

**THE 3RD CENTURY A.D.
IN SOUTH-WESTERN ASIA MINOR:
EPIGRAPHIC STUDIES INTO CIVIC LIFE
AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
WITH ROME**



Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford for the degree
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**Para mi abuela,
padres, hermano y la pequeña Noa:
*carissimae familiae***

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ABSTRACT

The 3rd Century A.D. in South-Western Asia Minor: Epigraphic Studies into Civic Life and Diplomatic Relations with Rome

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This thesis studies the inscriptions produced by the southern and western settlements on the Anatolian peninsula – modern Turkey – from the death of the emperor Commodus (AD 192) to Diocletian's accession (284). The 3rd century AD, a period of fundamental transition between the high and late Roman imperial ages, has traditionally been considered an age of crisis and decline. This crisis supposedly affected civic life as members of the local communities were not willing or financially able to take part in politics. Against this prevalent opinion in scholarship, the purpose of this study is to analyse the abundant epigraphic evidence surviving from this region in order to reassess the local activity of such political communities.

The first chapter intends to determine whether the effects of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* on the nomenclature of the peregrine (i.e. non-Roman) population can be used as a reliable dating criterion. It also explains the methodology on which my collection of epigraphic evidence has been based. The second chapter examines the families, individuals, institutions and celebrations comprising the civic life of Ephesus, Lydia, Aphrodisias and Southern Anatolia (esp. Termessos, Perge and Side) in the first half of the 3rd century. These four case studies demonstrate a high level of local activity, which was recorded with inscriptions resembling those produced in the 2nd century AD. The third chapter analyses the communication between these local communities and the ruling power of Rome. On the one hand, this analysis describes the prevalent diplomatic procedures followed and their motivations. On the other, it evaluates the testimonies attesting direct contact between the population of south-western Asia Minor and imperial representatives such as governors, administrators and soldiers. The final chapter deals with the particular circumstances affecting the production of inscriptions in the region from 250 to 284.

These four chapters demonstrate that the civic life of south-western Asia Minor can be studied from a local perspective and beyond the narrow methodological framework imposed by adherence to the model of the '3rd century crisis'. The contextualised analysis of epigraphic evidence provided shows strong elements of continuity in the civic life of the region and its relation with Rome. The same analysis also concludes that the stark decline and changes of the inscriptions produced in the second half of the 3rd century were not only caused by internal factors. According to these results, this thesis hopes to contribute to the reconsideration of the Anatolian peninsula in such a crucial period of the history of the Roman Empire.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE	= <i>Année Épigraphique</i>
Ala2004	= <i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions</i> , revised second edition, C.Roueché 2004 < http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004 >
ANRW	= <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (Berlin, New York, 1972–).
AvP VIII.3	= <i>Altertümer von Pergamon. VIII 3. Die Inschriften des Asklepieions</i> , C.Habicht (Berlin, 1969).
BMC	= <i>British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins</i> (London, 1873-1927).
CID	= <i>Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes</i> (Paris, 1978–).
CIG	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , (Berlin, 1825-1877).
CIL	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1863–).
FiE	= <i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i> (Vienna, 1906–).
GIBM	= <i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> (Oxford, 1874-1916).
IG	= <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin, 1873–).
IGBul	= <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae I-V</i> (Sofia, 1956-1997).
IGR	= <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (Paris, 1911-1927).
IGSK	= <i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> (Bonn, 1972–).
I.Ancyra	= <i>The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara [Ancyra] I</i> , S.Mitchell & D.French (Munich, 2012).
I.Aph.	= <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> 2007, J.Reynolds & C.Roueché & G.Bodard < http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007 >
I.Arykanda	= <i>Die Inschriften von Arykanda</i> , S.Şahin (IGSK 48; Bonn 1994).
I.Didyma	= <i>Didyma, II. Die Inschriften</i> , A.Rehm (Berlin, 1958).
I.Eph.	= <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos I-VII</i> , H.Wankel & R.Merkelbach et alii (IGSK 11-17; Bonn 1979-1981).
I.Erythrai	= <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai I-II</i> , H.Engelmann & R.Merkelbach (IGSK 1-2; Bonn 1972-1973).
I.Hierapolis	= <i>Inschriften in Altertümer von Hierapolis</i> , W. Judeich (Berlin, 1898).
I.Iasos	= <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> , W.Blümel (IGSK 28; Bonn 1985).
I.Keramos	= <i>Die Inschriften von Keramos</i> , E.Varinlioğlu (IGSK 30; Bonn 1986).
I.Kibyra	= <i>Die Inschriften von Kibyra I: Die Inschriften der Stadt und ihrer näheren Umgebung</i> , T.Corsten (IGSK 60; Bonn 2002).
I.Knidos	= <i>Die Inschriften von Knidos I</i> , W.Blümel (IGSK 41; Bonn 1992).
I.Laodikeia	= <i>Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos I</i> , T.Corsten, (IGSK 49; Bonn 1997).
I.Magnesia	= <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> , O.Kern (Berlin, 1900).
I.Milet.	= <i>Inschriften von Milet 1-3</i> , A.Rehm & P. Herrmann (Berlin - New York, 1997-2006).
I.Mylasa	= <i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa I-II</i> , W.Blümel (IGSK 34-35; Bonn 1987-1988).
I.Pergamon	= <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon I-II</i> , M.Fraenkel (Berlin, 1890-95).

<i>I.Perge</i>	= <i>Die Inschriften von Perge I-II</i> , S.Şahin (IGSK 54, 61; Bonn 1999-2004).
<i>I.Pisid.Cen.</i>	= <i>The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia</i> , G.H.R.Horsley & S.Mitchell (IGSK 57; Bonn 2000).
<i>I.Priene</i>	= <i>Die Inschriften von Priene I-II</i> , W.Blümel & R.Merkelbach (IGSK 69; Bonn 2014).
<i>I.Prusias</i>	= <i>Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium</i> , W.Ameling (IGSK 27; Bonn 1985).
<i>I.Prusa</i>	= <i>Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum I-II</i> , T.Corsten (IGSK 39-40; Bonn 1991-1993).
<i>I.Sardis</i>	= <i>Sardis, VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> , W.H.Buckler & D.M.Robinson (Leiden 1932).
<i>I.Selge</i>	= <i>Die Inschriften von Selge</i> , J.Nollé (IGSK 37; Bonn 1991).
<i>I.Side</i>	= <i>Side im Altertum. Geschichte und Zeugnisse I-II</i> . J.Nollé (IGSK 43-44; Bonn 1993-2001).
<i>I.Smyrna</i>	= <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna I-II</i> , G.Petzl (IGSK 23-24; Bonn 1982-1990).
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i>	= <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia I-III</i> , M.Ç.Şahin (IGSK 21-22, 68; Bonn 1981-2010).
<i>I.Thesp.</i>	= <i>Les inscriptions de Thespies</i> , P.Roesch (Lyon, 2007).
<i>I.Tralleis</i>	= <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa</i> , I. <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis</i> , F.B.Poljakov (IGSK 36; Bonn 1989).
<i>ILS</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae I-III</i> , H.Dessau (Berlin 1892-1916)
<i>LGPN</i>	= <i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> (Oxford, 1987–).
<i>MAMA</i>	= <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua I-XI</i> (London, 1928-2013).
<i>PHI</i>	= <i>Packard Humanities Institute Greek Inscriptions</i>
<i>PIR¹</i>	= <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III</i> (Berlin, 1897-1898).
<i>PIR²</i>	= <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III, Editio Altera</i> (Berlin, 1933–).
<i>PLRE</i>	= <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , A.H.M.Jones & J.R.Martindale & J.Morris (Cambridge, 1971-1992).
<i>P.Fayum</i>	= <i>Fayum Towns and their Papyri</i> , B.P. Grenfell & A.S. Hunt & D.G. Hogarth (London, 1900).
<i>P.Giss.</i>	= <i>Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen</i> , O. Eger & E. Kornemann & P.M. Meyer (Leipzig-Berlin, 1910-1912).
<i>P.Lond.</i>	= <i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> (London, 1893–).
<i>P.Michigan</i>	= <i>Michigan Papyri</i> (Ann Arbor, 1931–).
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	= <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (London, 1898–).
<i>RECAM</i>	= <i>Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor</i>
<i>TAM</i>	= <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris I; II 1-3; III.1; IV.1; V.1-3</i> (Vienna, 1901-2007).
<i>SGO</i>	= <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten I-V</i> , R.Merkelbach & J.Stauber (Munich, 1998-2004).
<i>SNG</i>	= <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> (1931–).

Abbreviations of ancient authors and works follow those of the Oxford Classical Dictionary (3rd edition) and the lists of the Diccionario de Griego-Español. Editions of Greek and Latin texts have in some cases been modified to comply with the Leiden conventions. As a general rule, *SEG* and *AE* references are preferred for new inscriptions.

INTRODUCTION

*“Ce qu’il faut marquer, c’est dans l’Asie Mineure la prospérité des villes sous les Sévères, qui ne fait pas prévoir de désastres ni de stagnation: concours, construction d’édifices, fondations de toute catégorie, extrême abondance d’inscriptions dans les petites villes comme dans les grandes”.*¹

Louis Robert, the most influential Greek epigraphist of the 20th century, proclaimed these words in his last inaugural speech at the congress of the International Association of Greek and Roman Epigraphy (AIEGL) in 1982. The French savant spent his entire life visiting and studying the inscribed remains discovered in the Anatolian peninsula and most of his work is still valid and commended by the many scholars of different nationalities and interests who followed him. His firm statement was not based on any large-scale study of the 3rd century AD conducted personally, but rather his words were inspired by the recollection of the prolific number of inscriptions and case-studies with which he had dealt throughout his career. With his vast experience, L. Robert concluded that the Severan period in Asia Minor was not an age of disasters and stagnation at least with respect to the extensive epigraphic evidence from both the small and big settlements of the region. This evidence records the celebration of contests, building activity and the establishment of all kinds of foundations.

1. Historiographical Context and Subject of the Thesis

The brief statement by L. Robert argued against previous generalising approaches made into the 3rd century AD, especially, the equally influential work of David Magie (1950) on Roman rule in Asia Minor that had labelled this century as one of ‘decay’ and ‘chaos’. Magie’s position was not new and indeed aligned with that of ancient authors such as Cassius Dio, who himself lived in this period and came from Asia

¹ Robert (1984) 39.

Minor. The Roman senator from Bithynia famously described Marcus Aurelius' death as the end of a golden age and the start of one of iron and rust.² His words and views were enthusiastically adopted by the subsequent historiographical tradition including Gibbon (1776-1788), who regarded the History of the Roman Empire equally in terms of decline and fall in his hugely successful and ground-breaking books.

The study of the 3rd century AD has henceforth been inextricably connected with the idea of crisis.³ This conceptualised crisis supposedly affected all levels and elements sustaining the Roman Empire. Politically, the emperors increasingly endeavoured to establish family dynasties instead of designating successors on the basis of merit. Legitimacy was therefore sought via huge donations of money to the armed forces controlling social unrest. Soldiers became the king-makers and the many contenders to the throne depleted the imperial resources in order to sate the expensive army support. This process, especially obvious in the civil wars following Commodus' death, is said to have caused a profound economic failure. Septimius Severus, his successors and the subsequent rulers tried to obtain much needed cash by debasing the metal content of the coinage they issued and by deliberately squeezing the local population with taxes and exactions. As a result, the same local population is thought to have lost interest in contributing to and participating in a civic life that required costly liturgies and personal initiatives. In sum, a general crisis aggravated by adverse climatic conditions weakened the structures of the Empire to such a degree that Rome almost failed to cope with the invaders attacking its power in the second half of the century.

² D.C. LXXII.36.4: ἀπὸ χρυσῆς τε βασιλείας ἐς σιδηρᾶν καὶ κατιωμένην τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν νῦν καταπεσοῦσης τῆς ἱστορίας. On the views of other 3rd century authors see Alföldy (1974) and Strobel (1993).

³ On the modern concept of the 3rd century crisis see recently De Blois (2002a); Liebeschuetz (2007); and also Bülow-Johne (1993); Christol (1997a); Carrié-Rousselle (1999); Potter (2004); Hekster (2008); Ando (2012); Borg (2013).

Against this traditional historiography, more recent studies have emphasised the necessity of considering the significant regional and chronological differences that may have affected the direct evidence produced precisely at a local level. For example, regional studies in Africa have shown that the population of these provinces witnessed an increase in the building of monuments and the production of inscriptions.⁴ In Egypt, papyrological evidence has equally proved that the famous debasement of coinage did not result in a matching level of inflation until Aurelian's reforms, at the earliest.⁵ Likewise, city councils in this province were not established before Septimius Severus' reign.⁶ As emphasised by L. Robert, there are few regions in the Roman Empire as well documented by local evidence – epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological – as Asia Minor. And yet, neither this abundance of surviving materials nor Robert's revealing speech in front of the many scholars attending the aforementioned conference at Athens sparked a corresponding interest for the study of the area after the Antonine age. The best contribution to this topic was made by Mitchell (1993), who revisited the impact of Roman rule on Anatolia. Mitchell's major analysis was again based on his detailed and experienced knowledge of the inscriptions of the region. However, the extensive geographical and chronological frameworks of his work resulted in a relatively generalising approach in which regional processes were tied to either certain decisions made by the ruling powers or events occurring in Rome. Similar issues affected other more recent books such as Sartre (1995), Marek (2011), or those focusing on particular topics such as Dmitriev (2005), Brélaz (2005), Heller (2006) and Pont (2010), which always dealt with the first three centuries of the Roman imperial period as a unity and even incorporated the

⁴ E.g. Lepelley (1981); Jacques (1984); Duncan-Jones (2004); and especially Witschel (1999, 2004, 2006).

⁵ See Rathbone (1991, 1996); Lo Cascio (1997).

⁶ Bowman (1971); Tacoma (2006).

Hellenistic age. Consequently, a monograph dealing specifically with the local evidence produced by the inhabitants of Asia Minor in the 3rd century AD was still missing when I first started my graduate studies. The existence of this research gap, the abundance of material available and the crucial importance of this transitional period between the high and late Roman Empires motivated me to undertake this project. Its purpose is to analyse the civic life, diplomatic relations and imperial context of the political communities of 3rd century Asia Minor in the light of the surviving epigraphic evidence.

2. The Local Approach: its Geographical Scope and Chronological Framework

This thesis will provide a synchronic study of inscriptions produced by the settlements and citizens of a specific area within the many territories comprising the vast Anatolian peninsula: the South-West. This area corresponds to the historical regions of Ionia, Lydia, Caria, Pisidia, Lycia and Pamphylia. All these regions belonged to two Roman proconsular provinces by AD 200. However, the territories of Asia are not included in a homogenous way in this thesis. As the outline of the structure will show below, none of the case studies will address the northernmost lands of this province. The imperial presence in areas adjacent to crossroads such as the Bosphorus and the Hellespont was extremely intense in the 3rd century AD and this would have caused an unavoidable contextual disparity to the present analysis. Secondly, the omission of the inner regions of eastern Phrygia is due to the challenges of shedding light on their civic structures given the inconsistencies in human occupation and organisation (e.g. abundance of imperial estates, lack of central urban centres) that are also reflected in the multifarious nature of the available epigraphic corpora. Despite these preliminary exclusions, I will not be prevented from drawing

analogies between the evidence from such and any other regions of the Roman Empire that may contribute to a better understanding of south-western Asia Minor.

The restricted geographic scope of this thesis is justified by both the sufficiency of informative testimonies available and the limitations that any doctoral research entails. As the first methodological chapter will emphasise, this research project required a profound investigation of the particular circumstances of each of the settlements included. Acquiring this local knowledge has enabled the assessment of the continuity and transformations of the surviving materials. At the same time, the incorporation of the supplementary information provided by other evidence such as coins and archaeological remains has been fundamental. Precisely, the lack of such a local approach has negatively affected the majority of the previous studies dealing – at least partly or indirectly – with some of the topics covered by this thesis. On the one hand, monographs such as the aforementioned Magie (1950) or any overall review of the high Roman imperial period attempted to draw conclusions which are not always based on all the available evidence. For example, in considering how a general crisis affected the entire Roman Empire since Marcus Aurelius' death, the inclusion of testimonies recording adverse scenarios is paramount according to the traditional historiography to which I referred before.⁷ However, the inscriptions supporting the maintenance of signs of normality would likely remain uncharted.⁸ Consequently, the topics covered by this thesis are not dictated by an attempt to confirm or deny the so-called '3rd century crisis'. Instead, I intend to offer a detailed analysis of aspects of civic life that the local communities and ruling powers decided to convey by means of inscribing them. From this analysis, a reassessment of the

⁷ E.g. Herrmann (1999).

⁸ See Scheidel (1991).

epigraphic evidence is conducted, taking into account its imperial context and potentially inviting to *a posteriori* reconsideration of the period.

Despite the reference to ‘3rd century AD’ in the title, the actual chronological framework of this thesis runs from Commodus’ death to Diocletian’s accession (AD 193-284). In a study that intends to assess local institutions within their imperial context, it would have been inadequate to set an arbitrary chronological mark in AD 200, rather than starting with a new dynasty such as the Severan which has a huge influence in the development of the rest of the century. Regarding the halt in the 280s, it is customary to study the period inaugurated by Diocletian separately because of the extensive reforms implemented in key aspects of the Roman administration such as provincial organisation, currency, prices and even imperial structures with the creation of the Tetrarchy.⁹ Admittedly, the impact of these changes are unlikely to have provoked an instant breakthrough in the types of epigraphic evidence produced in Asia Minor. However, the problem therein lies not in the nature of the epigraphic evidence but rather in the fact that the material available is simply too limited to provide any well-articulated and valuable insight into civic life.

3. Sources and Methodology: Possibilities and Limitations

The local approach adopted in this thesis has required a comprehensive examination of the most up-to-date epigraphic corpora of south-western Asia Minor (e.g. *IGSK*, *TAM*, *MAMA*, *RECAM*, *PHI*), as well as the pertinent sections of the last volumes of both *SEG* (LX) and *Année Épigraphique* that were available at the beginning of 2015. The quality and detail of these publications vary substantially depending on the purpose, publisher, date and author. Likewise, I am sadly aware of the many inscriptions from multiple areas which were discovered long ago and are still awaiting

⁹ See Barnes (1982); Corcoran (1996); Mitchell (2007a).

publication. Numerous new stones are unearthed in Turkey every year and survey teams will certainly expand their areas of operation across this sort of inscribed El Dorado. However, it is not the purpose of this thesis to discover new inscriptions. On the contrary, its main objective is to present a coherent analysis of sufficient samples that illustrate the norm rather than the exception.

The examination of this enormous bulk of evidence reveals that the biggest proportion of the surviving inscriptions normally dates from the first three centuries of the Roman imperial period. In areas such as Lydia in which a detailed quantitative analysis of the material can be undertaken, epigraphic production appears to have reached its peak in the early Severan period.¹⁰ Even if this habit of inscribing texts on stone may vary – sometimes in a very conspicuous way – in small regions, some common aspects provide a framework within which a study of such evidence can be conducted. This cohering framework mainly derives from the relation established between the production of inscriptions and the political and administrative organisation of south-western Asia Minor.

The 3rd century AD cities of Ionia, Lydia, Caria, Pisidia, Lycia and Pamphylia laid upon the foundations of the Greek *polis*. This general statement obviously obscures the many and important differences between settlements that the chapters of this thesis will constantly emphasise.¹¹ Yet it is undeniable that from the coasts of Side to the mountains of Oinoanda, the valley of Aphrodisias or the plains of Ephesus, all cities – except for a handful of Roman colonies – had a body of citizens referred to as δῆμος, a council (βουλή), and diverse magistracies (ἄρχοντες) forming a civic community. Most of these cities also comprised an extra-urban territory (χώρα),

¹⁰ See Macmullen (1982). My Appendix 1 includes an updated graph incorporating the many new inscriptions published since then. This update rejects some of Macmullen's conclusions such as the existence of a complete halt of epigraphic production in some periods of the last quarter of the century.

¹¹ On the existence of micro-identities within the Roman Empire see Revell (2009) for the West and Whitmarsh (2010) for the East.

where communal procedures and dependent entities (e.g. κατοικίαι) could exist. Apart from the very interesting cases of those inhabiting estates directly owned by the emperor himself, the population of south-western Asia Minor conducted their civic lives within the patterns of this core model of political organisation. The connection between this model and the production of epigraphic evidence is especially obvious in the case of honorific inscriptions. Honours decreed by the local institutions of Greek cities normally entailed the carving of the resulting motion in stone bases, which could include statues on top. Two remarkable testimonies discovered at one of the settlements that this thesis will analyse closely, Termessos in Pisidia, illustrate the unquestionable continuity of this phenomenon during the high Roman imperial period. The δῆμος of this city decided (ἔδοξε) in an assembly (ἐκκλησία), following a motion (γνώμη) of the local magistrates (πρόβουλοι), to grant honours to a woman called Atalante for her many benefactions and commendable behaviour.¹² The award comprised a bronze statue with a golden crown which was to be placed at a noticeable location of the city (ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τῆς πόλεως τόπῳ). In this same location, the people of Termessos also allowed a local professional association (τεχνῖται) to set up another *in-situ* statue base for Atalante.¹³ Even if both texts were probably carved in the second half of the 2nd century AD, their political dimension and relevance to the aims of this thesis is fundamental. On the one hand, they show that a decision (ψήφισμα) determined by the citizens of a *polis* was required in order to set up monuments at the spaces of common reunion and commemoration regardless of the public or private source of funding. On the other hand, such testimonies can inform us of the agents participating in the civic life of a community. In addition to such informative honorific inscriptions, this thesis will incorporate funerary or foundational texts which

¹² TAM III.1.4. See van Nijf (2011a). On the roots of this element inherent to the civic life of a *polis* see Ma (2013).

¹³ TAM III.62.

record not only the individuals responsible for them but also the institutions making up the political landscape of south-western Asia Minor. Likewise, the validity of other categories of inscriptions such as the letters sent by the Roman administrative authorities to these institutions is self-explanatory. Consequently, the diverse epigraphic evidence available can be used to provide an approach into local civic life.

The combination of this epigraphic evidence with archaeological, numismatic and, especially, literary sources has allowed scholars to highlight the vitality of Asia Minor, even after the battle of Chaeronea, the treaty of Apamea, and the advent of Roman rule.¹⁴ This reassessment of the post-classical *polis* has demonstrated the engaged participation of the local population in civic life, an intense political competition for magistracies or the continuous preoccupation of members of the elite – including women – for benefactions in their fatherlands (*πατρίς*) which assured their prominent position in society. Such a reality is particularly evident in the 2nd century AD. The hazards of textual transmission have preserved the works of two first-hand witnesses from western Asia Minor who experienced the development of the allegedly peaceful and thriving reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and the early Antonines. In their numerous speeches, the Prusan Dio Chrysostom and the Mysian Aelius Aristides record many signs of that political activity: meetings of the assemblies and councils, statues honouring citizens, intercity rivalry, agonistic competitions and religious festivals, among others.¹⁵ Their testimonies are also echoed in the letters of Pliny the Younger when he was governor of Bithynia.¹⁶ The so-called ‘second sophistic’ continued to flourish across the network of communicating *poleis* present in the

¹⁴ See e.g. Jones (1940); Robert (1960); Gauthier (1985); Millar (1993); Sartre (1995) 209-270; Pleket (1998a); van Nijf-Alston (2011).

¹⁵ See Behr (1968, 1994); Jones (1978); Desideri (1978); Salmeri (1982, 2000); Ma (2000); Bekker-Nielsen (2008)

¹⁶ Sherwin-White (1966); Madsen (2009).

eastern part of the Roman Empire,¹⁷ and the emperor Hadrian sent many epistles which those cities considered worthy to be inscribed.¹⁸ Simultaneously, urban centres grew in magnificence, population and entertainment, and the local bronze coinage memorialised the traces of this golden age with fine portraits of rulers and detailed obverses of civic pride. This persistent narrative of prosperity eclipsed the problems that the same sources sometimes criticised and denounced because, in the end, they all derived from a context in which local and imperial political action was possible.

A comparable survival of works and authors describing Asia Minor does not exist in the 3rd century. Senators such as the Nicaean Cassius Dio were rather interested in more noteworthy battles and dynastic quarrels defining the History of Rome.¹⁹ Similarly, the books of the historian Herodian are more focused on describing the thrilling events occurring at the court from a complex perspective.²⁰ Philostratus is mostly remembered for the *Lives of Sophists* who were not contemporary to his life in the mid-3rd century,²¹ and there are no surviving attestations of Anatolian Christians in the early Severan period who could proclaim like Tertullian in Africa: *nec insulae horrent nec scopuli terrent; ubique domus, ubique populus, ubique respublica, ubique uita*.²² The lack of such testimonies undoubtedly makes the exploration of civic life less vivid.

Nevertheless, the 3rd century AD should not simply be regarded as a marginal epoch of silent obscurity. This thesis actually hopes to substantiate some of the advantages of studying this period for the first time. In this regard, the most important point is that the lack of relevant literary sources does not correspond to the great

¹⁷ See Swain (1996); Schmitz (1997); Whitmarsh (2001).

¹⁸ Boatwright (2000).

¹⁹ See Millar (1964); Schmidt (1997); Kemezis (2014).

²⁰ See Zimmermann (1999); Sidebottom (1998).

²¹ Anderson (1986); Jones (2005).

²² Tert. *de Anima* 30.3 [cf. Lepelley (1990)].

amount of other types of materials which is available to us. For instance, the quantity of local bronze coins circulating in Asia Minor increased significantly during the period 200-260.²³ The number of settlements producing them also reached its peak under Septimius Severus and Caracalla (Appendix 2),²⁴ and this allows the exploration of an unprecedented variety of civic motives and themes. The first quarter of the 3rd century also witnessed the so-called ‘Classical age of Roman Law’.²⁵ Jurists such as Papinian and Ulpian lived in this period and dominated later legal compilations – especially the Digest –, which shed light on many aspects of local civic life and the role of ruling powers. This particular development of Roman legal culture in the eastern part of the Empire also needs to be related to an extraordinary incident that further justifies my focus on 3rd century epigraphic evidence: the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (CA henceforward).

In the sole reign of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus (Caracalla), virtually all the free inhabitants of the Empire became Roman citizens and incorporated the name *Aurelius/a* in commemoration of the emperor who removed their peregrine status. Numerous inscriptions – and papyri in Egypt and Mesopotamia – record the unprecedented adoption and display of a new system of personal nomenclature after AD 212. As I will demonstrate in the following chapter, this change of nomenclature can be used to date epigraphic evidence in a way that does not exist in any other period of the Greek and Roman age. The careful use of such an unprecedented method of dating based on the CA offers great possibilities for my investigation. On the one hand, the existence of this *terminus post quem* exponentially increases the surviving materials which can be included in the analysis; especially from areas where the spread of Roman citizenship was previously low and the provision of

²³ See Nollé (2006).

²⁴ This appendix is based on the gigantic data collected by Leschhorn (1981).

²⁵ See Honoré (1994, 2004).

chronological prosopographies was not feasible before 212. On the other hand, the *quasi*-universal character of the CA illuminates the life of individuals who could not attain the prestige, sponsors and influence to become Roman citizens before.

Despite these advantages, my approach naturally entails important limitations that cannot be obviated. This thesis is heavily dependent on the different epigraphic practices and cultures influencing the elements of civic life that each community memorialised on stone. Moreover, the carving of inscriptions and the supports in which these were cut had considerable costs that not everyone could afford. Finally, and most importantly, much of the material is now lost. As a result, epigraphic evidence is highly selective and always partial. One of the best examples to illustrate such limitations is the fact that Christianity remained almost silent in south-western Asia Minor during the first two hundred years following the death of Jesus. The *acta martyrum* attesting persecutions under Decius confirms that epigraphy is not always an infallible answer as my last chapter will show. It would therefore be absurd to suggest that this thesis will or even attempts to provide a final solution to the complex development of the 3rd century AD and the transition of the Roman Empire towards Late Antiquity. Instead, conclusions will be restricted to the parameters that scholars have previously used to highlight the activity of civic life under Roman rule. In the quotation opening this chapter, L. Robert referred to agonistic competitions, building projects and private foundations as signs of vitality and lack of stagnation. Even within those parameters, the assessment of the degree of activity and vitality is, nonetheless, problematic. Quantifying enthusiasm for local civic action is almost impossible when epigraphic forms and norms tend to homogenise the surviving products of those political institutions. For example, when statue bases are decreed by the *boule* and *demos* of a city and the honorific inscriptions list great benefactions and

careers, is this an unequivocal sign of vitality? Opposing interpretations could be adduced in this respect. One of such interpretations could emphasise the commitment of the honouree towards civic life. The lack of candidates to take up positions in the same settlement could equally be cited. However, the use of different lines of argumentation is explicitly erroneous, depending on the period in which the inscription was set up as long as the activities and careers mentioned are analogous. For this reason, I intend to study the epigraphic evidence of south-western Asia Minor in comparison with the patterns attested in this region before the period on which my analysis focuses: the celebrated 2nd century AD. By concentrating the discussion on aspects of continuity and change, the influx of negative preconceptions dominating the study of the 3rd century can be mitigated. Simultaneously, the assessment of such aspects on a local scale also allows a reconsideration of the imperial and regional contexts in which this civic life was framed.

4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter analyses the change of nomenclature adopted by the population of south-western Asia Minor following the enactment of the CA. The aim of this chapter is to determine whether the appearance of *(M.) Aurelius/a* can be used as a reliable dating criterion. The analysis focuses on the region of Lydia given the extraordinary amount of inscriptions including an identifiable local era. It is argued that, except for very specific groups, the presence of this sequence of nomenclature in local contexts appears to be mostly dating to the 3rd century AD. After this, the results of Lydia are compared with other regions of Asia Minor and the most relevant exceptions are pointed out. Finally, it is discussed how these results determine the methodology followed in the thesis.

The second chapter focuses on four case studies: Ephesus, Lydia, Aphrodisias, and Southern Anatolia (esp. Termessos, Perge and Side). All four case studies – the selection of which will later be explained at length – explore aspects of the civic life on which epigraphic evidence can shed light during the first half of the 3rd century. These aspects include euergetism, participation in political careers, the continuation or transformation of local offices, and the connections established between successful families and new figures of the local scene worthy of inscribed commemoration. Besides the analysis of urban political activity, this chapter will particularly emphasise the importance and visibility of the countryside in this period.

The aim of the third chapter is to study the way in which these local institutions and citizens interacted and communicated with the empire ruling them. This study seeks to assess first the unprecedented presence of imperial representatives, second, the resulting local response, and finally and most importantly, the interaction and potential reciprocity established between local entities and the Roman imperial administration through diplomacy channels. The final chapter focuses on the unprecedented circumstances such as foreign attacks affecting the evolution of south-western Asia Minor from Philip the Arab's death until Diocletian's accession.

While the temporal framework of this thesis is more extensive, its geographical scope will be more limited than Robert's statement about the Severan period in Asia Minor. This selectivity has allowed me to completely examine the evidence available and select those testimonies that best illustrate civic life and local activity in those cities and countryside under Roman rule. New inscriptions will undoubtedly be discovered – hopefully be published –, and there is potential in the future to expand and corroborate some of the arguments that I will discuss in the

following chapters. Despite the unavoidable uncertainties of the epigraphic discipline, I am confident that the final conclusions of this thesis can prove robust. Now, let me show the validity of L. Robert's premonitory announcement and explore whether his words may also be relevant to other periods of the 3rd century AD in this corner of the Anatolian peninsula: *saxa loquentur!*²⁶

²⁶ Lucan VI.618.

I. NOMENCLATURE AND DATING IN ROMAN ASIA MINOR: (M.) AURELIUS/A AND THE 3RD CENTURY AD

The introduction of this thesis has emphasised the importance of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* for the history and study of the 3rd century AD. Even though fundamental elements of the CA such as the groups excluded, motivations and even its exact date are still open to question,¹ there is one particular aspect in which the effects of this act adopted by the emperor Caracalla are obvious: personal names.

It is generally accepted that those who became Roman citizens for the first time thanks to Caracalla's decision incorporated the imperial *nomen* 'Aurelius/a' into their names. As a result of this process, there is a considerable number of inscriptions, papyri and other written sources in which a change of personal nomenclature is evident. As with the general circumstances of the CA, the details of this change have never been fully unravelled and crucial aspects still require further explanation. For example, why was apparently only the name *Aurelius/a* incorporated and not the complete sequence *Marcus Aurelius* following the pattern of previous grants of citizenship by emperors in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD? Do we therefore have to date inscriptions including *M. Aurelius* (instead of *Aurelius*) to the Antonine period? How immediate was the change? Were other patterns of nomenclature kept after the CA?

Naturally, a conclusive and universal answer to all these questions is beyond reach, since personal names do not always follow definite rules. Moreover, nomenclature is influenced by personal preferences and regional trends which can sometimes be traced and described, but which cannot be applied to every single case and, obviously, not to the entire Roman Empire. Therefore, the most convenient way

¹ The debate about the motivations and effectiveness of the CA has been controversial almost since its enactment. For both the ancient and modern controversy see the most recent and comprehensive study on the CA by Buraselis (2007), especially, 1-13.

to tackle all these difficulties is to focus on case studies of specific regions. The results can then be contrasted with the evidence from other areas in order to understand better a process of such a complex nature.² Accordingly, I intend to analyse in the following section the impact of the CA on the names of the population of Lydia,³ compare the results of this analysis with other areas and, ultimately, determine whether the appearance of the sequence (*M.*) *Aurelius/a* can be used as a reliable *terminus post quem* for south-western Asia Minor. The choice of Lydia is supported by very significant factors. First of all, the number of surviving inscriptions from this area is particularly high.⁴ Second, Roman colonies were absent in these largely rural lands. Consequently, the number of Roman citizens before AD 212 was limited and the impact of the imperial decision is more visible. Finally and most importantly, the majority of funerary inscriptions includes a date based on an identifiable local era.⁵ This regional peculiarity provides us with a year to which we can almost securely date the inscriptions. Hence we are not dependent on other less

² The production of case-studies combining the study of nomenclature, prosopography, social history and Roman citizenship in the provinces of the Roman Empire were enhanced after the influential works of Mócsy (1959) [Pannonia] and Alföldy (1969) [Dalmatia]. With regard to the Eastern provinces and, specifically, the 3rd century AD, the most important studies are Gilliam (1965) [Dura Europos]; Follet (1976) [Athens]; Samsaris (1984) [Macedonia] and Spawforth (1984) [Sparta]. In contrast to this method, the main study concerning Asia Minor [Holtheide (1983)] is excessively holistic. This effortful work, which attempts to collect all the epigraphic attestations of Roman citizens in the province of Asia and, especially, those who were granted Roman citizenship by the emperors, presents two important problems. First, it does not take into proper consideration the demographic evolution of the descendants of the *peregrini* originally granted citizenship. Second – and most important for our study –, Holtheide simply accepts even conjectural dates given by the editors of the inscriptions.

³ Although the settlements along the Cayster River were historically part of Lydia, I have decided not to include the area in this examination because some of the material is still awaiting publication. Moreover, the influence of Ephesus, especially in the western section of the valley was remarkable [see chapter II.2.1], and that would inevitably distort the result of the analysis. For the new project ‘History and Epigraphy of the Cayster Valley in Antiquity’ see the epigraphic surveys carried out by Ricl (2008-2014).

⁴ In addition to the series *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (TAM V.1-3), this material has been continuously supplemented in recent years by the discovery and publication of new inscriptions: e.g. Petzl (1994); Ricl–Malay (2006); Herrmann–Malay (2007).

⁵ All the geographical entries in TAM V.1-3 include a discussion about the different local eras. The most reliable and detailed study on this topic can be found in Leschhorn (1993) 295-343.

accurate methods such as prosopography, attestations of magistrates on local coins or even letterforms.

The relevance of this analysis for the overall aim of this thesis is fundamental. Anyone slightly familiar with the use of primary sources in general, and the epigraphic material of the Roman Empire in particular, has come across the numerous documents vaguely attributed to the ‘late 2nd or early 3rd century AD’. This ambiguity essentially arises not only from the similarity of letterforms cut in that age but also from the established idea – mainly through L. Robert but never supported by a comprehensive study –⁶ that the only valid *terminus post quem* for inscriptions recording the sequence *Marcus Aurelius* or even just *Aurelius/a* in Asia Minor is the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 169-180) and not the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212. As a result of this, the study of the period following the death of Septimius Severus and Geta has been severely affected and extremely important evidence has been wrongly dated or neglected. For this reason and following recent critical reviews,⁷ a preliminary methodological section devoted to nomenclature and dating in 3rd century Asia Minor is required in order to re-examine this important issue thoroughly.

I.1. Nomenclature and the *Constitutio Antoniniana*

In 1972, P. Herrmann published a famous inscription from Saittai (north-eastern Lydia) dating to the early spring of 213 in which the addition of the name *Aurelius* was attested for the first time after the CA.⁸

⁶ See Robert (1980) 429, note 17 in which he referred to (1938) 57. After him, his influential opinion has been adopted by the majority of modern epigraphists, especially those working in Asia Minor.

⁷ Buraselis (1996) 61-63 and (2007) 95-120 has argued that individuals called *Marcus Aurelius* were granted their Roman citizenship not only by the Antonine emperors but also as a result of the CA. Very recently, this theory has been reasserted by Rizakis (2011) 254-258. Nevertheless, when both analytic approaches discuss the evidence from Asia Minor, they are based on Holtheide’s study, whose problems have already been mentioned above.

⁸ TAM V.1.122 [see Herrmann (1972)].

- 3 ἔτους σ'ζ', μη(νὸς) Ξανδικοῦ ι'.
 Αὐρ. Βάσσοις ὁ σύνβιος καὶ
 Αὐρ. Ασκληπίδης καὶ Αὐρ.
 Βασσιανὸς οἱ υεῖοι καὶ Αὐρ.
 Φρουγίλλα ἡ ἐγγόνῃ Βάσ-
 6 σαν καλῶς βιώσασαν ἔτη
 να' ἐτείμησαν.

It becomes obvious from this inscription that the imperial edict already had clear effects on the personal names of the inhabitants of Lydia by the beginning of 213.⁹ Prior to this, the *peregrina* population – i.e. natives not enjoying Roman citizenship – from Lydia, as well as from the majority of the regions of the Roman Empire where Greek was the predominant language, essentially followed the pattern of ‘Greek nomenclature’ [name of the individual + name of his/her father in genitive (patronymic)].¹⁰ In contrast, the Roman pattern of nomenclature in the imperial period was based on the *tria nomina*. A basic male set of *tria nomina* would be composed of *praenomen* + *nomen gentile (gens)* + *cognomen*.¹¹ In the case of women, the *praenomen* was nearly always absent.¹² By the end of the high Roman Empire, the definition of categories of nomenclature in the Greek East is not straightforward and perhaps even possible: Roman names were adopted by people who followed the pattern of Greek nomenclature and, at the same time, Roman citizens usually included Greek or native names in their *tria nomina*.¹³ In addition to these ambiguities, the

⁹ Two inscriptions recording *Aurelii* from the Cayster valley might date to the year AD 212: *I.Eph.* 3707 [Palaionpolis]; and *SEG* 56.1323 even before that. Unfortunately, the reading of either the names or the dates is not certain [see Malay–Ricl (2006) 72 no.47].

¹⁰ On the general features of Greek nomenclature, see Masson (1990). For an account of native names in Asia Minor, see Zgusta (1964); Robert (1963); and naturally the last two volumes of *LGPN* V. For example, *TAM* V.1.537, a list of members of a religious association from Maeonia, records 18 sequences Name + Patronymic in AD 171/2.

¹¹ Concerning the characteristics and evolution of Roman personal names, including the gradual adoption of Roman nomenclature by the peregrine population, see Salway (1994).

¹² See Kajava (1994), especially pp. 155–161.

¹³ Before the colloquium ‘Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspects’ with general and case studies by Rizakis (1996), Buraselis (1996) and Solin (1996) – among others –, the adoption of Roman nomenclature by the peregrine population in the Greek East had mainly been analysed by Daux (1977), even if that article was just an introduction [cf. Salomies (1987) 244]. Ferrary (2008a) has also recently produced an insightful article analysing the evidence from Claros.

patterns of nomenclature present important peculiarities that need to be taken into account. For example, the apparently simpler Greek model could be altered when both father and son shared the same name (homonymy) by adding numerals referring to their generation (β', γ'...),¹⁴ and the use of *supernomina* (ὁ/ἡ καί) was common.¹⁵ Furthermore, the patronymic could also be substituted by the addition of the suffix -ιανός (-ianus) at the end of a name.¹⁶ The situation is even more complex in the case of nomenclature following the Roman pattern, since the basic *tria nomina* evolved and could be considerably modified by the addition of supplementary elements (i.e. double *nomina*, *cognomina*, *agnomina*), which were sometimes abbreviated.¹⁷ Finally, 'Greek nomenclature' could also be subject to reduction through the elimination of the patronymic. In consequence, when only a single name, be it Roman or non-Roman, appears before AD 212, it is very difficult to determine whether the person had a peregrine or *ingenuus* status.¹⁸

After AD 212, it is taken for granted that, except for a limited number of excluded groups such as slaves or *dediticii*,¹⁹ the population of the Roman Empire universally became *ingenua*. Therefore, they had the right to use Roman *tria nomina* in which the name *Aurelius* was included in commemoration of the emperor, Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus (Caracalla), who granted citizenship. Before the CA, those awarded Roman citizenship by the emperor for the first time had normally

¹⁴ See Kokkinia (1996).

¹⁵ For a full account of *supernomina* in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia see Riel (2010b). On the use of double names see Chaniotis (2013a), who focuses on the Aphrodisian evidence.

¹⁶ This important aspect has been finally elucidated by Corsten (2010) 462. On the origins of the suffix -ianus and its use to indicate adoptions see Salomies (1992) 7-19.

¹⁷ For example, the complete name of Πόλος Τερεντιάνος, provincial governor of Asia in AD 200/1 [TAM V.1.519], was Quintus Aurelius Polus Terentianus [see Christol-Drew-Bear (1995) 79]. On the continuity (and problems) of polyonymy in the Late Roman Empire see Cameron (1985) 171-178.

¹⁸ See e.g. TAM V.1.288. (Kula): ἔτους σϛβ' (AD 207/8), μη(νὸς) Αὐγναίου ΕΝΟ ι'. Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Μάξιμος Ἐπιδηφόρον τὸν ἴδιον μήτρωνα εὐφιλίας ὄντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς μνείας χάριν.

¹⁹ Even if the reconstruction of the word [δε]δειτκίων in the P.Giss. I.40 is almost certain, it is still not clear to whom it refers exactly [Benario (1954); Sherwin-White (1973a) 382-386; Buraselis (2007) 6-7]. The exclusion of slaves from the effects of the CA on personal names would be attested in I.Labraunda 39; I.Mylasa 925; I.Smyrna 386; I.Aphr. 13.406. On the universality of the CA see also Garnsey (2004).

adopted both the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the ruler, as the numerous presence of *Tiberii Claudii*, *Titi Flavii*, *Marci Ulpii* and *Publii/Titi Aelii* in Asia Minor confirms.²⁰ In contrast, *Marcus*, Caracalla's *praenomen*, is commonly omitted after the *CA* and *Aurelius* became what has traditionally been described as a *pseudo-praenomen* to which a Greek or native name was normally attached. This latter name could also be supplemented by the addition of a patronymic – or any other mark of filiation –²¹ in all its variants (genitive, *-ianus* or numeral).²² Even if the absence of *Marcus* is considerably analogous to the traditional pattern of female Roman names and likewise male *praenomina* tended to be hereditary and sometimes omitted by the beginning of the 3rd century AD, we still cannot fully explain this phenomenon.²³

Following the outline described in this introductory review, the interpretation and conclusions that P. Herrmann derived from *TAM* V.1.122 are perfectly right and acceptable. However, by neglecting the local context in which this inscription was found, he simplified a scenario which is far more complex.

I.2. North-Eastern Lydia and the Peculiarities of an Epigraphic Habit

North-eastern Lydia comprises the territories of Balgis, Katakekaumene, Saittai, Daldis and Iulia Gordos. Given the almost complete absence of influential *poleis* in this area, inscriptions recording civic honours are not very numerous.²⁴ On the other

²⁰ See Holtheide (1983) 40-114. The adoption of the imperial *praenomen* and *nomen* by the *novi cives* was not compulsory, as there are some cases in which their names derived from the governor or any other Roman official who intermediated [D.C. LX.17.7. cf. Alföldy (1966) 37-40].

²¹ Rizakis (2011) 258-262. There are some cases in which this filiation can refer to the mother (metronymic) or husband (gamonymic) of the individual [see Kajava (1994) 18]. For the sake of clarity, I will use 'patronymic' as the general term to indicate filiation in this chapter.

²² *TAM* V.1.122: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀσκληπίδης. *TAM* V.1.456: Αὐρ(ηλία) Τροφίμη Σωκύλου. *TAM* V.2.952: Μ. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Διάδοχος Τρυφωσιανός. *TAM* V.2.1081: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Παγκράτης β'. Even though cases of double patronymic after the *CA* are currently unattested in Lydia, they can be found elsewhere in Asia Minor, especially in Phrygia [e.g. *MAMA* IV.124: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλέξανδρος Καρικοῦ Μεννέου].

²³ On the evolution of *praenomina* in the Roman Empire see generally Salomies (1987) 362-475.

²⁴ For a summary of the main characteristics of this region in the high and late Roman imperial periods see Debord (1985) and Petzl (1999).

hand, the presence of funerary stelai and texts with a religious content (e.g. the so-called ‘confession inscriptions’),²⁵ which include a date according to a local era is extraordinary. A quantitative analysis of this peculiarity has shown that the ‘epigraphic habit’ of this region was highly developed in the high Roman Empire.²⁶ Nevertheless, it would be misleading to consider the ‘epigraphic habit’ as a homogenous reality simply defined by the use or non-use of inscribed stones. Indeed, the content, forms and periods of these materials vary from place to place, as the evidence from this region and the adoption of the element *Aurelius/a* in the 3rd century AD illustrates.

In Saittai – the territory where Herrmann’s inscription (*TAM* V.1.122) was found –, only 7 of the 44 (15%) surviving inscriptions which can safely be dated after AD 212 include nomenclature with *Aurelius/a* [‘Aurelian nomenclature’]. On the other hand, 29 (66%) of the remaining inscriptions have reduced forms in which only a single name appears [‘reduced nomenclature’]; 6 still follow the pattern of ‘Greek nomenclature’ (name + patronymic); and 2 record people with ‘pre-CA Roman nomenclature’. In order to understand these different categories better, examples of each of them are included below.

I. Reduced nomenclature: *TAM* V.1.124. (Sidasharabeleri), AD 225/6.

	ἔτ(ους) τι', μη(νός) Ἀπελλαίου
	θ' ἀ(πιούση). Τρόφιμος κ(αί) Κα-
3	λανδική ἐτίμησαν
	Δωρίδα τὴν ἐαυτῶν
	θυγατέρα
6	ζή(σασαν) ἔτ(η) θ'.

²⁵ For the *corpus* and commentary of this special category of inscriptions see Petzl (1994).

²⁶ On the notion of ‘epigraphic habit’ see the general article by MacMullen (1982), who also specifically analysed the materials from Lydia in 1986. For an updated graph of the 3rd century evidence denying the completely halt of epigraphic production in the period 270-305 see Appendix 1. For a discussion and more bibliography concerning the decline of this practice see Chapter IV.5.

II. Greek nomenclature: *TAM V.1.168b. (Encekler), 250/1.*

- 3 ἔτους τλε', μη(νός) Λώου δ'. **Φιλού-**
μενον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτεί-
μησαν οἱ γονεῖς κ(αὶ) οἱ ἀδελ-
φοὶ μνείας χάριν, ζήσαντα
ἔτη κε'.

III. Pre-CA Roman nomenclature: *SEG 57.1210 (Saraycık–Gökveliler), 288/289.*

- 3 Ἀγαθῇ [τύχη· ἔτ]ους τογ',
μη(νός) Δίου ιβ'· **Τιβ. Κλ. Τραϊανός**
Στρατονεικιανός κατὰ τὴν
μητέραν **Στρατονείκην**, κατὰ
τὸ ἀνελθεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸν θε-
6 ὄν ἐλθόντων αὐτῇ τῶν φυσικῶν
ἐθυμολύτησεν, ἐστηλογράφη-
σεν· ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς **Τραϊανός**
9 Ἀπόλωνι Αἰσυρεῶ εὐχαρεῖς-
τῶν ἀνέθηκεν vacat

IV. Aurelian nomenclature: *TAM V.1.168c. (Encekler) 254/5.*

- 3 ἔτους τλθ', μη(νός) Πανή-
μου π(ροτέρω) ἡ(μέρω). **Αὐρ. Τρόφιμος**
β' Σεττηνός τὴν ἐ-
αυτοῦ σύνβιον **Αὐρη-**
λίαν Ἰουλίαν καὶ **Αὐρ.**
6 **Εὐτυχείων** ὁ θρεπτὸς
ς μνείας χάριν ἐτίμησαν.

As shown by the example of the third group, the combination of different patterns within the same inscription is very common. In fact, most of the attestations of 'Aurelian nomenclature' in Saittai are followed by names of other people who do not include it. Likewise, the use of abbreviations such as Αὐρρ. indicating multiple *Aurelii* at the beginning of the text is not attested in this territory.²⁷

V. Mixed Aurelian and reduced nomenclature: *TAM V.1.130 251/2.*

- 3 ἔτ(ους) τλς', μη(νός) Ξανδικοῦ δι'.
ἐτίμησαν **Αὐρ.**
Πρωτογένης
κ(αὶ) **Ἀνδρομέδα** τὴν
ἑαυτῶν μητέρα
6 **Διομηδιανήν**,
ζή(σασαν) ἔτ(η) ν'.

The existence of 'mixed' inscriptions in which the repetition of Αὐρ. is commonly omitted confirms that the display of non-Aurelian nomenclature after AD 212 does

²⁷ This can be found in Iulia Gordos [*TAM V.1.759*]. Other options to indicate multiple *Aurelii* also appear in nearby Kula [*TAM V.1.304 (Il.1-2)*]: Αὐρ. Παπιανὴ σὺν καὶ Αὐρηλίους Δαμᾶ καὶ Ἰουλιανῶ].

not imply lack of Roman citizenship by their bearers, but simply reflects a local epigraphic habit that tended to use reduced forms,²⁸ with a preponderance of Greek or native names.²⁹ It should be clear that both Aurelius Protogenes in *TAM* V.1.130 and Andromeda – siblings – necessarily enjoyed Roman citizenship after the *CA*, even if only the name of Protogenes indicates so. Moreover, given the year in which the inscription was set up (AD 251/2), we can assume that their mother Diomediane shared the same status. With regard to the possible variants of ‘Aurelian nomenclature’ found in Saittai, there is an almost overall preference for the shorter format Aurelius/a + name in comparison with other areas of Lydia in which the sequence Aurelius/a + name + patronymic is preferred. Finally, the inscriptions belonging to group II show that the occasional maintenance of the pattern of Greek nomenclature after the *CA* seems to be mainly caused by personal choice rather than chronological or social motivations.³⁰ Again, it does not necessarily imply peregrine status.

The situation above described is not exclusive to Saittai as demonstrated especially by the evidence from the Katakekaumene and, to a certain extent, Satala,

²⁸ This phenomenon is not exclusive to north-eastern Lydia and can easily be observed in other regions of Asia Minor in which inscriptions including a local era are available [e.g. *MAMA* VI.318 in Akmoneia; *MAMA* IX.109 in Aizanis; Ferrary (2008a) 218 in Claros; *I.Kibyra* 134, 218; Marek (1993) 196 no.31 in Caesarea/Hadrianopolis (Paphlagonia)]. In this regard, the inscriptions discovered at the temple of Apollos Lairbenos near Motella deserve particular mention. Sacred manumissions were performed there and the inscriptions recording them almost always include a date according to the local Sullan era [see Ritti (2000) 45-48]. Following such dates, it is possible to trace the development of the *katagraphai* and attest that, even if the first inscription probably appears in AD 118/9 [*MAMA* IV.272], they were more commonly recorded in the late 2nd century and, especially, in the 3rd until at least AD 257 [*MAMA* IV.278]. As in north-eastern Lydia, all the inscriptions showing Aurelian nomenclature are dated after the *CA*; in this case, from AD 215 onwards [*SEG* 45.1739]. Also the maintenance of the pattern of Greek nomenclature after AD 212 is attested in *SEG* 60.1440 [AD 217/8]; *SEG* 58.1524 [218/9]; *SEG* 50.1267 [223]; *SEG* 45.1726 [229/230]; Riel (1995b) no.11. [232]; *SEG* 50.1269 [237]. Only two Roman citizens whose nomenclatures precede the *CA* are attested in the 36 dated inscriptions available [*SEG* 45.1735 (AD 170/171); 45.1736 (178/179); *SEG* 58.1527 (223/4)]. Before the *CA*, the pattern of Greek nomenclature is almost universally followed by those performing the *katagraphai*, whereas the slaves and *threptoi* manumitted are referred to with single names.

²⁹ See Rizakis (1996) 18 and Daux (1977) 407. A remarkable exception is, however, the son of Aurelius Glycon Balcon, who is simply called Aurelius in *SEG* 29.1199.

³⁰ *TAM* V.1.167 dates to AD 216/7; *SEG* 29.1198 to 223/4; *TAM* V.1.136 to 228/9; *TAM* V.1.168b to 250/1; *SEG* 49.1674 to 252/3; and *SEG* 31.1016 to 293/4.

Daldis and Iulia Gordos. The latter three territories were also influenced by practices more prevalent in north-western Lydia as the next section will show.³¹ Prior to this following analysis, it is necessary to point out one final aspect concerning this region: the remarkable absence of *MM. Aurelii* in the second half of the 2nd century AD.³² Furthermore, the first attestation of *Aurelius/a* not only in Saittai but also in all the other territories belonging to the North-East is not attested until the beginning of 213. Consequently, the accuracy of the presence of Aurelian nomenclature as a *terminus post Constitutionem Antoninianam* could be confirmed, if it were inferred from the epigraphic evidence of this region solely. Now, I will investigate whether or not this phenomenon is just a product of the peculiarities of a local epigraphic practice.

I.3. North-Western Lydia

The presence of dated evidence in north-western Lydia is far less abundant than in the territories of the North-East.³³ For this reason, other less reliable methods such as prosopography and attestations of magistrates in local coins have to be used. It is consequently impossible to provide a chronology as detailed as that outlined in the previous section. Yet this method is one that can be applied to most regions and cities of Asia Minor.

As previously noted, the relation between local epigraphic habits and nomenclature is fundamental to explain the significant differences in the material evidence available. In Attaleia, for example, only 2 inscriptions include a dating

³¹ In the Katakekaumene, 43 (73%) of the 59 inscriptions that are safely dated after AD 212 show only reduced nomenclature; 13 (22%) include at least one person with the name *Aurelius/a*; and 3 (5%) still follow the pattern of Greek nomenclature. On the other hand, just 2 out of the 7 surviving inscriptions dating to the 3rd century AD from Daldis include only reduced nomenclature and 11 inscriptions from Iulia Gordos record the presence of *Aurelii*.

³² M. Aurelius Anbentos [SEG 57.1230] in July AD 213.

³³ See Leschhorn (1993) 299-301.

formula in the 3rd century AD and those record reduced nomenclature.³⁴ In contrast, none of the 5 Aurelian inscriptions state the year in which they were set up.³⁵ Even if we acknowledge the importance of personal choice and taste, it is not difficult to suppose that the first two inscriptions were influenced by patterns more common in the North-East. The contrast is even more obvious in other small settlements such as Apollonis, Hierocaesarea and Hyrkanis, where we find a total absence of those inscriptions with a dating formula in the 3rd century AD. A second point of disparity is the fact that the sequence Aurelius/a + name is only used in 3 of the inscriptions, whereas the remaining 8 have the formula Aurelius/a + name + patronymic. In Thyateira, only one funerary inscription includes a date in the 3rd century (AD 230) following the north-eastern pattern and exactly that one has reduced nomenclature.³⁶ Of the 19 epitaphs recording the name *Aurelius/a*, 13 contain a fine to be paid to the *fiscus* which was nearly absent both in Saittai and the Katakekaumene. Moreover, 4 of these examples include a reference – particular to Thyateira and not found elsewhere in Lydia – to the provincial governor, which supports the attribution of these inscriptions to the period following the CA.³⁷

The range of inscriptions available from urban centres of the North-West such as Thyateira is broader than that the preponderance of funerary and religious stelai in the North-East. Such a wider variety of epigraphic material enables the use of different chronological criteria to attest the presence of *Aurelii* after AD 212. For example, we know that Thyateira celebrated epinician games commemorating the victory of Severus Alexander after his return from the Syrian campaign around AD 233. This agonistic celebration was sponsored by Aurelius Glycon, son of Aurelius

³⁴ TAM V.2.840, 843.

³⁵ TAM V.2.833, 838, 849, 850, 851.

³⁶ TAM V.2.1094.

³⁷ TAM V.2.1081: c. AD 215; TAM V.2.1084: c. 242-246; TAM V.2.1142: after 220s?

Glycon.³⁸ Aurelius Theseus, son of Nikephoros, was the winner of the *παγκράτιον* and the name of his trainer was Aurelius Atticus, son of Zosimos.³⁹ The same man also trained the local athlete Aurelius Pamphorus, son of Eutychianos, for the boxing competition,⁴⁰ which was equally contested by Aurelius Iulianus II.⁴¹ This small sample of evidence produced in the second quarter of the 3rd century shows the clear effects of the CA on previously peregrine population, who participated actively in the civic celebrations of Thyateira. Such effects are visible not only in local victors but also in future international stars such as Gaius Perelius Alexander. An inscription records his victory in the *pankration* of the Great Asklepieia when he was still a young boy:

TAM V.2.1017

ἀγαθ[ῆ] τ[ύ]χη.
Γάϊον Περήλιον Ἀλέξαν-
3 **δρον** Θυατειρηγόν νική-
σαντα [ἐ]νδόξως τὰ
6 μέγαρα Ἀσκληπεία π[αν]-
κράτιον Πωλλίων Ε[ὐ]-
βούλου ὁ ἀγωνοθέ[της]
τὸν ἀνδριάντα
9 ὑπὸ ἐπιστάτην Ἰούλι-
ον Ἰουλιανόν.

The subsequent career of this Thyatiran fighter was meteoric. He managed to win the series of the most prestigious contests or *περίοδος* and, as will be discussed in the following chapters, he participated in an embassy that successfully petitioned the emperor Elagabalus for the grant of international status (*οἰκουμενικός*) to the previously local Augusteia Pythia festival.⁴² Moreover, he supervised the imperial baths at Rome, became president of the whole *ξυστός* – i.e. the most important

³⁸ TAM V.2.949.

³⁹ TAM V.2.1008.

⁴⁰ TAM V.2.1011.

⁴¹ TAM V.2.1009.

⁴² TAM V.2.1018 and SEG 49.1699 [cf. Robert (1937) 119-123].

international association of athletes in the Roman Empire,⁴³ and was honoured by the guild of fullers and line makers of his fatherland on account of such successes. In all these later inscriptions, the nomenclature of such a prominent benefactor was recorded as Gaius Perelius Aurelius Alexander.

TAM V.2.1019

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
Γ. Περήλιον Αὐρήλιον
 3 **Ἀλέξανδρον**
 μόνον καὶ πρῶτον
 τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀθλη-
 6 τῶν ἀφθάρτων οἰκου-
 μενικῶν ἀγώνων Αὐ-
 γουστείων Πυθίων
 9 τὸν ἄλειπτον πρε-
 σβευτὴν
 οἱ λανάριοι.
 12 ἐπιμελησαμένων **Αὐρ. Μοσχί-
 ανοῦ, Ἀμμιανοῦ.**

The addition of *Aurelius* to the nomenclature of C. Perelius Alexander is very significant because it shows that this *nomen* did not have any implicit negative connotations.⁴⁴ In fact, it should rather be seen as a good way of commemorating and honouring an emperor, most likely Elagabalus (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius), under whose reign the athlete reached the highest laurels.⁴⁵ Consequently, he had no problems to accept this element either when he received honours from local groups such as the λανάριοι or when he personally honoured the famous consular M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus.⁴⁶ Another honorific inscription for this latter personality was set up by the equestrian military commander M. Aurelius Bassus, which also provides us

⁴³ TAM V.2.1020. On the association of the *xystos* and the supervision of the imperial baths in Rome see Pleket (1973) 216 no.10; Caldelli (1992); Volpe (2007).

⁴⁴ E.g. Segre (1966).

⁴⁵ The addition of *Aurelius* to a *pre-CA* Roman nomenclature in 3rd century Lydia is also attested in TAM V.1.758 [cf. *BMC Lydia* p. 98 nos. 45-48]. See also for this issue *I.Eph.* 657, 845, 1606, 2543; *I.Ery.* 64; *I.Milet.* 1.9.344; *I.Didyma* 182; *I.Aph.* 11.58; Robert–Robert (1954) no.169. The comparison between *I.Eph.* 1121 and *IGR* IV.525 for (Aur.) Aelius Stratonicus is illuminating as well as the case of the prefect of Egypt in AD 249/250 Aur. Appius Sabinus [*I.Didyma* 156; *SB* 6.9298. cf. *PIR*² A 1455]. Eusebius simply calls him Sabinus in his account of the Decian persecutions [*Hist. eccl.* VI.40.2, VII.11.18; and Chapter IV.1].

⁴⁶ TAM V.2.984.

with the attestation of a *M. Aurelius* after 212 in this corner of Lydia.⁴⁷ The surviving prosopography of another citizen of Thyateira called *M. Aurelius Diadochus* (Tryphosianus) illuminates this issue even further.

M. Aurelius Diadochus (Tryphosianus) was equally a member of the equestrian order who held the position of chairman of the council (βούλαρχος) for life and became high-priest of the imperial cult both in his hometown Thyateira and Pergamum, organising gladiatorial contests in both cities with the permission of the emperor Severus Alexander.⁴⁸ Since he is also attested as a magistrate on local coins of Diadumenianus, it is clear that the acme of his career was reached after the enactment of the CA.⁴⁹ His wife *Aurelia Hermonassa* also actively participated in the local civic life of Thyateira and was the daughter of the rhetor *Aur. Athenaius* as specified in the following inscription:

TAM V.2.954

- ἡ πατρίς
Αὐρηλίαν Ἑρμόνασσαν, τὴν
 3 διὰ βίου ἱέρειαν τῆς Τύχης τῆς
 πόλεως καὶ ἐπτάκι πρύτανιν
 μετὰ τοῦ γένους καὶ δις ἀρχιέ-
 6 ρειαν τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς πατρί-
 δος, **θυγατέρα Αὐρ. Ἀθηναίου**
 ἀσιάρχου καὶ νεωκόρου καὶ πρυ-
 9 τάνεως καὶ ῥήτορος, καὶ Φλα.
 Πρεισκίλλης ἀρχιερείας δις τῆς
 Ἀσίας καὶ πρυτάνεως, **γυναῖκα**
 12 **Αὐρηλίου [Δι]αδόχου ἱππικοῦ**,
 ἀσιάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως κατὰ
 τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῆς πατρί-
 15δος καὶ διὰ βίου βουλάρχου, τὴν
 σώφρονα καὶ φίλανδρον καὶ
 φιλόπατριν.

This customary honorific text again reveals very important points regarding the nomenclature of the people involved. First, one can observe that the sequence (M.)

⁴⁷ TAM V.2.985. Also attested in *I.Eph.* 243, Marcus Aurelius Bassus was tribune of the II Legio Italica.

⁴⁸ TAM V.2.950.

⁴⁹ *BMC Lydia* p. CXXIV-CXXV [cf. TAM V.2.951-952 and Bennett (2011) 150-151].

Aurelius Diadochus in line 12 is recorded in an abbreviated form.⁵⁰ Likewise, some of the elements in the name of Aurelia Hermonassa's father, Aurelius Athenaius, appear to be missing too. Bronze coins of Thyateira showing probably the portrait of the emperor Commodus attest the presence of a magistrate called Marcus Aurelius Athenaius, who would correspond to Aurelia Hermonassa's father.⁵¹ If that is the case, it becomes obvious that the female descendants of *MM. Aurelii* continued to lose the *praenomen* as a general rule.⁵² Even more important is the fact that the equally attested abbreviation of the male sequence *praenomen* + Aurelius [i.e. *Lucius/Titus/Marcus Aurelius*] is undistinguishable from the sequence Aurelius + name (+ patronymic), which is more common after the *CA*.⁵³ This crucial detail has been ignored by those who argue that the latter sequence always indicates a *terminus post quem* in AD 212.⁵⁴ In fact, I have been able to find among the very rich epigraphic evidence of south-western Asia Minor at least 10 individuals whose sequence of nomenclature *Aurelius/a* + name might predate the *CA*.⁵⁵ These cases confirm that the inscribed attestation of such pre-AD 212 *Aurelii* and *Aureliae* is possible, especially in places with a higher presence of Roman citizens already in the

⁵⁰ Another illustrative example from Lydia is provided by M. Aur. Artemon II, son of Iucundus. Whereas the full nomenclature of this Philadelphian dignitary and Roman administrator is recorded in *TAM* V.3.1498-1499, he is referred to as Aur. Artemon II in *TAM* V.3.1497, 1500.

⁵¹ *BMC Lydia* p.306 no.82-83. See also *I.Eph.* 3057, where his nomenclature may have been abbreviated again [cf. Puech (2002) 153-154 and Bennett (2011) 150-151].

⁵² The same problem arises when women were granted Roman citizenship by the Antonine emperors, as confirmed by Aurelia Paulina in Perge [*I.Perge* I.195]: Αὐρηλία Παυλίνα [ἀρχ]ιερασαμένη τῶν [Σεβ]αστῶν ἐν τῇ Σύλλυ[έων] ... [τειμηθ]εῖσα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ Κομό[δου πολ]ιτεία Ῥωμαίων. There are, however, some attestations of the sequence *Marcia Aurelia* + name in Asia Minor. They mostly come from Lycia and Isauria, and especially from the area around the Xanthos valley and Claudopolis. Against Kajava (1994) 170-175, I do not believe that they were members of the highest imperial elite such as Marcia Aurelia Ceionia Demetrias (*PIR*² M 261), but rather prominent locals who tried to emulate the nomenclature of their *Marci Aurelii* husbands/fathers via hypercorrection and following an extremely localised trend.

⁵³ Another example of this phenomenon occurring at Claros has been pointed out by Ferrary (2008a) 278 with regard to (Lucius) Aurelius Marcellinus. This was also observed in Egypt by Hagedorn (1979) 49. Moreover, the same individuals were not always recorded with his Aurelian nomenclature as illustrated by *TAM* V.2.955, 956 and *SEG* 56.1501.

⁵⁴ E.g. Ramsay (1906) 355; Robert–Robert (1977) 375 no.340.

⁵⁵ See Descriptive Catalogue III.

2nd century. Yet the potential existence of such cases is almost insignificant among the hundreds and even thousands of inscriptions recording Aurelians in this same corner of the Roman Empire. In other words, sequences of nomenclature *Aurelius/a* + name (+ patronymic) before AD 212 represent a tiny exception rather than the consistent rule. A quantitative method of the appearance of *MM. Aurelii* produces similar results. There are only 10 surviving attestations of *MM. Aurelii* in southwestern Asia Minor, whose nomenclature might predate the *CA* according to external dating criteria such as prosopography, appearance on coins or reference to the emperors.⁵⁶ In contrast to this scarcity, there are at least 221 records of *MM. Aurelii* after AD 212, whose dating is confirmed both by the same method and the presence of other non-family related *Aurelii* in the inscription as I have compiled in the extensive descriptive catalogues attached at the end of the thesis.⁵⁷ The catalogues also show that the possible cases of *MM. Aurelii* before 212 mostly correspond to exclusive groups such as soldiers,⁵⁸ imperial procurators,⁵⁹ athletes,⁶⁰ and famous rhetors such as Aurelia Hermonassa's father, who had direct exposure to the emperors. Consequently, the appearance of the sequence *Marcus Aurelius* does not necessarily mean that citizenship was awarded by the Antonines – as it has

⁵⁶ See Descriptive Catalogue I.

⁵⁷ See Descriptive Catalogue II.

⁵⁸ See Mócsy (1985). In a *castellum* between Apamea and Aulatrene, for example, we find the soldiers Aur. Seupro and Aur. Tarsa dedicating an inscription to Septimius Severus and his family between 198-209 [see Christol–Drew-Bear (1987) 34-42].

⁵⁹ For instance, M. Aur. Mindius Matidianus was present in Halicarnassos and Ephesus [*ILS* 8858; *I.Eph.* 627, 3056]. Likewise, the imperial procurator Aur. Arimnastus is attested in the works of the theatre of Hierapolis, which were dedicated to Sep. Severus and his family [*SEG* 57.1367].

⁶⁰ The best example of this reality in Lydia is provided by the Sardian victor M. Aurelius Demonstratus Damas. As recorded in *I.Sardis* 79, he is said to have been honoured by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus with the rightful citizenship of Alexandria (πολει[τ]εῖα μὲν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἰθαγενεῖ) and many local *xystarchiai*. Even though *I.Sardis* 79 was set up after AD 212, a papyrus written in 194 records that M. Aurelius Damas already had that nomenclature when he was high-priest of the entire imperial *xystos* and supervisor of the baths at Rome [*P.Lond.* 1178 cf. Strasser (2003a)]. Compare also with *SEG* 43.732 from Tralles, in which another successful international athlete is also said to have been honoured by the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Even if his name is lost, Roman citizenship was probably among those honours [cf. Robert (1966) 102-103].

traditionally been claimed – but mainly by Caracalla.⁶¹ This conclusion becomes particularly obvious in regions such as Pisidia, Lycia and inner Caria in which the presence of this sequence of nomenclature is extremely high and the presence of Roman citizens before AD 212 was very limited.⁶²

I.5. Conclusions and Methodology

In this chapter, I have reviewed the relation between the dating of inscriptions and the change of nomenclature that followed the *Constitutio Antoniniana* after AD 212. In the case of the *MM. Aurelii*, a date in the late 2nd century has always been preferred, even if such a general assumption had never been supported by a comprehensive analysis of the evidence from Asia Minor.

My analysis has focused on the epigraphic evidence of Lydia because of certain convenient features: namely the abundance of material and inscriptions dated according to a local era. From this study, I hope to have shown the importance of local epigraphic habits and practices related to the display of nomenclature. North-eastern Lydia, and especially the territories of Saittai and the Katakekaumene, tended to use dated inscriptions in which a clear preference for reduced nomenclature both before and after the *CA* can be observed. Moreover, the pattern of Greek

⁶¹ In fact, the *gens* Aurelia is well attested since Republican times and we know that M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus was governor of the province either in AD 25/26 or 35/36 [*I.Eph.* 3022]. His *praenomen* and *nomen* may have been adopted by new Roman citizens acknowledging his mediation [cf. Alföldy (1966) 38]. The limited circumstances in which *MM. Aurelii* appear before AD 212 [*contra* Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 16.12] coincide with the explicit conditions under which the Antonines would have granted Roman citizenship as illustrated by the *Tabula Banasitana* [cf. Euzennat–Seston (1961); Sherwin-White (1973b); Garnsey (2004) 135]. The limited presence of *Titi/Lucii Aurelii* and *Septimii Severi* also supports the exceptionality of the *CA* in most areas of south-western Asia Minor.

⁶² For Termessos see Heberdey (1929) 15-28 and the *stemmata* of the most prominent families of the city in which the immediate adoption of the sequence *M. Aurelius* + name + patronymic (*-ianus*) is evident [*TAM* III.1 stem. A, B, F, G, J, N, O]. A similar picture to that of Termessos can be found in some other cities of Pisidia [Mitchell (1999a) 432-433 and Mitchell (2000) 131-132] and northern Lycia [Milner–Mitchell (1995) 103 no.63; Sartre (1995) 256; Thériault–Baker (2009) 69-70, no. 15]. Concerning Caria, the very extensive use of the sequence *M. Aurelius* is especially visible in Hierapolis and Aphrodisias. In the latter case, there are even examples explicitly attesting the transition between the use of Greek and Aurelian nomenclatures [*I.Aph.* 13.112, 13.105. cf. *I.Knidos* I.346; Varinlioğlu (1986) 40; Buraselis (2007) 108-120].

nomenclature was sometimes kept among new Roman citizens and the presence of Greek and native names continued to be predominant. By contrast, the funerary inscriptions from the North-West normally included the specification of a fine to be paid to the imperial *fiscus* and therefore the display of Aurelian nomenclature was more common and, perhaps, even recommendable given the more official exposure of such documents. Despite the contextual differences, the example of G. Perelius Aurelius Alexander in Thyateira has shown that the name *Aurelius/a* did not have an intrinsic negative connotation and should rather be regarded as a commemoration of the emperor who granted citizenship or promoted someone's status.

