

A ROMAN PREFECT IN OSRHOENE

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In October of the year 1958, Dr. Thomas E. Brown, while he explored the geology of south-eastern Turkey, noticed some remains of the Roman occupation. As far as I know, these remains have not yet been described in any detail.¹ They directly adjoin the modern highway which leads from Birecik to Urfa, and are situated at a point which is about forty kilometers distant both from Birecik and from Urfa.² At this point, toward the south of the highway, a small valley running from south to north contains the bed of a river which now dries up during the summer. Right in the river-bed lie the remains of a rectangular building whose longer axis runs parallel with the river-bed. The building is about seven meters long and three meters wide; it rises about half a meter above the ground outside. The building has an entrance on the small side which faces south: approximately five steps lead into the building and down to the natural bed of limestone, which has been excavated so that it is a few feet below the ground on the outside of the building. At the middle of

¹ During his exploration, Dr. Brown (now with the U.S. Geological Survey) gathered archaeological material other than what I utilize here. For example, he took kodachrome photographs of the floor mosaic in a chamber which is cut into the rock near the citadel of Urfa and which has been described and illustrated by J. B. Segal, "Pagan Syriac monuments in the vilayet of Urfa," *Anatolian Studies* 3 (1953) 117-18 and pl. XII, 1. Dr. Brown's kodachrome photographs show the mosaic preserved less well than it appears in Segal's illustration.

² Early travellers noticed ancient remains along the road which leads from Birecik to Urfa, but their accounts were somewhat vague. I do not have access to their original publications, and thus must refer the reader to the summary given by C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde* XI 3² (*Die Erdkunde von Asien* VII 2) [Berlin 1844] 281-82. Since I have not visited the region, I prefer not to deal with its ancient routes: Isid. Charac. *Mans. Parth.* 1 (GGM I pp. 244-46); *Itin. Anton.* 189, 2-5 Wess. = p. 84 Parthey-Pinder and p. 185, 1-3 Wess. = p. 82 Parthey-Pinder. Cf. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart 1916) 769, and R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris 1927) 449-51 with map opposite p. 472.

the northern small side there is a rectangular platform which is about three-fourths of a meter long and rises several inches above the roof of the building. On the outside of at least one of the long walls exist projections cut out of the stone; these projections may, or may not, have been decorations, and may, or may not, have had something attached to them. The location of the building, its lay-out, and in particular the steps leading down into the building from one of the small sides, prove that the building was meant to contain water; and, in fact, the water of the river would flow directly over the steps into the cistern. Throughout the region there seem to be many other cisterns of the same, or of similar, type.

In the same valley, but a little to the north of the cistern (that is, nearer to the modern highway), three caves open into the cliff which bounds the valley. The entrances to the caves lie about half-way up the escarpment, which here flattens out to form a kind of platform before the entrances themselves; the platform is reached by an incline which has a low gradient and rises from the road below. Each cave, in addition to its entrance, has a narrow opening slightly above eye-level, measured from the inside. The interior of the central cave, which is the largest of the three, is formed by a flat natural floor; this floor still shows the foundations of several partition walls.

Above the entrance to the central cave inscriptions have been carved on the overhanging rock-face, which is here slightly concave, with the axis of the concavity being in the center of the inscribed lines. The best part of the surface is occupied by what is obviously the earliest inscription, which is in Greek and was cut carefully into the gleaming white limestone; but the action of groundwater has somewhat obscured the central part of the lines, and, in addition, the whole entrance has been much blackened by smoke. Moreover, later inscriptions in Arabic have encroached upon the lower lines of the Greek inscription. Of the latter inscription Dr. Brown took not only a hand-written copy, but also several successful kodachrome photographs, and it is from these kodachromes that I have read the Greek inscription, which, at an earlier date, was copied by Pogon and published by Perdrizet and Fossey.³

³ "Note de MM. Perdrizet et Fossey," *BCH* 20 (1896) 395-96. Obviously Pogon did not travel with a ladder, nor does he seem to have used binoculars. As a result,

Transcribed into minuscules, articulated, accented, and with abbreviations resolved, the inscription reads:

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δάσιος ὁ διασημό(τατος) ἑπαρχος ὁ δι[litterae 4] Ὀσρο[.]
τὴν κατὰ / Βάτνας τειχοποιεῖαν ἀνοικοδόμησεν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ /
πανδοκεῖον καὶ ψυκτ[litterae 8 uel 9] κατεσκεύασεν ἵνα οἱ διὰ / καῦμα
εἰσιόντες ἀναπαύω[νται litterae c. 9] ψιν ἔχωσιν

Among the letter-forms which the inscription uses, are as follows: **ΑΑΔΕΚΚΥΟΟCΥΩ**; on the photographs, many straight lines which end unjoined show a swallow-tail, and one may assume that swallow-tails are used wherever appropriate. All letter-forms which the inscription utilizes are attested for the 3rd century A.D.⁴ The letters tend toward a certain thickness; they are quite regular and consistent, except for the variants which have been noted above. In these characteristics, as also in its general impression, our inscription resembles other Greek inscriptions which were found in the East and

there is much which he could not read, especially in the important first line, which is the highest. But he copied honestly; Perdrizet and Fossey interpolated his copy. Pognon's copy, the testimony of an eye-witness, is as follows:

ΑΙΡΔΑCΙΟCΟΔΙΑCΗΜΟΙΧΡΧ.....ΛΙΟCΡΟΤΕΤΗΝΚΑΤΑ
ΒΑΤΝΑCΤΕΙΧΟΠΕΙΕΙΑΝ.ΕΙΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗCΕΝΚΑΙΕΝΤΟΥΤΩΤΩΤΟΠΩ
ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΙΟΝΚΑΙΦΡΕΝΑΕΙΗΑΚΑΡΕCΚΥΑCΕΝ.ΙΝΑΟΙΔΙ
ΕΙΟΝΤΕCΑΚΙΑ..ΕΙΝΚ.....ΑΙΙΝΨΙΝΕΧΩCΙΝ

I myself read Dr. Brown's kodachrome photographs by means of a binocular microscope; diligent autopsy will have the last word. Anonymous advice helped to improve the present publication, and for this advice I wish to express my gratitude.

