III. Międzynarodowe Seminarium "Roman maritime law"
21.04.2021
UNIWERSYTET GDAŃSKI

The Maritime Chapter of Diocletian's Prices Edict in the light of the new evidence from Aphrodisias

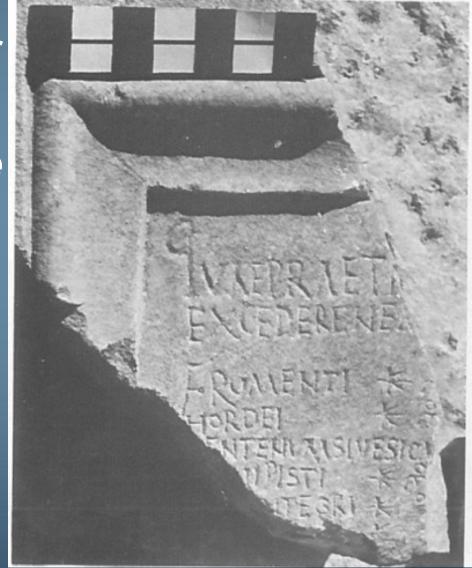
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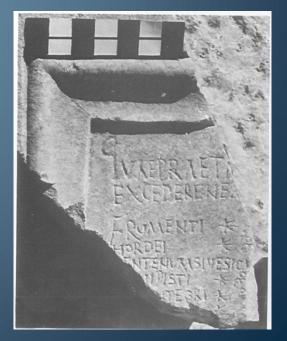
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Historical and geographical context

The Edict on Maximum Prices, issued by the emperor Diocletian and his colleagues, which is famously commemorated by the Christian polemicist Lactantius in his *De mortibus persecutorum*, is preserved in multiple epigraphic copies across the Greek East, in Latin and (in Achaea) Greek versions.





The rhetoric of the Preamble of the Prices Edict

- eorum (sc. negotiatorum) auaritiae modum statui, prouinciales nostri, communis humanitatis ratio persuadet.
- On their (merchants') greed, provincial citizens, the logic of our shared humanity urges us to set a limit.

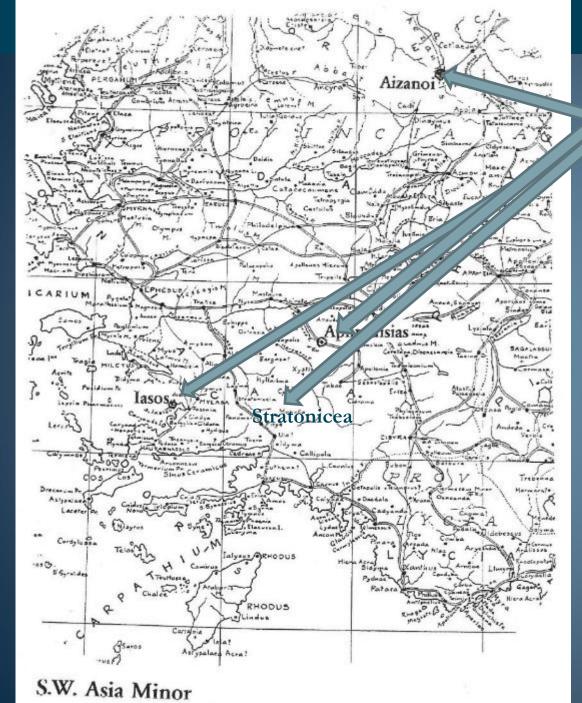
The rhetoric of the Preamble of the Prices Edict