It is also in the urban context of western Lydia that we find the only examples of *Marci Aurelii* attested before AD 212: M. Aurelius Athenaius from Thyateira, who was renowned for his rhetorical talent, or the international athletic star from Sardis M. Aurelius Damas. The higher social status of these two exceptional cases seems to continue among some of the *MM. Aurelii* attested in Lydia after AD 212, as it has been suggested for Roman Egypt as well.⁶³ However, the formula *Marcus Aurelius* did not always carry such a distinctive implication, especially in areas of Pisidia, Lycia and Caria in which it was particularly widespread. By virtue of examining the evidence of these and other regions of south-western Asia Minor such as the temple of Apollo Lairbenos near Hierapolis, I have been able to expand the small sample of Lydian inscriptions and demonstrate that such results are not merely circumstantial or partial. Likewise, the detailed investigation of nomenclature patterns is not only relevant to the establishment of dating marks but also raises important questions regarding, for example, imperial policies and local identities, which will be subject to further scrutiny in the following chapters.

⁶³ Hagedorn (1979); Keenan (1973).

At the beginning of the chapter, I already remarked that personal names and therefore nomenclature do not follow definitive rules but patterns, which might be traceable and depend on personal choice and even regional preference. Despite those important caveats, the examination of the evidence from Lydia and the rest of south-western Asia Minor demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of inscriptions recording (*M.*) *Aurelius/a* in the region were produced after the enactment of the CA, which had an impact from at least the early AD 213 until the beginning of the 4th century. In cases where second or further generations *Aurelii* are attested, their occurrence is most frequent in the second quarter of the 3rd century.⁶⁴ As a result, I believe that the ‘Aurelian evidence’ can provide us with a reliable tool for the study of such a crucial age and, above all, of the period following Septimius Severus’ and Geta’s deaths, which has conventionally been regarded as obscure and ill-documented.

The ‘3rd century inscriptions’ on which the thesis is based has been collected according to the results of this chapter. On the one hand, the possibility of finding *Aurelii* before AD 212 has been acknowledged. On the other, my quantitative analysis has demonstrated that such an occurrence was noticeably exceptional. On the basis of the statistical improbability created by both scenarios – previously noted by S. Follet

⁶⁴ The first reference to a ‘second-generation Aurelian’ in Lydia does not appear on safely dated inscriptions until c. AD 217 [*TAM* V.2.952]. Their presence is much more common after the 220s, especially towards the end of Severus Alexander’s reign and the trend continues well into the second half of the 3rd century [*TAM* V.1.758 (AD 231); *TAM* V.2.1009 (c. 233); *TAM* V.2.949 (235-237); *TAM* V.1.592 (236); *TAM* V.3.1495 (230s); *TAM* V.1.168c (255); *TAM* V.1.608 (270)]. The unequivocal presence of other ‘second or third generation Aurelians’ in the numismatic evidence collected by Leschhorn (2009) is very limited but again corresponds to a period that is not immediate to the promulgation of the CA: Aur. Iulianus II from Iulia Gordos under Elagabalus; the *stephanephoros* of Hyrkanis Aur. Hermogenes II and Aur. Aeneas II from Magnesia, Aur. Glycon III [his father is previously attested in *JGR* IV.717 [=von Saldern (2006) no.22 cf. Matern (2006) no.76-82] under Philip the Arab; Aurelius Apphianus II from Maeonia and Aur. Rufinus from Philadelphia under Trajan Decius; and the *stephanephoros* of Hermocapella Aurelius Menophilus II, son of Andronikos, under Trebonianus Gallus. One of the best examples to observe this phenomenon outside Lydia can be found in the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi* lists near Antioch by Pisidia, see Blanco-Pérez (2015).

in her study of 3rd century Athens –,⁶⁵ I have decided to include only inscriptions recording at least two non-family related (*M.*) *Aurelii* in areas where considerable levels of Roman citizenship can be observed before the CA: Ephesus and Smyrna, for instance. The application of this restrictive procedure seeks to prevent criticism from those who might not find my arguments regarding the potential of using ‘Aurelian evidence’ on its own fully convincing. For the sake of both space and tediousness, the selection of inscriptions follows this general rule and I will only justify problematic cases in detail. Likewise, those testimonies recording ruling emperors, consuls, identifiable governors/procurators or local eras will be incorporated into the discussion without further inquiry. The final result is an extensive body of evidence, which could have been even bigger. I admit that my personal intuition and acquired familiarity with the sources could have expanded the extent of the material even further on grounds which could not always be explained. Nonetheless, research is to be based on arguments and demonstrations such as those I have aimed to provide in this preliminary chapter. Future approaches may accept my methodology as normal and reliability may not have to derive from the – perhaps – excessive degree of wariness that I have applied to the selection of the epigraphic evidence. For now, this doctoral thesis both suffers and benefits from the cautious investigation of an incipient researcher.

⁶⁵ Follet (1976) 79-86, 100.

II. CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE: A LOCAL APPROACH INTO CIVIC LIFE

The aim of the following chapter is to analyse the civic structures, institutions and individuals comprising the local political scene of a selection of case studies in south-western Asia Minor. My analysis shall address relevant questions such as: was there still competition in the local politics of these settlements? What families were engaged in the civic life of their communities? How can the vitality of civic life be assessed? Were local institutions functioning? And, if this was the case, did their activities differ substantially from the better-illustrated reality of the ‘golden’ 2nd century AD?

According to the guidelines outlined in my general introduction, the answer to these questions will mainly derive from epigraphic evidence representing distinguished members of families who could afford or achieve inscribed remembrance. Inscriptions, like almost any other kind of evidence in antiquity, only represent a minority of the population despite the significant penetration of the epigraphic habit in this area of the Roman Empire. In the case of honorific texts, for example, we are normally dealing with those members of the community whose benefactions or careers were regarded worthy of public or private recognition. However, I do not primarily intend to analyse the differences between social *strata* and their visibility in this chapter, but rather assess the overall continuity and change of a model of civic life that is considered to have brought reasonable prosperity to the communities of Asia Minor before the Severan period. Inscriptions normally record only those who successfully engaged with that model. Yet this aspect is not exclusive to the 3rd century AD but applicable to the Roman imperial age in general.

The first section of this chapter II will be devoted to Ephesus. In order to understand the evolution of the Roman province of Asia, the local circumstances of the capital need to be studied in detail. This point especially applies to the competition for provincial pre-eminence against Smyrna and Pergamum, which will be analysed in the third chapter. Likewise, the evidence from Ephesus is also fundamental to assess the impact of the Gothic raids that will be included in the last part of the thesis. The second section considers the settlements of Lydia. There is almost no countryside in the Roman Empire as well illustrated by inscriptions dating to the 3rd century as that of the Hermus and Cayster valleys. This will become particularly evident in the analysis of local forms of political organisation such as the *polis/katoikia/kome* system. The selection of Aphrodisias as my third case study is again justified by the wealth of inscribed information available. The presence of this *civitas libera* and later capital of Caria is also pertinent as an inland connector between the two geographical extremes into which the thesis is divided: the Aegean coast in the West and the Mediterranean shores in the South-East. Moreover, this case study illuminates the civic life of a settlement whose imperial and provincial relevance is significantly minor in comparison with other cities such as Ephesus or Sardis. The last section of the chapter is split between three settlements: Termessos, Perge, and Side. The combination of the different aspects illustrated by each of them contributes to a better understanding of the distinctive development of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia in the second half of the 3rd century. For example, the free city of Termessos provides us with some of the most revealing epigraphy concerning family connections from before the 250s. The more limited evidence from Perge also needs to be included as an illustration of the continuity of civic institutions in the most important settlement of the area. Finally, the inscriptions of the territory of Side shed light on the

importance of the hinterland for the urban centres of Asia Minor. As the explanation of the 'free' status of Aphrodisias and Termessos will show, the analogies that can be established between settlements of two different Roman provinces help us to understand better particular local characteristics. Furthermore, the evolution of south-western Asia Minor between the first and second halves of the 3rd century cannot be explained if one artificially separates provinces so closely interconnected.

There are many other sites and areas in the region which could similarly be approached and provide equally good case studies such as Stratonicea, Oenoanda, Smyrna, Hierapolis or the Xanthos valley. Yet I believe that my selection provides sufficient evidence to assess local political activity and civic life between the early Severan period and the beginning of Decius' reign.

II.1. IONIA: THE CASE OF EPHEBUS

At the mouth of the river Cayster and between the mountains Bülbül and Panayır, Ephesus flourished as the capital of the Roman province of Asia in the imperial period. Despite the natural river sedimentation and the silting up of the harbour, the Ionian city also hosted one of the most important trading centres of the eastern Mediterranean.¹ Ephesus – *lumen Asiae* –² was one of the prime *poleis* in the Roman Empire and is still one of the best preserved sites of classical antiquity. By virtue of the extensive excavations carried out near modern Selçuk by the British Museum first and especially the Austrian Archaeological Institute since 1893, monuments, houses, streets, coins and stones have come to life again and are witness to the former magnificence of this urban centre.³ Among the varied evidence provided by the excavations, the remarkable number of inscriptions available has crucially contributed to improving our understanding of the Ancient World.

On the basis of both this epigraphic and archaeological evidence, it has been argued that Ephesus reached its greatest splendour between the Flavian and Antonine periods.⁴ This was the time when the city received its two first *neokorai*, the conspicuous library of Celsus was built and other urban developments took place thanks, above all, to the benefactions of prominent and successful families. Likewise, previous scholarship have already remarked on the long-lasting prosperity of the city even in the Late Antiquity when it became head of a diocese.⁵ Despite such a wealth

¹ Str. XIV.1.24: ἐμπόριον μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου. For the status of Ephesus as capital of the province see Haensch (1997) 298-321.

² Pliny *HN* V.120.

³ For an overview of the history of the excavations see Wiplinger-Wlach (1996). See also Wood (1877) regarding the British expedition. On the earlier discovery of the site see Wohlers-Scharf (1995). For the most updated corpus of local coins in the imperial period see Karwiese (2012).

⁴ E.g. Karwiese (1995) 99-113. This is also the period on which the main studies written in English have focused: Rogers (1991) on Salutaris' foundation and Friesen (1993) on imperial cult. See also recently the analysis of the early Christian community by Trebilco (2004).

⁵ See Foss (1979) 5 and Scherrer (2000) 26-29. On the continuity and changes of the Ephesian urban development see Halfmann (2004) 114-118.

of material, there is still no comprehensive study on the local institutions and civic life of Ephesus during the 3rd century AD.⁶ In the light of the surviving inscriptions, the aim of this section is to assess those aspects from a local perspective following the guidelines outlined in the introduction of both this chapter and the thesis.

II.1.1. T. Fl. Damianus and the Benefactions of the Ephesian Elite

Described by his pupil Philostratus as a man of abundant and varied wealth and member of a distinguished family, T. Fl. Damianus was one of those prominent individuals sustaining the Ephesian splendour throughout the imperial age.⁷ The surviving epigraphic evidence recording both the rhetor and his descendants provides us with an excellent example illustrating continuity and change in the cities of Asia Minor between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Two almost identical honorific inscriptions dating to the Antonine period inform us that, besides the performance of many civic offices such as secretary of the people and fair-organiser (πανηγυριάρχης), he also built a room in one of the city's gymnasia and gave 201,200 *medimnoi* of wheat (ca. 8000 tons) for the soldiers returning from the Parthian campaign who camped outside Ephesus in AD 166/7.⁸ According to Philostratus, his activities also included the construction of a marble portico dedicated to his wife Vedia Phaedrina connecting the Magnesian gate with the temple of Artemis, the provision of large amounts of money for the poor citizens of the city and the repair of other public buildings.⁹ He was honoured by the *boule* and the *demos* on account of those

⁶ The most comprehensive approach to this century remains the *ANRW* article by Knibbe–Alzinger (1980). Given the type of publication in which the paper was included and the long span of time under examination, the authors decided to follow a diachronic approach in which the history of the city is connected with the succession of Roman emperors. In this thesis, I try to show that this type of approach is not always valid to assess the local conditions and population of the provinces of the Roman Empire.

⁷ Philostr. *VS* II.23 [p. 605]. cf. Puech (2002) 190-200; Engelmann (1995); Bowersock (1969) 28.

⁸ *I.Eph.* 672, 3080. cf. Kalinowski (2006b) and Kirbihler (2006).

⁹ The existence of this stoa is archaeologically confirmed: Grossschmidt–Heinz–Kanz–Taeuber (2003). See also Knibbe (2004) 148-149 for the importance of this construction in the cult of Artemis Ephesia.

benefactions (φιλοτιμίαι).¹⁰ The status of this famous sophist was even further enhanced by his marriage to a member of the *gens* Vedia, whose role in the urban development of the city had been fundamental after the reign of Trajan.¹¹ The study of the descendants of this union between Flavius Damianus and Vedia Phaedrina sheds light on the development of the civic life of Ephesus in the 3rd century AD.¹²

From a dedication by the secretary of the people Aur. Artemas, we know that T. Fl. Damianus and Vedia Phaedrina had five children by the time when this inscription was set up presumably in the second quarter of the 3rd century: Flavia Lepida, T. Fl. Phaedrur, T. Fl. Damianus (II), T. Fl. Antoninus and the honorand Flavia Phaedrina.¹³ In this inscription, Fl. Phaedrina is described as *κρατίστη* (*egregia/clarissima*), descendant of Vedius Antoninus (Phaedrur Sabinianus), niece of Vedius Antoninus (Papianus Antoninus) and sister of *κράτιστοι ὑπατικοί*. These titles match with Philostratus' remark – equally made in the second quarter of the 3rd century – about T. Fl. Damianus' descendants:¹⁴

“(Damianus) offspring was held in high repute, for they are all honoured with seats in the senate and are admired for their distinguished renown”. [VS 2.23 (p. 605) trans. Wright]

Another inscription honouring one of these children, T. Fl. Phaedrur, also records his consular title and the position of *quaestor candidatus*.¹⁵ However, the clearest evidence of the high rank reached by the descendants of the sophist is provided by the career of his son T. Fl. Vedius Antoninus (I). In a series of dedications found in the Ephesian market agora, his agent (*πραγματευτής*) and foster-child (*θρέψας*)

¹⁰ *I.Eph.* 672a.

¹¹ Fontani (1996). See also Halfmann (2004) 102-108 and Knibbe-Alzinger (1980) 789-790. On the marriage practices of senators from Asia Minor see Rémy (1993).

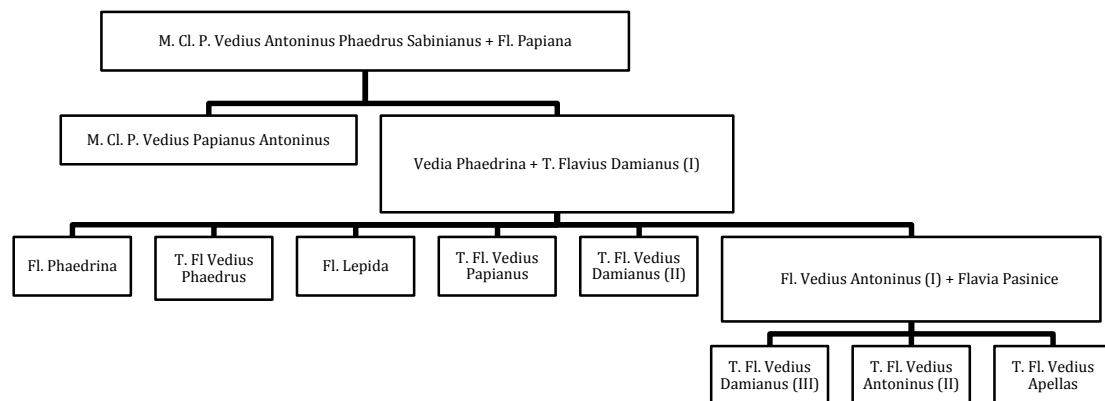
¹² Kalinowski (2006a).

¹³ *I.Eph.* 3081. In addition to his Aurelian nomenclature, Aur. Artemas is also attested in *I.Eph.* 4336, an honorific decree of the city of Ephesus for the emperor Gordian III.

¹⁴ On the problems of the exact identification of social ranks in the 'Greek East' according to titles such as *κράτιστος*, *λαμπρότατος* and *διασημώτατος* see Alföldi (1981) 190-191, 193-194; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 1-12, 16-18; Arjava (1991).

¹⁵ *I.Eph.* 677.

Trophimos refers to him as master (δεσπότης), consular, and most importantly, proconsul of Africa (ὁ ἀγνότατος καὶ δικαιοτάτος ἀνθύπατος Ἀφρικῆς).¹⁶ T. Fl. Veditus Antoninus (I) was married to Flavia Pasinice and had three children: T. Fl. Veditus Antoninus (II), T. Fl. Veditus Apellas and T. Fl. Veditus Damianus (III). The latter Damianus (III) had senatorial rank (συνκλητικός), T. Fl. Veditus Antoninus (II) was *viocurus*, praetor and *quaestor candidatus*, and the titles and family connections of Apellas are probably recorded in detail in a text which resembles the honours prepared for Flavia Phaedrino a generation earlier.¹⁷



The rank progression experienced by the family of T. Fl. Damianus (I) in the Severan period and the first half of the 3rd century is undeniable. Despite his sophistic fame and the numerous benefactions made for the city and even the imperial troops in Ephesus, Damianus did not hold senatorial or equestrian rank and, actually, he did not follow an imperial administrative career as shown by the lack of the titles which appear in the case of his descendants. These descendants, by contrast, belonged to the senatorial class, reached important positions at the imperial level and, in the case of T.

¹⁶ *I. Eph.* 3082-3084; *AE* 2011.1319. For the original location of the stones see Keil (1928) 163-165.

¹⁷ *I. Eph.* 678. T. Fl. Veditus Apellas is also recorded as *viocurus* (*quattorvir viarum curandarum* cf. *ILS* 8842) and *quaestor candidatus* in *I. Eph.* 3084. For the dating of the former office to the mid-3rd century see Christol (1986) 316-317.

Fl. Veditus Antoninus (I), even became proconsuls.¹⁸ This apparent change of status can, nevertheless, still be explained in terms of continuity by looking at the maternal branch of the family.¹⁹ Vedia Phaedrino's father was M. Cl. P. Veditus Antoninus Phaedrino Sabinianus, the great Ephesian builder, military tribune and senator. Her heirless brother is also attested as συνκλητικός.²⁰ The union of both family branches and heritage is particularly evident in the nomenclature subsequently adopted by their descendants, who combined ancestral *cognomina* such as *Phaedrino* with the Flavian and Veditian *nomina*.

Heritage, however, did not only provide rank and status but also engendered expectations in the local communities. Members of the elite were expected to carry on with the benefactions of their ancestors, support political institutions and be engaged in the civic life to which they belonged.²¹ For example, T. Fl. Damianus himself was praised in the mid-2nd century for preparing and decorating a new room in the baths that his father-in-law had previously built. The reference to Damianus' daughter, Flavia Phaedrino, as ἡ ἐκ προγόνων εὐεργετις ("benefactress from the ancestors") in the second quarter of the 3rd century AD needs to be understood exactly in the same context. As the case studies in this chapter will show, the expectation of benefactions and civic engagement in the cities of south-western Asia Minor did not decrease in the first half of the 3rd century AD. Despite the social and financial pressure normally engendered by such expectations, many dedications of this period continued to

¹⁸ Even if the year of T. Fl. Veditus Antoninus' consulate is unknown, his presence in Rome would be attested according to *CIL* XV.7456.

¹⁹ Ti. Fl. (Veditus) Antoninus and his brother Ti. Fl. (Veditus) Damianus are attested as *kouretes* in *I.Eph.* 47.

²⁰ For the full stemmata of the Veditian family including references to all their surviving epigraphic records see *I.Eph.* VII.1, pp. 88-90. It is important to point out that Vedia Phaedrino's children became the only direct descendants of the Veditian family after his childless brother donated his fortunes to the temple of Artemis [*I.Eph.* 678, 731, 3076, 3077, 3078; *SEG* 33.939].

²¹ On the reference to the ancestors as a way of legitimization see Zuiderhoek (2009) 140-153 and Pont (2010) 323-324. See also Quaß (1982) with regard to the importance of the participation of elite families in the civic life of Greek *poleis* under the Roman Empire.

emphasise the honorand's ancestors as a sign of recognition and distinction. In Ephesus, this aspect becomes particularly evident in the case of Claudia Caninia Severa.²² This woman is described as λαμπροτάτη ἐκ προγόνων ὑπατική in an honorific inscription accompanying a statue probably decreed by the *boule* and *demos*.²³ The text also highlights that her parents were T. Claudius Severus, “first of the Ephesians who became consul”, and Caninia Gargonilles, who belonged to a lineage of *consulares*. Again, Severa's nomenclature shows the adoption of elements from both the paternal and maternal branches of the family and the emphasis on both her rank and that of her ancestors is clear in her surviving epigraphic record.²⁴ At the same time, her engagement in the civic life of Ephesus cannot be doubted given the various positions she held: *prytanis*, priest and *kosmeteria* of the tutelary goddess Artemis, overseer (θεωρός) of the Great Olympics and responsible for the embellishment of the *patris*. According to the man in charge of the setting up of Severa's statue, Ti. Cl. Moschas (see below), this inscription dates again to the second quarter of the 3rd century AD.²⁵ Furthermore, we know that the importance of Severa's family was later maintained, at least by her nephew the *clarissimus* proconsul Ti. Cl. Artemidorus.²⁶

²² Her case is not unique and can be compared with Tiberia Claudia Frontiane, the κράτιστη mother of the senator Fl. Stasicles Metrophanes [*I.Eph.* 635B]; or M. Pompeius Demeas in *I.Eph.* 708 and *SEG* 27.744. See also *I.Eph.* 698, where the proconsul Fl. Montanus Maximillianus is praised for being benefactor of the city ἐν τοῖς προγονικοῖς ἔργοις. This man, honoured by his *patria* Akmonia at an earlier stage of his career [*MAMA* XI.104], was a descendant of the Asian high-priest T. Fl. Montanus [Campanile (1994) 96], who was equally honoured in the Phrygian city [*IGR* IV.643+1696] and is known to have performed many benefactions in Ephesus under Trajan, including works in the theatre and the harbour [*I.Eph.* 2061-3]. For the dating of the senator's career see Peachin (1990a) 109-111 and the recent amendment by *MAMA* XI.104. For an analysis and collection of other references to ancestors mentioned in honorific decrees see also Quaß (1993) 40-56.

²³ *I.Eph.* 892.

²⁴ In *I.Eph.* 635c, Claudia Caninia Severa is referred to as κράτιστη ἐκ προγόνων and she honoured his father in *I.Eph.* 648. On the very late ascension of a native Ephesian to the consular rank see Habicht (1974) 4-6.

²⁵ Ti. Cl. Moschas was advocate of one *synedrion* when Vibius Seneca, naval officer under Philip the Arab was honoured in Ephesus [*I.Eph.* 737]. On the chronology of Vibius Seneca's career see Pflaum (1967).

²⁶ *I.Eph.* 639.

II.1.2. Vitality and the Assessment of Local Careers

The combination of the evidence provided by Flavius Damianus' and Claudia Caninia Severa's cases points towards the involvement of the highest elites of Ephesus and the maintenance of its civic life in the first two quarters of the 3rd century. Are these two cases representative of the vitality of the *polis* in this period? As previously remarked in the introduction, it is difficult to determine the representativeness of epigraphic evidence. However, if the cases included above were to be deemed circumstantial or partial, the evidence generally used to illustrate prosperity in previous ages would also have to be discarded.

We know, for example, that the *boule* and *demos* of the city extensively honoured Dionysios, son of Nikephoros, son of Dionysios, for being a praiseworthy *prytanis*, *paraphylax*, *neopoios* of Artemis and secretary of the *boule* in the mid-2nd century AD.²⁷ He also gave oil to all the gymnasia of the city, sponsored a renovation of the stadium and put up columns of Docymeian marble. In sum, "he completed generously all the other magistracies and liturgies for his fatherland". Such a concentration of powers in the career of a 2nd century AD man does not necessarily imply unwillingness of his fellow citizens to take up political office or undertake other building projects as shown by the aforementioned actions of the early Vedian family.²⁸ Ephesian inscriptions dating from the early Severan age up to the mid-3rd century attest analogous local careers that should be treated, *prima facie*, under the same terms. By studying chronologically the individuals featuring on some of these inscriptions, I intend to show the way in which the political institutions of the city maintained their activity during this period. Thereafter, I will compare those inscriptions with further related evidence in order to have a broader and more

²⁷ *I.Eph.* 661. The dating of this inscription is based on the *kouretes* list *I.Eph.* 1034, in which either this man or his son is attested.

²⁸ See Pont (2010) 391-395.

coherent picture of the civic life of Ephesus. Only then is it possible to draw conclusions emanating from the local evidence itself and not from historiographical assumptions of unwilling political action, decline and crisis.

In the early Severan period, T. Fl. Lucius Hierax was secretary of the people, *prytanis*, gymnasiarch, son of the rhetor and *asiarch* T. Fl. Menander, brother of the homonymous rhetor and *asiarch* T. Fl. Menander (II) and relative of senators and *consulares*.²⁹ As a result of this prominent Ephesian career, he is praised with a very similar formula to the one previously attested in Dionysios' honours: *πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἐκτελέσας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι φιλοτείμως*.³⁰ Hierax also appears as *prytanis* in a building inscription of a city fountain (ὕδρεϊον) probably dedicated by him and his brother to Septimius Severus and the imperial family.³¹ Finally, we know that he promoted a collection of money in AD 206/7 for the construction of a "great bath", which was dedicated to the *caesares* Caracalla and Geta.³² In this period, he is also attested as magistrate on coins of Hypaipa in the Cayster valley.³³

Turning to Caracalla's reign, we find Ulpian Apollonius Plautus, a member of the *boule* who passed a motion to honour the emperor and Iulia Domna together with Aur. Metrodorus, Aur. Artemidorus and Aur. Artemidorus, son of Thrason.³⁴ The same *boule* of Ephesus, which is described as first, greatest of all, most honourable *metropolis* of the very sacred Artemis and three times *neokoros* according to the decision of the sacred Senate and the divine imperial judgement, honoured this *boularch* who had previously been secretary of the *boule* and *demos*, advocate

²⁹ See Puech (2002) 345-348.

³⁰ *I.Eph.* 3062.

³¹ *I.Eph.* 435, 436 [cf. Knibbe-Merkelbach (1978)].

³² *I.Eph.* 3249.

³³ See chapter II.2.1.

³⁴ *I.Eph.* 300.

(ἑκδικος) of his fatherland, appointed asiarch (ἀσιάρχης ἀποδειχθείς) and father of *hierokerykes*.³⁵

Between the enactment of the CA and the second quarter of the 3rd century, M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus was honourable (ἑνδοξος) asiarch, *prytanis*, secretary of the people, frequent president of games (ἀγωνοθέτης) and responsible for the embellishment of the city with many works. He was honoured by the tunic-sellers of the agora because of his goodwill towards his *patria*,³⁶ and dedicated two statues to two ducenary procurators of the emperors Caracalla and Severus Alexander, while he was φιλοσέβαστος *advocatus fisci*.³⁷ He also donated a statue of Hygeia during the refurbishment of a gymnasium under his presidency.³⁸ A building inscription carved on the harbour south gate also mentions one of his benefactions *ex testamento*,³⁹ and the numerous references to him by different guilds which were granted stalls near the theatre confirm the importance of this Ephesian citizen until the second quarter of the 3rd century AD.⁴⁰

Finally, Ti. Cl. Moschas, advocate of the *gerousia*, was in charge of the statue of Claudia Caninia mentioned above. He was also honoured by the council (συνέδριον) of *hymnodes*, *theologoi* and *thesmodoi*, who were devoted to the very sacred Artemis.⁴¹ In this inscription, he also appears as *philosebastos hymnodos*, *boularch*, first *strategos* and *eirenarch*. As previously remarked, the activities of T. Cl. Moschas are attested in the middle of the 3rd century when he was advocating for the council and the naval officer under Philip the Arab, Vibius Seneca, is recorded.

³⁵ *I.Eph.* 740.

³⁶ *I.Eph.* 3063.

³⁷ *I.Eph.* 739, 632.

³⁸ *AE* 2011.1318.

³⁹ *I.Eph.* 3086.

⁴⁰ *I.Eph.* 444, 445, 2076-2079; *SEG* 35.1109-1110.

⁴¹ *I.Eph.* 645.

From this small sample of Ephesian careers until to the mid-3rd century AD and the examples of Flavius Damianus and Claudia Caninia Severa, it can provisionally be inferred that the institutions of the city were still functioning within a political framework that can already be observed in the pre-Severan period.⁴² These examples also show that the civic life of Ephesus continued to comprise other important elements such as the organization of games, construction projects or the participation in activities associated with Artemis, the patron deity of the *polis*. Accordingly, my analysis should look beyond the simple attestation and cataloguing of already much-discussed political offices and take into consideration further aspects such as competition, engagement and interest in the local community. Later in this thesis, I will specifically focus on the relationship between Ephesus, the emperors and their representatives in a period of frequent instability, overthrows and wars. For now, it is important to bear in mind that some of the careers discussed in this section took place in such a variable imperial context.

II.1.3. Political Institutions and Civic Life in 3rd Century Ephesus

Following Broughton's interpretation of an inscription honouring Aurelius Varanus for having hosted (ὑποδεξάμενος) the *boule*, all the councils (συνέδρια) and “πολείτας χειλίους τεσσαράκοντα”, it had generally been accepted that the Ephesian *demos* was composed of 40,000 members in the first half of the 3rd century.⁴³ As rightly argued by R. Bagnall and P. D. Warden, the number of citizens should not be read as 40,000 but 1040,⁴⁴ and, consequently, any calculation of the size of the *demos* or the population of Ephesus based on this remarkable epigraphic testimony cannot be

⁴² See also the brief remark by Schwarz (2001) 165 on the basis of financial contributions.

⁴³ Broughton (1938) 813. cf. White (2004) 41.

⁴⁴ Bagnall–Warden (1988).

accepted.⁴⁵ As the careers previously included have shown, the *demos* of Ephesus was actively present in the honorific inscriptions of this period. In addition to the archetypical formula ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος, additional references to motions (εἰσαγωγαί) and resolutions (ψηφίσματα) attested in the available evidence demonstrate that voting still took place in the assembly.⁴⁶ Indeed, this assembly continued to be a place where future honours could be promised.⁴⁷ Frequently described as ἱερώτατος, λαμπρότατος and νεωκόρος,⁴⁸ the activities of the Ephesian *demos* until the first half of the 3rd century are also visible in the numerous attestations of the office of secretary of the people. Famously depicted already in the Acts of the Apostles,⁴⁹ the γραμματεὺς δήμου remained one of the fundamental positions of the political institutions of Ephesus and it is widely attested in the careers of many prominent locals. According to those attestations, the office could be held individually or collectively. The references to collective *grammateia* are scarce and show the existence of a hierarchy in which only the first or πρῶτος is normally mentioned.⁵⁰ At the same time, other inscriptions suggest that individual (μόνος) secretaries may have been exceptional and became a matter of pride.⁵¹ On the basis of the available evidence, it is very difficult to determine what type of organisation was most frequently followed in the 3rd century, although both references to πρῶτος and μόνος seem to be more common in this period. The traditional role of the secretary of the people, nevertheless, did not entail the substantial costs that other offices available in

⁴⁵ Other indicators, however, still suggest demographic growth until the second quarter of the 3rd century AD as indicated by Kirbihler (2009) 327.

⁴⁶ *I.Eph.* 300, 647, 2026, 2053. For other Ephesian attestations before the 3rd *neokoria* and an analysis of the process involved see Rogers (1992) 224-228; Dmitriev (2005) 276-277.

⁴⁷ *I.Eph.* 872 (ll.4-5): καθὼς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ὑπέ]σχετο.

⁴⁸ *I.Eph.* 300, 472, 621, 647. The appearance of such marks of status is not exclusive to Ephesus or the 3rd century AD. For an explanation of this phenomenon in terms of regional competition and rivalry see chapter III.2.

⁴⁹ 19.33-41. On the historicity of this passage see Trebilco (2004) 157-170.

⁵⁰ *I.Eph.* 845, 3058, 3071, 4336.

⁵¹ *I.Eph.* 4336.

the list such as the *agoronomia* normally required and arguments adducing lack of candidates or problems to bear the financial burden of the position should not be pushed too far.⁵² Moreover, it seems clear that the *grammateia* retained its local prestige and generations of families continued to seek it during the first half of the 3rd century AD.⁵³

The activity of the *boule* during this period also becomes clear through the examination of epigraphic evidence. In addition to the customary honours with the *demos* mentioned above, this institution – sometimes referred to as κρατίστη and φιλοσέβαστος –⁵⁴ did not always need to pass over such decisions to the assembly, especially for exceptional figures such as the emperor Caracalla.⁵⁵ The attestation of honours paid with the funds of the *boularchia* would be related to this practice as well.⁵⁶ Again, offices directly emerging from political institutions such as the president (βούλαρχος) appear in some 3rd century careers, although not as frequently as the secretary of the *demos*.⁵⁷ With regard to the γραμματεὺς βουλῆς recorded in Ulpian Apollonius Plautus' honorific inscription, there are only thirteen possible attestations of this position in the entire Ephesian *repertorium* and its tasks seem to be mainly devoted to internal administration;⁵⁸ for example, distributing the money given by Vibius Salutaris to the *bouleutai*.⁵⁹ Membership of the *boule* continued to be regarded as a sign of personal distinction.⁶⁰

⁵² See Schulte (1994) 30-47; Dmitriev (2005) 278-279.

⁵³ *I.Eph.* 3070 (ll.2-5): [ἔγγονον γραμματέ]ων, ἀ[πό]γονον [πρ]ώ[τ]ων [γρ]αμμα[τ]έων, προέγγονον καὶ ἀπόγονον μόνων γραμματέων τοῦ δήμου. cf. Schulte (1994) 52-56.

⁵⁴ *I.Eph.* 300, 625, 647; *SEG* 37.886.

⁵⁵ *I.Eph.* 740, 3040; *SEG* 37.886.

⁵⁶ *I.Eph.* 3057. On the attestations of *boularchia* and *boularchoi* in Asia Minor see Dmitriev (2005) 230-231; and Nawotka (2000).

⁵⁷ *I.Eph.* 743, 928, 1061, 1071, 816, 3071; *SEG* 37.886, Riel (2013) no.19.

⁵⁸ Schulte (1994) 18, 37-40.

⁵⁹ *I.Eph.* 27 (ll. 220-231).

⁶⁰ *I.Eph.* 1057, 2222. According to the letter sent by Hadrian to the Ephesian archons and *boule* requesting the admission of the sea captain L. Erastus to the *boule*, candidates were examined (δοκιμασία) and had to pay a fee (ἀργύριον) before becoming *bouleutai* [*I.Eph.* 1487-1488. cf. Quaß

The scarce evidence for the Ephesian *gerousia* in the 3rd century AD provides a similar picture to that of the *boule*. This institution appears twice with the epithet *philosebastos*,⁶¹ had its own funds,⁶² and the continuity of the γραμματεὺς γερουσίας is also present.⁶³ Finally, the record of T. Cl. Moschas as ἑκδικὸς τῆς φιλοσεβ(άστου) Ἐφεσίων γερουσίας should confirm its activity during the second quarter of the century.⁶⁴ As with *bouleutai*, membership of the *gerousia* (γερουσιασταί) continued to be a sign of social distinction and it is mentioned not only in private inscriptions such as epitaphs or association lists, but also in public honours.⁶⁵

In addition to the three core institutions described above, the sample careers included at the beginning of this section have shown that other relevant offices and entities comprised the political life of Ephesus. Starting with the *strategia*, this position is especially well recorded in the local careers of prominent citizens,⁶⁶ even though it is impossible to determine whether their tasks changed in the period on which this analysis focuses.⁶⁷ The evidence still confirms the maintenance of a traditional collective organisation with a defined hierarchy and a πρῶτος στρατηγός on top.⁶⁸ A similar picture to that of the *strategos* is drawn from the records of *eirenarchia*. We know that the duties of the eirenarchs normally concerned local

(1993) 343, 382-389; Dmitriev (2005) 154-158]. The minimum age of entry in the *boule* was normally set at 25 and this position was permanent [see Kleijwegt (1991) 72; Pleket (1998a) 205-206].

⁶¹ *I.Eph.* 957, 892.

⁶² *I.Eph.* 957.

⁶³ *I.Eph.* 972 (ll.18-21): Φαλκίδιος Ἐπίγονος γραμματεὺς γερουσίας καὶ Φαλκίδιος Ζώσιμος υἱὸς γραμματέως πατρογέρων.

⁶⁴ *I.Eph.* 892. These activities would also be attested in *I.Eph.* 1057, a fragmentary list of probably *kouretes*. *I.Eph.* 1587b includes a thanksgiving dedication to Artemis, Soteria and the *Tyche* of the *gerousia* by M. Aur. Agathopus after having maintained “τὴν πίστιν τῇ γερουσίᾳ σὺν καὶ [τ]οῖς ἑμοῖς πᾶσιν”.

⁶⁵ Private: *I.Eph.* 2225; 2236c. Public: 627b 972, 1575, 3058.

⁶⁶ *I.Eph.* 624 (πρῶτος), 645 (πρῶτος), 724 (πρῶτος), 802, 892 (πρῶτος), 991, 1061, 1857.1, 2053, 3018, 3070 (πρῶτος), 3071, 3088 (πρῶτος), 3091, 4336 (πρῶτος), 4343 (πρῶτος).

⁶⁷ Except for *I.Eph.* 3071, which mentions that the honorand gave 5000 *denarii* for oil of the highest quality during his term of office, the remaining records of *strategoi* do not provide any further information.

⁶⁸ Dmitriev (2005) 281-282.

security.⁶⁹ From the prestige attached to the position of *μόνος εἰρενάρχος*, we can infer the possibility of holding this office collectively too. However, the progression and nature of the process cannot be elucidated because all the 3rd century testimonies are again restricted to lists of completed magistracies.⁷⁰ The next most frequently attested office in Ephesus concerns the supervision of the gymnasia of the city or *gymnasiarchia*.⁷¹ Besides the existence of this particular position, we have already seen that benefactors such as Dionysios, son of Nikephoros, could additionally contribute to the provision of oil required for physical training.⁷² Other relevant and contemporary political positions recorded in the city include the *paraphylarchia*,⁷³ *ephebarchia*,⁷⁴ *argyrotamias*,⁷⁵ *dekaprotia*,⁷⁶ and *logisteia*.⁷⁷

The attestation of such varied offices together with the activities of the three quintessential institutions of this *polis* – *demos*, *boule* and *gerousia* – confirm the continuity and visibility of the political structures of the city during at least the first half of the 3rd century AD. However, the maintenance of this model of civic organisation did not always prevent conflicts. This aspect is illuminated by the examination of the edict (διάταγμα) of an unidentified Roman official concerning episodes of disorder and confusion among the Ephesian people.⁷⁸ This inscription, traditionally dated to c. AD 200,⁷⁹ informs us that the bakers (ἄρτοκόποι) of the agora

⁶⁹ For a comprehensive study of this office in Asia Minor see Brelaz (2005) 90-122; Yannakopoulos (2003). See also Rife (2002) regarding the presence of an *eirenarch* in Xenophon's *Ephesiaka*.

⁷⁰ *I.Eph.* 624, 645, 991, 802 (μόνος), 892, 1061, 3070, 3071 (μόνος), 3088 (μόνος), 3091 (μόνος), 4343.

⁷¹ *I.Eph.* 3062, 1587, 3071, 724. cf. Maccanico (1963).

⁷² E.g. *I.Eph.* 3015. See also *I.Eph.* 295 (l. 9), in which Septimius Severus specifically exempted the *technitai* from paying liturgies related to the gymnasium.

⁷³ *I.Eph.* 558.1, 802, 2053.

⁷⁴ *I.Eph.* 724.

⁷⁵ *I.Eph.* 991.

⁷⁶ *I.Eph.* 802. This office is only attested after the 1st century AD in Asia Minor [see Burton (2001) 207-209].

⁷⁷ *I.Eph.* 304a.

⁷⁸ *I.Eph.* 215. See Erdkamp (2008) 109-126 for the importance of grain provision in the maintenance of the local social order. See also Erdkamp (2002) with regard to the riots.

⁷⁹ See Buckler (1923) 46.

were forbidden to act as a club (κατ' ἐταιρίαν) and obliged to provide the necessary production of bread for the city in the future after having been found instigators of the riots.⁸⁰ Following the edict, it is specifically mentioned that the *boule* was convened (“βουλῆς ἀγομέ[νης]”) and a certain Marcellinus intervened when Claudius Modestus was eponymous magistrate (πρύτανις). Such an institutionalised procedure is in accordance with the signs of a functioning *polis* described above, which are equally found in other settlements of Asia Minor in this period.⁸¹ Supplementary evidence from Ephesus likewise confirms the importance of the agora after the early Severan age.

We know that the guild of clothes-sellers honouring M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus around the 220s conducted their business in this public space (οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πραγματευόμενοι). Hence the activities of this group can be compared to the Androkleidai businessmen and the “people of the agora” that praised Publius Veditius Papianus and Flavius Damianus some generations earlier.⁸² A sarcophagus produced after AD 212 also identifies Aur. Nikon as ἀρτοκόπος.⁸³ Yet the clearest illustration of the continuity of activities in the Ephesian markets in the first half of the 3rd century is to be connected with the frequent presence of ἀγορανόμοι. The *agoranomia* was one of the fundamental institutions of the civic life of Greek *poleis* and, consequently, continued to be widely attested in the local honorific inscriptions.⁸⁴ From these attestations, it is possible to conclude that the activities of the Ephesian *agoranomoi* were not only restricted to the control of market-places and the inspection of measures

⁸⁰ See Arnaoutoglou (2002) 39-41.

⁸¹ Compare, for example, with *I.Stratonikeia* 16 which specifies that decrees were heralded in the reign of Septimius Severus: [ὁ δῆμος καὶ αἱ βουλαὶ ἐτείμησαν ταῖς μεγίσταις τεμαῖς καὶ διὰ τῶν [π]λεονάκις κεκυρωμένων ψηφισμάτων. A similar institutionalised process of local politics is also conceivable during the currency problems that affected Mylasa in the same period: ψηφίσματι τῆς β[ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐπα]νορθωθέντα (*I.Mylasa* 605, ll.14-15).

⁸² *I.Eph.* 3079.

⁸³ *I.Eph.* 2226.

⁸⁴ See Quaß (1993) 260-267.

and weights.⁸⁵ Ti. Cl. Meliton, for example, dedicated a statue of *Nike* to Septimius Severus, his family and the *patris* while he was in office.⁸⁶ Similarly, L. Rasinnius Hermippos promised – possibly in the *boule* – to be in charge of the honours that the Ephesian people decreed for Carthage after the grant of the third *neokoria*.⁸⁷ L. Cornelius Philoserapis gave oil to all the *gymnasia*, dedicated gold and bronze statues of *Eros* in the *macellum* and clothed 69 people.⁸⁸ Finally, Aur. Metrodorus II is said to have paved the *plateia* at Koressos during his term.⁸⁹ It is, therefore, not surprising that terms such as φιλοτείμως (generously) and λειτουργός (benefactor) are common in their honours. Despite the existence of these extraordinary expenditures sometimes undertaken in addition to the normal tasks attached to the office, none of the surviving inscriptions mentions collective *agoranomiai* to split costs. Likewise, we are not informed of the possible duration of the position, although it seems to belong to the first stages of the Ephesian political career.⁹⁰ The relevance of this office also becomes clear in the numerous inscriptions decorating the southern gate of the lower agora. Among them, three texts carved in one of the gate pillars with almost identical letter forms and similar formulas require particular attention.⁹¹ The two bottom inscriptions record two *MM. Aurelii* who performed the office εὐσταθῶς (firmly) and δικαίως (justly). In the upper one, P. Statenus Petronianus added a price list of different types of bread under his term. This kind of bread price list is attested in

⁸⁵ *I.Eph.* 558.1, a lead weight (ἡμίλειτρον). For pictures see Lang-Auinger (2003) taf. 144 and 149. For a study of this kind of weights used by the *agoranomoi* during their term of office see Weiss (1990); Haensch-Weiss (2005); Şahin (1990).

⁸⁶ *I.Eph.* 523.

⁸⁷ *I.Eph.* 2053.

⁸⁸ *I.Eph.* 3015. A similar action was also performed at least by another *agoranomos*, M. Aur. Italicus [*I.Eph.* 920]. For the connection between *agoranomoi* and the dedication of statues of *Eros* appearing also at Perge, Termessos and Laodicea [*I.Laodikeia* 71] – among other settlements – see Robert (1969) 254-261.

⁸⁹ *I.Eph.* 3013.

⁹⁰ L. Cornelius Frontonianus is said to have been *agoranomos* when his father Philoserapis was *boularch* [*I.Eph.* 928]. Likewise, the Ephesian Aur. Lariseus refers to his former position (ἀγορανομήσας τάχιον) when contributing as *logistes* to a collection of money promoted by M. Aur. Artemidorus IV in a *katoikia* of the Cayster valley [*I.Eph.* 3247].

⁹¹ *I.Eph.* 3010-3012 [see *FiE* III. 101-3 no.10-12].

Ephesus especially in the 2nd century AD and many studies have used this interesting evidence to analyse the evolution of local economy during the high Roman Empire.⁹² All those studies, however, should not have overlooked the fact that the dating of the majority of these inscriptions is very conjectural, as only palaeographical criteria were originally used. As a result, the inflation rates estimated are unreliable. Furthermore, it has been rightly argued that the bread lists cannot be used as evidence for price fixing by the local authorities of Ephesus and that the quantity of standard bread per *obolos* is pretty much the same during this period.⁹³ On the contrary, what both this group of bread prices, the surviving records of *agoranomoi* and the professional associations conducting business in the agora confirm is that the city of Ephesus continued to be an important hub of trade and commerce in which the participation and collaboration of local entities and political institutions was fundamental.

As regards other inscribed attestations of economic activity in Ephesus until the mid-third century, the career of M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus – already a protagonist character of the previous section – needs to be mentioned again. Among his surviving records, a series of inscriptions mention the grant of intercolumnar space (*διάστυλα*) to set up stalls on the street connecting the theatre and the stadium probably before the reign of Severus Alexander.⁹⁴ The variety of guilds such as the “knob-turners” (*συνεργασία πυρηνάδων*) or that of “private baths” (*συνεργασία βαλανέων πρεβάτων*) present in the texts reveals that the commercial puissance of Ephesus was not only concentrated in the agora and did not necessarily generate

⁹² These studies considered *I.Eph.* 3010 the latest inscription (c. AD 220) and *I.Eph.* 923 the earliest (Trajan’s reign). By comparing both, Duncan-Jones (1994) 26, for example, concluded that the annual rate of inflation in this period would be 0.83%.

⁹³ Garnsey–van Nijf (1998) 306–313. See also Wörle (1971) for the grain provision in Ephesus and the importance of Egypt. On the apparently contained inflation rates until Aurelian’s reign mostly in the light of the Egyptian evidence see Rathbone (1991) 403, 464–471, (1996); Lo Cascio (1997).

⁹⁴ Publicianus was already *advocatus fisci* under Severus Alexander [*I.Eph.* 632], and this position does not appear in any of the ‘guild inscriptions’. The presence of the secretary of the people Aur. Alexander in *SEG* 35.1109 should provide us with a very plausible *terminus post quem* in the reign of Caracalla. See also Knibbe (1985).

problems like those instigated by the aforementioned rioting bakers.⁹⁵ Likewise, the participation of other prominent locals in projects of urban renovation and embellishment continued to be common until the second quarter of the 3rd century.⁹⁶ The daughter of Aur. Capitolinus, doctor and head of the council attached to the Museum, sponsored the construction of a portico and repaired two colonnades, probably at the temple of Artemis.⁹⁷ Flavius Alexander, father of M. Aruncius Veditius Myron, secretary of the people, first *strategos*, *neopoios* and honourable *litourgos* erected 120 statues of Nike and Eros in the theatre.⁹⁸ In the *grammateia* of M. Aruncius Veditius Mithridates under Gordian III,⁹⁹ the city built the front hall (πρόναον) of the *nemeseion* with the funds left by Iulia Potentilla.¹⁰⁰ This same legacy was also used for the construction of the pavement in front of the *auditorium* and the library of Celsus,¹⁰¹ and for the repair of both the *antiskenion* and the awning of the theatre which seems to have been built with the assistance of Q. Tineius Sacerdos, a governor of the province in the early Severan period.¹⁰² Even if most of the new constructions were not as magnificent as those undertaken in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, such projects still show that the spaces where most of the Ephesian civic life was conducted maintained their activity until at least the 230s. Moreover, the continuity of these activities was not only restricted to the most central areas such as the theatre,

⁹⁵ See van Nijf (1997) 83-85. With regard to the honours set up by other professional associations in Ephesus in the 3rd century AD, see also the activities of the silversmiths (ἀργυροκόποι) in *I.Eph.* 636 and *SEG* 34.1094; the ἐργάται προφυλεῖται πρὸς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι in *I.Eph.* 3216; and the ξυλοπρίστοι in *I.Eph.* 2115.

⁹⁶ See Pont (2010) 395-396. For a comparison with the building activities in Pergamum see Halfmann (2004) 111-114.

⁹⁷ *I.Eph.* 3239. See also *I.Eph.* 3233 and Riel (2013) no.10. On the medical tradition of Ephesus in the imperial age, especially, concerning the figures of Rufus and Soranus of Ephesus see Reus (1999) and Uzel (1999) for the collection of medical instruments in the Museum of Ephesus. On the position of *archiatros* read Nutton (1977) and Keil (1905) for the celebration of surgery contests organised by the *synedrion* attached to the city's Museum.

⁹⁸ *I.Eph.* 724.

⁹⁹ *I.Eph.* 4336.

¹⁰⁰ *I.Eph.* 2042 [cf. *I.Eph.* 983].

¹⁰¹ *I.Eph.* 3009 [cf. *SEG* 43.790].

¹⁰² *I.Eph.* 2041. In addition to his activities in Ephesus [*I.Eph.* 2040], he is also attested in the refurbishment of the theatre undertaken by Hierapolis during his term of office [*SEG* 57.1367].

lower agora and the library of Celsus, but also extended to other fundamental spaces of the city such as the harbour. In addition to the impressive five-way-gate sponsored by the will of – again – Publicianus Nicephorus and his supervision of works in a gymnasium,¹⁰³ Valerius Festus was honoured by the silversmiths after the reign of Caracalla for “having made the harbour bigger than that of Croisos”,¹⁰⁴ and 20,000 *denarii* were given for its cleaning in the second quarter of the century.¹⁰⁵ Finally, the presence of a *limenarch*,¹⁰⁶ and a naval official under Philip the Arab confirms its use after that period despite the recurrent silting up problems.¹⁰⁷

The symbiosis between civic life, construction projects and maintenance of political institutions in Ephesus after the early Severan period is further illuminated by the examination of the honorific inscription of M. Aur. Artemidorus Metrodorianus’ father.¹⁰⁸ Besides the 20,000 *denarii* given for the cleaning of the harbour mentioned above, this man was first secretary of the people, *boularch*, first *strategos*, sole *eirenarch*, *gymnasiarch* of all the gymnasia and high-priest. He also supervised and supported the building activity of the city and made further distributions (διανομαί) to its citizens. His equestrian son (ἵππικός) was also fully engaged in the construction activity of his *patria* and repaired the pavement of a central street when he was *prytanis*. Both members of the family equally stand out for their involvement in the organization of festivals. M. Aur. Artemidorus Metrodorianus proposed the celebration of epinician games and his father’s *agonothesia*i were supplemented by the provision of “Libyan animals” (Λιβυκὰ ζῶα).

¹⁰³ *I.Eph.* 3086 [see *FiE* III pp. 169-184]; *AE* 2011.1318.

¹⁰⁴ *SEG* 34.1094.

¹⁰⁵ *I.Eph.* 3071.

¹⁰⁶ *I.Eph.* 558.1, 802.

¹⁰⁷ *I.Eph.* 737. On the importance and problems of the Ephesian harbour see Zabehlicky (2004). See also Tac. *Ann.* XVI.23 for the benefaction of Barea Soranus in AD 66; and *I.Eph.* 23 for the decree of the proconsul L. Antonius Albus in AD 146/147. See also *I.Eph.* 274 for the honours to Hadrian after supporting the diversion of the river Cayster. On the attested construction history throughout the imperial period see Pont (2010) 199-200.

¹⁰⁸ *I.Eph.* 3071.

The celebration of similar gladiatorial shows is well attested in 3rd century Ephesus.¹⁰⁹ In this regard, the numerous references to a group of so-called “lovers of Vedius” (φιλοβήδιοι) after AD 212 are particularly interesting. Normally recorded with the epithet φίλοπλοι (“arms-lovers”) and presumably connected with the generosity of the prominent Vedian family, this association/club had an internal hierarchy,¹¹⁰ could be a recipient of funerary fines,¹¹¹ and even produced honours for their benefactors especially when they had been as lavish as the man who provided 39 pairs of gladiators and again “Libyan animals” for 13 days of competition.¹¹²

The celebration of these kinds of spectacles and other festivals was an integral aspect of the civic life of Greek *poleis* in the Roman imperial period.¹¹³ As such, the position of ἀγωνοθέτης is commonly recorded in the careers of those publicly honoured in Asia Minor.¹¹⁴ In the case of Ephesus, the *agonothesia* is attested at least thirteen times in the first two quarters of the 3rd century.¹¹⁵ While holding this office, organisers could either take charge of old festivals or even established new games. Among the long agonistic tradition of Ephesus, surviving inscriptions that can be securely dated to this period record the celebration of the Great Artemisia,¹¹⁶ Great

¹⁰⁹ *I.Eph.* 1171 records μονόμαχοι Λουκίου Αὐφιδίου Εὐφήμου ἀσιάρχου, who should be identified with the L. Aufidius Euphemus attested in the reign of Caracalla [*I.Eph.* 435, 872, 1171, 3001.2, 3087]. Likewise, the μονόμαχοι Κλαυδίου Κλεοβούλου ἀσιάρχου [Içten –Engelmann (1992) 285, no.2] were provided by Ti. Claudius Cleobulus, who also dedicated a statue of Caracalla [*I.Eph.* 298] and was *prytanis* [*I.Eph.* 47]. For the connection between imperial high-priests and the organization of gladiatorial shows see Carter (2004). See also *CIL* III.6753 for the career of L. Didius Marinus – also attested in *I.Eph.* 660e under Caracalla – which included the office of *procurator familiarum gladiatoriarum per Asiam* [cf. Pflaum (1960) 765-769, no.295].

¹¹⁰ *I.Eph.* 3055: προστάτης of the *philovedioi*.

¹¹¹ *I.Eph.* 2226.

¹¹² *I.Eph.* 3070. On the scale of such a benefaction, compare with the asiarch of Smyrna Iulius Menecles Diophantus who was extensively praised by his city for providing five consecutive days of armed spectacles after AD 214 [*I.Smyrna* 637].

¹¹³ E.g. van Nijf (2012a). For the significant development of agonistic festivals in the 3rd century see chapter III.4.

¹¹⁴ Quaß (1993) 303-316.

¹¹⁵ *I.Eph.* 616, 624, 627b, 679a, 974, 1106, 1107, 1114, 3058, 3063, 3070, 3071, 4343.

¹¹⁶ Caracalla granted *ateleia* to the Artemisia which had *eiselastic* status [*I.Eph.* 212; 4114 cf. Lehner (2004) 139-149]. See also the first chapters of Xenophon’s *Ephesiaka* for a vivid representation of the Artemisia in the imperial period.

Hadrianeia,¹¹⁷ Great Olympics,¹¹⁸ and Balbilleia.¹¹⁹ Concerning the possibility of establishing new festivals, another outstanding protagonist of 3rd century Ephesus needs to be highlighted: Marius Septimius Marion. Together with his homonymous son, this *philosebastos* secretary of the people was responsible for the Pythian games celebrating the triumph (ἐπινείκια) of the emperor Maximinus when Valerius Messala was governor of the province.¹²⁰ In the proconsulate of Lollianus Avitus (c. AD 225),¹²¹ he is already recorded as prize-giver for life of the Great Marianeia which had Isthmian status (ἀθλοθέτης διὰ βίου τῶν μεγάλων Μαριανῶν Ἰσθμίων).¹²² Such an elevated agonistic status and the continuous efforts of Septimius Marion to support *his* games brought to the city great victors such as M. Aur. Asclepiades, a wrestler who also won the Hadrianeian and Eleusinian games in Athens and the Olympics at Pisa; first of the *periodos*.¹²³ In the same Marianeia, at least one other competition of *pankration* was held,¹²⁴ and the stadium was used as a venue.¹²⁵ Even if most of these initiatives were personally funded, the involvement of a significant part of the civic population can be assumed in the celebrations, either as minor officials, simple spectators and even contestants.¹²⁶ As we will see, the increasing grant of titles by the Roman emperors promoted the visibility of local festivals. Likewise, examples from the case studies of the chapter and other areas such as Oinoanda, Sagalassos or

¹¹⁷ *I.Eph.* 724. This festival was most likely connected with the grant of the 2nd *neokoria* by Hadrian [Boatwright (2000) 100].

¹¹⁸ *I.Eph.* 895, 896, 1121, 1134; Moretti (1953) no.90.

¹¹⁹ *I.Eph.* 4114. See also Moretti (1953) nos. 76, 79, 81, 82, 90. At least under Hadrian, this contest had a similar status to the Hadrianeia [*SEG* 56.1359 I (ll. 45-47)].

¹²⁰ *I.Eph.* 1107. Even if a cult related to the Roman Victory may have started in Ephesus after Lucius Verus' victory over the Parthians [see Nollé (2003a) and *I.Eph.* 1605], these epinician games were celebrated within the framework of the Pythian Marianeia.

¹²¹ For the dating of (Q. Hedi) Lollianus (Plautius) Avitus' proconsulate see Eck (1977) 231-233; and İplikçioğlu (1983) 64-68, no. 1.1.1.29.

¹²² *I.Eph.* 1109, 1111, 1112, 1113; *SEG* 39.1192.

¹²³ *I.Eph.* 1112. On the previous agonistic prestige of Ephesus see Engelmann (1998).

¹²⁴ *I.Eph.* 1113.

¹²⁵ *I.Eph.* 1110. The use of the stadium is also attested in *I.Eph.* 1121, perhaps in the mid-3rd century AD. See also *SEG* 54.724 for the early Severan period.

¹²⁶ Theoros: *I.Eph.* 892, 896. Alytarchs: *I.Eph.* 523, 3055.

Hierapolis will confirm that the establishment of new games under the name of the founder continued to be common in the first half of the 3rd century AD.¹²⁷ Consequently, the example of Marius Septimius Marion – albeit exceptionally well recorded in the available evidence – should not have been unique according to the references to multiple (πολλάκις) *agonothesai* appearing in other local careers.¹²⁸ Furthermore, inscriptions recording great international victors such as M. Aur. Demonstratus Damas,¹²⁹ or the Sinopean Valerius Eclectus show that Ephesus and its festivals continued to have a central role until at least the 250s.¹³⁰

In addition to the agonistic nature of some of the aforementioned games, festivals were also deeply connected with the religious institutions of the *polis*. This aspect is well illustrated by the appearance of an ἀγωνοθέτ[ης τῶν] χρυσοφ[όρων] in a long list of names produced after AD 212.¹³¹ These *chrysophoroi* continued to have successful political careers in Ephesus,¹³² and composed a συνέδριον that was able to give honours.¹³³ The presence of ἱεουργοί and ἱεροφάνται in the same list as well as the participation of a trumpeter (σαλπικτής) and – presumably – a flute player needs to be understood in relation to the common celebration of sacred events;¹³⁴ for example the procession with meat offerings (δειπνοφοριακὴ πόμπη) supervised by the

¹²⁷ Guerber (2009) 243-255. On the establishment of the Euarestia games in Oenoanda and its comparison with other previous local festivals see Milner (1994) 8-30, including the epigram of Iul. Lucius Pilius Euarestus himself [SEG 44.1169]. For the Rhodoneia organised in Sagalassos with the funds of Quinta Aurelia Dracianae Rhododiane see Devijver (1997) 127-128. Also in Sagalassos, there was the Kallipianeia established by the senator M. Ulpius Callippianus [Mitchell (1999a) 429]; and recent discoveries also show the celebration of similar games in Hierapolis with the Valentea [Ritti (2006-2007)]. For the best attestation of a foundation of this kind see the exceptional dossier of the Demostheneia in Oinoanda [Wörrle (1988) cf. Pleket (1998b) 156-162], which sheds light on the necessary petition process, preparations, organisation and finances under Hadrian. On the Aphrodisian evidence see Chapter II.3.3.

¹²⁸ *I.Eph.* 616, 624, 3063, 3071, 4343.

¹²⁹ *I.Eph.* 1125, 1612.

¹³⁰ Moretti (1953) no.90. For more examples of successful careers of international athletes competing in Ephesus see Brunet (1998).

¹³¹ *I.Eph.* 974. On the previous organization of sacred games see *I.Eph.* 1618.

¹³² *I.Eph.* 627b, 1577a, 3263. See Kuhn (2014) 75-79.

¹³³ *I.Eph.* 991.

¹³⁴ See Rogers (1991) 56-57. On their prominent place in the theatre see Kolb (1999) 101-105.

ἱερωτάτων συνέδριον τοῦ μισθωτηρίου.¹³⁵ Likewise, the activities of other closely related religious entities such as the *neopoioi*,¹³⁶ and the συνέδριον τῶν ὕμνωδων καὶ θεολόγων καὶ θεσμοδῶν confirm the maintenance of some of the traditional cults of Ephesus in this period against Rogers' (2012) statements.¹³⁷ It is therefore not surprising that, as we saw before, prominent figures of the city such as Claudia Severa and Iulia (Pantime) Potentilla continued to be priestesses and κοσμήταιραι of Artemis Ephesia.¹³⁸ Despite the maintenance of this cult and some other religious activities related to it, it seems nonetheless that certain aspects were subject to significant changes between the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries. A priestess of Artemis, daughter of M. Aur. Hierocles, is said to have renewed πάντα τὰ μυστήρια τῆς θεοῦ in accordance with the old tradition (‘τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἔθει’).¹³⁹ A similar process may also have been underlying the re-inscribing of an old sacred law concerning sacrifices with presumably 3rd century lettering,¹⁴⁰ and the renovation of the sacred συνέδριον τῶν

¹³⁵ *I.Eph.* 1577a. With no records in the early Roman Empire – including Vibius Salutaris' foundation – this group had secretaries, protected tombs [*I.Eph.* 2227], and produced public honours [*I.Eph.* 3050, 3071].

¹³⁶ According to *I.Eph.* 951, *chrysophoroi* and *neopoioi* may have formed the same *synedrion*. The connection between both groups would also explain the reference to υἱὸς νεοποιοῦ[υ] καὶ χρυσοφόρο[υ] in *I.Eph.* 972.

¹³⁷ Rogers (2012) 232 describes the 3rd century AD as “somewhat of a documentary black hole” and generally dates inscriptions recording *Aurelii* to “around AD 212”. On the contrary, *I.Eph.* 645 informs us that the *synedrion* was regarded as προσφιλέ[στ]ατον τ[ῆ] ἀγιωτάτῃ [θ]εῷ Ἀρτέμιδι. Other attestations of *hymnodoi* in 3rd century public honours are found in *I.Eph.* 616, 892, 3081, 3088, 3247, 4336 (with *theologos*). In *I.Eph.* 1069, M. Aur. Agathopus is said to have completed “all the mysteries” with his family. Likewise, the νεοποιός T. Flavius Asclepiodorus gave thanks to κυρία Artemis after having completed two ‘night-watches’ (νυκτοφύλακες) and paid for two *essenias* with his wife and Aur. Epagathatus [*I.Eph.* 957. cf. Paus. VIII.13.1]. Records of a similar kind [*I.Eph.* 3263] as well as the attestation of other minor religious offices such as the *hierokeryx* [*I.Eph.* 624, 897, 624, 740, 3010, 897, 4336], *akrobates* [*I.Eph.* 1057], and *kalathephoros* [*I.Eph.* 1970-72] confirm that the celebration of the mysteries of Artemis and, in general, the relevance of the ‘sovereign’ goddess of Ephesus in the civic life of the *polis* well into the 3rd century AD.

¹³⁸ *I.Eph.* 892, 983. The remaining attestations of priestesses of Artemis show that this position kept its prestige until at least the middle of the 3rd century and was especially sought by women belonging to some of the most prominent Ephesian families: *I.Eph.* 617, 624, 897, 3233, 4343; Ricl (2013) no.10.

¹³⁹ *I.Eph.* 3059.

¹⁴⁰ *I.Eph.* 10.

κουρήτων undertaken by M. Aur. Menemachus.¹⁴¹ According to Strabo, these *kouretes* played a major role in the celebration of Artemis' mysteries, which seems to have been kept throughout the imperial age.¹⁴² At least since the 1st century AD, this group came under the control of the *prytaneion* where the majority of the lists of members attesting their existence were found.¹⁴³ From these lists, which progressively disappear in the second quarter of the 3rd century, it seems clear that the *prytanis* presided the *synedrion* and that the *kouretes* – members of the highest Ephesian elite –¹⁴⁴ were organised hierarchically with a *πρωτοκούρης* on top.¹⁴⁵ Despite the fragmentary state of the inscription, the maintenance of the relation between *prytaneion* and *kouretes* in the reign of Caracalla and Geta appears to be confirmed when apparently the latter were censured for their disregard (καταφρονοῦντες).¹⁴⁶ This inscription also informs us that, notwithstanding the connection of the *prytaneion* with the cult of Artemis, other divinities such as Hestia Boulaia, Demeter, Kore, Apollo Claros and the “Eternal Fire” (Πῦρ ἄφθαρτον) were also worshipped there.¹⁴⁷ As rightly indicated by Knibbe,¹⁴⁸ Ephesus “was not the city of one goddess” and a series of inscriptions by which individuals gave thanks to these and other deities still confirm the validity of the point in the first half of the 3rd century.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴¹ *I.Eph.* 47. Even if this inscription has been always dated to the reign of Commodus, the examination of the photograph [Knibbe (1981) taf. XXVII] reveals that the erasure on which this assumption is based does not allow any certain identification.

¹⁴² XIV 1.20. See Picard (1922) 271-287 and Bremmer (2008) 50-52.

¹⁴³ Knibbe (1981); Steksal (2010).

¹⁴⁴ Roozenbeek (1993).

¹⁴⁵ *I.Eph.* 1071, 1074, 1080, 1080a/b.

¹⁴⁶ *I.Eph.* 1077. See Rogers (2012) 244-246.

¹⁴⁷ See Rogers (2012) 303-308.

¹⁴⁸ Knibbe (1978). cf. Oster (1990). For the Egyptian cults attested in the city see Walters (2004). On both the early Christian and Jewish communities of Ephesus see Trebilco (2004) and Ameling (2004) 147-162.

¹⁴⁹ *I.Eph.* 1057b, 1066, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072.

Finally, with regard to the political aspects of the *prytanis*,¹⁵⁰ the office continued to be eponymous,¹⁵¹ and thus appeared as a distinctive title in the careers of the most prominent citizens of Ephesus.¹⁵² Exceptionally, women and emperors could also hold it.¹⁵³ A similar combination of religious aspects and political careers appears in the references to high-priests of the imperial cult (ἀρχιερεὺς ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ).¹⁵⁴ Testimonies of this position as well as *asiarchs* continued to be very numerous in the epigraphic records of the *polis* and hence the maintenance of the activities of the Asian koinon in this period should also be inferred.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ Dmitriev (2005) 280-281.

¹⁵¹ *I.Eph.* 3246-3247.

¹⁵² *I.Eph.* 436, 444, 445, 625, 629, 724, 801, 892, 897, 983, 1077, 3055 (appointed), 3062, 3071.

¹⁵³ Women: *I.Eph.* 1066, 1072. See the study by Friesen (1999) 110. Emperors: *I.Eph.* 281. Rogers (2012) 234-235 highlights this last inscription as evidence for the problems of the city to find suitable candidates who might have been able to support the office financially. However, the exceptionality of this single 3rd century testimony cannot prove such a phenomenon. In Sagalassos, for example, Philip II, son of Philip the Arab, is known to have held the also eponymous magistracy of *demiourgos* [see Talloen–Waelkens (2005) 198-199 and Weiser (1985)]. The presence of imperial *demiourgiai* in Cilicia was not rare according to the coins of several cities [see Ziegler (1977) 40-49 and Pilhofer (2006) 38-39]. See also in this regard the letter of Hadrian to Miletus accepting his nomination for the office of *prophetes* [*I.Didyma* 494].

¹⁵⁴ *I.Eph.* 617, 625, 626, 3057, 3070 (3rd time, Ephesian temples), 3071, 4336, 4343; *SEG* 37.886. For a recent prosopographical study of the high-priests and their relevance in the civic life of the cities of Asia see Frija (2010). On the Ephesian evidence see Kirbihler (2008).

¹⁵⁵ *I.Eph.* 444, 445, 523, 624, 626, 645, 739, 740 (designated), 872, 897 (designated), 951, 1171, 2076, 3001, 3017, 3055, 3062, 3063 (four days in office), 3070, 3086, 4109; *SEG* 33.1109-1110; İçten–Engelmann (1992) 285, no.2. On the long debate about the distinction between asiarchs and Asian high-priests see Friesen (1993) 76-113; Campanile (2004); and Burrell (2004) 346 no.10; Frija (2012) 57-69. For the activities of the Asian koinon in the imperial period see Guerber (2009) 124-154 and Vitale (2012) 60-65.

II.2. LYDIA

The definition of Lydia in the high Roman Empire is not straightforward. In contrast to other regions of Anatolia such as Pisidia, Pamphylia, Lycia or Phrygia, the term Λυδία does not correspond to an administrative subdivision that is applicable to the Roman management of the provinces. Likewise, this section will not analyse the materials exclusively produced by a single city as I have done in the case of Ephesus. It becomes therefore necessary to identify and explain briefly the choice of this geographical concept before attempting to undertake a coherent analysis of the available evidence.

Similarly to Ionia or Aeolia, Lydia was one of the historical regions of Asia Minor. As such, the term was still used in the Roman imperial period by both geographers and regional institutions to refer to an extensive area mostly comprising the upper and middle sections of the Hermus (modern Gediz) and Cayster (Küçük Menderes) valleys and their tributary rivers.¹⁵⁶ The limits of this region between Phrygia, Mysia, the Meander basin and the Aegean coast are not clear-cut, as already noted by Strabo, who criticised the Romans for not having organised the territory according to ethnic groups (μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν).¹⁵⁷ Five areas can generally be distinguished: the North-West with its centre Thyateira, the skirts of the mount Tmolos (modern Bozdağ) with Sardis in the middle, the North-East dominated by the *Katakekaumene*, the plain around Philadelphia, the tracts of land surrounding Blaundos in the easternmost extreme, and finally, the upper and middle course of the Cayster river in the South. The variety of the environments and landscapes of the region is still clearly visible to anyone travelling from the modern city of Manisa

¹⁵⁶ On both Greek and Roman sources using the term Lydia see Keil (1927) 2122-2123. On the importance of rivers and valleys in western Asia Minor see the paradigmatic case of the Maeander recently studied by Thonemann (2011).

¹⁵⁷ Str. XIII.4.12. See Keil (1927) 2130-2136 for the geographic boundaries and topography of the region.

under the shadow of Mount Sipylus to the volcanic soil around Kula, for instance.¹⁵⁸ My previous study on post-CA nomenclature has also shown that diverse epigraphic practices can also be distinguished in 3rd century Lydia.

Despite these significant differences, the existence of functioning civic institutions across the lands once dominated by the mythicised kings Gyges and Croesus provides a framework for the following case study.¹⁵⁹ Since the Hellenistic age, the territories of Lydia were mostly controlled by multiple *poleis* that continued to be significant in the *provincia Asiae* and the Roman Empire. In addition to this general model of political organisation, the choice of this region is particularly pertinent because of the high volume of epigraphic material coming from rural areas in which urban development was not predominant. As I will highlight below, these rural areas also shared political structures based on the *katoikia/komai*, which equally fostered a considerable degree of civic action. All those aspects justify the inclusion of Lydia as a unit in this chapter. The following study aims to demonstrate that the activity of local institutions in the 3rd century AD did not have to be homogenous or required the existence of monumental centres such as Ephesus or Aphrodisias.