⁴ A Greek inscription, inscribed on a marble vat which was found at Sarug, is dated to the year 776 (i.e., A.D. 464) and uses the letter-form *E* (J.-B. Chabot, "Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie orientale," *Journal asiatique* 9^e Sér. 16 [1900] 278 no. 8). Differences in the form of individual letters do not necessarily indicate different dates, but may be caused by personal predilection, as becomes clear at sites which yield many inscriptions. For example, the stepped temple at Dura-Europus yielded thirty-eight inscriptions, which are all to be dated in the 1st century A.D. (F. Cumont, "Le temple aux gradins découvert a Sâlihîyeh," *Syria* 4 [1923] 203-23); of these inscriptions only a single one presents uncial *Ε* (p. 218 no. 32). Yet a bilingual inscription, found at the same locality, uses in its Greek text both uncial *Ε* and angular *E* (Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, "Un bilingue araméen-grec de l'époque parthe," *Syria* 19 [1938] 148 fig. 1; R. D[ussaud] on p. 152 dates the inscription in the Sasanian period). During the Imperial period, eastern Hellenists often used eclectically the different "types of alphabet;" see, for example, C. B. Welles' tables *apud* C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa* (New Haven 1938) 359-64.

belong to the 3rd century: one may mention a Cypriot inscription which honors Caracalla;⁵ certain inscriptions which were found at Palmyra and should be dated in the middle 3rd century;⁶ and an inscription which was found at Bostra and carries the date A.D. 282/283.⁷ The letters of our inscription do not resemble the tall, thin, and often irregular letters which appear in the 4th century⁸ and which, in regularized form, become common thereafter.

In the 1st line the photographs show no praenomen, whose absence is confirmed by Pognon's and Dr. Brown's copies. After *Αὐρ* comes a punct, which is meant as a sign of suspension.⁹ After *διασημ* appears a small omikron, which is centered in the middle of the line and may be interpreted here to signal an abbreviation, as raised letters often do.¹⁰ In the latter part of the line Perdrizet and Fossey restored *ὁ διάσημ[ος ἀ]ρχ[ιτέκτων] λί[θοις] τὴν κατά*. These restorations must be rejected: they conflict with Pognon's copy; they are disproved by Dr. Brown's photographs; and they do not effect acceptable meaning. The word *ἐπαρχος* appears clearly on the photographs; its omikron is of the small type. Nor does this reading conflict with Pognon's copy, though Pognon seems to have overlooked the small omikron before the word *ἐπαρχος*. Moreover, we do not expect an architect. In our inscription, one and the same person had charge when the city-walls of Batnae were re-built and the public inn was established. Architects obviously must take part in public works, and

⁵ T. B. Mitford, *The inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia 1971) 179 no. 96.

⁶ R. Amy-H. Seyrig, "Recherches dans la nécropole de Palmyre," *Syria* 17 (1936) 260 and pl. XLVIII, 3 (this inscription is of August 241, see *Syria* 19 [1938] 156). H. Seyrig, "Deux inscriptions grecques de Palmyre," *Syria* 18 (1937) 372 and pl. XLVIII; "Inscriptions grecques de l'agora de Palmyre," *Syria* 22 (1941) 240 no. 8 and pl. XVIII.

⁷ M. Sartre, "Inscriptions inédites de l'Arabie romaine," *Syria* 50 (1973) 228 (230) no. 2 (photographs on pp. 225 and 226). This inscription has the letter forms *ΔΕΚ*; it is inscribed on basalt, appears within a tabula ansata, and utilizes the formula *ἐκ προνομίας*, followed by the name of the provincial governor, by his titles, and by the names and titles of local supervisors: thus the inscription should resemble some of the more or less contemporary inscriptions which were found at Adraha (below, note 87) and of whose letter-forms the editor tells us nothing.

⁸ For example, an inscription found at Bostra and dated to about the middle 4th century (*Syria* 50 [1973] 230-33 no. 3); or the inscription of Anemurium (below, note 12).

⁹ M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek inscriptions* (London 1940) 33 (dots as marks of abbreviation); 52 (instances of this particular name so abbreviated).

¹⁰ Avi-Yonah 29-30; in his catalogue (p. 59) the abbreviation which is closest to ours is the one where the small omikron appears above the mu.

building inscriptions, whether Greek or Latin, in the East as well as in the West, often mention architects; yet architects are mentioned always in a subordinate position, since they were in fact nothing but technicians who supervised the workers and may also have drawn the plans.¹¹ In Syria, as elsewhere, the persons in charge of public works were public officials who controlled the necessary monies.¹² In the 3rd century A.D. public defenses were built under the supervision of the governor or his deputy (unless an emergency arose),¹³ and an architect could not claim to have been in charge of such undertakings. In our inscription, after the word *ἐπαρχος* the surface of the rock is heavily encrusted; the letters seem to be the following. First, a small omikron. Second letter, a delta. Third letter, an iota. Fourth letter, an eta or an epsilon. Fifth, a letter of which only the foot and the lower part of an upright hasta can be distinguished, that is gamma or iota or nu or pi. I thought of reading *ὁ δι[έπων]*, which should be followed by

¹¹ When, in the 3rd century, public structures were erected in the Arabian city Adraha, the architect was not in charge, as is shown by two inscriptions: (1) *OGIS* 614 = *IGR* III 1287 (reprinted in *Syria* 29 [1952] 313); (2) *Syria* 6 (1925) 232 no. 12 (the photograph pl. XXIX no. 2 shows in line 4 [δ]ιασημ *εγκεχτην ηγεμονιαν*, whereas the editor transcribes wrongly [δ]ιασημοτατου; the inscription, with the wrong reading, has been reprinted in *Syria* 29 [1952] 314). In the West, a building inscription will mention first the *quinquennalis* who was in charge, then the architect (*CIL* X 1443 = *ILS* 5637 Herculaneum). In a *cursus honorum*, the architect will mention first his public offices (*CIL* V 1886 = *ILS* 5378).

¹² W. K. Prentice, "Officials charged with the conduct of public works in Roman and Byzantine Syria," *TAPA* 43 (1912) 113-23. For the Classical and Hellenistic periods consult F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* I (Heidelberg 1959) index B p. 293 (magistrates and commissions in charge of walls to be built); also index C p. 294 s.v. *ἀνοικοδομεῖν*; p. 297 s.vv. *οἰκοδομεῖν*, *οἰκοδομή*, *οἰκοδομία*; p. 299 s.vv. *τειχοδομία*, *τειχοποιία*; in vol. II (1961) 42-50 the author describes the usual procedure. By the end of the 4th Christian century it had become fashionable that Roman governors use epigrams to advertise their public works. For such Greek inscriptions see L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV (Paris 1948) 60-61 (walls constructed by Roman governors); 64-67 (hydraulic works). My attention has been called also to E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, "Matronianus, comes Isauriae: an inscription from the sea wall of Anemurium," *Phoenix* 26 (1972) 183-86; the text of the latter inscription was improved by C. P. Jones, "The inscription from the sea-wall at Anemurium," *Phoenix* 26 (1972) 396-99. I should add that the *porticus* which, in the year 43 B.C., an architect built in Grumentum (*CIL* X 8093 = *ILS* 5539), was not *opus publicum*, but was built for the account of *pagani*, as the inscription states.

