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The Procurator Domitius Philippus and Nysa ad Maeandrum in the First Half of the 3rd Century AD

Abstract: This article presents an inscription unearthed during the *agora* excavations at the Carian city of Nysa ad Maeandrum in 1998. It was set up in honour of a member of the equestrian rank: Domitius Philippus, *procurator Augusti ducenarius* and *logistes (curator rei publicae)*. He was most probably a *procurator provinciae Asiae*. He may be identical with Cn. Domitius Philippus (PIR² D 157), who was sent to Egypt as *stratelates/dux* between 1 January 241 and April 242 for an extraordinary mission, probably after he had held a financial procuratela with the rank of a *ducenarius* in the province Asia (perhaps with another procuratela in between). The *protos archon* M. Aurelius Attalos, together with the *grammateis*, was responsible for the erection of the monument for Domitius Philippus. This M. Aurelius Attalos could be identical with Attalos, one of the sons (Apollonios IV-Attalos) of M. [Aur.] Apollonios III, and a member of the city elite (BCH 7, 1883, no. 15). If the identification of Domitius Philippus and M. Aur. Attalos is correct, the inscription can be dated to the 230s CE. Philippus received the title *ktistes* as a *procurator* and *logistes* at Nysa. Consequently, he may have been sent to this city by the emperor in order to control building activities and to find new resources for this purpose through examination of the city's accounts. It is not known what construction projects Philippus may have been responsible for and why the city came to require a *logistes* for this work; however, it is known that the city spent a lot of money on building projects in the first and the second centuries CE. Having discussed some third-century problems, the author assumes that Nysa was still able at that time to provide money for construction activities, but the city was in need of *logistai*.

Keywords: Nysa; Domitius Philippus; *procurator*; *logistes*; Statue base.

The honorary inscription presented here was unearthed during the *agora* excavations at Nysa in 1998 (invention no: N98-A1-10). The monument appears to be a statue base. The limestone block was later cut down for re-use; the right side was neatly removed, and the left side was cut down from the top of the stone to approximately half way down the block. On the left side of the stone there is a hollow as a fixing plug. The inscription is fifteen lines long, and is divided into two parts (lines 1–11 and lines 12–15), with larger letters in the first eleven lines. It is currently situated in the *agora*, three metres from the honorary inscription for the *procurator Augusti qui et logistes* Iulius Iulianus.¹ It is not mentioned by W. Blümel in his regular reports on inscriptions from Nysa (1995–2014).²

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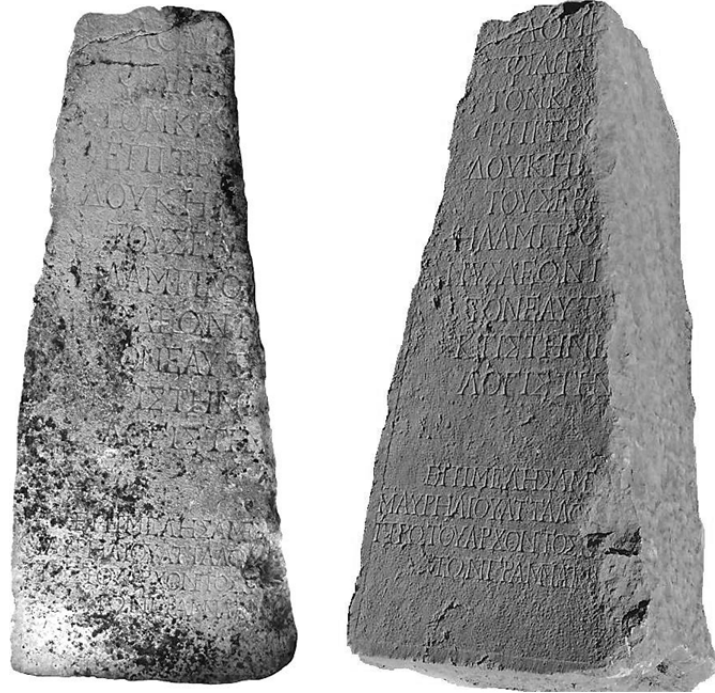
¹ AST 19,2 (2001), 159 (SEG 52, no. 1098); also see Akdoğu-Arca 2016, 65–66.

² The inscriptions of Nysa have been studied by Nuray Gökalp Özdil and me since 2013: See Öztaner – Akdoğu Arca – Gökalp Özdil 2014; Akdoğu-Arca 2016; Gökalp-Özdil 2016. Excavations in the city were conducted by Prof. Dr. Vedat İdil and Prof. Dr. Musa Kadioğlu between 1990–2010. Since 2012 the excavations at Nysa have been undertaken by the Directorate of Aydın Archaeological Museum, with Doç. Dr. S. Hakan Öztaner as academic consultant. The inscriptions of the city were studied by W. Blümel between 1995 and 2002: See AST 13,1 (1995); AST 14,1 (1996); AST 16,1 (1998); AST 17,1 (1999); AST 18,1 (2000); AST 19,2 (2001); AST 20,2 (2002). See also: Blümel 1995; 2007; Blümel et alii 2009. The inscriptions relating to the Gerontikon were gathered by M. Kadioğlu – W. Blümel in 2014: in: Kadioğlu 2014, 89–122.

