- 4 has provided many demonstrations of his goodwill towards us on every
- 5 occasion ... (too fragmentary to translate – see discussion below)

Discussion of New Readings

As is apparent throughout his notebooks, Ramsay's record of inscriptions does not always clearly differentiate between what he saw on the stone and his own attempts at restoration. In this case, we assume for the most part that he read the letters which are recorded in pencil on the lower page, while the markings in ink on that page and all the text recorded on the upper page are his own attempts to make sense of this fragmentary text, most of which are overly speculative (see Figure 1). However, as will become apparent, this distinction cannot always easily be made.

Ramsay's version of the text offers some readings that differ from the edition of Keil and von Premerstein, two of which have potential significance for historical interpretation. His first line clearly reproduces two more letters, a K and M, before the [---]ONEI[---] read by Keil and von Premerstein. His record of the letter traces after the I, however, is unclear. In his main record of the text, he only records a right-leaning stroke, implying that A is a likely reading: on this basis, the toponym Akmoneia could be restored. This seems to be his preferred reading, given his attempted reconstructed text on the upper page. However, in the right-hand margin, he records in addition a bottom horizontal stroke, which would allow for the restoration of Σ, and thus for the plural of the ethnic Ἀκμονεῖς (which would be ei-

ther the nominative or accusative).¹¹ In either possible restoration – as the toponym or ethnic – the syntactical and grammatical function is not clear. Ramsay seems to record a bottom horizontal stroke before the A. This could be a Ξ, as he suggests, or a Σ, and may form the end of a preposition; but we cannot be sure.

The following line does not provide any further clarity. We find a likely genitive plural ending (ἑῶν),¹² then a rather confusingly placed καί,¹³ followed by the verb ἕστησεν («set up»), qualified by a genitive absolute clause indicating the presence of the Roman consuls (παρόντων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων). This formulation is unusual and problematic. The identities of the grammatical subject and object of the verb remain unclear. As to the former, this is unlikely to have been Antipatros, given that he is identified in full as the subject of the honorific motivation clause in the following clause.¹⁴ Keil and von Premerstein suggest that a city was the subject of ἕστησεν, perhaps Temenothyrai or Akmoneia, but we would expect a noun like ὁ δῆμος («the people») or ἡ πόλις («the city»), and not the toponym we might plausibly reconstruct in line 1. It is thus unlikely that the reference to Akmoneia, whether as the toponym or ethnic, served as the subject of the verb. It is also unlikely to have been its object. Given that the document may have been inscribed on a statue base, it is possible that the grammatical object was a statue of the honorand or indeed the inscription itself, but this would not explain the genitive absolute denoting the presence of the consuls or the reference to Akmoneia.

A further possibility is that another unknown individual was named in the lost text and was the subject of the verb. This individual may have been a Roman official or decision-making body. In some Roman letters and *senatus consulta*, forms of the verb ἵστημι denote the settling of a decision by the Senate or individual Roman magistrates, in, for example, disputes between Greek communities, or the establishment of relations between a city and Rome on a formal footing.¹⁵ When used in this way, the verb may sometimes govern an object, like ὄρια («boundary-markers»), for instance.¹⁶ Should this reading of ἕστησεν as denoting some kind of agreement made with Rome hold, the reference to the consuls here would emphasise that this decision was dignified by their presence at the deliberative session at which it was reached. The fact that both consuls were present was in any case clearly noteworthy.¹⁷

Overall, however, the character of the activity in lines 1–2 preceding the honorific clause remains obscure and problematic. We now know that Akmoneia or the Akmoneians were also involved; whether

¹¹ Attested at IEphesos 13 I. II.32.

¹² On the upper page, Ramsay suggests that this could be restored as ἀρχείων, referring to the «archives» at Akmoneia, but it is not clear to us how this would fit into the syntax of the sentence.

¹³ Juliane Zachhuber has suggested to us that this apparent καί may actually be part of the verb κατέστησεν, where the mason may have missed an upper horizontal stroke, or this was not read by Ramsay or Keil and von Premerstein; only future autopsy could affirm or negate this.