¹³ For public defenses this is proved by countless inscriptions (for example, the inscriptions found at Adraha [below, note 87], and the inscription of Bostra [above, note 7]); for public inns see below, note 92.

a noun in the accusative case; but the photographs do not allow certainty. Next there appears space for two or three letters, perhaps epsilon and mu; Pognon's copy gives $\lambda\iota$. Then come the letters $\omicron\sigma\rho\omicron$, which are assured alike by Dr. Brown's photographs and by Pognon's copy, but which letters Perdrizet and Fossey rejected. Next comes what seems to be a complicated ligature (Æ), but which may be nothing but a deception, since it not only would appear unparalleled for the 3rd century, but also seems to contain the cross-stroke of a tau, which (confirmed by Pognon's copy) would not fit the otherwise possible resolution $\eta\nu\eta\varsigma$. Yet I doubt whether the sequence of letters $\omicron\sigma\rho\omicron$ can refer to anything except the name Osrhoene. In the following word $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$, the eta and the nu are linked.

The 2nd line is the best preserved. In the middle of the line about eight letters have been slightly obscured, but all of them are certain.

As for the 3rd line: the sixth letter, in the first word, is clearly a kappa; while its two diagonal strokes reach as high and as low as the other letters (long diagonal strokes appear also in the kappa of the following word $\kappa\alpha\iota$, and in the word $\kappa\alpha\iota$ of the 2nd line, whereas the kappa of the 1st line, the two kappas of $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$ in the 3rd line, and the kappa which begins the 4th line, have shortened diagonals; in the word $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ of the 2nd line, the photographs do not show clearly whether the kappa has long or shortened diagonals), yet the first stroke (of the sixth letter in the 3rd line) is a straight vertical, and therefore the letter is not a chi. So our inscription uses the older form $\pi\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$, not the later $\pi\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\chi\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ (the later word $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\delta\omicron\chi\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ appears always so spelled). Corrosion has dealt kindly with the end of the 3rd line, where in the word $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ I failed to see (on the photographs) only the lower part of the iota and of the nu; Pognon's copy has $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$. The last letter of this line is an alpha, which Pognon failed to notice; the photographs show one swallow-tail above, two below, and an encrusted dot where the transverse bar should be: therefore, in my copy, I have not placed a dot under the letter. This alpha appears directly below the last letter (ω) of the 2nd line, and has ample space; thus the 3rd line ends with a complete word, as do the 1st and 2nd lines. In the middle of the 3rd line, for a space of about four or five (or perhaps even six) letters, I could distinguish nothing at all, and I hesitate also about the letters which come before and after the obscured

space. Perdrizet and Fossey interpreted Pognon's copy as follows: *καὶ φρ[έατα] ἀέ[νναα] κατεσκευάσεν*. After the *καί* I read *ΨΥΚΤ*. The first two letters, by themselves, could perhaps be *ΦΡ*, but the third letter is clearly a kappa, since its first stroke is a straight vertical; the fourth letter is a tau, not an alpha (on the word see below, note 95). As for the reading *ἀέ[νναα]*, it seems to fit neither the indications of Pognon's copy, nor the space available, nor the remains of two letters which I noticed on the photographs.

In the 4th line the first seven letters were not recorded by Pognon. Yet one of Dr. Brown's photographs shows this part from an angle, and proves that here also the rock was cut away to receive lettering; the first letter is not cut directly below the first letter of the 3rd line, but slightly to the right. Of the seven letters, the first two (kappa and alpha) appear clearly on two different photographs. Of the following upsilon, I noticed (on the photographs) that the vertical does not extend to the top of the line, and that the bifurcation appears faintly; therefore I have not placed a dot under the letter. The fourth, sixth, and seventh letters appear so faintly that I have dotted them; the fifth letter (alpha) seems assured, although I could detect but little of the transverse bar. What in fact is the eighth letter, was read as *€* by Pognon; the photographs show an accretion in the letter's center, but also that no straight bar adjoins the ellipse: therefore the letter must be *C*. Perdrizet and Fossey claimed that the fourteenth letter is manifestly a xi, but the photographs do not confirm the claim. The latter half of the line has been so obscured, that only at the very end could I distinguish traces of some six letters. Pognon's copy gives at the end of the line *ΑΛΙΝΨΙΝΕΧΩCΙΝ*, and Dr. Brown's hand-written copy has *ΝΕΧΟ*, which confirms Pognon's reading; but on the photographs I saw none of these twelve letters. For this part of the line Dr. Brown's photographs are less satisfactory than elsewhere (they were taken in the late afternoon). Using my own reading, Pognon's copy (as confirmed by Dr. Brown's), and a suggestion by Perdrizet and Fossey, I would restore the line to read: *καῦμα εἰσιόντες ἀναπαύω[νται καὶ ἀνά]λημψιν ἔχωσιν*. This restoration, which employs *ἀνάλημψις* rather than *ἀλ(ε)ψις*, gives acceptable sense and seems to fit the available space; but in my text I print neither the restoration nor the three dubious letters which precede the psi.

The ligatures and the abbreviations seem to indicate (as do the letter-forms) that the inscription is of the 3rd century A.D.