II.2.1. The Western Cayster Valley

The evidence from the Cayster valley exemplifies well the complexity and possibilities of the study of 3rd century Lydia.¹⁶⁰ As it has been remarked in the previous case study of Ephesus, the sediments of the river caused both the fertility of the extensive territory of the capital of Asia and the continuous silting up of its

¹⁵⁸ See Keil–Premerstein (1907, 1911, 1914); Robert (1962) 286-313.

¹⁵⁹ For the old Kingdom of Lydia and its traditional realm see Pedley (1968); Ramage (1987); Mellink (1987); and the recent archaeological study by Roosevelt (2009).

¹⁶⁰ For a recent archaeological survey of this area including pictures, maps and some references to ancient sources and inscriptions see Meriç (2009).

harbour near the Ionian coast.¹⁶¹ Part of that territory actually comprised the westernmost part of the valley, which nominally belonged to the ‘sacred lands’ of the temple of Artemis Ephesia according to the boundary stones recording resolutions by the emperors Augustus, Domitian and Trajan.¹⁶² Neither the exact extension nor management of this area can be determined in the light of the inscriptions available to us. Yet it is clear that prominent Ephesian families continued to have influence and sizeable estates in the period on which this chapter focuses. For example, a slave manager of the senator Cornelianus Furianus carried out the repair of an irrigation system as recorded in a stone found near the modern village of Çırpı.¹⁶³ The same inscription reports that the *Λατορηνῶν κόμη* was the main beneficiary of this generous action sponsored by C. Iulius Pulcher Potamonianus, another senator.¹⁶⁴ In nearby Furunlu on the way to Bayındır, an Aurelian funerary inscription specifies the *Σικλιανῶν κατοικία* as recipient of a funerary fine. The close appearance of both terms *katoikia* and *kome* confirms the maintenance of a model of rural organisation, which was characteristic of Lydia, but managed to prevail in parts of the territory of Ephesus. This process is particularly evident in the *katoikia* of Larisenoi, which Strabo already described as a settlement of the Ionian city.¹⁶⁵ In the first half of the 3rd century, a descendant of one of the protagonists of the previous chapter, Flavius Damianus, was precisely honoured by this local institution.¹⁶⁶ Similarly, the career of

¹⁶¹ Regarding the agricultural activities and products of the region, especially its wines, see the cadastre lists found in Hypaipa [*I.Eph.* 3804-3806], and the late foundation inscription published and commented by Drew-Bear (1980). The quality of the wine from both the Tmolos region and the *Katakekaumene* was renowned in Antiquity [Str. XIII.4.11, XIV.1.15; Vit. VIII.3.12. See Robert (1962) 276-277].

¹⁶² *I.Eph.* 3501-3516 [see Knibbe–Meriç–Merkelbach (1979)]. For the milestones attesting the existence of a road from Ephesus to Sardis across the valley see *I.Eph.* 3601-3607. On the Ephesian influence in this area see also Robert (1963) 144-145, Robert–Robert (1972) 453-454; and the inscription of Peplos recording the foundation of the *Herostai* [*I.Eph.* 3214. cf. Jones (1983)].

¹⁶³ SEG 54.1198 [cf. Kuhn (2013)].

¹⁶⁴ See Beden–Malay (2008) 186.

¹⁶⁵ Str. XIII.3.2.

¹⁶⁶ *I.Eph.* 3274.

Aur. Salluvius Timotheus combined the *essenias* and *synedria* of Artemis Ephesia with activities in another *katoikia* Ἀλμουρηνῶν near the modern village of Eskioba.¹⁶⁷ Further south, the *katoikia* of Boneitai (Büyükkale/Küçükkale) honoured a gymnasiarch and priestess called Aur. Apollonia, who gave money for the *peristoon* of the goddess' temple.¹⁶⁸ The same Boneitai were also able to commend a first *strategos* of Ephesus for his goodwill (εὔνοια) and zeal (σπουδή) towards their *katoikia*.¹⁶⁹

This chapter is not intended to review again the system of *katoikia*–*kome* that had been present in the region already in the Hellenistic age.¹⁷⁰ It is also difficult to explain why the city of Ephesus decided to maintain these traditional entities in the territory under its control. By contrast, all the aforementioned testimonies show that such entities undoubtedly had the capacity to produce honorific inscriptions for individuals who were considered worthy of commemoration by the members of those communities. Accordingly, I will explore the attested activities that this system of local political organisation fostering a potential civic life enabled, regardless of the city to which the *katokiai/komai* belonged. This method detached from the dominant scholarly focus on the urban centres is particularly convenient for the assessment of a famous series of 3rd century inscriptions found in the middle of the Cayster Valley.

¹⁶⁷ *I.Eph.* 3263. The archive of this same *katoikia* was the destination of a copy of the inscription prepared by Aurelia Epigones and her family [*I.Eph.* 3260].

¹⁶⁸ *I.Eph.* 3233. The honorific inscription of the daughter of the doctor Aurelius Capitolinus [*I.Eph.* 3239] shows that these works at the temple of Artemis Ephesia probably consisted of two porticos before the *pronaos*. See also the recent discoveries by Ricl (2013) 43.

¹⁶⁹ Ricl (2010b) 530-533 [*SEG* 60.1161].

¹⁷⁰ On the importance of these institutions for the rural organization of Asia Minor see Schuler (1998) 33-36, and his appendix. See also Debord (1976) 44-46, 59-61; and Cohen (1991) for the dismissal of the primary military sense of *katoikia* in the Roman imperial age.

II.2.2. ‘*Summa Honoraria*’ in the Middle Cayster Valley

The middle plain of the Cayster valley is nowadays dominated by the town of Tire (probably ancient Thyeira), a recent hub of agricultural and trading goods which did not exist in the Roman imperial age. In that period, the fields surrounding this town seem to have marked the eastern frontier of the territory of Ephesus.¹⁷¹ No boundary inscriptions of the ‘land of Artemis’ have been discovered beyond the imaginary line linking this settlement and the undoubtedly Ephesian Larisa. Likewise, the cadastre lists drafted at the end of the 3rd century confirm the existence of an ancient settlement around Kireli (c. 10 km to the east of Tire) that belonged to the *polis* of Hypaipa.¹⁷² The lack of natural geographical boundaries in the plain together with the later development of Tire has caused a high volume of ‘traveling stones’, which were removed from their original location and are inserted in many buildings of the modern town. All these historical factors make it particularly arduous to examine the epigraphic evidence from this frontier area.

An important set of 3rd century inscriptions recording the payment of sums of money related to the holding of local offices were discovered precisely here. As a result, they have traditionally been used to illustrate the existence of *summa honoraria* in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.¹⁷³ The extensive debate concerning this aspect of local politics has not been either fruitful or conclusive.¹⁷⁴ It would also unavoidably move away from the aims of this case study. Beyond this contested issue, such testimonies undoubtedly record complex procedures undertaken

¹⁷¹ On the identification of Tire with ancient Θύειρα and not the *katoikia* of Apateirenoi see Meriç–Merkelbach–Şahin (1979). In one of the inscriptions mentioning the former [*I.Eph.* 3293], Thyeira appears together with other five settlements such as the aforementioned Larisa and Almoura whose ascription to Ephesus is clear.

¹⁷² *I.Eph.* 3805-3806: ἐν Ὑπ(αί)ποις ἐν κώμῃ Διδειφοίτοις. On this type of cadastre list implemented under Diocletian see Merola (2001) 89-99.

¹⁷³ E.g. Abbott–Johnson (1926) 488, no.150.

¹⁷⁴ For a recent review discussing the extensive scholarly debate see Dmitriev (2005) 152-157. For a collection of the related evidence see Quaß (1993) 328-334 and Garnsey (1971).

by members of certain political communities, who were involved and participated in the civic institutions of the region. For example, the most famous inscription of the group records that the 250 *denarii* given by a man called Aur. Hermolaus for the *logisteia* served to pay for the *tiron* following a decision of the members of the village:

- I.Eph. 3246
 ἀγαθή τύχη
 ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Λ. Σεπτ. Αὐρ.
 3 Ἀχιλλεΐδῃ νε(ωτέρου), μη(νός) εἴ Αὐρ. Ἑρμόλαος
 Ῥουστίκου ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς
 λογιστεΐας καθὼς ἔδοξε τοῖς
 6 κωμήταις * διακόσια πεντή-
 κοντα προσχωρήσαντα εἰς τὴν
 τῶν τειρώνων συντέλειαν.

The rare term *tiron* refers to the pecuniary contribution that communities could present in exchange for the recruitment of soldiers by the Roman army.¹⁷⁵ A closer examination of the text also reveals that this payment was made when the junior L. Sept. Aur. Achillides was *prytanis*. The use of a formula referring to this specific eponymous magistracy necessarily places the inscription within the Ephesian sphere.¹⁷⁶ This is also confirmed by the attestation of the equestrian father of Achillides in the urban centre of the *polis* acting as *ekdikos*, *boularch*, secretary of the *demos* and *agonothetes*.¹⁷⁷ As for the actual date of the inscription, both the appearance of Aur. Hermolaus and Achillides' nomenclature indicate almost conclusively the period following AD 212. All this information clarifies the reused context of a stone which was found in the walls of the church of the Holy Taxiarchai in Tire.¹⁷⁸ Another inscription found in the same location records the payment that the Ephesian Aur. Larisaeus made for the *logisteia* after the head (προεστώς) of the

¹⁷⁵ Already observed by Rostovtseff (1918), see more recently Milner (2011) 156-157 for the attestation of this kind of payments in Asia Minor. On the local recruitment of soldiers see chapter III.7.

¹⁷⁶ Leschhorn (1993) 289.

¹⁷⁷ I.Eph. 743, 845; Riel (2013) no.19.

¹⁷⁸ Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς (1875/6) 116.

katoikia, the Thyrean M. Aur. Artemidorus IV, had encouraged him (προτρυνάμενος).¹⁷⁹ Again, Ephesian elements are evident in the text: the *prytanis* dating formula, the month Neokaesareon and the career of Artemidorus' himself, who was a *philosebastos boularch* and *hymnodos* of Artemis.¹⁸⁰ Even though the purpose of the contribution is lost in this case, we know that the procedure was conducted διὰ συλλόγου. L. Robert interpreted the expression as “par devant l’assemblée” according to the usual meaning of the noun.¹⁸¹ Another wandering stone found in the walls of the Ulu Cami points towards a more specific use of local terminology.¹⁸² On this occasion, it is recorded that the [λ]ογιστεύσαντες of the *katoikia* of Apateirenoi provided 250 *denarii* in one contribution (ἐπὶ μιᾷ φιλοτειμῖα) when “they were giving the λόγος”.¹⁸³ Once more, the contribution was encouraged (προτροπή) by another prominent member (ἀξιολογώτατος) called Lucius Hierax, and its purpose was the repair of the ‘Great Baths’. The combination of the information provided by both inscriptions suggests that the σύλλογος does not refer to any assembly but rather to some sort of joint account or *logos* to which the *logistai* of the different settlements of the *katoikia* contributed.¹⁸⁴

While there are similarities in the procedures launched by both M. Aur. Artemidorus and T. Fl. Lucius Hierax, there also seem to be some discrepancies with regard to the territories in which such procedures took place. On the one hand, the activities of M. Aur. Artemidorus occurred in a clear Ephesian context. On the other, local coins of Hypaipa record Lucius Hierax as *strategos* under Caracalla and Iulia

¹⁷⁹ *I.Eph.* 3247.

¹⁸⁰ Leschhorn (1993) 291.

¹⁸¹ Robert (1939) 237, no.621.

¹⁸² *I.Eph.* 3249.

¹⁸³ See Fröhlich (2004) 68-71.

¹⁸⁴ See Schuler (1998) 233. A fragmentary inscription from a rural settlement near Thyateira would also support this suggestion [*TAM* V.2.868]. In that case, the Aurelian *komarchoi* did some works on water infrastructure and a certain Tatianus is said to have been *logistes* of funds apparently belonging to the village.

Domna.¹⁸⁵ In addition to the non-Ephesian magistracy, the strongest argument supporting the attribution of the *katoikia* of Apateirenoi to the territory of nearby Hypaipa derives again from the particular formula dating Lucius Hierax's encouragement. The inscription specifies that the resulting refurbishment of the 'Great Baths' was dedicated to the emperors Caracalla and Geta (AD 211/2) in the year 259. The combination of both references reveals beyond doubt the use of the Caesarean era in a text which also indicates that the pecuniary contribution by the *logistai* was given in the year 254 (i.e. 206/7). As I shall note below, this era is frequently attested in the territory of Hypaipa and the northern Cayster valley, where there is no trace of Ephesian *prytaneis*.¹⁸⁶ This important detail has been ignored by previous scholars studying the so-called '*summa honoraria* inscriptions' and should challenge the attribution of both *I.Eph.* 3246 and 3247 to the *katoikia* of Apateirenoi, as originally proposed by the editors. The re-examination of the evidence therefore suggests that similar offices such as the λογιστεία and procedures such as the συλλόγος were most likely shared between neighbouring communities organised through *katoikiai/komai*, even when they did not belong to the same *polis*. The existence of such local features would also explain both the attestation of a Hypaipan *logistes* giving money for the setting up of eight columns in AD 112,¹⁸⁷ and the appearance of this position already in a Hellenistic list recently discovered in the same area of the middle Cayster valley.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ See Klose (1984) 410, no.5. This identification has also been accepted by Geissen (1986) 117-118. See also recently Tekin–Altınoluk (2011) nos.385, 402, 410-411, 414, 416-417; (2012) nos.331-336, 357-359 for new coins attesting his magistracy. Even if he was also politically active in Ephesus [see chapter II.1.2], his Hypaipan origins are almost certain according to the coins.

¹⁸⁶ Leschhorn (1993) 291-292.

¹⁸⁷ *I.Eph.* 3248, 3249a.

¹⁸⁸ Riel (2009a) 184; (2013) no.5.

The regional singularity of such procedures is further supported by related evidence produced in the *katoikia* of (D)ideiphytenoi.¹⁸⁹ As mentioned earlier, this ancient settlement near the modern village of Kireli belonged to the territory of Hypaipa in the 3rd century AD. Here the ‘*summa honoraria* inscriptions’ also include dates according to the Caesarean era and the earliest surviving testimony records a dedication to Caracalla in 261 (AD 213).¹⁹⁰ In that year, the Hypaipan M. Aur. Menander gave 250 *denarii* for his *κωμαρχία* after he had previously given 50 *denarii* for the reconstruction of the ‘Old Baths’. The next testimony dates to AD 226 and records that Aur. Metrodorus gave 500 *denarii* for the *komarchia*.¹⁹¹ Additionally, it is stated that Aur. Menophantes, Aur. Aphianus and “those with them” were *komarchoi* at the same time. From that additional remark, it should be inferred that the *katoikiai* of Hypaia – similarly to those belonging to Ephesus – were composed of several *komai*, each of which had its own *komarch*.¹⁹² Likewise, both dated testimonies mention the equal existence of a voted resolution by the *katoikia* (καθὼς ἐψηφίσατο). References to more *ψηφίσματα* also occur in both the undated payment of 1000 *denarii* made by the Hypaipan *agoranomos* and *chreophylax* Aur. Croisus,¹⁹³ and another contribution of 750 that was used for the restoration of the ‘New Baths’.¹⁹⁴

This contextualised analysis of the evidence clarifies some of the circumstances explaining the appearance of such exceptional testimonies in this region. On the one hand, it is undeniable that the recorded payments were connected with specific local magistracies – *logisteia* and *komarchia*. On the other, the

¹⁸⁹ Altınoluk (2013) 23-25.

¹⁹⁰ *I.Eph.* 3855 [cf. Pleket (1970) 78-79].

¹⁹¹ *I.Eph.* 3858.

¹⁹² On the position of *κωμαρχης* see Schuler (1998) 233-235.

¹⁹³ *I.Eph.* 3854 [cf. Pleket (1970) 79-81].

¹⁹⁴ *I.Eph.* 3857.

continuous reference to ad hoc resolutions adopted by the different *katoikiai/komai* challenges the assumption that such a procedure was as simple as a regular and standardised *summa honoraria*.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, the sums of money given by the different *komarchoi* vary at a rate not matching inflation even in the better-documented and chronologically traceable case of the (D)ideiphytenoi.¹⁹⁶ The contributions, at the same time, are almost always linked with exceptional expenses, be it the *tiron* or the repair of bathing facilities. Finally, why would local notables such as M. Aur. Artemidorus and Lucius Hierax need to promote and encourage institutionalised payments for offices? All these observations should prevent the use of such documents as clear attestations of *summa honoraria* in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. On the contrary, my analysis has instead tried to highlight the importance of these testimonies in attesting the presence of mechanisms of cooperation which rural communities could initiate when they wanted to undertake bigger enterprises. Likewise, these inscriptions clearly show that the decisions of *katoikiai*, *komai* and other local entities continued to be fundamental to the civic life and political activity attested in this historical corner of Lydia. Artificial boundaries between *poleis* were not, in any case, an obstacle to the presence of similar entities which did not originate in the 3rd century AD as suggested by the already Hellenistic occurrence of some of those terms. All these points and the progressive normality of the procedures attested in the middle Cayster valley are clearly illustrated by the latest testimony available from the Hypaipan *katoikia* of (D)ideiphytenoi. In the year 320 (AD 272/3), Aur. Marcus gave 1000 *denarii* for the *komarchia*.¹⁹⁷ It was not the first time that this apparently Ephesian man had made a contribution (τάχειον ἔδωκα),

¹⁹⁵ See Pont (2010) 357-361.

¹⁹⁶ For example, the payment of 250 *denarii* in AD 213/4 became 500 in AD 220 [cf. Pleket (1970) 80].

¹⁹⁷ *I.Eph.* 3856.

which was still encouraged by the entire *katoikia* (προτρεψαμένης δέ με πάσης τῆς κατοικίας).¹⁹⁸ Indeed, the entire process had become customary (καθὼς ἔθος) by that time.¹⁹⁹

II.2.3. Hypaipa and the East

The analysis of several inscriptions from the middle of the Cayster valley has shown that not only the rural entities belonging to Ephesus maintained a considerable degree of political activity until, at least, the mid-3rd century. The little surviving evidence found in the remaining territory of Hypaipa equally indicates that such a reality was not exclusive to the lands around the *katoikia* of (D)ideiphytenoi. A marble plaque now stored in the Museum of Izmir but most likely from near Hypaipa records how the *katoikia* of [?]izolenoi honoured an association (συνβίωσις) of Euemerioi because their ten Aurelian members had given 20.000 *denarii* to their fatherland.²⁰⁰ A *bouleutes* of Hypaipa is attested in a sarcophagus also kept in Izmir – the Cayster valley is nowadays part of this Turkish province.²⁰¹ Both testimonies indicate that the city, just like Ephesus, had central political institutions on top of the *katoikiai/komai* distributed across its territory. The 3rd century activity of such institutions is particularly visible in the honours that the *boule* and *demos* granted to the winners of the Artemisian festival.²⁰² Notwithstanding the similar name, these games are not connected with the Ephesian Artemis but with the local Artemis-Anaitis; the city's

¹⁹⁸ Compare, for example, with the case of Aur. Metrodorianus, a citizen of Hypaipa with possessions in Didephyta but maybe residing in the Ephesian *katoikia* of Almourenoi in AD 290-300 [see Kirbihler (2012) 318].

¹⁹⁹ Ricl (2009b) 188 has reported the existence of another related inscription from the *katoikia* of (D)ideiphytenoi. This unpublished testimony is dated to either AD 233/4 or 270/1 and records a payment of 5000 *denarii*.

²⁰⁰ *I.Eph.* 3817 [cf. *SEG* 49.1475 and Altinoluk (2013) 27]. On the nature of this type of association see Bowersock (1999).

²⁰¹ *I.Eph.* 3828.

²⁰² See Altinoluk (2013) 33-36. Compare also with other well documented cases of rural settlements and distant urban centres of Asia Minor such as Kyaneai [Kolb-Thomsen (2004); Schuler (2004)], or Miletus [Lochmann (2004)].

Persian goddess which was already reported by Pausanias and Tacitus and features frequently on local coins.²⁰³ The annual contest comprised both athletic and stage competitions and is epigraphically attested from the 24th celebration until at least the 64th.²⁰⁴ The majority of the victors were of Hypaipan origin and the festival never reached the higher categories of international contests even if the participation of athletes from Sardis, Thyateira and Cyzicus is confirmed.²⁰⁵ Likewise, organisers such as Aur. Moschion IV, son of an *asiarch*, appear to be local too.²⁰⁶

The epigraphic information about the remaining settlements in the eastern section of the Cayster valley is even more limited but indicates the existence of analogous circumstances.²⁰⁷ In the modern village of Çayağzı, an inscription dating to 248 – AD 200/1 according to the Caesarean era – records that a *katoikia* decided by vote (ψηφισάμενοι) the setting up of a stele to Zeus Digindenos on behalf of Menander II because he perpetually gave 150 *denarii* for a local contest that he had already been financing for six years.²⁰⁸ In the entire territory of Koloe to which the aforementioned *katoikia* most likely belonged, three funerary inscriptions produced after AD 212 mention three different local institutions as recipients of fines from grave-violators.²⁰⁹ A public resolution found close to Koloe's urban centre also honoured Aur. Menecrates in connection with his supervision of some sort of construction work.²¹⁰ In Dioshieron – between Hypaipa and Koloe –, a father

²⁰³ Paus. V.27.5-6; Tacitus *Ann.* IV.55 [cf. de Hoz García-Bellido (1999) 73-76; Nollé (2012a)]. For the celebration of the Artemisia festival and its representation in the local coinage see *I.Eph.* 3809-3815; *SEG* 27.787; Robert (1976a) 32-43; Altınoluk (2013) 37-45, 57-59. On the Persian substratum of Lydia see Mitchell (2007b) 159-160; Sekunda (1985); Briant (1985) 177-181.

²⁰⁴ *I.Eph.* 3812, 3810, 3809. *I.Eph.* 1107 precisely confirms that the Artemisia festival of Hypaipa was still celebrated shortly before AD 235.

²⁰⁵ *I.Eph.* 3809, 3813, 3814.

²⁰⁶ *I.Eph.* 3809-10.

²⁰⁷ See Ricl (2014b) 8-10.

²⁰⁸ *SEG* 57.1194. On the nature of the foundation and the local god to which the *katoikia* dedicated this inscription see Herrmann-Malay (2007) 130-131.

²⁰⁹ *I.Eph.* 3709, 3712, 3711.

²¹⁰ *I.Eph.* 3728.

prepared a bronze statue for his deceased son in either AD 233 or 236 and the existence of a previous public authorisation is very likely.²¹¹ This same πόλις Διοσιερείτων was the sole recipient of the fine that Aur. Menocrates, Aur. Metrodorus and Aur. Apollonius stated in the sarcophagus of their family, descendants and slaves.²¹² Finally, the south-eastern community of Palaiapolis and its local *strategos* honoured in AD 211/2 a Roman senator, who is described as “the city’s own benefactor from his ancestors” (ἐκ προγόνων εὐεργέτης).²¹³

II.2.4. The Rural Communities

The epigraphic evidence from the Cayster valley collected above shows the unquestionable importance that the political institutions of rural communities continued to have in the civic life of their inhabitants during the first half of the 3rd century AD. The prevalence of the system of *katoikiai/komai* in the rest of Lydia provides us with additional relevant materials, which support even more vividly the validity of that scenario and deserve a special mention. In particular, I am referring to the famous ‘confession inscriptions’ especially in the north-eastern tract of the Hermus valley, which shed light on aspects of these local institutions normally absent from regular honorific and funerary texts.²¹⁴ Such exceptional testimonies usually present us with a first-person vision of the individuals mentioned in the inscription. While the epigraphic survival of such direct experiences is almost unique, the depicted scenes and procedures should be conceived in other areas of Lydia, where this type of evidence is simply not available.

²¹¹ *I.Eph.* 3758.

²¹² *I.Eph.* 3751.

²¹³ *I.Eph.* 3707 [cf. Eck – Merkelbach (1979)].

²¹⁴ See Petzl (1994).

The first relevant piece of evidence comes from Castolupedion between Philadelphia and the Katakekaumene and possibly dates to AD 210/1.²¹⁵ A marble stele dedicated to Mên Petraites and Labanes reports that two orphans called Metrophanes and Flavianus had been subject to the plots of some fellow villagers (ἔνιοι ἄνθρωποι ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆ[ς] κώμης), who were ruined by credits and tried to steal documents from their house. The *katoikia* of Tazanoi, considering this unacceptable (ἀδοξήσασα), consequently initiated a process of divine justice (ἐπέστησε τὸ σκῆπτρον) against the wrongdoers so that they were punished by the god.²¹⁶

The second document comes from Kollyda (modern İncesu/Gölde) and shows the passive involvement that local institutions could also provide.²¹⁷ In this case, Ammianus and Hermogenes, after having consulted several gods and a local religious association called Ἱερὸν Δοῦμον, asked their *katoikia* how they could obtain mercy for having “held back their father while he was confessing the powers of the gods”. Their father had died and both sons finally decided to set up an inscription in AD 205/6 proclaiming precisely that “no one at any time should disparage the gods”.²¹⁸ The maintenance of a similar intermediary role in relation to the diverse deities worshipped in this corner of Lydia is also attested in AD 228/9, when the *katoikia* of Nisyreoi prepared a vow to Zeus Seleukos and the καρποδοτεῖραι Nymphai for bringing the fruits mature and harmless.²¹⁹ Nonetheless, the participation of these entities in the religious life of their communities did not always prevent conflicts; not even at the end of the 2nd century as the recent discovery of another inscription from

²¹⁵ TAM V.1.231.

²¹⁶ See Riel (1995b) 69-70. On the use of this ‘divine justice’ mainly attested by confession inscriptions see Chaniotis (2004a, 2009). On the role of *katoikiai* and *komai* see Schuler (2012) 80-88.

²¹⁷ SEG 57.1186.

²¹⁸ See Herrmann-Malay (2007) 113-116; Chaniotis (2010c) 301.

²¹⁹ On the dedication of inscriptions for good crops see Robert (1940a) 313; Robert–Robert (1956) 170-171; (1973) 151; Schuler (2012) 68-74.

İncesu/Gölde dating to AD 198 has graphically attested. Apparently, a crowd gathered with swords, sticks and stones next to the basilica of the village, and crushed both the sacred personnel (ιερόδουλοι) and the images (ἀφροδρίσματα) of the gods after the celebration of the local festivity (ιορτή) of Mên Motylleites.²²⁰

Along with these vivid depictions of civic life, there are multiple customary inscriptions confirming the positive engagement of the population of rural Lydia with their local political institutions. For instance, the *katoikia* of Naeitenoi near the ancient Macedonian settlement of Blaundos honoured Aur. Eilus, a descendant of consuls, senators and asiarchs, because he showed an exceptional affection (στοργή) towards both the whole community (τὸ κοινόν) and each of its inhabitants.²²¹ In Castolupedion, Aur. Antoninus was commemorated by his mother after the *katoikia* of Sasotrei voted a corresponding resolution.²²² Likewise, the *katoikia* of Myleitai in the territory of Philadelphia praised the *axiologotatos* asiarch and leader (προστάτης) Aur. Manilius Alexander with a statue, which was set up by the *komarchoi* in AD 229/30.²²³ A year later in the territory of Iulia Gordos, the *matrona stolata* Aurelia Aelia Phoibe used her own funds to dedicate the construction of a *peristoon* in the local baths not only to the gods of the fatherland and the emperor Severus Alexander, but also to the ‘very beloved’ *katoikia* of Hysennoi.²²⁴ A similar preoccupation with the local baths – also very prominent in the Cayster valley – appears in one petition found in the modern village of Kasar near ancient Satala and the *katoikia* of

²²⁰ SEG 57.1185 [cf. Chaniotis (2010c) 300]. On the celebration of festivities in rural contexts see Schuler (1998) 267-272.

²²¹ SEG 41.1017 [=von Saldern (2006) no.23]. A Fl. Aur. Eilus is recorded as first archon of nearby Apollonshieron under Caracalla [BMC Lydia p. 24, no.10]. On the Macedonian origin of this *polis*, which was still claimed in the 3rd century AD [IGR IV.717=von Saldern (2006) no.22], see Cohen (1995) 290-292.

²²² TAM V.1.228.

²²³ TAM V.3.1494.

²²⁴ TAM V.1.758. Possibly, his son Aur. Aelius Phoebus is later attested on local coins of Iulia Gordos as *archon*, *agonothetes*, equestrian and relative of senators under the emperors Valerian and Gallienus [BMC Lydia p. 98, nos. 45-48].

Iouddenoi.²²⁵ The inhabitants of this area complained about the unbearable exactions and assaults carried out by soldiers and armed groups into their village (ἀνυποίστοις δὲ φορτίοις καὶ ζημιώμασιν ἐνσεΐοντες τὴν κώμην).²²⁶ These circumstances caused such a state of need (ἀπορία) that bathing (λουτρόν) was no longer possible. My next chapter will extensively study this type of petition as they provide invaluable evidence for the assessment of the communication existing between Roman emperors, provincial administrators and the rural communities under their rule in the first half of the 3rd century AD. For now, the results of the current analysis indicate that the communities responsible for such appeals continued to have systems of political organisation and civic action which comply with the circumstances attested in the remaining rural settlements of Lydia.

II.2.5. The Urban Centres

At the beginning of the imperial age, Strabo already remarked that the people farming the fertile territory of Philadelphia played a crucial role in the development of the urban centre.²²⁷ My previous study of the Cayster valley has equally shown that the central institutions and possibilities offered by cities such as Ephesus and Hypaipa continued to be important to the individuals participating in the civic life of the *katoikiai/komai* of Lydia during the 3rd century AD.²²⁸ A statue of the children of Kore, set up in the baths of Sardis in AD 211 and dedicated to Caracalla and Geta for the prosperity (εὐετηρία) and bloom (εὐθαλεία) of both the city and the περίχωρον, confirms that such a beneficial symbiosis was indeed relevant.²²⁹ In the last section of this second case study, I want to analyse the epigraphic evidence surviving from the

²²⁵ TAM V.1.611.

²²⁶ See Hauken (1998) 247-250; Robert (1943) 115.

²²⁷ Str. XIII.4.10.

²²⁸ See also Mitchell (1999b) 31-33.

²²⁹ SEG 36.1095. On the cult of Kore in Sardis see Hanfmann (1983) 92-93; de Hoz García-Bellido (1999) 37.

remaining urban centres of the region in order to assess whether their local activity and political continuity are comparable to the situation previously attested in the rural entities.

Since this analysis will combine inscriptions from multiple settlements, I must emphasise again the diversity and singularities that each of the cities still preserved in this period. Such a diversity has to do not only with the different landscapes mentioned in the introduction but also with a plethora of particular institutions and organisations which I will not be able to pin down in the following collective approach. Likewise, the state of epigraphic investigation is not homogenous among the many urban centres located in this region. For example, the study of the evidence from Philadelphia and its surroundings has been illuminated thanks to the very recent corpus of Petzl (2007). The remaining volumes of *TAM V* provided by Herrmann (1981-1989), together with later additions mainly by Malay, are equally comprehensive for the areas in the North East and West. On the other hand, the biggest collection for Sardis and its territory is largely insufficient,²³⁰ despite the fact that this monumental *polis* was the most important centre of Lydia during the imperial period.²³¹ For all these reasons, I will follow a similar approach to the one used in my previous case study of Ephesus, focusing on the families, individuals, institutions and celebrations comprising the civic life of that active city.

The evidence of Lydia has not so far provided cases as illustrative of the continuity of elite families as those of the Ephesian T. Fl. Damianus and his descendants, who were clearly traceable between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

²³⁰ Buckler–Robinson (1932). Despite later additions mainly by Robert (1964); Gauthier (1989) and more recently Herrmann (1993), the evidence available is still quite incomplete, especially regarding funerary inscriptions [see Alpers–Halfmann (1995) 2].

²³¹ Plin. *Hist.Nat.* V.111 [cf. Habicht (1975) 71-77]. For an archaeological and historically contextualised review of the development of the city in the imperial age see Hanfmann–Yegül–Crawford (1983). On the literary sources mentioning Sardis see Pedley (1972) 62-66.

Nevertheless, stories of an analogous local success, which survived through several generations, are still conceivable when one, for example, examines the evidence of the relatives of M. Aur. Diadochus Tryphosinianus. This equestrian high-priest and sponsor of gladiatorial spectacles in both Pergamum and his fatherland Thyateira appears as magistrate on coins of Macrinus and was married to Aurelia Hermonassa.²³² His grandfather Moschianos was honoured by the gymnastic club of Heracles,²³³ and his father reached the rank of *prytanis*.²³⁴ As for Hermonassa's family, the parents of this perpetual priestess of Tyche and multiple *prytanis* were the renowned rhetor M. Aur. Athenaius and Flavia Priscilla, a descendant of a senatorial lineage (γένος συγκλητικῶν).²³⁵ Her brother M. Aur. Priscillianus was an equestrian *neokoros* and had a son, M. Aur. Priscillianus Saturninus, who was later honoured with a statue by another association called Ἀκμασταί.²³⁶ Another fellow Thyateiran and perpetual boularch called M. Iulius Menelaus managed to become high-priest and ambassador of the city and even hosted Caracalla during an imperial visit which will be extensively analysed in the following chapter. His father Iulius Dionysius had equally followed the usual steps in the career of the local notables of the region and became twice *stephanephoros* and *asiarch* in Pergamum.²³⁷ Both father and son also actively contributed to the games established by (Iulius) Dionysius himself before his adulthood.²³⁸ In the other extreme of Lydia, the homonymous father of the Philadelphian first *strategos* Fl. Aur. Hephaistion II was referred to as an *axiologotatos* boularch when he supervised the setting up of the statue which the ψηφίσματα of a κρατίστη *boule* and the λαμπρότατος *demos* had previously decreed

²³² See Chapter I.3.

²³³ TAM V.2.994.

²³⁴ TAM V.2.952.

²³⁵ TAM V.2.954.

²³⁶ TAM V.2.957.

²³⁷ TAM V.2.969. For a stemma of this family and its role in Thyateira see Herrmann (1989) 356.

²³⁸ TAM V.2.960, 992.

for M. Aur. Diodorus II.²³⁹ The latter was member of the *boule*, *gerousiastes*, *agoranomos*, treasurer, ephebarch, hipparch, secretary of the local Haleia games and was in charge of the fair that the Asian *koinon* held in the *agora* of the city for twenty-one days. One of his relatives, the asiarch Aur. Manilius Alexander, was honoured by the *katoikia* of Myleitai in AD 229/30.²⁴⁰ All those inscriptions should demonstrate that such stories of continuous activity and ancestral involvement were still possible in the cities of Lydia in the first half of the 3rd century AD.

On other occasions, a reference to the ancestors was not mentioned by the local population in order to extol initiatives and benefactions going beyond what may have been expected, requested and even necessary. This is precisely the case of another Philadelphian called Aur. Hermippus, who received inscribed honours by the local tribe of wool-workers (φυλὴ τῶν ἐριουργῶν) for the many aspects which his extensive participation in local civic life involved.²⁴¹ At the institutional level, he had been first archon and held “the rest of magistracies”. Moreover, he paid not only for his own liturgies but also for those of his sons, including the burdensome *sitonia*.²⁴² Regarding the communal celebrations of the city, he became *xystarch*,²⁴³ local priest of Artemis and provided gladiatorial spectacles while he was imperial high-priest. Finally, his pecuniary contributions had also been sizeable as he gave 10.000 *denarii* for the repair of the theatre roof, 500.000 to his *patria* for the purchase of grain, 50.000 to the *boule*, 10.000 to the *synedrion* of Elders and, most importantly, 1000 to the seven tribes of the city – one of which was honouring him – so that they could

²³⁹ TAM V.3.1495. On the recent identification of either the father or the son as first *strategos* in local coins under Elagabalus see Petzl (2007) 79. The honours that the tribe of shoe-makers prepared for Fl. Aur. Hephästion II himself also followed the resolutions of the council and people of Philadelphia [TAM V.3.1491].

²⁴⁰ TAM V.3.1494.

²⁴¹ TAM V.3.1490.

²⁴² See Strubbe (1987, 1989).

²⁴³ On this local position which was appointed by the emperor see Robert (1966) 82; Herrmann (1996) 337.

purchase statues. Even if they are not as comprehensive, honours for Aur. Artemidorus,²⁴⁴ Aur. Hermogenes IV,²⁴⁵ and Aur. Asclepiades suffice to illustrate that there were similar careers deserving commemoration in Thyateira after AD 212.²⁴⁶ Likewise, such a scenario is also corroborated by the evidence surviving from the smaller urban centres of north-western Lydia. For instance, the same *boule* and *demos* of Hierocaesarea, which was able to produce honours for Septimius Severus,²⁴⁷ decided by voting the praise of the *stephanephoros* Aur. Diogenes II.²⁴⁸ We also know that one of the 3rd century presidents of that *boule*, Aur. Glycon II, took good care of the statue granted to another benefactor of the city.²⁴⁹ The records of the *agonothetes* and first *archon* Aur. Bassus confirms his beneficial actions since his childhood.²⁵⁰

As it has already been noted in Ephesus, the common appearance of hierarchical and joint magistracies is also evident in the careers of those participating in the local political institutions of 3rd century Lydia.²⁵¹ The process is again observable both in bigger centres such as Sardis,²⁵² and in minor settlements such as Apollonis. There, the magistrates who were in charge of an honorific statue of Furia Sabina Tranquillina were described as [οἱ] περὶ Αὐρ. Ἀττα<ι>κ[όν].²⁵³ The *boule* and *demos* of this same city also honoured Aur. Auxanon because, among other things, he

²⁴⁴ TAM V.2.948.

²⁴⁵ TAM V.2.953. See also TAM V.2.926 where a similar distribution (νομή) provided by P. Aelius Laelianus is attested probably in the reign of Severus Alexander [Herrmann (1989) 340]. This same man also financed an elaborate statue group in the gymnasium of Thyateira.

²⁴⁶ TAM V.2.947.

²⁴⁷ TAM V.2.1262.

²⁴⁸ SEG 49.1570.

²⁴⁹ TAM V.2.1268. This benefactor, L. Iunius Annius Maximus Paulinus, might be identical to the consul of AD 207 [PIR² IV 3 no.729, 797. cf. Halfmann (1982) 631 on Dio Cass. LXXVIII.11.1].

²⁵⁰ SEG 57.1238. Herrmann (1989) 469-470 had previously placed the *katoikia* of Tyanolleitai in Hyrkanis' territory but see now Herrmann-Malay (2007) 33 for Hierocaesarea.

²⁵¹ See chapter II.1.3.

²⁵² I.Sardis 60.

²⁵³ TAM V.2.1191.

had been the highest ranked *strategos* twice.²⁵⁴ In the distant territory of Blaundos, one inscription records another first archon called Ti. Claudius Alexander, who also appears as magistrate on local coins of both Elagabalus and Maximinus Thrax.²⁵⁵ Such similarities between the Lydian evidence and the results previously provided by the investigation of the capital of Asia are not coincidental. In both areas, the extensive record of resolutions passed by the core political institutions of the communities is equally confirmed. In Thyateira, an honorific base even informs us of the existence of public funds (πολιτικά χρήματα),²⁵⁶ which the *boule* and *demos* may have used for the repair of roads dedicated to the emperor Elagabalus.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, the inscriptions of both Ephesus and Lydia illustrate analogous activities carried out in key places of civic reunion and commemoration such as the agora.

An exceptional epigraphic testimony listing the fountains of Sardis is one of the most revealing examples of that particular aspect.²⁵⁸ Even though the date of the inscription could not be identified by the original editors, the new discovery of honours for a cousin of two *consulares* almost certainly mentioned in the list should place the setting up of the stone in the first half of the 3rd century.²⁵⁹ In addition to providing information about the location of those fountains and many unknown details of the urban layout of Sardis, the text also contains numerous references to buildings hosting the civic life of this city.²⁶⁰ Multiple temples, the gymnasium of the

²⁵⁴ TAM V.2.1192.

²⁵⁵ SEG 41.1015 [=von Saldern (2006) 24].

²⁵⁶ TAM V.2.947 [cf. TAM V.2.942, 970, Lambrinudakis–Wörrle (1983) 341 no.310].

²⁵⁷ TAM V.2.871. Regarding the funerary inscriptions available, the common specification of fines to be paid to the *polis* and other civic entities [TAM V.2.1076, 1080, 1081, 1142, 1144, 1150, 1152; SEG 57.1235], as well as the deposit of copies in the public archive matches with the evidence previously studied in the Cayster valley. TAM V.2.1084 confirms that this practice continued until at least the 240s.

²⁵⁸ I.Sardis 17.

²⁵⁹ Herrmann (1993) 257-263 identifies Rufus and Lepidus to the C. Asinnius Rufus Nicomachus and C. Asinius Lepidus, cousins of Asinius Nichomachus Phrugianus (see below).

²⁶⁰ On the importance of the fountains for the cities of Asia Minor in the imperial period see Pont (2010) 169-174.

elders (or γερουσιακός), an odeon and the agora are explicitly mentioned.²⁶¹ The latter reference needs to be connected with the survival of a marble pedestal recording that a local *agoranomos* called Aur. Chryserus II donated the same type of Erotas statues that also decorated the contemporary markets of Ephesus and Side. Another inscription discovered in one of stoas of Sardis also reports the existence of a municipal bread-seller (ἀρτοποιῆς πολιτικός), who was a member of the *gerousia*.²⁶² The preoccupation of the Lydian city with the agora and its crucial provisions is ultimately attested in the honours that the *boule* and *demos* granted to C. Asinnius Nicomachus Frugianus.²⁶³ This descendant of a consular family with a generous record of *euergesia* in the region is said to have extraordinarily helped his fatherland by holding the *agoranomia* in a period of necessity.²⁶⁴ As a result of this urged assistance,²⁶⁵ one of his friends and Sardian *bouleutes* called Servilius was allowed to set up a statue of him at the *macellum*. Even the governors praised the uprightness of the generous magistrate, who is also attested on coins of Severus Alexander and Mamaea.²⁶⁶

The common occurrence of professional associations in Lydia can also be better understood in a context that fostered spaces of commercial activity.²⁶⁷ Above, we have seen that the wool-makers honoured Aur. Hermippus after he gave money to the tribes of Philadelphia. At least another tribe of the city was related to

²⁶¹ Surviving landmarks also include the sanctuaries of Zeus and Men, mystery-halls, the *Menogeneion*, the synagogue, a two storey-building with towers, one guard-house, and the city's gate.

²⁶² *I.Sardis* 166.

²⁶³ *SEG* 43.865.

²⁶⁴ For the stemma of this branch of the family see Herrmann (1993) 255. In AD 134/5, for example, Asinius Rufus sent a letter to the magistrates of Sardis in which he stated that a nearby village belonged to him since his ancestors [*SEG* 44.977]. In the 3rd century, this family is also attested in Blaundos [*JGR* IV.717 = von Saldern (2006) no.22].

²⁶⁵ *SEG* 43.865 (ll. 16-17): προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. Note the use of the same verb attested in the encouragements of the Cayster Valley.

²⁶⁶ *BMC Lydia* p. 267 no.178-179. See Herrmann (1993) 252-254.

²⁶⁷ Petzl (1999) 482-485. On the positive participation of associations in the civic life of the *poleis* see van Nijf (1997) and Harland (2003) 89-112, who also reject the idea that the prominent public presence of associations is a sign of political decline. For a recent catalogue of all the professional groups attested in Asia Minor see Dittmann-Schöne (2011).

craftsmanship in the 3rd century: shoemaking (σκυτέοι) in this case.²⁶⁸ In Thyateira, both the wool-makers, fullers, tanners and gardeners are attested preparing honorific monuments for Gaius Perelius Alexander and M. Gn. Licinius Rufinus, two of the most prominent locals in the 220s.²⁶⁹ The dyers even set up a statue for one of its members, Aur. Artemagoras, who belonged to the family in charge of the workshop (ἐπιστησάμενος τοῦ ἔργου) for six generations.²⁷⁰ The prime and uninterrupted importance of this type of association in the civic life of many Lydian communities becomes particularly obvious in the small settlement of Saittai. Here, the local guild (συνεργασία) of wool-makers, who already honoured a certain Hermothestos in AD 196/7,²⁷¹ continued its activities until at least AD 238/239.²⁷² The presence of other professional groups such as felt-makers and flax-workers is attested during the same period.²⁷³ However, not all the varied associations in this settlement were related to textile manufacturing.²⁷⁴ For example, one association of Chrysanthioi managed to prepare a funerary inscription for Aurelius Primus in AD 225.²⁷⁵ The terms γειτονία and συνβίωσις are also attested in the city in 193, 204 and 224 respectively.²⁷⁶ Similarly, the importance of the aforementioned *Hiera Doumos* in the lands near Kollyda is also confirmed in AD 223/4, when this group honoured Aur. Glycon for his benefactions and religiosity during his priesthood of Artemis-Anaitis.²⁷⁷ Finally, it

²⁶⁸ TAM V.3.1491. See Petzl (2007) 77; van Nijf (1997) 233. For other examples of such tribes see Kunnert (2012) 29-35.

²⁶⁹ TAM V.2.1119; SEG 49.1699; TAM V.2.986; SEG 47.1656.

²⁷⁰ This man had also held important public offices under Severus Alexander [*BMC Lydia* CXXV, no.6. cf. Pleket (1984) 24-28; Bennett (2011) 154-155].

²⁷¹ SEG 49.1668.

²⁷² SEG 49.1673.

²⁷³ See van Nijf (1997) 232-233. These professional groups also had seats reserved in the theatre of Saittai, see Kolb (1990). On the presence of groups and activities related to textile production in Asia Minor see Labarre-Le Dinahet (1996). For its organisation and characteristics see also Zimmermann (2002).

²⁷⁴ See Petzl (1999) 482.

²⁷⁵ TAM V.1.93.

²⁷⁶ SEG 31.1035; 33.1020; TAM V.1.88, 89.

²⁷⁷ TAM V.1.449.

is worth noting that the funerary monument of a *protokometes* and “rod-bearer” (ναρθηκοφόρος) near Daldis was prepared by another association called Σπεῖρα.²⁷⁸

Some of the associations attested in 3rd century Lydia were also deeply committed to the maintenance and promotion of sporting activities. For example, the gymnastic club of Hercules that honoured M. Aur. Diadochus Tryphosinianus’ grandfather in the late 2nd century was responsible for the organization of epinician games in Thyateira celebrating the Parthian victory of Severus Alexander in the 230s.²⁷⁹ After 212, the *hymnodoi* of the Mother of Gods prepared an inscription of Aur. Pollythalus,²⁸⁰ who had been *agonothetes* in the festival dedicated to the ancestral god Apollo Tyrimnaios.²⁸¹ As we shall see, this local festival reached international rank under Elagabalus with the mediation of Gaius Perelius Alexander. Thyateira also hosted Asklepeian contests in the first half of the 3rd century AD.²⁸² In this copious sporting and cultural scene, the victorious career not only of the wrestling star Perelius Alexander is explained, but also the appearance of two Thyateiran athletes in Smyrna, who gained public recognition after the Ionian city was granted its third neocorate.²⁸³ Still in north-western Lydia, the commemoration of the victors of the Artemisian festival played a prominent part in the epigraphic production of Hierocaesarea too.²⁸⁴ In Philadelphia, we have seen before that the organisation of the Deia Haleia festival was a common element in the careers of successful local citizens. The attested presence of internationally renowned athletes such as the *bouleutes* of Kibyra Polikrates shows that the importance of this civic celebration was not

²⁷⁸ TAM V.822.

²⁷⁹ TAM V.2.949, 1008, 1009.

²⁸⁰ TAM V.2.955.

²⁸¹ TAM V.2.956. On the origins and local prominence of this god see de Hoz García-Bellido (1999) 53-54.

²⁸² TAM V.2.947, 1017.

²⁸³ I.Smyrna 666, 667.

²⁸⁴ TAM V.2.1271-1276 [cf. Robert (1948b) 43-48].

ephemeral.²⁸⁵ In fact, it continued until at least AD 253-260 when an Olympian victor attested on local coins of Daldis participated.²⁸⁶ Even in north-eastern Lydia – notorious for its lack of conspicuous urban structures and corresponding epigraphic production –,²⁸⁷ one of the very few attestations of an acting *boule* and *demos* (Balgis) records honours for a local magistrate who included the *agonothesia* in his career.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ TAM V.3.1506.

²⁸⁶ TAM V.3.1511. M. Aur. Peius Socrates appears on coins of Daldis under Gallienus [Robert (1934) 54-58; (1976) 187-189]. For his Olympic career see Moretti (1957) 174-175.

²⁸⁷ For example, the denomination *lamprotate* and *lampras* is attested for Silandos and Bagis only under the rule of the Tetrarchs [TAM V.1.47, 214]. On the chronology of local coinage production in this region see Debord (1985) 352.

²⁸⁸ SEG 57.1221. The inscription was prepared by the περιπολιστικαὶ σύνοδοι for C. Iulius Aelianus, probably under Severus Alexander. His *stephanephoria* would also be attested in local coins [SNG 3181 cf. AE 2007.1359]. On the nature and parallels to this association see Herrmann-Malay (2007) 97 no. 170]. On the rarer celebration of festivals in rural settlements compare with the case of Orkistos in Phrygia, which had one in AD 237 and was later granted city status under Diocletian [Buckler (1937). cf. MAMA VII.305 with Feissel (1999)].

II.3. APHRODISIAS

Halfway between the two geographical extremes studied in this thesis, the city of Aphrodisias is particularly renowned for its spectacular urban development in the Roman imperial period.²⁸⁹ From a relatively insignificant cluster of settlements between the Maeander valley and Mount Kadmos (Babadağ) in the Hellenistic age, Aphrodisias rose to such a prominent position as to become the capital of the new province of Caria by the 4th century AD.²⁹⁰ Previously, this city of Aphrodite had been one of the strongest supporters of the Romans and their allegedly kin Venus in decisive moments of the Republican conquering expansion over Anatolia. The Senate of Rome rewarded Aphrodisias' alliance with the status of *civitas libera* in the 1st century BC, a grant which promoted the city to the same privileged position that will later be observed in another case study of the chapter: Termessos Maior in Pisidia.²⁹¹

Continuous archaeological campaigns around the modern village of Geyre have brought to light the monumental effects of the subsequent development: the theatre, one of the best preserved stadiums of the Graeco-Roman Antiquity, temples, streets and traces of marble magnificence such as the Tetraspylon and the many statues and ornaments produced by local workshops.²⁹² Among this wealth of material, the exploration of Aphrodisias has provided scholars with one of the richest

²⁸⁹ See Raja (2012) 9-53.

²⁹⁰ For the earliest attested occupation of the site of Aphrodisias see La Genière (1987). On the creation of the *polis* from different settlements in the area see Ratté (2008); Chaniotis (2010a) 461-466; and also Reynolds (1985) concerning specifically the union of Plarasa and Aphrodisias. See also Chaniotis (2003a) on the progressive creation of a civic identity, and Pierobon (1987) for the name of city and its relation with the civic goddess Aphrodite. A complete topographical description of Aphrodisias and its region can be found in Ratté (2012).

²⁹¹ See Reynolds (1982) 1-6.

²⁹² On the early excavations and the later establishment of the University of New York mission see Erım (1986) 37-131. For the subsequent campaigns following the death of Prof. Erım see Smith (1996) and the frequent reports published thereafter in the *American Journal of Archaeology* and *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*. On the famous marble quarries feeding the building projects of the city see Rockwell (1996) and Long (2012). These same quarries also provided material for the famous sculptor's workshop of the city, which maintained its production both in the Roman imperial period and Late Antiquity [see Squarciapino (1943, 1991); Drew-Bear (1980) 535-536; Erım—Reynolds (1989); Smith (2011)].

sets of epigraphic evidence available from Asia Minor. The efforts of the prime epigraphists in charge of its collection and analysis have undoubtedly contributed to a better understanding of the city and its citizens, and this can clearly be observed since the innovative release of the digital corpus of Inscriptions of Aphrodisias in 2007 (*I.Aph.*). Previous examinations of this abundant epigraphic material have produced acute studies of the civic life of Aphrodisias, including aspects such as its relation with Rome,²⁹³ its agonistic competitions,²⁹⁴ and the Late Antiquity period.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, even articles dealing specifically with inscriptions dating to the mid-3rd century AD exist.²⁹⁶ This aspect differs substantially from my preceding analysis of Ephesus and Lydia, which lacked a prior evaluation of their 3rd century evidence from a local perspective. As a result, there is already a *communis opinio* which is considerably favourable to the prosperity of Aphrodisias in the period under study. The same previous studies, nonetheless, have not sufficiently explored the continuity of families and political institutions allowing the development of this inland connector between the provinces of Asia and Lycia-Pamphylia precisely from the reign of Septimius Severus until Decius' accession.

II.3.1. Epigraphic Remembrance: Ancestry, Rank and Civic Action

The following analysis of the local civic life of Aphrodisias in the first half of the 3rd century AD starts detached from monumental buildings decorating its urban centre. Beyond hubs of political activity such as its theatre and a well preserved *bouleuterion*, the site of Aphrodisias still offers remains of multiple necropoleis which provide information particularly relevant to this period.²⁹⁷ From the end of the 2nd and

²⁹³ Reynolds (1982).

²⁹⁴ Roueché (1993).

²⁹⁵ Roueché (1989a).

²⁹⁶ Roueché (1981); Pont (2014).

²⁹⁷ See Ratté (2012) 35.

continuing well into the 3rd centuries AD, the city witnessed a spectacular increase in the production of sarcophagi.²⁹⁸ Such funerary monuments were commonly inscribed and record testimonies of families and practices which have previously enabled the assessment of the impact of the CA on the nomenclature of the inhabitants of Asia Minor. The formulae carved in their sides are mostly repetitive and, in the majority of cases, the individuals mentioned are not elsewhere attested in the available evidence.²⁹⁹ Consequently, the potential relevance of this type of material does not normally go beyond the limits of the production of epigraphic corpora and is commonly discarded. One of the hundreds of Aphrodisian sarcophagi that could have followed the same path belonged to M. Aur. Athenagoras, son of Eudamos.³⁰⁰ It was found in the north-eastern necropolis, approximately 5 km away from the city centre and was prepared for Athenagoras himself, his wife Aurelia Meltine and their homonymous *Aureliae* daughters. The inscription states that anyone without the right to be buried or intending to break into the tomb shall be “impious and accursed and a tomb-breaker and in addition he is to pay to the most sacred treasury 2500 denarii of which the third will be the property of the prosecutor”.³⁰¹ A copy of this text was deposited in an archive called χρεοφυλάκιον when Attalis Aphion, daughter of Menekrates, was στεφανηφόρος for the thirteenth time.

The structure of the text is absolutely standard: the names of the family members – otherwise unknown – responsible for the tomb, other individuals with the right to be buried in it, a curse for tomb-breakers, the established fine and the deposit of a copy in the municipal archives with a dating formula.³⁰² The use of a local

²⁹⁸ See Smith (2008) and Ögüş (2014a). On the general typology of Aphrodisian sarcophagi see Işık (2007); Turnbow (2012); Ögüş (2014b). See also Kubinska (1970) concerning funerary practices.

²⁹⁹ See Roueché (1989a) 190 and Reynolds–Roueché (2007) 147–152.

³⁰⁰ *I.Aph.* 13.203.

³⁰¹ Translation by Reynolds.

³⁰² Chaniotis (2004b) 400–403; Harter-Uibopuu–Wiedergut (2014).

magistrate such as the *stephanephoros* to date inscriptions is also typical as the evidence from Ephesus with its eponymous *prytaneis* has already shown.³⁰³ More noteworthy is the fact that Attalis Aphion was holding her position for the thirteenth time and that she has to be identified with a famous benefactor, priest and high-priest of the city who dedicated buildings to the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, Aphrodite, and the *demos* of Aphrodisias in the first half of the 1st century AD.³⁰⁴ According to a statue base of the emperor Titus that the city prepared with the funds left by her, Attalis would have died by AD 79.³⁰⁵ These same posthumous funds were also used in the construction of new baths,³⁰⁶ and obviously in the provision of perpetual *stephanephoriai*. Again, the inscribed testaments of members of other prominent Aphrodisian families such as Attalos Adraistros,³⁰⁷ or Pyrrhos show that bequeathing funds to the institutions of the city for this purpose was customary.³⁰⁸ In the case of Attalis, we know that her 7th *stephanephoria* occurred between AD 117 and 150,³⁰⁹ and the attested 9th and 11th most likely before AD 212.³¹⁰ There should be, however, no doubts that the sarcophagus of M. Aur. Athenagoras dates after the CA as well as those recording Attalis Aphion for the 15th and 16th time.³¹¹ This case therefore indicates that, on the one hand, the succession of such *post-mortem* honorary magistracies had precedents in the 1st and 2nd centuries and, on the other, that the appearance of such references in the 3rd century continue to follow similar patterns.

³⁰³ See Sherk (1991) 231-232.

³⁰⁴ *I.Aph.* 9.112, 1.7, 9.25 [cf. Reynolds (1981); Pont (2008a) 185; Bourtzinakou (2011) no.566].

³⁰⁵ *I.Aph.* 12.614.

³⁰⁶ *I.Aph.* 5.6.

³⁰⁷ van Bremen (2010) 44.

³⁰⁸ Reynolds (1987) 110; Chaniotis (2004b) 407-408.

³⁰⁹ *I.Aph.* 12.26d.

³¹⁰ *I.Aph.* 12.1109, 12.525, 13.147.

³¹¹ *I.Aph.* 13.702, 13.154.

Likewise, citizens of Aphrodisias such as M. Aur. Athenagoras continued to rely on public archives to deposit inscriptions safeguarding their eternal rest.³¹²

Another famous and repeatedly recorded *stephanephoros* of the city was L. Ant. Cl. Domitinus Diogenes.³¹³ His will has not been discovered – perhaps was never inscribed – and the location of his likely magnificent tomb is not known either; yet his importance for the civic life of Aphrodisias in the 3rd century AD is undeniable. Honours decreed by his fatherland between the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries describe this provincial high-priest and perpetual gymnasiarch as νομοθέτης.³¹⁴ There are no indications as to what laws or regulations Domitinus Diogenes may have established for Aphrodisias, but this aspect of his political life was so significant that, besides the inscribed reference, it also appears to be represented in the rolls decorating his surviving portrait.³¹⁵ The base attached to this famous statue – found precisely outside the *bouleuterion* – specifies that the honorand was a father and grandfather of senators.³¹⁶ Again, the local prominence of the Domitinus Diogenes' family can be traced since the beginning of the imperial age.³¹⁷ It is therefore not surprising that by the early Severan period he was already a full Roman citizen and decided to make use of such an elaborate and mixed nomenclature. However, neither his early ancestors nor the aforementioned Attalis Apphion could have imagined the successful imperial careers and rank advancement that some members of the Aphrodisian elite like him could reach at the end of the high imperial period. Both Domitinus Diogenes' sons, T. Cl. Ant. Attalus and Diogenes, indeed

³¹² On the physical existence of the building see Chaniotis (2008) 66-69.

³¹³ For the complete list of testimonies see Bourtzinakou (2011) no.768. For the dating of his *stephanephoriai* see Chaniotis (2004b) 413.

³¹⁴ *I.Aph.* 12.416. See Reynolds (2008) 185.

³¹⁵ Smith (2006) 71, 170-176. On the representation of symbols of learning and *paideia* in the statues and sarcophagi of the high imperial period see Borg (2004).

³¹⁶ *I.Aph.* 2.17.

³¹⁷ See e.g. *I.Aph.* 8.23, 9.25 [*PIR*² C.853].

emphasised their status of *συνκλητικοί* when they honoured each other.³¹⁸ The fact that it is mentioned in the equally famous statue and base representing their *κρατίστη* cousin and benefactress Antonia Tatiane indicates that this aspect was truly a matter of pride for the entire family.³¹⁹ The senatorial status also featured both on the honours that the institutions of Aphrodisias decided for such successful citizens and the sarcophagi of their property managers.³²⁰ Such a distinctive imperial career did not mean disregard for their local benefactions and we actually know that T. Cl. Ant. Attalus left funds for perpetual *stephanephoriai* following the tradition of his ancestors.³²¹ Moreover, his son and the latest direct member of the family attested, T. Cl. Ant. Diogenes Iulianus, received another statue after the *boule* and *demos* praised him for his *εὐεργεσία*.³²²

The case of the late descendants of the Carminian family in Aphrodisias bears many similarities. Like Domitinus Diogenes, Ulpia Carminia Claudiana reached the high-priesthood of Asia and could be praised for being a mother and grandmother of senators.³²³ Her many local benefactions won her the title of ‘daughter of the city’ and most likely a statue accompanying the marble base set up by M. Aur. Zenobius IV.³²⁴ Despite the post-CA date of this inscription, the prominence of the Carminian family in Aphrodisias can be traced back to the 2nd century AD. By virtue of the multiple epigraphic and numismatic attestations of successful *Carminii*, it is known that this family came originally from Attouda, a small settlement on the other side of Mount

³¹⁸ *I.Aph.* 2.16. See Bourtzinakou (2011) nos.607, 769.

³¹⁹ *I.Aph.* 2.13, 12.323 [Bourtzinakou (2011) no.2163]. On her possible connection with the sister of the Roman procurator Aemilius Aristides, see Reynolds (2008) 186. For her statue see Smith (2006) 216-218.

³²⁰ *I.Aph.* 12.520, 12.908; Chaniotis (2004b) 409-411.

³²¹ *I.Aph.* 11.32.

³²² Bourtzinakou (2011) no.789.

³²³ Bourtzinakou (2011) no.1466.

³²⁴ *I.Aph.* 12.1020.

Kadmos.³²⁵ After the success of his father's local and provincial career,³²⁶ M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus married Flavia Apphia, the daughter of the first Aphrodisian procurator.³²⁷ This union rolled out an extensive building programme under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius that included new streets, reforms in the gymnasium and the expensive expansion of the theatre *cavea*.³²⁸ The economic power of his father, combined with the rank acquired by his mother, promoted their son T. Fl. Carminius Athenagoras Claudianus to a memorable imperial *cursus* that included his admission into the senate, the subsequent consulate, and finally, the governorship of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia most likely under Commodus.³²⁹ Even though he fell into disgrace in the early Severan period,³³⁰ her niece Ulpia Carminia Claudiana still claimed to be a relative of this distinguished branch of the family. The senatorial titles also feature on the honorific inscription set in Aphrodisias for M. Fl. Carminius Athenagoras Livianus, the son of the consul.³³¹ With regard to the branch that Carminia Claudiana herself belonged to, acquisition of the uppermost imperial ranks was delayed another generation. Previously, her parents M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus (II) and Ulpia Claudia Carminia Procle could only claim distinguished provincial or local positions, which were not very significant beyond the province of Asia.³³² Nevertheless, the involvement from members of both Flavian and Ulpian

³²⁵ Thonemann–Ertuğrul (2005) 77-78.

³²⁶ Thonemann–Ertuğrul (2005) 79-80.

³²⁷ See Reynolds (1999).

³²⁸ Pont (2008b) 221-226.

³²⁹ Thonemann–Ertuğrul (2005) 80; Pont (2008b) 221.

³³⁰ Dig. XXII.1.6 [cf. Thonemann–Ertuğrul (2005) 81].

³³¹ *I.Aph.* 12.1018.

³³² There are problems to identify exactly the progenitors of Ulpia Carminia Claudina. Thonemann–Ertuğrul (2005) make him a direct descendant of M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus (I) and his second wife Carminia Ammia [*MAMA* VI.75]; and therefore identify him with the M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus *junior* attested in *MAMA* VI.74. Pont (2008b) 236-237, instead, suggests that Ulpia Carminia Claudiana's father is a son of that M. Ulp. Claudianus *junior*. Her arguments are based on the existence of coins of Attouda dating to 166-169 and 198-211 respectively, on which two Ulp. Carminius Claudianus are recorded as asiarchs. Pont rejects the identification of this first asiarch with M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus (I) and suggests two different generations between both asiarchs. While Pont is right in highlighting such a chronological oddity, her arguments to reject the possibility of identifying

branches of the Carminian family is certain and continued in the first decades of the 3rd century. For example, a seat was reserved for Ulpia Carminia Claudiana in the same auditorium that had been sponsored by the money of her prime ancestor M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus (I).³³³ At the same time, the conspicuous presence of this woman in Aphrodisias did not prevent her from maintaining a considerable degree of attachment to her ancestral homeland in Attouda too.³³⁴

Local prominence did not necessarily translate into immediate international significance. This reality – previously observed in both Ephesus and Lydia – appears to be applicable to the honorific inscription of Septimius Chares Aeneas’ wife.³³⁵ Counted among the ancestors of this unnamed woman were high-priests, *stephanephoroi*, and remarkably, the founders of Aphrodisias (συνκτίσαντες τὴν πόλιν), whose allegiance to the civic cult of Aphrodite had always been held in high esteem.³³⁶ However, her career was mostly renowned for her title of ‘daughter of the city’ and for her devotion as Aphrodite’s flower-bearer (ἀνθηφόρος). Even within this local sphere, imperial recognition was attained when Severus Alexander awarded her the *stola* of the matrons.³³⁷ Prospering in the local civic life of Aphrodisias was still achievable in the first half of the 3rd century, and some of its citizens took this opportunity. This was exactly the case of Iul. Aur. Charidemus Iulianus. As recorded by his family tomb, his father, the high-priest Ti. Cl. Aur. Zelus, was a sophist who

this later asiarch M. Ulp. Claudianus with a brother and not the father of Ulpia Carminia Claudiana are not equally convincing.

³³³ *I.Aph.* 8.81. See Roueché (1993) 117.

³³⁴ Carminia Claudiana appears as magistrate of Attouda on coins of the city with Geta’s portrait [see Pont (2008b) 237 no.97]. The coins do not record yet the position of high-priestess of Asia which appears in the post-CA inscription honouring her in Aphrodisias. Her attestation as *kratiste* in an unpublished inscription [see Bourtzinakou (2011) no.227] would also correspond to that later stage of her career.

³³⁵ *I.Aph.* 1.187.

³³⁶ For an account and significance of these founding families see Reynolds (1982) 164-165.

³³⁷ On the meaning and chronology of this title see Holtheide (1980). Another *matrona stolata* called Aelia Iulia Apphia is attested in *I.Aph.* 12.1210.

had undertaken great building projects in the city.³³⁸ Zelus' wife was Iulia Paula who claimed to be a descendant of *stephanephoroi* and high-priests including those who had advocated for the autonomy of the city.³³⁹ These precedents set by the family could only anticipate the appraisal of Charidemus as σοφιστής in the posthumous honours extolling his numerous magistracies, his performance of generous liturgies and the establishment of a foundation for the city.³⁴⁰ His remaining epigraphic traces corroborate such an active civic engagement as he is also recorded as the leading organiser of a local agonistic competition in c. AD 226.³⁴¹

The best surviving example showing that Charidemus' case was not unique in the second quarter of the century is provided by the testimonies of another prominent citizen called T. Cl. Ctesias. He personally supervised the setting up of Cl. Domitinus Diogenes' statue mentioned above. His name is presumably recorded in honours that the *boule*, *demos* and *gerousia* decided after he established a foundation of several thousand *denarii* too.³⁴² As for Ctesias' family, his father Ti. Cl. Capitolinus had been responsible for the twin statue of Claudia Antonia Tatiane. Given the available prosopographical information, it is difficult to elucidate whether the names Ti. Cl. Aur. Capitolinus and Ti. Cl. Aur. Ctesias appearing after AD 212 refer to the same persons or later descendants.³⁴³ In either case, the admiration that the latter Ctesias gained as a rhetor originated in the local politics of Aphrodisias.³⁴⁴ As such, it is reasonable to suppose that this man was one of the named ambassadors who advocated for the privileged rights of their fatherland before Gordian III.³⁴⁵ Another

³³⁸ *I.Aph.* 12.909 [cf. Bourtzinakou (2011) no.1084].

³³⁹ Bourtzinakou (2011) no.1978. See also Reynolds (1982) 164 for his possible connection with the great Aphrodisian builder and freedman of Octavian C. Iulius Zoilos.

³⁴⁰ *I.Aph.* 13.205. [cf. Puech (2002) 166-174].

³⁴¹ *I.Aph.* 11.58, 12.35.

³⁴² *I.Aph.* 12.28.

³⁴³ See Bourtzinakou (2011) 223-224, 231-232.

³⁴⁴ *I.Aph.* 12.324 [cf. Puech (2002) 187-189].

³⁴⁵ *I.Aph.* 8.103 [Reynolds (1982) 135].

letter sent by this same emperor acknowledges the diplomatic mediation of another distinguished member of the political community called Ti. Iul. Candidus Hegemoneus.³⁴⁶ This first archon was also involved in the religious institutions of Aphrodisias and supervised the setting up of a statue for a victorious boxer,³⁴⁷ and the honours granted to the famous governor of Asia Victor Lollianus in the 240s.³⁴⁸ In all these testimonies, references to previous family crowns, priesthoods and consulships were still included as a matter of pride. The mentality and epigraphic record of Hegemoneus with respect to his role in his fatherland does not seem to have substantially changed from those earlier Aphrodisians flourishing in the late Antonine and early Severan period. The analysis of evidence from the city dating to the second half of the 3rd century will show that traces of similar attitudes can still be found in the more limited testimonies available, which record cases such as P. Ael. Hilarianus,³⁴⁹ and Antonius Claudius Nicomachus.³⁵⁰

II.3.2. “Ἀφροδεισιέων τοῖς ἄρχουσιν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ”

The previous section has studied the surviving traces of some of the most prominent and successful families who deserved remembrance in the city. The aim now is to explore how the remaining epigraphic records can help to shed light on the structures that made the civic life in which they thrived possible. In contrast to the inscriptions analysed in the previous case studies, those of Aphrodisias are not particularly detailed in outlining the careers of the people honoured. Instead, most of the precious inscribed space was left for the display of ancestors and descendants whose

³⁴⁶ *I.Aph.* 8.102 [Reynolds (1982) 133].

³⁴⁷ *I.Aph.* 11.60.

³⁴⁸ *I.Aph.* 11.414 [Reynolds (1994)].

³⁴⁹ *I.Aph.* 12.535. His consular father P. Ael. Apollonianus already appeared on coins dating to AD 247-249 [MacDonald (1992) 41; Eck (1981) 235-236].

³⁵⁰ See chapter IV.4.

nomenclature, titles and ranks promoted the status of the family.³⁵¹ Such subtle differences between local epigraphic habits would also explain the fact that references to the status of *bouleutes* are very rare, with the remarkable and controversial exception of the so-called ‘God-fearers’ inscription.³⁵²

In spite of those particularities, official letters in the 3rd century AD continued to be addressed to the *archons*, *boule* and *demos* of the Aphrodisians as expected in the other *poleis* of Asia Minor. The earliest surviving evidence from this city shows that Roman authorities followed this procedure from Q. Oppius at the end of the first Mithridatic war,³⁵³ until at least the reign of Decius and Herennius Etruscus in AD 250.³⁵⁴ Another customary aspect of the inscriptions of Aphrodisias is the attestations of honours for individuals approved by that same *boule*, *demos*, and more rarely, *gerousia* in the first half of the 3rd century.³⁵⁵ One of those inscriptions, for example, specified that the statue of the advocate Ael. Aur. Ammianus Papias was prepared by his brother according to resolutions and through a decree (κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα καὶ διὰ ψηφίσματος).³⁵⁶ The emperor Gordian III also mentioned that one of the embassies sent by the city reached him after the Aphrodisian people passed a decree.³⁵⁷ Naturally, the degree of discussion preceding such decisions varied, for instance, between the letter that was sent to Septimius Severus and Caracalla celebrating their Persian victory,³⁵⁸ the commemoration of the notorious philosopher T. Aur.

³⁵¹ See also Chaniotis (2013a) 223 and Morgan (2014).

³⁵² *I.Aph.* 11.59; 12.215; 11.55. Even though a date before the CA was widely accepted following Reynolds–Tannenbaum’s cautious conclusions (1987) 20, Chaniotis (2002) prefers a date in Late Antiquity, which I agree with. On the appearance of *bouleutai* in this inscription as a sign of the 4th century AD see Mitchell (1998) 73 no.72. On the other possible attestations of the Jewish community of Aphrodisias see Ameling (2004) 70-123; Trebilco (1991) 152-155.

³⁵³ *I.Aph.* 8.2. [Reynolds (1982) 16-20].

³⁵⁴ *I.Aph.* 8.114 [Reynolds (1982) 140-143].

³⁵⁵ E.g. *I.Aph.* 12.28.

³⁵⁶ *I.Aph.* 12.21.

³⁵⁷ *I.Aph.* 8.102 (ll.4-6).

³⁵⁸ *I.Aph.* 8.36.