¹⁴ As observed by Keil – von Premerstein 1911, 135–136 and noticed by Syme 1939, 130 n. 1.

¹⁵ E.g. RDGE 15 ll. 58–60 (112 B.C.), confirming an agreement reached between the disputing Athenian and Isthmian *technitai* (σύμφωνον ἐστάναι ἔδοξεν, «the agreement shall remain in force») where the presence of the proconsul G. Cornelius Sisenna at the decision is emphasised (ἐπὶ Γναίου Κορνηλίου Σισέννα στρατηγοῦ | ἢ ἀνθυπάτου ἐκεῖ ὄντος); RDGE 26c ll. 22–24, a part of a decision concerning the treaty with Mytilene in 25 B.C., led by the consul M. Junius Silanus: [ὅπως Μάρκος Σιλανὸς] ὑπάτος, ἐὰν αὐτῷ φαίνηται, τὰ ὄρια πεμφθῆναι πρὸς τοὺς Μυτιληναίους ὡς ἔστακε | γενέσθαι («that Marcus Silanus the consul, if it seems good to him, should see to it that the oaths, as agreed upon, be sent to the Mytilenians»).

¹⁶ With ὄρια, see e.g. IM 93b ll. 21–22 (first half of the second century B.C.): ... ταύτη[ν] | τὴν χώραν ὅπως αὐτῷ προσκρίνη ὄρια τε στήση («that (the foreign arbitrator) assign that land to that people and set up boundary-markers»). See also RDGE 52 ll. 50–51 (51–50 B.C.): ... ἵνα κοινῶς πάσῃ τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ[ι τὸ] | δίκαιον ἐσταμένον ἢ εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον («so that justice may be established for all time across the whole province»).

¹⁷ Syme 1939, 130 n. 2. suggests that this may have been gathering of the Senate-in-exile at Thessalonike in 49 BC, which was also led by two consuls (Cass. Dio. 41.43.2).

this had anything to do with the Akmoneians passing this decree is uncertain. It is reasonable to suppose, nevertheless, that the inscription detailed some kind of business, perhaps a dispute, involving Ak-moneia and another community, which attracted the attention of the Romans. We might also safely assume that this activity bore a direct relationship to the honouring of Antipatros which follows, and it is highly likely that Antipatros was honoured precisely for serving as a mediator between the Roman authorities and the honouring community.

In this connection Ramsay's record of the letters YNK in line 9, which Keil and von Premerstein omit in their edition, may also be significant. We have not provided a firm restoration in our text, as there are a number of possibilities.¹⁸ However, we believe that Ramsay's suggestion that these letters be restored as a reference to the Roman Senate ([σ]ύνκ[λητ-]) is a likely one.

Some corroboration for this may be the fragmentary letters in line 5: ΗΣΠΙΣ. Keil and von Premerstein restore a definite article and adjective, [τ]ῆς πισ[τῆς], in agreement with [πρ]οθυ[μίας] at the beginning of line 6, but this formulation («of his trustworthy eagerness») is without any parallels. We think the genitive form of the noun (πισ[τέως]) is a more likely restoration for the letters in line 5. Lines 4–6 speak of Antipatros' displays of his εὐνοία towards the city at moments of crisis; the genitive of πίστις would suit here, if it formed part of the same clause qualifying ἀποδείξεις - that is, «many displays of his goodwill towards us at all times... and of his loyalty». The article τοῖς in line 5 may have been followed by a noun like λόγοις («words») or ἔργοις («deeds»); the adverb [πρ]οθύ[μως] («eagerly») is possibly a better fit for line 6.