As regards the language and style of the inscription, one may notice the word *τειχοποιείαν* (so spelled), which exemplifies how a noun designating an action can be used for the result (*τείχος*); its use in the present inscription is doubtless due to conflation of *τείχος ἀνωκοδόμησεν* and a phrase like *τειχοποιῶν ἐφέστηκεν*. Such activity is commonly designated by the verb *ἀνωκοδόμησεν*, which form in our inscription, as not infrequently in this period, lacks the augment.¹⁴ In fact, unaugmented forms of this verb were used so frequently that they aroused a lexicographer;¹⁵ they appear not only in Greek papyri,¹⁶ but also in many Greek inscriptions: for example, in inscriptions of Athens, Pergamum, and Magnesia on the Maeander;¹⁷ in inscriptions of the Tauric Chersonese;¹⁸ in inscriptions found in Syria.¹⁹ In our inscription the preposition *κατά* designates the precise locality. Such use, whereby *κατά* means almost the same as *ἐν*, occurs already in Ptolemaic papyri;²⁰ it occurs also in literature, Hellenistic and Imperial: in Polybius,²¹ in the Elder Philostratus,²² in Irenaeus,²³ in Eusebius.²⁴ In our inscription, the dative singular forms of the second declension, as is to be expected, do not show a final iota. Also, our inscription

¹⁴ Such unaugmented forms are explained best by E. Schweizer [i.e., Schwyzler], *Grammatik der Pergamenischen Inschriften* (Berlin 1898) 172.

¹⁵ Phrynichus, *Eclog.* 153 Lobeck = 72 no. 124 Fischer.

¹⁶ E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit I* 2² (Berlin 1938)

102. B. G. Mandilaras, *The verb in the Greek non-literary papyri* (Athens 1973) 119 § 256,2.

¹⁷ The references are given by Mandilaras 119 § 257.

¹⁸ *Korpus Bosporskikh Nadpisei* (Moskva 1965) nos. 335; 709; 711; 1253.

¹⁹ *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria*, Div. III *Greek and Latin inscriptions*: clear instances of past indicative forms without augment are p. 45 no. 25; p. 93 no. 158; p. 161 no. 284; p. 307 no. 667; p. 311 no. 674; p. 312 no. 676; p. 323 no. 697; p. 324 no. 700; p. 329 no. 711; p. 335 no. 725; p. 348 no. 755; p. 351 no. 760; p. 351 no. 762; p. 372 no. 781; p. 376 no. 784; p. 379 no. 785¹ (probable); p. 386 no. 787 (A.D. 227); p. 389 no. 787⁷; p. 392 no. 787¹³ (transcription conflicts with facsimile); p. 401 no. 790²; p. 417 no. 795⁵; p. 435 no. 800²; p. 439 no. 800⁸; p. 441 no. 801¹; p. 443 no. 801⁶.

²⁰ E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit II* 2 (Berlin 1934) 431–32; add. p. 570.

²¹ Fr. Krebs, *Die Präpositionen bei Polybius* (Würzburg 1882) 25; 132–33.

²² W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern IV* (Stuttgart 1896) 456.

²³ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* V 7,1 (p. 440 line 11 Schwartz).

²⁴ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* III 36,5 (p. 276 line 5 Schwartz).

avoids hiatus; the exceptions are only apparent and such as occur regularly in literary Greek of the Imperial period.

Aurelius Dasius lacked a praenomen, and for this reason alone we should prefer to date him in the 3rd century A.D.²⁵ Dasius, also spelled Dassius, was an Illyrian name,²⁶ and the name occurs frequently in the region which the Romans called Illyricum.²⁷ In this region occur also the related names Dazas,²⁸ Dazanus,²⁹ Dasens,³⁰ Dasmenus.³¹ Derived from the same stem by means of Latin suffixes are Das(s)ianus³² and the late diminutive Dassiulus.³³ Persons who bear such a name and appear in Northern Italy³⁴ and in the smaller towns and rural districts of remaining Italy³⁵ were likely to be slaves, or of servile descent; and the same should be true when such a name occurs on Arretine

²⁵ In the 2nd century Aurelii who have a cognomen, but lack a praenomen, do occur in lists, especially those which list members of military formations and of *collegia*. Aurelii with cognomen, but without praenomen, occur also after the 3rd century. But the far larger number of such Aurelii belong to the 3rd century.

²⁶ That these two forms are merely orthographic variants is proved by *CIL* III pp. 940–43 tab. cer. VII, one of the wax-tablets from Dacia: the same man appears as Dasius inside the tablet, but as Dassius on the outside. For the name in general cf. H. Krahe *Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen* (Heidelberg 1929) 37–38. Yet if one wishes to show with some certainty that a specific name belongs to a definite linguistic or ethnic group, one must examine carefully the name's individual occurrences and therefrom deduce its geographical and chronological distribution; the name Dasius is so investigated below (notes 27–44).

²⁷ *CIL* III 918; 851; 1938; 2097a; 2180; 2305; 2516; 3162b; 4282; 4491; 7872; 10511; 10947; 11111; pp. 936–39 tab. cer. VI; pp. 940–43 tab. cer. VII; p. 954 tab. cer. XVII. *CIL* XIII 8243. *CIL* XVI 30; 100. *CIL* VI 32542b (line 12) gives *Deazius*, where both the *e* and the *z* indicate palatalization of the original dental stop and of the sibilant. *AE* 1902 no. 36; 1913 no. 138. With this evidence agrees the Christian soldier Dasius who, under Diocletian, died a martyr's death in Durostorum; on this martyrdom see H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* IV (Paris 1920) 272–83.

²⁸ *CIL* III 13861. The name is also spelled *Dasas*: *CIL* XIII 6538; 7508. The genitive form *Δαζου* in *SEG* XVIII 269 may be from *Δαζης* or *Δαζος*, more likely from the latter.

²⁹ *CIL* III 3349.

³⁰ *CIL* XVI 2; 30.

³¹ *CIL* XVI 2; 97.

³² *CIL* VI 3416; 32542b (line 17). *AE* 1911 no. 164.

³³ *CIL* V 8744 (5th century).

³⁴ *CIL* V 1335; 1820; 2334; 2649; 3398; 6106.

³⁵ *CIL* IX 111; 1903; 3591; 4149; X 920; (IV 3439 doubtful); X 8214; 3994; 4087; 4959; XI 1972 (= I² 2045); XIV 3727. In Rome *CIL* VI 9320 (= I² 1286, Republican or Augustan period). There is a slight possibility that in some of these instances the name Dasius reflects an Illyrian substratum in Italy.

ware³⁶ or on other pottery.³⁷ But in Rome those who bear these names were generally soldiers: praetorians,³⁸ or an *euocatus*,³⁹ or a veteran,⁴⁰ or a legionary who was buried in the cemetery of the Alban mount.⁴¹ And in the provinces other than Illyricum, persons bearing such a name were also almost invariably soldiers, as in Africa⁴² and in Germany,⁴³ though infrequently in Cisalpine Gaul.⁴⁴ In general, the slaves who bear such a name are of an earlier period than the soldiers who bear such a name.