Alexander,³⁵⁹ and the simple authorisation of posthumous statues financed with private funds.³⁶⁰ Likewise, the attestation of sequences such as “highest honours” (κάλλισται/μέγισται τειμαί) in the evidence implies the availability of a range of options to the members of a political community whose decisions still had some relevance.³⁶¹ The statues that the *demos* exclusively granted first to Caracalla and Iulia Domna,³⁶² and later to a governor of Asia under Severus Alexander could only be possible in a context that fostered political action.³⁶³ In this respect, we know that the *boule* used its own funds (ἐκ τῶν προσόδων πάσης τῆς βουλῆς) around AD 230-240 for the statue of a young pancratiast set up by its president.³⁶⁴ This institution also received money from at least three private foundations in the first half of the 3rd century.³⁶⁵

These types of foundations also show that funds were available for the establishment of the posthumous *stephanephoriai* mentioned above. The traditional grant of perpetual γυμνασιαρχία was equally common,³⁶⁶ even if the current archaeological excavations have not yet unearthed any of the Aphrodisian gymnasia.³⁶⁷ In terms of the actual tasks of such officers, the epigraphic records found in Aphrodisias are once more not particularly revealing. For example, the position of *gymnasiarch* is only mentioned in series of completed magistracies.³⁶⁸ The

³⁵⁹ SEG 54.1031. For the date of the inscription and the importance of this imperial philosopher see Chaniotis (2004c).

³⁶⁰ E.g. *I.Aph.* 15.321, 15.329.

³⁶¹ *I.Aph.* 12.539, 1.171.

³⁶² *I.Aph.* 12.641, 12.642.

³⁶³ *I.Aph.* 12.33.

³⁶⁴ *I.Aph.* 15.364.

³⁶⁵ *I.Aph.* 12.534, 15.321, 1.171. On the nature of this type of foundation see Reynolds (1982) 170. For other examples specifying political institutions as beneficiaries see Laum (1914) 160-162.

³⁶⁶ E.g. *I.Aph.* 12.1007 (ll.23-25); 13.6 (ll.16-23).

³⁶⁷ See Chaniotis (2008) 63, 70-73.

³⁶⁸ *I.Aph.* 12.416 (perpetual), 1.187.

attestations of the secretary of the *demos*,³⁶⁹ *agoranomos*, *argyrotamias* occurred in exactly the same way.³⁷⁰ In the case of archons such as Ti. Iul. Candidus Hegemoneus, and especially the more frequently displayed position of *πρῶτος* / *πρωτολόγος ἄρχων*,³⁷¹ we know that the group supervised the setting up of one of the statues of Caracalla prepared with the funds left by Flavius Attalus.³⁷²

In contrast, there is no such scarcity of detail with regard to the equally hierarchical office of *ἀρχινεωποιός*. A funerary inscription probably dating to the mid-3rd century shows that such *neopoioi* were still the gold-wearing (*χρυσοφόροι*) treasurers of the funds of Aphrodite.³⁷³ The connection of the group with the maintenance of this civic cult is particularly significant.³⁷⁴ Previous inscriptions such as those of the family of Sept. Chares' wife record individuals who were still praised for holding honourably the priesthood of the native goddess. The continuity of the flower-bearing ceremony related to it is also certain after AD 212,³⁷⁵ and a letter from the governor Sulpicius Priscus to Aphrodisias promised the performance of sacrifices for Aphrodite on behalf of the fortune, salvation and continuation of the imperial family.³⁷⁶ The common appearance of her image even on the latest local coins of the city,³⁷⁷ as well as her frequent receipt of funerary fines is natural, given this

³⁶⁹ For the appearance of this office in either the Hellenistic or early imperial period see Chaniotis (2004b) 381, 383. See also Chaniotis (2008) 63 with regard to the building possibly attached to it.

³⁷⁰ *I.Aph.* 12.21, 11.57.

³⁷¹ E.g. 12.416 (under Sept. Severus), 11.414 (under Caracalla). Another *protos archon* called Stratonikos is attested on coins of the city dating to AD 249-251 [MacDonald (1992) 42]. As already noted by Roueché (1989a) 12, collective archontates start appearing in the city in the 2nd century AD, and became customary in the 3rd following the same tendency towards hierarchical offices highlighted in the remaining case studies of the chapter.

³⁷² *I.Aph.* 12.326.

³⁷³ *I.Aph.* 13.154. Their connection with Aphrodite is also stated in *I.Aph.* 11.57 and 1.177. For the tasks and evolution of the office see Chaniotis (2004b) 402-403. On the origins of *chrysophoria* in Asia Minor see Kuhn (2014).

³⁷⁴ On the presence of other cults in the city besides Aphrodite's see Chaniotis (2010b), especially regarding the attestations of priests of Dionysos in the period under study [*I.Aph.* 13.205, 12.513, 12.638, 12.712].

³⁷⁵ *I.Aph.* 1.187, 12.215, 14.18

³⁷⁶ *I.Aph.* 12.34.

³⁷⁷ See Brody (2007) 29-40.

context.³⁷⁸ Also related to her cult was the Aphrodiseia Philemonieia festival, the organisation of which was precisely run by those *neopoioi* between the end of the 2nd and mid-3rd centuries.³⁷⁹ The celebration of both this contest and many other agonistic competitions played a very important role in the civic life of this *polis*.

II.3.3. The Agonistic Factor

The Aphrodisians cared about the maintenance of festivals and their concern is particularly obvious during the reign of Commodus. When an asiarch called M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles was sent by the Roman authorities to supervise the finances of the city, the political institutions of Aphrodisias specifically requested him to “make provision for everything related to agonistic matters (κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας)”.³⁸⁰ The surviving reply provided by this *curator* (λογιστής) to the magistrates, council and people of the city sheds light on the reality subsequently attested in the period under study.³⁸¹

In the letter, Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles confirmed that he had not failed to observe this important aspect of the civic life of Aphrodisias because of the memory of those individuals who had bequeathed the contests, the reputation of the city, and the insistent inquiries of the associations of artists. Moreover, he explained that some competitions could not take place because the funds accruing from the endowments were not sufficient.³⁸² Such problems, however, had not affected the contest that Fl. Lysimachus had founded because the sum of 120.000 *denarii* sufficed to hold the

³⁷⁸ *I.Aph.* 13.112, 13.156, 13.604, 11.29, 13.154, 13.101, 13.108, 13.109.

³⁷⁹ See Roueché (1993) 168. The regulations of the local Kallikratean games also specified that the priest of Aphrodite played an important role in its organization [*I.Aph.* 15.330 (I.9)]. The position of *archineopoios* also features in the numerous series of coins struck under the magistracy of Ti. Cl. Zenon between AD 209 and 211 [cf. MacDonald (1992) 40].

³⁸⁰ *I.Aph.* 12.538. See Reynolds (1982) 119-124.

³⁸¹ See Roueché (1993) 164-165.

³⁸² *I.Aph.* 12.538 (II.9-12). On the usual yield of such foundations and the problems that could affect them see Duncan-Jones (1982) 132-138. For antecedents of this practice see Laum (1914) 87-93; Migeotte (2010); Camia (2011); and naturally, the illustrative foundation of Demosthenes in Oinoanda [Wörle (1988)].

diverse musical and performing competitions comprising the Lysimacheia every four years.³⁸³ Another authorisation by Appuleius Eurycles appears to have been also necessary for the new *agon* that Kallikrates, son of Diotimos, bequeathed. This is inferred from another inscription establishing the required amount of money, the due time for the contest and even the first president of the games because the founder was already dead.³⁸⁴ Therefore, these exceptional testimonies illustrate, on the one hand, the complex process involved in founding games with private funds. On the other, they reveal that both financial resources and personal interest were essential to maintain the memory of the founders in the future generations.

When all these factors are taken into account, the continuity of the aforementioned Aphrodiseia Philemoniea festival becomes even more relevant to the assessment of the civic life of Aphrodisias in the first half of the 3rd century AD. Although the foundational act of this festival does not survive, the first available record specifies that the father of a boxer who won the 3rd competition was able to prepare a statue of his son with “the prize received from the heirs of Philemon following the instructions of Ulp. (Appuleius) Eurycles”.³⁸⁵ The intervention of the appointed *curator* presumes again the existence of precise instructions and solid financial resources that permitted the maintenance of both this agonistic celebration and the many statues of victors resulting from it. Indeed, the consecutive fifth, ninth, fifteenth and twentieth *Philemoniea* are epigraphically attested.³⁸⁶ Given that the games began during the reign of Commodus and were held in a four year cycle, it can

³⁸³ An honorific inscription for M. Fl. Antonius Lysimachus describes him as ἀγωνοθέτης δι' αἰῶνος Λυσισμαχίων ἀγώνων [*I.Aph.* 12.325. cf. Roueché (1993) 174-175]. The list of competitions and corresponding prizes is also attested in *I.Aph.* 11.21. Compare, for example, with the list of another local festival of Aphrodisias, which included a wider variety of gymnastic and equestrian activities in addition to the musical disciplines [*I.Aph.* 11.305. See Roueché (1993) 168-173].

³⁸⁴ *I.Aph.* 15.330 [Roueché (1993) 166-167, 175-176].

³⁸⁵ *I.Aph.* 11.223. For the type of agonistic statues to which the father Artemidoros may be referring see Van Voorhis (2008).

³⁸⁶ *I.Aph.* 11.224, 13.152, 11.58, 12.35, 11.60.

be concluded that the Aphrodisians still enjoyed this festivity until at least the 240s.³⁸⁷ During this period, the community witnessed the continuous carving of honorific inscriptions that followed a very similar model. The majority of victors likewise continued to be runners and wrestlers with predominantly local careers.

Aphrodisias, nevertheless, also attracted and exported some international contestants potentially following the steps of that pancratiast under Hadrian who received praise from the imperial associations of athletes and performers “for having turned to the ways of virtue from his earliest youth and obtaining by sweat and labour his noble reputation and [admiration] by all men throughout the inhabited world”.³⁸⁸ A good example confirming that such possibilities were still open to the Aphrodisians in the early 3rd century is provided by Zenon Aeneas, son of Chares.³⁸⁹ A member of a prominent family, he achieved sacred victories (ιεροεΐκης), was many times an exceptional fighter (παράδοξος) and also took part in the local contest organised by Menestheus Isobounos – magistrate of coins dating to c. 195-196.³⁹⁰ Another more successful athlete, who secured a Pythian victory, was the runner M. Aurelius ?, son of Timokles.³⁹¹ He won competitions in Bithynia, Pontus, Chalcedon, Nicaea, Nicomedia and Ancyra and received multiple local citizenships as a reward.³⁹² His participation in the Asclepeian contest of Galatia undoubtedly places his honorific inscription after Caracalla’s reign.³⁹³ Perhaps in this same period, the people of Ephesus expressed his affection and goodwill towards Aphrodisias because the latter

³⁸⁷ Roueché (1993) 178.

³⁸⁸ *I.Aph.* 12.719 (ll.9-14).

³⁸⁹ *I.Aph.* 1.177.

³⁹⁰ For his very plausible connection with the aforementioned Sep. Chares Aeneas see Roueché (1993) 211; Bourtzinakou no.1193, 2332.

³⁹¹ *I.Aph.* 12.215.

³⁹² See Roueché (1993) 199-200.

³⁹³ See Robert–Robert (1960) 364-365; Mitchell–French (2012) 319.

city was the ancestral fatherland of one of its most successful Olympian victors, Aur. Achilles.³⁹⁴

The plethora of spectacles offered to the civic community was not only restricted to the musical and athletic *agones* mentioned above. We know that gladiatorial shows still took place at the end of the 2nd century.³⁹⁵ In the high imperial period, a particular contest for sculptors was also organised in a city renowned for the quality of its marble workshops and the many sculptures – including those of the agonistic victors – that continued to be produced in the first half of the 3rd century.³⁹⁶ For all such occasions, communal spaces of entertainment and reunion such as the theatre were still looked after and thrived with foundations strong enough as to keep hosting events in Late Antiquity.³⁹⁷ It is exactly in this context that Aphrodisias launched an initiative to attain its first international contest, the Attaleia Gordianea.³⁹⁸ In this case, it is impossible to know who amongst the prominent *Attali* of Aphrodisias provided funds for its establishment and what exact process was involved locally.³⁹⁹ It is certain, nonetheless, that the emperor Gordian III was required to authorise such a name and distinctive status as will be demonstrated in chapter III.

³⁹⁴ *I.Aph.* 5.214. See commentaries by Jones (1981) and Roueché (1993) 200-206. On Aur. Achilles' fatherland see van Nijf (2012b) 187 and Smith (2007) 209 for the *in-situ* discovery of the base in the Hadrianic baths.

³⁹⁵ *I.Aph.* 12.1211 [cf. 11.224]. For other Aphrodisian materials representing gladiatorial spectacles see Hyrchuk Kontokosta (2008).

³⁹⁶ *I.Aph.* 12.31 [see Ritti (1971); Erim-Reynolds (1989); Roueché (1993) 208-209]. The continuity of both style and technique between the mid-2nd and the mid-3rd centuries AD does not allow a precise quantification of the amount of statues produced in the period under study as concluded by Smith (2006) 68-69.

³⁹⁷ A dedication to Aphrodite and Caracalla found in the theatre records the repanelling of the podium wall around the orchestra [*I.Aph.* 8.115]. See Reynolds (1991) 28 and Pont (2010) 119-120 for other inscriptions recording the building history of the theatre. For the continuity of spectacles in late antique Aphrodisias see Roueché (1991) and (1989) 218-228.

³⁹⁸ On the lack of international games at Aphrodisias before the 3rd century see Roueché (1993) 161.

³⁹⁹ See Roueché (1993) 180. A fragment of what appears to be the front face of a sarcophagus records a possible schedule of the Attaleian games [*I.Aph.* 15.281 cf. Roueché (1993) 182].

Local bronzes immediately commemorated the milestone and, following the model of the Roman Capitolia, these games continued to appear until the reign of Gallienus.⁴⁰⁰

This case study of Aphrodisias started with a typical sarcophagus and will finish with another noteworthy funerary inscription discovered outside the city centre. The name of the deceased is lost, but he most likely descended from senators and consuls.⁴⁰¹ That his ancestry was distinguished and his final resting place in Rome, the “royal” (βασιλική) capital of the Empire, yields no surprise following the analysis of other members of successful families included above. Of greater interest, however, is that a friend called Tib. Cl. Eutygianus brought his remains back to the “very illustrious” city of the Aphrodisians and dedicated a statue to him there. The imperial career of the honorand might have moved him away from the view of Mount Kadmos, yet his attachment to his fatherland persisted. Engagement with the civic life of Aphrodisias also explains why an inscription commemorating the death of this person highlights precisely his *agonothesia* of the Attaleia Gordianea.

Such a great international achievement corresponds to the scenario depicted by the remaining evidence of the city and its 3rd century citizens. On the one hand, robust and functioning institutions were required to discuss and accept the decree which included the petition sent to Gordian III. On the other, the ability of trained and cultured men, *sophistai* and rhetors such as Charidemus and Ctesias, to convince the emperor was beneficial to their already privileged *civitas libera*. In other words, an active civic community was needed in order to initiate and maintain the celebration of this festival. Likewise, sufficient funds had to be available and the communal venues had to be prepared to host such reunions and events of entertainment. Most importantly, Aphrodisias, its people, council and magistrates had to be willing to

⁴⁰⁰ Roueché (1993) 181. See also Macdonald (1992) 31-32 and Johnston (1995) 81.

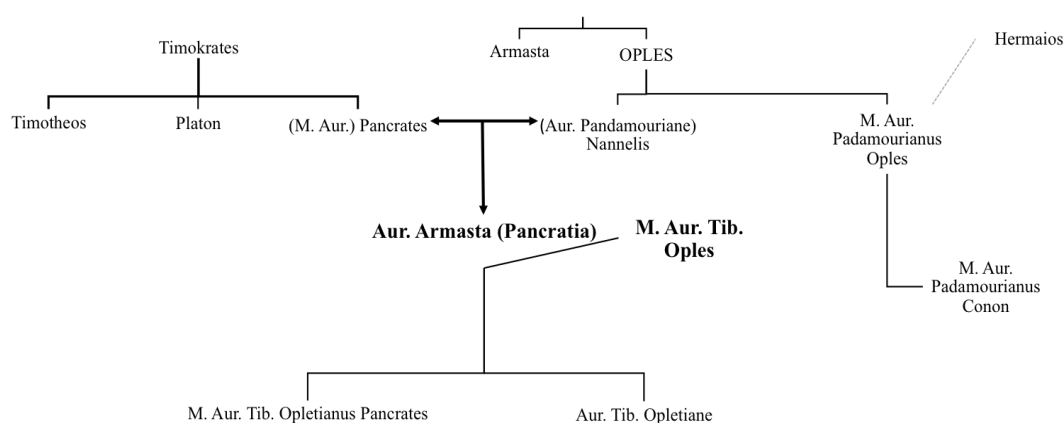
⁴⁰¹ *I.Aph.* 12.36. See Roueché (1993) 180-181 and Chaniotis (2004b) 390-391.

embrace this kind of celebrations with their attendance, contributions or even participation.

II.4. SOUTHERN ANATOLIA

II.4.1 Families, Lineage and the Political Institutions of Termessos

Soon after the enactment of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, Aurelia Pandamouriane Nannelis prepared one of the hundreds of funerary monuments that still decorate the lower outskirts of Termessos.⁴⁰² Following the local practice, an inscription carved in one of the walls of her tetrastyle tomb specifies that the monument was also built for Nannelis' husband, (M.) Aur. Pancrates, her aunt Armasta and their daughter Aurelia Armasta (Pancratia) with the husband of the latter, M. Aur. Tib. Oples. No one else was allowed to place other sarcophagi in this *heroon* or open the existing ones; otherwise that person would become impious and liable to pay a sum of several thousands of *denarii* to the *fiscus*.⁴⁰³ The prosopographical analysis of this kind of monuments illuminates – as they did in Aphrodisias – the civic life and political institutions of this Pisidian city and the Termessian families recorded on them in the first half of the 3rd century AD.



⁴⁰² See van Nijf (2010) for a comprehensive study of these funerary monuments as evidence for local identity. See also Cormack (2004) 306-323 for a descriptive catalogue of some of the most significant Termessian temple-tombs, including the one prepared by Aurelia Pandamouriane Nannelis (pp. 312-314). On similarities with other Pisidian cities see Köse (2007). On the typology of the Termessian sarcophagi see Koch (1982) 546-547.

⁴⁰³ TAM III.1.648.

The same Aurelia Pandamouriane Nannelis preparing that conspicuous tomb for her family provided silver statues and the fine ornaments of a temple that her daughter Aurelia Armasta (Pankratia) built from its foundations with the help of her husband and perpetual priest of the Muses M. Aur. Tib. Oples.⁴⁰⁴ The construction of this new temple had previously been announced by Armasta's grandfather, Timokrates, when P. Aelius Hermaius was eponymous magistrate.⁴⁰⁵ Between that public announcement (εἰσαγγελία) and the surviving dedication, M. Aur. Pancrates, Armasta's father, also held the eponymous office of πρόβουλος and his wife Nannelis equally promised her involvement in the project. The prominence of Armasta's parents among the elite members of the Termessian society is attested before AD 212. Pankrates – when he was still recorded as “son of Timokrates, son of Timotheos” – had been honoured by the *boule* and *demos* with the titles φιλόπατρις and υἱὸς πόλεως during his high-priesthood of the *Augusti*, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta.⁴⁰⁶ Likewise, Nannelis, daughter of Oples, had been high-priestess of Iulia Domna and honoured the aunt with whom she later shared the family sepulchre.⁴⁰⁷ Despite the evident change of nomenclature caused by the CA, the enactment of the imperial edict did not affect the public and private activities of this couple and their descendants. The deferred completion of the aforementioned construction project by Aurelia Armasta (Pankratia) precisely confirms that continuity because the dedication also included honours for Armasta's paternal uncles, Platon and Timotheos.⁴⁰⁸ A similar conclusion can be inferred from the career of her maternal uncle, M. Aur. Padamourianus Oples.

⁴⁰⁴ TAM III.1.17.

⁴⁰⁵ According to Heberdey's (1941) tables, P. Aelius Hermaius [TAM III.17, 124, 131] would have held this position soon before AD 212. As for Armasta's grandfather, Timokrates, his sarcophagus also seems to predate the CA [TAM III.1.778]

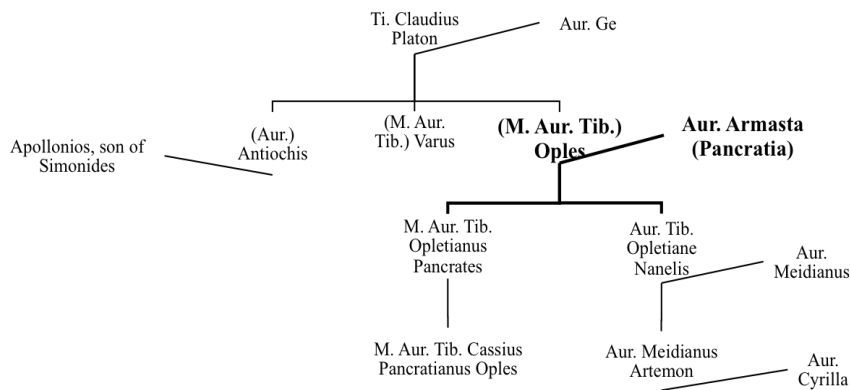
⁴⁰⁶ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.18 [SEG 57.1443]

⁴⁰⁷ TAM III.1.97; İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.9 [SEG 57.1435].

⁴⁰⁸ TAM III.1.124, 131. Both brothers shared a tomb and their non-Aurelian nomenclature may indicate a date preceding the CA [TAM III.1.777].

Although this man belonged by birth to the Oples' lineage (φύσις Οπλεους), he had been adopted by Hermaios, son of Obrimotes, who participated with his fellow *probouloi* in the construction of a royal road (βασιλική ὁδός) at the end of the 2nd century AD.⁴⁰⁹ M. Aur. Padamourianus Oples became himself a well attested *proboulos*,⁴¹⁰ eirenarch,⁴¹¹ and also played a decisive role as πρεσβευτής (ambassador) in the diplomatic relations of Termessos in the second quarter of the 3rd century.⁴¹²

Such elements of continuity and change in the population who experienced the impact of the CA are also illustrated by the family of Armasta's husband, M. Aur. Tib. Oples.



His father, Ti. Claudius Platon, had been *archiproboulos*,⁴¹³ priest of Zeus Solymeos,⁴¹⁴ and sponsored with his wife Aurelia Ge – both *gymnasiarchs* – the celebration of a wrestling competition which his grandson M. Aur. Tib. Opletianus Pancrates dominated.⁴¹⁵ M. Aur. Tib. Oples himself and his brother Varus prepared a

⁴⁰⁹ Heberdey (1929) 59-60.

⁴¹⁰ TAM III.1.104, 141, 142, 158, 179.

⁴¹¹ TAM III.1.104.

⁴¹² İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.149 [SEG 57.1482].

⁴¹³ TAM III.1.51.

⁴¹⁴ TAM III.1.198.

⁴¹⁵ TAM III.1.178.

heroon for their parents and retained the high public profile of the family.⁴¹⁶ (M. Aur. Tib.) Varus, for example, held another priesthood,⁴¹⁷ and won the adult wrestling contest that his brother-in-law and member of the Thoas' lineage, Apollonios, organised for the first time with the funds left by his father Simonides soon before AD 212.⁴¹⁸ Even though the high-priest Apollonios appears to have died shortly after the 4th celebration of the contest and his wife Aurelia Antiochis – sister of Varus and Oples – would have married another husband,⁴¹⁹ the benefactions of this Thoas' lineage are attested until the mid-3rd century.⁴²⁰ As result of these continuous actions, the lineage was considered ἀρχιερατικός, γυμνασιαρχικός and φιλότειμος.⁴²¹ With regard to Aurelia Antiochis, she also became a gymnasiarch and, like her parents, organised another wrestling contest when M. Aur. Padamourianus Oples was *proboulos*.⁴²² The victory crown was again bestowed upon M. Aur. Tib. Opletianus Pancrates – Armasta's and M. Aur. Tib. Oples' son –, and this young wrestler later received honours by the *boule*, *demos* and M. Aur. Tib. Cassius Pancratanus Oples, who set up the statue of his father.⁴²³ The base attached to it was certainly produced in the second quarter of the 3rd century AD and specifies that M. Aur. Tib. Oples had been honoured because of his great benefactions towards the *patria*, including the eponymous archontate and high-priesthood as acknowledged by the provincial

⁴¹⁶ TAM III.1.685.

⁴¹⁷ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.108 [SEG 57.1562].

⁴¹⁸ TAM III.1.177.

⁴¹⁹ Apollonius, son of Simonides, participated as *agonothetes* in the first four celebrations of the games bequeathed by Simonides, son of Apollonios [TAM III.1.145, 149, 177, 183; İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.28 [SEG 57.1467]. None of the winners of these consecutive contests are recorded with Aurelian nomenclature. By contrast, the victor of the 6th celebration was already M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Varus [TAM III.1.173, 174]. The death of Apollonius, son of Simonides, around AD 212 would also explain that the *epimeletes* M. Aur. Aristonicus had to be in charge of the 14th contest [TAM III.1.158]. Consequently, the Aur. Charidemus Apollonius with whom Aurelia Antiochis sponsored the celebration of a new wrestling competition won by M. Aur. Tib. Opletianus Pancrates when M. Aur. Padamourianus Oples (c. AD 231) was *proboulos* [TAM III.1.179] should not necessarily be identified with her previous husband [cf. Heberdey (1929) 104].

⁴²⁰ TAM III.1.150.

⁴²¹ TAM III.1.55.

⁴²² TAM III.1.179.

⁴²³ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.16. [SEG 57.1441].

governors (ὕπὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων μαρτυρηθῆναι).⁴²⁴ His cousin M. Aur. Padamourianus Conon is also recorded as a winner of a wrestling contest,⁴²⁵ and the inscribed history of the family finishes with another family sepulchre that Aur. Tib. Opletiane Nanelis – Pancrates’ sister and granddaughter of Aurelia Padamouriane Nannelis – built for his husband, parents and children.⁴²⁶

Although exceptionally well-illustrated, the activities and intricate connections of these two lineages are not exceptional in the Termessian genealogies of the 3rd century AD.⁴²⁷ This point is evident in the examination of the many agonistic events that could take place thanks to the aforementioned benefaction of Simonides, the father of Apollonios (Aur. Antiochis’ first husband). Among the victors of the at least 27 wrestling contests held, the presence of M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Varus needs to be highlighted. In the same 6th celebration, this adopted member of the prominent Platonian family won both youth and adult wrestling competitions.⁴²⁸ Once he became *proboulos*, he received honours from his colleagues,⁴²⁹ and the guild of shoemakers.⁴³⁰ His successful career, which also included the priesthood of Zeus Solymeus, culminated with his appointment as *logistes* of Sagalassos.⁴³¹ Comparable praiseworthy activities were also conducted by his brother M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Platon.⁴³² This priest of Apollo, together with his *kratiste* wife Aurelia

⁴²⁴ See chapter III.6.

⁴²⁵ TAM III.1.165 [cf. TAM III.1.541].

⁴²⁶ TAM III.1.650.

⁴²⁷ See van Nijf (2010) 171-173. For the most extreme regional example of what van Nijf describes as ‘genealogical bookkeeping’ see the case provided by Licinnia Flavilla and his family in Oinoanda [IGR III.500; Hall–Milner–Coulton (1996)].

⁴²⁸ TAM III.1.173. On his adoption and the honours that he produced for his natural father Medias [TAM III.1.90], see Heberdey (1929) 76, 88.

⁴²⁹ TAM III.1.112.

⁴³⁰ TAM III.1.114.

⁴³¹ TAM III.1.113. On the relevance of this position in the 3rd century AD see chapter III.5.

⁴³² See Heberdey (1929) 77-82.

Artemis, sponsored the construction a new gymnasium with its adjoining porticos,⁴³³ for which the *boule*, *demos* and tribes honoured him as *ktistes*, perpetual *gymnasiarch*, ‘son of the city’, *philopatris*, and even called him ‘new Herodes’.⁴³⁴ Finally, the stepbrother of Platon and Varus, M. Aur. Platonianus Otanes, became *proboulos*,⁴³⁵ perpetual priest of Dionysus, imperial high-priest,⁴³⁶ and made monetary distributions amounting 165.500 *denarii* for which his *patria* produced at least two honorary inscriptions using public funds.⁴³⁷ Two descendants of this prominent generation of brothers are attested: Platon, son of Platon, and M. Aur. Varianus Meidianus Pericles. The latter, son of Varus, won the 3rd and 5th wrestling contests by which his great-grandmother Aurelia Ge (daughter of Otanes) commemorated her own son – and Pericles’ grandfather – Medias.⁴³⁸ This Pericles was already perpetual priest of Asklepios by that time and later became *proboulos* and was praised as *axiologotatos* by his other 11 colleagues.⁴³⁹ A possible cousin of Pericles or perhaps the natural brother of M. Aur. Platonianus Otanes was also honoured by the *boule* and *demos* for his generous eponymous archontante and imperial high-priesthood.⁴⁴⁰ All these civic actions contributed to the commemoration of his lineage as ἀρχιερατικός, γυμνασιαρχικός and φιλότιμος.⁴⁴¹

⁴³³ TAM III.1.21. For a study of this complex also known as ‘north gymnasium’ see Çelgin (1997) 120–140.

⁴³⁴ TAM III.1.57, 121, 122, 123. Since Lanckoronski–Niemann–Petersen (1892) 35, the reference to a ‘new Herodes’ included in the honours prepared by Aur. Soterichus has been identified with Herodes Atticus [*sic* Heberdey (1941) 123]. Such displays of *paideia* in Termessos and Pisidia were common in the high imperial period [see Horsley (1999)] and the constructions and cultural projects promoted by M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Platon would justify such a denomination [see van Nijf (2011a) 228]. This case could be compared, for example, with the famous Sidetan poet Aelius Paion who was called ‘new Homer’ in the mid-2nd century AD [*I.Side* II.70], and an intellectual from Rhodiaopolis, who combined medical practice and poetry of Homeric quality [TAM II.3.910].

⁴³⁵ TAM III.1.153, 156.

⁴³⁶ TAM III.1.110.

⁴³⁷ TAM III.1.108, 109.

⁴³⁸ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.25 [SEG 57.1463; TAM III.1.180, 160. cf. Heberdey (1929) 56–57].

⁴³⁹ TAM III.1.118.

⁴⁴⁰ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.14 [SEG 57.1440a]; TAM III.1.815.

⁴⁴¹ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.15 [SEG 57.1440b].

The prosopographical study of these lineages and their complex genealogies shows that the community in which prominent members of the local elite conducted their activities was well alive before AD 212 and maintained its vitality until the mid-3rd century. Despite the clear impact of the CA on the nomenclature of the predominantly peregrine population of Termessos,⁴⁴² an overall pattern of continuity seems to dominate the development of this richly documented city on the fringes of Pisidia, Lycia and Pamphylia. Indeed, the abundant epigraphic evidence from both the Termessian urban centre and its territory is not restricted to those three families and enables the investigation of the political institutions that made such a civic life possible. Only in this way can Termessos be regarded as a significant case study, whose circumstances will later be compared with the more limited inscriptions available from Perge and Side.

The relevance of Termessos (*Maior*) in the history of southern Pisidia and Lycia is well known since the failed attempt by Alexander the Great to capture this inaccessible site on the Güllük Dağı.⁴⁴³ From their mountainous settlement, the Termessians became a conquering power that even founded the colony of Termessos Minor at Oinoanda.⁴⁴⁴ The history of this *polis* was inevitably transformed in the 1st century BC when the *lex Antonia de Termessibus* was drafted.⁴⁴⁵ By virtue of this law, the *civitas* was granted the privileged status of *leiberi amicei socieique populi Romani* and received an extensive territory reaching the valleys of the Beydağları in

⁴⁴² Heberdey (1929) 15-28.

⁴⁴³ Arr. *Anab.* I.27.5-8, 28.1-2.

⁴⁴⁴ Coulton (1982). See also Polyb. XXI.35 and Livy XXXVIII.15 for the siege of Isinda by the Termessians and the complaints of its inhabitants to Cn. Manlius in 189 BC. On the origin of the Pisidians and their 'Western Expansion' see Hall (1986) 151-152; Doni (2009); Rousset (2010) 89-107; Corsten (2013). For the foreign relations of the cities of Pisidia in the Hellenistic age see Kosmetatou (1997) in general, and Mitchell (1991) 125-132 concerning the Hellenistic archaeological remains in Termessos.

⁴⁴⁵ See e.g. Heberdey (1931).

the South and the lands neighbouring Isinda (modern Korkuteli) in the West.⁴⁴⁶ The prominent role of the city in the history of the region during the Hellenistic and early imperial ages was, however, not matched with a locally robust epigraphic habit. Like most of the cities in this area, the evolution of an epigraphic culture was not completely developed until the high Roman Empire in which the production of sarcophagi and funerary monuments with epigraphs peaked.⁴⁴⁷ For this reason, the majority of the more than 1000 inscriptions discovered in the territory of Termessos belong to that latter category. In contrast with the western Anatolian coast in which the existence of an epigraphic culture is diachronically traceable to earlier periods, the analysis of the political institutions of Termessos needs to be mostly synchronic.

As the testimonies of the family lineages included above have shown, the *boule* and *demos* of Termessos maintained their honorific activities in the two first quarters of the 3rd century AD.⁴⁴⁸ Their decrees were commonly mentioned in the inscriptions that families dedicated to their relatives,⁴⁴⁹ and the existence of honours directly granted by these institutions using public funds (ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων) is also attested.⁴⁵⁰ Moreover, they were sometimes specified as recipients of the fines

⁴⁴⁶ *ILS* 38 [see Crawford (1996) 333-340]. For a study of this bronze tablet discovered in Rome and apparently dating to 68 BC [contra Mattingly (1997)] see Ferrary (1985). Concerning its historical context see also Sherwin-White (1976). The relevance of this law and the privileged status granted to the city in the Roman imperial period is clearly visible in the local bronze coinage that did not include imperial portraits [cf. von Aulock (1979) 46-47; Mitchell (1994) 102; Vitale (2011) 135]. Likewise, Termessians labelled themselves as 'autonomous' in an embassy presumably sent to Zeus in Mylasa in AD 93/94 [*I.Mylasa* 364] and, then, the commander of the troops chosen by the city to assist the emperor Marcus Aurelius was referred to as ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων συμ<μ>άχων [*TAM* III.1.877]. On the extensive territory granted to the city see İplikçioğlu (2004); Magie (1950) 1176-1177; Onur (2005) 9-10; Vitale (2011) 139-145. The defence of those rights is analysed in Chapter III.2.

⁴⁴⁷ Mitchell (1999a) 420-423.

⁴⁴⁸ Compare, for example, with the nearby settlement of Trebenna in which an *ekklesiasterion* was built after AD 212 with the support of private benefactors, who were able to use public wood [Lanckoronski-Niemann-Petersen (1892) p.224, no.184. cf. Sartre (1995) 222].

⁴⁴⁹ *TAM* III.1.43, 44, 58, 60, 78, 80, 122, 123; İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.9, 16, 18 [*SEG* 57.1435, 1441, 1443].

⁴⁵⁰ *TAM* III.1.59, 76, 108, 109.

recorded on the local sarcophagi.⁴⁵¹ Soon before AD 212, we also know that the council and people of Termessos mutually honoured each other.⁴⁵² The title of μήτηρ βουλῆς – analogue to the also attested υἱὸς πόλεως – was also bestowed upon Aurelia Artemis.⁴⁵³ Despite the existence of these activities, the record of offices directly deriving from both bodies such as the γραμματεὺς δήμου or βουλῆς is extremely rare in the surviving local careers.⁴⁵⁴ Likewise, only one reference to members of the *boule* (βουλευταί) is probably attested in this period.⁴⁵⁵ The virtual absence of such offices and rank distinctions in the epigraphic evidence should not, in any case, be interpreted as an indication of a less intense public action. As the previous case studies have revealed, autonomous epigraphic habits created patterns favouring the inclusion of certain positions which were particularly relevant in a local context. In this sense, the Termessian champions were the college of *probouloi*, and the numerous references to local priests and high-priests. Before studying those relevant positions, it is worth mentioning that records of *gerousiastai* do not survive, even though the existence of a council of elders in the city is confirmed after the 1st century AD.⁴⁵⁶ As for the tribes, honours from the Ἰδαλωγβασίος and Μαραμοτής are attested after the CA. In the latter case, they even managed to praise M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Platon as ἀρχιφυλῆτης.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵¹ See Heberdey (1941) 354-355 and, more recently, İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) 317-320 for tables and indexes of those recipients.

⁴⁵² TAM III.1.49, 50. [cf. van Nijf (2011a) 218].

⁴⁵³ TAM III.1.57-58. For a catalogue of Greco-Roman inscriptions mentioning this kind of political-filial titles see Canali De Rossi (2007) [cf. Hemelrijk (2012) 203-207 for the use of ‘mother of the city’ in the Latin West].

⁴⁵⁴ They are securely recorded only in TAM III.1.552, 730.

⁴⁵⁵ TAM III.1.82. The exact dating of this inscription is dubious, even if the Tetrarchy period has been favoured [see Mitchell (1998) 167; Christol (1978) 537 no.30]

⁴⁵⁶ TAM III.1.3, 29 [cf. Heberdey (1934) 763].

⁴⁵⁷ TAM III.1.57, 121. For the remaining tribes of Termessos see Heberdey (1934) 761.

The uninterrupted relevance of the *probouloi* in 3rd century Termessos is undeniable.⁴⁵⁸ In this period, we know that the group would have been composed of 12 members with a hierarchy and an ἀρχιπρόβουλος on top.⁴⁵⁹ This position is attested since at least the reign of Antoninus Pius,⁴⁶⁰ but its records are especially numerous after the CA.⁴⁶¹ The president of the *probouloi* was also eponymous official of the city and frequently appeared with the formula προ(βούλου) τοῦ δεῖνος.⁴⁶² The common appearance of members of the highest Termessian elite in such dating formulas and the inclusion of the ἐπώνυμος ἀρχή in their careers show that this position was highly esteemed and sought, although it is impossible to determine exactly their responsibilities.

This same interpretation explains the multiple priesthoods recorded in the aforementioned genealogies. Even if Zeus Solymeus was the most prominent god of Termessos and the one to whom most funerary fines had to be paid,⁴⁶³ there are twelve additional priesthoods attested in the territory of the *polis* in the 3rd century AD: Artemis,⁴⁶⁴ Zeus Eleutherios,⁴⁶⁵ Poseidon,⁴⁶⁶ Apollo,⁴⁶⁷ Dionysos,⁴⁶⁸ Asklepios,⁴⁶⁹ Helios,⁴⁷⁰ Muses,⁴⁷¹ Eleutheria,⁴⁷² Sarapis,⁴⁷³ Kuretes,⁴⁷⁴ and Roma.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁵⁸ See van Nijf (2011a) 219.

⁴⁵⁹ TAM III.1.64, 118, and, perhaps, İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.21 [SEG 57.1446]. cf. Heberdey (1934) 763-764.

⁴⁶⁰ TAM III.1.123.

⁴⁶¹ TAM III.1.25, 73, 74, 104, 168; İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.26 [SEG 57.1465].

⁴⁶² See Heberdey (1929) 127; Sherk (1992) 241.

⁴⁶³ van Nijf (2010) 170-171; Talloen–Vanhaverbeke–Waelkens, (2004) 436. On the traditional relation between Σόλυμοι and the Pisidians see Hom. *Il.* VI.181, 204; Her. I.173; Strabo I.2.28, XIII.4.16 [cf. Coulton (2008)]. Two priests of Zeus Solymeus are recorded in the surviving inscriptions produced after AD 212 [TAM III.1.154, 198].

⁴⁶⁴ TAM III.1.899. On the cult of Artemis and its important role in Termessos see Nollé (2009) and Çelgin (2001/2002).

⁴⁶⁵ TAM III.1.145.

⁴⁶⁶ TAM III.1.168.

⁴⁶⁷ TAM III.1.21, 57, 121; İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.18 [SEG 57.1441].

⁴⁶⁸ TAM III.1.153, 156, 826.

⁴⁶⁹ TAM III.1.118, 180,

⁴⁷⁰ TAM III.1.101.

⁴⁷¹ TAM III.1.17, 123, 125, 131.

⁴⁷² TAM III.1.136, 906, 909.

⁴⁷³ TAM III.1.144, 793.

The position was generally perpetual (διὰ βίου) and could be displayed before reaching adulthood.⁴⁷⁶ In most cases, the nature of the priesthood is not indicated and just the abbreviation ἱ(ερεύς) is placed before the personal name.⁴⁷⁷ It should therefore be deduced that these various priesthoods were primarily recorded as marks of status which, similarly to the *probouloi*, are particular to the epigraphic habit of Termessos and its territory. In a context where the elsewhere common title *axiologotatos* was rare,⁴⁷⁸ and the presence of citizens with an imperial career was rather limited – the title of κράτιστος/η appears only twice, for example –⁴⁷⁹, those economically able to become priests excelled, like Ti. Cl. Florus who paid thousands of *denarii* for a silver statue of *his* goddess Eleutheria.⁴⁸⁰ It is therefore not a coincidence that, as we saw above, all the natural and adopted sons of the prominent Platon (son of Meidias) were priests of Dionysos, Roma and Apollo respectively.

In the scale of the Termessian social ranks, the position of imperial high-priest/high-priestess was naturally superior to the various local priesthoods.⁴⁸¹ The surviving epigraphic evidence reveals that this office continued to be non-perpetual, exactly as in the other cities of the region.⁴⁸² It was counted among the *litourgiai*,⁴⁸³ and people could be praised for having magnificently (μεγαλοπρεπῶς) performed it.⁴⁸⁴ Most frequently, it appears just as a title before the names of the highest

⁴⁷⁴ TAM III.1.194.

⁴⁷⁵ TAM III.1.108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 153, 156, 176, 190.

⁴⁷⁶ Compare, for example, TAM III.1.180 with TAM III.1.118, when the honorand was an adult. TAM III.1.145 also records a perpetual priest of Zeus Eleutherios winning a youth agonistic competition. For a recent study on such cultic practices in Pisidia see Talloen (2014).

⁴⁷⁷ Heberdey (1934) 753-758.

⁴⁷⁸ TAM III.1.73, 74, 118. For the significance of this title see Pflaum (1970) 182-184. See also Robert (1946) 17 and (1954) 320 concerning its appearance in the 3rd century AD.

⁴⁷⁹ TAM III.1.58, 122.

⁴⁸⁰ TAM III.1.136.

⁴⁸¹ See Heberdey (1929) 28-36. On the introduction of the imperial cult in Pisidia see Talloen (2007) and also Talloen–Waelkens (2004-2005) for an insightful study of Sagalassos.

⁴⁸² See İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.9 [SEG 57.1435]. On non-perpetual nature of the office in the rest of Pisidia [see Talloen–Waelkens (2004) 212].

⁴⁸³ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.16 [SEG 57.1441].

⁴⁸⁴ TAM III.1.108, 109

Termessian elite, and in that sense, the exclusive references to families as ἀρχιερατικοί need to be understood. Similarly to the imperial high-priesthoods in the province of Asia, wives of archierarchs in Termessos could become ἀρχιέρειαι too.⁴⁸⁵ For example, (Aurelia) Nannelis was high-priestess of Iulia Domna,⁴⁸⁶ while her husband's office was restricted to Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta.⁴⁸⁷

With regard to other offices whose actual functions in the political structures of Termessos are easier to define, there are records of two *agoranomoi*, one of whom was also in charge of the gymnasia and dedicated a statue of Eros to the city at his own expense.⁴⁸⁸ The *gymnasiarchia* in Termessos could also be held by women,⁴⁸⁹ and exceptionally became perpetual (δι' αἰῶνος) as in the case of M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Platon, who founded a new gymnasium close to the upper wall circuit.⁴⁹⁰ The few *chreophylakes* attested possibly had local secretarial duties.⁴⁹¹ The review of the office of eirenarch of the city requires a more profound discussion. I have already noted that M. Aur. Padamourianus Oples – member of one the prominent families opening this section of the chapter – was an eirenarch. In his honorific inscription, it is specified that his *eirenarchia* comprised the area of the ἄνω κῶμαι καὶ δρυμός.⁴⁹² Even though the exact location of these “upper villages and forest” cannot be determined with the available information, such topographical references need to be connected with the extensive territory of Termessos. The hundreds of square kilometres of nominally autonomous territory granted by the *lex Antonia de*

⁴⁸⁵ Despite Kearsley's (1986) demonstration that the ἀρχιέρειαι in the province of Asia were not granted as a mere honorary title [cf. van Bremen (1996) 119-129], a joint high-priesthood with their husbands was the standard practice in this region [see van Nijf (2011a) 230 no.57; Talloen-Waelkens (2004) 211 no.158].

⁴⁸⁶ TAM III.1.97, 99.

⁴⁸⁷ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.18. See also TAM III.1.55 in which both high-priests are granted twin honours by the *patria*.

⁴⁸⁸ TAM III.1.25, 60.

⁴⁸⁹ TAM III.1.179 and, perhaps, 880.

⁴⁹⁰ TAM III.1.21, 57, 58, 121, 122, 123.

⁴⁹¹ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.5 [SEG 57.1474]; TAM III.1.730 [cf. Heberdey (1934) 766].

⁴⁹² TAM III.1.104.

Termessibus to the *polis* also required smaller administrative sub-units. Hence the existence of the *περιπόλια* of Kelbessos and Neapolis, and the possible *sympoliteia* with Typallia in the first half of the 3rd century AD are better explained.⁴⁹³ Eirenarchs had to supervise the security of such vast lands, which could be subject to serious episodes of brigandage.⁴⁹⁴ As a result, the attestation of one of them, Orthagoras, dedicating altars to Phoibos and Artemis in the valley of the river Karaman yields no surprise.⁴⁹⁵ In that location, the son of another eirenarch and priest of Eleutheria, Ti. Cl. Florus, also set up inscriptions for the same Artemis and Apollo Patroos.⁴⁹⁶ All in all, the peace of the fertile Termessian *chora* was fundamental for the economic activity of the city.⁴⁹⁷

Although the inscriptions of the urban centre provides us with evidence for the existence of a guild of shoemakers,⁴⁹⁸ and one painter,⁴⁹⁹ the wealth of the Termessian elite in this period was still based on activities belonging to the primary sector. An inscription recently discovered in the theatre of the city records that Perikles, son of Obrimotes – and brother of the adoptive father of the eirenarch M. Aur. Padamourianus Oples – decided to give a legacy to the city after an extremely

⁴⁹³ The activity of Kelbessos in the 3rd century AD is confirmed by İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.175 and 161 [SEG 49.1869, 57.1457 (honours for Gordian III)]. See also Çevik–Pimouguet (2004 and 2005); and Çevik–Bulut (2007) for the archaeological remains. Regarding Neapolis, a significant number of Aurelian funerary inscriptions have been found at the site [İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.187-198]. For other attestations of *peripolia* in Asia Minor, see Schuler (1998) 45-49. As for Typallia, this settlement already appeared in the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* [Şahin–Adak (2007) 230-232]. A man called M. Aur. Osas is referred to as Τερμησσεὺς ἀπὸ Τυπα[λ]λίων in İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.202 [SEG 51.1838].

⁴⁹⁴ Brelaz (2005) 107. On the duties of the office see also Yannakopoulos (2003), and Sängner (2005) regarding the Egyptian evidence. According to SEG 41.1288, the *demos* of the Termessos was still in charge of the defence of the walls.

⁴⁹⁵ TAM III.1.907, 908. Another eirenarch is attested in Bayat (between Termessos and Isinda) [İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.139 (SEG 57.1627)].

⁴⁹⁶ TAM III.1.906, 909.

⁴⁹⁷ The fertility of Pisidia was celebrated in Antiquity [Dionys. Per. 844; Avien. *Orb. Terr.* 1013-1016; Pris. *Perieg.* 807-809. cf. Arena (2005) 285]. For the activities and economic importance of the rural areas of Pisidia and Pamphylia in the imperial period see Brandt (1992) 120-133. On the climate and hydric resources of the region see Hellenkemper–Hild (2004) 86-95.

⁴⁹⁸ TAM III.1.114. cf. Dittmann-Schöne (2010) 254.

⁴⁹⁹ TAM III.1.521.

profitable local career.⁵⁰⁰ His foundation consisted in the establishment of a perpetual *gymnasiarchia* and the celebration of spectacles and games every 9 years. The accruing expenses were to be covered with the revenues obtained from the numerous estates (including vineyards) that he had in the territory of Termessos as specified in his testament.⁵⁰¹ This reality of the late 2nd century AD needs to be linked with the evidence provided again by Aurelia Padamouriane Nannelis, sister of M. Aur. Padamourianus Oples. In addition to her aforementioned family *heroon*, she prepared another sarcophagus for the freedmen and *πάροικοι* of his deceased husband M. Aur. Pancrates Timocrates.⁵⁰² Furthermore, another inscription records one of Nannelis' own freedmen referring to her as *πατρώνισσα*.⁵⁰³ Analogous references appear in almost all the prominent families of Termessos in the 3rd century AD. For example, one freedman of Aurelia Artemis referred to himself as *πραγματευτής* when he prepared honours for her mistress' husband, M. Aur. Medianus Platonianus Platon. Along with the freedmen and peasants who lived and worked in the Termessian *chora* (*πάροικοι*) looking after the properties of the wealthy elite, the presence of domestic slaves in the city (*οικέται*) continued to be significant in this period.⁵⁰⁴

When such economic resources were available to the most prominent families of Termessos, it is possible to contextualise the occurrence of terms such as *εὐεργέτης* in their honours.⁵⁰⁵ The construction of their conspicuous funerary monuments or public buildings such as the new north gymnasium, as well as the aforementioned distribution of 165.500 *denarii* made by M. Aur. Platonianus Otanes equally became

⁵⁰⁰ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.19 [SEG 47 1771]. See Porcher (2009) 291-292

⁵⁰¹ According to TAM III.1.170, 172 and 185, the games of Ti. Cl. Agrippa were to be covered ἐκ τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ χωρίου. In Ariassos [I.Pisid.Cen. 117], we also find the very similar foundation of Diotimos dating to the second quarter of the 3rd century AD [see Schulz (1992) 39]. Compare with other analogous attestations in Laum (1914) 133-154.

⁵⁰² TAM III.1.228. For the term *paroikoi* and their usual status see Rizakis (1998) and Papazoglou (1997) 249-252.

⁵⁰³ İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.11 [SEG 57.1437 cf. van Bremen (1996) 292].

⁵⁰⁴ TAM III.1.421, 541, 429, 495, 663, 769, 815; İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.108 [SEG 57.1562].

⁵⁰⁵ TAM III.1.88, 89, 101, 110, 114.

feasible. By maintaining their personal benefactions, the *boule* and *demos* of the city continued to permit the setting up of their statues in public spaces, in which gold and silver was allegedly used still in the first half of the 3rd century AD.⁵⁰⁶ The conclusive illustration of the maintenance of their generous contributions to the civic life of their *polis* is provided by the numerous agonistic inscriptions discovered at Termessos. It has been mentioned before that the games organised after a benefaction (φιλοτιμία) of Simonides, son of Apollonios, in the early 200s continued until at least the second quarter of the 3rd century. His case was not unique.⁵⁰⁷ In fact, the epigraphic evidence shows that most of the agonistic celebrations in Termessos were dependent on those φιλοτιμίες, which were carried on by *epimeletai* or *agonothetai*,⁵⁰⁸ and could be used to commemorate relatives, especially sons.⁵⁰⁹ As in the rest of Pisidia, wrestling was the absolutely dominant discipline,⁵¹⁰ but equestrian, torch-bearing and *paean* competitions are also attested.⁵¹¹ Some of them may have been even hosted in the impressive theatre of the city, which remained in use after the early Severan period.⁵¹² Despite the regional enthusiasm for such celebrations, it is worth noting that none of the Termessian games were recognised with imperial titles.⁵¹³ Likewise, the majority

⁵⁰⁶ TAM III.1.58, 60, 66, 122, 123; İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.16 [SEG 57.1441]. Compare with the example of Aur. Bianorianus in Adada [Sterrett (1884-85) p. 295, no.46 cf. Robert—Robert (1977) 553]. On the authorisation by the *demos* of Termessos in order to set up statue bases in public places see the illuminating case of Atalante precisely from Termessos [TAM III.4, 64].

⁵⁰⁷ On the implication of these civic elites in local agonistic celebrations of the region see Milner (1991); van Nijf (2001); Farrington (2008) and, above all, the exceptionally well-illustrated case of Oinoanda discussed in Chapter III.4.

⁵⁰⁸ TAM III.1.169, 175; İplikçioğlu et al. (2007) no.28 [SEG 57.1467]. See Heberdey (1929) 42-43.

⁵⁰⁹ Heberdey (1929) 50.

⁵¹⁰ Mitchell (1999a) 424.

⁵¹¹ TAM III.1.154, 163, 166, 185.

⁵¹² An Aurelia Armasta is recorded on one of the carved seats in which Rhetorikos, son of Boiotos, also appears [TAM III.1.872 B.II cf. TAM III.1.745]. We also know that crowds gathered here to celebrate the birthday of the emperor probably in the same period [TAM III.1.5].

⁵¹³ On the discontinuity of the Sebasteioi Solymeioi attested in the late 2nd century see İplikçioğlu et al. (1991) 12-13 and Heberdey (1929) 41.

of contestants were locals, who could later attempt an international career such as the priest of Poseidon, *hieronikes* and *paradoxos* M. Aur. Moles Oples.⁵¹⁴

The study of the local political structures and prosopographical connections attested in Termessos has shown that the city maintained a dynamic civic life in the first half of the 3rd century. Such a civic life essentially followed elements of continuity which had already been recorded in the late 2nd century AD, but were not immune to transformation. The adoption of Aurelian nomenclature by a population that was overwhelmingly peregrine before AD 212 is one of the clearest changes. By virtue of their newly acquired Roman citizenship, women started claiming, for example, their right of *ius liberorum* (ἀντεξουσία τέκνων δικαίων) in their sarcophagi.⁵¹⁵ Similarly, the presence of individuals with an imperial rank was unprecedented as was, in general, the access to posts of the Roman administration such as the *logisteia* in Sagalassos conducted by M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Varus.

The case of Termessos is exceptional because of the volume of epigraphic information – most of which was still found *in situ* – illustrating the period under examination.⁵¹⁶ Now, I would like to explore whether these well-documented circumstances on the fringes of Pisidia and Lycia are also attested in the Pamphylian plain, following – figuratively – the steps of a Termessian man called M. Aur. Hermas, who ended up being buried in the city of Perge.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴ TAM III.1.168. On the political significance of games and festivals for the civic life of Termessos see van Nijf (2011a) 227-228. On the term *paradoxos* see Merkelbach (1974).

⁵¹⁵ TAM I.1.383, 482, 669, 705, 714. For the rapid adoption of this right also in Egypt after the CA see Sijpesteijn (1965).

⁵¹⁶ See van Nijf (2000) 27-32; (2011) 217.

⁵¹⁷ I.Perge 448.

II.4.2. Perge and the Continuity of an Imperial City

In contrast to the citizens of Termessos, those of Perge already had successful imperial careers before the late 2nd century AD.⁵¹⁸ The best example of the earlier relevance of the Pamphylian settlement – which might have been granted even *neokoros* status by Vespasian –⁵¹⁹ is provided by the *Plancii* family and the eminent figure of Plancia Magna.⁵²⁰ Daughter of the proconsul of Bithynia and Pontus in AD 71, M. Plancius Varus, and descendant of Tigranes V, king of Armenia, she was responsible for an ambitious programme comprising several buildings and statue groups under Hadrian.⁵²¹ Married to the suffect consul C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus,⁵²² their son Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus became legate of Cilicia.⁵²³

In the early 3rd century, the continuous importance of such prominent women for the embellishment of the urban centre of Perge is confirmed by the actions of Aurelia Paulina. This priestess of the patron goddess Artemis, like Plancia Magna,⁵²⁴ and imperial high-priestess of the nearby city of Sillyon, sponsored the construction of a new nymphaeum with all its decorations and statues.⁵²⁵ The setting up of an almost identical, albeit nowadays fragmentary, inscription in the *propylon* of the bath-gymnasium adjacent to the nymphaeum appears to indicate that she also intervened in

⁵¹⁸ On the evolution of imperial careers in Pisidia and Pamphylia and the differences between cities and families see Arena (2005) 321-335. For the early imperial period in Pamphylia and the Roman colony of Attaleia see Petrella (2005) 626-637. For an illustrative and detailed case study of the evidence provided by Sagalassos see Devijver (1996) and Chapter III.5 for Cremna.

⁵¹⁹ *I.Perge* 331.II (II.5-6): [αἰξέ Πέργη ἡ] ἀπὸ Οὐεσ[πασσιανοῦ ν]εοκόρος. cf. Burrell (2004) 175-176.

⁵²⁰ See Mitchell (1974). For the presence of these and other ‘Hellenised Romans’ in Pamphylia and Perge see Levick (2004) 265-266.

⁵²¹ See Boatwright (1991, 1993); van Bremen (1996) 104-108; Nollé (1994) 247-252. A full discussion of her family, including the latest discovered evidence, is also provided by Şahin (1999) 107-171.

⁵²² *PIR*² IV.273 [cf. Jameson 1965].

⁵²³ *PIR*² IV.470 [cf. Şahin (1996) 119-126].

⁵²⁴ *I.Perge* 118-121. For the close connection of Plancia’s family with Artemis and the dedication of a related temple of Diana on the Quirinal see Jones (1976). On the cult of the local goddess see MacKay (1990) 2048-2078.

⁵²⁵ *I.Perge* 195, 196. For a comprehensive archaeological discussion of this monument see Gliwitzky (2010) 35-55 [cf. Mansel (1975) 65-71; Abbasoğlu (2001) 182-183].

the completion of this project.⁵²⁶ In c. AD 204, both monuments were dedicated to Septimius Severus, the entire imperial house (σύμπαξ οἶκος τῶν Σεβαστῶν), Artemis Pergaia *asylos* and her patria, which was described as γλυκυτάτη. Even if the honorific inscription of Aurelia Paulina specifies that she had been granted Roman citizenship by the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, we can observe the acme of her public career in the early Severan period as it was common with other pre-CA Aurelians. Unfortunately, the reconstruction of Aurelia Paulina's family ties in the light of the same honorific records is still uncertain because of the numerous lacunae. Her husband was probably called Aquilios and belonged to the lineage of Kidramyos' son. Paulina's father would be Dionysios, son of Apelles, and her mother Aeliana Tertulle. From this tentative genealogy, the presence of strong native elements in her family is particularly interesting. For example, a possible reference to the lineage by birth (φύσις) of her husband, which was recurrent in Termessos and other Pisidian cities, is unusual among the Pergean elite. According to these restorations, it is possible to suggest that Aurelia Paulina was married to a prominent member of the elite of Sillyon, a city closer to the Pisidian-Pamphylian borderland, where she certainly held with him the office of imperial high-priestess.⁵²⁷ As regards Paulina's parents, it seems that her father also had peregrine status given the absence of Roman elements in his surviving nomenclature. By contrast, the names of Aeliana and Tertulle borne by her mother might provide a basis for the establishment of connections between this family and Perge. A funerary monument of the city records a couple called P. Iulius Crispus (son of Caius) and Vibia Magna, who had a daughter

⁵²⁶ *I. Perge* 197. See Şahin (1999) 236-238 compared to the more conservative analysis by Gliwitzky (2010) 165-173, who favours a refurbishment instead of a new construction in the Severan period.

⁵²⁷ The lofty stronghold of Sillyon is visible from Perge (c. 12 km away) as already noted by Strabo (XIV.4.2). For the surviving evidence and evolution of this settlement see Arena (2005) 143-146.

named Αἶλ. Τερτύλλη.⁵²⁸ Even if the abbreviation Αἶλ. normally expands as *Aelia* and not *Aeliana*, the connection between this family and some possibly Pergean ancestors of Aurelia Paulina is, at least, suggestive. Equally interesting is the presence of such family names (Tertullus and Vibia) in the late 2nd century consular senator T. Cl. Vibianus Tertullus, who funded, among other projects, the refurbishment of the bath-gymnasium in which Aurelia Paulina's constructions were inserted.⁵²⁹ The appearance of those names and the high profile reached by this man also point towards the connection of this family with Plancia Magna's husband, C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus. These suggested prosopographical connections would explain better how a woman recently awarded Roman citizenship and possibly resident of Sillyon such as Aurelia Paulina could undertake construction projects of considerable magnitude in Perge in the early 3rd century AD – a period when the theatre of the city also initiated the second construction phase of its *scaenae frons*.⁵³⁰

The tentative nature of the genealogy of Aurelia Paulina is, unfortunately, a common feature of Perge in the period under examination. Despite the considerable volume of epigraphic evidence found in the city and the existence of sufficient numismatic and architectural material illustrating the bloom of the city in the 2nd and 3rd centuries,⁵³¹ it is impossible to establish the helpful family stemmata available for Termessos. Moreover, the significant presence of Roman citizens among the elite of Perge before AD 212 makes the identification and specification of *termini post quem* more difficult. Finally, important parts of the territory of the city still await comprehensive archaeological excavation.⁵³² Even under such circumstances, it is

⁵²⁸ *I. Perge* 359.

⁵²⁹ cf. Şahin (1999) 206-227. On his career see Mitchell (2003) 147-148.

⁵³⁰ On the different phases, its chronology and decorative elements see Öztürk (1999); Inan et al. (2000); Şahin (2000).

⁵³¹ See, most recently, Gliwitsky (2010) 13-23 for further references.

⁵³² Şahin (1999) IX; Abbasoğlu (2003).

worth analysing the available evidence in order to establish a basis on which the decisive role of the city under the later reign of Tacitus (275-276) can be assessed in the last chapter of this thesis. For instance, the first surviving and securely datable attestation of the 3rd century existence of a *boule* and *demos* in the city is an inscription honouring Marcia Otacilia Severa, Philip the Arab's wife.⁵³³ The earlier honorific activities of both institutions might also be recorded in a fragmentary text praising two generations of *Aurelii*, but the reference to one of them as imperial procurator is problematic.⁵³⁴ Likewise, the honours that the *boule*, *demos* and *gerousia* awarded to C. Firmius Prospectus, winner of the wrestling contest organised by M. Aur. Silanus Stasia cannot be determined chronologically.⁵³⁵ Such joint honours included the setting up of a statue which the *axiologotatos* Neonianus Socrates supervised. A possibly later member of this Pergean family, Aur. Silanus Neonianus Stasius, acted as *archon*, *proegoros* and *synagogeos* of the Pamphylian league (Παμφύλων ἔθνος), which still had economic resources to apparently repair a nymphaeum in the urban centre.⁵³⁶

Amid the problems of establishing coherent chronological sequences in the Pergean evidence, there is one particular text that sheds light on the activities of the political institutions of the Pamphylian city after AD 212. In this inscription, Aur. Georgus praised his patron for having provided spectacles (θεωρία) and distributed money to the inhabitants of the city.⁵³⁷ The monetary benefaction specified that fifty *denarii* were to be given to every *bouleutes*, twenty to each *ekklesiates*, two to the

⁵³³ *I.Perge* 293a.

⁵³⁴ *I.Perge* 204.

⁵³⁵ *I.Perge* 317.

⁵³⁶ *I.Perge* 294. On the league of Pamphylian cities see Deininger (1965) 81-82 and Vitale (2012) 272-282. The position of *pamphyliarch*, however, is so far attested only in Termessos [*TAM* III.1.127, 138] and Balbura [*SEG* 38.1450].

⁵³⁷ *I.Perge* 323.

members of the *gerousia* and one to the *xenokritai*.⁵³⁸ Even though the name of the honorand is lost, his lineage was distinguished as δημιουργικός, ἱππικός and συνκλητικός. As emphasised at the beginning of this section, the presence of such prominent lineages in Perge after the late 1st century AD was not exceptional.⁵³⁹ Yet the display of the eponymous position of *demiourgos* as a matter of pride is to be highlighted. Similarly to the Termessian *probouloi*, the reference to this local office in the careers of the highest elite confirms the maintenance of political structures vital to the civic life of the *polis* in the 3rd century.⁵⁴⁰ On the other hand, the emphasis on senatorial and equestrian connections underlines the differences between a provincial centre such as Perge and the more local prominence of the ‘autonomous’ Termessos, where its elite could mostly claim to be ἀρχιερατικός, γυμνασιαρχικός and φιλότιμος.

In both dissimilar *poleis*, it is nonetheless possible to observe comparable tasks related to the *agoranomia*. Actually, the epigraphic evidence of Perge is particularly rich for the attestation of *Aurelii* dedicating numerous statues of Eros and supervising the weights used in the city markets.⁵⁴¹ Likewise, the Pergean Publius Rotilius Macer, *archiereus* of three emperors – most likely, Sep. Severus, Caracalla and Geta – was also responsible for the provision of gladiatorial and hunting spectacles following the example previously observed in both Ephesus, Lydia and Aphrodisias.⁵⁴² With regard to the more private information provided by the many funerary monuments present near the city, the impressive sarcophagus of Aurelia

⁵³⁸ The determination of the exact functions of these *xenokritai* remains a puzzle [see Şahin (2004) 45]. On the use of this term as an equivalent to Roman *recuperatores* see Nörr (1995, 1999).

⁵³⁹ See, for example, the tomb altar of Aur. Thoas, son of the equestrian Aur. Apollodorus [*I.Perge* II.399].

⁵⁴⁰ See Sherk (1992) 240. For a discussion of the office itself and its presence in the political structures of other southern Anatolian cities see Dagron—Feissel (1987) 136; Veligianni-Terzi (1977) 149-150.

⁵⁴¹ *I.Perge* 299, 303, 305, 306, 308; *SEG* 49.1892.

⁵⁴² *I.Perge* 328.

Botiane Demetria stands out not only because of its lavish decoration but also for the specification that iron and lead were used in its closing.⁵⁴³ Among those elaborated 3rd century sarcophagi, I have already noted the presence of a native Termessian,⁵⁴⁴ and the appearance of a man from Cremma called Aur. Marcianus indicates a considerable degree of regional mobility in this period.⁵⁴⁵ This same evidence also shows that, as in Termessos, freedmen could be beneficiaries of their manumittors' tombs, even though their occurrence in Pamphylia is rarer.⁵⁴⁶

The epigraphic evidence discovered in Perge may not offer an insight into the political institutions and civic life of the city as exceptional as that provided by the Termessian inscriptions. And yet the select testimonies available to us serve to illustrate the image of a functioning *polis* with similarly active structures and a population which had already been aiming for the highest imperial careers since the early Roman Empire. Before Diocletian's accession at the end of the 3rd century AD, Perge itself will become an imperial city.

II.4.3. Side and its Hinterland

The analysis of the epigraphic evidence of Side in the first half of the 3rd century begins in a location considerably distant from its coastal urban centre. At the site nowadays called Aydolin Kalesi on a conical hill by the Ali bridge crossing the Alara river between Güzelbağ and Güneycik, an inscription set up by Aurelia Killaramotiane Ies records the honours decreed by the *boule* and *demos* of the λαμπροτάτη and ἑνδοξος city of Side for her husband Aur. Mandrianus Longinus.⁵⁴⁷ Even though this area might have belonged to the territory of the smaller Karallia, the

⁵⁴³ *I.Perge* 437. See the commentary in *SEG* 51.1822 and Kubinska (1968) 56.

⁵⁴⁴ *I.Perge* 448.

⁵⁴⁵ *I.Perge* 450.

⁵⁴⁶ *I.Perge* 441.

⁵⁴⁷ *I.Side* I.Tep 1 [=Bean–Mitford (1970) no.19].

dominant influence of Side (c. 40 km away) in eastern Pamphylia – as Perge over Sillyon and the northern plain – is beyond doubt.⁵⁴⁸ Side and its harbour offered unique opportunities for personal advancement to the hinterland population and Aur. Mandrianus Longinus indeed tried to make the most of it in the second quarter of the century.⁵⁴⁹ The detailed career of this appointed *bouleutes* comprised monetary distributions to the members of that council and the citizens (νομαὶ βουλευταῖς τε καὶ πολεῖταις), the imperial priesthood with the organisation of gladiatorial and hunting spectacles originally founded by T. Licinnius Mucianus (suffect consul in AD 177/8), the *agonothesia* of the Phoebeian games, the *agoronomia* for three months, *archisitionia*, and the positions of eirenarch and *practor*.⁵⁵⁰ He also presided the sacrifices of the ἱερωτάτη city council, sent *annona* to the Syrian provinces three times, held the priesthood of Athena with his wife for five years and was, among other benefactions, in charge of the water supply.⁵⁵¹

The case of Aur. Mandrianus Longinus, although more detailed, is not unique in the epigraphic testimonies mentioning Side. Another inscription from a site called Taşahir Kalesi – just 15 km away from Aydolin Kalesi – records the activities of Aur. Obrimianus Conon in the statue base set up by his wife Aurelia Cononiane Clas.⁵⁵² On this occasion, the text is clearly divided into two sections. In the first section, the *boule* and *demos* of Kasai honours this member of its local elite for the activities conducted in the city that included the eponymous archontate, high-priesthood and

⁵⁴⁸ See Nollé (1983a), (1987) 235-248.

⁵⁴⁹ Tacoma (2006) 231-264 has shown in his insightful study of 3rd century Egypt that families normally provided members to the *boule* for a limited amount of generations. Such demographic and civic trends resulted in good opportunities for social mobility to people in the hinterland, and, in this case, those granted citizenship after AD 212 as observed by van Nijf (2011a) 218-219 in Termessos. Tacoma (2004) 140-152 also describes the creation of what he calls a ‘regional elite’ among the most prominent members of smaller local units, and this process is certainly applicable to eastern Pamphylia and the career of Aur. Mandrianus Longinus.

⁵⁵⁰ On the office of *practor* and the maintenance of local security see Nollé (1993a) 100 no.211.

⁵⁵¹ This office of ἐπιμελητής τοῦ ὕδρευίου is discussed by Nollé (1993a) 101 no.216. On the water supply of Side see Grewe (1994).

⁵⁵² *I.Side* I.Tep 4 [=Bean–Mitford (1970) no.21].

eirenarchia.⁵⁵³ Of greater interest is the new reference to the provision of *annona* for the Syrian provinces, and the fact that he participated in an embassy that brought him before the emperor Severus Alexander.⁵⁵⁴ In the second part, the Sidetan phase of his career is specified with the prominent position of *demiourgos* – which the aforementioned Aur. Mandrianus Longinus could not reach –, the organisation of the sacred, *isopythian* and *eiselastic* games granted by Gordian III, and the donation of 5000 silver *denarii* for the construction of the water structure that Longinus appears to have later supervised.⁵⁵⁵

Finally, a series of fragmentary blocks discovered on Hacilar Tepesi between Karallia and the shores of Kibyra Minor describes the veteran and *archisitones* (M.? Aurelius) Cononianus Solonianus as a citizen and *ekklesiastes* of the again *endoxos* city of Side.⁵⁵⁶ His wife had been a priest of Athena and dedicated a statue of his loving husband which she claimed to be more beautiful than those of Phidias.⁵⁵⁷

As an illustrative coda of this chapter, the analogous careers of Longinus, Conon and Solonianus concentrate elements which the various evidence from Termessos and Perge has already indicated. The civic life of Side was vigorous at the beginning of the 3rd century AD and these three individuals granted Roman

⁵⁵³ For a review of the available evidence from this settlement see Arena (2005) 109-110.

⁵⁵⁴ Both aspects will be discussed in a greater detail in chapter III.7.

⁵⁵⁵ The reference to this ὑδρεῖον has to be probably identified with the impressive nymphaeum still standing near the so-called 'Great Gate' (G in Mansel (1963) 53-64]. For this discussion and a new analysis using both the epigraphic evidence and the archaeological remains see Gliwitzky (2010) 87-122. As regards the costs of construction projects in the area and the scale of Longinus' foundation, this case can be compared with the development of the agora and odeon of Selge sponsored by Publia Plancia Aurelia Magniana Motoxaris also in the second quarter of the century, which required an investment of several tens of thousands of *denarii* [*I.Selge* 17. cf. Nollé (1994) 236-244]. Consider also the monumental project of the bathhouse at Cremna, which included a donation of 12.000 *denarii* for the refurbishment of the *oecobasilicum* [*I.Pisid.Cen.* 34-46. cf. Mitchell (1995) 152-158; Horsley (1987)]

⁵⁵⁶ Tomaschitz (1998) no.10. Whereas Mitford (1990) 2141 favoured the identification of the *boule* and *demos* of Kibyra Minor in the inscription, Nollé (2001) 656-657 prefers the inclusion of this site originally called Pisarissos in the territory of Karallia.