H. 117 cm; W. 53 cm (bottom), 45 cm (middle), 27 cm (top); Th. 40 cm, LH: 4–5 cm (upper part), 3–3.5 cm (lower part); hollow on left-hand side: 13x6 cm.

Photo: Nysa Archive, taken 1995 (right); EAA (2016, left).

- Δομί[τιον]
 Φύλιπ[πον]
 τὸν κρά[τιστον]
 4 ἐπίτρο[πον]
 δουκτη[άριον]
 τοῦ Σεβα[στοῦ]
 ἡ λαμπρο[τάτη]
 8 Νυσαέων π[όλις]
 τὸν ἑαυτῆ[ς]
 κτίστην κ[αί]
 λογιστήν.
vacat
 12 ἐπιμελησαμέ[νων]
 Μ. Αὐρηλίου Αττάλο[υ]
 πρώτου ἄρχοντος κα[ὶ]
 τῶν γραμματ[έων]



«The most illustrious city of the Nysaeans (honoured) Domitius Philippus, the most excellent *procurator ducenarius Augusti*, her founder and *logistes*.

M. Aurelius Attalos, chief archon, and the *grammateis* took care of (erecting the monument)».

In the first part of the inscription (Lines 1–11), a certain Domitius Philippus, a *procurator Augusti ducenarius* and *curator rei publicae* is honoured in his capacity as a representative of the Roman provincial administration. In the second part of the inscription (Lines 12–15), it is recorded that the *protos archon* M. Aurelius Attalos, in company with the *grammateis*, was responsible for the erection of the monument. It seems sensible to begin with the civic structure of Nysa, so we will begin with the second part of the inscription.

The erection of the monument was undertaken by the *protos archon* M. Aur. Attalos and the *grammateis*. The *grammateis* are attested in the plural form for the first time at Nysa in this text.³ This suggests that there was a board of *grammateis*⁴ in the city alongside the board of *archontes*,⁵ as was already

³ At Tralleis, the neighbour of Nysa, the board of *grammateis* (γραμματεῖς τοῦ δήμου), here consisting of five people, erected the statue of L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus while he was a *proconsul* for the third time under Philippus Arabus: I. Tralleis 55.

⁴ *Grammateis* in inscriptions from Nysa: ἐπὶ γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου Ἡλι|οδώρου τοῦ Μαιανδρίου τοῦ Θεοδότου: Syll³ 78: line 6–7: 1 BC.; ἐπι[με]ληθέντος Τιβ[ερίου] | Κλαυδίου Ζωσίμου | Οὐαλεριανοῦ γραμματέως τῆς πόλεως: Ramsay, BCH 7, 1883, 269–270, no. 13: 117–138 AD; ἐπιμεληθέντος Τιβ[ερίου] Κλ[αυδίου] | Ζωσίμου Οὐαλεριανοῦ | γραμματέως τῆς πόλεως: CIG 2947, 2948: 117–138 AD; στρατηγῶν γνώμη | καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου | Τίτου Αἰλίου Πλουτίωνος: (line 6–8): BCH 9 1885, 127–28, no. B = BE 1924, 355; SEG 4, 418: 138–161 AD; Μ(ἄρκον) | Ἀπολλώνιον · γ' · τὸν γραμματέα: τῆς πόλεως (line 3–5); ἐπ[ιδόν]τα δὲ καὶ | τὸν | υἱὸν Ἀπολλώ[νιον] εἷς τε γρα[μ]ματεῖαν (line 9–11); τὸν ἔτ[ε]ρον υἱὸν Ἀττάλον | ἐπιδόντ[α] | εἷς τε γραμματεῖαν (line 13–15): Ramsay, BCH 7, 1883, 272–274, no. 15: probably 3rd AD; τῷ παιδὶ | Μενεκράτει | τῷ γραμματεῖ | τῆς πόλεως (line 14–17): Gökalp-Özdil 2015, 146.

⁵ *Archontes* in Nysa: [ἄ]ρχοντα πρώτον τε πόλεω[ς]: BCH 1890, 232–33, no. 4 (BE 1924, 355, SEG 4, 411) *temperis incertum*; γενόμενον τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πρώτον ἄρχοντα: BCH 1883, 272–74, no. 15: probably 3rd century AD.

known from the coinage of the city (the formula ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΕΠΙ on a coin of Geta).⁶ The *grammateis* emerge from the inscriptions and also the imperial coinage of Nysa as a very senior magistracy of the city. During the reign of Antoninus Pius the *grammateus tou demou* was responsible for issuing a decree alongside the board of *strategoî*.⁷