Our Aurelius Dasius, as his names suggest, descended of an Illyrian ancestor. Barbarians, and provincials, served their first Roman service inevitably as soldiers, and military service promised more, the nearer it led to Rome. During the 3rd century there were stationed in or near Rome: three praetorians, each named Aurelius Das(s)ius;⁴⁵ one praetorian named M. Aurelius Dasius;⁴⁶ one praetorian named C. Aurelius Dasius;⁴⁷ the soldier Aurelius Dassius of the *legio II Parthica*, who was buried in the legionary cemetery on the Mons Albanus;⁴⁸ and a soldier Aurelius Dassius buried in Rome and called merely *ueteranus Augusti nostri*.⁴⁹ These inscriptions reflect the well-known fact that in the 3rd century the Danubian provinces (Thrace included) supplied most recruits for the praetorian cohorts,⁵⁰ and also for the legions,⁵¹ among them the *legio II Parthica*.⁵² Some who began as common soldiers, rose to high positions in the praetorian guard.⁵³ A

³⁶ *CIL* XI 6700, 265; 8119, 11; XII 5686, 300; XV 5474; 5749.

³⁷ *CIL* X 8051, 12; 8056, 120.

³⁸ *CIL* VI 2446; 2494a; 31088 (?); 32542b (lines 12 and 17); d (lines 8–9).

³⁹ *CIL* VI 3416.

⁴⁰ *CIL* VI 3451.

⁴¹ *CIL* VI 3373 = XIV 2283.

⁴² *CIL* VIII 18085; 21052. An imperial slave Dassius in Carthage: 12721.

⁴³ *CIL* XIII 6538; 7508; 7581; 7801/2; 8243; 11952.

⁴⁴ *AE* 1926 no. 110. Cf. Dassiulus in *CIL* V 8744 (cited above, note 33).

⁴⁵ *CIL* VI 2446; 2494a; 31088b.

⁴⁶ *CIL* VI 32680.

⁴⁷ *CIL* VI 32561, 14.

⁴⁸ *CIL* VI 3373 = XIV 2283.

⁴⁹ *CIL* VI 3451.

⁵⁰ A. Passerini, *Le coorti pretorie* (Roma 1939) 174–78.

⁵¹ G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano* (Milano 1953) 193–201.

⁵² Forni, *Il reclutamento* 97–99; 219.

⁵³ *CIL* IX 1609 (Beneventum) details the career of one who was born in Dacia, enlisted as a legionary soldier in the year 200, and in 240 was promoted *trecenarius* of a

competent officer of the praetorian guard had a good chance to enter upon a higher, often administrative, career.⁵⁴ It seems inadvisable to maintain that a person of such low origin could not become a prefect stationed in Osrhoene; but, in general the Romans preferred that any debility in personal status be erased by the lapse of generations. This consideration makes it likely that our Aurelius Dasius held his prefecture not before the middle of the 3rd century.

The Greek title *ἐπαρχος* renders the Latin title *praefectus*.⁵⁵ It is not certain how our inscription modified the title *ἐπαρχος*; but inherently the title has military connotations, and with this would agree the fact that Aurelius Dasius supervised when the walls of a large city were re-built. On the other hand, Aurelius Dasius also established a public inn: this seems to suggest that there was present no other Roman official who could suitably perform this duty. One might surmise that perhaps Aurelius Dasius acted as provincial governor. This may be implied by his predicate *διασημότατος*, which, like its Latin equivalent *perfectissimus*, was regularly applied to equestrian *praesides* of the 3rd century.⁵⁶ Nor should we forget that the name Osrhoene almost certainly occurs in our inscription. Also, at least in procuratorial provinces, it was the governor who established public inns.⁵⁷ The suggestion that Aurelius Dasius acted as provincial governor does not seem to conflict with what is attested about other governors of Osrhoene. One, C. Iulius Pacatianus, is called *procurator provinciae Osrhoenae praefectus legionis Parthicae*.⁵⁸ He seems to have been governor under Septimius Severus, since the Parthian legion carries no number: at the time Severus may not yet have established the other

praetorian cohort; the eight intermediate promotions, like the two mentioned, are also dated by consular years. *CIL* VI 1110 (line 12) mentions a *u(ir) e(gregius)* who had been *can(alicarius)*; the time is that of Gallienus.

⁵⁴ The normal type of promotion required the praetorian tribunate, after which the officer became *primipilus bis* and might then be promoted *praefectus legionis* or *procurator* (A. von Domaszewski, "Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 117 [1908] 113-15; 120-22; 141).

⁵⁵ H. J. Mason, *Greek terms for Roman institutions* (Toronto 1974) 45; 138-40.

⁵⁶ O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (Berlin 1905²) 451.

⁵⁷ See below, note 92.

⁵⁸ *CIL* XII 1856 = *ILS* 1353. Cf. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-empire romain* (Paris 1960) 605-10 no. 229.

two Parthian legions.⁵⁹ It is disputed whether Pacatianus was governor of Osrhoene at the same time as he was prefect of the Parthian legion.⁶⁰ The other known procurator of Osrhoene is Aelius Ianuarius, whose governorship cannot be dated.⁶¹ While these two governors had the title *procurator*, nothing suggests that at other times Osrhoene could not have been governed by a prefect.

We should remember the arrangement in the neighboring province Mesopotamia. When three Parthian legions existed, the first and the third were stationed in that province.⁶² An equestrian *praefectus Mesopotamiae* of high rank governed the province;⁶³ consequently the *procurator sexagenarius provinciae Mesopotamiae* had merely financial duties.⁶⁴ It seems unlikely that originally, or even at some later time, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia were a single province;⁶⁵ equestrian rank-order, and the different antecedents of the two regions, would have necessitated two different provinces. In any case, the Roman who at the time happened to be the highest-ranking Imperial official

⁵⁹ Th. Mommsen on *CIL* XII 1856. Not before the year 195; Pflaum, *Carrières procuratoriennes* 606.

⁶⁰ Affirmed by Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*² 396. But apparently the legionary prefect was *ducenarius* (H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-empire romain* [Paris 1950] 276; 279; 352; cf. *Carrières procuratoriennes* 607); hence the inference that the prefecture could not be culminated with the governorship, since the attested procurators of Osrhoene were *centenarii* (Pflaum, *Procurateurs équestres* 150; 275; *Carrières procuratoriennes* 606-07).

⁶¹ *CIL* II 4135 = *ILS* 1365 (not extant). Cf. Pflaum, *Carrières procuratoriennes* 892-94 no. 342.