⁵⁵⁷ Tomaschitz (1998) no.10 [cf. Merkelbach–Staubert (2002) 18/17]. According to Epictetus (Diss. II.19.23), the statues described as Φειδαικά were produced following Phidias' technic (κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὴν Φειδίου). Another inscription from nearby Claudiopoli records the use of this same expression [Bean–Mitford (1970) no.271].

citizenship as a result of the *CA* contributed actively to its maintenance. Both their contributions and those of their wives continued to comprise activities such as the organisation of public spectacles, the performance of political and religious positions, local security or the supervision of infrastructures from which the entire population of the *polis* – either native or adoptive – could benefit. This degree of participation also shows that *euergetism* was still expected at the local level regardless of the origins of those attaining honours from the assemblies and councils.

Similarly to Perge, the epigraphic materials from the urban centre of Side are considerably more limited than those from the unspoilt and rough hinterland under its influence. The honorific activity of the *boule* and *demos* between the early and mid-3rd century, for example, is only securely attested in two inscriptions dedicated to Caracalla and Iulia Mamaea respectively.⁵⁵⁸ The activities of the *gerousia* are not recorded before AD 212,⁵⁵⁹ and there is no evidence for the eponymous position of *demiourgos* until the reign of Decius.⁵⁶⁰ The *agoranomia* only appears once in the statue that Aur. Maximinianus dedicated to his *patria*.⁵⁶¹ Despite the lack of direct urban testimonies, the column (κίονις) that Aur. Cendeas erected to commemorate the concord (ὁμόνοια) reached between those who clean the flour (ἀλευροκαθάρτες) and the group who prepares the dough (ἀβακίται) shows public concern for the local economy in a similar way to the institutional resolution of the baker's strike in Ephesus.⁵⁶² Yet the most visible aspect of the vitality of the cities of south-western

⁵⁵⁸ *I.Side* 40, 41.

⁵⁵⁹ See Nollé (1993a) 96-97.

⁵⁶⁰ *I.Side* 134. The position might also be attested in AD 256 [*I.Side* 44. cf. Nollé (1993a) 97-99].

⁵⁶¹ *I.Side* 155.

⁵⁶² *I.Side* 30 [cf. Nollé (1983b)]. For the attestation of other non-agrarian activities in Pamphylia and Pisidia see Brandt (1992) 133-150.

Asia Minor in this period is the celebration of agonistic festivals, which were also very abundant in Side.⁵⁶³

As recorded in the career of Aur. Aur. Obrimianus Conon, Gordian III granted – most likely in 243 – the authorisation to celebrate *eiselastic*, *isopythian* and oecumenical games at Side for the first time.⁵⁶⁴ As a result of such an imperial favour, the contest received the denomination ἀγὼν Ἀπολλώνειος Γορδιάνειος Ἀντωνείνιος following the same fashion that has previously been observed in Aphrodisias. Local numismatic and epigraphic evidence confirms the celebration of these international games, mostly referred to as τὰ Πύθια, in the reign of Philip the Arab,⁵⁶⁵ and after 250 when a gilded altar was dedicated to Apollo.⁵⁶⁶ With regard to the so-called Phoebeian games (καλούμενος ἀγὼν Φοιβεῖος) that Conon also organised and Dionysios son of Panchares originally founded,⁵⁶⁷ its identification with the previous contest still offers some doubts.⁵⁶⁸ In addition to the maintenance of international games and gladiatorial shows until at least the reign of Gallienus,⁵⁶⁹ other regional and local competitions were held in the city.⁵⁷⁰ Among them, the personal initiative of Aur. Paionius Tuesanius needs to be highlighted. This *agonothetes* with a clear native background established the θέμις Παμφυλιακὴ Τουησιάνειος ἐπιβατήριος θεῶν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος with his private funds.⁵⁷¹ The denomination of the contest is particularly interesting because, on the one hand, it refers to the continuity of

⁵⁶³ Strasser (2003b) 63.

⁵⁶⁴ Weiss (1981) 322-326. The imperial grant of games referred to as θεία δωρεά was also commemorated on coins of Gordian III and Tranquillina [Weiss (1981) 332, 344].

⁵⁶⁵ *I.Side* I.Tep 18 [= *I.Smyrna* II.1.667]) and I.Tep 36 [*CIG* 1068=Moretti 88 (Megara)]. For the numismatic evidence see Weiss (1981) 333, 345-346.

⁵⁶⁶ *I.Side* 134. See chapter IV.2.

⁵⁶⁷ *I.Side* 129.

⁵⁶⁸ Nollé (1993a) 87 and Bean–Mitford (1970) 40 have argued in favour of this identification. Weiss (1981) 338, while not denying it, has pointed out some differences which may challenge several points of their interpretation.

⁵⁶⁹ Nollé (1992/1993) 61-69.

⁵⁷⁰ See Nollé (1990a) 258-259.

⁵⁷¹ The name Toues (Touesianus) is concentrated in eastern Pamphylia, especially in the areas around Hamaxia (near modern Alanya) [see *LGPN* V.B p.412].

Pamphylia as a distinctive regional unit in the larger province of Lycia-Pamphylia after AD 212, possibly with the support of the Παμφύλων ἔθνος also attested in Perge. On the other hand, these games celebrated the ‘advent’ of Athena and Apollo, who were still the most prominent gods of Side in the 3rd century AD.⁵⁷² The surviving inscriptions from the city attest the celebration of the Tuesianean *themis* at least three times in which indeed the participation of strictly Pamphylians from Side (predominantly), Perge and Aspendos is confirmed.⁵⁷³ Once more, competitions comprised physical fighting contests, and the disciplines of wrestling,⁵⁷⁴ *pankration*,⁵⁷⁵ and boxing were separated.⁵⁷⁶ The victors were occasionally crowned and always received a prize and a statue with its base (ἄθλον τό τε θέμα καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα σὺν τῇ βάσει). A branch of the Dyonisiac synod dealing with performing arts is also known to be present in the city during this same period.⁵⁷⁷ In such a context of thriving agonistic activity, it is again easier to understand the successful international career of the Sidetan comedian and *keryx* M. Aur. Philoxenus.⁵⁷⁸ He won the local ‘Mystic’ games,⁵⁷⁹ but his victories also included top festivals in Hermoupolis, Damascus, Syrian Antioch, Neocaesarea and Castabala with profitable revenues. Certainly not as seasoned a traveller as this international victor, the mobility of other Sidetans after AD 212 is also attested in Balboura (North Lycia),⁵⁸⁰ and

⁵⁷² For the cult of Athena, the προκαθεζομένη θεός of Side, and Apollo, regarded by the city as *patrios* and *ktistes* in the 3rd century AD see Nollé (1993a) 105-115, who also discusses the ἐπιβατήριος ceremony. On the standing remains of the temples next the harbour presumably belonging to these gods and already mentioned by Strabo (XIV.4.2) see Mansel (1963) 77-86.

⁵⁷³ *I.Side* 121, 123, 122, 126, 128.

⁵⁷⁴ *I.Side* 121.

⁵⁷⁵ *I.Side* 122, 126.

⁵⁷⁶ *I.Side* 123.

⁵⁷⁷ *SEG* 41.1359.

⁵⁷⁸ *I.Side* 130.

⁵⁷⁹ For information about this festival perhaps granted by Hadrian see Nollé (1986a) 204-206 and Nollé (1993a) 86.

⁵⁸⁰ *I.Side* I.Tep 9 [Cousin (1900) 338 cf. Robert (1962) 168-169].

Egypt, where Aurelia Maeciana asked the governor Valerius Firmus to grant her a permit to sail out of Pharos in the reign of Philip the Arab.⁵⁸¹

CONCLUSIONS

The surviving epigraphic evidence of Side, Perge and Termessos confirms that the civic life of these cities, their territories and areas of influence continued to be active in the first half of the 3rd century AD. The previous case studies in this chapter can now be used to demonstrate that those circumstances were not restricted to this corner of south-western Asia Minor. Despite their conspicuous differences and peculiarities, inscriptions from key locations such as market-places, theatres and harbours – which were in some cases renovated – have illustrated the maintenance of the economic and commercial importance of those cities in this period. At the same time, the testimonies of *demoi* and *boulai* have confirmed the activities of core political institutions which sustained many and variously attested magistracies. Even if collective office-holding appears to have become more common in this period, local honours still demonstrate the participation of the local community in extended careers such as those conducted by M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus in Ephesus or L. Ant. Cl. Domitinus Diogenes in Aphrodisias. Elite families, some of which included senators and consuls among their members, did not disregard their local links either and indeed were still expected to contribute to their places of origin. A prominent and celebrated ancestry was, nevertheless, not an indispensable requirement as the presence of Aurelian benefactors such as the Philadelphian Hermippus indicates even in areas which hosted a considerable number of Roman citizens before AD 212.

⁵⁸¹ *I.Side* I.TPap 2 [=P.Oxy. 1271]. The connection between Egypt and Perge was very intense in the imperial period [see Robert (1965) 365-366; Reynolds (1989) 35.1.10; Nollé (2001) 613-622].

The study of Lydia has emphasised that the attestation of local activity could not only be found in urban centres such as Sardis or Thyateira but also in rural settlements which were politically organised and conducted communal ceremonies. For example, the famous ‘*summa honoraria* inscriptions’ discovered in the middle of the Cayster valley displayed the existence of mechanisms of cooperation that could be implemented by local entities when bigger initiatives such as the repair of baths or the payment of the *tiron* were at stake. This evidence has also shown that systems of rural organisation in Lydia trespassed the limits of administratively defined cities such as Ephesus and Hypaipa. *Katoikia* and *komai* continued to provide a political framework in which frequent voted resolutions were conceivable and they also acted as religious intermediaries according to the exceptional testimonies recorded by the ‘confession inscriptions’.

In this context, both old and new agonistic festivals were celebrated, the imperial cult of the *koinon* was alive and the sovereignty of patron gods and goddesses with their priestly personnel persisted. In sum, the particular relation between civic structures, liturgies, prizes, statues, titles, and their inscribed memorialisation provided a suitable scenario in which agonistic competitions thrived, monumental landmarks were still used, associations conducted businesses and the population managed to record epigraphically many aspects of their local lives. The same inscriptions cannot unfortunately solve other interesting debates concerning the lack of autonomy, free speech or the actual power of the *demos*. Likewise, even if the prominence of notable individuals is unquestionable, it is not possible to conclude whether the 3rd century society was either more or less oligarchic than in the preceding century. The absence of undisputable signs attesting such elements does not mean that problems did not arise in civic life – for instance, the baker’s strike of

Ephesus, the labour conflicts in Side or the religious attacks in Lydia. Nonetheless, this chapter and its corresponding research questions were mainly intended to corroborate that the traditional and scholarly dominant concept of ‘3rd century crisis’ and ‘*polis* decline’ cannot be sustained solely on the basis of the epigraphic evidence surviving from south-western Asia Minor.

III. CIVIC LIFE AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS: COMMUNICATION AND RESPONSE UNDER ROMAN RULE

The second chapter has shown significant signs of activity in the local political institutions of south-western Asia Minor during the first half of the 3rd century AD. Either in their *poleis*, *katoikiai* or *komai*, the inhabitants of this region continued to conduct their civic life according to procedures and attitudes which were not radically transformed in this period. The aim of the third chapter is to study the way in which these local entities and citizens communicated with the empire ruling them. This research interest is important for the overall aim of this thesis as it will demonstrate the high – and nuanced – degree of connectivity existing between that active civic life, the Roman administration and its epigraphic commemoration.

In the 3rd century AD, Asia Minor witnessed the most frequent presence of emperors and imperial personnel since the establishment of Roman provincial government in 129 BC.¹ After the civil wars of Septimius Severus, the increasing campaigns in Syria and the East forced soldiers and the imperial court to cross Anatolia. The combination of their presence with the already established provincial administrative apparatus brought rulers and their policies in close contact with the local population as previously exemplified by the effects of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Obtaining a full picture of the actual impact of a process which scholars have both considered beneficial and detrimental is virtually impossible.² This debate would also lead me to work primarily within the narrow methodological framework imposed by adherence to the model of the ‘3rd century crisis’. Hence the prime intention of the following chapter is not to qualify or even quantify the economic

¹ See Halfmann (1986) 50-56, 216-242.

² For the scholarly discussion see Mitchell (1993a) 225-234.

effects of the imperial presence, but to study the most significant epigraphic evidence resulting from it. On the basis of these inscriptions and other complementary evidence such as civic coinage, my study seeks to describe the diplomatic procedures, means and content of the communication established between civic communities and imperial authorities. First, I want to shed light on the aspirations and ambitions for primacy, titulature, festivals and other rights which drove a good deal of this constant exchange of information. Second, I want to analyse the responses provided by those imperial authorities and explore the potential reciprocity that their decisions may have generated. My analysis will not only deal with the prominent position of the emperor and his family but also with the relevant role played by members of the provincial administration such as governors, procurators and even soldiers representing them. The actions of the latter group actually provoked some of the most illuminating testimonies of interaction with local entities and citizens that both hosted such representatives and generated supplies, taxes, complaints and judicial cases.

In order to understand sufficiently the different elements comprising such complex scenarios, I find it convenient to start exploring an illustrative and manageable example from which the general argumentation can then be derived. To this effect, my attention will first focus on the evidence from the Lydian city of Thyateira.

III.1. Thyateira and Caracalla's ἐπιδημία

Situated between Pergamum, Sardis and Magnesia ad Sipylum, the international and even interregional role of Thyateira (modern Akhisar) in the two first centuries of the imperial age had not been prominent.³ This situation does not seem to have changed

³ On the foundation of this settlement and its development until the imperial age see Cohen (1995) 238-242. For a collection of all the remaining material related to the city see Herrmann (1989) 306-315.

in the first decade of the 3rd century AD when the city remained part of the *conventus* of Pergamum.⁴ With no surviving epigraphic references to Septimius Severus and the imperial house in that period, the regional relevance of the western Lydian settlement was transformed after Caracalla's accession. An inscription records that the emperor stayed at the city (ἐπιδημία) during the consulship of Marius Maximus (c. AD 214/215).⁵ In the same honorific monument set up by Aurelia Alcipilla Laeliane, the reader is also informed that the future emperor Elagabalus was accompanying his 'father', and most importantly, that the city had also been designated centre of a new juridical assize.⁶ Famously described by Dio Chrysostom in Apamea Kelainai already at the beginning of the 2nd century AD, the positive consequences of such an imperial decision should have instantly been felt by the city and its inhabitants.⁷ Not surprisingly, it has already been evident in the previous case study of Lydia that the epigraphic production of Thyateira remained robust after the early Severan period.

Besides such a decision affecting the provincial administration of Asia, Caracalla's visit appears to have had further local significance. During his stay, the emperor was hosted (ὑποδεξάμενος) by the high-priest and perpetual *boularch* M. Iulius Menelaus.⁸ This local dignitary had participated in three embassies before the emperors at his own expense and was highly esteemed by the *patria* for his diplomatic activity in Hierocaesarea. The latter reference is possibly related to one of

⁴ Plin. *HN* V.126 [cf. Habicht (1975) 78-80]. On the close relations between Thyateira and Pergamum in the light of the *homonoia* coinage see Kampmann (1999) 76-81.

⁵ For Caracalla's final journey across Anatolia and its problematic dates see Halfmann (1986) 223-230; Ameling (1983) 68-73; Johnston (1983); Christol (2012). On its Alexander the Great's inspiration see Levick (1969) and Baharal (1994). Caracalla must have visited Thyateira after his departure from Illium and Pergamum [D.C. LXXVIII.16.7-8; Hdn. IV.8.3. cf. Habicht (1969) 32-36 and Nollé (2003b)]. For the career of the famous imperial biographer Marius Maximus also attested in Ephesus [*I.Eph.* 3030] and Akmoneia [*MAMA* XI.103] see *PIR*² M 308 and Birley (1997).

⁶ *TAM* V.2.943. On the erased reference to the future emperor Elagabalus see Icks (2011) 60.

⁷ Dio Chrys. XXXV.15. The 3rd century jurist Modestinus [Dig. 27.1.6.2] also speaks about the importance of this status in his reference to a letter of Antoninus Pius dividing cities in Asia Minor between metropoleis, assize centres and 'the rest'. See Guerber (2009) 303-323 and Heller (2006a) 125-162.

⁸ *TAM* V.2.969. Compare, for example, with the exceptional attestation of 3rd century *parapompai* in Bithynia [Fernoux (2004) 409-414; Schwarz-Stauner (2007)].

the most singular inscriptions discovered in Akhisar: a fragment of marble recording the resolution in Latin of a boundary conflict (*controversia*) between the Thyateirans and, almost certainly, the Hie[rocaesarenses].⁹ This inscription, otherwise undated, mentions that an emperor had been present (*paesentis imperatoris*) in the process of determining the new boundaries. Even if Hadrian may have visited Thyateira during his stay at Hadrianopolis-Stratonicea,¹⁰ the relation between Caracalla's ἐπιδημία, Menelaus' activities and the resolution of the conflict with Hierocaesarea is irresistible.¹¹ Such an imperial action combined with the grant of *conventus* status to Thyteira justify sufficiently the production of coins commemorating the emperor's visit,¹² the honorific monument that he was privately given by the local guild of potters,¹³ and his designation as 'benefactor' and 'founder' of the city' (τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτης / κτίστης) recorded in the inscription prepared by the notable T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus.¹⁴

T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus was a former military commander who, after entering the procuratorial career, became the ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἄρκης Λειβιανῆς.¹⁵ While conducting this office most likely related to the management of estates in the area surrounding Apollonis,¹⁶ Alfenus – a descendant of

⁹ TAM V.2.859. On the boundaries of the temple of Artemis in Hierocaesarea see Robert (1948b) 33-42.

¹⁰ Herrmann (1989) 310. For Hadrian's visit to Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis see Robert (1948b) 80-84; and Gawantka-Zahrnt (1977). Marcus Aurelius and Commodus also stayed at Sardis according to SEG 43.865 [cf. Herrmann (1993) 258]. No other city in Lydia has provided inscriptions recording directly the visit of a Roman emperor in the 3rd century AD.

¹¹ See Keil-Premmerstein (1911) no.18.

¹² See BMC Lydia p.309 no.93 [illustration in Pl. XXXI no.8], in which a mounted Caracalla likely greets a personification of Thyateira holding the patron god Apollo Tyrimnaios on her hand. Compare with the analogous coins commemorating Caracalla's visit in Pergamum [see Nollé (2003b); Weisser (2005) 136-137; Hostein (2012)]. On the procedure and representation of the imperial *adventus* see Lehnen (1997).

¹³ TAM V.2.914.

¹⁴ TAM V.2.913. See Højte (2000) 231.

¹⁵ PIR² I.821. For an analysis of his career see Pflaum (1960) no.218^{ter}; Petolescu (1996); Devijver (1993) 2000.

¹⁶ As Pflaum (1960) 579 already suggested, the supervision of this *arca* in Thyateira presumes the existence of funds originating from the estates of a senatorial family, which would have been

Asian high-priests – also became the priest of the most prominent god of Thyateira, Apollo Tyrinnos.¹⁷ Such an implication of the procurator in the civic life of the *polis* again serves to explain the honours that the prominent local association of dyers dedicated to him. His likely nephew Fabius Alfenus Apollinarius likewise held the position of *strategos* under Gordian III.¹⁸ As I will analyse below, procurators and other provincial administrators played a fundamental role in the exchange established between the imperial level that they represented and the local population hosting them. Moreover, members of the municipal community such as the aforementioned M. Iulius Menelaus were equally responsible for maintaining channels of communication mainly through their embassies. As the visit of Caracalla to Thyateira shows, decisions taken by the Roman emperors could have a significant impact on the local conditions of cities which needed their best men to persuade successfully both the ruler and his representatives. In my final analysis of a group of imperial petitions from north-eastern Lydia, I shall be able to identify different strategies of persuasion available to locals in the presentation of their cases. Prior to this, the selection of a suitable candidate could be decisive; and Thyateira seems to have particularly succeeded with one of its elections: Perelius Aurelius Alexander.

Perelius (Aurelius) Alexander – whose remarkable nomenclature featured in chapter I – was a local pancratiast who later became an international athletic star and

confiscated by a Roman emperor; most likely Septimius Severus [D.C. 75.8.4; 75.9.4. HA Sev. 12 cf. Millar (1992) 170-171; Birley (1989) 126-128]. We know the existence of senatorial lands in the still very productive area surrounding Apollonis (c. 10 km from Akhisar), where Eutychianos, πραγματευτής of the Roman matrona and consular Flavia Pollitta [PIR² F.434], prepared a tomb for his family [TAM V.2.1213. cf. Herrmann (1959) no.11]. In the same area between Apollonis and Ballica another slave made a dedication to his owner Λεβία, who might be related to the denomination 'Liviana' of the *arca* [cf. Herrmann (1959) no.12].

¹⁷ On the origins and local prominence of this god see de Hoz García-Bellido (1999) 53-54.

¹⁸ As regards the *strategos* Alfenus Apollinarius attested on coins of the city under Gordian III [Bennett (2011) 146], it is chronologically difficult to accept his identification with the homonymous imperial procurator honoured in a probably pre-212 inscription discovered at Ballica near ancient Apollonis [SEG 57.1140 cf. AE 2007.1346 and TAM V.2.935 l.15]. Alfenus Arignotus, the cousin of the latter, likewise conducted most of his procuratorial career under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

participated in an embassy on behalf of his dearest fatherland.¹⁹ Thanks to the impressive statue bases dedicated by the guild of fullers and the wool-makers, we know that this embassy successfully obtained from Elagabalus the imperial grant of isopythian, sacred and eiselastic rank for the local *Augusteia* festival.²⁰ Once again, the local visibility and relevance of this achievement, extensively commemorated on the city's bronze coinage,²¹ became clear to subsequent contestants, spectators and organisers of the *Augusteia* such as the λαμπαδάρχης Aur. Artemagorus.²²

The remaining evidence from Thyateira confirms that access to these channels of communication and interconnection was not exclusively restricted to the exceptional imperial figures included above. For instance, the local dignitary M. Aur. Diadochus Tryphosinianus managed to obtain permission from Severus Alexander to join the high-priesthood of the temples in Pergamum and his fatherland in order to sponsor gladiatorial spectacles in both cities.²³ Likewise, the relatively modest prestige of Thyateira compared to Pergamum and other provincial centres was not an obstacle to have its status acknowledged by both sacred/imperial responses (κατὰ τὰς ἱερὰς ἀντιγραφάς) and the resolutions of the Asia *koinon* presumably under the same emperor.²⁴ As in the case of Caracalla, the tangible results of such favourable decisions potentially contributed both to the approval of a motion praising Severus Alexander as “lord of the earth, sea and all the human people”,²⁵ and the organization of the Σεβήρειον ἁγών celebrating the Parthian victory of the emperor around AD

¹⁹ For a study of this embassy see Robert (1937) 119-123.

²⁰ SEG 49.1699; TAM V.2.1019.

²¹ On the symbols and production of these coins see Bennett (2011) 163-164.

²² TAM V.2.945. This man was *strategos* under Severus Alexander [see Bennett (2011) 154-155].

²³ TAM V.2.950. See Carter (2004) 48-51. On his family and local career see chapter II.2.3 and Bennett (2011) 153-154

²⁴ TAM V.2.990. This inscription records honours for the eponymous magistrate L. Marcius Pollianus, who is also attested on coins of Severus Alexander [see Bennett (2011) 146 no.498].

²⁵ TAM V.2.915.

233.²⁶ The former local resolution followed the proposal of the city's *boule* and was supported by the archons. Similarly, the latter epinician games were promoted by a local gymnastic association of Heracles under the sponsorship of their leader Aur. Glycon. Within such a context of reciprocal interaction and multidirectional communication, the remarkable and numerous references to provincial governors recorded in dating formulas of Thyateiran tombs until the mid-3rd century can now be better understood too.²⁷ In addition to these indirect and primarily administrative allusions, other imperial representatives could also receive independent honours on various grounds. Above, we have seen how the native procurator T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus settled in the city. Surviving inscriptions from Thyateira also record the consular jurist and "friend of the emperor" M. Gn. Licinius Rufinus as a benefactor of this fatherland.²⁸ One of those honours was prepared by the military tribune of the II Legion, M. Aur. Bassus,²⁹ who also appeared as member of the *boule* in an inscription that the city dedicated to Ephesus.³⁰

The well-documented example of Thyateira indicates that the decisions of emperors in the 3rd century had a considerable impact on the local conditions of its inhabitants and civic institutions. From a not very relevant settlement in western Lydia, Thyateira became after 214 the centre of a new *conventus* that attracted people, activity and prestigious festivals. Once the city had solved his boundary conflict with the Hierocaesareans as a result of Caracalla's visit, Thyateira maintained channels of communication through its highest representatives, who brought with them imperial

²⁶ TAM V.2.949, 1008, 1009. For Severus Alexander's triumph in Rome in 233 see HA *Alex. Sev.* 56.

²⁷ TAM V.2.1051, 1081, 1084, 1106, 1142, 1144, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152 [cf. Leschhorn (1993) 297].

²⁸ TAM V.2.984, 986; SEG 47.1656. On the life and administrative career of this well attested jurist see Robert (1948a) 29-34; Herrmann (1997); Millar (1999a). For the judicial significance of Licinius Rufinus see also recently Biedermann (2013). On the *amici* (φίλοι) of the Severan dynasty see Schöpe (2014); Christol (2007); Eck (2006); and Coriat (1997) 200-282 on the *consilium*.

²⁹ TAM V.2.985.

³⁰ *I.Eph.* 243.

grants connected with the celebration of agonistic competitions or the organization of exceptional gladiatorial spectacles. Reciprocally, Thyateirans – some of whom had considerably climbed the imperial career ladder –, honoured their emperors, imperial administrators and successful fellow citizens.

III.2. Embassies, Primacy and Local Rights

In the first half of the 3rd century AD, embassies continued to constitute the prime way by which local institutions and individuals of Asia Minor communicated with the emperor or any other imperial representative ruling them.³¹ As the examples of Perelius Aurelius Alexander and M. Iulius Menelaus in Thyateira have shown, cities tended to choose prominent figures of the local political scene. The maintenance of this tendency is also patent in the evidence provided by the other case studies included in the previous chapter. In Aphrodisias, the first archon, relative of consulars, and progenitor of asiarchs Ti. Cl. Iul. Candidus Hegemoneus conducted one embassy before Gordian III. The secretary of the Ephesian *demos* and first *strategos* Aur. Daphnus was ambassador of the city at least three times.³² Diplomacy also played a part in the career of the Termessian M. Aur. Padamourianus, who was a member of the elite lineage of Oples. Even M. Aur. Obrimianus Conon, the notable citizen from the remote Kasai who later flourished in the political scene of Side, is said to have reached Alexander Severus. Such an unexceptional appearance of *πρεσβευταί* in 3rd century honorific inscriptions, also observable in other settlements of south-western Asia Minor such as Xanthos,³³ Hierapolis³⁴ or Takina,³⁵ presumes

³¹ For a review and catalogue of ambassadors from Greek cities in the imperial period see Habicht (2002). On their relevance for the cities and also the imperial administration see Millar (1992) 375-385, 410-420; Eck (2009a); Ferrary (2009). Souris (1982) has also analysed the normal size of such embassies.

³² *I.Eph.* 4343. For a recent revision of Daphnus' career and that of his family see Herrmann-Malay (2003) 5-6 [cf. Christol-Drew-Bear-Taslialan (2005) 273-274].

³³ *SEG* 52.1456^{bis} (G): M. Aur. Athenagoras.

that the position was almost expected in the careers of the most prominent locals, especially when they were as renowned for their rhetorical skills as the Aphrodisian Aur. Ctesias. The majority of these inscriptions still specified that these citizens assumed such enterprises at their own expense (προῖκα), but the cities strove to make their resources available for travel grants (ἐφόδιον) if necessary.³⁶ In this sense, Caracalla also noted that ambassadors had special rights because their absence happened while conducting an office on behalf of their *res publica*.³⁷

Despite the existence of such prerogatives, we should not obviate the high costs and risks that the position normally entailed. Ambassadors such as the Termessian *archiproboulos* M. Aur. Hermaiscus, who may have travelled to Rome,³⁸ could not use the benefits of the *cursus publicus* and needed to find the emperor or his delegates wherever these may stay.³⁹ Even under the more stable conditions of the mid-second century, Aelius Aristides already bitterly complained about the harsh conditions and slowness when he travelled from Asia to the imperial capital.⁴⁰ In the later Abinnaeus archive, we are informed that it took three years for an embassy from Egypt to reach Constantius.⁴¹ In Phrygia, an epitaph prepared by Aurelia Cerala records that her husband Aristodemos had died while he was conducting his second diplomatic mission.⁴² A man called Poplas, possibly a well attested *prophetes* from Didyma in the Severan period, even went to the oracle of Apollo Claros to consult whether it was convenient to embark on an embassy to the emperor concerning local

³⁴ *I.Hierapolis* 40; 41+SEG 56.1499; Tib. Cl. Zoticus Boas.

³⁵ *IGR* IV.881: Tryphon, son of Apollonides.

³⁶ On the financial issues involved in this kind of embassies see Ziethen (1994) 138-148.

³⁷ C.J. 2.53.1.

³⁸ *TAM* III.1.74.

³⁹ Couriers using the *cursus publicus* under normal circumstances could cover an average of 50 miles per day [Ramsay (1925) 66 cf. Kolb (2000) 321-332]. On the concept of *cursus publicus*, its organization, development, users and benefits see Pflaum (1940); Bender (1978); di Paola (1999); Kolb (2000) 49-226.

⁴⁰ XLVIII.60-62.

⁴¹ Bell (1962) 11 and Barnes (1985) 368-372.

⁴² SEG 49.1853.

liturgies.⁴³ Yet the most revealing testimony illustrating both this reality and some of the particular circumstances of the early 3rd century AD is provided by an inscription from Ephesus recording the career of an unnamed *strategos*, *paraphylax*, *dekaprotos*, *limenarch* and *eirenarch*:

- I.Eph. 802 ll. 1-18*
ἐπὶ τὸν [κύ]ριον [ή]μῶ[ν]
 Αὐτοκράτορα
3 Μ(ᾱρκον) [[Ὁπέλλιον]] Σεουήρο[ν]
 [[Μακρεῖνον]] Εὐσεβῆ Σεβαστῶ[ν]
 καὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον Καίσαρα
6 [[Διαδουμενιανόν,]] ὕδν το[ῶ]
 Σεβαστοῦ,
 περὶ τῶν πρωτείων καὶ τῶν λο[ι]-
9 πῶν δικαίων καὶ νεικήσαντα, πρεσ[βεύ]-
 σαντα δὲ καὶ συνδικήσαντα ἐπὶ θεοῦς [Σε]-
 ουήρον καὶ Ἀντωνῖνον εἰς τε τὴν βασιλ[ίδα]
12 ῥώμην πλεονάκις καὶ εἰς Βρετανίαν κα[ὶ Γερ]-
 μανίαν τὴν ἄνω, καὶ γενόμενον καὶ μέχ[ρι]
 τοῦ Γρανίου Ἀπόλλωνος διὰ τὴν πατρ[ίδα]
15 [κα]ὶ ἐν Σιρμίῳ καὶ ἐν Νεικομηδείᾳ
 [κ]αὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, γενόμενον δ[ὲ]
 [κ]αὶ μέχρις Μεσοποταμίας πλεον[ά]-
18 κιν διὰ συνδικίας κτλ.

By the reign of Macrinus (217/8), this citizen is said to have been victorious in diplomatic missions across the empire that repetitively brought him before the emperors Severus and Caracalla in Rome, Britain, Germania Superior, Sirmium, Nicomedia and even Mesopotamia.⁴⁴ This text is eloquent as regards the great mobility of the imperial court in this period, which sometimes brought rulers very close to the civic communities. As will be noted below, such an unprecedented frequency and level of proximity is one of the factors explaining the appearance of more inscribed imperial petitions. Distance was, nonetheless, not an impediment to the goals that the embassies sent by Ephesus aimed to achieve. The stakes were just too high in the region.

⁴³ See Robert (1968) 569-580.

⁴⁴ See Keil (1956).

The honours of this itinerant Ephesian ambassador specifically state that the defence of “primacy and the rest of rights” motivated his missions. In both aspects, the decision and favour of the ruling authorities was crucial, and therefore, actively sought.⁴⁵ Concerning *πρωτεῖα*, the contest over primacy had constantly dominated the political discourse of cities in Asia Minor.⁴⁶ Dio Chrysostom regretted that this behaviour was scorned by the Romans as “Greek failings” (Ἑλληνικὰ ἀμαρτήματα),⁴⁷ Aelius Aristides constantly sermonized on concord (ὁμόνοια),⁴⁸ and we know that emperors such as Antoninus Pius actively attempted to curb excessive *φιλονεικία*.⁴⁹ Even the bloody punishment inflicted by Septimius Severus on cities such as Nicaea or Byzantium supporting Pescennius Niger as a result of those attitudes did not diminish the very important role that the competition for titles and distinctions still played in the first half of the 3rd century.⁵⁰ The clearest evidence of this phenomenon is provided by the attestations of one these titles: *neokoria*.

It is not the aim of this section to re-examine *neokoria* and its features in the same way as monographs such as Burrell (2004) or Friesen (1993) have dealt with the topic in recent years. Instead, I shall focus on how the grant of this title sheds light on the existing interaction between local entities and their contemporary imperial and regional contexts. Even if the use of *neokoros* and its relation to the imperial cult is

⁴⁵ Millar (1992) 375-385. In *AvP* VIII.3.34 for example, we have the sophist L. Flavius Hermocrates honoured by Pergamum for his defence of the city’s *proteia* in the reign of Septimius Severus [cf. Philostr. *VS* II.25 (pp. 608-612). Puech (2002) 285-308]. A similar expression also occurs in Philostratus’ description of the actions undertaken by Antonius Polemon on behalf of Smyrna under Hadrian [*VS*. I.25 (pp. 539-40)], which were also extolled in *I.Smyrna* 697 (*Il.* 33-36) [see Cadoux (1938) 254-260; Bowie (1982) 32-53; Boatwright (2000) 157-162; Puech (2002) 396-413; Quet (2003)].

⁴⁶ See Robert (1977) and, more recently, the extensive treatment by Heller (2006a). On the equal importance of rank and status in the administration of the Roman Empire see Lendon (1997).

⁴⁷ Dio Chrys. *Or.* XXXVIII.38. cf. XXXIV.48-51.

⁴⁸ E.g. Aristid. *Or.* XXIII; XXVII.44.

⁴⁹ See Kuhn (2013a) 198-200.

⁵⁰ Nicaea was stripped of its title of ‘first of Bithynia’ in favour of Nicomedia, which supported Septimius Severus [*Hdn.* III.2.7-9. See Robert (1977) 22-38]. Byzantium even lost its status of city after a 3-year siege and Perinthus was rewarded [*Hdn.* III.6.9; *D.C.* 75.14.3]. Similarly harsh consequences were also inflicted on Antioch (Syria) in favour of Laodicea [*Hdn.* III.3.3. See Ziegler (1978a)].

attested since the beginning of the Roman imperial period, its display in the official titulature of the cities of Asia does not appear until the end of the Flavian dynasty.⁵¹ In Pamphylia, a late 3rd century inscription from Perge also claims that Vespasian had been responsible for the city's first *neokoria*.⁵² By the end of Hadrian's reign, the triad of the most prominent Asian *metropoleis* – Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamum – could boast about the reception of their second *neokoria* and this distinctive status remained unchanged during the Antonine age.⁵³ Only Sardis, Miletus and Aizanoi – again the most important regional centres – were able to achieve *neokorai* before Caracalla's and Geta's accession. The contrast between those precedents and the fifteen years following the death of Septimius Severus' is patent. In this period, at least five new cities of the province with clearly lower relevance such as Philadelphia, Tralles, Antandros, Hierapolis and Magnesia were granted this status for the first time. Moreover, the number of cities with multiple *neokorai* increased.⁵⁴ This transformation is particularly obvious in the case of the Asian capital.

Ephesus was the first city to be granted the third imperial *neokoria* in the joint-rule of Caracalla and Geta.⁵⁵ However, Geta was assassinated at the end of the year 211, and his name and actions suffered *damnatio memoriae*.⁵⁶ Spurred by the subsequent grant of the third *neokoria* to Pergamum and Smyrna by Caracalla,⁵⁷ the city of Ephesus – perhaps through the *koinon* of Asia and with the help of Iulia

⁵¹ See Friesen (1993) 51-59, Burrell (2004) 275-279. For the scholarly debate – and controversy – on when Ephesus received its first official *neokoria* see Dmitriev (2011) 530-534.

⁵² *I.Perge* 331.II. (ll.5-6).

⁵³ Burrell (2004) 66-70.

⁵⁴ For a chronological review of the grants of *neokorai* in the 2nd and 3rd centuries see Burrell (2004) 279-304.

⁵⁵ Burrell (2004) 71.

⁵⁶ *I.Eph.* 647 would attest the erasure according to the editors, even if Elagabalus' 4th *neokoria* could also be possible [see Heller (2006b) 288]. The name of Geta is always erased in the surviving epigraphic evidence of Ephesus [*I.Eph.* 523, 2051, 3087].

⁵⁷ Pergamum: Burrell (2004) 30-35. Smyrna: Burrell (2004) 48-51. The inscriptions and coins of both cities celebrated and emphasised that the three imperial *neokorai* granted were imperial [e.g. *I.Pergamon* 525: τρις νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβ(αστῶν); *BMC Ionia* 404: (Smyrna) ΠΡΟΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ). See Heller (2006a) 269-274].

Domna – petitioned the emperor for a remedy against its befallen inferiority. The inscription recording the process informs us that the Ephesian request was accepted under the condition that the restored *neokoria* had to be ascribed to Artemis and not to the name of the emperor.⁵⁸ Caracalla justified this peculiarity as a display of modesty (κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν αἰδῶ), although we should rather interpret it as an effort by the emperor to distance himself from the decisions previously taken with his hated brother.⁵⁹ With Caracalla's decision, the previously local use of the neocorate of Artemis was now imperially sanctioned,⁶⁰ and the new official denomination became τρις νεωκόρου, δις μὲν τῶν Σεβαστῶν, ἅπαξ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.⁶¹ Despite this clear official division, the city still celebrated indistinctively its τρις νεωκόρος status in the series of surviving base statues honouring Carthage, Knidos, the Kilbianoi and possibly Kos.⁶² After the short and turbulent reign of Macrinus, Ephesus was again successful in securing one of the titles that Elagabalus liberally granted to the cities of Asia Minor and became 4th *neokoros* for the first time (ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΜΟΝΩΝ Α ΠΙΑΣΩΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ).⁶³ Once more, the Ephesians were unfortunate with the emperors favouring them and Elagabalus was declared a public enemy.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ *I.Eph.* 212. After the recent and complete analysis of the inscription by Dmitriev (2011) 537-540 and Heller (2006b), I would only refer to the new edition of the inscriptions proposed by Jones (2001), which generally agrees with that of Robert (1967) 7-64. On the role of Julia Domna in the process see Levick (2007) 96 and Kettenhofen (1979) 16-19.

⁵⁹ Hdn. IV.3.1-2.

⁶⁰ *I.Eph.* 2040 records: δις νεωκόρο[ς] τῶν [Σεβαστ]ῶν κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆ[ς] ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου καὶ νεωκόρος [τῆ]ς Ἀρτέμιδος when Tineius Sacerdos was proconsul of the province. Coins dating to the joint rule of Caracalla and Geta also include the title ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΤΡΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ [see Burrell (2004) 71 nos.12, 13, 14, 16]. cf. Heller (2006) 277-282, even if I prefer the categories 'local/official' instead of her 'legal/non legal'.

⁶¹ This formula is recorded in *I.Eph.* 300, and it is parallel to *BMC Ionia* no.269 and *SEG* 37.886.

⁶² *I.Eph.* 2053-2056. This same status of thrice *neokoros* without erasure and, therefore, post-212 appears in *SEG* 34.1094. In *I.Eph.* 2054, it is specified that this thrice *neokoros* status was precisely granted κατὰ τὸ κυ[ρ]ωθὲν ψήφισμα. See Kampmann (1996, 1998) for the use of *homonoia* coins and practices as a way of publicising regionally the grant of a higher status.

⁶³ Burrell (2004) 76-77.

⁶⁴ According to the editors of *I.Eph.* 625, that inscription records the erasure of the 4th *neokoria*. However, it is very difficult to determine when this erasure happened given the maintenance of this status also under Severus Alexander (see below). Actually, the erasure could have followed the *damnatio memoriae* of Geta in 211. Despite the problems with the damnation of Elagabalus and the 4th *neokoria*, *I.Eph.* 723 and 3144 confirms that the name of the emperor was erased in Ephesus.

Resistance and hesitation to abandon their claims of superiority can be observed in the first years of Severus Alexander,⁶⁵ but the city finally had to return to its peculiar 2+1 official *neokoriai*, which was upgraded for the last time only in the reign of Valerian and Gallienus.⁶⁶

The contemporary attestations of diplomatic activity in both Philadelphia and Sardis were equally subject to this fierce competition seeking *neokoria*, and hence, regional distinction. In a letter sent to one Aurelius whose *nomen* was erased, Caracalla allowed a man called Iulianus to transfer his benefactions from Sardis to Philadelphia because the emperor had given the neocorate status to the western Lydian city.⁶⁷ The same inscription also specifies that the letter had been publicly read in the theatre of the city on either November 18th or 19th 214. If this date is connected with the period suggested for Caracalla's visit to Thyateira and western Asia Minor,⁶⁸ one can easily realise how important his imperial journey across Anatolia may have been in relation to the already high levels of intercity competition. The relevance of his decision is likewise inferred from the type of monument in which the letter was carved and, above all, from the amount of local coins and inscriptions still referring to it even after the emperor's death.⁶⁹ The same idea of pride and competition is also underlying the interesting expression “many times *neokoros* of the *Augusti* by the decrees of the sacred Senate”, which is found in the

⁶⁵ Burrell (2004) 77-78. Heller (2006b) 290 places *I.Eph.* 740 in this interim period. See also the coins with Severus Alexander portrait produced by Kibyra in which its *homonoia* with Ephesus, four times *neokoros*, is celebrated [Franke–Nollé (1997) 98 nos. 988-992].

⁶⁶ In *I.Eph.* 304; 304a; 4336 the city appears again as νεωκόρος τῆς [ἀγιωτά]της Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ δις [νεωκό]ρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν in the reign of Gordian and this is also confirmed by the numismatic evidence [see Dmitriev (2011) 544-545].

⁶⁷ *TAM* V.3.1420. This same Iulianus is very likely attested as *archon* and πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως on the numerous local coins produced by Philadelphia under Caracalla and Geta. His son Ariston was also magistrate under Severus Alexander [see *BMC Lydia* lxxxviii-ix].

⁶⁸ See Leschhorn (1993) 384 and previous note 5.

⁶⁹ On the discovery of the inscription and its characteristics see Buresch (1898) 15. For the numismatic evidence see Burrell (2004) 129. Compare also with the very well documented case of Laodicea, where the presence of *neokoria* coins is equally significant after Caracalla's grant [see Burrell (2004) 120-125]. On the prevalence of the title even after Caracalla's death see e.g. *TAM* V.3.1497.

honours that the *boule* and *demos* of Sardis dedicated to the notable C. Asinnius Nicomachus Frugianus.⁷⁰ This inscription was set up soon after the reign of Elagabalus when Sardis received its third *neokoria*.⁷¹ Again, the city was deprived of the imperial grant following the *damnatio memoriae* of the emperor, and consequently, its civic institutions decided to use deliberately the ambiguous expression *πολλάκις νεοκόρος*.⁷² Later in the reign of Severus Alexander, local coins produced when the same Frugianus was *archon* show that Sardis like Ephesus had to abandon its calculated vagueness and stated a rank with two *neokoriai* that was not changed until Valerian and Gallienus.⁷³

The same attitudes that can be observed in the quest and display of *neokoriai* appear in other direct references to primacy incorporated in the titulatures of the cities. The origin and development of this ‘war of titles’ was equally progressive as recently analysed by Heller (2006a).⁷⁴ For example, the standard expression ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας found in public inscriptions of Ephesus from Septimius Severus to Gordian III has already parallels in the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁷⁵ Similar references appear in the epigraphs and coins of other provincial centres during the second half of the 2nd century. Each of the cities appealed to distinctive characteristics of their communities such as the autochthonous nature of Sardis in Lydia;⁷⁶ the Milesian pre-eminence over Ionia with its multiple colonies founded

⁷⁰ *SEG* 43.865.

⁷¹ Burrell (2004) 110-112. On the probably related celebration of an *Elagabalia* festival as attested by the local coinage see Robert (1976a) 52-53 and Johnston (1981) 14.

⁷² See Heller (2006a) 278-280.

⁷³ Burrell (2004) 112-114.

⁷⁴ As has been mentioned above, Dio Chrysostom already criticised Nicaeans and Nicomedians for their vain quarrels ‘περὶ ὀνόματος’ [*Or.* XXXVIII.22-24]. Heller (2006a) 263-265 has also described this phenomenon as a ‘guerre des mots’, even if her study is primarily focused on the competition between cities and not on the equally increasing use of titles by private citizens.

⁷⁵ *I.Eph.* 294, 647, 297, 2054, 2056, 740, 300, 304/a, 4336; *SEG* 34.1094, 37.886. Attestations of this title since, at least, the reign of Antoninus Pius can be found in *I.Eph.* 1489, 1503, 24b, 282d, 2050 [cf. Heller (2006a) 324-341].

⁷⁶ *SEG* 43.865. See Heller (2006c) on the use of claims of primogeniture in civic titlature.

across the world,⁷⁷ and even the beauty and magnitude of the urban layout of Smyrna (πρώτη τῆς Ἀσίας κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει).⁷⁸ By the end of the early Severan period, the scale and extent of this element of continuity became again exceptional.⁷⁹ At the same time, the case studies provided in the previous chapter have shown that marks of rank and distinction such as λαμπρότατος, κράτιστος and ἀξιολογώτατος, which were bestowed on both the public institutions and private individuals of these political communities, increased significantly.

In this context, the honours of the itinerant Ephesian ambassador can be better understood. The survival of a rescript by Caracalla confirming that Ephesus was the harbour among the Asian *metropoleis* at which the governor should arrive first also justifies the praise of his achievements.⁸⁰ Such achievements concerned both primacy and a vague reference to τὰ λοιπὰ δίκαια, as noted above. It is normally difficult to define the wide range of elements comprising the “rights” which each city may have claimed.⁸¹ In the case of Aphrodisias, this recurrent term undoubtedly refers to the preservation of its privileged status and not to the claims of provincial primacy for which the city had never been a true contender.⁸² As already emphasised in chapter II, a decision adopted by the Roman Senate in 38/39 BC specified that the citizens of this *polis* and their descendants “should themselves have and possess freedom and immunity from taxation in all matters on the legal basis which is that of a community

⁷⁷ *I.Milet.* 240.

⁷⁸ See Kuhn (2009) on Smyrna and its particular quest for a civic identity.

⁷⁹ See Heller (2006a) 340.

⁸⁰ Dig. 1.16.4.5. This concept of κατάπλους α΄ might also be underlying the obverse of a local coin with a galley and a reference to its pre-eminent status [*BMC Ionia* p.99 no.346. cf. Karwiese (1995) 108].

⁸¹ See Robert (1958) 30 and Guerber (2009) 66. Its use in 3rd century south-western Asia Minor is securely attested in *I.Aph.* 5.214, 8.36, 8.99, 8.102, 8.103, 12.34; *TAM* III.66, 104 (Temessos); *SEG* 47.1656 (Thyateira), 38.1172 (Tralles); *I.Perge* 332; and it is normally related to the activities of ambassadors.

⁸² See Kokkinia (2008a). The use of the title “metropolis of Caria” attested in a non-official context of the 2nd century AD was soon dismissed. See Bowersock (1995) 85-98; Robert (1957) 370; and recently Ferrary (2008b) 1397, who re-dates related evidence from the sanctuary of Apollo at Claros.

with the fullest right and law, having freedom and immunity from taxation”.⁸³ By virtue of this document, Aphrodisias was considered φίλη τε καὶ σύμμαχος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων and granted further prerogatives concerning the presence of soldiers and Roman officials in its territory, and especially, asylum at the temple of the local goddess Aphrodite.⁸⁴ Even if copies of this *senatus consultum* were probably inscribed at the time when such privileges were conferred,⁸⁵ the fullest surviving account was engraved in the much later support of the theatre north *parodos* wall.

Normally known as ‘archive-wall’, these famous blocks of white marble contain one of the best testimonies to study the diplomatic relations established between the cities of Asia Minor and the Roman power.⁸⁶ The careful preservation of public records as crucial for the status of Aphrodisias as those carved in one of the walls of the theatre is not surprising in a community where even private citizens were able to trace and refer to ancestors and founders centuries after those have died. Yet the particular selection of texts and their chronological concentration in the period on which this thesis focuses requires further inquiry. A well-known episode of the history of the city occurring in the reign of Hadrian illustrates the high selectivity of this collection of documents. Aphrodisians sent an embassy to the emperor concerning the tax for the use of iron and nails from which they claimed to be exempted. Hadrian admitted that the issue was controversial but ended up accepting the complaints of the ambassadors and giving instructions to his procurator. Earlier in the document, he confirmed (ἐβεβαίωσα) the freedom, autonomy and privileges of the city following what both the Senate and the emperors preceding him had previously approved. Two different inscribed copies of the text attesting this episode have

⁸³ *I.Aph.* 8.27 (ll. 52-54) [transl. Reynolds (1982) 62].

⁸⁴ See Reynolds (1982) 76-91.

⁸⁵ *I.Aph.* 12.904. See Reynolds (1982) 92.

⁸⁶ Reynolds (1982) 33-37. For criticism about the use of that expression see Jones (1985).

survived to our days. The first is a contemporary collection of three letters of Hadrian most likely produced already in the first half of the 2nd century AD.⁸⁷ The second inscription was carved in the north *parodos* wall but contains exclusively the verbatim reproduction of one of the emperor's responses.⁸⁸ That response was the one in which Hadrian had precisely made an unequivocal reference to the privileged status of Aphrodisias. Such an attitude also explains the inclusion in the theatre wall of documents addressed to other cities as long as Aphrodisias' privileges were mentioned: for example, Octavian's letters to Ephesus and Samos,⁸⁹ or the reply by Trajan informing the Smyrnaeans that Aphrodisias could not be forced to perform liturgies in one of their temples because that city was removed from the *formula provinciae* (τύπος ἐπαρχείας).⁹⁰ Subsequent texts of at least Hadrian, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Alexander Severus were incorporated, and the last surviving text certainly carved in the wall dates to the reign of Gordian III.⁹¹ The very similar script and layout used in all these inscriptions indicates that this remarkable piece of evidence was produced during the first decades of the 3rd century.⁹²

Outside that wall, related 3rd century evidence from Aphrodisias confirms the relevance of the decisions adopted by the emperors, the rights of the local citizens and the corresponding full engagement of the *polis* in diplomatic missions. An inscription most likely produced after AD 212 records that the people of Aphrodisias were "free and autonomous according to the decrees of the very sacred (Roman) Senate, the oaths and the divine responses".⁹³ Iul. Aur. Charidemus Iulianus, the sophist and

⁸⁷ *I.Aph.* 11.412. cf. *SEG* 51.1491.

⁸⁸ *I.Aph.* 8.34.

⁸⁹ *I.Aph.* 8.31, 32.

⁹⁰ *I.Aph.* 8.33. This same privilege was specifically mentioned also by Hadrian in his reply concerning the iron and nails tax (*Il.* 14-15).

⁹¹ *I.Aph.* 8.35-37, 99, 102, 103. For the possible addition of the letter of Trajan Decius and Herennius Etruscus see Reynolds (1982) 140-143.

⁹² Reynolds (1982) 36-37 [cf. Bowersock (1984) 50-51].

⁹³ *I.Aph.* 14.12.

president of the Philemonia games in c. 226, for instance, emphasised in his funerary monument that he was a descendant of those who advocated for the autonomy of the city (οἱ συνάιτιοι τῇ πόλει τῆς αὐτονομίας).⁹⁴ The tangible benefits deriving from the locally commendable defence of those particular rights could still be experienced under Gordian III, precisely when the famous Ti. Cl. Iul. Candidus Hegemoneus conducted one embassy.⁹⁵ On the one hand, Gordian promised to protect (φυλάττειν) the laws of the city when he recommended a local citizen called Epaphras to contact his *praefectus urbi* Fl. Latronianus.⁹⁶ On the other, this emperor again exempted Aphrodisias from contributing forcibly to a decision (βούλευμα) adopted by the Asian *koinon* concerning the reconstruction of Laodicea in 243.⁹⁷ In all these cases, the fact that ambassadors such as the rhetor Aur. Ctesias could cite relevant imperial precedents conspicuously inscribed in the walls of the city may have been decisive.

The analogous scenario presented by the evidence from Termessos confirms that Aphrodisias' rights and claims were not exclusive to Asia. This city of the province of Lycia and Pamphylia had also been a free *amica* and *socia* of the Roman people since the 1st century BC.⁹⁸ The privileges deriving from the *lex Antonia de Termessibus* were indeed visible throughout the imperial age when, for example, bronze coins never included portraits of the reigning emperors but references to local autonomy.⁹⁹ As I will argue in the last chapter, some of the clauses of the law seem to have prevailed right before Diocletian's accession. In the first half of the 3rd century, the defence of those rights again justified the embassy undertaken by the prominent and experienced diplomat M. Aur. Padamourianus Oples (πρεσβεύσας ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς

⁹⁴ *I.Aph.* 12.909.

⁹⁵ *I.Aph.* 8.102.

⁹⁶ *I.Aph.* 8.100. See Reynolds (1982) 138-139.

⁹⁷ *I.Aph.* 8.103. See Reynolds (1982) 133-136.

⁹⁸ See chapter II.4.1.

⁹⁹ See von Aulock (1979) 46-47; Mitchell (1994) 102; Vitale (2011) 135.

πατρίδος δικαίων προῖκα).¹⁰⁰ Less certain but equally interesting are the golden statues and verses that the inhabitants of Termessos dedicated to a father and son called Hekebolioi, who are extolled for “obtaining for the *patria* better rights than others of the glorious king”.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the carving of the expression εἰς ἔῶνα τὰ δίκαια Τερμησσέων αὐτονόμων directly in one of the city’s gates reflects the importance of this process and its significance for the local civic community.¹⁰²

On the basis of the available evidence, it is impossible to elucidate whether the act of carefully inscribing the ‘archive wall’ in Aphrodisias or the emphatic references to autonomy found in Termessos in the second quarter of the 3rd century may have been caused by specific episodes challenging those privileged rights, or they are just unattached displays of patriotic pride. What is, nonetheless, patent is the fact that – as in Thyateira – the imperial decisions and the corresponding senatorial consent continued to be crucial for the cities of south-western Asia Minor in this period. Primacy as well as *polis*’ rights were just some of the aspects of civic life affected by this reality.

III.3. Emperors and Local Subjects: Reciprocity and Epigraphic Evidence

Both the previous section and the introductory case study of Thyateira have shown that communication between the cities of south-western Asia Minor and the emperors in the first half of the 3rd century continued to be as essential as in any other periods of the imperial age. Petition was expected to find a response, and that response could be met with a reaction. Diplomacy ruled the process and the epigraphic evidence

¹⁰⁰ TAM III.1.104. According to SEG 57.1482, he also participated in the delegation sent to the goddess Selene, which included some of the most prominent Termessians of his time.

¹⁰¹ TAM III.1.66 (II.5-6).

¹⁰² TAM III.1.877.

analysed in this thesis sheds some light on the highly unbalanced but potentially corresponding reciprocity between local requests and imperial decisions.

Hundreds of inscribed dedications and honours for emperors and members of the imperial family have survived throughout the Roman Empire. Despite the wealth of material, such inscriptions only explicitly state the motivations behind them in few cases. Even if we know that a certain emperor particularly favoured a settlement or a group, it is generally impossible to connect this type of evidence with precise actions, especially after the Severan period when our knowledge of the events occurring at the imperial level decreases with the loss of Cassius Dio and Herodian. At the same time, the hazardous nature of epigraphic findings inevitably limits the scale of historical reconstruction because we are always dealing with partial evidence. This partiality does not only affect the amount of surviving inscriptions but also the kind of documents individuals and, especially, public institutions opted to carve. Inscriptions such as the response of Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the Smyrneans denying the right of the latter to require more civic contributions from the exempted sophist and former *strategos* Claudius Rufinus are exceptional; and one still needs to wonder the context in which such documents were allowed to be visible in the first place.¹⁰³

The result is that, while settlements in Asia Minor undoubtedly continued to produce numerous honours and references to their rulers during the 3rd century, it is not always possible to provide or even hypothesise plausible cause-effect relations as I have aimed to establish in the case of Caracalla and his grant of an assize centre to

¹⁰³ *I.Smyrna* 602. As the inscription explicitly mentions that Smyrna has actually asked the emperors on behalf of Claudius Rufinus' immunity, we should probably envisage a similar scenario as that described by a contemporary decree from Stratonicea [*I.Stratonikeia* 16]. In this case, another man also enjoying ἀτελεία καὶ ἀλειτουργησία called M. Sempronius Clemens [see Lozano Vellilla (1998); Frija (2012) no.385] was praised for the many local benefactions and offices listed in the inscription for which the institutions of the city decided to send their decree to the emperor. Local numismatic evidence indeed confirms that the famous sophist [Philostr. VS. II.25 (p.108)] was a very active *strategos* in the early Severan period [Klose (1987) 70].

Thyateira. The second and obvious point that needs to be made is the difficulty of distinguishing between genuine and feigned signs of gratitude and submission when competition for rank and privileges was so prevalent in the diplomatic activities of the *poleis*. In this sense, it is relevant to mention again the exchange between Ephesus, Caracalla and Iulia Domna regarding the controversial third neocorate of the capital. The subsequent approval of joint honours for both rulers by the *boule* and a proud *neokoros demos* cannot be coincidental or unrelated.¹⁰⁴ Ephesus also praised the *Fortuna* of this emperor,¹⁰⁵ a new civic tribe may have been established under his name (φυλὴ Ἀντωνιανή),¹⁰⁶ and more standard titles such as ‘lord of the earth and sea’ (ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότης) were used in his honours.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, the relevance of the imperial cult in the civic life of the communities studied in this thesis should not be overlooked. Chapter II has demonstrated that imperial priesthoods continued to be very prominent and frequent in the careers of local magistrates still in the mid-3rd century and I have just emphasised above the corresponding importance of *neokoriai* and the ceremonies attached to them. The fragmentary local calendar surviving in Miletus is also illustrative of this aspect.¹⁰⁸ This conspicuous group of inscriptions shows us that the memorial days of emperors were celebrated with the distribution of probably public funds in the period following either Commodus’ or Caracalla’s death.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, generous local benefactors also found their space in this institutionalised blend of patriotic gratitude and imperial rule which systematised the days and months of the Milesian inhabitants.¹¹⁰ Finally, it

¹⁰⁴ *I.Eph.* 300.

¹⁰⁵ *I.Eph.* 299.

¹⁰⁶ *I.Eph.* 957, 2926. See Kirbihler (2009) 319. On the establishment of new tribes with the name of Roman emperors see Kunnert (2012) 239-252.

¹⁰⁷ *SEG* 37.886.

¹⁰⁸ *I.Milet.* 944.

¹⁰⁹ See Ehrhardt (1984)

¹¹⁰ E.g. *I.Milet.* 944.k: μη(νός) ια' ιγ' Οὐεργιλ(ίου) Καπίτωνος *vac.* (left-hand side). μη(νός) ια' ιε' Θεοῦ Κο<μμ>όδου ἐκ προ[σόδων δημοσίων?] (right-hand side).

is also important not to forget the imposing visibility and continuity of *sebasteia* such as those in Sia,¹¹¹ or Boubon where the local population could find statues and honorific bases of the imperial family from Nero to Valerian and Gallienus.¹¹²

Even a study on the evidence of the better-known reign of Septimius Severus suffers from this inevitable and nuanced complexity. None of the cities in western Asia Minor has yet provided us with inscriptions illustrating their position during the civil wars that followed Pertinax's and Didius Julianus' murders. In contrast to Nicaea or Byzantium, the apparent absence of punitive measures in the area after the victory of Septimius Severus suggests that no one dared to display a similar support to Pescennius Niger. An imperial letter recently discovered at Syedra in the eastern extreme of Lycia-Pamphylia illustrates that such a diplomatic distance from this conflict was not always an option in AD 194, when the battlefields of Cilicia remained so close.¹¹³ After Septimius Severus triumph', western Asian cities did not hesitate to celebrate their loyalty towards the new Libyan ruler and even made cash contributions following his successful first Parthian war and the appointment of his son as *augustus* in 198.¹¹⁴ Two letters sent by the two emperors to Aphrodisias record that the people of the city rejoiced (ἡσθέντες) at their joint rule (πατρῷα κοινωνία) and victory over the 'barbarians' with the celebration of a common party (ἐορτὴ ἐπ'

¹¹¹ *I.Pisid.Cen.* 138-144. See Mitchell (1999a) 425.

¹¹² Kokkinia (2008b) nos.6-22. On the discovery, arrangement and surviving bronze statues of the complex see Inan (1994).

¹¹³ First reported by Karamut (1995) 81, this exceptional inscription displayed at Alanya Museum has just been published by Sayar (2014). It records how the citizens of the city had to confront an assault of "impious and wicked soldiers" under the command of an unidentified Super, probably referring to Pescennius Niger's troops. For the battlefields of Cilicia, especially Issus in May 194, see D.C. LXXV.7 and Hdn. III.3-4.

¹¹⁴ Magie (1950) 672 and Ando (2000) 175-190. A cash contribution of 700.000 is acknowledged by Caracalla in the letter he sent to Nicopolis ad Istrum following their congratulatory embassy in 198 [*IGBulg* II.659]. Severus Alexander will later renounce to such contributions upon his accession [*P.Fayum* 20 cf. Bowman (1967)]. On the date of Caracalla's proclamation as *Augustus* see also recently Beyazlar-Crowther (2011) 412-415.

αὐτοῖς κοινή).¹¹⁵ The expected imperial reaction to such displays of loyalty is shown by another letter of Caracalla, which was in this case sent to the Ephesians with the assistance of his teacher and *ab epistulis Graecis* Aelius Antipater.¹¹⁶ The young co-ruler had received a decree of the Asian capital probably commemorating the *decennalia* of his father's accession and the end of the second Parthian wars.¹¹⁷ As a consequence, he stated his pleasure and delight (εὐφράνθην καὶ ἥσθη) for the hopes of their subjects and, most importantly, his particular affection (φίλτρον ἔλαβον) towards Ephesus.

Taking into consideration the unusual episodes of violence and unrest experienced by the population of Asia Minor after Commodus' death, the generation of genuine displays of joy is comprehensible as a result of the stability brought in by the Severan dynasty.¹¹⁸ Indeed, the people of Aphrodisias and Ephesus were not the exception. For example, Aizanoi and possibly Prymnessus in Phrygia already had similar celebrations in AD 195,¹¹⁹ while a later milestone from the Kibyrtis described Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta as “great kings”.¹²⁰ The famous decree of Mylasa also referred to their blessed Τύχη in the attempt by the civic institutions to curb problems deriving from the use of local bronze coinage.¹²¹ Such an apparent explanation is, nevertheless, incomplete if one again points out the diplomatic procedures involved. We know that at least eight citizens of Aizanoi

¹¹⁵ *I.Aph.* 8.36, 8.37.

¹¹⁶ *I.Eph.* 2026.

¹¹⁷ The editors suggested the *decennalia* of Septimius Severus together with the end of the Parthian war for the celebration [D.C. LXXVII.1 cf. Chastagnol (1984)]. The inscription, in any case, needs to be dated between 200 and 205 because of the presence of the title *Felix* [Kienast (1996)164] and the reference to Aelius Coeranus, a member of the *consilium* and a *libellis* who was burnt in that year following Plautian's fall [D.C. LXXVII.5].

¹¹⁸ See, for example, the extensive numismatic evidence celebrating his accession and victories in the Greek East as studied by Nollé (1998).

¹¹⁹ *IGR* IV.566 [Oliver (1989) no.213 Aizanoi]; *IGR* IV.672 [Oliver (1989) no.214 Prymnessus]. See Ando (2012) 35-36.

¹²⁰ *I.Kibyra* 16.

¹²¹ *I.Mylasa* 605. In this regard, it is interesting to note that emperors actually had powers over local banking activities as shown by Hadrian's long rescript to Pergamum [*IGR* IV.352].

carried the news of their celebrated alliance and the institutions of the city even postulated the provision of a travel grant to those who did not want to go at their own expense.¹²² In the case of Aphrodisias, the existence of a similar embassy is almost certain because the imperial responses emphasised both the rights of the city and the kinship ties between the local Aphrodite and the Roman Venus. The greatest sign of the importance of diplomacy in those enterprises is the crafty apparatus set out by the Ephesians to hand in their congratulatory decree. Their local delegation was led by the impressing image of their civic goddess Artemis.¹²³ A similar tactic was also employed by Miletus in 217, when this city equally presented Apollo Didymeos to Macrinus.¹²⁴

The fact that such local events were communicated to the ruling power was therefore not spontaneous. The aforementioned correlation between these careful preparations and the phenomenon of provincial competition is irresistible and evident, but again needs to be taken cautiously in this study. The numerous and positive testimonies of Septimius Severus and his family in Ephesus before 211 may be understood along these lines.¹²⁵ The paradox lies in that, apart from one occasion in which the emperor is praised as κτίστης (“founder”), we are unaware of any remarkable aspect in which the Asian capital particularly benefitted from imperial decisions during his reign.¹²⁶ Similarly in Balbura, we find the dedication of a three-arched gate to this emperor and his sons with a legacy that also served to build a

¹²² *IGR* IV.566 (II.33-34). See also Robert—Robert (1954) no.149.

¹²³ On the expression προεπρέσβευεν ἢ πάτριος ὑμῶν θεὸς Ἄρτεμις see Robert (1981) 531-534. On the use of kinship ties in diplomacy under Roman rule see Jones (1999) 106-121.

¹²⁴ *I.Milet.* 274.

¹²⁵ The emperor was honoured individually with his triumphal titles and the expression Νέος Ἥλιος [*I.Eph.* 294], but the appearance of references to his οἶκος was even more common, including dedications of public works presumably financed by private individuals [*I.Eph.* 435, 523, 2051, 3087, 3001.2, 4109].

¹²⁶ Indeed, Septimius Severus is the only emperor praised as κτίστης among the numerous surviving records of 3rd century emperors in Ephesus [*I.Eph.* 294].

reservoir when Caracalla became sole ruler,¹²⁷ and a gymnasium of Adada was called Σεουήρειον.¹²⁸ It is therefore mistaken to assume that each and every inscription extolling members of the *domus divina* are simply displays of gratitude following specific decisions with profitable consequences. Likewise, the absence of surviving honours for a particular emperor in a settlement is not to be automatically interpreted as a sign of disregard. For example, an acclamation set up in Perge in the 270s informs us that the city was granted the distinguished status of ‘friend and ally’ by Caracalla,¹²⁹ and local coins with his portrait also appear to celebrate its seat of the provincial *fiscus*.¹³⁰ However, the partially excavated site of this Pamphylian city has not yet yielded any stone commemorating the sole reign of this emperor. Finally, it is equally wrong to assume that the events occurring at the highest imperial level always had an immediate impact on the circumstances of Asia Minor. This aspect is clearly illustrated by the brief joint rule of Caracalla with his brother Geta. The fatal problems agitating the year AD 211 have previously been noted. Yet they did not prevent the *katoikia* of Apateirenoi in the Cayster valley from carrying on with one of its local initiatives and dedicating to both emperors the new baths that had already begun in 206/7.¹³¹

After Caracalla’s death, the assumption of such a correlation between surviving imperial references and displays of local alliance would dangerously lead to even more unfounded and hypothetical ground. The only direct epigraphic testimony of the short reign of Macrinus and Diadumenianus in south-western Asia Minor

¹²⁷ *SEG* 41.1355-1356.

¹²⁸ Sterrett (1884-5) 304, no.426.

¹²⁹ *I.Perge* 331.I (ll.13-14).

¹³⁰ See Nollé (1987) 251-254.

¹³¹ *I.Eph.* 3249.

survives in a letter sent to Miletus.¹³² Besides the presentation of the statue of Apollo Didymeos mentioned above, the fragmentary text seems to record a common diplomatic exchange of crowns. Nothing indicates, however, the turbulent nature of their rule between 217-218.¹³³ Likewise, we lack contextual evidence for a dedication to Severus Alexander found in Ariassos.¹³⁴ Even the connection between his triumph and the erection of the impressive three-way arch of the city is not certain despite the surviving statue base of the emperor sponsored by the local notable Diotimos.¹³⁵

As I emphasised at the beginning of this chapter, it is not always possible to qualify and even quantify imperial presence when inscriptions are our prime source of evidence. Accordingly, the aims of this section should focus on the traceable effects that imperial decisions may have had on civic life. For instance, we have seen above that the condemnation of Geta as *hostes* caused a new wave of diplomatic missions for cities such as Ephesus, which were deprived of their *neokoria* after 211. Individuals such as the philosopher Papinius did not have to worry about that event as his dedication of a new room in the Nemeseion of Smyrna dating to October 6th 211 only mentioned Caracalla's preservation (*διαμονή*); the emperor who had previously agreed on the location of this project.¹³⁶ By contrast, the *damnationes memoriae* of Geta affected both urban centres and rural settlements such as the aforementioned *katoikia* of Apateirenoi, Sia in Pisidia or Arneai in Lycia, which carefully erased any sign of the hated brother.¹³⁷ In the case of the gymnasium of Sardis, the consequences of that particular imperial incident were even more imposing. The name of Septimius Severus' younger son vanished from the text commemorating a statue group of the

¹³² The two attestations found at Ephesus are indirect: *I.Eph.* 802 (itinerant ambassador's honours), and *I.Eph.* 813. None have so far been found in Lycia-Pamphylia.

¹³³ D.C. LXXIX.20.4, 22; LXXX.7.

¹³⁴ *I.Pisid.Cen.* 111.

¹³⁵ *I.Pisid.Cen.* 114. See Schulz (1992) 37-41.

¹³⁶ *I.Smyrna* 725.

¹³⁷ *I.Pisid.Cen.* 142; *TAM* II.764

children of Kore,¹³⁸ and above all, from a new gilded structure decorating the impressive ‘Marble court’, which had been dedicated to the *πάτριοι Θεοί*, the two young *Αὐτοκράτορες*, the *mater castrorum* Iulia Domna, all the *domus Augustorum* and even the sacred Senate and the Roman People.¹³⁹ When we find exactly at this location a later statue of Caracalla describing him as the city’s own saviour, benefactor and, of course, sole ruler, it is not difficult to conceive local concerns for reciprocity justifying a reaction of that kind.¹⁴⁰

In Hierapolis, not only the name and title of Geta were erased from the inscription carved on the first architrave of the theatre *scaenae frons* but also his face was deliberately eliminated in the central relief decorating the space over the *porta regia*.¹⁴¹ The city had finished the complete (ἐκ θεμελίων) renewal of the stage when Tineius Sacerdos was governor in either AD 205/6 or 207/8.¹⁴² The costs of this grand project were covered using public funds (ἐξ οἰκείων πόρων), the local *strategoi* intervened, and even private associations such as the guild of purple-dyers contributed to it. The scale of this construction equally required the participation of members of the Roman administration such as the provincial *legatus pro praetore* and at least two procurators.¹⁴³ As a result, the new *scaena frons* of Hierapolis exemplifies what the collaborative effort between local (both public and private), provincial and imperial

¹³⁸ SEG 36.1095.

¹³⁹ SEG 36.1094. Even though the word ἀλειπτήριον (anointing room) is used, Foss (1975) argued that the term had a boarder meaning in the imperial age probably referring to the whole gymnasium. See also the recent revision by Pont (2008c). On the different construction phases of this grand building see Yegül (1986) 9-16.

¹⁴⁰ SEG 36.1096 [cf. Robert (1976a) 47 no.103].

¹⁴¹ SEG 57.1367. For the relief see De Bernardi–Ciotta–Pensabene (2007) 65; Ritti (1985) 59-63.

¹⁴² See De Bernardi–Ciotta–Pensabene (2007) 76-77 and Sobrà–Masino (2010). With regard to Tineius Sacerdos’ term of office, Christol–Drew-Bear (1998) has placed it in the period between AD 206 and 208, whereas Demougín (1994) 329 prefers the years 206-7.