The use of πίστις in an honorific context is unsurprising; it is one of the virtues for which high-achieving citizens are praised from the late Hellenistic period onwards.¹⁹ In other contexts, however, it is typically applied in honouring local benefactors – that is, as an indication of the trustworthiness of the honorand in carrying out public offices, as part of an increasing rhetorical interest, identified by Pierre Fröhlich, in emphasising the reliability, and incorruptibility, of magistrates.²⁰ What would be striking about its appearance here is that it is applied to a foreign benefactor: Antipatros' Derbianness is explicitly marked out. This would argue for πίστις being conceived in its second sense, increasingly attested as Rome entered the world of Greek *poleis* – that of faithfulness or loyalty towards the ruling power.²¹ From the late second century B.C. onwards it becomes one of the virtues of loyal intermediaries between Greek cities and Rome. Hence the statesman Menippos of Klaros was deemed worthy of πίστις by both the Romans and Greek cities,²² while the ambassador Artemidoros of Aphrodisias was regarded by the People of Aphrodisias as being among those who were honoured, held πίστις, and were well-disposed to the Romans.²³

In sum, then, this honorific decree for Antipatros of Derbe, augmented by Ramsay's readings and the suggested restorations (the possible reference to the Senate, the praising of Antipatros for his πίστις), likely presents evidence for Antipatros' ambassadorial interactions with Rome on behalf of a Phrygian community.

¹⁸ E.g. a verb formed on the compound prefix συνκατα-, like συνκατασκευάζω, not uncommon in honorific decrees from Asia Minor (e.g. *I.Priene 63 ll. 12–13, 65 l. 173).

¹⁹ E.g. SEG 50.1211 l. 24, OGI 438 ll. 6–8, Michel 545 ll. 17–18.

²⁰ Fröhlich 2002, 90–91; 2020, 19–22.

²¹ It is also found in relation to the trust between late Attalid kings and their officials: Sardis 4 ll. 3–4, SEG 37.1006 ll. 3–5, I.P 248 ll. 56–57, I.Sestos 1 l. 14.

²² SEG 39.1244 III ll. 6–10.

²³ I.Aphrodisias 8.3 ll. 5–6, 9–10. In the first century B.C. Aphrodisias and Stratonikeia are praised by Rome in *senatus consulta* for their ἐξοχωτάτη πίστις: I.Aphrodisias 8.27 ll. 28, 94; I.Stratonikeia 12 ll. 14–15.

Historical Discussion

While the details and precise content of the interactions are unfortunately lost, the very existence of this inscription poses important questions about the political and cultural dynamics at play between Antipatros, the unknown city, and Rome in the mid-first century B.C. It is significant that the decree documents relations between an individual from Lycaonian Derbe and a Phrygian city, separated by four hundred kilometres as the crow flies. Neither Lycaonia nor Phrygia were regions with strong traditions of civic culture in the Hellenistic period. How did Antipatros get entangled in Phrygian affairs? What did he stand to gain? And why did the unknown Phrygian community erect this inscription honouring Antipatros?

We should set Antipatros against a political landscape in Anatolia that was marked by separatism and disunity in the decades between the Mithridatic Wars and the battle of Actium. Apart from the independent cities predominantly on its western and southern coasts, much of the region was formed of a tapestry of local dynasts and kings, whose rule was shaped by, and increasingly inseparable from, a loyalist attitude to Rome: these ranged from large territories like Galatia, Cappadocia, Pontos, to smaller fiefdoms like those of the Tarkondimotids of Cilicia, to figures like Antipatros, ruler over several communities, and below this to civic leaders, like Mithridates of Pergamon or the Pythodori of Tralleis.²⁴ This is schematic and reductionist, but allows us to think about the way Antipatros ‘fitted’ into this turbulent late Republican world. His rule in Lycaonian Derbe, a tyranny for Strabo, was not the only of its kind:²⁵ another would have been that of the unnamed «tyrant» of the Homonadeis, a tribe based in the Isaurian mountains just to the west.²⁶ Another parallel figure, noted by Syme, was Kleon of Gordiokome in Asia, who benefitted from his loyalty to Antony, then Caesar, by receiving the territory of Abrette and Morene in Mysia, as well as the sanctuary of Comana Pontica. For Strabo, Kleon was a «brigand», like Antipatros.²⁷ Our knowledge of Kleon and Antipatros’ careers, let alone the sort of states that they ruled, barely extends beyond Strabo; this is why our fragmentary decree is both valuable but also frustratingly enigmatic. Strabo’s designation of Antipatros as «tyrant» and «brigand» is surely rhetorically charged, pejorative, and cannot be taken to reflect the ‘reality’ of the way that Antipatros legitimated his power.²⁸ It may nonetheless be significant that in the same breath Strabo calls him «the man from Derbe» (τῷ Δερβήτῃ) hinting – even if with deliberate irony – at the civic presentation found in our decree: [Ἀντ]ίπατρος Περιλίου Δερβήτης.²⁹ It is at least clear, then, that for Strabo the political power represented by these local dynasts would have differed qualitatively from, for example, an entity like the small Tarkondimotid kingdom, largely based on the south-eastern Cilician plain around Anazarbos: there, we find an established hierarchical system of royal bureaucracy intermingling with civic