M. Aur. Attalos may appear in another inscription found at Nysa.⁸ Here a certain M. Apollonios III, a member of the local elite, was honoured by the *boule*, *demos*, *gerousia*, *neoi* and *synodos*. The *nomen gentile* of Apollonios is not given in the inscription; however, given that there is a *vacat* of three letters after the *praenomen* M., Strubbe restored the name as M. [Aur.] Apollonios.⁹ But he stressed that the family had the Roman citizenship before 212, probably already under Marcus Aurelius. Apollonios is described in the inscription as *grammateus*, *panegyriarchos*, *strategos* and *paraphylax*. Moreover he had served as *agoranomos* four times and as *argyrotamias* twice. He also held the first archonship and *stephanephoria*¹⁰ (the eponymous magistracy), defined in the inscription as preeminent liturgies. Two sons of Apollonios were also mentioned in the inscription: Apollonios and Attalos. The elder Apollonios financed several magistracies for both sons. For Apollonios: *grammateia*, *gymnasiarchia*, *paraphylake* and *seitionia*. For Attalos: *grammateia*, *eirenarchia*, *gymnasiarchia*, *agoronomia* and *argyrotamia*. All of these magistracies were evidently financially burdensome. The next steps in the local “Laufbahn” of the two sons would presumably have been the archonship, the first archonship and religious offices. When we survey the coinage of Nysa, we see that coins naming the *grammateus* as the mint-magistrate were particularly numerous between the Antonine period and the period of Valerian-Gallienus.¹¹ Among these coins there was a coin dated to the reign of Maximinus Thrax on which the name of a *grammateus* was Ἀπολλώνιος δ'¹² and Strubbe suggested that this Apollonios might be the son of Apollonios III who was honoured in the Nysa inscription.¹³ If the suggestion of Strubbe is right, then this inscription could be dated some time later than the Marcus Apollonios inscription, perhaps during the reign of Maximinus Thrax or Gordianus III.

The honorand Domitius Philippus was a *ducenarius procurator*¹⁴ and his equestrian rank is clear from the epithet *kratistos*. As a CC (200.000) *sestertii* stipendiary Domitius Philippus was most probably a *procurator provinciae Asiae*.¹⁵ Although his identity remains uncertain, it is possible to identify him

⁶ Spoerri Butcher 2006, 210.

⁷ See n. 4.

⁸ Ramsay, BCH 7, 1883, 272–274, no. 15; Diest 1913, 8 no. C: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμο[ς] καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ | νέοι καὶ ἡ σύνδοδος Μ(ἄρκων) vac. (3) | Ἀπολλώνιον · γ' · τὸν γραμμ[α]τεά· τῆς πόλεως καὶ πα[ν]ηγυρίαρχον καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ παραφύλακα ἀγορανομήσαντα · δ' · ἀργυροταμιεύ[ο]σαντα · δις · ἐπ[ι]δόν[τ]α δὲ καὶ | τὸν υἱὸν Ἀπολλώ[ν]ιον εἰς τε γραμμ[α]τείαν καὶ γυμ[ν]ασιαρχίαν | καὶ παραφυλακὴν <κ>αὶ σειτω[ν]ίαν · ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν ἔτ[ε]ρον υἱὸν Ἄτταλον ἐπιδόντ[α] | εἰς τε γραμματείαν καὶ εἰρ[η]ναρχίαν καὶ γυμ[ν]ασιαρχία[ν] || καὶ ἀγορανομίαν καὶ ἀργυρο[τα]μίαν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς φθανούσαις λειτουργίαις · γενόμενον τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πρῶτον ἄρχοντα καὶ στεφανηφόρον ἔνδοξον.

⁹ Strubbe 1987, 61, no. 37, n. 36.

¹⁰ Sherk 1992, 233–234.

¹¹ Regling 1913, Lane 2, 1975, 21 etc., Nysa 7–10; 12–14; 16–18; 22; 24–25; 27–32; 34–36; 39–41. The *grammateus* was the sole magistrate named on coinage minted in the Antonine period: see *RPC Online* nos. 1444, 1447, 1487, 1488 (Paionios); 1453–55, 1465, 1472, 1753, 9722, 10781 (Asiatikos Cornelius); 1456, 1459, 1462–64, 1466, 1473, 1475, 1482 (Aur. Diodotos); 2914, 10169 (Artemidoros). For civic coinage under Gallienus, Spoerri Butcher 2006, 209–213.

¹² Regling 1913, no. 142.

¹³ Strubbe 1987, 61, no. 37.

¹⁴ For the first appearance of the title *ducenarius* for a *procurator* under Claudius see: Suet., Claud. 24.1, cf. Kantor 2011, 156 and n. 12. Examples from Asia begin under Marcus Aurelius: see below n. 15.

¹⁵ Other *ducenarii procuratores* in Asia: C. Iulius Antonius Tertullinus (M. Aurelius) (AE 1972, 579, AE 1966,

with Cn. Domitius Philippus¹⁶ (PIR² D 157), who was sent to Egypt as *stratelates/dux* between 1 January 241 and April 242. Two equestrian *duces* and four *correctores* are known from Egypt from the period 231–297.¹⁷ Based on the civil affairs of these two *duces* in Egypt,¹⁸ it is concluded that they performed their duty equivalent to *praefecti*, since the province had no *praefectus* during their period of office.¹⁹ The employment of *duces* or *correctores* instead of *praefecti* is considered to be an immediate precaution in case of civil or foreign war, and the mission of Domitius in Egypt has been connected with the Persian wars. In this case Cn. Domitius Philippus was sent to Egypt with an extraordinary mission as a *dux* instead of as *praefectus Aegypti*.²⁰ The title of Philippus in this charge was *lamprotatos*, just as for the *praefecti Aegypti*.²¹ We have no information about the previous cursus of Cn. Domitius Philippus, about whom our evidence consists of papyri and an inscription²² from Rome which is now lost. But we can presumably assume that this equestrian must have undertaken some procuratela previously.²³ From this point of view it seems possible that after he held a financial procuratela with the rank of *ducenarius* in the province Asia (perhaps with another procuratela in between), he was sent to Egypt for an extraordinary mission as a *dux*, while he was *praefectus vigilum* in Rome. In the new inscription from Nysa Domitius Philippus is mentioned without *praenomen*. But also in P. Oxy. 2231, he appears as Domitius Philippus without a *praenomen*.²⁴ Cn. Domitius Philippus performed his duty in Egypt between 241 and 242. He likewise fits well with our Domitius Philippus, whom we have already tentative-