¹⁴³ SEG 57.1367 (ll.7-9). For the career of the Bithynian *curator* M. Ulp. Domitius Arabianus see Adak (2007) and MAMA IV.10, 331. On the erased procurator Aelius Aglaus see Christol–Drew-Bear (1998) 157, who connect it with the equestrian acting as governor recorded in imperial petition from Ağabey [TAM V.3.1418]. As the name is not erased in the latter testimony and the functions are not corresponding, I do not agree with this identification [see also Hauken (1998) 44-45]. For other building initiatives in Asia Minor showing a similar degree of collaboration in the imperial age see Pont (2010) 417-457.

entities could achieve. Their necessary interconnectivity is also evident in the surviving blocks decorating this project. At the stage level, there are detailed representations of the mythological cycles of Apollo and his sister Artemis.¹⁴⁴ Over the first architrave dedicated to those local gods and the imperial family, a series of agonistic images and allegories commemorates the celebration of the Pythian Apolloneia festival in the city.¹⁴⁵ Finally, the second architrave was carved with another later reference to Apollo Archegetes, the gods of the fatherland, Caracalla and Iulia Domna.¹⁴⁶ This conscious and graphic construction therefore captures several of the points which this chapter aims to highlight. On the one hand, there is an active 3rd century community of Asia Minor that wants to hold and elevate the rank of an agonistic festival celebrating their patron god in a context of regional competition. To this end, the renewal of one of the key venues of entertainment is conceived and public funds are gathered with the support of relevant civic entities. On the other hand, the whole project was supervised by a representative of Rome, who assessed the financial viability of the enterprise. Imperial procurators also provided their assistance regarding, for example, the large quantities of Docimean marble used.¹⁴⁷ The term of office of the provincial governor is equally acknowledged, and most importantly, the final result is dedicated to both the local deities and the human authorities that made everything possible. Beyond the epigraphic and architectural evidence, the echoes of the process were also recorded on local coins that connected Severus and the

¹⁴⁴ See D'Andria-Ritti (1985).

¹⁴⁵ In addition to *SEG* 57.1367, see also Ritti (1985) 57-103 for other related agonistic texts and testimonies of the city. On the images and its local significance see Chuvín (1987); De Napoli (2002).

¹⁴⁶ *SEG* 57.1369.

¹⁴⁷ *SEG* 57.1367 (ll.12-14). On the types of marble used in this construction see Attanasio-Pensabene (2002). For the possible costs see Barresi (2003), especially 323-327. On the imperial control via procurators over those quarries see Hirt (2010) 113-115 and Christol-Drew-Bear (2005).

celebration of a Pythian festival, whose visibility had not been very significant before the 3rd century AD.¹⁴⁸

III.4. Agonistic Competition, Local Ambition and ‘Sacred’ Favour

The great interest of Hierapolis in promoting and commemorating its festivals was not exceptional in the first half 3rd century AD. It is precisely in this period when members of the elite continued to sponsor old games, fund new ones, and agonistic motives started featuring massively on the obverses of local bronze coinage as my previous case studies of the political institutions and civic life of south-western Asia Minor have shown. Emperors were clearly informed of these aspirations too and continued to play a crucial role in the development of this kind of events.¹⁴⁹ In the end – and regardless of the enthusiasm of petitioning diplomats involved –, imperial decisions with their corresponding senatorial sanctions determined the upgrade of local celebrations.

The promotion of the Chrysanthiana in Sardis is one of such illustrative examples. As M. L. Caldelli (1995) pointed out, this festival was most likely inaugurated under Marcus Aurelius. However, it was not until the early Severan period when a relevant international status was actually reached.¹⁵⁰ The grant of this higher status is inferred from the fragmentary lines of one inscription in which a member of the prominent Aruntian family is said to have organised and participated

¹⁴⁸ See Ritti (2008) 291-295 and Johnston (1984) 59, 63.

¹⁴⁹ We know, for example, that Septimius Severus and Caracalla responded to a petition by the Panhellenion concerning the lack of interest of some athletes in its Athenian contest [Oliver (1989) no.245]. Letters of both emperors and Severus Alexander to the professional associations related to the celebration of festivals have also survived confirming their privileges and concerns [Oliver (1989) nos.212, 225, 277]. For the period following Severus Alexander's death see Wallner (1997).

¹⁵⁰ Evidence for the regional significance of the promoted Sardian festival might be provided by the existence of Chrysanthian associations in Saittai [TAM V.1.93 (AD 225/6)] and also Philadelphia [TAM V.3.1524], which Herrmann (1962) 17 believed to be connected with the celebration of the *agon*. On the interpretation of *Chrysanthia* as a reference to the “golden flowers” associated to the cult of Kore see Robert (1976a) 51-52.

in the “first sacred, eiselastic Chrysanthian games with an oecumenical rank”.¹⁵¹ In addition to the epigraphic evidence, a precious testimony from the jurist Marcianus also informs us of a rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla concerning the misuse of a legacy left by an important donor of the Chrysanthiana, which was to be held every four years.¹⁵² Such a degree of implication and relevance of the Roman emperors in local festivals also helps us to understand the appearance of the title Σεβαστά in the references to the games of Hierocaesarea in western Lydia,¹⁵³ which were apparently recorded just as τὰ μεγάλα Ἀρτεμείσια before AD 212.¹⁵⁴ In the case of Philadelphia, the grounds behind the addition of the word Φιλαδέλφεια to its Deia Haleia festival are more difficult to elucidate. Whereas the identification of this term with the joint rule of the brothers Caracalla and Geta has traditionally been favoured,¹⁵⁵ L. Robert preferred a connection with Attalos Philadelphos, the eponymous founder of the city who was still honoured in the later imperial age.¹⁵⁶ The festival is simply recorded as τὰ μεγάλα Ἄλεια in the statue base of Q. Iulius Pericles, archon of the city under Commodus/Severus.¹⁵⁷ In another inscription recording the victories of a 3rd century international agonist, the nomenclature used is τὰ μεγάλα Ἄλεια ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ.¹⁵⁸ With such a varied titulature attested in the surviving testimonies, the most helpful conclusion is that none of those interpretations is mutually exclusive. The name of Philadelphia itself derived from its founder Attalos II, and by meaning “fraternal love”, could also allude to the concept of *Concordia* between Caracalla and Geta exactly in a period when the connection

¹⁵¹ *I.Sardis* 77. For the problems in the identification of this individual see Christol–Drew-Bear (1986) 57-58 no.76. On the distribution of the *nomen* Ar(r)untius in Asia Minor see Balland (1981) 165-167.

¹⁵² Dig. 33.1.24.

¹⁵³ *TAM* V.2.1272-1275.

¹⁵⁴ *TAM* V.2.1276 [see Robert (1948b) 48].

¹⁵⁵ E.g. Moretti (1953) 240.

¹⁵⁶ Robert (1976b) 185-187 [cf. *TAM* V.3.1424]. On the Attalid foundation of Philadelphia see Cohen (1995) 227-230.

¹⁵⁷ *TAM* V.3.1483.

¹⁵⁸ *TAM* V.3.1507.

between that imperial ideal and this local festival was pertinent.¹⁵⁹ By c. 229/230, this festivity was finally granted sacred status and referred to as ὁ ἱερὸς ἀγὼν Δείων Ἀλείων (Φιλαδελφείων).¹⁶⁰ In Laodicea ad Lycum, the name of the Olympic festival Ἀντωνῆα Γετειᾶ left no room for doubts. The contest was presumably inaugurated in 209 soon after Geta had been appointed *augustus*, and the inscription commemorating the second celebration in 211 already recorded the death of the *divus* Septimius Severus and the interesting (and difficult to explain) point that the *agonothetai* had assumed the office “for their rulers”.¹⁶¹ Again, Laodiceans took careful precautions to rebrand the festival with the exclusive denomination *Antoneia* in the series of coins which celebrated the fact that Caracalla had restored their yearned neocorate status.¹⁶² Even though such continuous aspirations are not attested in Selge, we still find the same reference to Ἀντωνῆος attached to its oecumenical festival Caesarean Kesbelian; which most likely acknowledged the emperor under whom the efforts of the city and especially the local notables Publius Plancius Magnianus Xenon and his wife Aurelia Xenoniane Maidate Arsa were satisfied.¹⁶³

Even more noteworthy is the attestation of similar attitudes in places in which none of the big imperial grants was particularly available. I am referring to the varied and numerous amount of games which rewarded victors with pecuniary prizes (ἀγῶνες θεματικοί) and not exclusively with crowns (ἀγῶνες στεφανῖται).¹⁶⁴ Whereas the visibility of such competitions in western Asia Minor was considerably diminished due to the promotion of sacred and international events, their abundance

¹⁵⁹ On the advertised *CONCORDIA AUGG.* between Caracalla and Geta see Zanzarri (1997) 84-85. *Philadelphia Severeia* were also established in Nicaea, Perinthus, Caesarean Cappadocia and Anazarbus [see Mitchell (1993a) 221]. On the importance and relevance of imperials ideals for the local population of the Empire see Noreña (2011).

¹⁶⁰ *TAM* V.3.1495, 1497.

¹⁶¹ *I.Laodikeia* 60. See also Strasser (2004) for the interpretation.

¹⁶² See Robert (1969) 283-286.

¹⁶³ *I.Selge* 15, 16, 55.

¹⁶⁴ See Pleket (1975) 54-71.

in the lands of southern Anatolia confirms the genuine interest and regional importance of agonistic culture in the 3rd century. The study of Termessos and the cities of Pamphylia has previously highlighted the limited imperial significance of these *themides*, which rarely attracted established athletic and performing stars from abroad. Despite these limitations, games such as the Severan Augustan Capitolian of the Roman colony of Olbasa still denote a calculated degree of emulation with the bigger festivals given the choice of both that resounding denomination and a five-year interval (πενταετηρικός), which were normally reserved for the most prestigious contests.¹⁶⁵ The evidence of Oinoanda is even more illuminating with regard to the relation existing between local *agones* and the wider regional and imperial contexts. In this city of northern Lycia, a woman called Meleagris left funds to organise games probably restricted to his fellow citizens in the late 2nd or early 3rd century.¹⁶⁶ While the games are referred to as Μελεάγρεια in the first attested celebration (2nd *themis*),¹⁶⁷ they appear with the title Σεουήρεια Αντώνεια [[Γέτεια]] in the 5th celebration.¹⁶⁸ By the 7th *themis* – so soon after AD 212 –, one inscription informs us that the reference to Geta was not included any longer.¹⁶⁹ When the games reached the 20th celebration,¹⁷⁰ the arrival of a new ruler had also influenced the adoption of the new denomination Severan Alexandreian.¹⁷¹ Exactly the same naming sequence appears attached to the first and second celebrations of another *agon* of the city – open to all the Lycians in this case –, which was sponsored by Iulius Lucius Pilius Evarestus: the Εὐαρεστεία.¹⁷² In the surviving inscriptions recording both contests,

¹⁶⁵ *IGR* III.411+1491 [Milner (1998) 144], 412+1492, 413+1493 [Milner (1998) 134], 414+1494. See Pleket (1998b) 165.

¹⁶⁶ Hall–Milner (1994) 36.

¹⁶⁷ *SEG* 44.1191.

¹⁶⁸ *SEG* 44.1192.

¹⁶⁹ *SEG* 44.1193.

¹⁷⁰ *SEG* 44.1200.

¹⁷¹ *SEG* 44.1197.

¹⁷² Hall–Milner (1994) 8–30. *SEG* 44.1168–1171, 1175–1177.

the distinctive reference to Alexander was later carefully erased. In all of them, the valid allusion to Severus was maintained because the Senate had condemned the memory of an emperor but not of his dynasty.

This collection of evidence shows not only unequivocal adaptability by the local institutions to re-shape their strategies of reciprocity with the ruling power, but also demonstrates widespread awareness of relevant events happening in the rest of the Roman Empire. Both aspects are clearly observable in the attestations of another particular category of games, the ἐπινίκια, which commemorated imperial victories. In the introductory case study, we have seen that a local athletic club (Heraclids) took over the organising and honorific duties of games held in Thyateira on behalf of Severus Alexander after his campaigns in the eastern front.¹⁷³ Adada had an *agon* for the Epinician Tyche after 212,¹⁷⁴ and even the questionable success of Maximinus was celebrated in Ephesus within the framework of the Pythian Marianeia.¹⁷⁵ Gordian III did not live long enough to proclaim an imperial triumph in the Roman senate. However, the international promotion of more local games still supported by the local institutions and wealthy individuals of Asia Minor did not cease during a reign which saw the emperor himself establishing a Greek festival for Athena Promachos in Rome.¹⁷⁶ The most obvious examples of this process are found in Aphrodisias and Side with the Attaleia Gordianeia (Capitolian) and the ἀγὼν Ἀπολλώνεος Γορδιάνεος Ἀντωνείνιος (Pythian). All these initiatives show beyond doubt that local enthusiasm for agonistic competitions and international ranks did not stop after the early 3rd century.

¹⁷³ TAM V.2.949.

¹⁷⁴ Sterrett (1884-5) 295, no.416.

¹⁷⁵ See chapter II.1.3.

¹⁷⁶ See Robert (1970) and Wallner (2004).

However, the interest of this chapter does not lie in the confirmation of a well-known reality – the so-called ‘agonistic boom’ –, the evidence of which I have analysed earlier.¹⁷⁷ Instead, I will now discuss the ways in which the imperial power responded to requests concerning this important aspect of civic life. As I have mentioned above, the ultimate responsibility for granting sacred and eiselastic rank to festivals fell on the emperors.¹⁷⁸ This power resembles the control over the *neokoriai* on which my previous section has focused. In fact, the permission to celebrate international games seems to be facilitated by the award of the neocorate status and the subsequent festivities such as *synthysiai* commemorating it.¹⁷⁹ My analysis argued that the attainment of this and other primacy titles became more accessible in the 3rd century AD. The access to such titles had to be understood in relation to two different factors. First, there was a natural trend by which cities would petition for statuses already granted to rival neighbours. In other words, if first-class *metropoleis* such as Smyrna, Pergamum or Ephesus had reached their second *neokoriai* in the early 2nd century, second tier centres such as Sardis or Miletus would naturally try to become neocorate as soon as they could. The second and wider factor derives from what appears to be a deliberate policy by the emperors in the 3rd century to concede more freely higher ranks. The obvious consequence is that these ranks and the titles attached to them lost inherent value.¹⁸⁰ Cities on the top therefore sought to excel by accumulating marks of distinction: 4 *neokoriai* in Ephesus, for example. At the same time, inferior entities strove to commemorate with inscriptions and coins the mere

¹⁷⁷ Robert (1982) 38. See Mitchell (1990, 2009); Pleket (1998b); van Nijf (1999). For the importance of this agonistic culture in the Greek literature of the imperial period see also recently König (2005).

¹⁷⁸ Plin. *Ep.* X.118-119 [cf. Tert. *Scorpiace* VI]. See Weiss (1982); Heller (2006a) 169-172; Slater (2013).

¹⁷⁹ See Burrell (2004) 335-341; Heller (2006a) 188-192. On the possible example of Ephesus see previous note 62. In Sardis, we have the Elagabalia festival [Robert (1976a) 52-53], and the Aktia of Hierapolis are another candidate according to Ritti (2003) 188-190. On the numismatic evidence of such a possible correspondence see Weiss (1998).

¹⁸⁰ Lendon (1997) 153.

grant of one of those privileges as we have been able to see in Philadelphia and Thyateira when they became *metropolis* and centre of a new *conventus*, respectively. In all those cases and even with a more generous and positive imperial policy in place, we still need local communities in south-western Asia Minor willing and able to start the petition process first and implement the response of their rulers later. Both explanatory models are equally valid for the considerable expansion of sacred festivals attested after Septimius Severus' accession. Again, the organisation of such events can be observed in the bigger cities of the province of Asia since the 1st century AD and, especially, in the first half of the 2nd century during Hadrian's reign.¹⁸¹ Famous *Kommodeia* were also established in Miletus and Laodicea.¹⁸² However, the scale and extension of this phenomenon is lower than the great amount of cities of different ranks which recorded the celebration of sacred festivals on their 3rd century bronze coinage.¹⁸³ As I will analyse in the last chapter of the thesis, this trend becomes particularly visible during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus and coincides again with the grant of a new series of *neokoriai*. The ultimate consequences of this process are clearly echoed in the decision by Diocletian and Maximinus to restrict municipal immunity to athletes who had won at least one of their sacred crowns in contests held either in Rome or the 'Old Greece'.¹⁸⁴

Imperial authorities were therefore well aware of the advantages and risks generated by their decisions. Furthermore, emperors had the power not to satisfy petitions which required their authorisation. Antoninus Pius famously asserted his

¹⁸¹ Mitchell (1993a) 219-220. See for example the letter recently discovered at Alexandria Troas, in which Hadrian attempts to solve the problems of the agonistic circuit [Petzl-Schwertheim (2006) cf. Jones (2007a); Gouw (2008)]; or his concerns about the Amphictiony and the Pythian games [Oliver (1989) no.75].

¹⁸² Mitchell (1993a) 220-221.

¹⁸³ See Nollé (2012b); Robert (1970) 23-24; Harl (1987) 63-70; Mitchell (1993) 221-224; Leschhorn (1998); Klose (2005).

¹⁸⁴ C.J. 10.54.1.

control over titles (ὀνόματα) in a letter sent to the Ephesians.¹⁸⁵ He also commended Vadius Antoninus for spending his money on buildings rather than on distributions and spectacles “for the sake of immediate [gratification]”.¹⁸⁶ Marcus Aurelius tried to limit the expenditure on gladiatorial spectacles,¹⁸⁷ and proclaimed in the senate that, in spite of his grant of sacred status to the old Milesian Didymeia, he had to reject requests from other cities on account of the burdensome duties (*onus civitatum*) falling on them.¹⁸⁸ Under such circumstances, it is not surprising to observe that no new *neokoriai* were conceded during the reigns of both emperors and that festivals did not adopt their personal imperial names either.¹⁸⁹ Why, then, do most of the emperors in the first three quarters of the 3rd century appear to be primarily interested in the establishment of more sacred festivals rather than concerned about the losses that could result from their grants – athletes’ ἀτέλεια, for instance? This same question applies to the award of other privileges from which tangible benefits were derived. New metropolitan centres had the right to exempt ten doctors, five rhetors and grammarians compared to the five and three allowed in cities without rank (ἐλάττους πόλεις).¹⁹⁰ Likewise, those winning an eiselastic competition were entitled to parade their triumphs in their native cities and receive perpetual *opsonia*.¹⁹¹ The profuse grant of such privileges does not look, *prima facie*, profitable for imperial finances that were considerably struggling in this century as the stark debasement of

¹⁸⁵ *I.Eph.* 1489.

¹⁸⁶ *I.Eph.* 1491 (*Il.* 15-16). See Kokkinia (2012).

¹⁸⁷ *HA Marc.* XI.4 corroborated by *ILS* II.1.5163. See Oliver–Palmer (1955); Carter (2003).

¹⁸⁸ *I.Milet.* 1075. See Herrmann (1975).

¹⁸⁹ The Eusebeia contest established by Antoninus Pius at Puteoli served to honour the defunct Hadrian but not the reigning emperor [*Artem.* I.26; *HA Hadr.* 27. cf. Robert (1971) 9-10]. In a letter to Balbura praising Meleager for the establishment of a contest, he again mentions the precedent of Hadrian and the Demostheneia festival of Oinoanda, which the Balboureans cleverly used in their embassy [*SEG* 38.1447]. On the lack of *neokoriai* see Burrell (2004) 284-286.

¹⁹⁰ *Dig.* 27.1.6.2.

¹⁹¹ See previous note 178.

silver coinage exposes.¹⁹² However, the nature of this type of benefit explains the aspirations and wishes of political communities that were conducting their civic lives and diplomatic activities under the dominant forces of regional imitation, emulation, prestige and competition. At the same time, a very restrictive imperial policy controlling titles and benefits also runs the risk of diminishing patriotic pride, political engagement and celebratory benefactions which were fundamental to the *poleis* and villages sustaining the Roman administration of south-western Asia Minor. I believe that the enhancement of these elements is key to understand why 3rd century rulers may have decided to promote a higher degree of competition with their decisions and their apparent lack of criticism. In other words, the grant of coveted, petitioned and contested ranks provided the ruling power with a cheaper medium to fulfil local expectations contributing to the activity and vitality of territories of which both emperors and armies frequently had to make use. If those mechanisms of reciprocity are acknowledged, the continuous use of diplomatic procedures analysed in this chapter becomes pertinent and effective.

III.5. Personal Advancement, Imperial Influence and Local Promotion

In a context of prevalent ambitious initiatives and a more permissive imperial policy, the election of the agent or agents transmitting local concerns and advocating for a successful response was fundamental. The case of Thyateira and Perelius Alexander clearly illustrated this point in the introductory section. This pancratiast led the embassy that petitioned for the *eiselastic*, *sacred* and *isopythian* rank of the *Αγούστεια* festival. The young Perelius Alexander had started competing in this local contest and soon began winning international competitions across cities and

¹⁹² See Corbier (2005) for a general overview and the multiple bibliography of this much-discussed aspect of the 3rd century AD.

koina that still cared to organise games, benefactors and venues.¹⁹³ Periodic victories led him to the peak of his career when he was appointed high-priest of the oecumenical association of athletes or *xystos*, which also implied the presidency of the imperial baths at Rome.¹⁹⁴ The fame of his deeds seems to have reached even the mosaics of Ostia and definitely brought him closer to the ruling power.¹⁹⁵ His nomenclature was also adapted to comply with the emperor's names.¹⁹⁶ It is therefore no wonder that the petition of Thyateira was positively heard by Elagabalus when such a star carried the words of his fellow citizens.¹⁹⁷ In the end, the international career of Perelius Alexander influenced the promotion of his *patria*. Had the circumstances of the Empire been different, this well-documented story of success may not have happened. I shall now explore whether the increasing imperial influence that individuals from south-western Asia Minor achieved in the first half of the 3rd century had any effect on the processes of civic life and diplomatic relations that this chapter studies.

An obvious point to start this exploration is the letter that the young Caracalla sent to Ephesus communicating his sympathy towards Artemis and one of the city's congratulatory decrees. At the end of the preserved text, an exceptional reference is made to a group of influential men that he calls φίλοι. Among these friends, we find the teacher and *ab epistulis Graecis* Aelius Antipater. The testimony of Philostratus in his *VS* corroborates that this διδάσκαλος had been in charge of Caracalla's and Geta's

¹⁹³ TAM V.2.1017, 1018, 1019.

¹⁹⁴ TAM V.2.1020. On the association of the *xystos* and the supervision of the imperial baths at Rome see Pleket (1973) 216; Millar (1992) 456-463; Caldelli (1992); Volpe (2007).

¹⁹⁵ For a possible representation of Perelius Aurelius Alexander on a mosaic of Ostia see Jones (1998). On the close relation between emperors and athletes in this period see also the contestant of games in Tralles honoured by Septimius Severus and Caracalla [SEG 43.732].

¹⁹⁶ Compare, for example, with the case of the zither-player C. Antonius Septimius Publius whom Smyrneans praised for winning a long series of festivals that included at least two visits to Rome and Puteoli, and three to Neapolis [*I.Smyrna* 659] or the Oinoandan L. Septimius Flavianus Flavillianus (see below).

¹⁹⁷ On the diplomatic potential of athletes and artists in the Roman Empire see van Nijf (2011b).

education, later entered the Senate and occupied a very prominent administrative role in the early Severan period.¹⁹⁸ It also reports that Aelius Antipater came originally from Hierapolis, which he describes as “one of the well-off cities in Asia”. The proximity of this man to the imperial family is undoubted.¹⁹⁹ The attachment to his original *patria* is equally clear when such a proximity became fatal. Septimius Severus died, Geta was assassinated and the old man apparently wrote one of his brilliant letters to Caracalla censuring his attitude and lamenting the loss of the joint ruler. Once the favour of the new infuriated emperor was lost, Antipater escaped to Hierapolis, starved to death and was buried there. Even if some elements of Philostratus’ dramatic story should be taken with caution, it is still attractive to suggest a connection between Aelius Antipater’s influence and the significant development of Hierapolis in the first decade of the 3rd century. As was shown above, the city carried out one of the few major construction projects attested in the region. The transformation of the theatre received support from the Roman administration, the new *scaenae frons* included conspicuous representations of the entire imperial family and celebrated the existence of a Pythian festival. It is not difficult to imagine how much more accessible the grant of that sacred rank probably became when Antipater – actually an author of Olympic and Panathenian speeches – was a member of the *consilium* dictating the emperors’ decisions. The consequences of the later fury of Caracalla against Antipater and perhaps Hierapolis are more difficult to elucidate. Yet it is noteworthy to highlight that the teacher’s fatherland appears to have become *neokoros* only at the end of Caracalla’s reign and, in fact, most of the neocorate

¹⁹⁸ Philostr. *VS.* II.24-26 (p.607). *PIR*² A 137.

¹⁹⁹ See Bowersock (1969) 55-56 and Millar (1992) 92-93.

coinage appears under Elagabalus.²⁰⁰ If there was indeed any later process of reconciliation and gratification between Caracalla and Hierapolis, the incomplete dedication carved in the second architrave of the theatre for him and Iulia Domna perhaps in the same period may find a more nuanced explanation.²⁰¹ Whatever the case may be, the return to normal imperial dedication practices in the city is attested under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander when at least a new *nymphaeum* was set up.²⁰²

Another story of successful personal promotion from the Anatolian lands is provided by L. Gellius Maximus. A native of Pisidia,²⁰³ this doctor became the personal ἀρχιατρός of Caracalla with ducenary rank.²⁰⁴ *Amicus* of the emperor, member of the court and possibly of the Alexandrian Museum,²⁰⁵ he is known to have carried out benefactions both in Sagalassos and Antioch. This *kratistos* procurator also provided his homonymous son with entry to the Roman senate.²⁰⁶ The praetorian Gellius Maximus *junior* later became the commander of the IIII Scythian legion in Syria, where he even attempted to become emperor but was executed in 219

²⁰⁰ SEG 53.1464. Burrell (2004) 135-138 defended her argumentation for Elagabalus on the basis of the prolific numismatic evidence [cf. von Papen (1908) and Johnston (1984)], but was unaware of Ritti's (2003) latest inscriptions.

²⁰¹ SEG 57.1369. According to Ritti (2007) 409-413, the carving of the inscription was abruptly interrupted and she points at the change of dynasty in AD 217 as the probable reason explaining this oddity. Such a process of reconciliation may be analogous to the better known case of Nicaea and the Severan dynasty analysed by Robert (1977) 25-30.

²⁰² SEG 57.1368. Statue bases of Mamaea [SEG 33.1136] and Maesa [SEG 33.1137] have also been found in the city. For the monument and the possibly contemporary building of another *nymphaeum* by the temple of Apollo see Campagna (2006); Campagna-Scardozzi (2013).

²⁰³ The identification of Gellius Maximus' *patria* is not clear. An honorific base from Sagalassos calls him εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος [SEG 50.1312. cf. Devijver (1996) 140-144 and Waelkens (2002) 358], but that phrase could also refer to the fatherland of a dedicating *boule* and *demos*. At the same time, his relation with Antioch by Pisidia was very strong given the number of surviving inscriptions, one of which might include a local office of Asklepios [AE 2005.1479; SEG 6.563, 54.1370 cf. Christol-Drew-Bear (2004) 109-110; Nutton (1971)].

²⁰⁴ AE 2005.1479; SEG 54.1368. For an examination of the literary and epigraphic sources concerning the activities and social status of the physicians who took care of the Roman emperors and their relatives see Marasco (1998).

²⁰⁵ Devijver (1996) 142-143; Christol-Drew-Bear (2004) 111-113.

²⁰⁶ PIR² G 131.

according to Cassius Dio.²⁰⁷ Pisidia witnessed in the 3rd century AD the unprecedented rise of many other members of native families to the highest imperial ranks, and their careers were not brutally interrupted by such ambitious aspirations.²⁰⁸ In Sagalassos, the generous *bouleutes* Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus became military and provincial legate and his son probably held the governorship of Thrace under Philip the Arab.²⁰⁹ M. Ulpus Callipianus even reached the consulate and left enough money to fund games named after him.²¹⁰ The Roman colony of Cremna and its surroundings already produced senators at the beginning of the 2nd century like Antioch,²¹¹ but they had to wait until the mid-3rd century to honour *consulares* with peregrine backgrounds such as M. Ulpus Asclepiodorus Rutilius Longus,²¹² M. Ulpus Italicus,²¹³ and Ulpus Quirinius Quadratianus.²¹⁴ Families in Selge,²¹⁵ and Etenna were equally able to boast of their senatorial connections in this period and the same claims continued in the Pamphylian plain as my previous case study of this area has shown.²¹⁶ In Lycia, we find comparable circumstances not only in traditional centres such as Xanthos and Patara,²¹⁷ but also in smaller settlements such as Sidyma

²⁰⁷ D.C. LXXIX.7.1-2.

²⁰⁸ Mitchell (1999a) 429-430.

²⁰⁹ *IGR* III.357; 367, *IGBulg* II.732, V.5257 [cf. Derijver (1996) 148].

²¹⁰ *CIG* 4369 [cf. Derijver (1996) 150-151].

²¹¹ See Levick (1967) 111-120; Halfmann (1982) 607-608, 645-646. On the possible origin from Cremna of the suffect consul of AD 125 L. Rutilius Propinquus see Mitchell (1995) 99-100.

²¹² *I.Pisid.Cen.* 27.

²¹³ *I.Pisid.Cen.* 26.

²¹⁴ *I.Pisid.Cen.* 156.

²¹⁵ *I.Selge* 20b (I.9): γένους συνκλητικοῦ καὶ ὑπατικοῦ Αὐρηλία Οὐόλουσσία Κυρινία Ἀτοσσα.

²¹⁶ *SEG* 42.1211. The *nomen* Quirinus displayed by the two sons of the honorand Aurelia Tuesiana Kinana likely relates this family to the senator Ulpus Quirinius Quadratianus attested near Melli and to Aurelia Volussia Quirinia Atossa from Selge mentioned above [Nollé (1992) 116-117]. Mitchell (1999a) 429 also believes in a connection between her and the designated consul and *praeses* of the province of Gallia Lugdunensis M. Aur. Tuesianus [*AE* 1979.506. See Piso (1978) and Alföldy (1979)].

²¹⁷ *SEG* 44.1211: M. Aur. Dionysius, son of M. Aur. Demosthenes. *SEG* 56.1765: M. Aur. Dionysius, son of Diogenes II. In *TAM*. II.278, we find the city of Xanthos honouring the daughter of Tib. Pollenius Armenius Peregrinus, *consul designatus* in 244 [*TAM* II.572; *PIR*² P 536], and granddaughter of Fl. Latronianus, *praefectus urbi* under Gordian III [*PIR*² F 297. See *I.Aph.* 8.100 and Remy (1990) 397]. On the elite families of Lycia who reached equestrian and senatorial status see also Slavich (2003); Dönmez-Öztürk (2012).

with the descendants of Tib. Cl. Telemachus,²¹⁸ in Oinoanda with the exhaustive Licinnia Flavilla,²¹⁹ and even Balbura, where M. Aur. Thoantianus claimed to have a network of relatives belonging to almost any possible imperial and local rank.²²⁰

The regions of western Asia Minor had already experienced the promotion of a considerable number of their native citizens in the earlier imperial period.²²¹ It is therefore not surprising to corroborate the continuity of senatorial families in urban centres such as Miletus with the local notable Saturnina,²²² or Erythrai with the relatives of the author Philostratus, for instance.²²³ Nevertheless, we should not forget that Ephesus did not see its first native consul until the Severan period.²²⁴ Consular connections also appear in Aphrodisias with the prize-giver of the *Attaleia Gordianeia* festival,²²⁵ in Tralles with the relatives of the synagogue benefactress Claudia Capitolina,²²⁶ M. Aur. Zosimus,²²⁷ and, naturally, in the biggest cities of Lydia such as Thyateira (M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus), and Sardis with the members of the Asinian family,²²⁸ or Antonia Sabina and Flavia Pollitta, who sponsored the impressive gilding of the bath-gymnasium.²²⁹ Once again, the imperial networks of relatives and ancestors were also present in settlements of a smaller scale such as the

²¹⁸ *TAM* II.194, 280, 281; *SEG* 41.1394. cf. Christol–Drew-Bear (1991a) 215-226; Baker (2006).

²¹⁹ *IGR* III.500 and Hall–Milner–Coulton (1996).

²²⁰ *SEG* 38.1450 (II.12-14): γένους συνκλητικοῦ καὶ ὑπατικοῦ καὶ Λυκιστοῦ καὶ Πα[μ]φυλιαρχῶν καὶ πρεμποπιδίων καὶ ἱππικῶν. See Milner (1991) 45-46.

²²¹ See Halfmann (1982) 609-618

²²² *I.Milet.* 1142. cf. Herrmann (1971).

²²³ *I.Erythrai* 63. cf. Jones (1989a).

²²⁴ On the number of *consulares* and the evolution of their careers between the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries see Leunissen (1989).

²²⁵ *I.Aph.* 12.36.

²²⁶ *I.Tralleis* 72. Claudia Capitolia was the wife of T. Fl. Stasicles Metrophanes [*PIR*² F 370], who was son of the *consul suffectus* T. Fl. Clitosthenes [*PIR*² F 243]. See Halfmann (1982) 632; Trebilco (1991) 157-158.

²²⁷ *I.Tralleis* 69. The euergetic actions of this relative of senators and consuls were worthy of “royal gifts” (II. 9-12).

²²⁸ See chapter II.2.5. A comprehensive prosopographical study is provided by Herrmann (1993) 252-263.

²²⁹ *SEG* 36.1094; Herrmann (1993) 235 no.8. For the monumental sarcophagus and mausoleum of Claudia Antonia Sabina discovered near Sardis see Morey (1924) and Hanfmann–Ramage (1978) 163 no.243, *Fig.* 422. On Flavia Pollitta and her estates attested near Apollonis see previous note 16. On the participation of members of the senatorial class in constructions of Asia Minor see Pont (2010) 408-413.

katoikia of Neitenoi, which recorded in 227 that its *strategos* Aur. Eilus was a ὑπατικών καὶ συνκλητικών συγγενής.²³⁰ Property of senators is also certain near Satala after the discovery of a fragment of the *sacrae litterae*.²³¹ Even in the remote settlement of Palaiopolis at the north-eastern end of the Cayster valley, a senator and former praetor was honoured as “benefactor since his ancestors”.²³²

As my selection of cases studies has already shown in chapter II, the attestation of members and relatives belonging to the more accessible equestrian order was even more widespread.²³³ The analysis of other well documented settlements such as Sagalassos corroborates this trend,²³⁴ and the example of T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus from Thyateira and his numerous offices serve to illustrate the great mobility that local ἱππικοί could have across the Empire between the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries: *egregius* procurator of the emperor’s *arca Liviana*, prefect of the cohort *II Flavia Agrippiana*, *praepositus* of the *ala singularium*, commander of the *ala I Cilicium*, *praepositus* of the *ala Gaetulorum*, prefect of the *ala II Flavia Numidarum*, *praepositus* of the *ala II Flavia Bessorum*, supervisor of the *annona* and of the harbours of Seleucia in Pieria, *neokoros* of the very illustrious city of Cyzicus and *curator* of Seleucia in Pieria, Alexandria on the Issus, Rhosus, Tropaeum Traiani and perhaps Apollonia.

All these testimonies reflect unequivocally the increasing imperial significance of 3rd century individuals from south-western Asia Minor, who still derived from the leading families of the region but did not necessarily come from the largest cities or had distinctive Western colonial backgrounds. Such a development

²³⁰ *SEG* 41.1017 [=von Saldern (2006) no.23].

²³¹ *TAM* V.1.607. For a description of the *sacrae litterae* see Jones (1984) and Williams (1986) 194, who defends their apotropaic purpose.

²³² *I.Eph.* 3707 [cf. Eck – Merkelbach (1979)].

²³³ See the always growing prosopography collected by Demougin (1999).

²³⁴ Derijver (1996) 128-146

and change certainly had the potential to influence positively the imperial promotion and visibility of those territories during this period. At the same time, it also provided the ruling power with members of the highest ranks who were able to deal with local issues from a closer and more familiar perspective. In this regard, the origins of M. Ulp. Tertullianus Aquila as well as his career are noteworthy. One Latin inscription from Cremna records the honours of the *patria* for this *clarissimus vir* who was possibly related to the other *Ulpii* senators of the Pisidian city.²³⁵ After a *cursus* that is unknown to us but definitely included the consulship, he became the governor of Macedonia in 212/3.²³⁶ There, he had to cope with the legal problems that the *Constitutio Antoniniana* generated in relation to the traditional donation of slaves carried out at the sanctuary of Meter Theon Autochthon in Leukopetra.²³⁷ We know that his ruling was valid for decades after the tenure of that office, and his considerable legal abilities would support his identification with the controversial jurist Tertullianus appearing in the Digest.²³⁸ The next attestation of the proconsul appears again in a predominantly local context when the board of the Lycian league decreed honours for M. Aur. Thoantianus, the aforementioned citizen of Balboursa that could proudly display his copious network of well ranked relatives. Besides his activities in Lycia, the inscription informs us that Attaleia – referred to as *lamprotate* – was Thoantianus' second homeland (ἡ ἕτερα πατρις αὐτοῦ).²³⁹ His additional contributions to the political life of the Pamphylian city were acknowledged by Tertullianus Aquila, who is described as a κράτιστος ὑπατικός in charge of the accounts (λογιστεύσας).

²³⁵ *I.Pisid.Cen.* 44.

²³⁶ *PIR*^I V 572.

²³⁷ See Youni (2011); Riel (2001).

²³⁸ See Jones (2007b) 1336-1337.

²³⁹ This special connection with Attaleia also appears in the honorific inscription for his father [*SEG* 41.1359], who was priest of the Muses and an active sponsor of cultural activities in Lycia and Pamphylia.

The cities of Asia Minor had appointed magistrates called λογισταῖ supervising local finances since Hellenistic times.²⁴⁰ The presence of these local magistrates persisted in the Roman period as can clearly be observed in the ‘*summa honoraria* inscriptions’ from Lydia.²⁴¹ Yet Tertullianus Aquila did not belong to that category of civic politicians but to the imperial *curatores rei publicae* that the Roman power started dispatching from the beginning of the 2nd century in order to oversee and control local spending.²⁴² These magistrates were mostly appointed from the most prestigious families of the region for obvious reasons such as language, influence and familiarity, which facilitated the outcome of their missions. In this category, we find for example M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Varus of Termessos, who received honours from the city of Sagalassos for being an ἴδιος αὐτῆς λογιστής.²⁴³ Even more suited were prominent regional individuals such as the consular Tertullianus, who had also experienced the ways and means of Roman administration after long imperial careers.²⁴⁴ Indeed, *curatores rei publicae* continued to be normally appointed directly by the emperor as confirmed by the testimony of Cassius Dio, who stayed at Pergamum and Smyrna following Macrinus’ instructions.²⁴⁵

All these precedents help us to contextualise the statue that the *boule* of Miletus erected for the *consularis* Iunius Quintinianus in the 240s and the remarkable bestowal upon him of the honorific title οἰκιστής, which the city had so far restricted

²⁴⁰ Dmitriev (2005) 193-194; Schuler (1998) 243-246.

²⁴¹ See chapter II.2.2.

²⁴² Dmitriev (2005) 195-196. Burton (1979) did not unfortunately make that distinction in his collection of testimonies.

²⁴³ TAM III.1.113.

²⁴⁴ See also the probably contemporary example of the unidentified senator from Xanthos [SEG 41.1394], who was said to be *curator* of many Asia Minor *poleis* in addition to his extensive imperial career. During his mission in Laodicea and Hierapolis, he was probably collaborating with the equally Xanthian (and Sidymean) senator T. Cl. Telemachus [see Christol – Drew-Bear (1991) 215-19].

²⁴⁵ D.C. LXXX.7.4. cf. *I.Eph.* 618 (ll.11-12): δοθέντα [δὲ καὶ λογιστῇ]ν ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ. Also in the second century AD, another testimony of this city informs us that the governors could have this capacity as well [*I.Eph.* 25 (ll.5-6)].

to Hadrian.²⁴⁶ This piece of evidence has to be connected with the second attestation of Iunius Quintinianus in a fragmentary dedication carved in reused architraves found not far from the temple of Apollo at Didyma.²⁴⁷ The fragmentary monumental inscription running along one of these architraves refers to the largess (φιλοδορία) of an emperor when Egnatius Lollianus was governor of the province for the second time. As we shall see below, the emperor during that second term was Gordian III. Not coincidentally, Iunius Quintinianus set up honours precisely for this emperor and his wife Tranquillina when he was also *logistes* of Ephesus.²⁴⁸ Returning to Miletus, the largess of Gordian is most likely related to the concurrent building works attested in the nymphaeum of the city.²⁴⁹ Another fragmentary inscription found *in situ* in the upper architrave of this monument specifies that its decorations – including bronze statues – were the result of imperial gifts (ἐκ τῶν θείων δωρεῶν) when Gordian III and Traquillina were emperors.²⁵⁰ From such fragments of contemporaneous information, another hypothetical but reasonable reconstruction of the events leading to this inscribed commemoration can be proposed. Miletus wanted to undertake works on the nymphaeum in the second quarter of the 3rd century. A *curator* of the city was appointed by Gordian to deal with this and other local issues. Once Iunius Quintinianus examined the city's finances and the suitability of the project, he probably gave his approval for the works, which were also authorised by the provincial governor, Egnatius Lollianus. Most remarkably, the city managed to obtain

²⁴⁶ *I.Milet.* 344. On the similar usage of κτίστης and this title see Robert (1987) 134 and Ferrary (2000) 636. The senatorial couple from Lycia supervising Laodicea and Hierapolis also received this denomination.

²⁴⁷ *I.Didyma* 59.

²⁴⁸ *I.Eph.* 304.

²⁴⁹ A fragmentary Latin inscription indicates that the nymphaeum of Miletus was first built in the Flavian period when M. Ulpius Traianus – father of the emperor – was proconsul of Asia [*AE* 1999.1576]. Hence it is impossible to know the exact nature of the later works carried out under Gordian III, apart from the provision of bronze statues explicitly mentioned in the inscription. For an updated analysis of this monument and its sculptural remains that takes also into consideration the epigraphic evidence see Frede (2011).

²⁵⁰ *I.Milet.* I.5.2 (p.54).

a grant of imperial funds to decorate the monument through the intervention of those Roman officials. The exceptional nature of such a concession and the corresponding inscribed references to them can be better understood in a context where the attestation of construction works funded by the emperors is virtually inexistent in Asia Minor after Caracalla's reign.²⁵¹ The visible result of this process was twofold. On the one hand, Miletus extolled Gordian III's largess. On the other, one of the institutions of this city, the *boule*, granted the truly honorific title of οἰκιστής to the *curator*.

In this attempted reconstruction, the implicit use of diplomacy and reciprocity procedures is palpable. Another aspect that the above case highlights is the intermediary role that imperial administrators such as those *curatores rei publicae* played between local subjects and ruling emperors. Such a role contributed to the maintenance of channels of communication between both levels outside the recurrent use of local ambassadors. For example, Commodus communicated to the Aphrodisians that he granted a request made by the city partly on the basis of the curator's judgments (κρίσεις τοῦ λογιστοῦ).²⁵² The involvement of others *curatores* was also certain in the renovation of the theatre of Hierapolis, the construction of the Severan arch of Balboursa and the expansion of the gymnasium-bath complex of Sardis. The study of this and other layers of imperial/provincial administration is consequently key to provide a complete analysis of the communication and response attested between Roman rule and civic life in the first half of the 3rd century AD. For this reason, the next section of the chapter will focus on other surviving interactions between members of the Roman administration and the settlements of south-western Asia Minor.

²⁵¹ On the implication of the emperor in local construction works see Pont (2010) 459-488. For the tables attesting the apparent decline of imperial donations in Asia Minor see Winter (1995) 357-359.

²⁵² *I.Aph.* 8.35.

III.6. Governors and Imperial Representatives

The same Egnatius Lollianus, who was governor of the province of Asia for the second time when Miletus memorialised both the largess of the emperor and the intervention of the *curator* Quintinianus, also received an honorific inscription from this ‘very illustrious’ city calling him ἴδιος ἐν πᾶσιν εὐεργέτης.²⁵³ L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus is the most frequently attested governor of Asia in the entire imperial period.²⁵⁴ Prior to his arrival in Asia, his career had included the positions of *sodalis Antoninianus* in 213,²⁵⁵ advocate of the imperial court when Caracalla travelled through Syria on 27th May 216,²⁵⁶ governor of Galatia under Elagabalus,²⁵⁷ and consul in the early 220s. He was also *corrector* of Achaia probably during the fifteen-year span that normally separated the consulship and the Asian governorship.²⁵⁸ Under Trajan Decius, he was perhaps the governor of Pontus-Bithynia,²⁵⁹ and the peak of his *cursus* was finally reached in 254 when he became *praefectus urbis*.²⁶⁰ His three consecutive terms of office in Asia date to the mid-240s between the end of Gordian III’s reign and Philip’s accession.²⁶¹ The numerous inscriptions attesting such an exceptional *extra sortem* appointment can be divided into two groups. The first group are texts just specifying his condition of governor; for example, the dating

²⁵³ *I.Milet.* 268. This inscription was found among the remains of the nymphaeum, whose decorations were probably authorised by the governor himself.

²⁵⁴ *PIR*² E 36. Regarding the exact origin of Victor Lollianus, there are opposing views between Haensch (2006) 298, who suggests the Greek-speaking part of the Empire, contra e.g. Christol—Drew-Bear—Tashlalan (2003) 345–346, who favour his Italian family connections. Corsten (1991) 27 and Puech (2002) 132 proposed Prusa ad Olympum given the presence of πατρις in one of his honours, but that indication is not conclusive [see Salomies (2001) 162 no.129].

²⁵⁵ *CIL* VI.2001.

²⁵⁶ *AE* 1947.182 = *SEG* 17.759.

²⁵⁷ *ILS* 467.

²⁵⁸ *SEG* 36.427 [cf. *SEG* 41.456]; *IG* VII.2510–2511; *I.Thesp.* 417.

²⁵⁹ *I.Prusa* 12; *SEG* 55.1378. This office clearly has a minor rank compared to the prestigious career previously conducted by Egnatius Lollianus and, therefore, Haensch (2005) has proposed the presence of a homonymous son. While the latter possibility is indeed plausible, it is also true that unusual senatorial appointments in the mid-3rd century happened more often and the presence of the proconsul of Asia cannot be completely discarded.

²⁶⁰ *Chronogr. a.* 354 [*Chronica Minora* I.65].

²⁶¹ See Christol—Drew-Bear—Tashlalan (2003) 354–356; Lorient (1996).

formulas found at Thyateira or his appearance in milestones.²⁶² Obviously, this chapter is more focused on the second group of inscriptions in which local institutions and individuals justify the setting up of honours for him. The base found at Miletus belongs to that latter category only because of the survival of crucial related material. Indeed, it must be emphasised again that the correlation between particular actions and inscribed testimonies cannot always be traced. This is, for example, the case with the evidence from Ephesus, which repeatedly describes Victor Lollianus as benefactor of the city without providing any other illustrative detail.²⁶³

Once more, the lack or abundance of surviving references to a single person cannot autonomously be regarded as an undisputable measurement of the actual activity generated by the honouring institution. Despite the rare appearance of evidence for ἀπάντησις in this period,²⁶⁴ governors were still encouraged to listen attentively to and accept the common expressions of praise by the top cities of the province.²⁶⁵ Dio Chrysostom, for example, already criticised his fellow citizens for “constantly bestowing extravagant honours upon governors” when they were trying to become seat of a *conventus*, obtain financial concessions and increase their number of *bouleutai*.²⁶⁶ This chapter is, however, not intended to measure the degree of vitality of civic structures but to explore the surviving testimonies deriving from their honouring activity. In this sense, a group of bases recently discovered in Izmir allows us to go beyond the simple and unavoidable cataloguing of Egnatius Lollianus’ attestations and hence present a more profound discussion.²⁶⁷ That this proconsul like

²⁶² TAM V.2.1084, 1149.

²⁶³ *I.Eph.* 664, 664a, 3088, 3089. Despite the general acceptance of his presence in *I.Eph.* 3091, the restoration of his name by the editors is too conjectural and, therefore, I cannot include in this analysis the construction of the north gate of the harbour generally attributed to his proconsulate [see Karwiese (1995) 122; Salomies (2000) 117-122; Erkelenz (2004)].

²⁶⁴ See Pont (2008d).

²⁶⁵ Dig. 1.16.7pr. See Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002) 92-102.

²⁶⁶ D.C. XLV.4.

²⁶⁷ See Herrmann-Malay (2003) and Christol-Drew-Bear-Taşlıalan (2003).

many before him received conspicuous honours by the citizens of Smyrna had been known for a long time.²⁶⁸ In those honours set up by the asiarch L. Pescennius Gessius, the rhetorical abilities of the proconsul were praised (μόνος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν ῥητόρων), and more interestingly, he is said to have become prize-giver of the Asian *koinon* games held in Smyrna. The two new texts state even more clearly the motivations behind these episodes.²⁶⁹ Both statue bases were dedicated by another asiarch, Quintilius Eumenes, who claimed to be grandfather of senators. This man had promised before the *boule* of Smyrna to propose honours for Egnatius Lollianus in the meeting of the Asian *koinon*. The mere survival of the bases confirms that such promises were fulfilled. What, then, generated such personal signs of gratitude between the provincial governor and this old member of the regional elite? Explicitly, Lollianus had used his rhetorical and legal expertise to act as a legal representative of the asiarch (ἐαυτοῦ συνήγορος). He had also accepted to share the position of συναγωνοθέτης with him. By virtue of this acceptance, the games of Smyrna implicitly became more significant and gained support with regard to the regional controversy about which of the *agones* organised in the *koinon* of Asia had the highest rank.²⁷⁰

The beneficial actions performed by Egnatius Lollianus in Smyrna show a considerable degree of interaction between the governor, the local population and the institutions which they represented. He also seems to have gone beyond the normal duties of the Asian proconsulship – like his *extra sortem* office –, and was therefore more likely to be commemorated by inscriptions.²⁷¹ Such honours could, nonetheless, be equally bestowed upon governors when they were following prescribed procedures

²⁶⁸ *I.Smyrna* 635 [SEG 2.652]. See Cadoux (1938) 296.

²⁶⁹ SEG 53.1327-1328.

²⁷⁰ See Aristid. *Or.* XXIII.65 cf. Heller (2006a) 185-188.

²⁷¹ See Erkelenz (2003) 174-216. On the re-appearance of *extra-sortem* appoints for the proconsuls in the 3rd century see Hurlet (2006) 120-121.

as shown by the case of Miletus in which Lollianus mostly likely authorised some sort of construction works.²⁷² As Ulpian's *De Officio Proconsulis* records:

He (the proconsul) should visit the temples and public monuments, for the purpose of inspecting them, and ascertaining whether they are in good condition, and properly cared for, or whether they need any repairs, and provide for the completion of such as have been begun, as far as the resources of the government permit; and he should appoint with the proper formalities superintendents (curatores) who are diligent in their work, and also specify soldiers for the purpose of assisting the superintendents, if this should be necessary. [Dig. 1.16.7.1]

Exactly that kind of collaborative effort between provincial authorities and local institutions was attested in the inscription recording the renovation project carried out in the theatre of Hierapolis when Q. Tineius Sacerdos was governor. In Ephesus, the same proconsul also received honours from the city for his efforts in finding financial support for the setting up of the theatre awnings.²⁷³ Lollianus Avitus (c. 225) was said to have confirmed the spaces next to the *emporion* that the *boule* of Smyrna had previously granted to a trading association called Asklepiastai.²⁷⁴ Governors were also concerned with the state of the roads in their provinces and this is very visible in the numerous and widespread milestones recording the activities of Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus in AD 201/2.²⁷⁵ We also know that the proconsul normally intervened in the delimitation of local boundaries (ὁροθεσία),²⁷⁶ and one of these episodes may be attested in an inscription from Priene mentioning Licinius Nepos and an imperial procurator in the Severan period.²⁷⁷ A post-212 inscription from Andeda in Pisidia suggests that the proconsular authority might still extend to agonistic

²⁷² On the intervention of governors in local construction projects see Pont (2010) 417-442.

²⁷³ *I.Eph.* 2040.

²⁷⁴ *I.Smyrna* 713. Q. Hedius Lollianus Plautius Avitus (*PIR*² H 36), who appears also in *I.Eph.* 14; 1109; 1111; 1112; 1113, was *consul ordinarius* in AD 209 and belonged to a distinguished senatorial family [see Mennen (2011) 106-108]. Compare with the edict that the governor L. Antonius Albus sent to Ephesus in order to protect access to the harbour [*I.Eph.* 23].

²⁷⁵ E.g. *I.Magnesia* 297 [= *I.Eph.* 3160]: αἱ ὁδοὶ ἀποκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ ἀνθυ(πάτου) Λολλιανοῦ Γεντιανοῦ. For the remaining attestations of the proconsul and his career see Christol–Drew-Bear (1995a). On this task of the governor see Rathmann (2006) and Dalla Rosa (2014) 281-294.

²⁷⁶ See Burton (2000) and Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002) 103-116.

²⁷⁷ *I.Priene* 220 [cf. Crowther (1996)]. Compare with the *delimitatio* carried out in the eastern limits of the province with Galatia at the end of Severus' reign [Christol–Drew-Bear (1998)].

matters,²⁷⁸ and his jurisdiction over religious and financial issues was still relevant in 221 as shown by a fragmentary request of a cultic association from Sardis.²⁷⁹ His judgement could also be used to acknowledge the beneficial activities of private individuals from the same Lydian city and Termessos,²⁸⁰ and the importance of his archives could be definitive in the resolution of local conflicts.²⁸¹ In the end, Ulpian again reminds us that governors were encouraged to hear the petitions of all persons regardless of their rank as long as they could present their cases properly.²⁸² The request that a settlement in the Maeander valley addressed to the governor Q. Caecilius Secundus Servilianus provides us with a suitable example corroborating the contemporaneous validity of Ulpian's statements and their effects on the day-to-day life of those communities.

In an elaborate, direct and rhetorical language, the *katoikia* of Mandragoreis requested to hold three market days following the precedent of previous governors (πρὸ σοῦ ἡγεμόνες), who had given this right to neighbouring communities.²⁸³ The petition also emphasised that this new grant would not cause any loss to either the city of Magnesia ad Maeandrum – to which the *katoikia* belonged – or to the very sacred/imperial *fiscus*. The edict of Secundus Servilianus answering and accepting the request was published on the walls of Magnesia's local archive in AD 209. This remarkable text informs us that the petition was heard and granted because the group

²⁷⁸ Woodward–Ormerod (1909/10) 123 no.18 (ll.3-7) [cf. Robert (1940) 47-48].

²⁷⁹ SEG 59.1396.

²⁸⁰ SEG 57.1441 (ll.6-10); SEG 43.865 (ll.16-20).

²⁸¹ For example, a copy of a funerary epigraph from Termessos trying to prevent τὸν βωρυχία by imposing a fine payable to the *fiscus* was to be deposited at the σκρίνεια ἀνθυπατικοῦ [TAM III.1.657]. On the existence of such archives and their importance see Haensch (1992). For the intervention of the proconsuls in the imperial *fiscus* based at their provinces see Burton (1993).

²⁸² Dig. 1.16.9.4. The proconsul also had the power to appoint appropriate judges [Dig. 1.18.8].

²⁸³ On the market rights of provincial communities see in general de Ligt (1993); Nollé (1982, 1999); and more specifically those granted by Antoninus Pius to the Arillenoï (between Sardis and Daldis) when he was governor of Asia [SEG 44.977]

representing the Mandragoreis presented their case before his tribunal.²⁸⁴ Both such a successful case and the insistence of Ulpian in recommendable ways of petitioning confirms the uninterrupted importance of the governor in the administration of justice and the circuit across the *conventus* cities which he had to conduct during his term of office.²⁸⁵

Moreover, there were even additional elements related to the Roman administration of the provinces such as local taxation,²⁸⁶ or regional security,²⁸⁷ which are not prominent in the epigraphic records of the first half of the 3rd century but are key to understand – among other episodes – the role of governors in the Christian persecutions of the 250s. The limited evidence of that later period will also confirm that their relevance did not decrease as illustrated by the grant of new market rights in Lydia,²⁸⁸ or their defence of territories such as Cremna, whose internal security could not be guaranteed by the Roman imperial army any longer.²⁸⁹ Consequently, the use of diplomatic strategies in the dealings between local institutions and provincial authorities is again comprehensible. Not surprisingly, the rhetorical treatise of the Laodicean Menander included at the end of the 3rd century detailed instructions for ambassadors addressing the ἄρχων τινος ἔθνους.²⁹⁰ This aspect is even more interesting if one realises that analogous procedures were sometimes shared between imperial and provincial communications.²⁹¹ For example, a governor under Severus Alexander only rejected an invitation by the Aphrodisians to visit the city and offer

²⁸⁴ SEG 32.1149 (II.5-8).

²⁸⁵ See Kantor (2008) chapters II-III; Fournier (2010); Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002) 133-171.

²⁸⁶ C.J. 4.62.1.

²⁸⁷ Dig. 1.18.13pr. [see Brélaz (2005) 267-282; Fuhrmann (2011) 171-200]. Aelius Aristides, for example, informs us that the governor made the selection of *eirenarchs* after their local nomination [*I.Logoi* IV.72] and a new inscription from Akmonia probably carved in the early Severan period confirms epigraphically this procedure [see Blanco-Pérez (2013)].

²⁸⁸ TAM V.1.230 [recently re-edited and supplemented in TAM V.3.1422].

²⁸⁹ See chapter IV.7.

²⁹⁰ Men. Rhet. II.381, 389, 415-418, 424-430. On the later relation between governors and provincials after Diocletian's accession see Slootjes (2006).

²⁹¹ See Hurlet (2006) 197-301.

sacrifices after he had previously emphasised the ancient freedom of the *polis* in his elaborated response.²⁹² At the same time, he expressed his alignment with the emperors who had confirmed and increased the privileged δίκαια of Aphrodisias. As I have noted above, those privileges theoretically removed this city and its citizens from the direct jurisdiction of the Asian proconsul because Aphrodisias did not belong to the *formula provinciae*.²⁹³ Such prerogatives, in any case, did not completely forbid the presence of governors in the territory as we know that Commodus had previously responded positively to another petition concerning this same issue.²⁹⁴ It is therefore not a coincidence that the mediation of Severus Alexander was precisely acknowledged when Aphrodisias set up a statue base for the proconsul Sulpicius Crasus – possibly the same governor who had previously declined the invitation to visit the city.²⁹⁵ Besides the attestation of clever diplomatic mechanisms, this episode again illuminates the intermediary and fundamental role played by the provincial governors. On the one hand, the proconsul had used his response to spread ideals of the imperial power such as the commitment to preserve local rights. A similar procedure can also be observed in the edict that Secundus Servilianus addressed to the Mandragoreis when he affirmed: “the emperors (Sept. Severus, Caracalla and Geta) want to enlarge their own empire for the better”.²⁹⁶ In parallel, local entities could also appeal directly to the emperors in order to circumvent provincial administration, attempt a change and normally end up being referred back to the authority of the governor.²⁹⁷ If the recurrent request for governors from cities such as Aphrodisias outside their direct jurisdiction is not enough proof of

²⁹² *I.Aph.* 12.34.

²⁹³ On the tasks of the governor and the concept of *formulae provinciae* see Lintott (1993) 28-32 and Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002) 225-226.

²⁹⁴ See Millar (1999b) 108-113; Chaniotis (2003b, 2013).

²⁹⁵ *I.Aph.* 12.33. On the identification of Sulpicius Crasus see Reynolds (1982) 172-176.

²⁹⁶ *SEG* 32.1149 (*Il.*33-34).

²⁹⁷ See *Dig.* 1.18.8.

their importance in the local matters of 3rd century Asia Minor, the post-CA acclamation that the unidentifiable proconsul Taurus received from another small community of the Maeander valley is even more revealing.²⁹⁸

SEG 38.1172+ 42.1024

	[τὸ] εὐχάριστον ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγα- θὴν γνώμην ἥνπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς Πυλείταις ἀμειβόμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς εὐποιίαν τε καὶ		[στήλῃ] ἀναγράψαι. Εὐμηλος εἶπεν· [ἀξιού]ντων ὑμῶν ταῦτα ἐν στή-
5	σπουδὴν ἔχοντες κεκύρωκά- τε καὶ αὐτὸς σύμνηφος ὑμῶν τῇ γνωμῇ γεινόμενος βεβαιῶ. [ἔ]ρρωσθε· ἥς ἀναγνωσθείσης ἡ βου-	20	[λῇ ἀναγραφῇ]σεται. Ζωτικὸς εἶ- [πεν — ἀ]ποτεθήσεται καὶ [ἡ ἐπιστο]λῇ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀν-
10	ρῶ· ναοῖς τὸν σωτήρα· πάσῃ τειμῇ [β]ουλῇ δῆμον τετείμηκας. ἄξι- [οι Πυ]λείται τῶν δωρεῶν, ἄξιοι Πυ- [λείται] πλειόνων· εἷς ἅπ' αἰῶνος, Εὐ-	25	[τῇ το]ῦ ἀρχείου. [ὁ ἱε]ρώτατος δῆμος τῷ[v] [Πυλ]ειτῶν λαβόντες τὰς δ[ω]- [ρε]ῖας πάσας παρὰ τῆς φιλο[σε]- [βάστου βουλῆς καὶ δήμου
15	[μηλε·] οὐα, καλῶς, ἀρχιερεῦ· μέ- [γα τὸ ὄνομα] Διονύσου· Εὐμήλω με- [γάλῳ κη]δεμόνι Πυλειτῶν· Εὐμη- [λον πάν]τα τὰ δίκαια Πυλείταις ἐν	30	[τ]ὰς στήλας ἀνέστησαν· Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰουλιανὸς Ἀλικαρνα[σ]- σεὺς ἐγλύψε· εὐχαριστ[εῖ] τῷ δήμῳ Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τρύφων Μ[ά]- γνης μετὰ ἐπιστάτου.

The thankfulness and good disposition, which you really have in favour of the Pylitai on account of their goodwill and eagerness towards you, you have ratified and I myself confirm the voting agreeing with your resolution. Farewell. After this letter was read aloud, the council spoke: to the great proconsul Taurus! For the temples saviour! You have honoured the council and the people with all respect!

The Pylitai are worthy of the gifts! The Pylitai are worthy of even more of them! The one and only, Eumelos, hurrah, bravo, high-priest, [the name] of Dionysos is great! To the great protector of the Pylitai: Eumelos! Eumelos, all the privileges of the Pylitai are to be inscribed on a stele! Eumelos said: it would be good to inscribe all these (privileges) on stele! Zoticus said: also the letter of the clarissimus proconsul Taurus should be deposited in the archive! The letter was handed over to the attendant of the archive. The holiest demos of the Pylitai receiving all the gifts from the emperor-loving council and the people set up the stelai. Aur. Iulianus of Halicarnassos engraved it. Aur. Tryphon Magnes with the overseer thanks the people.

Naturally, governors were not alone in their administration of the provinces. The famous letter that Fronto sent to the emperor Antoninus Pius right before his departure to the province of Asia illustrates this point.²⁹⁹ In a manner similar to the emperors and their court, the governors were in charge of an *officium* composed of

²⁹⁸ The exact origin of this inscription found in the Museum of Aydin is unknown [see Malay (1988)]. Nollé (1990b) 124-125 has argued for its attribution to the territory of Magnesia ad Maeandrum given the influence of the Madragoreis petition and the presence of the Magnesian Aur. Tryphon in the text.

²⁹⁹ Fronto *ad Anton. Pium* 8.

amici, legates, administrative clerks and soldiers, who needed to collaborate closely with the *quaestor* and imperial procurators appointed in the province.³⁰⁰ This aspect is particularly well attested in the capital and fiscal centre of Asia: Ephesus.³⁰¹ Here the amount of Latin inscriptions originating from imperial and provincial administrators, and their security forces is remarkable.³⁰² For example, Aur. Augendus, a *strator officii*, proclaimed that Egnatius Victor Lollianus was “was ahead of all the governors in *iustitia*, *sinceritas*, and *innocentia*”.³⁰³ A statue base for the *humanissimus praeses*, L. Didius Marinus, was also set up by *corniculari*, *beneficiari* and *exacti*.³⁰⁴ An unnamed assistant *tabularius* honoured an *advocatus fisci* and former governor of the Cottian and Maritime Alps,³⁰⁵ and the *collegium tabellariorum officii* were allegedly capable of protecting the tomb of one of its members.³⁰⁶ This group also prepared a dedication for their boss, the *procurator Asiae* L. Lucilius Pansa Priscillianus, who equally received honours from the *cohors I Raetorum qui in officio deputantur* and another *advocatus fisci* called C. Laberius Paulus.³⁰⁷

In Ephesus, there are also testimonies recording the communication and interaction of this heterogeneous group of Roman administrators with the local civic community hosting them. For example, the inscription that the *Augg. libertus* Helicon

³⁰⁰ See Burton (1987) 424-426; Eck (1995a) 20-24; Haensch (1997) 710-724; Rankov (1999); Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002) 63-73. On the collaboration between procurators and governors see Burton (1993) and Eich (2005) 118-135.

³⁰¹ See Haensch (1997) 298-321.

³⁰² On the use of Latin in Ephesus see Eck (2009b) 21-29. Compared to the 1st and 2nd centuries, the Latin inscriptions after AD 200 mostly belong to the Roman administrative personnel of the capital and not to the descendants of the important Italian trading community settled already in the Republican age [see Kearsley (1999a-b)].

³⁰³ *I.Eph.* 664. On the attachment of security forces to the *officium* of Asia see Brélaz (2005) 267-269.

³⁰⁴ *I.Eph.* 660e [Pflaum (1960) no.295].

³⁰⁵ *I.Eph.* 820.

³⁰⁶ *I.Eph.* 2222b.

³⁰⁷ *I.Eph.* 696a and Knibbe–Engelmann (1984) 141; *I.Eph.* 3053. The *advocatus fisci* C. Laberius Paulus, who was in charge of the honours, is probably attested on a lead *tessera* too [*SEG* 58.1328 cf. Kuhn (2014) 137]. For the career of Pansa Priscillianus, possibly a close friend of Caracalla see Demougin (1990) and Christol (2008). His son, member of the senatorial order [D.C. LXXIX.21.3-5 cf. Salway (2000) 147 for his appearance in the *album* of Canusium], was also honoured in Ephesus [*I.Eph.* 697].

commissioned to celebrate the preservation of Septimius Severus' dynasty after obscure circumstances including conspiracies and *parricidales insid[iatorum]* suggests the privileged degree of information available to him.³⁰⁸ His intention to communicate this information to other inhabitants of Ephesus follows the same trend previously attested in the propagandistic sentences included in the governors' responses. The dedication of a statue to Iulia Domna prepared by the imperial procurator of the *XX hereditatium*, M. Romanus Iuventinus, also needs to be understood within this same context of promoting imperial policies, dynasties and messages.³⁰⁹ Again, the frequent use of specific languages reinforces the intermediary position of such representatives between emperor and subjects. When the *verna* of the emperors and *dispensator extraordinarius* Salvianus praised the experienced procurator T. Claudius Xenophon in the early Severan period, Latin was chosen.³¹⁰ By contrast, the *boule* and *demos* of Ephesus used Greek when they honoured the same person on account of the activities he performed on behalf of this primarily Greek-speaking civic community.³¹¹ The institutions of Ephesus showed themselves even more selective in the honours dedicated to Ti. Cl. Serenus, *procurator rationis privatae provinciae Asiae, Phrygiae et Cariae*.³¹² The titles of the city – including an erased reference to the *neokoria* – are recorded in Greek, whereas the administrative career and military ranks of Serenus are in Latin. Certainly, the best evidence of this interesting phenomenon appears in the attestations of the equestrian Aemilius Aristides. In 208/9, this procurator decided to set up a group of statues to Septimius

³⁰⁸ *I.Eph.* 296. On this imperial conspiracy see Daguet-Gagey (2006). On the importance of this and other medial layers of administrative personnel in the transfer of news see Kolb (2000) 275-299 and Eck (1995b).

³⁰⁹ *I.Eph.* 4335.

³¹⁰ *I.Eph.* 652 [Pflaum (1960) no.222].

³¹¹ *I.Eph.* 652a.

³¹² *I.Eph.* 647 [Pflaum (1960) no.283].

Severus and the imperial family for his devotion to their *imperium*.³¹³ However, his sister Claudia Antonia Tatiane authorised him in a private Greek letter to use her *heroon* by virtue of the τέκνον δίκαιον (*ius liberorum*).³¹⁴ Finally, his fragmentary epitaph seems to be mixed-language.³¹⁵

Close interaction with imperial representatives is also illustrated by honours privately set up by citizens such as the prominent M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus.³¹⁶ This protagonist of chapter II praised two ducenaries under Caracalla and Severus Alexander because they were his ἴδιοι εὐεργέται.³¹⁷ Procurators themselves could also produce such honorific inscriptions as shown by the also ducenary friend of the *prytanis* of the city and former imperial doctor M. Aur. Septimius Marinus.³¹⁸ The existence of close relations of friendship likewise explains the laudatory text that another notable Ephesian such as M. Aur. Daphnus prepared for the philosopher and Philip the Arab's procurator Appius Alexander.³¹⁹ His wife Desidiena Cincia was commended in similar terms by the priest of Artemis and highpriest of the Ephesian temples, Iulia Atticilla.³²⁰ Finally, we know that Appius Alexander was also a private benefactor of the Smyranean Quintilius Eumenes, who again promised a statue for him as he did for the proconsul Victor Egnatius Lollianus.³²¹

While the attestations of acting governors is widely distributed across the province of Asia in the first half of the 3rd century, the concentration of subordinate and lesser imperial administrators in Ephesus is extraordinary. Actually, the honours

³¹³ *I.Eph.* 2051 [Pflaum (1960) no.250].

³¹⁴ *I.Eph.* 2121. For an analysis of Claudia Antonia Tatiane see Cormack (2004) 219-221.

³¹⁵ *I.Eph.* 2204a.

³¹⁶ See chapter II.1.2.

³¹⁷ Vipsanius Caecilianus Axius: *I.Eph.* 739. Calpurnius Verus: *I.Eph.* 632.

³¹⁸ *I.Eph.* 629.

³¹⁹ *I.Eph.* 616. See previous note 32.

³²⁰ *I.Eph.* 617.

³²¹ *SEG* 53.1329.

for this second group outnumbered the surviving benefactions carried out by the proconsuls between Septimius Severus and Gordian III.³²² This situation can be explained by the different nature of their duties. Governors of Asia normally spent just one year of term in the province. In that year, they needed to conduct an extensive circuit around the many assize centres in which tribunals were held and the densely urbanised and rural population of the region could present their petitions.³²³ Consequently, even if Ephesus was the harbour where the proconsul was obliged to arrive first under Caracalla, his actual time of residence in the capital would have been much more limited. By contrast, the offices of both their administrative clerks and the imperial procurators did not have such restricted terms, and were potentially more likely to interact with the activities of the surrounding civic communities where new friendship ties could be established.³²⁴ At the same time, those lesser administrators were not banned from taking up office in their provinces of origin as governors of this period were following the revolt of Avidius Cassius.³²⁵ Therefore, the chances for their deeper implication and promotion of local institutions and enterprises increased. This aspect is, indeed, not only applicable to the main

³²³ For the normal sequence of the *conventus* circuit in Asia in the imperial period see Kantor (2008) 191-199 and Dalla Rosa (2012). We happen to know that the governor of Egypt in AD 209 received 1804 petitions within the three days he spend in the *conventus* of Arsinoe [see Haensch (1994)]. Antoninus Pius, aware of the already burdensome and difficult circuit of the governor of the joint province of Crete-Cyrenaica, famously rejected a petition by Berenice to become a new assize centre [see Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002) 227-237]. Septimius Severus and Caracalla issued a rescript specifically preventing lavish hospitality towards the proconsuls by the provincial communities [Dig. 1.4.5].

provincial centre, Ephesus, but also to other settlements in which imperial administrators chose to retire or reside at any point of their careers. Under such circumstances, it is not difficult to suppose the contribution of the former imperial procurator and later local benefactor Alfenus Arignotus, for the promotion of Thyateira under Caracalla. The regional synodos of Dionysiac artists also honoured C. Iulius Philippus, the ἐπίτροπον τῶν Σεβαστῶν and father of a senator, for the games he had personally sponsored in Tralles.³²⁶ In Philadelphia, the *advocatus fisci* of Alexandria, M. Aur. Artemon II, became the secretary of the Deia Haleia festival.³²⁷ The presence of imperial agents was also expected in lands directly owned by the emperor.³²⁸ For example, a freedman assisting in the supervision of the *regio Philadelphene* is attested buying a sarcophagus.³²⁹ The imperial peasants in the area of Takina even denounced the negative actions of some procurators as will be discussed in the following section. The extremely close contact between local population and such instrumental officials, who primarily sought the exaction of land yield and taxes, was a traditional source of conflict.³³⁰ Even though provincial governors had certain jurisdiction over imperial estates such as Takina, the corresponding complaints and petitions were not normally addressed to them but directly to the emperor, as he was deemed to be responsible for such special domains.³³¹

³²⁶ *I.Tralleis* 50.