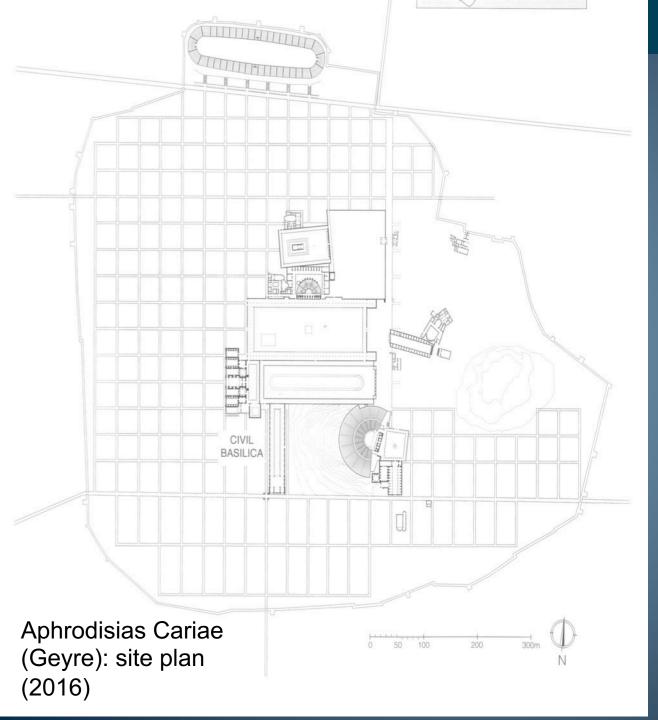
- sed modum statuendum esse censuimus, ut, cum uis aliqua caritatis emergeret, ... auaritia ... statuti nostri finibus et moderaturae legis terminis stringeretur.
- We have decided that a mechanism must be established so in the case that some pressure for expensiveness arises, avarice will be restrained by the bounds of the moderation of the law and by the limits of our statute.



Distribution of major copies of the Prices **Edict in** Phrygia-Caria

The late Roman province of Phrygia-Caria preserves a notable number of copies.