²⁴ For useful overviews of the political geography of first century B.C. Anatolia and the role of minor dynasts, see Jones 2017; Coşkun 2018 (207 for Antipatros).

²⁵ Strab. 12.6.3 (see footnote 4).

²⁶ Strab. 12.6.5: ὁ δ’ οὖν Ἀμύντας τὴν μὲν Κρήμναν εἶλεν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς Ὀμοναδέας παρελθὼν, οἱ ἐνομίζοντο ἀληπτότατοι, καὶ καταστάς ἤδη κύριος τῶν πλείστων χωρίων ἀνελὼν καὶ τὸν τύραννον αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀπάτης ἐλήφθη διὰ τῆς τοῦ τυράννου γυναικός. («Amyntas captured Kremna and, passing into the country of the Homonadeis, who were considered to be difficult to capture, established himself as master of most places and even took their tyrant, but was then taken himself through intrigue on the part of the tyrant’s wife.»)

²⁷ Strab. 12.8.9: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀκτιακοῖς ἀποστάς Ἀντωνίου τοῖς Καίσαρος προσέθετο στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἐτιμήθη πλέον ἢ κατ’ ἀξίαν προσλαβὼν τοῖς παρ’ Ἀντωνίου δοθεῖσι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὥστ’ ἀντὶ ληστοῦ δυνάστου περιέκειτο σχῆμα. («In the course of the Actian War, he (Kleon) revolted from Antony and joined the generals of Caesar, and was honoured more than he deserved, receiving the honours bestowed on him by Caesar in addition to those from Antony, so that he took on the appearance of a dynast rather than that of a brigand.»)

²⁸ For the rhetorical aspects of «tyrant» and «brigand» in Strabo, see Grünewald 2004, 78 and Jones 2017, 353–354.

²⁹ Strab. 12.6.3.

institutions, as attested even in the epigraphic record.³⁰

We might imagine that the smaller territories like those of Kleon and Antipatros, which existed between the level of civic communities and larger formations like the rule of the Tarkondimotids, would have been far more dependent on personal charismatic power. Loyalty to Rome and building friendships with powerful Romans were paramount. Antipatros' situation was precarious in this regard: Cicero's letter records his closeness to him, but in the context of an appeal to a subsequent proconsul in Cilicia, Q. Marcius Philippus, that he release Antipatros' sons, who appear to have been taken as hostages by the Roman official after a dispute.³¹ It is against this backdrop of unstable relations between local power-holders, and a continually changing roster of Roman magistrates whose behaviour was just as questionable in its legitimacy as that of the local dynasts, that the divergent attitudes towards him in the literary sources, as seen by Cicero and Strabo, can be explained.