³²⁷ *TAM* V.3.1497. He also dedicated a monument for his daughter as recorded in *TAM* V.3.1498.

³²⁸ See Crawford (1976); Mitchell (1999b) 37-46; Eich (2005) 297-303.

³²⁹ *TAM* V.3.1871. On the existence of imperial estates around the *ager Philadelphenus* also attested by one of the imperial petitions that will be analysed below see Petzl (2007) 9. For the most complete – albeit obsolete – collection of imperial estates in Asia Minor and, in particular, Phrygia, see Broughton (1938) 648–663. On their complex identification see Mitchell (1993a) 158-159.

³³⁰ See, for example, the recently published imperial letter of either the Antonine age or the first half of the 3rd century denouncing illegal exactions by the *tabulari* in the area of Karamanlı between Kibyra and Takina [*SEG* 48.583+*SEG* 59.1556].

³³¹ See Souris–Haensch (2009) 359-360 on the basis of the new inscription cited above.

As regards the administration of Lycia-Pamphylia, the determination and even existence of a stable seat for the governor of Lycia-Pamphylia in the early 3rd century AD is still a matter of debate.³³² The scarce amount of Latin inscriptions referring to clerks of the provincial staff sheds very little light on this point compared to Ephesus.³³³ Furthermore, the presumed capital Perge does not provide us with clear evidence illustrating the activities of any governor in this period.³³⁴ Likewise, the relation between the consular, patrician and *pontifex* Q. Tineius Sacerdos – the aforementioned governor of Asia –³³⁵ or the Egyptian *ab epistulis Graecis* under Caracalla, M. Valerius Titanianus, and the city of Side which honoured them cannot be determined.³³⁶ More certain is the fact that the governorship of Lycia-Pamphylia was generally occupied by proconsuls in the 3rd century once the province changed from imperial to public status at least under Antoninus Pius.³³⁷ This change again implied short terms of office in a relatively elongated and sometimes rough region in which communication could be difficult. Even under such limitations, it was still possible to observe in Termessos that the benefactions performed by M. Aur. Tib. Cassius Pancrates were acknowledged by the governors.³³⁸ Another 3rd century inscription carved in a sarcophagus of the Pisidian city specifies that a copy of the text

³³² See Haensch (1997) 290-297.

³³³ The fragmentary inscription from Perge [*I.Perge* 156], which was possibly dedicated to the proconsul Gavius Crispus Numisius by a member of the 1st Numidian *cohors*, is impossible to date precisely between the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries [see Eck (2000)]. In the case of the dedication prepared by the *collegium tabularium Caesaris* [*I.Perge* 211], an approximate period cannot be even suggested.

³³⁴ See Erkelenz (2003) 263.

³³⁵ *I.Side* I.61.

³³⁶ *I.Side* I.63. His family seems to have an Egyptian origin and he is recorded as *neokoros* of Sarapis in the Museum of Alexandria in AD 239-240 [*P.Michigan* 620 cf. Nollé (2001) no.67. See also *ILS* 465 and *PIR*² V 142].

³³⁷ For a list of known proconsuls of Lycia-Pamphylia see Thomason (1984) 275-288 and Rémy (1988) 191-193. The earliest secure attestation of a proconsular governor in the province dates to AD 165/6, see Weiss (1999). For further discussion on this change of status see Şahin (1984), (1992), (1999) 50-51; Brandt (1992) 99; Christol–Drew-Bear (1991b); Brandt–Kolb (2005) 25-26; Özdizbay (2008). On the activities of members of the senatorial order in this province see Rémy (1991). For the incorporation of Pisidia into this province already in the 2nd century AD see Christol–Drew-Bear (1991b) 401-413; Eck (2013).

³³⁸ *SEG* 57.1441.

was to be deposited in the proconsular *scrinia* (σκρίνεια ἀνθυπατικά),³³⁹ and two Aurelian brothers from a settlement near Telmessos consulted the governor Iulianus Sura Magnus concerning construction technicalities of their tomb.³⁴⁰

III.7. Local Appeals and the Impact of the Military

The last representatives of Rome and its administration that this chapter will discuss are soldiers. The celebrated *inermis* nature of the western Asian provinces during the high Roman Empire has long been dismissed.³⁴¹ Even if there were no formal legionary bases in this territory, the presence of smaller military detachments in permanent locations is irrefutable.³⁴² This situation continued in the first half of the 3rd century as illustrated by the inscriptions recording a *castellum* in Aulutrene (between Apamea and Apollonia), which was relatively close to the bigger fort of Eumeneia in Phrygia.³⁴³ The presence of such clusters of armed men in this period was not limited to rural areas or road fortresses but it also affected bigger urban centres, especially those cities relevant to the Roman management of the provinces. We know that the *cohors I Flavia Numidarum*, stationed in Lycia and Pamphylia since at least AD 165/166, still set up a dedication to Gordian III in Side and claimed to be devout of the emperor's *numen* and *maiestas*.³⁴⁴ A soldier of the same group called Aur. Agapomenos prepared a cenotaph for him and his family in Perge.³⁴⁵ In this city, military presence is also confirmed by the inscribed references to additional

³³⁹ TAM III.657.

³⁴⁰ TAM II.122.

³⁴¹ Tac. *Hist.* II.83.2; Joseph *BJ* 2.366-368; Aristid. *Or.* XXVI.67 [cf. Sherk (1955)]. On the modern dismissal see Brélaz (2005) 231-235.

³⁴² See Brélaz (2005) 237-240; Speidel (1983); Mitchell (1993a) 121; Sartre (1995) 186-189; Eck (1997) 190-191, (2014).

³⁴³ See Christol-Drew-Bear (1987, 1995); Speidel (1987). On the presence of soldiers at Eumeneia see Thonemann (2011) 151-157 and Brélaz (2005) 238. The fort was damaged by an earthquake in AD 196 but members of the *cohors I Raetorum* were still stationed there in the reign of Gordian III according to MAMA XI.28.

³⁴⁴ *I.Side* I.42 [cf. Spaul (2000) 473].

³⁴⁵ *I.Perge* 365.

beneficiarii.³⁴⁶ Evidence of 3rd century *stationes* may equally be found in the Asian cities of Smyrna,³⁴⁷ Aphrodisias,³⁴⁸ and of course, Ephesus.³⁴⁹ The provincial capital was a traditional seat of the 1st Raetian cohort since the mid-2nd century,³⁵⁰ and a Ligurian *stationarius* belonging to its *centuria Severi* died at the age of twenty-six after eight years of service in the army.³⁵¹ Like other members of the imperial/provincial staff, soldiers stationed in Ephesus could have diverse origins and backgrounds; from Italy to the burnt soil of Lydia. In the Katakekaumene, a wretched father decided to bury his son and cavalryman Aur. Nicias, who died in service and was brought by his comrades to his family home in AD 224.³⁵² The city of Ephesus also saw honours for officials of higher military ranks, for instance, M. Iulius Sura, legionary tribune and son of an imperial procurator in the triple reign of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta,³⁵³ and Claudius Valerius Lysimachus, who commanded (*praepositus*) two vexillations under Elagabalus.³⁵⁴ In the territory of Philadelphia, a *principalis* is attested,³⁵⁵ but probably the best surviving example of local attachment and military versatility is provided by the Lydian member of the *optii* P. Claudius Thrasybulus. In AD 195, he set up an inscription for his deceased wife Lucia Amatia Prosdocia, who was the daughter of a famous Alexandrian comedian called L.

³⁴⁶ *I.Perge* 324, 399. On this group see Nélis-Clément (2000). A veteran ἀπὸ βενεφικταρίου, for example, returned to the Pisidian city of Panemoteichos probably in the mid-3rd century and had an active civic career which included the organisation of games [*SEG* 44.1110].

³⁴⁷ *I.Smyrna* 382.

³⁴⁸ See Chaniotis (2013b).

³⁴⁹ See, in general, Brélaz (2005) 254-264 and Mitchell (1993b) 122. On the importance of *stationes* for issues of imperial communication see Nélis-Clément (2006).

³⁵⁰ Christol–Drew-Bear (1995) 64-66; Overbeck (1981); Eck (1997) 191. On its role in the administration of Asia see Brélaz (2005) 267-271. For a comparison with the duties of the better-known urban *cohors* of Lyon see Bérard (2000).

³⁵¹ *I.Eph.* 2319.

³⁵² *TAM* V.1.474. Not far from the place where Nicias' inscription was found, another mounted soldier (στρατιώτης εἰππεύς) called Aur. Papias set up a thanksgiving stele for Theos and Dikaïos [*TAM* V.1.338].

³⁵³ *I.Eph.* 691.

³⁵⁴ *I.Eph.* 723.

³⁵⁵ *TAM* V.3.1807. On the rank and duties of this group see Clauss (1973).

Amatius Didymus.³⁵⁶ Forty years later, Thrasybulus met his end too at the age of seventy two, and an elaborate epigram carved in a marble stele records that, besides his extraordinary martial abilities praised by the emperors, he was also a notable ποιητής.³⁵⁷

The presence of both acting and veteran troops in the rural and urban settlements of Anatolia is not extraordinary. Actually, the cases mentioned above constitute only a small sample of inscriptions related to soldiers, the tombs of whom are found almost in every well documented area of the Roman Empire. Most of the other potential testimonies cannot, however, be included in my study because the Aurelian nomenclature of this particular group is a less reliable dating criterion as we saw in chapter I. Moreover, the mere presence and counting of soldiers is not indicative of any of the general aspects of communication, diplomacy and civic interaction to which this section is dedicated. Instead, it is more pertinent to investigate processes that distinguish the 3rd century and the material resulting from them. In this sense, the most obvious point is the unprecedented number of eastern campaigns that emperors carried out in this period. Anatolia, crossroads between Europe and the Levant, continued to provide the busiest routes for the Roman army and the impact of the increasing level of military activity is visible in areas which were also reaching the peak of their local epigraphic production.

Since the civil war fought by Septimius Severus and Pertinax in the Bosphorus and Cilicia, the northern and central roads of Asia Minor were constantly crossed by armed contingents which were not only deployed to protect the imperial borders but also to expand the limits of the *oikoumene*.³⁵⁸ Ambitious campaigns normally

³⁵⁶ SEG 52.1163.

³⁵⁷ SEG 52.1164 [Merkelbach–Stauber (2004) 464 no. 23/08 (04/12/10)]. See Petzl (2004) for the study of this inscription and the interesting questions that raises concerning the culture of soldiers.

³⁵⁸ See Mitchell (1983), (1993a) 232; Stauner (2005).

required the leadership of emperors who also aimed to reinforce the legitimacy of their dynasties through victories or at least senatorial triumphs. The increasing presence of the imperial court in these lands is clear and has dominated the modern narrative of the 3rd century AD.³⁵⁹ Yet it is not always possible to trace the exact stops and visits that emperors may have performed in south-western Asia Minor. Even in the case of Thyateira, the surviving evidence is not as illustrative as the historiographical accounts that Cassius Dio prepared to denounce the situation in his native Bithynia.³⁶⁰ Attempts to reconstruct imperial journeys based on higher honorific inscriptions or coinage outputs for a certain ruler are rarely satisfactory,³⁶¹ and the literary tradition tends to obviate details of routes and rest stops which preceded more noteworthy battles and memorable dynastic quarrels. The modern controversy regarding Caracalla's final journey to the East is paradigmatic, but even greater problems can be encountered in the accounts of Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, Gordian III and Philip the Arab.³⁶² Indeed, the reigns of both durable emperors and their short-lived successors and usurpers witnessed at least one *profectio* through Asia Minor.³⁶³ While the connection of possible journeys with certain surviving epigraphic evidence is suggestive, a case-by-case approach will again lead us to risky unfounded ground. For example, the dedications to the *comites expeditionis orientalis* of Severus Alexander,³⁶⁴ or to the navy commander under Philip the Arab Vibius Seneca discovered at Ephesus, only confirm the strategic

³⁵⁹ See e.g. Marek (2011) 436-444.

³⁶⁰ D.C. LXXX.3.1; 4.5; 6.1; 7.3 [cf. Hdn. V.5.3; HA *Elagab.* 5.1; Speidel (1985)]

³⁶¹ See Højte (2000).

³⁶² See Bricault (2012); Kettenhofen (1983); Hommel (1961).

³⁶³ Halfmann (1986) 216-242.

³⁶⁴ The participation of the consul T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus in the eastern expedition (AD 232/235) is explicitly mentioned in *I.Eph.* 657+McCabe Ephesos 1318. The name of the second *comes* in *I.Eph.* 817 is lost, but the centurion responsible for the inscription belonged to the 30th Legion Ulpia Severiana.

importance of this harbour in the second quarter of the 3rd century.³⁶⁵ In the latter case, the attestation of a Batavian member of the II *Traiana* legion in a Latin funerary monument from Cnidos dating to 244/5 is likely related to it.³⁶⁶

The epigraphic testimonies attesting contacts between the military and the local population are more suitable for further discussion. Imperial journeys through Anatolia may be obscure, brief and variable but the pressure of the army on the inhabitants of this region was inevitable. The analysis of Flavius Damianus' career in Ephesus has previously shown us that the city hosted and fed with his funds the soldiers returning with Lucius Verus from his Parthian campaign in the mid-2nd century.³⁶⁷ Even the smallest settlements had the obligation of providing lodging, board and transport to acting officials. Controversies about the conditions of such rights of *angaria* are attested in Anatolia since the beginning of the Roman domination.³⁶⁸ This system of local support and supply to imperial enterprises became more institutionalised in the Severan period after the development of the *annona militaris*.³⁶⁹ At the same time, the increasing provision of recruits or redeeming contributions to satisfy the needs of constant warfare was also visible in the collaborative effort made by those *katoikiai* of the Cayster valley that supplied *tirones*. In both attested scenarios, a considerable burden was to fall on both the civic

³⁶⁵ *I.Eph.* 737: Vibius Seneca was the *tribunus militum* (χρειαρχος) of the 10th pretorian cohort and *dux vexillationum* based at Misenum and Ravenna [see Pflaum (1967)]. The military importance of the Ephesian harbour would also be attested by the presence of *stolarchs* and *naukleroi* honouring a certain M. Aur. [...]troist[...] in *I.Eph.* 1984a.

³⁶⁶ *I.Knidos* 451.

³⁶⁷ *I.Eph.* 811 [cf. Alföldy–Halfmann (1979)].

³⁶⁸ Mitchell (1976) [cf. *P.Lond.* III.1171; *ILS* 214 (Tegea)]; and, recently, *SEG* 59.1365, an edict of Hadrian by which the emperor tried to prevent the misbehaviour of his troops during their route through Asia Minor. The *HA Sev.* XIV.2 equally reports that Sept. Severus transferred the costs of the *vehicularium munus* to the *fiscus* at the beginning of his reign “in order to gain people’s favour” [see Kolb (2000) 142-143]. Despite such alleged measures, we still find between AD 200 and 237 the illustrative example of *SEG* 16.754 [cf. Levick (2000) no.57], in which the Phrygian communities of Anossa and Antimacheia repeatedly tried to contest the burden before the Roman procurators controlling this imperial estate.

³⁶⁹ Mitthof (2001). On the logistics required by the Roman army see, in general, Roth (1999) and Kissel (1995).

structures of the settlements and the initiatives undertaken by the local elites. A recently published inscription from Oinoanda illuminates this aspect.³⁷⁰ The council, people and *gerousia* honoured L. Septimius Flavianus Flavillianus with statues by the local tribes and reserved him a spot among the city's heroes upon his death. This man was not merely a native wrestling athlete who started his career in the local games and then reached international and sacred victories in the Severan period.³⁷¹ As the inscribed text specifically records: "he took every possible care and showed the highest concern in Hierapolis – probably referring to Syria – and in the fatherland on the occasion of soldiers being provided as a second draft of recruits to the East, by keeping free from burden the magistrates and the rest of those in office and by being the one who arranged everything". Another recently discovered testimony from the Phrygian Hierapolis is equally revealing when the local politician C. Memmius Eutychus was praised for delivering – among many other contributions – troops to Caracalla and supplying the *annona* to the imperial house several times.³⁷² The possible presence of veterans who could return, settle and finally die in their homelands is now easier to comprehend when such recruiting obligations were in place and prestigious locals sponsored them.³⁷³

Western and southern Anatolia were therefore key to the logistics of imperial campaigns in the first half of the 3rd century. As the activities of Favillianus and Eutychus show, the pressure to provide recruitments and supplies did not necessarily

³⁷⁰ Milner (2011).

³⁷¹ SEG 44.1169; 1994-1996 [see Hall–Milner (1994) 15].

³⁷² SEG 53.1464. See also the re-publication and extensive commentary subsequently provided by Ritti (2008).

³⁷³ We have precisely at Hierapolis the epitaph of two veterans, Aur. Magnus and of M. Aur. Hesychios [SEG 54.1321], who belonged to the 14th Legion Gemina in the first quarter of the 3rd century. In nearby Aphrodisias, another tomb was set up for a veteran of the Legio I Parthica Severiana Antoniniana [*I.Aph.* 11.30. cf. Reynolds–Speidel (1985)], which had many other recruits from southern Anatolia [see Mitchell (1993a) 139; Nollé (1995a) 366]. For an updated list of all the veterans from Asia Minor recorded in military diplomata see Eck (2009c), and the fundamental research by Speidel (1980) on the inscribed evidence.

depend on the direct passage of soldiers and courts. Consequently, even if faster journeys tended to cross Anatolia through Bithynia, Galatia and the Cilician gates, the consequences of the higher number of military offensives was felt across the entire peninsula. The evidence attesting this process in Side is particularly abundant. Previously, I have highlighted that local notables from this area referred to the provision of *annona* exactly in the same terms that also appear in Hierapolis, or Pogle where Aur. Artemianus Dilitrianus performed this type of benefaction at least four times.³⁷⁴ From the reign of Maximinus Thrax, the coins of the Pamphylian city started to display again images of the harbour and ships similar to those already depicted during the Parthian war of Lucius Verus.³⁷⁵ Numismatic evidence of the same period also shows images of Hephaestus forging Athena's shield – probably an allusion to the role of Side in equipping the Roman army with weapons and materials.³⁷⁶ As we will see in the next chapter, the culmination of this process is reached under Valerian and Gallienus when the city received the honorific title of *navarchis* (navy-base) and bronze coins were still able to commemorate the achievement.

The debate revolving around the positive or negative consequences of the increasing presence of emperors and troops in south-western Asia Minor is an interesting one. Burden and boost of the economy are equally conceivable in a population who was exacted but could also sell their products and abilities to a bigger market with considerable purchasing power.³⁷⁷ However, the epigraphic evidence analysed in this thesis cannot really solve such a complex and unsettled issue. Instead,

³⁷⁴ *IGR* III.407.

³⁷⁵ Nollé (1990a) 257. The importance of the harbour of Side is already attested in the late Hellenistic and early imperial period as the city and its promontory appeared in the 'customs law' of Ephesus [Mitchell (2008) 188-192.]. For the archaeological remains of the naval infrastructure see Mansel (1963) 43-47. On the problems with drifting sands see Robert (1948a) 69-76.

³⁷⁶ Nollé (1995b) 65-69.

³⁷⁷ For a contextualised analysis of military stipends and the significant changes of the 3rd century see Speidel (1992) and de Blois (2002b). On the possible effects in the economy of Asia Minor see Ziegler (1996) and Katsari (2005).

inscriptions mainly shed light on the relations, emotions and communications that acting soldiers may generate in the civic communities of this region. For a thesis aiming to reassess the civic life of Anatolia in the 3rd century AD from a local perspective, a contextualised analysis of this material is very important. First of all, none of the surviving inscriptions alluding to the misbehaviour of soldiers has been found in the major cities of either Asia or Lycia-Pamphylia. In fact, most of them come from areas outside the main hubs of transportation and routes used by the campaigning troops. The example discovered at Takina – in the borderland between both provinces – is eloquent.³⁷⁸ This series of documents records the dealings of this community with the different levels of administration to which they decided to appeal. The main letter of Caracalla informs that he had instructed his procuratorial agents to take precautions so that “soldiers neither proceed in advance on the pretext of the most illustrious proconsuls and harass nor leave the towns and ravage the fields”. He also promised the assistance of the same imperial personnel on issues of *angaria*.³⁷⁹ The subsequent documents of the inscription collect the responses and activities of these officials. The proconsul Gavius Tranquillus, for instance, was aware of Caracalla’s letter, acknowledged the problem and urged them to publish their communications in the most conspicuous place of the village so that “everybody, including the disobedient, defiant and impious soldiers, shall be informed about what now has been prescribed”.³⁸⁰ The same documents also let us know that the δῆμος

³⁷⁸ SEG 37.1186+59.1537. cf. Hauken (1998) 217-243.

³⁷⁹ On the use of this dossier of documents for a reassessment of Caracalla’s historiographical portrait see Marasco (1994).

³⁸⁰ Takina belonged to the jurisdiction of the procurator of Phrygia despite the distance from the main mining centres of the region [SEG 37.1186 l.39]. The appointment of the *advocatus fisci* of this region was separated from Asia [IGR IV.819 see Kantor (2013) 159 and Vitale (2012) 70-75]. In his comprehensive study of the area, Destephen (2007) assigned this area to the borderland of the province of Asia. However, an inscription recently discovered in Antalya records a new proconsul of Lycia and Pamphylia called Iulius Tarius Tatianus [Gökalp (2011)]. This same ἀνθύπατος also appears in the dating formula of the honours for Septimius Severus and the imperial family that Tryphon set up on

Τακινέων belonged to an imperial domain (*coloni dominici*) and that they decided to appeal to their ultimate owner after such continuous problems could not be solved locally.³⁸¹ Such a particular status and attachment to the imperial power probably played a significant part in the persuading strategies of sorrow and favour addressed to their master, as I will show later. For now, it is important to note that episodes denouncing similar episodes and attesting communication with the Roman administration were not limited to imperial estates.

In the Tabai region, an edict of the proconsul C. Gabinius Barbarus Pompeianus (c. AD 211-213) dealt with the problems that the city of Euhippe had suffered from soldiers and *officiales* departing from the main routes (αἱ βασιλικαὶ καὶ λεωφόροι ὁδοί).³⁸² Another fragmentary letter from Caracalla found in the nearby settlement of Medet (ancient Apollonia) mentions plundering scenes affecting Heracleia Salbake.³⁸³ Even more revealing is the equally fragmentary, and still unpublished inscription recently discovered at Choma – modern Elmalı plain – in which Septimius Severus responded to the request of the Lykian league to punish soldiers who violated their duties and tortured the population (βασάνους προσφέρειν).³⁸⁴ All those graphic episodes and many others attested across the Roman Empire such as in inner Phrygia,³⁸⁵ or Syria leave no doubt about the problems that armed men could cause;³⁸⁶ especially when communities were not

behalf of the Takinians [IGR IV.881]. Hence Gavius Tranquillus was most likely the governor of this latter province rather than Asia.

³⁸¹ According to Mitchell (1999b) 43, the estate at Takina was part of the extensive imperial property already attested in AD 54 by the boundary stones set up between the territories of Tymbrinassos and Sagalassos. For the necropolis of Takina see now Labarre (2010) 59-69.

³⁸² SEG 13.492 [cf. Robert (1952)]. On the concept of *militares viae* see Speidel (2009) 501-513.

³⁸³ Robert–Robert (1954) no.149.

³⁸⁴ G. Reger, Oxford Epigraphy Workshop, Feb. 27, 2012.

³⁸⁵ E.g. SEG 48.1514, a *subscriptio* response by the proconsul Sulpicianus to a village in the Phrygian Pentapolis denouncing the misbehaviour of soldiers, who probably came from the nearby camp in Eumeneia under Commodus, see Hauken (1998) 188-202]; SEG 53.1517 [Tymion under Caracalla, see Tabbernee–Lampe (2008)]; MAMA X.114 [Aragua in AD 244-247].

³⁸⁶ Isaac (1992) 269-310; Pollard (2000) 85-167; MacMullen (1963), (1988) 171-176.

prepared to host them or could not satisfy missions and indulgences normally instructed by the ruling authorities. While the very nature of those complaints is reasonable and not surprising in any regime subordinated to military power,³⁸⁷ the fact that the population of 3rd century Asia Minor still decided to communicate this kind of problems, address a petition and sought a response from the same authorities and, above all, from the emperor is more interesting. The evidence so far mentioned cannot explore the content of such petitions because only the responses are preserved or were worthy of inscribed memorialisation. My final analysis of a group of inscriptions from north-eastern Lydia will help to fill this gap.

This famous group of imperial petitions and related epigraphs record vivid episodes of military abuses and struggles suffered by the local population. As such, scholars have recurrently used them to illustrate the dire conditions and decay of the Roman Empire in the 3rd century AD.³⁸⁸ All the inscriptions were found in an area of less than 2000 km², which lacked major urban centres.³⁸⁹ Only one of them (Kavacık) provides us with a direct dating formula, which corresponds to AD 247/8.³⁹⁰ Although it is impossible to determine exactly the emperor or imperial officials to whom the other petitions were addressed, the combination of linguistic, prosopographical and nomenclature evidence reduces the possibilities, especially in the cases of Ağabey and Kemaliye. In both inscriptions, the recipients of the petitions are equally referred to as θεϊότατοι τῶν πώποτε αὐτοκρατόρων and, consequently, one can only assign these plurals to the existence of joint reigns.³⁹¹ Moreover, the presence of Aurelian

³⁸⁷ See Speidel (2009b).

³⁸⁸ E.g. Rostovtzeff (1926); Abbott–Johnson (1926); Magie (1950); Herrmann (1990); Hauken (1998). Scheidel (1991) and Speidel (2009b) have defended the necessity of contextualising this evidence better without drawing conclusions on the basis of such graphic testimonies.

³⁸⁹ Kemaliye (TAM V.3.1417); Ağabey (V.3.1418+Urano (2011); Kavacık (V.1.419); Kasar (V.1.661); Demirci (V.1.661), Güllükoy (SEG 19.718).

³⁹⁰ Herrmann (1981) 64.

³⁹¹ The common reference to *frumentarii* found in some of the texts provides us with the *terminus ante quem* under Diocletian when, according to Aurelius Victor [Caes. XXXIX.44], this ‘*pestilens genus*’

references favours a date in the second quarter of the 3rd century rather than in the early Severan age as previously assumed; the same period when the also famous petitions of Skaptopara in Thrace (AD 238) and Aragua in Phrygia (244-246) were prepared.³⁹²

The remarkable textual similarity between such petitions discovered across the Roman Empire has extensively been studied by Hauken (1998).³⁹³ The existence of a particular style and structure which includes *narratio*, *preces* and *subscriptio* is clear in most of the texts and the Lydian material is not an exception.³⁹⁴ As an important feature of the Roman imperial administration, the topic of petitions has been extensively treated.³⁹⁵ Hence I do not intend here to reproduce a well-described procedure, but to highlight those characteristics and factors that may contribute to a better understanding and clarification of documents by which people in this corner of south-western Asia Minor communicated with their ruler. As with the majority of elements studied in this chapter, the development of the systems and channels required for such communications was progressive. First, it has to be linked with the progress of the *rescriptio/subscriptio* and *libellus* procedures. According to Honoré, the major transformations came in the reign of Hadrian and became firmly established in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries.³⁹⁶ Second, the *quasi*-universal Roman citizenship granted after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* contributed to an even larger

was disbanded. This decision is also mentioned by John the Lydian, *De Magistratibus Romanis* II.27. A *terminus post quem* in the Severan period is accepted by all the previous studies dealing with these inscriptions. Rather inexplicably, all scholars including Hauken have discarded the third quarter of the century when such joint reigns became almost a formality.

³⁹² See Hauken (1998) 42. The imperial petition from Skaptopara [*IGBulg* IV.2236 =Hauken (1998) no. I.6] dates to the reign of Gordian III. In Aragua [*MAMA* X.114 =Hauken (1998) no. I.6], the inscription includes the *subscriptio* of the emperor Philip.

³⁹³ See previously Mullins (1962).

³⁹⁴ Given the fragmentary state of most of the Lydian material, we have only direct evidence for the διήγησις and δέησις sections, except for Kavacık where some traces of Latin letters would correspond to the imperial ὑπογραφή [Hauken (1998) 165].

³⁹⁵ See Millar (1992) 537-549 on the general process; Honoré (1994) on the style and development; and Hauken (1998) on the epigraphic attestations. For the consequences of this phenomenon on the basis of the later *Codex Hermogenianus* see also Connolly (2010).

³⁹⁶ See Honoré (1994) 3-94. cf. Sirks (2001).

expansion of these practices.³⁹⁷ In summary, petitions after being prepared in their places of origin, needed to be delivered in hand to the emperor and his administrative entourage by the petitioners themselves or some representative.³⁹⁸ As I have emphasised above, the selection of suitable candidates even by the smallest settlements was crucial. Once it was registered (*recognitio*) and passed through the office *a libellis*, the emperor – normally – simply endorsed the resolution already determined by his assistants through a *rescriptio/subscriptio*.³⁹⁹ In the meantime, those ‘couriers’ waited until resolutions were published and displayed in a public place (*propositio*) where they were copied.⁴⁰⁰ According to the *apokrimata* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla in Alexandria, it has been calculated that emperors could produce a maximum of 4-5 responses a day.⁴⁰¹ For example, the number of rescripts by Gordian III in the *Codex Iustinianus* is just 275.⁴⁰² Moreover, those persons in charge of delivering the petitions could use neither *epistolae* nor the benefices of the *cursus publicus*.⁴⁰³ It is evident that the entire procedure was burdensome; requiring both a considerable amount of money and time, which was logically increased when everything was inscribed on stone.

³⁹⁷ Scheidel (1991) 156.

³⁹⁸ See Hauken (1998) 302. On the role of the emperor and the *iudices vice Caesaris* see Peachin (1996).

³⁹⁹ On the scholarly discussions concerning the actual authorship of the subscripts see Hauken (1998) 302. For the differences between the simple authorisation in the ὑπογραφή and the revision in the ἀπόκριμα see Haensch (2007).

⁴⁰⁰ See Williams (1986). The Baths of Trajan are mentioned as place of the *propositio* both in Skaptopara and another imperial petition found in Phrygia dating to AD 205-208 [SEG 53.1517 cf. Hauken–Tanriver–Akbiyikoglu (2003) 37-38; Tabbernee–Lampe (2008)]. Another recently published inscription (SEG 58.1536) mentions a “New Stoa” where the volume of petitions (τεῦχος λιβέλλων) was copied [cf. Jones (2009)].

⁴⁰¹ Williams (1974) 92.

⁴⁰² Honoré (1994) 27.

⁴⁰³ Honoré (1994) 35. Given the travel difficulties previously mentioned in this chapter even for the biggest urban centres, people of rural areas took advantage of the near presence of emperors as the anecdote of Caracalla judging *impromptu* a dispute over a skin of wine illustrates [see Campbell (1996) 269]. Interestingly, the deliverers of the petitions from Skaptopara and Aragua were soldiers [Hauken (1998) 152], whose presence in either Rome or the imperial court was more feasible. In this regard, see also the case cited by Modestinus concerning the claim of a *viaticum* by a student staying at Rome [Dig. 50.1.36].

Since this chapter primarily studies communication from a local perspective, I will mainly focus on the first stages of this lengthy process, namely the preparation and redaction of the text delivered to the emperor. In this respect, one of the main questions should be concerned with the institutions responsible for composing such petitions. According to the regional case study provided in chapter II, it is evident that these inscriptions do not follow the normal patterns of the local epigraphic evidence found in the rural settlements of Lydia. Even though local institutions were still functioning, a strong epigraphic habit existed in the area, and both culture and literacy may have been higher than previously assumed,⁴⁰⁴ it is still difficult to explain the composition and production of texts showing the complex rhetorical and legal techniques that I will note below.⁴⁰⁵ The imperial petitions from Ağabey and Kemaliye are in many ways the best texts to analyse this concrete theme. They belonged to neighbouring areas, share the issue of their complaint with an analogous terminology and most likely occurred in a similar time period. Despite these similarities, the strategies displayed to gain the favour of the emperors differ substantially.

Whereas Ağabey seeks drama, Kemaliye appeals to the power of administration and law. Thus, even if the style is common, each case was specifically and individually written. The two main points by which petitioners from Ağabey tried to stir emotions are, on the one hand, their ancestral attachment to the land they occupied and, on the other, their particular bonds with the emperor given their condition of imperial peasants – exactly the same strategy probably deployed by the inhabitants of Takina. From both axes, a logical argumentation is constructed in

⁴⁰⁴ Scheidel (1991) 159. On the literacy of inner Anatolia see also de Hoz García-Bellido (2006, 2008); together with Horsley (1999) in the light of the appearance of ‘Homeric’ verses in Pisidia.

⁴⁰⁵ For instance, the use of the powerful chiasmus in Kavacık προφάσει εἰρήνη[ς ἀλλὰ] πολέμου τρόπῳ (TAM V.1.419, ll.10-11).

which the ὑμέτεροι γεωργοί warn that if they cannot remain in peace, they will not be able to contribute to the imperial impositions in the future and, hence be forced to move to private property (μετελθεῖν τε εἰς ιδιωτικὴν γῆν). The use of a similar combination of emotions and logical *tropoi* is common in the other surviving imperial petitions such as those from Skaptopara and *Saltus Burunitanus* (Africa).⁴⁰⁶ By contrast, the main argument in Kemaliye is based on the use of coercive regulations by the emperors and the emulation of their predecessors' legislative activity to give justice.

TAM V.3.1417 ll.9-19:

- κτλ. καὶ τοῦτο δεόμεθ' ἀπιδόντας ὑμ[ᾶς, μέ]-
 [γιστ]οι καὶ θειότατοι τῶν πώποτε αὐτοκρατόρων, πρὸς τε τοῦ[ς]
 11 [ὑμετέ]ρους νόμους τῶν τε προγόνων ὑμῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρηνική[ν]
 [ὑμῶ]ν περὶ πάντα δικαιосύνην, μεισήσαντας δέ, οὗς ἀεὶ με[ι]-
 [σήσ]ατε αὐτοὶ τε καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προγονικὸν ὑμ[ῶν]
 14 [γένε]ς, τοὺς τὴν τοιαύτην προαίρεσιν ἔχοντας κολλητίωνα[ς κε]-
 [κωλ]υμένους μὲν ἀεὶ κολάζεσθαι κελευομένους, οὐκ [ἀπο]-
 [δεξ]αμένους δέ, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ βαρύτερον ἀντιμαχομένου[ς],
 17 [ταῖ]ς ὑμετέραις νομοθεσίαις εἴτε φρουμενταρίοις προμ[ε]-
 [μήνυν]το (?), εἴτε ὁμοίαις τάξεσιν, κελεῦσαι καὶ χρηματίσαι νόμῳ τι[νί]
 [ὥς τὴν ἀν]αίδιαν αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς <ή> ἡγεμονεία προσάγει.

Petitioners also denounce unlawful practices by the armed group who instil “a state of fear”:

TAM V.3.1417 ll. 2-5

- κτλ. μήτε νομίμου κατηγοροῦ τινὸς ἐξιστ[αμέ]-
 [νου, μή]τε ὑποκειμένης αἰτίας, μηδὲ φανεροῦ τι[νος ἐγ]-
 [κλήμα]τος ἰδίου τινὸς ὄντος, ἐπιτρέχουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι μόν[οι ἢ μετὰ τῶν ?]
 [σεση]μειομένων τάξεων ἰς διασεισμὸν τῆς κώμης.

Such a line of argument needs to be placed in a context where the importance of Roman law and justice in Asia Minor advanced throughout the imperial period.⁴⁰⁷ One of the clearest documents illustrating this advancement is the request by the proconsul of Asia to the Ephesians to consult a copy of Ulpian's *De officiis* if they

⁴⁰⁶ *ILS* II.1.6870.

⁴⁰⁷ For a more comprehensive approach on the use of Roman law in Asia Minor see Kantor (2009).

wanted to support their claim to *proedria*.⁴⁰⁸ In the Hermus valley, a rare epigraphic record of a manumission *vindicta* (διὰ βινδίκτων) between *Aurelii* is attested in 242/3,⁴⁰⁹ and the references to the *ius liberorum* became prominent in Termessos after 212.⁴¹⁰ Evaluating the real penetration of this phenomenon in the complex socio-political spectrum of the 3rd century is not easy. It is true that a good proportion of the pre-Diocletian rescripts in the Justinian Code deals with private matters,⁴¹¹ and that the effort of emperors to promote petitions is attested.⁴¹² The collection of mid-3rd century *libelli* preserved in the middle of the Euphrates and the numerous papyrological evidence from Egypt are particularly revealing.⁴¹³ However, I do not consider that the imperial petitions from north-eastern Lydia can provide us with decisive evidence on this particular point, since I believe that professional advocates or legal advisors may actually have been in charge of the redaction of these documents. The reasons to support this opinion derive from the content, forms and style of texts which are analogous to other very distant inscriptions across the Roman Empire. The existence of rhetorical treatises for such a purpose is credible as proposed by Hauken. Yet his solution is partial because mostly specialists educated in law and rhetorical training were capable of writing the specific and individual incidents that each petition attests. Actually, the presence of legal experts called νομικοί/πραγματικοί,⁴¹⁴ as well as trials before the provincial governor are attested in

⁴⁰⁸ *I.Eph.* 217.

⁴⁰⁹ *SEG* 35.1167 [cf. Rea (1986)].

⁴¹⁰ See chapter II.4.1.

⁴¹¹ Williams (1986) 194.

⁴¹² Dig. 49.1.25. This rescript of Severus Alexander to the Bithynian *koinon* was also copied in Egypt [*P.Oxy.* XVII.2104; XLIII.3106]. See de Blois (2006) and Coriat (1997) 557-558.

⁴¹³ See Stolte (2001) and Feissel–Gascou (1989), (1995); Gascou–Feissel (2000).

⁴¹⁴ *TAM* V.3.1454. For other occurrences of this group in Asia Minor see Broughton (1938) 855; Jones (2007); and Kantor (2013) 150-152 for Phrygia. A more general description according to the Egyptian evidence is given by Crook (1995) 155-158.

cities such as Philadelphia.⁴¹⁵ The transforming circumstances between the high and late Roman Empires certainly favoured the expansion of these professionals whose logographic activity has been demonstrated in Egypt.⁴¹⁶ In Phrygia, for instance, peasants of an imperial estate threatened the procurator to bring their case to Dokimeion through an advocate (διὰ συνήγορο<v>) while defending their exemption from *angaria*.⁴¹⁷ As I have highlighted above, Ulpian recommended the proconsuls to hear only those who presented their petitions properly. Within a more general context, the boundaries between Greek rhetorical training, advocacy and Roman Law in the Eastern part of the Empire became more blurred and permeable in the 3rd century AD than ever before. The gradual incorporation of leading Greek scholars into the Roman imperial administration reached its climax in this period.⁴¹⁸ Thyateira, for example, was the *patris* of the famous jurist Licinius Rufinus.⁴¹⁹ Another illuminating example is provided by Philostratus with Heliodorus ‘the Arab’, whom Caracalla appointed as *advocatus fisci* apparently after having being impressed by one of his epideictic declamations.⁴²⁰ Also under Caracalla, we have the extraordinary proceedings recorded on the Dmeir temple, in which the later praised rhetor and governor of Asia, Victor Egnatius Lollianus, was designated as plaintiff.⁴²¹ In Egypt, the emotionally affected language is a characteristic of 3rd century advocates, who were usually called

⁴¹⁵ For the ascription of Philadelphia and north-eastern Lydia to the *conventus Sardianus* see Plin. *HN* V.111, which has been confirmed by epigraphic evidence from Ephesus dating to the Flavian period [cf. Habicht (1975) 66-67]. The existence of trials with the proconsul in Philadelphia is mentioned by Aelius Aristides (*Or.* L.96), and therefore it is possible that Philadelphia may have been promoted to the head of its own *conventus* meanwhile [see Robert (1949) 229-231; Habicht (1975) 71, 75; Burton (1975) 93-94].

⁴¹⁶ Crook (1995) 117. See also *P.Oxy.* 43.3094, where a woman complained in a private letter of AD 217/8 about her visit to the city and her advocate who “failed to put my rights laying on the line”.

⁴¹⁷ *SEG* 16.754 [cf. Frensd (1956)].

⁴¹⁸ See de Blois (2001); Eich (2005) 372-379. Concerning the culture of the senators see Jones (2005); Salomies (2005).

⁴¹⁹ See previous note 28.

⁴²⁰ Philostr. *VS.* 626. For other sophists in the same post and, in general, for a detailed study of the relation between Greek rhetoric, sophistic and its use in Roman administration in this period see Heath (2004) 277-321.

⁴²¹ *SEG* 17.759 [cf. Roussel–Visscher (1942)]. For an English translation and more recent bibliography related to this important document see Stolte (2003).

ῥήτορες.⁴²² This increasingly rhetorical and vivid style has already been evident in the request of market privileges prepared by the *kôme* Mandragoreis in 209 or the acclamation of the governor Taurus found in the Maeander valley mentioned above. Later, the 4th century author and politician Libanius bitterly complained about the number of talented students sent to the school of Law at Berytus and the consequent loss of *paideia*.⁴²³ In a more positive perspective, Menander the Rhetor proclaimed on the prospective career of one of his pupils (II.397.17-20):

“You will be your city’s champion in courts of law, in speakers’ contests, on embassies and in literary rivalry”.

This Laodicean author and his two treatises on epideictic oratory represent the best example of the technography to which rhetoric led in the 4th century AD; especially by giving instructions on how to prepare declamations before Roman officials, including the emperor.

“Of his legislative activity (νομοθεσία), you should say that his laws are just, and that he strikes out unjust laws and himself promulgates just ones. Therefore, laws are more legal and contracts between men are more just” (II.375.27-28). [trans. Russell and Wilson]

These recommendations resemble very remarkably the strategies that can be found in Lydia, particularly with regard to the use of the term νομοθεσία in Kemaliye. However, this inscription is not only important to observe aspects of ‘rhetoric in practice’ but also to attest the local consciousness and awareness of imperial rule in this corner of Asia Minor. Thus, the reference to those νόμοι τῶν τε προγόνων ὑμῶν and the πᾶν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προγονικὸν ὑμ[ῶν γένο]ς implies that the writer knew about previous legislation and the dynastic claims that the emperor wanted to establish or, simply, those with which he might feel comfortable. Such attitudes and

⁴²² Crook (1995) 101.

⁴²³ Lib. LXII.21-3. Compare, for example, with the metric inscription discovered in eastern Pamphylia [Bean–Mitford (1970) no.49], in which the career of a certain Konon is described [see Gilliam (1974)]. The Pontiac bishop Gregorius Thaumaturgus also mentions the activities of the Law school at Berytus in the second quarter of the century [*Pan.Or.* V.65-67].

awareness are perfectly analogous, for example, to the careful choice of imperial names bestowed upon local agonistic celebrations that I have analysed above.

Imperial petitions are therefore essential to highlight the maintenance of a considerably degree of information circulating in the mid-3rd century that permitted in Aragua, for instance, a reference to Philip the Arab's position as praetorian prefect and the citation in Latin of one of his previous rescripts.⁴²⁴ Furthermore, the appearance of expressions such as the εὐτυχέστατοι ὑμῶν καιροί in the contemporary petitions from Kavacık and Aragua may even allude to the ideal of *Felicitas Temporum* and the millenary celebrations widely attested on the coinage of this emperor.⁴²⁵ This rather positive view should be applied not only to the professional sphere, but also to the local level analysed in this thesis. Indeed, it is at this local level where the population still found it convenient, worthy and useful to undertake all the burdensome preparations attached to imperial petitions. The functioning local political institutions described in chapter II still appealed to their emperors and believed in the legitimacy and efficiency of a system, which does not seem to be in 'crisis' from the volume of available material.

CONCLUSIONS

Military abuse and local complaints should not dominate the study of the relations between Rome and south-western Asia Minor in the 3rd century AD. The recently published edict of Hadrian found in the Mykale peninsula shows that this celebrated emperor was already concerned about episodes of armed misbehaviour in the early 2nd

⁴²⁴ *MAMA* X.114 (Il. 24-27). On the position of Philip as praetorian prefect see Honoré (1994) 3. For his legal activity once he became emperor see Körner (2002) 158-189. On the appearance of this term in other Roman imperial constitutions see Anastasiadis-Souris (2000) 95.

⁴²⁵ See De Blois (1979) 38 and Körner (2002) 103, 248-259.

century.⁴²⁶ The reasons for the more frequent attestation of this phenomenon after the end of the Antonine dynasty need to be rather sought in the unprecedented presence of soldiers and administrative personnel who spent longer periods of time in Anatolia. The areas in which such testimonies were found maintained a high level of epigraphic production; and this is only one of the many aspects of civic life memorialised on stone. For those reasons, this chapter has instead focused on how the inscribed commemoration of such proceedings was still supported by local institutions committed to providing legal representatives and embassies who could conduct diplomatic procedures in order to communicate with the imperial authorities ruling them. Only when this basic model of diplomacy has been acknowledged, can the similarities between appeals for security and claims over primacy and rights be discerned.

The cases discussed above have offered an insight into the reciprocal relation and multidirectional exchange between the local and imperial levels that this chapter has aimed to highlight.⁴²⁷ Regarding *neokoriai* for example, we have been able to see that emperors had the ultimate power to grant this honour and cities strove to gain their favour. Indeed, the fierce contest deriving from such grants can only be understood in a context of inter-city rivalry in which competition sentiments and the imperial decisions fulfilling them were still relevant. Ephesus and its itinerant ambassador have shown the toils and rewards of such enterprises, Philadelphia illustrated the reaction of a city which became neocorate for the first time, and Sardis shed light on the strategies available to a political community whose regional position could be affected by the events happening at Rome and the imperial court. The same

⁴²⁶ SEG 59.1365. On another possible fragment from Eumeneia see Blümel (2012). See in this sense the letter that Pertinax sent to the city of Tabala in Lydia itself [SEG 38.1244 cf. Hauken (1998) 203-214].

⁴²⁷ See Ando (2000) 111-118.

competitive background and analogous ‘sacred’ responses have equally appeared in the frequent promotion of international festivals carried out in this century. The scale of these grants of ranks was remarkable in the 3rd century and I have argued in favour of a deliberate imperial policy stimulating – or at least not actively preventing – such attitudes.

Local petitions and imperial responses had the potential to generate reciprocal reactions, even if these could be driven by propagandistic purposes and diplomatic norms. The initial case of Thyateira and Caracalla’s ἐπιδημία indicated several aspects such as the concession of *conventus* status or the possible resolution of the boundary conflict with Hierocaesarea for which the presence of the emperor proved beneficial. Reciprocity was also necessary for the Aphrodisians and the Termessians who defended their privileged rights and celebrated claims of autonomy. Despite the existence of such cases, this chapter has strongly emphasised the risks of both identifying genuine displays of loyalty and attempting the establishment of infallible cause-effects relations in every inscription honouring the ruling powers. Epigraphic evidence is always partial, historiography patchy even for the early Severan period, and the prevalence of the imperial cult needs to be taken into consideration too. This complexity affects the attestations not only of the emperor and his family but also of any other representative with relevant authority such as the provincial governor Egnatius Victor Lollianus. Even under these limitations, epigraphic evidence records profound ties of interaction between the *poleis* and the citizens of Asia and Lycia-Pamphylia with their proconsuls. Administrative personnel of the province also maintained relations in Latin with their bosses and mainly used Greek with the communities hosting them. Procurators such as T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus and M. Aur. Artemon II had the influence to favour their fatherlands and

the promotion of many other native inhabitants to the highest imperial positions may have become significant for the development of the region: for instance Aelius Antipater and the monumental aspirations of Hierapolis in Phrygia. In the case of the consul and *curator* from Cremna M. Ulp. Tertullianus Aquila, the culmination of this phenomenon also provided the emperor with individuals who could supervise, on the one hand, legal complications arising in Macedonia and, on the other, the financial viability of Attaleia.

Imperial presence and military abuses may be more frequently attested in the first half of the 3rd century. However, the topics provided by my analysis of the epigraphic evidence have shown that we are still dealing with systemic realities which are not unparalleled. The analysis of *libellus* and *subscriptio/rescriptio* procedures demonstrates that such processes already existed in the earlier imperial period. Competition over everlasting ἀριστεύειν and agonistic culture were inherent to the Greek political mentality. Roman legal knowledge was also recommendable as long as Roman power increased in Asia Minor. Indeed, native Anatolians did not start feeling the very impact of the imperial rule as a result of the arrival of the Severan dynasty or the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Consequently, the aspirations, preoccupations and interactions studied in this chapter are not to be regarded as signs of a dramatic rupture. Instead, I have tried to assess them in line with the elements of continuity from which they derive – as I did in chapter II too. In both cases, the activity of civic life and its diplomatic relations with the Roman rule cannot be doubted. Inscriptions just happen to be one of the media through which we are able to study such a complex and multidirectional communication.

IV. CONTINUITIES, THREATS AND CONSEQUENCES: A.D. 249-284

IV.1. Martyrdom and the Traces of Local Civic Life

Polemon the neokoros came in together with those appointed with him to seek out the Christians and drag them off to offer sacrifice and eat the abominable meats (μιαροφαγεῖν). The neokoros said: "Surely you are aware of the emperor's edict (δίαταγμα) ordering you to offer sacrifice to the gods". Pionios said: "We are aware of the commandments (προστάγματα) of God ordering us to worship him alone". Polemon said: "Come then to the agora and there you will change your mind".
[Martyr.Pionii III.1-4]

Now there was a man named Naodoros, also known as Apelles, father of the city, and another neokoros who was himself enraged at the impiety shown to the idols. They asked the governor (ἡγεμόν) for an auxiliary force to search in those places that they thought suspicious. An auxiliary soldier arrived with the aforementioned Naodoros, the staff (τάξις) of the eirenarch and few others, and they found the blessed Konon in a place called Karmena, watering an imperial garden. [Martyr.Cononis II.1-3]

In September AD 249, Philip the Arab was defeated in battle by the *dux Moesiae et Pannoniae* and once supporter C. Messius Quintus Decius Valerianus.¹ The emperor had not been able to subdue convincingly foreign threats, usurpations ensued both in the East and the West, soldiers revolted and a new leader had then an open way into Rome.² Philip's dynasty and his son were crushed, the Senate accepted Decius' supremacy and the new ruler adopted the *cognomen* 'Trajan' in a clear allusion to the man who famously inaugurated the period of the 'four good emperors'.³ By the end of that year, Trajan Decius, the *restitutor libertatis et sacrorum*, adopted another decision that triggered one of the few vividly illuminated episodes occurring in the

¹ Körner (2002) 305-322. Even though 4th-5th century sources record that the final battle between Decius and Philip took place near Verona in Italy, Dušanić (1976) has suggested instead the Thracian city of Beroea on the basis of a fragment of John of Antioch and other various bits of arguable evidence. Ziegler (1988) preferred to connect this process with the Beroea in Macedonia after an analysis of the local coinage of Thessalonica – Beroea's traditional rival. On the problems to define the actual involvement of Decius in both Philip's and his son's deaths see Pohlsander (1982).

² See de Blois (1978/9) and Körner (2002) 120-157, 277-304.

³ On the chronology of Decius' accession and his adoption of the name element *Traianus* see Fronza (1951), with the updated remarks made by Peachin (1990b) 66-68. For the significance of *Traianus* see Syme (1971) 220; Potter (1990) 259-260; Birley (1998) 68-73. On the relevant notion of 'good emperors' in the 3rd century AD see also recently Dmitriev (2004a).

middle of the 3rd century AD. One of his edicts commanded the citizens of the Empire to offer sacrifices to the gods.⁴ The orders reached the provinces swiftly and found an evident victim: the Christians.⁵ Some members of this religious group decided not to obey the edict,⁶ confronted the imperial command and faced the consequences of their defying attitude. Martyrs fell across the Empire and the provinces of Asia Minor were not an exception as illustrated by the stories of Pionios in Smyrna and – less certainly – Konon in Pamphylia.⁷

Christian congregations and individuals remained virtually insignificant in the inscriptions of south-western Asia Minor before the 4th century AD.⁸ Precisely for that reason, the methodology of this thesis prevents the assessment of their role in the politics of the communities that I have studied in previous chapters. Neither their epigraphic culture nor visibility was transformed as a direct result of the Decian persecutions. However, the impressionistic – and mostly non-contemporary – accounts narrating their sufferings provide us with a well-documented point to start

⁴ See Rives (1999) 135-154.

⁵ On the religious policy of Trajan Decius and his alleged restitution of traditional values see Pohlsander (1986); Selinger (1994) 22-28; Selinger (2002) 27-44. Even if Philip and his family appear to have been favourable towards the Christians [see Pohlsander (1980); Arca (1999); Körner (2002) 260-276], modern scholars have now rejected the ancient accusation and later assumption that Decius launched his initiative just to punish that religious group [see Bleckmann (2006)].

⁶ The papyrological evidence from Egypt preserves some of the so-called *libelli*; i.e. certificates proving the performance of official sacrifices [see Knipfing (1923); Keresztes (1975); Selinger (2002) 55-63]. As famously denounced by Cyprian's *De Lapsis*, many Christians bought some of these documents or renounced their faith temporarily.

⁷ For an account of all the possible martyrdoms attested under Decius see Frend (1965) 389-439. On the history of Christian persecutions and the changes in the mid-3rd century see Alföldi (1938); Lane Fox (1988) 419-450; Keresztes (1989); Teja (2003); Clarke (2005).

⁸ The single datable testimony identifying an individual as Christian appears in Philadelphia in AD 230 [TAM V.3.1840 cf. TAM V.2.1157, 1299, 1352]. On the complex identification of Christian inscriptions in the 3rd century AD see MAMA VII.XXXVI and, recently, Chiricat (2013) 199-200. Those problems are not acknowledged by Johnson (1995). The pattern of my area of study and also the western Lycus valley [see Huttner (2013)] finds exceptions in other parts of Asia Minor as illustrated by the evidence from Isauria, Lycaonia and, above all, inner Phrygia [see Mitchell (1993b) 38-39, 57-64]. On the Montanist influence in the latter region and remarkable testimonies such as Abercius' epitaph or the 'Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς' inscriptions see Gibson (1978); Wischmeyer (1980); Kearsley (1992) 177-181; Tabbernee (1997) [cf. Barnes (1998)]; Hirschmann (2005); Thonemann (2012); Mitchell (2013). For a comparison between this reality and the better attested Jewish epigraphic habit in Anatolia see Ameling (2009) and Miranda (1999). See also the recent reviews by Destephen (2010) and Mitchell (2014).

analysing aspects of civic life such as political and religious magistracies, assemblies, festive celebrations or Roman representatives which are only scarcely recorded in the limited epigraphic material dating from the middle of the 3rd century to Diocletian's accession. The problems of such sources belonging to a new literary genre, the *acta martyrum*, are evident and should be treated with caution.⁹ Yet precious information is sometimes contained and, as L. Robert showed, epigraphists should also make good use of them.

The most obvious case is provided by the famous *acta* of Pionios' martyrdom. Wrongly dated by Eusebius to Marcus Aurelius' reign, the term of office of Pionios as bishop of Smyrna happened in the year AD 250.¹⁰ By February 23rd, the same day on which St. Polycarp's death was commemorated, news of the edict that Decius promulgated in Rome reached the cities of Asia.¹¹ According to my previous analysis of imperial petitions, such a degree of communication and coordination was still possible in this period. Likewise, the collaboration between emperors, their provincial apparatus and the local political institutions continued to be essential. The sequence of events leading to Pionios' death confirms step by step this operational model. As the text opening this chapter records, a *neokoros* called Polemon led a group of men in charge of assuring that the population of the city offered sacrifice. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage and main witness of this process in Africa, reports that a commission of five prominent local men had to execute the imperial instructions.¹² In Smyrna, the

⁹ On its development see Delehay (1966); Musurillo (1972) XI-LXXIII; Bastiaensen (1990); Mühlberg (1997). For the *acta* preceding Decius' persecutions see also Barnes (1968) 509-31 and Bisbee (1988). On the cult of martyrs and its importance for late-antique Christianity see Brown (1981); Février (1978, 1991); Bowersock (1995); Boyarin (1999); Castelli (2004); Grig (2004).

¹⁰ Robert (1994) 2-3.

¹¹ For the different dates of arrival into the provinces see Selinger (2002) 51-53. On the first obscure developments of the Christian communities in Rome and the bishop Fabian see Duval (2000).

¹² *Ep.* XLIII.3 [see Selinger (1994) 94-96, (2002) 54-55]. For the life of the bishop and his Christian experiences see Brent (2010) and Saumagne (1975). On the use of Cyprian as a source of the persecutions and the history of the 3rd century see Christol (2006). For its legal implications, see recently Mentxaka (2014).

position and name of the appointed leader is also quite revealing of the origin and status of these groups. First, the office of *neokoros* refers to the warden of one of the temples dedicated to the imperial cult. We have already seen that the Ionian city managed to get its third neocorate from Caracalla and that priests of the imperial cult were normally members of the provincial elite. Second, the name Polemon evokes a very celebrated family of Smyrna. The rhetorical skills of one of its members, Antonius Polemon, achieved Hadrian's favour and precisely the grant of the second *neokoria*.¹³ The fact that one of the main characters of Pionios' martyrdom fits in the local context of 3rd century Asia Minor is not coincidental.

The description of architectural elements in the agora of the city is remarkably accurate.¹⁴ The focus on one of the buildings, the Nemeseion, is also very significant. This temple, dedicated to the patron deities of Smyrna and closely connected with the imperial cult, was expanded in AD 211 after an authorisation was issued by Caracalla.¹⁵ Even more relevant is the content of the speech that the bishop addressed to the mob of citizens of Smyrna and the Jews, who came to contemplate his sufferings. The martyr implored respect for victims like him and referred to one of Homer's verses.¹⁶ Before doing that, he had reminded the Smyrneans of their claim to be descendants of the epic author, and most importantly, to excel in beauty among the cities of Asia.¹⁷ This last point again relates this text to one of the main themes of the previous chapter. Titulature, rank and provincial distinction were still a matter of pride. In the *acta*, we also see the board of *strategoi* worried about the disturbance of

¹³ See chapter III.2.

¹⁴ Robert (1994) 8-9, 54.

¹⁵ *I.Smyrna* 725. On the importance of this temple and the cult of Nemesis see Cadoux (1938) 220-222; Robert (1994) 65-66; Hornum (1993) 10-14, 328-330; Kuhn (2012).

¹⁶ *Martyr.Pionii* (Robert ed.) IV.4: ἔδει δὲ ὑμᾶς μέν, ὦ Ἕλληνες, πείθεσθαι τῷ διδασκάλῳ ὑμῶν Ὁμήρῳ, ὃς συμβουλεύει μὴ ὅσιον εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσι καυχᾶσθαι [Hom. Od. XXII.412].

¹⁷ *Martyr.Pionii* IV.2.

the people and an engaged *demos* asking for an assembly to be held in the theatre;¹⁸ procedures that the communities of south-western Asia Minor had managed to maintain in the preceding half of the century. Besides his fine rhetorical training, the legal knowledge of the Christian bishop equally matches the educational resources available to cultured contemporaries.¹⁹ For example, Pionios reminded the local security forces and one of the city *archons* that they had to wait for the arrival of the provincial governor before his capital punishment could be judged.²⁰ Unfortunately, the proconsul Quintilianus did not show himself more compassionate during the subsequent interrogation,²¹ and Pionios was condemned to die in the stadium, where a local man called Terentius was sponsoring hunting spectacles on behalf of his son.²² The first author of the *acta* was undoubtedly familiar with the spaces, procedures and vocabulary of the civic life of Smyrna. Furthermore, the historicity of at least one of the secondary characters, the rhetor Rufinus,²³ and the references to local particularities such as the burnt soil of the *Katakekaumene* or the “Phrygian sect” (of Montanists) demonstrate again the value of this material.²⁴

The information contained in the martyrdom of St. Conon is more problematic. The surviving text does not mention any dating reference and its attribution to the Decian persecutions is only based on analogy.²⁵ Moreover, the Pamphylian city of Magydos in which the story is set only provides us with very

¹⁸ *Martyr.Pionii* VII.1.

¹⁹ Lane Fox (1988) 471-479; Pernot (1997) 111-123.

²⁰ *Martyr.Pion.* XV.3-5. For other possible trials attested during the Decian persecutions see Clarke (1973). On the attested presence of *stationarii* in Smyrna probably in the 3rd century see *I.Smyrna* 382.

²¹ C. Iul. Fl. Proculus Quintilianus: Thomasson (1984) 236 no.192 [*PIR*² I. 502].

²² *Martyr.Pion.* XVIII.8. On the participation of martyrs in local hunting and gladiatorial shows see Potter (1993); Carfora (2009). Concerning Terentius, Lane Fox (1988) 167-468 proposed to identify him with the asiarch M. Aur. Tertius appearing on local bronze coins under Gordian.

²³ *Martyr.Pionii* XVII. See Robert (1994) 6, 97-97 and Lane Fox (1988) 465-467.

²⁴ *Katakekaumene*: *Martyr.Pionii* IV.21. Montanists: *Martyr.Pionii* XI.2. On the more doubtful identification of Politta, master of one of Pionios' companions, with the notable from Thyateira see Jones (1989b) contra Lane Fox (1988) 463-465.

²⁵ Musurillo (1972) XXXII-XXXIII.

limited epigraphic and numismatic evidence.²⁶ It is not possible to identify Καρμενά, the place where Conon was seized, and the name of the πατήρ πόλεως Naodorus is also unattested elsewhere. Nevertheless, the appearance of this honorific title and the common *supranomina* sequence ὁ καί or the name Apelles is more positive.²⁷ Equally interesting is the composition of the band that sought out the martyr. Once more, the leader of the local commission and the warden of imperial cult requested the assistance of the provincial governor and his military forces. They were accompanied by the “eirenarch’s staff”, in a clear reference to the same subordinate forces of *diogmitai* that also arrested Pionios. In a region as exposed to brigandage as Pamphylia and Pisidia, such structures of local security were numerous and their appearance in martyrdoms became almost a *topos*.²⁸ We find them in the earlier Acts of Polycarp, and also in the presumably contemporary Decian persecution of Nestor, bishop of Perge, and the Lydian priest Carpus.²⁹ All these episodes illustrate again the collaboration and interconnection between the municipal level and the provincial/imperial authorities.

Once such traces of local civic life have been identified, the aims of the following chapter are, first, to analyse whether that image is corroborated by the epigraphic evidence dating to the same period. Second, this analysis will assess the impact of the unprecedented levels of insecurity affecting the Roman Empire and south-western Asia Minor, especially after Valerian was captured by the Sassanian king Shapur in 260. Finally, the particular development of southern Anatolia will be studied, including the Isaurian attacks striking the area in the late 270s. This chapter

²⁶ See Adak–Atvur (1999) and Arena (2005) 122-123.

²⁷ On the extensive attestation of the name Apelles in southern Asia Minor see *LGPN* V.B p. 37.

²⁸ See Brélaz (2005) 338-341.

²⁹ On the dubious historicity of Nestor’s acts see Brélaz (2005) 340 no.33. Regarding Carpus’ martyrdom, the saint is said to be a native of either Thyateira or Iulia Gordos. Eusebius [*HE* IV.14.10] places his death in the reign of Marcus Aurelius but Jones (2012) has instead argued in favour of Decius’ rule.

therefore intends to answer questions such as: what was the nature of the inscriptions produced in the mid-3rd century AD? Can a change of the epigraphic habits be observed? What might be the factors causing a general decrease in the epigraphic production? Was this only a phenomenon restricted to the epigraphic evidence? Is it indicative of the activity of local civic life? Were there any significant exceptions?

IV.2. Epigraphic Habit, Production Decline and the Imperial Context

The answer to the first research question is that the limited epigraphic evidence attesting the reign of Trajan Decius and his son Herennius Etruscus in south-western Asia Minor does not reflect any of the episodes of terror and struggle mentioned by the Christian sources. Instead, they preferably record elements common to an epigraphic habit and practice that selected what parts of the exchange between local and imperial institutions ought to be carved. This sense of continuity is particularly evident in the letter that the emperor and his *caesar* sent to the Aphrodisians just some months after St. Pionios' death.³⁰ Exactly as the city had been doing since the beginning of the Roman rule, two ambassadors were sent to the imperial court to celebrate the accession of a new dynasty and defend their privileged status of *civitas libera*. The presence of Aur. Theodorus and Aur. Onesimus assured the alliance of the political community they represented; a *polis* ready to offer proper sacrifices, prayers and rejoice at the establishment of a new kingship. Following the reciprocity process that the previous chapter has studied, the emperor praised the eponymous goddess of Aphrodisias, its loyalty towards Rome and confirmed the freedom and particular rights awarded by his predecessors. South-western Asia Minor has only provided us with four additional records of Trajan Decius' reign. The first is the honours that

³⁰ *I.Aph.* 8.114. For the dating of the inscription to the second half of 250 see Reynolds (1982) 142.

Keramos prepared during the first archontate of the *archiatros* M. Aur. Polites II for Herennius Etruscus, who is described as “most beloved by the gods” (θεοφιλέστατος).³¹ The remaining four testimonies are references to the emperor both alone and with his wife Herennia Etruscilla found in milestones.³² The surviving attestations of their successors are even more limited as Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian just appear in a milestone from Hyrcanis, in which the north-western Lydian city possibly continued to call itself Macedonian.³³

After two consecutive failures in the attempt of establishing ruling dynasties at Rome, the arrival of the Etruscan senator Valerian and his son Gallienus in AD 253 brought reasonable signs of imperial stability at least until the year 260, when the former was captured in battle by the Sassanians. As will be discussed later, this stability did not mitigate the exacerbated level of internal insecurity and foreign threats affecting most regions of the Roman Empire. In this troubled context, Aphrodisias again managed to receive and inscribe one of the responses that the emperors sent from Germania.³⁴ Valerian also confirmed from Antioch (Syria) in 255 that Philadelphia was exempted from several taxes because of its metropolitan rank.³⁵ A reference to a voted decision (ἐπὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος) still appears in the text, and the choice of the influential “friend of the emperor” and senator Publius Aelius Pigres as city’s representative equally complies with the diplomacy procedures described earlier.³⁶ Even the imperial titles inscribed in the letter addressed to Arykanda,³⁷ or

³¹ *I.Keramos* 33.

³² *SEG* 41.939-940; 45.1579; *I.Iasos* 18.

³³ *I.Smyrna* 822.

³⁴ *I.Aph.* 9.43. See Roueché (1989a) 7-18.

³⁵ *TAM* V.3.1421. On the very frequent movements of the imperial court between 253 and 258 see Christol (1997b).

³⁶ Coins of the city under Elagabalus already show the title *metropolis*, which would have been eliminated after the emperor’s *damnatio memoriae* [see Petzl (2007) 15]. As for Publius Aelius Pigres, he might be related to a homonymous thrice asiarch who appears as magistrate of Laodicea on many coins dating to Caracalla’s reign [see Puech (2002) 387-388; Bennett (2011) 127-131]. Bowie (1982) 35 proposed to identify this man with a pupil of the sophist Cassianus perhaps attested by Philostr. *VS*

the response of the emperors to the senator Iulius Apellas in Smyrna safeguarding rights already granted by the Severan *sacrae litterae* have precedents.³⁸ The choice of an internationally victorious runner such as the Thyateiran Aur. Apollinarius for the local *xystarchiai* of Philadelphia and Byzantium is not unparalleled either.³⁹ That is the same framework in which the considerably widespread honours decreed by the communities of south-western Asia Minor for both Valerian, Gallienus and their family is to be understood.⁴⁰ All these inscribed documents, together with the presence of their statues in the *sebasteia* of Boubon and Sia,⁴¹ and at the entertainment facilities of Oinoanda,⁴² suggest continuity in a period when Christian sources were again denouncing new persecutions.⁴³

The nature of the surviving testimonies of local civic life in this period do not suggest a rupture either. In Lydia, the governor Maximillianus replied to Rufus, asiarch and son of a *kratistos* archon, that the *katoikia* of Tetrapyrgia had the right to hold one market day once a month in this territory between Philadelphia and the

II.33. The name Pigres is not elsewhere attested either in Philadelphia or the rest of Lydia compared to its frequent occurrence in southern Anatolia [see e.g. the Lycian senators attested in *TAM* II.451, Halfmann (1979) 35-36, 172-173]. Hence it is very likely that the senatorial ambassador and imperial *amicus* sent to Valerian by the Philadelphians was not a native of the city.

³⁷ *I.Arykanda* 11 (AD 257/8).

³⁸ *I.Smyrna* 604. For a more updated edition of the text and commentary see Feissel (2004) cf. *SEG* 55.1280.

³⁹ *I.Smyrna* 667.

⁴⁰ Kidrama (πόλις ἐξ οἰκείων ἀναλωμάτων): Valerian [Robert–Robert (1954) 365 no.189]. Iasos: Valerian [*SEG* 54.1076-1077], Valerian II, son of Gallienus [*I.Iasos* 13]. Nysa: Saloninus [McCabe 30]. Amyzon: Cornelia Salonina [Robert–Robert (1983) 71]. Mylasa: Cornelia Salonina [*I.Mylasa* 37]. Aphrodisias: Cornelia Salonina [*I.Aph.* 11.62], Valerian II, son of Gallienus [1.189]; another son of Gallienus? [12.643]. Side: Valerian and Gallienus [*I.Side* 44]. Comba: Valerian [*TAM* II.2.734]. Yelten: Woodward–Ormerod (1909) 119 no.12.

⁴¹ Sia: Gallienus [*I.Pisid.Cen* 143]. Boubon: Salonina [Kokkinia (2008b) no.19], Gallienus [Kokkinia (2008b) no.20], Valerian [Kokkinia (2008b) no.21].

⁴² *IGR* III.481+1501=ILS 8870: ἐν τῷ λουσωρίῳ τῇ πρὸς ζ' εἰδ(ὼν) νοεμβρίῳ[ν] ἐν ἡ[ῇ]μέρᾳ ἐκομίσθη [ε]ἰκὼν ἱερὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανοῦ νέου Σεβαστοῦ. For the procedure related to the arrival of imperial statues see Robert (1960) 316-324; Price (1984) 189-190; Lehen (1997) 307-313; Ando (2000) 228-232. Compare this case with the activities of Aur. Hermogenianus Hoplon in Adada, who is said to have sacrificed before the imperial images and was in charge of a game [*IGR* III.371]. In Oinoanda itself, *sebastophoroi* also had an important role in the ceremonies attached to the Demostheneia festival [see Wörrle (1988) 216-219 and *SEG* 44.1187].

⁴³ See Schwarte (1989) and Selinger (2002) 83-94.

Katakekaumene.⁴⁴ The content of the text probably dating to 254 is very similar to the grant of market rights approved by Q. Caecilius Secundus Servilianus for the *katoikia* of Mandragoreis in 209.⁴⁵ Even if that earlier inscription records an edict rather than a letter, it shows that the tasks of the governor concerning such trading activities remained unaltered.⁴⁶ The preoccupation of both proconsuls to avoid the clash of markets days of neighbouring settlements is also analogous as well as the careful procedure conducted by the local communities in order to keep a copy of the official documents in their archives. Furthermore, if the recipient Rufus can be identified with the asiarch and magistrate of Sardis appearing on coins under Valerian, Gallienus and Salonina,⁴⁷ there is an additional confirmation that prominent members of the Asian *koinon* continued to foster relations and influence with the imperial apparatus in the province of Asia. Actually, the most visible change between both texts is the fact that the president of the *katoikia* Mandragoreis, Monimos son of Zosimus, did not possess in 209 the Roman citizenship that Aur. Antoninus from Tetrapyrgia displayed in his nomenclature as a consequence of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

Regarding religious practice, a priestess of Hera and Zeus called Onesime still sacrificed for the ‘Twelve Gods’, conducted a ceremony called *Kaisareion* and distributed goods to her *katoikia* and neighbours with the money left from her dowry in the Cayster valley in 259/260.⁴⁸ The tradition and longevity of the oracle of Apollo in Didyma was even greater and the maintenance of its cultic structures is

⁴⁴ *TAM* V.1.230 [re-edited and supplemented in *TAM* V.3.1422]. Nollé (1982) 66-67 proposed to identify this Maximillianus with the governor Fl. Montanus Maximillianus attested in Ephesus [*I.Eph.* 698]. An analysis by Peachin (1990a) 109-111 has shown that his proconsulship in Asia happened under Philip and this would also be confirmed by a recently published inscription from Akmoneia [*MAMA* XI.114]. Eck-Roxan (1998) 107 have instead proposed P. Marcus Maximillianus, *consul suffectus* c. AD 237/8.