446); Vipsanius Caecilianus Aksios (Caracalla or Macrinus) AE 1972, 588; Calpurnius Verus (Severus Alexander) AE 1966, 444; Castrus Cinna (Christol – Drew-Bear 1983, 39–40, n. 48: Severus Alexander?); Appius Alexandros (Philippus Arabus and his son) AE 2003, 1672, AE 2005, 1455, Thomasson 2009, 14, 8.19a. For other bibliography and discussions concerning the dates of the inscriptions see: Christol – Drew-Bear – Taşlıalan 2003, 278–79. On the other hand there are inscriptions relating to the *procurator Asiae* which do not include the word *ducenarius*: Ti. Claudius Xenophon (195 A.D.) (Pflaum 1960, no. 222); Scavianus (198–209 A.D.) (Knibbe – Engelmann, JÖAI 55, 1984, 4365; AE 1988, 1022); Dionysius (Febr. 211–Febr. 212) (Demougin 1990, 12, AE 1993, 1505); L. Didius Marinus (after Febr. 212–214) (Demougin 1990); L. Licilius Pansa Priscellianus (Caracalla) (Demougin 1990); Pontius Eglectus Iulianus (first half of the 3rd A.D.?) (Christol 1981, 71–74).

¹⁶ Rea 1970; Lorient 2007; Thomasson 2009, 37.104; Jördens 2009, 58, n. 164; also see Sordi 1981.

¹⁷ Lorient 2007.

¹⁸ These two *duces* are M. Aur. Zeno Ianuarius (5–7/8 231) and Cn. Domitius Philippus. Of these Ianuarius ordered the *census* of 229/30 with the *ex-praefectus* Cl. Masculinus. On the other hand Cn. Domitius Philippus ordered supplies for a party of soldiers (P. Berl. Leihg., 9); he received a claim for *possessio bonorum* (P. Oxy. 2231); he received a *prosessio liberorum natorum* (SB 9200); he promoted two soldiers of the Egyptian garrison (P. Mich. 164); Parsons 1970, 393–94.

¹⁹ Rea 1970; Parsons 1970; Lorient 2007; For the problems about Ianuarius see Jördens 2009, 84.

²⁰ Concerning Cn. Domitius Philippus, the expression of *ϱ. p. tunc duce* (P. Mich. 164, lines 3 and 15) has hitherto been understood as *ϱ(iro) p(erfectissimo)* (Rea 1970, Parsons 1970, Lorient 2007). But we could alternatively understand this statement as *ϱ(ice) p(raefecti) tunc duce*. Just as we see in Asia and other provinces statements like *procurator agens vice proconsulis* or *procurator agens vice praesidis* (Remy 1976, table 3, 466–70), so too in Egypt under exceptional circumstances a *dux agens vice praefecti* could be appointed. Cf. the description of Hilarianus, governor of Africa in 202: *procurator qui tunc loco proconsulis* (s.c. Africae) Minucii Timiniani defuncti ius gladii acceperat: Rémy 1976, table 3, 466.

²¹ P. Berl. Leihg., 9.

²² CIL VI, 1092.

²³ Likewise M. Aur. Zeno Ianuarius, who was a *dux* in 231 in Egypt, also performed the duty in Mauretania Caesarea under Severus Alexander as a *procurator ducenarius*: CIL VIII, 20991, 20992; AE, 1904, 151; cf. Lorient 2007, 102. The praefectura of the *procurator agens vice proconsulis* of Asia, C. Minicius Italus (CIL V, 875=ILS 1374; PIR² M 614), has been dated to 100/101–103 (Stein 1950, 49–50; Thomasson 2009, 145, 37.44; Jördens 2009, 529). Italus replaced the *proconsul* Sextus Vettulenus Civica Cerialis (Tacit. Agricola 42; Suet. Domit. 10, 2), who was murdered in Asia by Domitian.

²⁴ Line: 14–16: Δομῖτιϱὸ Φλίππ[ϱ] ἐ|πάρχϱ οὐνιγούλϱϱ στρρα|τηλάτη.

ly dated to the reign of Maximinus Thrax or Gordianus III. Consequently we have good reason to date this inscription to the 230s AD.