We can only speculate whether Antipatros' dealings with this Phrygian city owed something to obligations to powerful Romans; certainly, as we argue above, some kind of interaction with Rome comes across strongly in the surviving text. At the same time, however, entering the civic life of another Greek city was a way of conferring legitimacy on his rule. If successfully executed, it allowed Antipatros to obtain the sort of standing enjoyed by other powerful local civic notables of more established cities on the west coast of Asia Minor. This class of statesman – the civic leader, whose status and influence were increasingly bolstered by rhetorically charged honours – emerged more prominently from the second century B.C. as the region came increasingly under the influence of Roman power, and may have presented an attractive model for a minor dynast like Antipatros. In the generation before him, and in his own lifetime, civic leaders had established themselves not only within their communities, but also increasingly at a regional level between *poleis*.³²

These were notables who also dealt closely with Rome, knew its leading figures, and understood how this foreign power worked. Yet in many of these cases the honours they received were those of their own cities, so far as we can tell. Certainly, in some cases this regional prominence also translated into honours awarded by other cities: for instance, Sibilos of Mylasa, of the late second or first centuries B.C., who was honoured by a number of other Carian cities,³³ or, similarly, Polykles of Rhodes.³⁴ What is striking for our evidence from the first century B.C. as a whole, however, is how few examples of such inter-city honouring we find. While it is clear that individuals continued to act as benefactors for other cities, there seems to have been less of an interest in advertising, for instance, grants of *proxenia*, an institution which does not die out, but whose epigraphic visibility reduces significantly in the first century B.C.³⁵ Our decree for Antipatros, therefore, represents something of an anomaly from this standpoint, in the broader context of first-century B.C. Anatolia, but can perhaps be explained when we consider the emerging civic culture and influence of Rome in Phrygia.

³⁰ For the Tarkondimotids, see Wright 2012 (84–86 for epigraphic evidence); Wright 2008.

³¹ Cic. *Fam.* 13.73: A te autem pro veteri nostra necessitudine etiam atque etiam peto ut eius filios, qui in tua potestate sunt, mihi potissimum condones, nisi quid existimas in ea re violari existimationem tuam. («I beseech you repeatedly, on the basis of our longstanding friendship, and most of all for my sake, to give up his sons, who are in your power, unless you think you may hurt your reputation by doing so»).

³² E.g. Menas of Sestos (I.Sestos 1 ll. 24–25), Iatrokles of Mylasa (I.Mylasa 109 ll. 10–11), Diodoros Paspáros of Pergamon (IGR IV 292 l. 5), M. Antonius Idagras of Patara (SEG 63.1333 ll. 7–8) or the Aphrodisian ambassadors sent by the *koinon* of Asia, described as being among the «first and most honoured» of the province (I.Aphrodisias 2.503 ll. 7–8: ἐκ τῶν πρώτων καὶ μάλιστα τιμω[μένων]).

³³ I.Mylasa 401.

³⁴ NSRC 18 ll. 30–36.

³⁵ Mack 2015, 266–269.

This brings us to the last point: what was in it for the unknown Phrygian honouring city? Why involve someone like Antipatros of Derbe in their affairs, and publicly honour a foreigner with an inscribed decree?³⁶ As argued by Thonemann, civic life in mountainous upland Phrygia seems largely to have become archaeologically and epigraphically visible only in the late Hellenistic period, and it is tempting to associate this with the appearance of Roman power and, increasingly in the first century B.C., of Roman and Italian immigrant families.³⁷ Whether or not Akmonia was the originator of our decree, what we know of its history and epigraphic culture in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. offers some insight into the possible motivations underpinning the honours for Antipatros. By the first century B.C. it was a local commercial centre of some size with a Roman mercantile population, strategically situated on a major route between the west coast and eastern Anatolia.³⁸ In Cicero's speech in defence of Flaccus we learn of important local individuals, like a certain Asklepiades, who mingled with resident Romans, and was wealthy enough to furnish the enormous sum of 206,000 drachmas to Flaccus.³⁹ The earliest signs of epigraphic activity concern Romans: an honorific statue-base for a patron, one Q. Decimius, and the dedication of a slave-market by G. Sornatius Barba.⁴⁰ Much of its earliest epigraphy is Latin or bilingual in character.⁴¹