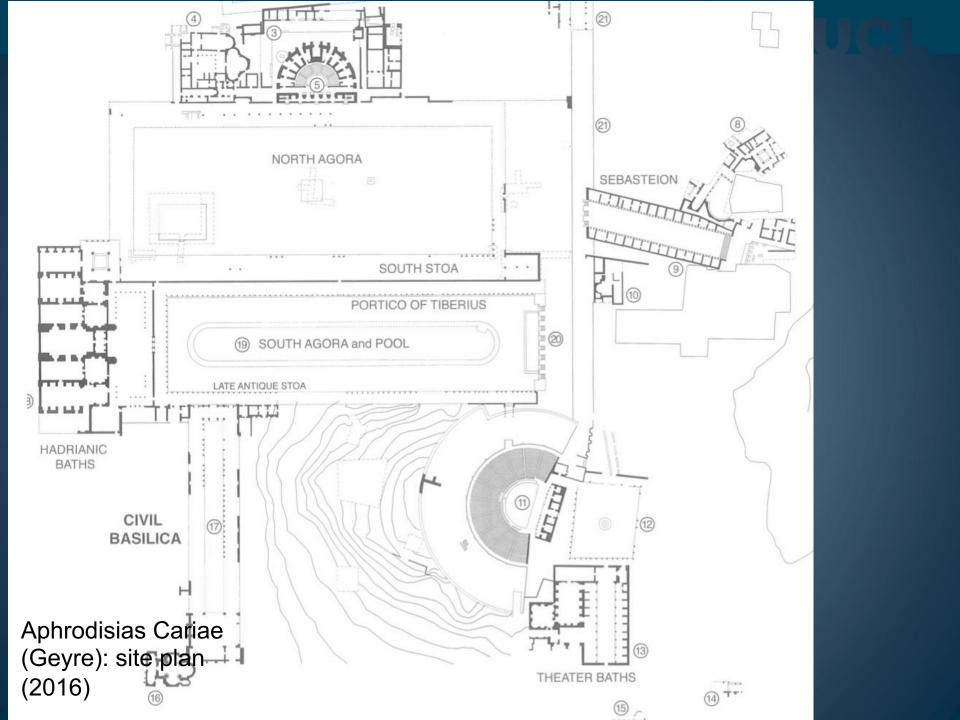




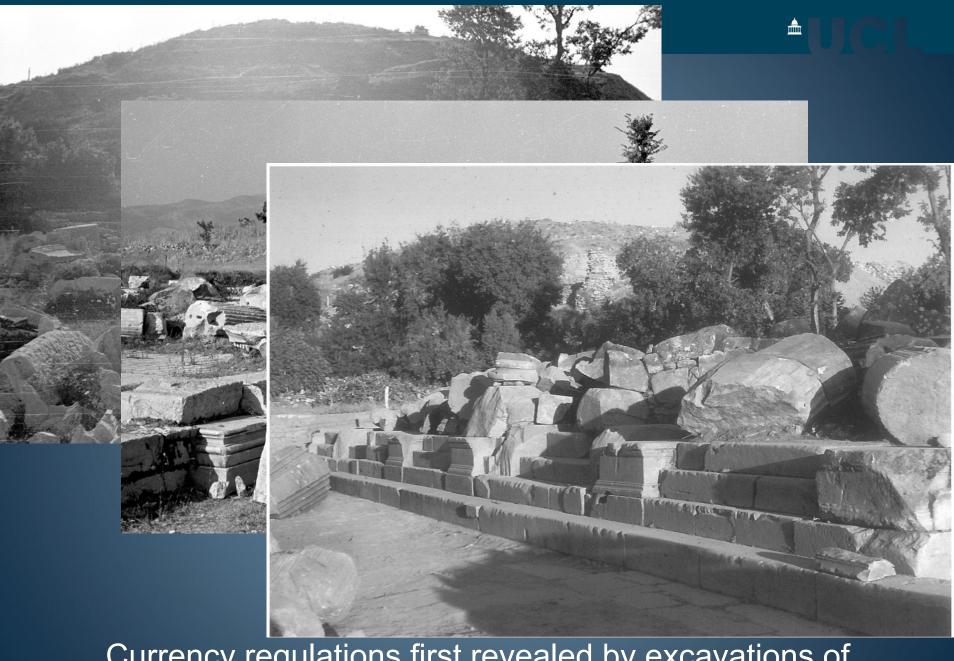
But Aphrodisias is now known to be unique in two ways:

For the extent of the surviving copy of the Prices Edict

And for the inscribing of the Prices Edict along with a dossier of monetary revaluation legislation that is known uniquely from the single epigraphic copy here at Aphrodisias (*Annee epigraphique* 2015, 1499)



Many new sections of the Prices Edict were revealed by excavations of 1970 in so-called 'Portico of Tiberius' on



Currency regulations first revealed by excavations of 1970 in so-called 'Portico of Tiberius' on south 'agora'



Development of the editions

 The first comprehensive edition to take account of the discovery by the Italian archaeologists of a large block containing the first evidence for a chapter ex quibus locis ad quas prouinicias quantum nauli excedere minime sit licitum ('The freight charge, which it is not lawful to exceed, from whatever place to whichever province') is S. Lauffer, Diokletians Preisedikt (Texte und Kommentare 5, Berlin 1971), as his chapter 37.

Development of the editions

- M. Giacchero, Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium in integrum fere restitutum e Latinis Graecisque fragmentis, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Storia Antica e Scienze Ausiliarie dell'Università di Genova VIII, 2 vols [vol. I. Edictum, vol. II. Imagines] incorporated this as her chapter 35
- Her edition and her numbering remains the common standard reference.

Structure of chapter 34 (Lauffer), 35 (Giacchero)

• Rubric: ex quibus locis ad quas prouincias quantum nauli excedere minime sit licitum

vacat

• 1 ab Alexandria Romam in ke.mo.uno **d** sedecim

• 2 ab Alexandria Nicomedia in ke.mo.uno **d** duodecim ...

• 11 item ab Oriente Romam in ke.mo.uno **d** decem et octo ...

• 22 item ab Asia Romam in ke.mo.uno **d** sedecim ...

• 25 item ab Africa Romam

• 32 item *a Rom*a Sicil*ia*m usque in ke.mo.uno **d** sex

• 37 item a Sicilia ad Gallias in ke.mo.uno **d** octo

• 38 item a Nicomedia Romam usque in ke.mo.uno **d** decem et octo

• 45^{bis} < item a Byzantio [Romam usque in ke.mo.uno d -?-]

• 48 a Byzantio, Amastris et Sinope Tomis usque [in ke.mo.uno] **d** octo

• But in relation to men and livestock, there must be observed an equation of a man with 25 modii castrenses, but a horse and a mule and an ox and an ass with 60 modii castrenses, but a sheep and a goat with 10 modii castrenses; likewise on river boats, for each modius, for 20 miles, 1 denarius and upkeep

With good luck, for many years

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The information mapped out by J. Rougé