⁶² Cass. Dio 55.24.4.

⁶³ Two prefects of Mesopotamia: *CIL* VI 1638 = *ILS* 1331; *CIG* 4603 = Waddington 2078 = *ILS* 8847. Cassius Dio (*exc.* 80.4.2) mentions, for the time about A.D. 229, that the soldiers in Mesopotamia dared kill their ἄρχων Flavius Heraclio; Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*² 396-97, supposed that Heraclio was prefect of one of the Parthian legions, whereas A. Stein *PIR* III² (1943) 153 no. 238 called Heraclio *praefectus Mesopotamiae*. Zosimus (1.60.1) mentions for the year 272 a certain Marcellinus as governor of Mesopotamia and *rector Orientis* (Μαρκελλίνου τοῦ καθεσταμένου τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν παρὰ βασιλείῳς ὑπάρχου καὶ τὴν τῆς ἑώας ἐγκεχειρισμένου διοίκησιν). Herodian (6.2.1), for the time about A.D. 229, mentions vaguely governors of Syria and Mesopotamia (τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν τε καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν ἡγεμόνων); the manuscripts give the fourteenth year of Severus Alexander, but the number must be corrupt.

⁶⁴ *CIL* VIII 9760 = *ILS* 1388. Cf. *CIL* VIII 9757. See Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*² 440-41.

⁶⁵ Alleged by S. N. Miller, *CAH* XII (1939) 49. For the *ducenarian* rank of the *praefectus legionis Parthicae* see above, note 60.

in Osrhoene would discharge the duties of governor, whether he was called *procurator* or *praefectus*.⁶⁶

Perhaps we can date our inscription more closely because, as we learn from it, Aurelius Dasius supervised when the walls of Batnae were re-built (τὴν κατὰ Βάτνας τειχοποιεῖαν ἀνοικοδόμησεν). Such re-building requires time, and is more likely to have been undertaken after the city had been re-captured from an enemy than in the brief moments before a reported enemy would appear before the city: in the latter event the citizens could repair only the weakest parts of the city's wall. In the long inscription which is carved on the Kaaba of Zoroaster, at Naqš-i Rostam, the Persian king Šāhpur I lists his conquests.⁶⁷ Šāhpur mentions that, on his second campaign against the Romans, he captured Βάτναν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ;⁶⁸ to this listing in the Greek version corresponds the Aramaic form Batnān, which is found in the Persian as well as the Parthian version.⁶⁹ This city conquered by Šāhpur has been understood as the locality in Syria;⁷⁰ but there are many reasons why we should identify the conquered city with Osrhoenan Batnae. For the Syrian Batnae was merely a village, which a Latin itinerary mentions as a *mansio*.⁷¹ There the emperor Julian, while marching east, rested for a night; in a letter he describes the locality as one of rustic charm, and compares Tempe and the Antiochene suburb Daphne.⁷² Naturally, Syrian Batnae could not

⁶⁶ Mason, *Greek terms* (above, note 55) 142–43, reminds us that Pilate, who was *procurator* of Judaea, is called in one inscription *praefectus Iudaeae*, that Josephus uses the titles ἐπίτροπος and ἑπαρχος interchangeably, and that such indiscriminate usage might occasionally have been official.

⁶⁷ A. Maricq, "Res gestae divi Saporis," *Syria* 35 (1958) 295–360. The pagination of this original edition is repeated in the inner margins of the reprint: A. Maricq, *Classica et orientalia* (Paris 1965) 37–101.

⁶⁸ *Res gestae divi Saporis graece* line 17 (*Syria* 35 [1958] 311).

⁶⁹ Maricq, *Syria* 35 (1958) 339. Cf. below, note 81.

⁷⁰ A. T. Olmstead, "The mid-third century of the Christian era," *CP* 37 (1942) 405 (without any justification); he has been followed by (E. Honigmann–) A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res gestae divi Saporis* (Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres 47,4 [Bruxelles 1952] 151 (affirmed *Syria* 35 [1958] 339)). M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Res Gestae divi Saporis and Dura," *Berytus* 8 (1943) 26, explicitly doubted this identification, though elsewhere in his argument (p. 27 n. 31) he considered Olmstead's view probable; Rostovtzeff did not attempt to reconcile his two statements.

⁷¹ *Itin. Anton.* p. 191,7 Wess. = p. 26 Cuntz.

⁷² Julian. *Epist.* 27 (= 98 p. 155 Bidez–Cumont = 98 p. 180 Bidez), written to Libanius about 10 or 11 May, 363. The letter is preserved in an older manuscript (Vossianus graecus 77 III, s. XIII) only to 401a, line 5; the remainder is preserved in two

boast a mint,⁷³ and in fact seems to have left no inscriptions;⁷⁴ being a village, it never had bishops. The Osrhoenan Batnae, however, was in antiquity a large city. It was well-known,⁷⁵ and to this city a coinage may be attributed if, as is probable, the city Anthemusias, which minted coins, was identical with Batnae.⁷⁶ In the 4th century Batnae held a fair where Oriental imports were sold;⁷⁷ and, called Sarug, the city retained its importance during the Middle Ages and

late manuscripts, Parisinus graecus 2964 (s. XV, demonstrably a copy of the Vossianus) and Parisinus graecus 2755 (s. XV), but the text seems to arouse no suspicion. For the manuscripts see J. Bidez-F. Cumont, *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien* (Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres 57 [Bruxelles 1898] 30–32 (on the Vossianus); 32–38 (on U = Parisinus graecus 2964); 94–96 (on C = Parisinus graecus 2755)). After Julian had set out from Berrhoea (399d) he reached Batnae (400a), whence he departed for “the city” (401b), which is the city from which he wrote, namely Hierapolis (401c). Since Julian clearly describes Batnae as a village, we need not amend 401b to read τῆς <Ἱερᾶς> πόλεως; rather, we should consider it a stylistic mannerism, if Julian does not mention the city’s actual name till 401c. The site of Syrian Batnae has been described also by a recent eye-witness: F. Cumont, *Études Syriennes* (Paris 1917) 20–22. The first western scholar who distinguished clearly the Syrian Batnae from the homonymous city in Osrhoene, was, I believe, H. Valesius (in his note on Ammian. 23.2.7).

⁷³ No such coins appear in the Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum; cf. below, note 76.

⁷⁴ For this locality no inscriptions are recorded in the *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. The nearest Greek inscription was found at Maštala (IGLSyr 230; cf. vol. II p. 381 and vol. III p. 682).