The relation of Domitius Philippus with Nysa arose from having been the *logistes/curator rei publicae*²⁵ of the city. He also carries the honorific title *ktistes* as a result of construction activities, probably in conjunction with his *logisteia*. For Domitius Philippus to receive the title *ktistes* as a *procurator* and *logistes* at Nysa is unusual; the number of *logistai* and *procuratores* who held this title is very small, and most of them did not receive this title in relation to their *procuratela* and *logisteia*, but rather received it in relation to euergetic activities which they performed in their native city.²⁶ We do not know which construction Philippus might have been responsible for at Nysa, though the construction of important public buildings such as the theatre,²⁷ library²⁸ and gerontikon²⁹ continued during the first and second centuries AD. From the city elite a certain T. Flavius Aurelius Diophantos,³⁰ described as *hippikos philosebastos*, is attested at the end of the second and the first half of the third century A.D. He was also responsible for the construction of some public buildings (κατασκευάαις ἔργων) in the city, but we have no way of knowing for certain which buildings these might have been. On the other hand, we can tell from his two *nomina* that Diophantos' ancestors received the citizenship in the Flavian period. His second *nomen* Aurelius probably derives from M. Aurelius or Commodus. If we consider that the three-storey *scenae frons* of the theatre was built at Nysa at a date between 180–200, it is possible that the building activities of Diophantos were related to the theatre. But the aforementioned building activities could equally well relate to Domitius Philippus, or to neither of the two men.

When a *logistes* was sent to a city, that city typically had financial problems which she could not manage by herself. In such circumstances the *logistes* examined the accounts of the city, and tried to stabilise the city's revenues by making debtors pay their debts or creating new resources for the city.³¹ Presumably the income of Nysa was not sufficient at the time of Philippus' appointment for such building activities; perhaps he created new resources for Nysa after examining the accounts. But it seems likely that the city's financial problems were not fully solved by Domitius Philippus, or that a new problem arose, since another *logistes* Iulius Iulianus was appointed not long after.³²

In Asia, *curatores rei publicae* begin to be attested following the period of Trajan or Hadrian. The circumstances of the office before Antoninus Pius are ambiguous. Under Antoninus Pius, the number of

²⁵ Liebenam 1897, 290–325; Mason 1974, 66, s.v. λογιστεία, λογιστεύω, λογιστής; Burton 1979, 465–487; Dmitriev 2005, 189–197; Akın 2015.

²⁶ L. Pupius Praesens, *procurator* of Galatia under Nero, was honoured as *ktistes* and *euergetes* at Ikonion, although this was not his native town: IGR III, 263. The *procurator* Aurelius Faustinus was honoured as *ktistes* and *euergetes* at his home town of Synnada: MAMA VI, 378. The *procurator* Aurelius Aristainetos was honoured *ktistes* and *euergetes*, also at Synnada: IGR IV, 703. The *logistes* Ti. Claudius Glyptos, the son of Andronikos, was honoured at his native town of Tralleis as *soter* and *ktistes*: I. Tralleis 74. Bryonianus Lollianus was honoured at his home town of Side as *ktistes*: Side 1947, 6, 7; Side 1948, 45 etc. Also the other *procurator qui et logistes* Iulius Iulianus had the title *ktistes* at Nysa just as Philippus did: see n. 1.

²⁷ Kadioğlu 2006, 91: The early period of the theatre was dated to the late Hellenistic–early Augustan period. A two-storey *scenae frons* and *proskenion* were built during the first half of the 2nd. cent. AD and attached to the theatre, and finally a three-storey *scaenae frons* was built between 180–200 AD.

²⁸ Strocka – Hoffmann – Hiesel 2012: The library was built ca. 130 AD.

²⁹ Kadioğlu 2014, 155–185: in the middle of the 2nd. cent. AD (148/49). It was restored later, presumably in the end of the 2nd cent. AD, at the time of the construction of the *scenae frons* of the theatre.

³⁰ Öztaner – Akdoğu-Arca – Gökalp-Özdil 2014, 230–31, no. 4.

³¹ I. Ephesos I, no. 15. (Antoninus Pius); I. Keramos 31 (150–190 A.D.); I. Prusias ad Hypium, 29.

³² Iulius Iulianus, the other *logistes* known from Nysa, probably held his post under Gordianus III or at the beginning of the reign of Philippus Arabus: Akdoğu-Arca 2016.

attestations increase in the province.³³ This situation may be explained by the reorganization of the *logisteia* office by Antoninus Pius, just like his reorganization of *eirenarchia*³⁴ during his proconsulate of Asia, probably in consequence the requirement of *logistes* becoming increasingly apparent in this period. These officials were directly assigned by the emperor. They could be sometimes a *legatus propraetore*, sometimes a *procurator* or sometimes those who were at the top of the provincial administration, such as an *asiarches*. For example, the Aphrodisians were unable to continue celebrating pre-existing *agones*. Thereupon they requested a *logistes* to examine their accounts, and the *logistes* decided to increase the relevant funds to allow them to continue holding the *agones*.³⁵ At Iulia Gordus a *logistes* provided the funds to allow a certain Menekrates to construct some buildings when he was *agoranomos*.³⁶ Likewise, when the Hierapolitans wished to build a skene for the first time in their existing theatre, with the governor's approval and probably after the reorganisation of the budget, the money was transferred from the city's own revenues (ἐξ οἰκείων πόρων) to this construction.³⁷ As is seen, our inscriptions are focused on results, and tell us little about the sources of these financial problems. It is difficult to draw general conclusions, and it is better to judge each individual case according to the particular circumstances of the cities and the province and the specific period of time. Burton concludes that Romans did not establish a new permanent system, but appointed *logistai* only on special occasions.³⁸ Although in the first and the second centuries AD the Nysaeans spent a lot of money on construction works, we have no evidence in this period as to why Nysa came to require a *logistes* for construction works. I wonder if Nysa, just like the Bithynian cities under Trajan (Plin. *Ep.* X, 17B, 18, 23, 24, 37, 38, 39, 40, 81, 82), overspent money on construction works along with other extravagances, and consequently were unable to construct new buildings. Might there have been any other underlying cause? The date of the inscription is very close to the separation date of Phrygia-Caria from the province of Asia. The problems encountered in the Empire in this period were responsible for the division of the province under Philippus Arabs.³⁹ The division of Asia appears to have occurred as a result of a series of military,⁴⁰ administrative

³³ TAM V, 1, 517 (Maionia-Lydia 154/55); I. Ephesos I, 15; III, 696; 4341; SEG 58, 376–377; MAMA VI, 74 (Aphrodisias); I. Illion 106.