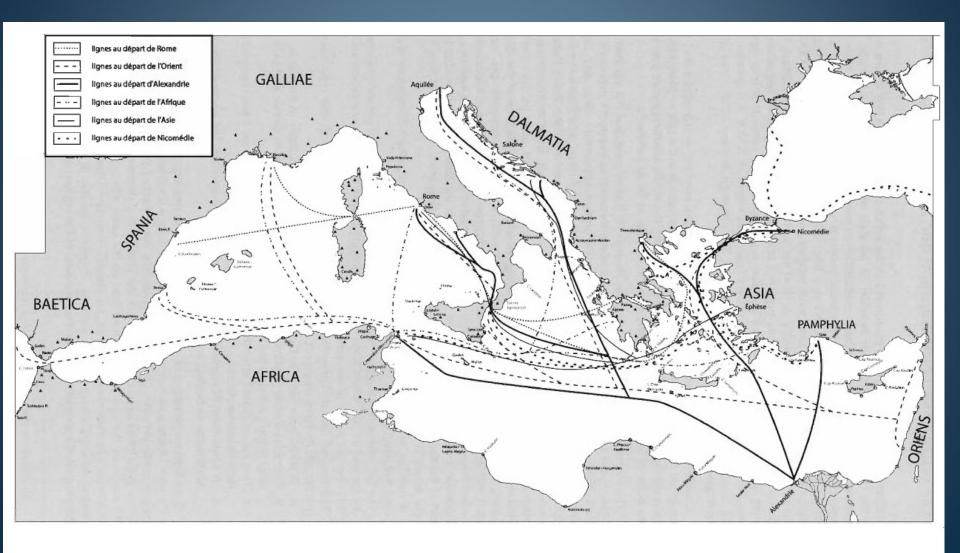


Fig. 1. The routes of the Prices Edict according to J. Rougé, redrawn by P. Arnaud.



Incremental gains were made through study of several smaller fragments recovered in the excavations of the early 1970s.

Included in J.M. Reynolds, *ALA* (1989) no 231, where treated as an appendix

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The state of studies

 P. Arnaud, 'Diocletian's Prices Edict: the prices of seaborne transport', *Journal of Roman* Archaeology 20 (2007), 321-336



The state of studies



 W. Scheidel, Explaining the maritime freight charges in Diocletian's Prices Edict', JRA 26 (2013), 464-468



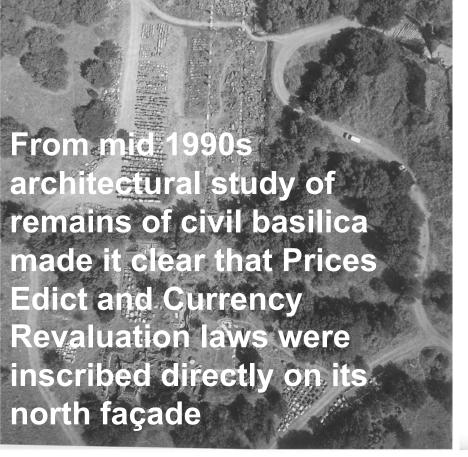
Fig. 1 Sea routes derived from the Price Edict

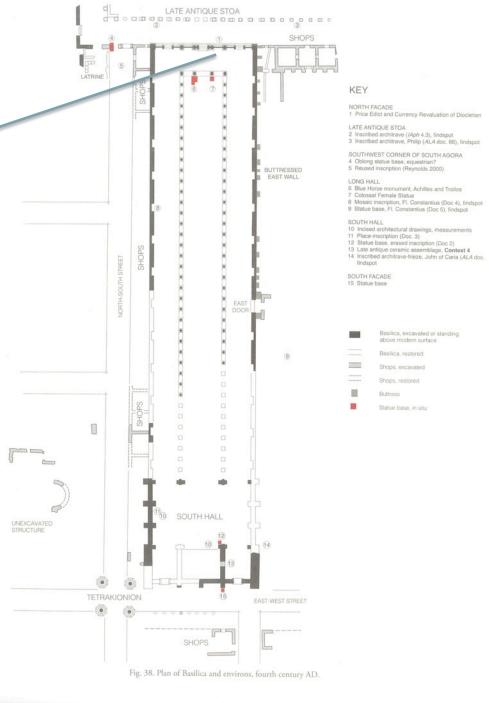
Fig. 1 Sea routes derived from the Price Edict