⁷⁵ The article in RE 3 (1897) 140–41 is a compilation (without acknowledgement) of C. Müller’s note on Ἀνθεμουσιᾶς in Isid. Charac. Mans. Parth. 1 (GGM I pp. 245–46): εἶτα Χάραξ Σίδου, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Ἀνθεμουσιᾶς πόλις, σχοῖνοι ἐ· μεθ’ ἣν Κοραία ἢ ἐν Βατάνη, ὀχύρωμα, σχοῖνοι γ’.

⁷⁶ A city named Anthemusias emitted coins in Caracalla’s reign (G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Arabia Mesopotamia and Persia* [London 1922] p. LXXXVII). K. Regling (“Zur historischen Geographie des mesopotamischen Parallelogramms,” *Klio* 1 [1901] 452–56) first identified Anthemusias with Batnae; his identification was accepted by G. F. Hill, “The mints of Roman Arabia and Mesopotamia,” *JRS* 6 (1916) 150. The identification, I believe, does not conflict with the statement of Isidore of Charax (cf. the preceding note). However, A. H. M. Jones, *The cities of the eastern Roman provinces* (Oxford 1937) 441 (–442) n. 4 (cf. 443 n. 11), considered Anthemusias to be the name of the region, assumed a city Anthemus which he identified with Χάραξ Σίδου (later called Marcopolis), and distinguished this city Anthemus from the city Batnae, because later sources mention Batnae and Marcopolis side by side. Jones’ view seems to conflict with Isidore’s statement, who says that Ἀνθεμουσιᾶς was the name of a πόλις; in other contexts, of course, the word Ἀνθεμουσιᾶς could suggest the notion γῆ.

⁷⁷ Ammian. 14.3.3; cf. 23.2.7. See U. Monneret de Villard, “La fiera di Batnae e la traslazione di S. Tomaso a Edessa,” *Rend. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei—Sc. mor.* (Ser. VIII) 6 (1951) 77–104.

after.⁷⁸ In antiquity, if a city Batnae was mentioned without qualification, one would understand the Osrhoenan city;⁷⁹ thus, the bishops of the Osrhoenan city signed merely as of Batnae.⁸⁰ All other cities which Šāhpur, in his inscription, claims to have captured are large cities; so the Batnae which he captured should be the Batnae in Osrhoene.⁸¹ This identification does not conflict with any information which Šāhpur's inscription furnishes.⁸² The Persian king captured the city when he was on his second campaign against the Romans,⁸³ and this second campaign fell probably in the year 256.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ See Ritter, *Die Erdkunde* XI 3² (above, note 2) 285–91. Ritter (p. 286) identified Batne [sic] with Coraea, whereas Isidore (above, note 75) says that *Κοπαία*, a mere fort without political independence, was *ἐν Βαράνη*, i.e., in the territory of Batnae.

⁷⁹ Stephanus Byzantius, who likes to list homonymous cities, mentions only the Osrhoenan Batnae (p. 160 Meineke). Ptolemy mentions neither the Syrian Batnae (merely emended into the text *Geogr.* 5.14.10; cf. p. 970 ed. Fischer), nor the Osrhoenan Batnae.

⁸⁰ So in the year 448, at the Synod of Antioch (*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* ed. E. Schwartz II 1,2 [Berolini 1933] p. 22 [381] line 25); in the year 451, at the Council of Chalcedon (*Acta Conc. Oecum.* II 1,2 p. 24 [383] line 29); in the year 553, at the Council of Constantinople (*Acta Conc. Oecum.* IV 1 ed. J. Straub [Berolini 1971] p. 7 line 32; p. 24 line 5; p. 36 line 22; p. 43 line 7; p. 207 line 18; p. 230 line 26). Bishops of Osrhoenan Batnae are listed by M. Le Quien, *Oriens christianus* II (Paris 1740) 971–74; and by R. Devreesse, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (Paris 1945) 294–95 (on p. 294 n. 14 he cites Cumont, whom he did not read).

⁸¹ Obviously we can infer nothing from the form Btn'n, which occurs alike in the Pārsik text and in the Pahlavik text (*Syria* 35 [1958] 339): it is the Aramaic form and can denote either locality. For the influence of the Syriac vernacular forms upon the name-forms which are used for the cities listed in Šāhpur's inscription, see (Honigmann–) Maricq, *Recherches* 150–53.

⁸² The description of Šāhpur's second campaign mentions Syria explicitly (*Syria* 35 [1958] 309 line 11), but does not mention Commagene (line 14). From Doliche (in Commagene) the list shifts to Dura (in Syria), then to Corcusio, next to Germanicia (in Commagene), and does so without naming any region (p. 311 line 17). Next come our Batna (the Greek text also uses the singular form) and *Xavap*, which latter we cannot locate (Honigmann [–Maricq], *Recherches* 154–56). The distance from Germanicia to the Syrian Batnae is the same as the distance to the Osrhoenan Batnae. When the inscription describes Šāhpur's third campaign, it does not mention Osrhoene (p. 311 line 19 and p. 313 line 24), but distinguishes Cilicia and Cappadocia from Syria (p. 313 line 26). Thus the list of captured cities often fails to indicate when it moves to another region or province, and enumerates cities which may be distant from the next by as little as 25 km or by as much as 590 km. I conclude that the list cannot help us to locate unknown or disputed localities.

⁸³ *Res gestae diui Saporis graece* lines 10–19 (*Syria* 35 [1958] 309, 310).

⁸⁴ (Honigmann–) Maricq, *Recherches* 131–42. For Šāhpur's second campaign, other scholars (A. Alföldi, Olmstead, Rostovtzeff) had proposed the year 253; see the references and discussion in G. Walser–Th. Pekáry, *Die Krise des römischen Reiches* (Berlin 1962) 28–38.

In our inscription, the word ἀνοικοδόμησεν implies that Batnae had a wall previously. In fact, during the reign of Caracalla, the city Anthemusias, which was probably identical with Batnae, struck a coin whose reverse shows the city-goddess wearing a turreted crown.⁸⁵ The wall seems to have been of little use: Šāhpur apparently took Batnae without a siege, whereas he explicitly states that, on his third campaign, he had to besiege the cities Carrhae and Edessa.⁸⁶ Šāhpur, it seems, did not leave garrisons in Roman cities which he had captured; therefore he must have made certain that the walls of Batnae were sufficiently useless so that the city could not be held against him in the near future.