Whatever the identity of the honouring city, the decree for Antipatros formed part of a Phrygian milieu where newly emerging epigraphic culture and civic self-projection in the first century B.C. were closely related to the arrival of Rome. As a community aspiring to the outward form of a *polis*, it would have been desirable to honour such an individual who enjoyed connections with Roman officials. While, as we have noted, honorific monuments for foreign benefactors do diminish across the world of *poleis* at this time, it is striking that what we do find is related to individuals of such stature. For instance, G. Julius Theopompos, a friend of Julius Caesar, was honoured by Laodikeia on the Sea at his hometown of Knidos.⁴² One mark of *polis*-hood, in the eyes of our unknown honouring community, may therefore have been the ability to demonstrate access to this class of Rome-savvy diplomatic professionals. This was possibly more difficult in this part of Phrygia, where the socio-economic dominance of its resident Romans – epitomised by a figure like Akmonia's patron Q. Decimius – perhaps made it less easy for such local intermediaries to emerge. Antipatros' involvement would therefore have been part of a local drive to enhance our unknown city's respectability within a Phrygia that increasingly aspired to the reputation of cities further west. In this regard it is also notable that his father was named Perilaos: this order of Perilaos-Antipatros recalls the family of Antipatros the regent of Macedonia under Alexander the Great, whose own son was called Perilaos. It is not inconceivable that Antipatros of Derbe's family in fact descended from the son of the regent himself.⁴³ While it is impossible to verify this, any such perceived 'Macedonianness' in Antipatros' ancestry would have provided grounds for prestige in Phrygia, as Macedonian descent continued to matter as a marker of civic and elite identity in the region well into

³⁶ Keil – von Premerstein 1911, 135 suggest that the stone belonged to a statue-base («wohl von einer Basis herrührend»); if correct, this may well indicate that Antipatros was also honoured with a statue.

³⁷ See Thonemann 2013, 24–31.

³⁸ Described by Thonemann 2010, 171–173.

³⁹ Cic. *Flacc.* 34–38.

⁴⁰ MAMA VI 258; 260. Our understanding of the epigraphic landscape of Akmonia will be clearer with the forthcoming publication of a new corpus, edited by Hüseyin Uzunoğlu.

⁴¹ Thonemann 2010, 169–174.

⁴² I.Knidos 58. Other examples include Hermias of Stratonikeia and Kallistos of Knidos, both honoured at Delphi, by the Daulians of Phokis and the Amphictyonic League respectively, as ambassadors and intimates of Romans who were praised specifically for their Roman connections (FD III.4 69 ll. 18–19; FD III.1 480 ll. 2–10).

⁴³ Plut. *Mor.* 486A; the parallel was noted by Syme 1939, 131; Robert 1980, 243–244; Mitchell 2018, 14–15 and 2019, 339 posits a direct connection with the family of the regent itself.

the Imperial period.⁴⁴

In the end, the city’s appeal happily aligned with Antipatros’ own ambitions. Whether this city was Akmoneia or Temenothyrai – it would be the most sophisticated epigraphic text in Greek of the Hellenistic period for either community –⁴⁵ it is at least clear that the activities and honouring of Antipatros were regarded as significant enough to be worthy of commemoration in a unusual, lengthy honorific decree.

Antipatros of Derbe remains an enigmatic figure. The new readings for the decree in his honour passed by an unknown Phrygian city presented here do not offer major revelations, but nevertheless elicit further questions about his place in the political ecosystem of first-century B.C. Anatolia. He participated in the honorific culture of a Greek *polis* – whether this was Akmoneia, Temenothyrai, or another Phrygian community is unclear – and was presented by that *polis* as a citizen of an equivalent community. This would have suited his needs as the ruler of a Lycaonian fiefdom larger than a single *polis*, but smaller than the territories of more powerful dynasts. For the unknown Phrygian city his direct relations with Romans presented an attractive selling-point, through which it could promote itself – to both Rome, but increasingly in the developing civic landscape of first century B.C. Phrygia, to other neighbouring cities as well. For all its tantalising incompleteness, then, this decree still arguably has something to offer, especially when thinking about the role of powerful supra-civic intermediaries with Rome in shaping the late Hellenistic emergence of civic culture in Phrygia.