³⁴ Dig. 48.3.6.1.

³⁵ Reynolds 1982, 185–189, doc. 57 (Commodus).

³⁶ TAM V, 1, 693 (M. Aurelius–Commodus).

³⁷ I. Hierapolis 4; Ritti 2007, 399–409 (205/6 or 206/7).

³⁸ Burton 1979, 473, cf. Dmitriev 2005, 194. Also the inscriptions on the weights at Bithynia prove that the *logisteia* was not permanent. See Haensch – Weiß 2005; 2007; Dönmez-Öztürk – Haensch – Öztürk – Weiß 2008a, 2008b; Haensch – Weiß 2014.

³⁹ The general opinion used to be that the joined province of Phrygia-Caria subsisted between 249/50 (Christol – Drew-Bear 1983, 35; Barnes 1982, 215; Sartre 1995, 176; Christol – Drew-Bear 1999, 40; Roueché 2004, introduction 2, Commentary, Section I.3. Cf. Dmitriev 2001, 468 n. 2 and n. 61.) and ca. 301 (Roueché 1981, 111; Christol – Drew-Bear 1983, 38, n. 42; Varinlioğlu – French 1991, 133; Roueché 2004, Narrative, Fasti, Governors of Caria and Phrygia. Cf. Dmitriev 2001, 468 n. 3.) But this opinion was questioned by S. Dmitriev, who suggested that the new province was created and dissolved twice, once between 249 and the 260s, and again under Diocletianus (Dmitriev 2001). I reexamined the subject after finding a new inscription at Nysa concerning a *praeses-legatus Augusti propraetore* of the joint province of Phrygia-Caria, Q. Clodius Fabius Agrippianus Celsinus (late 249–early 250) and I suggested that the separation of Asia might have occurred in the reign of Philippus Arabs and his homonymous son, after 245, presumably in 247/48–249; that the joint province of Phrygia-Caria was probably dissolved under Valerianus – Gallienus; and that the *procurator agens vice praesidis* Iulius Iulianus honoured at Phrygian Pınarbaşı (Christol – Drew-Bear 1983) might be the first governor of Phrygia-Caria, and this person might be the same as the *procurator qui et logistes* Iulius Iulianus honoured at Nysa: Akdoğu-Arca 2016.

⁴⁰ Under Severus Alexander, the Roman-Sasanid wars broke out and continued without slowing down under Maximinus Thrax, Gordianus III, Philippus Arabs, Valerianus – Gallienus: Kettenhofen 1983, Southern 2004, 233–240, Dignas – Winter 2007, 70–84, also see Drijvers 2009, 446–47.

and security problems, and therefore reflected the dysfunction of the system in the province.⁴¹ It is understood that these problems approximately began in the reign of Commodus and reached a peak under Gordianus III and Philippus Arabs.

Between 181 and 249, as a result of various threats to security of life and property, the inhabitants of central and eastern Asia, mainly Lydia and Phrygia, sent repeated petitions to Roman emperors.⁴² The inscriptions draw attention to problems which the administrators of the province (*proconsules, procuratores*) were unable to solve, and consequently the inhabitants tried to reach the emperors directly.⁴³ The individuals who threatened the security of life and property were defined in the inscriptions as soldiers or imperial military units and officials, such as *frumentarii, kolletiones, praetoriani, stationarii, Caesariani*.⁴⁴ The town of Euhippe⁴⁵, the southwestern neighbour of Nysa, ran into similar danger. A fragmentary inscription dated to 211–213 was found in Euhippe, recording an *edictum* from the *proconsul* C. Gabinius Pompeianus regarding the Euhippeans.⁴⁶ Soldiers and imperial officials had turned away from the royal routes and the main throughfares and turned up in the city, and therefore the citizens sent a petition to the emperor Caracalla.⁴⁷ Hence imperial soldiers crossed over the river Maiandros to the south.⁴⁸ Although Euhippe is close to Nysa, we have no evidence from the first half of the 3rd century

⁴¹ In the third century A.D., as a result of the attacks of Goths and Persians and other dangers and civil wars occurring elsewhere in the Empire, a management gap emerged due to the permanent absence of emperors on the battleground (Southern 2004, 246–250; Hekster 2008, 61–63; Mennen 2011, 35–37). Disorderly and arbitrary behavior by soldiers was thus on the increase (Mitchell 1999, 45–46), and the *proconsules* and *procuratores* of Asia were unable to solve the problems of the province: Akdoğu-Arca 2016, 68–69.