Table 1 Reported prices and simulated sailing times

Start point		End point		Price	Duration	Ratio	
Attested	Inferred	Attested	Inferred	(denarii)	(days)	price/duration	
Alexandria	-	Roma	Ostia/Portus	16	17.7	1.11	
Alexandria	_	Nicomedia	_	12	12.6	1.05	
Alexandria	-	Byzantium	-	12	12.2	1.02	
Alexandria	-	Dalmatia	Salona	18	19.0	1.06	
Alexandria	-	Aquileia	-	24	21.9	0.91	
Alexandria	175	Africa	Carthago	10	17.4	1.74*	
Alexandria	10	Sicilia	Messana	10	13.3	1.33	
Alexandria	-	Ephesus	-	8	6.9	0.87	
Alexandria	-	Thessalonice	-	12	11.0	0.92	
Alexandria	-	Pamphylia	Side	6	5.3	0.88	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Roma	Ostia/Portus	18	21.8	1.21	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Salona	_	16	20.5	1.28	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Aquileia	-	22	23.2	1.05	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Africa	Carthago	16	20.4	1.28	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Spania	Carthago Nov	a			
			or Tarraco	20	27.7	1.39*	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Baetica	Gades	22	32.2	1.46*	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Lusitania	Olisipo	26	36.2	1.39*	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Galliae	Narbo	24	27.7	1.15	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Byzantium	-	12	13.5	1.13	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Ephesus	-	10	8.1	0.81	
Oriens	Seleukeia Pieria	Sicilia	Messana	16	17.3	1.08	
Asia	Ephesus	Roma	Ostia/Portus	16	15.2	0.95	
Asia	Ephesus	Africa	Carthago	8	13.9	1.74*	

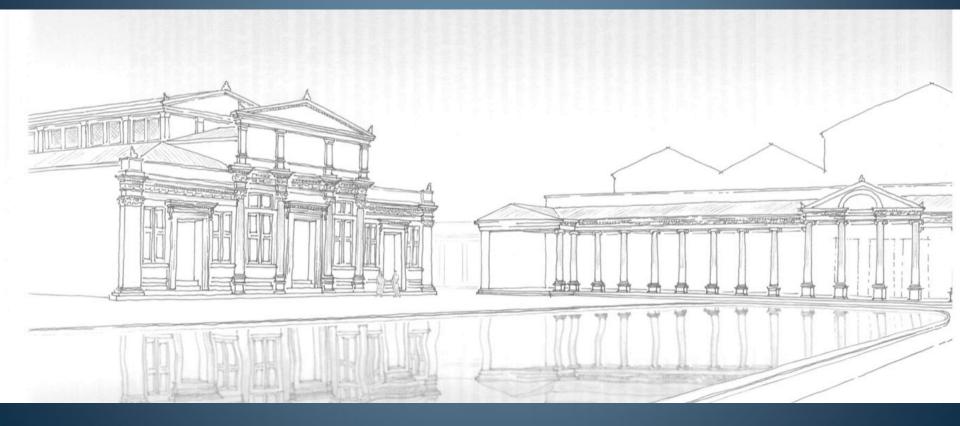
Asia	Ephesus	Dalmatia	Salona	18	13.9	0.77
Africa	Carthago	Salona	-	18	11.7	0.65*
Africa	Carthago	Sicilia	Messana	6	3.7	0.62*
Africa	Carthago	Spania	Carthago Nova			
			or Tarraco	8	7.8	0.98
Africa	Carthago	Galliae	Narbo	4	7.3	1.83*
Africa	Carthago	Achaia	Corinthus	12	8.7	0.73
Africa	Carthago	Pamphylia	Side	14	14.2	1.01
Roma	Ostia/Portus	Sicilia	Messana	6	3.7	0.62*
Roma	Ostia/Portus	Thessalonice	-	18	17.1	0.95
Roma	Ostia/Portus	Achaia	Corinthus	14	8.7	0.62*
Roma	Ostia/Portus	Spania	Carthago Nova			
			or Tarraco	10	8.8	0.88
Roma	Ostia/Portus	Galliae	Narbo	14	6.5	0.46*
Sicilia	Messana	Galliae	Narbo	8	10.9	1.36*
Nicomedia	_	Roma	Ostia/Portus	18	20.0	1.11
Nicomedia	_	Ephesus	<u>-</u>	6	4.3	0.72
Nicomedia	-	Thessalonice	-	8	5.4	0.68
Nicomedia	-	Achaia	Isthmia	8	7.5	0.94
Nicomedia	-	Salona	-	14	18.2	1.30
Nicomedia	-	Pamphylia	Side	8	7.9	0.99
Nicomedia	_	Phoenicia	Berytus	12	9.9	0.83
Nicomedia	-	Africa	Carthago	14	18.2	1.30
Amastris	-	Tomis	-	8	5.1	0.64*
Sinope	-	Tomis	-	8	6.1	0.76
Sicilia	Messana	Galliae	Narbo	8	10.9	1.36*
Byzantium	_	Roma	Ostia/Portus	18	19.4	1.08
100 2 7 (100 to 100 to						
Total				634	670.9	1.06