Abbreviated Literature

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|-----------------------------|--|
| Coşkun 2018 | A. Coşkun, Prolegomena to the Study of “Warlordism in Later Hellenistic Anatolia”, in T. Nájaro del Hoyo and F. López Sánchez (eds.), <i>War, Warlords, and Interstate Relations in the Ancient Mediterranean</i> , Leiden 2018, 204–230. |
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| Fröhlich 2020 | P. Fröhlich, <i>Philanthropia</i> in Context: Civic Virtues and Praise of Officials in the <i>Poleis</i> of Hellenistic Asia Minor, in O. Tekin et al. (eds.), <i>Philanthropy in Anatolia through the Ages. Proceedings of the First International Suna & İnan Kıraç Symposium on Mediterranean Civilizations (Antalya March 26–29.03 2019)</i> , Istanbul 2020, 13–28. |
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| Keil – von Premerstein 1911 | J. Keil – A. von Premerstein, <i>Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien</i> , Vienna 1911. |
| Mack 2015 | W. Mack, <i>Proxeny and Polis. Institutional Networks in the Ancient Greek World</i> , Oxford 2015. |
| Magie 1950 | D. Magie, <i>Roman rule in Asia Minor: to the end of the third century after Christ</i> , Princeton 1950. |
| Mitchell 2018 | S. Mitchell, <i>Dispelling Seleucid Phantoms: Macedonians in Western Asia</i> |

⁴⁴ For Macedonian settlement in Phrygia dating back to the late fourth century, and being maintained into the Imperial period, see Mitchell 2018, 21–26; 2019, 337–339; for cultural differences between Macedonian settlers and indigenous Phrygians, see Thonemann 2013, 23–24; MAMA VI 259, an honorific inscription from early Imperial Akmoneia, emphasises the Macedonian identity of the honorand: Μηνόφιλον τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου Μακεδόνα (ll. 1–3).

⁴⁵ Thonemann 2013, 28.

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William Mitchell Ramsay'in Not Defterinde Derbeli Antipatros, Akmonia ve Roma

Öz: Makalede Uşak'ta bulunan ve 1914 yılında William Mitchell Ramsay tarafından kaydedilen Geç Hellenistik Dönem tarihli bir onurlandırma yazıtındaki yeni okumalar sunulmaktadır. Phrygia'da kimliği tam olarak saptanamayan bir yerleşimin sakinleri tarafından dikilen yazıt, Cicero ve Strabon'un pasajlarından bilinen Lykaonia dinastı Derbeli Antipatros'u onurlandırmaktadır. Yazarlar yazıtın gözden geçirilmiş metnini ve çevirisini sunduktan sonra yeni okuma önerilerini tartışmakta ve fragman olarak korunan bu muammalı yazıtın tarihsel önemini irdelemektedirler. Antipatros'un Küçük Asya ve Roma arasında kentler üstü bir aracı olarak rolüne ilişkin önceki tartışmalara dayanarak bunları geliştiren makalede İÖ 1. yüzyıl bağlamında yabancı bir bireyi onurlandırması açısından biraz sıra dışı olan bu metnin, Geç Hellenistik Dönem Frigya'sında kent kültürünün gelişimi hakkında ne ifade edebileceği de incelenmektedir.

ANAHTAR SÖZCÜKLER: Derbeli Antipatros, William Mitchell Ramsay, Akmonia, Phrygia, onur yazıtları.