⁴² These complaints came from villages (Kemaliye, Kassar, Demirci, Güllüköy and Kavacık), towns (Takina and Euhippe), imperial estates (Ağabeyköy, Takina, Aragua), senatorial estates (the Asian copies of *sacrae litterae*) a city (Tabala) and a private estate (Kilter): Hauken 1998.

⁴³ Hauken states that these inscriptions must have been an attempt to draw the attention of the authorities to the inherent weaknesses of the system: Hauken 1998, 196.

⁴⁴ Hauken arranged the complaints into two categories: In the first category there are attacks on the villages or imperial estates and illegal exactions by imperial soldiers leaving the main routes. In the second category there are attacks on estates by *kolletiones, frumentarii, stationarii, Caesariani, praetoriani*, including arrests, dragging inhabitants away from farming and forcing inhabitants to leave their ancestral homes, and the failure of inhabitants to pay imperial taxes.

⁴⁵ The Euhippe inscription was found in the village Dalama, which is ca. 13.5 km. from Nysa, on the southern edge of the Maeander valley, approximately at the halfway point on the road between Aydın and Nazilli.

⁴⁶ Robert 1952, 589–599 (BE 1954, 225; SEG 13, 492); Hauken 1998, 215–16.

⁴⁷ The Tabala inscription features a similar complaint about soldiers leaving the main routes, and has a similar reference to the provincial governor, as in the Euhippe inscription: Malay 1988, 47–52 (SEG 38, 1988, 1244); Hauken 1998, 203–214 (SEG 43, 1993, 870). The Tabala inscription imposed severe restrictions on Roman soldiers when performing their daily duties. Also see the Aragua (Phrygia-Appia) inscription: Hauken 1998, 140–161 (CIL III, 14191; OGIS II, 519; IGR IV, 598): Though peasants were living far from the main road and in the middle of a rural area, they were still harassed by soldiers, bringing with them men from the town and Caesariani.

⁴⁸ The underlying cause of usurpation and marauding by soldiers and military units lay in their having been corrupted by emperors with gifts like bribes and salary increases, and being positively encouraged to spoliation. This behaviour of emperors was summarized fairly by Katsari (2011, 40–42): Septimius Severus, who spent most of his 18 years of rule at war, increased both the number of soldiers and their salary (Herodian 3.8.4; SHA, *Sev.* 12.2.). He was accused by ancient writers of disrupting the military discipline and ‘teaching the men to be greedy for riches and seducing them into a life of luxury’ (Herodian 3.8.4–5). Also Caracalla, following his father, increased salaries and corrupted soldiers with various gifts, so that although soldiers got tired from fighting, they always demanded more and more money. In addition Caracalla spent more money on the food supply and military equipment. Soldiers did not like the attempts of Macrinus to restrict the salaries, gifts and military duties. It is known that Elagabalus had money to burn. The expenditure of the army increased under Severus Alexander in consequence of the Parthian (Herodian 6.3–6; SHA, *Alex. Sev.* 55–56) and German (Herodian 6.8.9; SHA, *Alex. Sev.* 59) attacks. Katsari also thought that (41) giving praetorian praefects the senatorial rank might have increased the

A.D. whether also the territory of Nysa experienced similar actions or other problems characteristic of the third century.⁴⁹ On the other hand it reminds us of the fact that inscriptions regarding *curatores rei publicae* increased during the reign of Antoninus Pius, but especially after Commodus. In the province of Asia, the density of examples dating to the first half of the 3rd century AD may result from the fact that more money was needed especially for the army (we should note that the difficulties sometimes occurred in the course of tax collection⁵⁰), and hence may reflect a decision by Rome to try to prevent the needless waste of money by the cities. Rome wanted the Greek cities to avoid unnecessary expenditure. For this purpose, sumptuous building constructions and other expensive activities undertaken by the cities began to be more formally controlled by *logistai*. To conclude, although in the mid-third century AD Nysa was in need of support by *logistai*, they seem still to have been able to allocate money for construction activities.

Abbreviated Literature

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|-------------------------|---|
| Akdoğu-Arca 2016 | E. N. Akdoğu-Arca, Iulius Iulianus Phrygia-Caria Eyaleti'nin İlk Valisi miydi?, in: B. Takmer – E. N. Akdoğu Arca – N. Gökalp Özdil (eds.), <i>Vir doctus Anaticus. Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin</i> , Istanbul 2016, 60–73. |
| Akın 2015 | Y. Akın, Yazıtlar Işığında Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Lykia, Pamphylia ve Pisidia'da curator rei publicae Olgusu, in: <i>International Young Scholars Conference II: Mediterranean Anatolia</i> , Antalya 4–7 November 2015 (in print). |
| Alston 1994 | R. Alston, Roman Military Pay from Caesar to Diocletian, <i>JRS</i> 84, 1994, 113–23. |
| Barnes 1982 | T. D. Barnes, <i>The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine</i> , Cambridge (Mass.) 1982. |
| Blümel 1995 | W. Blümel, <i>Inschriften aus Karien I</i> , <i>EA</i> 25, 1995, 35–64. |
| Blümel 2007 | W. Blümel, <i>Inschriften aus Karien III</i> , <i>EA</i> 40, 2007, 41–48. |
| Blümel et alii 2009 | W. Blümel – C. Habicht – T. C. Brennan, Ehren für Cn. Domitius Calvinus in Nysa, <i>ZPE</i> 169, 2009, 157–161. |
| Brélaz 2005 | C. Brélaz, <i>La sécurité publique en Asie Mineure sous le Principat (I^{er}–III^{ème} s. ap. J.-C.)</i> , Basel 2005. |
| Burton 1979 | G. P. Burton, The Curator Rei Publicae: Towards a Reappraisal, <i>Chiron</i> 9, 1979, 465–487. |
| Christol 1981 | M. Christol, Observations complémentaires sur les carrières de Marcus Aurelius Hermogenes et de Pontius Egelectus Iulianus: Procurator a studis et magister a studis, <i>ZPE</i> 43 1981, 67–74. |
| Christol–Drew-Bear 1983 | M. Christol – Th. Drew-Bear, Une délimitation de territoire en Phrygie- |