Surely, the walls of Batnae needed to be re-built after Šāhpur's campaigns, and such a re-building probably took place when Gallienus had re-established Roman power in this Eastern region. The best-known parallel would then be the fortifications which, in the year 259 and the following sixteen years, were undertaken to protect the city Adraha, situated in the province Arabia.⁸⁷ In any case, we may tentatively assume that Aurelius Dasius was prefect in Osrhoene not before the later years of Gallienus' rule, or perhaps in one of the following reigns. We may remember that such a date would agree with the letter-forms and the compendia found in our inscription, as well as with the prefect's name and probable antecedents.

Doubtless the walls of Batnae had to be repaired more than once before the year 505, when, as a chronicler tells us, they were re-built.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Hill, *Catalogue* (above, note 76) p. 81.

⁸⁶ *Res gestae diui Saporis graece* lines 19–20 (*Syria* 35 [1958] 311). It was asserted by (Honigmann–) Maricq, *Recherches* 144–45, that the king captured these two cities; but Šāhpur reports that he besieged them (line 20, ἐπολιορκούμεν), and Zonaras (12.23 p. 140 Dindorf) also merely reports the siege of Edessa.

⁸⁷ H.-G. Pflaum, "La fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie (259/260 à 274/275) d'après des inscriptions récemment découvertes," *Syria* 29 (1952) 307–30. Cf. the inscription of Bostra (above, note 7).

⁸⁸ W. Wright, *The chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (Cambridge 1882): chap. LXIII (p. 63 of the Syriac text = p. 54 of Wright's translation) mentions that in the year 502/503 the inhabitants of Batnae admitted Persian cavalry, because the city's wall was broken down; chap. LXXXIX (p. 83 of the Syriac text = p. 70 of Wright's translation) mentions that the wall, out of repair and breached, was re-built in the year 504/505 by the "governor of Edessa." The two Syriac passages have been re-edited in *Incerti chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum* ed. I.-B. Chabot, vol. I (Lovanii 1927 [*Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium* 91]) pp. 291 and 309; and have been translated into

Yet the city could not withstand Chosroes, who, in the year 540, encamped there.⁸⁹ Justinian claimed to have found Batnae undefended and to have girt the city with a wall.⁹⁰

Our inscription also mentions a public inn (*πανδοκεῖον*). In procuratorial provinces the presidial procurator supervised the building of roads and of similar works;⁹¹ our inn lay on the road from Zeugma to Edessa. Likewise, in the year 61 the emperor Nero instructed the presidial procurator of Thrace to build *tabernae* and *praetoria* on the main roads of the province.⁹² During the Imperial period such inns became ever more common.⁹³

Our inn had a cistern nearby and was located in three caves,⁹⁴ whose entrances were reached easily: up the ramp animals could walk, wagons could drive. Caves can be easily closed: to exclude supernumerary guests; to keep out thieves who would enter; to keep in thieves who would leave. Again, the additional openings at eye-level were obviously spy-holes through which door-keepers could examine prospective guests. Also, in warm regions caves offer not only shade, but the only temperate locality. Due to the convection of air, cool air will seep into the cave, but will not be displaced by warm air. Moreover, a cave in limestone implies a subterranean water-course, which in fact has caused the cave; so the water will evaporate and cool the cave's air even more.⁹⁵ We now understand why some travellers, or perhaps a whole caravan, might wish to rest

Latin in *Incerti auctoris chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum* interpretatus est I.-B. Chabot, vol. I (Lovanii 1949 [CSCO 121]) pp. 214-15 and 227.

⁸⁹ Procop. *Bell. Pers.* 2.12.31-32.

⁹⁰ Procop. *De Aedif.* 2.7.18.

⁹¹ Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*² 402 with n. 2 (he forgets Thrace; see below, note 92).

⁹² *CIL* III 6123 = *ILS* 231.

⁹³ L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* I (Leipzig 1922¹⁰) 345-51. T. Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité romaine* (Uppsala 1957), restricts his study to the Latin West, and largely to establishments within cities. Α *ξενοδοχεῖον* in Christian Edessa: E. Kirsten, "Edessa eine römische Grenzstadt des 4. bis 6. Jahrhunderts im Orient," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 6 (1963) 165.

⁹⁴ Perdrizet and Fossey (*BCH* 20 [1896] 395) spoke of "une grotte artificielle." They should have said "des grottes aménagées par artifice humain."

⁹⁵ Our caves certainly have such an internal water-course, because for centuries water trickled from the rock above the entrances and flowed over the inscriptions. Dr. Brown, the eye-witness, spoke of corrosion, which is surely present; but I confess that the photographs made me think also of the usual accretions of white limestone.

in the cave during the midday's heat; as they appear in our inscription: οἱ διὰ καῦμα εἰσιόντες.⁹⁶

Such caves have always attracted living creatures. There men rested and worshipped the gods who granted the favor.⁹⁷ Thus the cave became a motif of folk-lore, and we feel a cave's universal appeal perhaps best when we read the story of a Christian hermit:

An old man lived upon the Jordan. During the midday's heat [ἐν καύματι] he went into a cave and there found a lion. The latter began to gnash his teeth and to roar. And the old man says to him: "Why do you chafe? There is room to hold both you and me. But if you will not, rise and depart!"⁹⁸

⁹⁶ In the caves they would find what the inscription specified, but what we can no longer distinguish. I thought that the word in line 3 may have been ψυκτ[ήρια] "refreshments;" yet, as has been suggested to me, the singular ψυκτ[ήριον] "cool place" would be more likely.

⁹⁷ Xenoph. *Anab.* 1.2.8 ἐν τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ ὄθεν αἱ πηγαί. Verg. *Aen.* 1.166–68.

⁹⁸ F. Nau, "Histoire des solitaires égyptiens," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 17 (1912) 210 no. 333. This text of the *Apophthegmata patrum* is not printed in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (LXV 71–440) because Cotelier (whose edition Migne reprinted) did not in his manuscript find this appendix, which collects all stories not attributed to a named saint (cf. PG LXV 73b–c). Of the Greek text, which seems to present a textual problem, there exist three versions: an old Latin version (*Patrologia Latina* LXXIII 1003c–d [p. 651 Rosweyde]); a corrupt Syriac version (E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of Paradise* I [London 1904] 369 [Book II chap. XVI D]); and an elegant Coptic version (G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur* [Romae 1810] 342c). From any of the four texts the curious reader may learn what resulted of the leonine encounter.