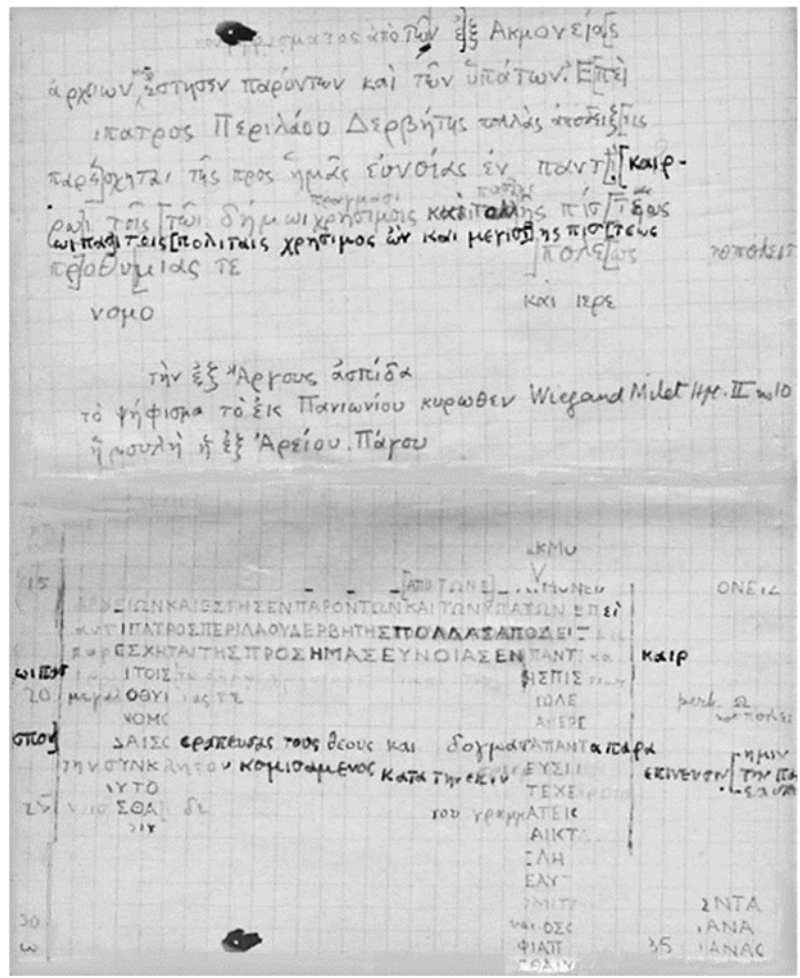


Figure 1: The pages from Ramsay’s second notebook of 1914 recording the text. The upper page appears to show suggested restorations, the lower the record of the text.

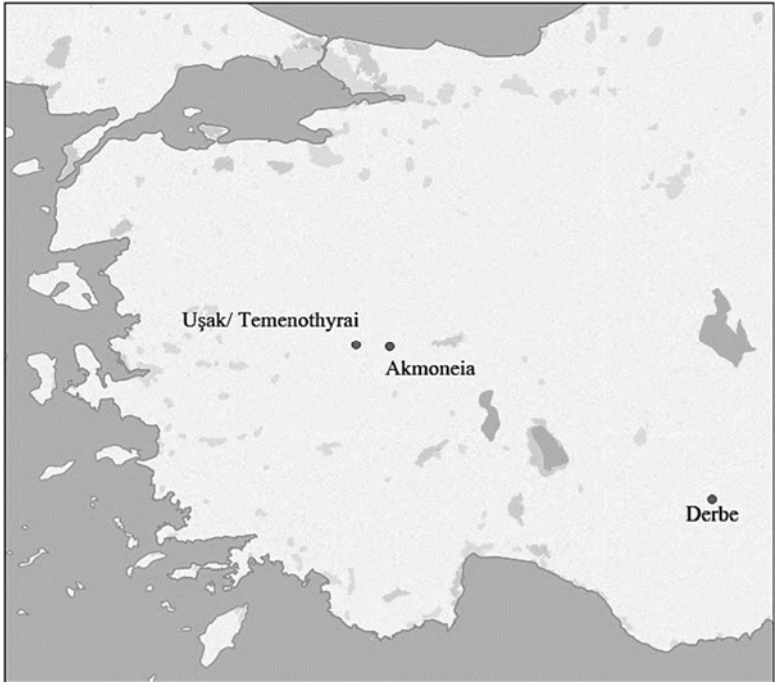


Figure 2: Map showing Uşak, Akmoneia and Derbe (created by the authors using Tableau Public).