political and probably the economic power of the army. In 235 Maximinus Thrax doubled the salaries. On this subject, although there is no evidence about other emperors, it must be accepted that they acted in a same manner. For the literary and documentary evidence for pay rises of army see: Alston 1994, 113–120.

⁴⁹ In Lydian Güllüköy, on behalf of the villagers, a landowner begged the proconsul (?) to instruct the magistrates and especially the eirenarchs to take action against those who travel through and oppress and compel them: Hauken 1998, 251–56. Although we cannot tell from the fragmentary inscription whether an *eirenarkhes* was made use of or not, the petition brings into question whether an *eirenarkhes* was used against the disorderly actions of soldiers. See Brélaz 2005, 112. It is stated in the reorganisation of Antoninus Pius how *irenarchae* should behave against attacks of *latrones*: Dig. 48.3.6.1. *Latrones* means (L&S, s.v. *latro*.) “a freebooter, highwayman, robber, bandit, irregular soldier, brigand”. The *eirenarkhai* known from Nysa are Attalos the son of M. Apollonios (see above. n. 8); M. Aur. Mousaon: Gökalp-Özdil 2015, 146–152.

⁵⁰ Likewise the peasants of Ağabeyköy when harassed by imperial soldiers complained that they will no longer be able to pay imperial taxes: TAM V, 3, 1418, Hauken 1998, 35–57.

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Özet

Procurator Domitius Philippus ve İS. 3. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Nysa ad Maeandrum

Makale’de bir Karia kenti olan Nysa ad Maeandrum’da 1998 yılı *agora* kazıları sırasında bulunmuş bir yazıt tanıtılmaktadır. Yazıtta *ducenarius* seviyesinde atlı sınıfından bir *procurator* ve aynı zamanda da Nysa kentine *logistes* (*curator rei publicae*) olarak atanmış Domitius Philippus onurlandırılmaktadır. Bu kişi büyük bir ihtimalle *procurator provinciae Asiae*’dir. Domitius Philippus’un kimliği belirsiz olmakla birlikte 1 Ocak 241’den Nisan 242’ye kadar Mısır’a *praefectus Aegypti* yerine alınılmadık bir şekilde *stratelates* yani *dux* olarak gönderilen Cn. Domitius Philippus (PIR² D 157) ile aynı kişi olması ihtimal dahilindedir. Domitius Philippus olasılıkla Asia Eyaleti’nde *ducenarius* seviyesinde finans *procurator*’u olarak görev yaptıktan sonra olağanüstü bir görevle Mısır’a gönderilmiştir. Domitius Philippus’u onurlandıran kişi ise kent idaresinin en üst sınıfından *protos arkhon* M. Aurelius Attalos’tur. Bu şahısla ilgili olarak da makalede, kentten tanınan M. [Aur.] Apollonios III’ün iki oğlundan (Apollonios IV-Attalos) biri olan Attalos (BCH 7, 1883, no. 15) ile bağlantı kurulmaktadır. Gerek Domitius Philippus gerekse M. Aur. Attalos eşleştirmelerinden hareketle yazıt 230’lu yıllara tarihlenmektedir. Philippus *logistes* olarak görev yaptığı Nysa’da *ktistes* olarak adlandırılmıştır. Buradan yola çıkılarak olasılıkla kentte bazı yapı faaliyetlerini denetlemek ve bunlar için kaynak sağlamak amacıyla imparator tarafından kente gönderilmiş olmalıdır. Ancak Philippus’un kentte hangi yapıları yaptırdığı ve kentin bu dönemde hangi ekonomik nedenle bir *logistes*’e ihtiyaç duyduğu anlaşılamamaktadır. Bu noktada bazı önerilerin ardından birtakım 3. yüzyıl problemlerine değinilen makalede kentin, Asia Eyaleti’nin bölünmesinden bir süre önce, her ne kadar *logistes* desteğine ihtiyaç duysa da hala inşa faaliyetlerine para ayırabilen bir konumda olduğu sonucuna varılmaktadır.

Yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir: «Son derece seçkin (*kratistos*) *procurator ducenarius Augusti* Domitius Philippus’u son derece parlak Nysa’lıların kenti, kendi kurucusu ve *logistes*’ini (onurlandırdı). Baş *arkhon* M. Aurelius Attalos ve *grammateus*’lar (kararın dikimiyle) ilgilendi».

Anahtar Sözcükler: Nysa; Domitius Philippus; *procurator*; *logistes*; Heykel kaidesi.