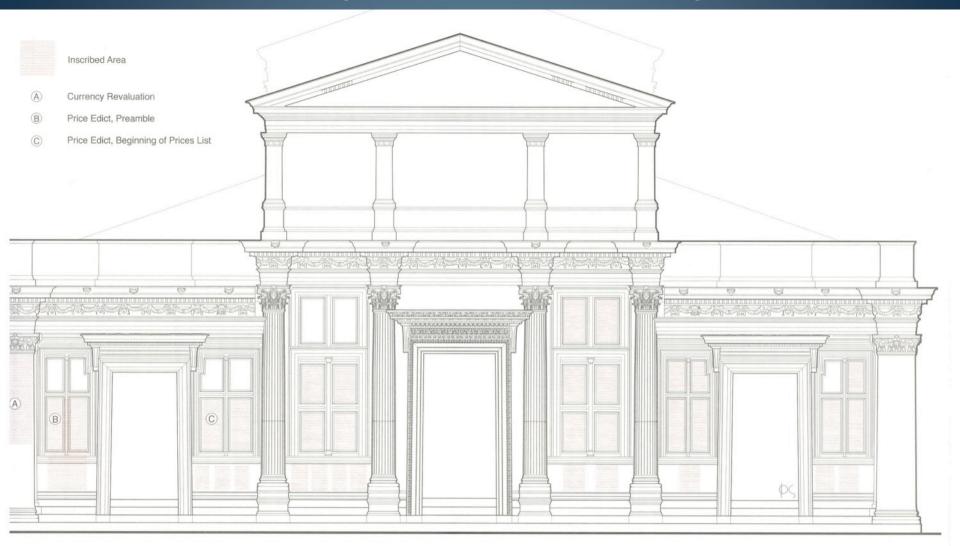




North façade of Flavian basilica (left) and Hadrian Baths (right) facing pool in South 'agora'



Disposition of Prices Edict across pane pare part of north façade (after Stinson 2016)



Maritime charges chapter(s) in relation to entire Prices Edict KEY Extant element NF - Series in numbering **EAST WING PROPYLON** WEST WING

Chapters 69-70 (on SW corner Dado panel: 69 right; 70 left)

Structure of chapter 34A (Reynolds 1989), 70 (Crawford)

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A, 1 [a Roma -?-
                                        in ke.mo.uno d -?-]
                     _?- ]+[-?-]
2 [a Roma Salo]nam [in ke.mo.uno d -?-]
      [praeter spe]cies fisc[ales quae formam suam optinent]
      [a Roma Gallias [in ke.mo.uno d -?-]
      [praeter speci]es fis[cales quae formam suam optinent] ...
 C, 10 [ab Alexandria Aq]ui[leiam in ke.mo.uno d uig]inti quattuor
 D,1 [item] ab Oriente Salonam [in ke.mo.uno d sedecim] ...
                                [in ke.mo.uno d -?-] ...
 17 [a Si]cilia ad Gallias
 19 item a Sardin[i]a Rom[am in ke.mo.uno d -?-] ...
      praeter onera fiscalia [quae formam suam optinent] ...
      [a] B[y]zantio, Amastri et Sinope Tomis u[sque] in ke.mo.uno d octo
```

Likewise, in relation to men and livestock, there must be observed an equation of a man with 25 modii castrenses, but a horse and a mule and an ox and an ass with 60 modii castrenses, but a sheep and a goat and a pig with 10 modii castrenses; likewise on river-ships, except for fiscal grain, which is being transported from individual cities and which has its own schedule, per 20 miles downriver, per modius, den. 1; upriver, per 20 miles, per modius, den. 2, (in both cases) with upkeep; likewise from

Ravenna to Aquileia, per 1,000 modii castrenses, den. 7,500.

Conclusions



Chapter 70 is a replacement chapter for 69, not an appendix

- It is organised to promote Rome to the head of the list and provide extra detail on western routes
- It introduces an exemption from the stated prices for *onera fiscalia*, for routes from Rome and many others (but not all?)
- But what might the form of that exemption be? A discount rate? A higher rate?

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Dziękuję za uwagę!

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