⁴⁵ Nollé (1982) 70-72.

⁴⁶ See Nollé (1999) 99-106; de Ligt (1993).

⁴⁷ Nollé (1982) 67-69.

⁴⁸ *SEG* 57.1193 [cf. Chaniotis (2010c) 280-281]. This area had seen ceremonies related to imperial cult since at least Caligula when the *katoikia* of Tagenoi celebrated the *Augusteios* on behalf of the emperor [*SEG* 57.1216. cf. Price (1984) 84-87].

epigraphically attested in the middle of the 3rd century.⁴⁹ For example, Aurelius Appius Sabinus, prefect of Egypt during the Decian persecutions, was honoured as benefactor by the *boule* and *demos* following the initiative of the *boularch* M. Aur. Ophelius Diadoumenus.⁵⁰ This latter man was also treasurer of the temple and *agonothetes* of the Great Kommodeia in Miletus. The preservation of these kinds of festivals and athletic competitions is also recorded by both local inscriptions and, mostly, coins in Ephesus, Metropolis, Smyrna, Magnesia, Thyateira, Sardis, Iulia Gordos, Philadelphia, Nysa, Tripolis, Tralles, Antioch, Aphrodisias, Laodicea, Tabai, Oinoanda, Termessos, Aspendos, Attaleia, Perge, and Side.⁵¹ Actually, the *periodoi* of most of the international athletic stars attested between c. 250 and 260 came across some of these cities in south-western Asia Minor.⁵² Such a context still enabled the successful athletic careers of the Olympic victor M. Aur. Peius Socrates from

⁴⁹ Even though Clement of Alexandria (*Prot.* 2.11.2) rejoiced at the decline of Didyma around 200, both Origen (*Contra Cels.* I.70) and Porphyry (*Epist. Ad Aneb.* 14) confirm the activities of the sanctuary later in the 3rd century at a time when only Delphi, Claros and Didyma itself were allegedly giving oracles [Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 5.6.1]. Lactantius (*De morte Persecutorum* 11.7) also mentions its activity under Diocletian. The information of those literary sources is corroborated by the epigraphic evidence. For example, the celebration of the *Megala Didymeia Kommodeia* festival is very well attested in the first half of the century, mostly after 212 [*I.Didyma* 156, 163, 168, 278, 305, 332, 333, 372, 375, *SEG* 4.425]. Likewise, members of the most prominent local families continued to become *prophetai* as illustrated by the descendants of Aelianus Poplas – magistrate of coins under Elagabalus – [*I.Didyma* 182, 207, 208, 243, 244, 277 cf. p. 192; *I.Milet.* 175]. In this period, inscriptions equally record the descendants of Ambibia Ulpiane and Aelius Granianus. These two had earlier dedicated a statue base to Septimius Severus and Caracalla [*I.Didyma* 81, p. 146]. On the tradition of the cult and the sanctuary see Lane Fox (1984) 168-261; Parke (1985) 1-111; Fontenrose (1988); and Busine (2005).

⁵⁰ *I.Didyma* 156. Appius Sabinus was also honoured as a consular in Iasos [*I.Iasos* 86]. For his imperial career and previous activities in Egypt see *PIR*² A 1455, Eus. *H.E.* VI.40.2, 41.18, VII.11.18; Bureth (1988) 493-494; and Skeat-Wegener (1935).

⁵¹ As will be analysed below, southern Anatolia almost exclusively provides local inscriptions attesting the celebration of festivals in this period. For the numismatic evidence of all the regions see Leschhorn (1998) 50-54.

⁵² *CID* 1.555 [Moretti (1953) no.88]: Miletus (Kommodeia Didymeia), Tralles (Pythia), Sardis (Chrysanthina).

IG VII.49 [Moretti (1953) no.88]: Miletus (Pythia), Magnesia (Pythia), Philadelphia (Asian *koinon*), Side (Pythian), Perge (Pythia).

IG II² 3169/70 [Moretti (1953) no.90]: Sardis (Chrysanthina, Asian *koinon*), Tralles (Pythia), Ephesus (Olympia, Balbillea, Hadrianea), Smyrna (Olympia, Hadriana, Asian *koinon*), Pergamon (Augustea), Miletus (Didymeia), Aphrodisias (Attalea Capitolian).

Daldis,⁵³ and the long-distance runner Aur. Apollinarius from Thyateira.⁵⁴ This man, praised in Smyrna and granted *xystarchiai* in Philadelphia and Byzantium by Valerian and Gallienus, had previously gained triumphs not only in the *Augusteia* of his motherland but also in the Pythian contest of Side. In order to memorialise the third celebration of this latter festival organised by the equestrian Vettianus Pomponianus Claudianus Diogenes in c. AD 251, M. Aur. Seleucianus Seleucus IV and his father prepared a richly decorated altar (βῆμα).⁵⁵ Among the agonistic images and crowns, an oracle probably from Delphi was also included in the once gilded monument.⁵⁶ The same explicit connection continued during the reign of Valerian when bronze coins commemorated *homonoia* precisely between the Greek sanctuary and Side.⁵⁷ In this same city, local coinage equally confirms the celebration of “mystic” and gladiatorial spectacles under Gallienus.⁵⁸

IV.3. Continuity and Change of Epigraphic Production

Numismatic evidence from Asia Minor indeed shows that the grant of imperial titles both to festivals and cities did not cease under Valerian’s and Gallienus’ joint rule.⁵⁹ New games reached sacred/international rank and adopted the name of the emperors.⁶⁰ At the same time, additional *neokorai* were conferred on Ephesus, Sardis, Perge, Aspendos, Side and, perhaps, Hierapolis after almost two decades

⁵³ TAM V.3.1511. He appears as magistrate on coins of Daldis under Gallienus [Robert (1934) 54-58, (1976) 187-189]. For his Olympic victories see Moretti (1957) 174-175.

⁵⁴ *I.Smyrna* 667.

⁵⁵ *I.Side* 134. Vettianus Pomponianus Claudianus Diogenes is also possibly attested as *agonothetes* of the Pythia and *proboulos* in a graffiti carved on a theatre seat [*I.Side* 143.2]. For a general description of the base and its agonistic symbols see Weiss (1981) and Coulton (2005) on the different uses of the term βωμός.

⁵⁶ See Robert–Robert (1982) 419-422. See also Strasser (2003b) 68-76 for a recent re-interpretation of its content and the use of a local era preceding the oracles.

⁵⁷ Franke–Nollé (1997) 195-196.

⁵⁸ On the commemoration of this and other agonistic competitions in local coinage until Aurelian’s reign see Nollé (1990a) 258-259. For the gladiators see Nollé (1992/1993) 61-69.

⁵⁹ On the maintenance and even increase in agonistic motives in the mid-3rd century coinage see Harl (1987) 63-70; Klose (2005); and Leschhorn (1998). The well attested case of east Cilicia studied by Ziegler (1985) is illuminating in this regard.

⁶⁰ See Wallner (1997) 132-172.

without alterations.⁶¹ Cities near the southern Mediterranean shores still strove to memorialise some of these achievements on stone as we will see below. By contrast, unequivocal inscriptions recording such titles have not yet been discovered along the western Aegean coast. I have previously aimed to highlight that the content and nature of the surviving epigraphic evidence dating to the 250s did not change substantially from patterns commonly observed in the previous half of the century. However, when the sheer number of testimonies is compared, it is clear that the amount of available material is not similar. How, then, is it possible to explain both continuity and change in this regard? First of all, it is necessary to dissociate continuity and vitality. Settlements can maintain a model of political organisation and citizens conduct their activities according to established local structures. Yet this does not automatically imply that the production levels resulting from a particular model remain perennial. Other factors such as interest, engagement and participation in the civic life also need to be taken into account. The presence of those elements in a set of case studies has previously allowed me to argue that the cities and countryside of south-western Asia Minor generally maintained a reasonable degree of political and diplomatic vitality from the Severan period to Gordian III's reign. In certain aspects such as agonistic competitions or the contest for civic pre-eminency, rank and status, the level of activity was not just kept but even increased in some cases. Benefactors continued to participate in local careers and they also sponsored and promoted communal celebrations and the spaces where these events took place. The numerous surviving inscriptions recording such aspects are equally inherent to the vividness and functionality of the model.

⁶¹ See Burrell (2004) 300-302.

The dated evidence from Lydia, the only area in western Asia Minor in which this type of approach can be taken, shows that the level of epigraphic production progressively decreased since the 220s and, most significantly, after Philip's death.⁶² Nevertheless, this is not solely a question about surviving numbers and statistics. The most important observation concerning this evidence is the fact that from Decius' accession to Valerian's capture in 260 there is almost no text from western Asia Minor – with the justified exception of Aphrodisias, centre of a new provincial division – confirming the establishment of new games, foundations or construction works that had been common before. Even if the dating of inscriptions to the mid-3rd century is complex, such a significant absence cannot simply be justified as a result of the many hazards of epigraphy that this thesis always highlights.⁶³ It becomes therefore necessary in this chapter to go beyond a primarily epigraphic approach and consider other elements generated at the local level in which an alternative quantification of civic life is plausible.

The most obvious material is provided by the same bronze coins illustrating the continuity of local festivals, celebrations and titles in the 250s mentioned above. Except for the issues of *civitates liberae* such as Termessos, portraits of the reigning emperor/s generally decorate them and numismatists have been able to establish a considerably reliable chronology in a period of short-lived rulers. This useful tool

⁶² See Appendix 1.

⁶³ Essentially, the helpful *Constitutio Antoniniana* was then too distant and does not clarify prosopography as precisely as in the Severan period. The establishment of family connections also becomes more difficult given the limited amount of material available. The use of other marks that might indicate a date in this period does not provide greater specificity either. For example, the appearance of metal bullion [see Robert (1946) 106-107; *Ala2004* IX.5; Katsari (2011) 135] is not conclusive because most of the epitaphs securely dated to the mid-3rd century still contain customary fines [e.g. *TAM* V.1.741, AD 244/5, 100 *denarii*]. As regards the use of Attic currency (ἄρτικάς), the testimonies are also limited and Magie (1950) I.714, II.1573 no.39 suggested that such references were due to the decline in metal fineness [cf. Robert (1962) 7-13]. To the best of my knowledge, this important observation also alluded by Hauken (1998) 46 has not been mentioned in subsequent studies. My collection of 3rd century inscriptions shows that most of the appearances occur in Aurelian contexts and, very plausibly, in the mid-3rd century even if only two of the testimonies can be dated: *MAMA* VI.219 (Apamea in Phrygia, 243/4); *TAM* V.2.1149 (Thyateira, c. 244/5).

should, however, be treated carefully.⁶⁴ While inscriptions are mostly means of commemoration emanating from the community or individual who care about them, local coinage also serves economic purposes. Consequently, the production levels of this material can be influenced by factors that may not affect epigraphic evidence and vice versa.⁶⁵ Despite these differences and *caveats*, what both public inscriptions and local bronze coinage require is the existence of functioning civic structures. City magistrates were equally responsible for most of the issues of those local coins,⁶⁶ and the honours that either *boule*, *demos* or any other entity decided to carve in stone and display at a public space. The mere presence of both materials – numismatic and epigraphic – confirms the maintenance of a model of political organisation, which is also attested by the acts of Christian martyrs analysed before. Now, if a further step is taken and the amount of cities in Asia Minor minting coins assessed, it is possible to observe that the trends mostly coincide with the outline previously drawn from the epigraphic evidence.⁶⁷ The early Severan period witnessed a peak, which was roughly maintained and, occasionally, even increased until Gordian III. The decrease of mints after the death of Philip the Arab was steeper, with some improvements under Valerian when new imperial titles were granted. By the end of Gallienus' reign, most of the communities both in Asia Minor and the rest of the 'Greek East' will cease to produce local coins. Again, southern Anatolia is the exception worthy of deeper discussion in the final section of this chapter. Prior to this, I shall explore some factors

⁶⁴ On the use of local bronze coinage to study the cities of Asia Minor in the 3rd century AD see Nollé (2006).

⁶⁵ For example, a decree of Mylasa [*I.Mylasa* 605] dating to 209-211 seems to attest the problems of some cities in the eastern part of the Empire to meet the increasing demand for bronze coinage in the Severan period [see Katsari (2011) 136-151]. By contrast, there is no epigraphic testimony even suggesting the interesting process by which the Lycian cities, which never issued local coinage after Claudius' reign, exceptionally produced bronzes under Gordian III [see von Aulock (1974); Spoerri-Butcher (2006) 57].

⁶⁶ See Bennett (2011) 40-101; Weiss (2005); Spoerri-Butcher (2006) 44-52.

⁶⁷ Appendix 2. The most complete statistical account remains Leschhorn (1981) on which the appendix is based. For more recent interpretations of this data see Heuchert (2005) 33; Spoerri-Butcher (2006) 57-60; Katsari (2005) 267 and (2011) 112-113.

that may explain a process of general transformation which is not restricted to the epigraphic evidence.

IV.4. Threats and Epigraphic Cease. The Case of Aphrodisias in the mid-3rd Century

The progressive decrease and transformation of the local epigraphic habits remain one of the open questions concerning the transition between the high and late imperial ages.⁶⁸ This process does not only affect western Asia Minor but most regions in the Roman Empire too.⁶⁹ An attempt to provide a general answer to such a complex issue goes beyond the aim of this chapter. Actually, the very nature of the epigraphic evidence probably prevents the provision of an overall explanation if one takes into consideration regional particularities and the multiple factors that may have concurred. On the contrary, this thesis has always tried to focus on how the study of local circumstances contributes to a better understanding of inscriptions and both their continuities and changes. From this kind of study, conclusions emerge, analogies might be drawn and more general phenomena approached.

In the light of the limited inscriptions and many local bronze coins available, my previous analysis has shown that the political entities and civic life in southwestern Asia Minor still followed an overall line of continuity in the 250s. This same evidence has also exposed the lack of signs presuming a revitalization of a model of local organisation which required active structures. The comparison of this general situation with the exceptional circumstances of first Aphrodisias and later Perge will demonstrate that internal stagnation cannot solely explain the dramatic decline of both the epigraphic and numismatic evidence in the 260s.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Liebeschuetz (2001) 11-19.

⁶⁹ See Mrozek (1973); MacMullen (1982) 243-245; Meyer (1990); Cherry (1995); Woolf (1996); Bodel (2001) 6-10; Witschel (2007); Beltrán Lloris (2015).

When Aphrodisias set up honours for the celebrated governor Victor Egnatius Lollianus in the middle of the 240s, the region of Caria was still part of the province of Asia.⁷⁰ This same city also honoured a *legatus Augustorum pro praetore* called M. Aur. Diogenes for being a praiseworthy ἡγεμών in c. 255.⁷¹ In spite of the chronological proximity between both inscriptions, the Roman province commanded by Lollianus and Diogenes was not the same. In the late 249 or early 250, we know that Q. Fabius Clodius Agrippianus Celsinus was already acting as the imperial πρεσβευτῆς ἀντιστράτηγος and governor of Phrygia and Caria.⁷² This new provincial division was therefore established by the beginning of Decius' rule. Yet neither its exact circumstances nor the role of Aphrodisias in the process can easily be defined.⁷³ A document such as the famous 'list of Verona', which records the divisions of the *diocesis Asiana* following the profound territorial reforms carried out by Diocletian, does not exist for the mid-3rd century.⁷⁴ Consequently, all suggestions especially those concerning the designation of the provincial capital of Phrygia and Caria in this period should remain speculative. The best arguments for Aphrodisias as a capital have been made by C. Roueché and remain widely accepted.⁷⁵ However, this theory raises important problems concerning the status of Aphrodisias as *civitas libera*.⁷⁶ As has been noted above, the emperor Trajan Decius still confirmed the particular rights of Aphrodisias at a time when the first activities of a governor of the

⁷⁰ *I.Aph.* 11.414.

⁷¹ *I.Aph.* 12.644-645. The chronology of M. Aur. Diogenes' activities can be established more precisely on the basis of two additional documents from Keramos and Philomelion [*SEG* 41.940b; 47.1748. See Roueché (1996) 237; Dmitriev (2001) 486].

⁷² *SEG* 36.1195 41.939, 940 (Doryaleum), 942 (Keramos), 41.1174 (Alia, Phrygia); *I.Iasos* 18, perhaps also French (2014) 149(B). cf. Roueché (1996) 236-237 and Dmitriev (2001) 486. For a possible attestation of him as *primipilaris* in Aquincum see Körner (2002) 296-299.

⁷³ In the following two reigning years of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, there is simply no datable epigraphic material even though important road refurbishments were carried out in nearby Phrygia [*IGR* IV. 534; *AE* 1986. 680, *AE* 1986. 679. French (2014) 088(B). Kiravdan 2]. For the absence of coins under Trebonianus Gallus see Johnston (1995) 99.

⁷⁴ See Barnes (1982) 195-225; Belke-Mersich (1990) 77-79; Christol-Drew-Bear (1983) 34-42.

⁷⁵ See Roueché (1981); (1987) 156; (1989a) 2-4.

⁷⁶ See Haensch (1997) 297.

new province are already attested. Also in this reign, the city most likely minted the last series of autonomous bronze coinage with the legend ΔΗΜΟC ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC.⁷⁷ Finally, it is difficult to explain how the preservation of this alleged freedom and δίκηα, which had previously advised a proconsul against visiting Aphrodisias under Severus Alexander, would then allowed the governor's residence and personnel required by the creation of a new province.⁷⁸

Despite these unresolved chronological issues, the examination of the evidence from Aphrodisias which can be dated to the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus is more fruitful in relation to the aims of this chapter. This examination shows, for example, that the number of surviving honours for members of the ruling imperial house is considerable with inscriptions for Cornelia Salonina, one of the *caesares* and Valerian II.⁷⁹ The setting up of the latter base between 253 and 260 was precisely supervised by the same Antoninus Nicomachus who participated in honouring the governor M. Aur. Diogenes mentioned above.⁸⁰ The preparation of the second statue praising this governor of Phrygia and Caria in c. 255 was equally supervised by another group of magistrates led by M. Antonius Venidius Apellas.⁸¹ This man is also attested as *archon* on coins of the city displaying the bust of Gallienus.⁸² Most of the numerous local coinage produced by the city in this period commemorate the celebration of two oecumenical festivals with two agonistic urns on a table displaying the legends ΚΑΠΙΕΤΩΛΕΙΑ and ΟΥΑΛΕΠΙΑΝΑ / ΠΥΘΙΑ.⁸³ The first title undoubtedly corresponds to the Attaleia games with Capitoline rank

⁷⁷ Johnston (1995) 70-71 and Martin (2013) 236.

⁷⁸ See Chapter III.6.

⁷⁹ *I.Aph.* 11.62, 12.643, 1.189. See Roueché (1981) 103-107.

⁸⁰ Bourtzinakou (2011) no.1868.

⁸¹ *I.Aph.* 12.645. See Roueché (1989a) 9-10; Christol-Drew-Bear (1983) 35 no.32.

⁸² Macdonald (1992) 42, 142.

⁸³ See Johnston (1995) 81.

established under Gordian III.⁸⁴ The second international competition was granted by Valerian more than a decade later.⁸⁵ In addition to the rich numismatic evidence available,⁸⁶ the importance of both imperial grants is confirmed by contemporary inscriptions. Valerius Eclectus, the famous athlete from Sinope competing in the 250s, included a reference to the Attaleia Capitolia of Aphrodisias in his list of sacred victories.⁸⁷ Local testimonies also show that surrounding settlements such as Apollonia Salbake, Heracleia Salbake, Hierapolis, Keretapa, Tabai, and Kibyra came at least twice to the city to offer common sacrifices ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος δῶρεϊ.⁸⁸ This type of ceremony would fit in the celebrations of a presumably new provincial *koinon* for Caria and Phrygia.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the emphasis on the term δῶρεϊ (“gift”) matches better with Valerian’s grant rather than Gordian III’s because the latter were certainly sponsored by members of the prominent *Attali* family.⁹⁰ In this active local context, the Aphrodisians received a letter that Valerian sent from Germany in 257 concerning an unknown issue due to the fragmentary state of the inscription.⁹¹

⁸⁴ See Chapter II.3.3.

⁸⁵ See Roueché (1993) 182. Macdonald (1992) 135 placed one of the reverses attesting *Pythia* under Decius [R451]. Johnston (1995) 91 has been able to re-date those coins to Gallienus’ sole reign and, therefore, there is no need to suggest any previous *damnatio memoriae* [cf. Wallner (1997) 120].

⁸⁶ See Johnston (1995) 69-71.

⁸⁷ *IG* II² 3169/70 [Moretti (1953) no.90].

⁸⁸ *I.Aph.* 12.924-929.

⁸⁹ See Roueché (1993) 182-187. On the stronger ties developed between the Aphrodisians and their neighbours throughout the high imperial period see Pont (2012). For the attestation of those patterns of regional interaction in the local coinage countermarks see Howgego (1985) 47. This kind of *synthysia* ceremonies connected with the celebration of games had great significance for regional prestige and diplomacy as discussed by Weiss (1998) 59-70. For example, the cultural and social history of Kibyra had traditionally been closely tied with northern Lycia/Pisidia rather than coastal Caria [see Corsten (2006); Gay–Corsten (2006). cf. Robert–Robert (1954) 73-75 and *SEG* 44.1186 (l.23-27)], despite its administrative attachment to the province of Asia [see Corsten (2007)]. After Constantine’s reign, the city was undoubtedly part of the new Carian province [Ruge (1921) 375-376].

⁹⁰ While this word became a technical term for imperial grants of sacred and international status to festivals [Millar (1992) 451-452; Robert (1982) 228-229], emperors could also provide their own resources for the establishment of new games [see Mitchell (1990) 191].

⁹¹ *I.Aph.* 9.43. See Roueché (1989a) 4-8.

In the light of the surviving evidence, we are able to observe that Aphrodisias played a prominent role in establishing the new province joining Caria and Phrygia in the middle of the 3rd century. Even if the exact dates and development of this process remain unresolved, the institutions and population of this city – presumably not *libera* any longer – still managed to commemorate contemporary events with inscriptions and coins.⁹² The production of both types of local testimonies had been particularly high in the first half of the century as already noted in one of the case studies composing chapter II. The reasonable preservation of this production in the 250s again corresponds to the presence of an active civic community which continued to celebrate old and new agonistic festivals, bestow honours upon Roman authorities and provide local magistrates to supervise the setting up of the corresponding statues and issues of bronze coinage. The apparent stagnation of other areas of western Asia Minor did not affect Aphrodisias to a similar degree. Indeed, a new provincial division could potentially renovate pride, activity and regional interconnectivity. In the 260s, such peculiarities faded away and public inscriptions securely dating to this decade are virtually inexistent both in inner Caria and along the Aegean coasts. In sum, the analysis of Aphrodisias' case is particularly relevant to the question of whether only internal factors or also external threats caused the shrinkage of epigraphic production in Asia Minor in the period following Valerian's capture.

⁹² On the declining relevance of municipal *libertas* after the mid-3rd century see Lepelley (1996) and Guerber (2009) 75-77.

IV.5. “Let the Power of Rome Never Vanish” [SEG 55.1204]

After several decades in which the provincial boundaries of Anatolia had remained considerably stable, the changes attested after Gordian III's death were most likely introduced to solve exceptional circumstances.⁹³ In this regard, the honours that the city of Alia (near Appia) decreed for Clodius Celsinus, the first attested governor of Phrygia and Caria, praised this *consularis* as a saviour (σωτήρ) of the peoples of both those territories and surrounding provinces.⁹⁴ The previous three consecutive *extra sortem* offices of Victor Lollianus in the province of Asia under Philip may have been motivated by similar concerns from Rome. Even earlier, the designation of ἐπανορθωταί / διορθωταί appears to have increased in southern and western Asia Minor after the reign of Severus Alexander.⁹⁵ This type of *corrector* with exceptional powers was already common in Achaia during the Antonine period,⁹⁶ and Philostratus also mentions that Herodes Atticus “set in order” the free cities of Asia when Antoninus Pius was governor of the province in AD 135/6.⁹⁷ In Bithynia, the royal descendant Iulius Severus had equally been sent with the fasces by the emperor Hadrian.⁹⁸ Most of the 3rd century attestations of such officers in Anatolia appear, unfortunately, in fragmentary inscriptions preventing the establishment of secure dates.⁹⁹ Yet one can still find M. Domitius Valerianus from Prusias ad Hypium acting

⁹³ See Dmitriev (2001). On the changes of provincial boundaries in the high imperial period see Rémy (1986) 65-101; Christol-Loriot (1986); Mitchell (1993b) 155-157; Eck (2007) 201-207; Marek (2011) 427-440.

⁹⁴ SEG 41.1174. Compare this case, for instance, with the similar honours that the *koinon* of Cyprus gave to an anonymous governor as recorded in a statue set up by Aurelius Xenon in Ancyra [*I.Ancyra* 50].

⁹⁵ Mitchell (1993a) 228.

⁹⁶ For a prosopographical study and an analysis of their careers and functions see Guerber (1997).

⁹⁷ Philostr. VS I.25.6, II.1.3, II.1.8. See Ameling (1983b) 53-60.

⁹⁸ *I.Ancyra* 73-76.

⁹⁹ See Robert-Robert (1954) 325 no.174 for the anonymous attested in Sebastopolis and *I.Side* 66 for the anonymous of Pamphylia. On the possible presence of another 3rd century *corrector* in Ephesus see SEG 41.976. Christol (1986) 311-314 has proposed to place his career in the mid-3rd century when T. Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus from Aphrodisias [*I.Aphr.* 4.309. cf. Roueché (1981) 109] and an anonymous in Lydia might be attested too [*IGR* IV.1212 cf. *TAM* V.2.923].

as ἐπανορθωτῆς τῶν τῆς Παμφυλίας πόλεων before he became suffect consul around 239.¹⁰⁰ Likewise, I have already referred above to the honours that the treasurer and *agonothetes* of Apollo in Didyma set up for Aurelius Appius Sabinus, who became *corrector Asiae* after leaving the governorship of Egypt in 250.¹⁰¹

Apart from noting the increasing presence of such testimonies, it is impossible to determine the exact nature of the episodes provoking those types of measures. Multiple and differing local factors may have concurred for each of the testimonies recording exceptional appointments and policies created *ad hoc*. Causes may have ranged from economic difficulties, internal insecurity, municipal disturbance or financial unproductivity, none of which were uncommon throughout the imperial age. Given the lack of information and specificity of the primary sources, the most helpful remark concerning the evidence dating to the second quarter of the 3rd century is to observe that the problems with which Roman authorities had to cope in south-western Asia Minor continued to have an internal origin. As a result, the solutions implemented – even if unusual – were not unparalleled. The creation of new provinces and the rearrangement of administrative districts by Rome were rooted in a centennial tradition. The appointment of distinguished imperial personalities to deal with local problems was characteristic of this model of provincial and municipal organisation too. The contrast between this earlier *status quo* and the period following Valerian's reign is decisive to understand the evolution of the region, including ulterior changes of epigraphic habits and the ceasing of local bronze coinage production.

In the first half of the 3rd century AD, the cities and territories of south-western Asia Minor had indeed witnessed the frequent passage of courts and soldiers. As

¹⁰⁰ *I.Prusias* 45. *PIR*² D 168. See also Madsen (2009) 70.

¹⁰¹ A fragmentary inscription from Miletus [*I.Milet.* 1.266] records an *epanorthotes*, who was also prefect of Egypt, but Pflaum (1960) 865-870 rejected its identification with Sabinus.

chapter III has shown, the resulting provision of *tyrones*, *supplementa* and *annonae* was endured and carved in stone but the toil of these expenses contributed to the confinement of foreign wars to the limits of the Empire. This distance from heavy armed confrontations disappeared in the 260s and the impact of such an unprecedented level of vulnerability proved almost lethal to the maintenance of the model of civic life promoting epigraphic production that this thesis studies. After the successful eastern campaigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and the truce of Maximinus, a new ruling dynasty was established in Persia in 224: the Sassanians.¹⁰² The first king Ardashir consolidated his power and already by 230 started a more aggressive strategy against the Roman borders. Severus Alexander was forced to intervene and Rome and the Empire celebrated his triumph in 233.¹⁰³ However, this initial encounter did not quench the aspirations of Ardashir and especially his son and future king Shapur. Subsequent attacks on Carrhae, Nisibis and Hatra were launched by the Sassanian troops,¹⁰⁴ and the Roman army led by Gordian III and his praetorian prefect Timesitheus engaged in a new major confrontation in 242.¹⁰⁵ After numerous battles and the obscure death of the Roman emperor, the new praetorian prefect Philip assumed the purple in 244 and negotiated an expensive truce that would not last very long.¹⁰⁶ While such events were taking place in the Eastern borders, the Danube *limes* also suffered worrying developments. The Goths crossed the river and attacked Histria for the first time in 238.¹⁰⁷ The civil wars and subsequent movement of troops in the late 240s left this area particularly exposed to incursions and different

¹⁰² See Christensen (1944) 84-96; Schippmann (1990) 9-32; Frye (2005).

¹⁰³ Remember, for example, the celebrations attested in Thyateira [chapter III.4]. See Dodgeon–Lieu (1991) 15-33.

¹⁰⁴ Kettenhofen (1982) 19-22.

¹⁰⁵ Kettenhofen (1982) 23-37.

¹⁰⁶ Dodgeon–Lieu (1991) 34-44. cf. Körner (2002) 120-134.

¹⁰⁷ HA *Max.Bal.* XVI.3. See Gerv (1977) 127. This was exactly the starting point of Dexippus' *Skythika*, see Martin (2006) 161-162. On the migrations of Germanic peoples during the imperial age see Wolfram (1988) 36-43; Kazanski (1991) 9-60; Heather (1996) 11-50.

transdanubian peoples took advantage of the situation. Raids of a considerable scale ravaged Moesia and Thrace and cities such as Marcianopolis,¹⁰⁸ Nicopolis,¹⁰⁹ and Philoppopolis,¹¹⁰ were attacked. The Goths also found in Cniva the powerful commander that guided them to a crushing victory over the imperial legions near Abrittus, where both Trajan Decius and his son Herennius Etruscus died in 251.¹¹¹ Another hasty successor, Trebonianus Gallus, was again forced to buy an ephemeral peace in this territory.¹¹²

In 252, Shapur I decided to invade Armenia,¹¹³ won the battle of Barbalissus and continued his devastating march across Syria with the help of Mariades.¹¹⁴ A native of Antioch, Mariades had been expelled from his city and presumably fled to Selge in Pisidia after disturbing the cities of Tyana and Neocaesarea-Mazaka in Cappadocia according to the XIII Sibylline Oracle.¹¹⁵ This same contemporary source also illustrates vividly the fall of the Syrian *metropolis* in the hands of the Sassanian king,¹¹⁶ who decided to inflict further raids upon the Anatolian peninsula.¹¹⁷ In the Danube, the governor of Moesia Aemilius Aemilianus refused to satisfy the Goths for their onerous serenity and succeeded temporarily. However, his personal prestige again deprived the Balkans of some of its most precious defences. Soldiers of the legions stationed in the region proclaimed him *imperator* after the death of Trebonianus Gallus in 253. Once in Italy, the same army murdered him when the

¹⁰⁸ Dexippus *FGrH* 100.18 [=Martin (2006) *F.* 22].

¹⁰⁹ Dexippus *FGrH* 100.19 [=Martin (2006) *F.* 23].

¹¹⁰ Dexippus *FGrH* 100.20 [=Martin (2006) *F.* 24].

¹¹¹ Wolfram (1988) 43-46 and Gerov (1977) 132-140.

¹¹² Zos. I.24-25. Zon. *HN* XII.21. Iordanes *Get.* XIX.106. See Christol (1980) 63-74.

¹¹³ Kettenhofen (1982) 38-43.

¹¹⁴ *Orac.Sib.* XIII 108-112, 119-124, 129-133. See Potter (1990) 294-298, 303-308; Kettenhofen (1982) 50-70.

¹¹⁵ *Orac.Sib.* XIII 93, 97 cf. Potter (1990) 268-278, and especially p.277 for the problems with the identification of Selge in the manuscripts and his preference for a site in Syria [cf. Mitchell (1993a) 237 no.66].

¹¹⁶ *Orac.Sib.* XII 125-128. For other sources concerning this assault see Dodgeon-Lieu (1994) 50-56.

¹¹⁷ Kettenhofen (1982) 83-87.

senator Valerian and his son Gallienus appeared to be more profitable assets.¹¹⁸ Again, an easier access became available to the miscellaneous groups and tribes who run into southern Thrace but failed to enter Thessalonica in 254.¹¹⁹ In the course of these raids they nonetheless managed to seize the ships and crews enabling them to break the calm of the Pontus Euxinus for the next two decades. The eastern part of the Empire witnessed an even greater disaster. Valerian was defeated in battle and captured by Shapur in the spring of 260; an unprecedented turning point in the History of Rome.¹²⁰ The Levant was again ravaged and the Sassanian raids reached inner Lycaonia, Galatia and the western shores of Cilicia for the first time.¹²¹ In this power vacuum, usurpers again arose across the Empire. Postumus established the so-called ‘Gallic Empire’, and Ingenuus and Regalianus were proclaimed in Pannonia while Germanic tribes managed to raid northern Italy.¹²² In Mesopotamia, Fulvius Macrianus with the support of Callistus (Ballista) started fighting back the troops of Shapur. After their initial successes and subsequent imperial proclamation, Macrianus and his son Macrianus Minor decided to march towards Rome intending to dethrone Gallienus but were met and crushed by the general Aureolus in the Balkans.¹²³ The other son, Quietus, stayed with Callistus in the East, where the lord of Palmyra Odaenathus had remained loyal to Rome and successfully defended his city.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ See Mattingly (1935); Potter (1990) 319-321; and Brecht (1999) 223-230.

¹¹⁹ Zos. I.29.2; Zon. *HN* XII.23; Sync. p.715. See Touratsoglou (2006) 142-143.

¹²⁰ See Dodgeon–Lieu (1991) 57-64. On the date of Valerian’s capture see Christol (1975) 818-821; Kettenhofen (1982) 97-99; Potter (1990) 328-338; Goltz–Hartmann (2008) 248-255.

¹²¹ Huyse (1999a) 41 no.27. See Kettenhofen (1982) 114-116; Huyse (1999b) 91-94; Feld (2005) 119-123.

¹²² See Drinkwater (1988) and Fritz (1966). For the Juthungan incursion into Italy and its aftermath see also the new revealing inscription from Augsburg [*AE* 1993.1231 cf. König (1997); Christol–Loriot (1997)]

¹²³ Zon. XII.24 reports that the cities of Asia welcomed the proclamation of Macrianus’ sons, Quietus and Macrianus Minor, as *augusti*. A statue base of the two has been found in Apamea (Bithynia) [*I.Apm.* 62] and Quietus alone also received honours in Nakoleia [*MAMA* V.199]. Nicaea, Byzantium, Heracleia Pontica and Antioch in Pisidia struck coins bearing their portrait too [Harl (1987) 92]. For their acceptance in Egypt see Rathbone (1986) 118-119.

¹²⁴ For the aftermath of Valerian’s capture in the East see Drinkwater (1989) and Potter (1990) 337-347. On the earlier career of Odaenathus see Hartmann (2001) 86-108.

Odaenatus then killed Quietus at Emessa in 261, gained Gallienus' favour and, as *rector totius Orientis*, extended a dominion that would later span from Ancyra to Egypt.¹²⁵ After his death in 267/8, his son Vaballathus and wife Zenobia were to establish an independent rule lasting until the reign of Aurelian.

While those events were taking place on the other side of the Taurus, it is impossible to provide a reliable reconstruction and chronology of the different waves of looting campaigns that started falling upon the Black Sea region and continued along the Aegean coast and even the southern Mediterranean.¹²⁶ Contemporary sources such as Dexippus, Gregory Thaumaturgus or the aforementioned XIII Sibylline Oracle are either fragmentary or extremely partial. Unlike the deeds of Shapur I (*ŠKZ*), there is not yet such an epigraphic testimony – even biased – helping us to disentangle completely the details and sequence of the events. At the same time, the ensuing historiographical tradition from the *HA* to Zosimus, Syncellus, or Zonaras is highly contradictory.¹²⁷ With such unavoidable limitations, it is best to focus on an undoubted point already emphasised by D. Magie: the inhabitants of Asia Minor were now suffering in their territories the actual presence of foreign threats and perils which had not been experienced almost since the beginning of the Roman Empire.¹²⁸

The impact of this presence can vividly be observed in the canonical letter that the bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, prepared as a response to the problems caused by a barbarian raid (ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομή) led by the

¹²⁵ For Odaenathus' involvement with Rome in the period between 252 and 264 see de Blois (1975); Hartmann (2001) 146-230; and Dodgeon–Lieu (1991) 68-83. On the significance of his titlature see Potter (1996).

¹²⁶ Even the most important studies by Schwarcz (1992); Kettenhofen (1992); and, above all, Salamon (1971) have not managed to clarify the sequence of events, especially those taken place in Asia Minor; see Mitchell (1993a) 235. For the extensive research preceding those more recent studies see Magie (1950) 702-703, 706-707; and Scardigli (1976).

¹²⁷ See Alföldy (1939); Salamon (1971) 109-117; Bleckmann (1992) 156-219.

¹²⁸ Magie (1950) 705.

Goths and a group called Boranoi.¹²⁹ While discussing questions concerning sacrificial meat, covetousness and private property, this text equally confirms attacks on houses, the seizure of booty, violent coercion and the return of wronged captives.¹³⁰ An epigram from Paphlagonia denouncing multiple raping by “barbarian hands” may well be referring to similar episodes.¹³¹ In western Asia Minor, another captive could not resist more than six months once in his homeland:¹³²

3 Ἔτους τμζ', μη(νός) Ἀρτεμι-
 σίου ζι', Αὐρ(ηλία) Ὀλυμπία Σε-
 6 ραπᾶδι τῷ ἀνδρὶ [ἐ]ποίη-
 σεν μνείας χάριν [...]-
 γενία τὸν πατέρα, [Διο]-
 9 νύσις τὸν πενθερό[ν]
 ἐλθόντα με ἀπὸ τῶν
 Βαρβάρων διὰ μηνῶν
 12 ζ' ἐτίμησέ με ὁ δεσπό-
 της Ἀνύσις κὲ οἱ ἔνγισ-
 τοι φίλοι κὲ οἱ λοιποὶ σ-
 υγγενεῖς πάντες. Χε-
 ρε παροδεῖτα.

“In the year 347, month Artemision 17th, Aurelia Olympia made (this) for her husband Serapas, in his memory. [?]genia honoured her father, Dionysis honoured me, his in-law, who returned from the Barbarians after six months. The master Anysis honoured me and my closest friends and all the rest of my family. Greetings, traveller!”

The exact provenance of this funerary stele found by L. Robert in the Museum of Manisa is unknown. The rich floral decorations and the existence of traceable local epigraphic habits in the province enabled the French savant to suggest the region of

¹²⁹ Heather–Matthews (1991) 1-10. On the life and works of Gregory Thaumaturgus as a man of the 3rd century AD see van Dam (1982); Lane Fox (1988) 517-542; Mitchell (1999b). Those groups of Boranoi – a name probably meaning “northerners” – are only mentioned by Gregory himself and Zosimus [I.27, 31, 34], and their existence as a different Gothic tribe cannot exactly be discerned [see Heather–Matthews (1991) 2-3, 8; Shchukin–Sharov (2006a) 29].

¹³⁰ See Guyot (1998).

¹³¹ SEG 34.1271. Kaygusuz (1984a) suggested a connection with the Gothic raids and this was followed by Mitchell (1993a) 236. Peek (1985) 156-157 suggests pirates instead but does not provide any date. For a revision of the text see Lebek (1985) and SGO 10/02/12. Another reference to groups of Barbarians can be found in an epitaph from Phrygia which might date to c. AD 255 [SEG 39.1379]. The inscription came out in an auction and therefore the circumstances and location of the discovery cannot be established, see Tybout (1992). Barbarian attacks (βαρβαρικά ἔφοδοι) damaging the walls are also attested in Ancyra and its relation to either these raids or the Palmyran assault is plausible despite the lack of further chronological specificity [I.Ancyra 120].

¹³² Robert (1948b) 121. cf. Malay (1994) no.382.

northern Lydia, perhaps between Iulia Gordos and Daldis.¹³³ In this area, years mostly followed the Sullan era and the formula in this inscription would therefore correspond to the spring of AD 263.¹³⁴ Even though it is impossible to determine how long this husband, father and son remained captured, and whether he was seized in his homeland or abroad, the date is again supported by the reference to Βάρβαροι found in line 8. This exceptionally datable testimony probably needs to be connected with a similar reference found in an inscribed oracle from the sanctuary of Panamara near Stratonicea.¹³⁵ In this case, the *oikonomos* Philokalos II asked whether the “sinful (ἀλιτήριοι) Barbarians” were going to fall upon the city or the territory (χώρα) in the coming year. Zeus answered that preoccupation was patent, but he would not let them be sacked, enslaved and deprived.

Despite the aforementioned problems with chronology and specificity, all the historiographical accounts agree on the fact that western Asia Minor was subject to foreign attacks in the 260s.¹³⁶ The *HA* even records that the Artemision of Ephesus was plundered and burnt by the Goths in the sole reign of Gallienus, presumably when the Lydian captive died too.¹³⁷ This same source also informs us of a terrible earthquake and eclipse that struck the area soon before those events.¹³⁸ Archaeological excavations, especially at the residential area known as ‘terrace houses’, seem to confirm the existence of corresponding levels of destruction and fire.¹³⁹ Another exceptional glimpse of the dire conditions experienced by the cities and the population of the region is provided by an epigram of Didyma praising the governor Titus Flavius Festus in the reign of Diocletian and Maximianus (286-

¹³³ Robert (1948b) 121-122.

¹³⁴ Robert (1948b) 117-118.

¹³⁵ *I.Stratonikeia* 1103.

¹³⁶ See Salamon (1971) 123.

¹³⁷ *HA Gall.Duo* VI.2. See also references to Ephesus in Zos. I.28.1 and Jord. *Get.* XX.107.

¹³⁸ *HA Gall. Duo* V.2-3.

¹³⁹ Ladstätter (2002) 26-29.

293).¹⁴⁰ In three elegant stanzas, Festus is said to have prepared a fountain in the exact spot from which water started flowing “when barbarous Ares hemmed the townsmen in” and “they were suffering from bitter thirst”.¹⁴¹ The people of Didyma attributed this water to the divine intervention of Apollo, who had saved those hiding inside his temple when the enemies attacked in a confrontation described as Σκυθικὸς πόλεμος. Another verse – and probably contemporary – inscription from nearby Miletus extolls the repairing activities of a late *asiarch* called Macarius, who distinguished himself against “homicidal enemies”.¹⁴² Those martial episodes must belong to the same violent context causing captures in Lydia, destruction in Ephesus and panic in Caria. The scant epigraphic evidence available to us leaves therefore no doubt about the serious nature of the threat. As specified in the oracle from Stratonicea, it is evident that raids could ravage both cities and countryside. While the captive from northern Lydia probably lived in a rural environment, the assault on Ephesus shows that major trouble was also inflicted upon the urban centres, especially when booty was as succulent as the temple of Artemis. At the same time, the alleged miracle of Apollo suggests that Didyma was not sufficiently prepared for the attack, as water supplies proved insufficient and people were forced to seek refuge in the inner *cella* of the temple. Finally, the example of Macarius suggests that local individuals needed to engage in the defence of their *patriai*.

Lavishly decorated with paints and marble, the same residential units of Ephesus (*Hanghäuser*) showing traces of fire and destruction under Gallienus used to host the wealthy elites of the city: for example, G. Fl. Furius Aptus, *alitarch*, priest of

¹⁴⁰ *PLRE* p.335 [*PIR*² F 267].

¹⁴¹ *I.Didyma* 159 [*SGO* 01/19/37].

¹⁴² *I.Milet.* 339 [*SGO* 01/20/16].

Dionysos and father of the 2nd century senator T. Fl. Lollianus Aristobulus.¹⁴³ A graffiti preserved on one of the walls heralds: “All-ruling Rome, let your power never vanish!”.¹⁴⁴ In Termessos, the similar acclamation “let the power of the rulers be eternal” was directly carved in the city walls.¹⁴⁵ The struggles suffered by the inhabitants of Asia Minor in the 260s indicate that the celebrated power of Rome could not guarantee protection any longer. Under this protection, the fundamentals of local civic life were maintained even when internal conflicts arose and imperial succession was problematic. Despite Valerian’s incessant campaigns, the later significant reforms of his son Gallienus, and the existence of a long-lasting dynasty, the initial failure of Rome to cope with foreign threats put an end to that *status quo*.¹⁴⁶ Western Asia was not ready to endure such a level of insecurity and conduct usual patterns of political action. The comparison with a presumably better prepared region like Greece is illuminating. After the failed capture of Thessalonica in AD 254, it is reported that both the Thermopylae and Isthmus passes were fortified.¹⁴⁷ In Athens, walls were strengthened,¹⁴⁸ and Gallienus visited the city, where he participated in the Eleusinian mysteries, became archon and perhaps encouraged further defensive

¹⁴³ On both the identification of this dwelling unit and the prosopography of the family see Rathmayr (2009). For the use and even refurbishment of rooms in the early 3rd century see Karwiese (1995) 122 and Thür–Rathmayr (2014).

¹⁴⁴ *SEG* 55.1204 (cf. *I.Eph.* 599; *SGO* I 03/02/43): Ῥώμη πανβασίλεια, τὸ σὸν κράτος οὐποτ’ ὀλήται. See also the related *Anth.Pal.* IX 647.

¹⁴⁵ *TAM* III.1.876: εἰς αἰῶνα τὸ κράτος τῶν κυρίων.

¹⁴⁶ See de Blois (1976); Christol (1997a) 131-156; Mennen (2011); Geiger (2013); Glas (2014).

¹⁴⁷ *Zos.* I.29.2-3. *Zon.* XII.23. *Sync.* p.715. A presumably new fragment of Dexippus that was recently discovered in Vienna precisely mentions the fortification of the Thermopylae among the measures taken by the Greeks [Martin–Grusková (2014a-b)]. The first editors of the fragment want to connect these events with the later Herulian raids, which also affected Macedonia [*HA Gall. Duo* XII.8. *Zos.* I.43.1. *Zon.* 12.26], but an earlier date seems more likely given both the information of the Byzantine compilers and the prosopography of the Roman governor Marianus mentioned in the text [see Jones (2014)]. Concerning the fortification of the Isthmus, archaeological surveys have not yet found definitive evidence supporting the ancient sources [see Gregory (1993) 11 and 141; Avramea (1997) 53-54].

¹⁴⁸ On the evolution of the Athenian walls and repairs conducted before the Herulian raids see Theocharaki (2011) 131-133. Numismatic evidence has shown that the new wall circuit traditionally known as “Valerian Wall” was actually built in the last quarter of the 3rd century AD mainly by the initiative of the proconsul Claudius Illyrius [see Frantz (1988) 5-7]. For the inscriptions praising Illyrius’ activities and the dating of his office see Sironen (1994) 19-22.

measures.¹⁴⁹ However, when the Heruli fell upon Attica in 267/8, the veteran local magistrate and author Dexippus had to lead the defence of the territory.¹⁵⁰ Fragments of his work *Skythai* record a speech in which he encourages a group of two thousand fellow comrades to fight for their freedom, motherland, and families in the hands of the enemy. The archaeological traces of fire and ruin in the agora again confirm the extent of the destruction.¹⁵¹ Further evidence from the rest of Greece suggests that the dramatic scenes depicted by Dexippus were not an exception.¹⁵² And yet some of the inhabitants of Achaëa could still recall the recent experiences with the Costobocci, who managed to sack Eleusis under Marcus Aurelius.¹⁵³ Similar precedents did not exist in the cities of Ionia, Lydia and Caria. Here the preparation of full fortifications to repel the raids and incursions of the 260s, as possibly attested in Nicaea or Lamus (Cilicia), remains controversial.¹⁵⁴ Essentially, any sign of late imperial walls in the region was traditionally linked with this period, especially when reused materials were found as in Miletus and the so-called ‘Gotenmauer’.¹⁵⁵ More modern archaeological excavations have shown that these assumptions are not always valid and in cases such as Aphrodisias, Sardis, and Sagalassos the construction of their

¹⁴⁹ HA *Gall.Duo* XI.3-5. See Follet (1976) 141-143 and Armstrong (1987).

¹⁵⁰ See Millar (1969). On the origin of the Heruli and its relations with other peoples of the Black Sea see Shchukin–Sharov (2006b). On the sequence of their incursions and other sources besides Dexippus such as HA *Gall.Duo* XII.8 see Kettenhofen (1992).

¹⁵¹ Frantz (1988) 3-5.

¹⁵² See Wilkes (1989). For the scattered archaeological evidence see Frantz (1988) 2-3. On the transforming consequences of the raid see the pessimistic view of Thompson (1959) vs. Castreén (1994), who rather emphasises the continuity of certain aspects such as philosophical schools, family connections and private buildings.

¹⁵³ For example the Olympian victor Mnesiboulos successfully defended Elatea from the attack according to Pausanias [X.34.5. See also *IG* IX.1.146]. The destruction in Eleusis is both recorded in Aelius Aristides’ *Eleusinian* speech and a series of local inscriptions [*SEG* 30.339. *IG* II², 3411; 3639].

¹⁵⁴ For Nicaea see Foss (1996a) 89-96. In the case of Lamus (modern Adanda), the lintel of the main gate bears a dedication to Gallienus when Voconius Gallus was governor of Cilicia [*AE* 1915.51. See Bean–Mitford (1962) 207 and Lenski (1999) 420].

¹⁵⁵ See Foss–Winfield (1986) 125-129; Magie (1950) 706; Mitchell (1993a) 238. For an analysis of the evidence of Miletus based on this traditional theory see von Gerkan (1935) 81-84 and Kleiner (1968) 21, 32 cf. Niewöhner (1998) 184-186 for more recent surveys. A similar approach into the wall of Keramos in Caria is taken by Spanu (1997) 90.

walls undoubtedly happened later in the 4th and 5th centuries.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, both Zosimus and Syncellus record that the Skythians captured both fortified and partly walled cities indistinctively when they ravaged Ionia.¹⁵⁷ The hasty preparation of temporary shelters, as seems to be confirmed in the *naiskos* of Didyma,¹⁵⁸ indeed adds more urgency and intensity to the assaults but it does not mean that disruption could be avoided; even the beautiful Lysimachean circuit enclosing Ephesus could not resist.¹⁵⁹

One of the clearest consequences of that disruption is the fact that the cities of western Asia Minor have not yet provided any inscribed testimony of their political activity undoubtedly dating to the 260s. Even the epigrams from Didyma and Miletus mentioned above were not contemporaneous to the events narrated. It is true that the decade of the 250s has already witnessed an acute lack of signs of vitality such as the general absence of new festivals, foundations or buildings commemorated on stone. However, the epigraphic evidence and martyr acts available still illustrate the maintenance of usual elements of local civic life and communication with imperial authorities; regardless of how stagnant the model may have been. Even the nearest datable inscription from Aphrodisias – revitalised centre of the new province of Caria and Phrygia – was the letter precisely sent by Valerian and Gallienus in 257. The absence of milestones that could be attributed to the sole reign of Gallienus or

¹⁵⁶ For the evidence in Aphrodisias and an insightful criticism of previous methodologies and assumptions see de Staebler (2008). For instance, Foss (1976) 3 and Foss–Winfield (1986) 127 argued that the walls of Sardis were built in haste and therefore probably in 260 to defend the city from the barbarian attacks. More recent archaeological surveys indicate that the construction happened later and not in an emergency [see Hanfmann–Yegül–Crawford (1983) 143–144]. On the walls of Sagalassos see Loots–Waelkens–Depuydt (2000). For other possible examples see recently Niewöhner (2011) 111–112.

¹⁵⁷ Zos. I.26.1. Sync. p.716.

¹⁵⁸ See Weber (2009) 304–307.

¹⁵⁹ An Ephesian epigram praises a certain Skaurianos for his architectural knowledge and the repairs he carried out in the walls of the city [*I.Eph.* 452 cf. *SGO* 03/02/19]. A date in the last quarter of the 3rd century and its identification with either a governor or a procurator has been proposed [see Feissel (1998) 131–133]. For archaeological remains perhaps connected with those repairs see Sokolicek (2009) 342–343.

Claudius Gothicus in the province of Asia is equally significant.¹⁶⁰ Although the dated evidence from Lydia confirms that the habit of inscribing private funerary stelai and religious texts still existed, an important decrease of c. 50% is, nonetheless, observable between the periods AD 255-265 and 265-275, when mortality rates probably increased.¹⁶¹ For the following decade, there are only four surviving inscriptions, c. 75% less.¹⁶² The secure survival of inscriptions is also applicable to more resilient rural areas of Anatolia such as the Ormeleis on the fringes between Caria, Pisidia and Phrygia in which such a precise dating of the material is not possible.¹⁶³ By contrast, the symbiosis between civic life, political action and public epigraphy was evidently interrupted in the urban centres.¹⁶⁴ This reality can again be compared with the number of cities producing local bronze coinage. Except for Cyzicus, all the civic mints in the province of Asia ceased to issue local coins in the reign of Gallienus, the value of metal content plummeted and countermarking became a formality.¹⁶⁵ The circulation of this type of coinage died out shortly after and the system of local mints was never recovered.¹⁶⁶ Only southern Anatolia broke this general trend and the analysis of its singular development becomes essential to understand the conclusions of this chapter.

¹⁶⁰ French (2014) 298.

¹⁶¹ See Appendix 1.

¹⁶² See, for example, the exceptional case of a Lydian family described by Łajtar–Petzl (2002).

¹⁶³ *IGR* IV.893 [cf. Corsten (2005)]. See Mitchell (1993a) 239-240 concerning the resilience of the Anatolian countryside.

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, Antonopoulou's (1999) brief review of the epigraphic habit of Ephesus after the 3rd century AD.

¹⁶⁵ See Howgego (1985) 64-65; Johnston (2007) 238; Leschhorn (1981) 256; Katsari (2005) 270-278. On the importance of the Gothic and Sassanian raids for this production halt see Salamon (1970) and Katsari (2011) 151-154. See also Ziegler (1993) 153-156 for the arguments supporting regional circumstances such as foreign threats rather than general imperial policies [*contra* Callu (1969) 483; Butcher (1988) 21-22]. For an analysis of the last issues of Ephesus along the same lines see Schultz (1994). Concerning Cyzicus, the city also became one of the seats of the imperial mint under Claudius Gothicus and therefore its exceptional maintenance can be better understood [see Mairat (2007) 175-196].

¹⁶⁶ Howgego (1985) 65-68.

IV.6. The Singularity of Southern Anatolia: Perge vs. Side

In contrast to the cities of western Asia Minor, Sagalassos, Claudioseleucia, Prostanna and Antioch by Pisidia continued to issue local bronze coins under Claudius Gothicus (268-270).¹⁶⁷ Cremna, Selge, Side and Sillyum stopped in the reign of Aurelian (270-275), and the mint of Perge even reached Tacitus' rule (275-276), the latest date for the entire Roman Empire.¹⁶⁸ The cities and countryside of Pisidia and Pamphylia had greatly developed in the imperial period and this favourable context was maintained and even improved in the first half of the 3rd century AD as analysed in chapter II of this thesis. In this period, the extended use of the title *socia Romanorum* (σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων) both in coins and related inscriptions indicates the prime importance of the region for the interests of Rome.¹⁶⁹ Southern Anatolia had always remained crucial for the maintenance of campaigns in the eastern frontiers and this was again patent when the new Sassanian dynasty initiated its aggressive strategy of direct confrontation.¹⁷⁰ The process is particularly well attested by the evidence from Side.¹⁷¹ Statue bases recording the career of local notables from this coastal city and its hinterland mentioned personal contributions to the military *annona* in the second quarter of the century.¹⁷² From the reign of Maximinus Thrax, images of ships and legions started appearing on its local coinage and the legend *ναυαρχίς* (navy-base) was added under Valerian and Gallienus.¹⁷³ Just before the accession of the two emperors, Shapur I had completed his destructive march into Syria, assaulted Antioch and began to inflict attacks upon eastern Anatolia. Cilicia, main communication hub

¹⁶⁷ Weiss (1992) 159 and Naster (1987).

¹⁶⁸ See Jones (1963) 339 and Leschhorn (1981) 256.

¹⁶⁹ Sagalassos probably showed the title already under Antoninus Pius [*IGR* III.348] and Caracalla allegedly awarded it to Perge [*I. Perge* 331.I (l.13-15)]. Under Valerian and Gallienus, new cities such as Selge, Aspendos, Sillyon and Side began to display it too. See Nollé (1995a) 362-363.

¹⁷⁰ Mitchell (1993a) 253.

¹⁷¹ See Nollé (1993a) 80-95.

¹⁷² See chapter II.4.3.

¹⁷³ Nollé (1986b), (1987) 259-261, (1990a) 257; Adams (1984); Guerber (2009) 343-374.

and logistic centre in the area so far, was severely affected and its good harbours and fertile plains became increasingly insecure.¹⁷⁴ By contrast, the rough terrain of Pisidia and the geographical isolation of Pamphylia proved to be an advantage.¹⁷⁵ Narrow passes preventing good transportation links across the Taurus even nowadays and mountains ranges reaching over 2000 metres such as the Sultan, Geyik and Dedegöl Dağları saved this region from disruptive Sassanian incursions. These advantageous features were worthy of that renovated alliance (συμμαχία) with Rome and further imperial attention.

Side, Perge and Aspendos displayed their *neokoros* status for the first time under Valerian and Gallienus.¹⁷⁶ The increasing grant of new *neokoriai* by the two emperors was a general policy already observable in the province of Asia. Likewise, Trajan Decius had previously followed a similar pattern of exceptional imperial rewards in Macedonia when three consecutive grants as well as metropolitan and colonial statuses were awarded to Thessalonica against Beroea.¹⁷⁷ However, the subsequent and quick promotions of Side and Perge, which claimed to be third and fourth *neokoros* by AD 275 respectively, is peculiar to Pamphylia. The singularity of this process is even clearer when one considers that the traditional rivalry between both cities remained mostly unnoticed in the surviving materials of the high imperial

¹⁷⁴ Mitchell (1983) 142, (1993a) 238; Ziegler (1985) 17-18, (1993) 21-24; Elton (2005).

¹⁷⁵ On the geophysical features of Pamphylia and Pisidia see the still valid study by de Planhol (1958).

¹⁷⁶ Nollé (1993a) 123-124 provided a possible chronology by which the city would have received almost two simultaneous *neokoriai* for Athena and Apollo at the beginning of Valerian's and Gallienus' joint rule. A third *neokoria* would have been granted for Dionysos before Valerian's capture on the basis of a coin reverse showing the emperor, three temples, a thyrsus and the legend ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ. As rightly pointed out by Burrell (2004) 187, the main problem with that theory is that none of the coins before 270 shows numeration and the epigraphic evidence is equally hypothetical [*I.Side* 44]. By contrast, the 3rd neokorate status of Side in the reign of Aurelian is undoubted as confirmed by the addition of Γ'. Concerning Perge, the city claimed to have been *neokoros* since Vespasian [*I.Perge* 331.II (l.5-6)] and the attested celebration of the Artemiseia Vespasianeia festival might be related to the grant [*I.Perge* 18, 35. See Kaygusuz (1984b) 3]. Coins under Valerian and Gallienus again show the legend ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ without numbers, but the letter Δ' was added before 275 [see Burrell (2004) 177-179]. For the single *neokoria* of Aspendos see Burrell (2004) 189-190.

¹⁷⁷ See Burrell (2004) 198-204 and Ziegler (1988).

period, exactly when other areas of the Roman Empire were fiercely competing.¹⁷⁸ In the second half of the 3rd century, the same materials show that titulature, status and rank became one of the main concerns. In addition to the competition for *neokorai*, the coins of both Side and Perge emphasised that their *poleis* were A' (first) of Pamphylia between 251 and the 260s.¹⁷⁹ Later in 275/6, when Perge received the unprecedented metropolitan rank from the emperor Tacitus and its pre-eminence in the region was undoubted (see below), the population of the city acclaimed that “their rights had always been approved by the Roman Senate” and that “they have never cheated”.¹⁸⁰ That allusion was implicitly directed towards the previous Sidetan claims of superiority. An analogous process is also conceivable in Pisidia. An inscription from Selge honouring the mid-3rd century governor Septimius Mannus includes the term *πρώτη*.¹⁸¹ However, the sequence *πρώτη τῆς Πισιδίας* had continuously been displayed by Sagalassos since the mid-2nd until the beginning of the 4th centuries.¹⁸²

In this context of growing regional competition, imperial attention and relative protection against foreign threats, the main urban centres of the province continued to celebrate agonistic competitions and the surviving signs of stability are stronger than in western Asia Minor.¹⁸³ Once the civic life of that latter region was severely

¹⁷⁸ See Nollé (1993b). Local coins commemorating concord between Perge and Side precisely disappear after Philip's reign [see Franke–Nollé (1997) 167-170, 191-193].

¹⁷⁹ Weiss (1991) 370-372 and Nollé (1990a) 258-260.

¹⁸⁰ *I.Perge* 331.II (l.23-26).

¹⁸¹ *I.Selge* 12.

¹⁸² *IGR* III.350-351 (Commodus); 352 (Septimius Severus); 353, *SEG* 45.1761 (Caracalla); *SEG* 47.1770 (Constantine). The title also appears on coins from Herennius Etruscus to Salonina [see Waelkens (2002) 352]. See also Waelkens (2002) 356-257 for the decline in building activities in Sagalassos during the 3rd century and the contemporary development of other areas of Pisidia, especially Selge. Two late inscriptions dating to 293-305 and 333-337 respectively [*SEG* 2.735, 47.1770] show the title of twice *neokoros*, even though such grants are not previously attested in the coinage and inscriptions of the 3rd century [see Burrell (2004) 266-269].

¹⁸³ Statue bases for victors of the Demosthenia in Oinoanda are attested c. AD 260 [see Milner (1994) 31]. Another base of Termessos attests the victory of M. Aur. Hermaius in the wrestling thematic competition which was celebrated for the 16th time (c. 257) with the funds remaining from Simonides' foundation [*TAM* III.1.150]. In Ariassos, games were sponsored by the equestrian *dekaprotos* and legal/rhetoric expert M. Aurelius Quintilianus in 264/5 [*I.Pisid.Cen.* 128 see Mitchell–Owens–Waelkens (1989) 65]. The Artemisios *agon* of Selge was celebrated at least 7 times after the deposit of

disrupted by Gothic and transdanubian raids, the particular development of Pisidia and Pamphylia became even more distinctive. The XIII Sibylline Oracle connects Lycia with the arrival of Sannoi and Carpi accompanied by a “city-destroying Ares”.¹⁸⁴ A fragment of Dexippus describes how Side and its famous walls – represented on local coins under Valerian and Gallienus – successfully repelled an attempt by the Scythai to capture the city using war machines c. 269.¹⁸⁵ That incursion probably caused considerable damage to the buildings, especially to the water conduits whose repairs were sponsored by the *egregius ducenarius* and *primipilaris* Bryonianus Lollianus.¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, none of the sources reports raids in the highlands, again protected by their mountainous nature. It is exclusively in this area that the aforementioned civic mints of Pisidia continued to issue local coinage under Claudius Gothicus. Furthermore, a milestone found within the territory of Sagalassos contains one of the only two inscribed references to this emperor in southwestern Asia Minor.¹⁸⁷ The fact that this city produced an unusually large amount of

a probably post-CA legacy; so a date after 250 is also plausible under pentaeteric periods [*I.Selge* 51-52]. A *themis* motive appears on the coins of Aspendos under Valerian/Gallienus in the same fashion that Ariassos, Baris, Prostanna Sillyon, Syedra and Korakesion had followed doing during the second quarter of the century [see Weiss (1991) 370]. Besides those local games, international sacred festivals are attested on Valerian/Gallienus' coins of Attaleia (Olympic) and Side (Pythian, Mystic),

¹⁸⁴ *Orac.Sib.* XIII.139-141 [Potter (1990) 310-314].

¹⁸⁵ Dexippus *FGrH* 100.29 [Martin (2006) F.27]. On the date of Side's siege see Nollé (1993a) 168. The *HA Div.Claud.* XII.1 and Zos. I.46 report that the Scythae ravaged Crete and Cyprus in the reign of Claudius Gothicus. From there they probably managed to attack the Pamphylian coast as recorded by Amm. Marc. XXXI.15. For the representation of fortified gates on coinage see Nollé (1990a) 257. On the typology and chronology of the defences of the peninsula see Mansel (1963) 27-40.

¹⁸⁶ Bryonianus Lollianus was honoured with statues by three associations (probably representing the neighbourhoods of the city, see Nollé (2001) 403): Megalopylitai [*I.Side* 105], Tetrapolitai [*I.Side* 106] and (Dios)bomitai [*I.Side* 107]. The three statue bases record different epigrams mentioning the repairing of water infrastructures paid by him. One of the lines specifies that the aqueduct (πόρος) had been destroyed (ὀλλύμενος). The leaders of the Megalopylitai also made explicit that his statue was placed near the ‘temple of the Nymphai’. As discussed in chapter II.4.3, the nymphaeum close to the main gate of Side was built in the second quarter of the 3rd century AD. That *terminus post quem* is also supported by the procuratorial career of Bryonianus because *egregii ducenarii* are not attested before 267 as a result of Gallienus' equestrian reforms [see Carrié (1979); Pflaum (1960) 947-94; de Blois (1976) 37-44; Salway (2006)]. On the date of the honours for both him and other members of his family see also Foss (1977) and (1996b) IV.26-27. For an analysis of the corresponding archaeological material see Gliwitsky (2010) 87-122.

¹⁸⁷ *SEG* 56.1700 [see *RRMAM* III.07 (C). Yarı 3 and French (1988) 299]. The only other epigraphic attestation of the emperor was discovered in Kasai (Asar Tepe), between Side and Isauria [*SEG*

bronze coins with representations of wheat ears exactly during his reign is not coincidental.¹⁸⁸ The same process is even better attested under the rule of one of Claudius's best generals, Aurelian.¹⁸⁹ After having repelled the tribes ravaging northern Italy and reorganised the Danubian *limes* in 272, the Illyrian emperor was determined to put an end to the dominion of Palmyra over the East.¹⁹⁰ The Aegean and Pontic shores were still unstable, Ancyra was probably under the control of Zenobia and the main route across central Anatolia could not be used without battle.¹⁹¹ Pisidia and Pamphylia again stood on as the only viable options from which an imperial campaign could be launched and sustained. The role of the Roman colony of Cremna in this campaign appears to have been particularly significant.¹⁹² Another substantial issue of bronze coinage is documented in this city and six of the reverses celebrate the imperial concession (*donatio*) of a sacred festival.¹⁹³ In a period when the costly commemoration of festivals in the Greek world had almost vanished, the mere establishment of a new agonistic contest is extraordinary in itself.¹⁹⁴ Likewise, the continuity of civic mints in Selge and Pamphylia is to be understood in this same context of local activity and imperial significance. The culmination of such a distinctive development was to come with Aurelian's successor, Tacitus.

48.1774]. On the extensive *chora* of Sagalassos see Vanhaverbeke–Waelkens (2003); Mitchell (1976) 116–119; Horsley–Kearsley (1998).

¹⁸⁸ Weiss (1992) 160. Biagi (2005) has rightly emphasised the significance of Claudius Gothicus' milestone and the coinage issues of Sagalassos. However, she does not provide positive evidence supporting her argument that Gothic attacks happened in Pisidia during this period.

¹⁸⁹ On the military career of Aurelian preceding his accession see Watson (1999) 39–48 and Cizek (1994) 17–25.

¹⁹⁰ Watson (1999) 48–56 and Cizek (1994) 89–106.

¹⁹¹ Zos. 1.50.1–2. See Hartmann (2001) 294–295.

¹⁹² Mitchell (1995) 216.

¹⁹³ See Mitchell (1995) 214; Ziegler (1978b); Wallner (1997) 200. On the absence of games previously attested at Cremna see Mitchell (1993a) 225.

¹⁹⁴ In this sense, the cheaper papyrological records of Egypt provide us with examples of the continuity of agonistic competitions in the late 3rd century [see Frisch (1986)]. For instance, the games of Oxyrhynchus were granted Capitolian rank also under Aurelian [see Bowman (2007) 174–175]. This would show that interest in athletic activities probably continued in other areas of the Greek East, even if civic instructions or private individuals were not able (or even willing) to memorialise them either with coins or inscriptions any longer.

Aurelian had managed to regain control over the East, crushed the Gallic usurpers and carried out important reforms leading to the later Roman Empire.¹⁹⁵ However, these actions, already commended by ancient authors, could not completely subdue all threats.¹⁹⁶ Even though the triumphal title of *Gothicus Maximus* was bestowed upon both him and his predecessor Claudius, the ‘Scythian war’ was not over and a new series of raids struck the Anatolian peninsula.¹⁹⁷ Tacitus was forced to initiate another campaign and headed to the East soon after his proclamation in Italy.¹⁹⁸ Pamphylia continued to be one of the most important centres of imperial operations and the city of Perge, as a result, rose to the most prominent position of its recent history.¹⁹⁹ Two large blocks of a stele still standing on a street adjacent to the city’s main square celebrate this ascension and provide us with a valuable testimony of the evolution of the *polis* throughout the imperial period.²⁰⁰ Perge received its metropolitan rank from Tacitus, and the emperor appears in one of the inscriptions as a Zeus and *divus* served by high-priests.²⁰¹ The same text emphasises the persistent privileged rank of the city in Pamphylia and alludes to Vespasian’s *neokoria* and the additional grant of *symmachia* by Caracalla. Once *metropolis*, Perge claimed that its superior status of *πραικίπουα* was then comparable to Ephesus in the province of Asia and that all Pamphylians came together to celebrate common sacrifices.²⁰² The second

¹⁹⁵ See Watson (1999) 70-182 and Cizek (1994) 153-192.

¹⁹⁶ See Dmitriev (2004b).

¹⁹⁷ On the titles and their chronology see Peachin (1990b) 86-87, 91-92. For the nature of this late incursion and the ancient sources attesting it see Magie (1950) 720; Salamon (1971) 137-138; Wolfram (1988) 54-57; Schwarcz (1992) 56.

¹⁹⁸ Whereas HA *Tac.* 15.1 claims that the Senate in Rome was able to proclaim an emperor for the last time, Zonaras 12.28 says that Tacitus was elevated by the army. See in this regard Cizek (1991).

¹⁹⁹ Local coins showing a possible *adventus* of Tacitus and his grant of an agonistic festival have been used by scholars to argue that the emperor actually visited the city [see Merkelbach–Şahin–Stauber (1997) 69-70 and Kaygusuz (1984). cf. Roueché (1989b) 210]. While it is certain that Tacitus and his brother spent time in Cilicia [Halfmann (1986) 240], his stay in Pamphylia is not otherwise confirmed.

²⁰⁰ *I.Perge* 331. On the so-called “Tacitus-Straße” see Şahin (2004) 51-52. The relevance of the inscriptions is discussed at length by Roueché (1989a) 208, 215-221.

²⁰¹ *I.Perge* 331.I. (ll.19-20): *νῦν δὲ καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς εἰσὶν θεοῦ Τακίτου*. For a discussion on the connection between this personal cult and the grant of *neokoriai* see Burrell (2004) 178.

²⁰² *I.Perge* 331.I. (ll.15-18). See Weiss (1991) 368-375.

stele records a series of repetitive acclamations starting with the sequence ἀῖξε Πέργη (raise Perge!).²⁰³ After the exclamation, a relative clause follows in which every aspect confirming the legitimate superiority of Perge in the region is extolled. As I noted above, the most obvious target of the message was Side, but also any other neighbouring city with pre-eminence aspirations. For example, Sidetan coins had commemorated *asylia* for its civic goddess Athena under Aurelian, and nearby Sillyum did the same with Mên.²⁰⁴ Again, such a competitive context explains that the first surviving sentence of the inscribed acclamation emphatically asserts that Perge was μόνη ἄσυλος.²⁰⁵ The same background also underlies elements such as the appropriation of the typical Sidetan denomination κορυφή τῆς Παμφυλίας,²⁰⁶ or a reference to silver currency (ἄργυρον νόμισμα), which is more difficult to explain.²⁰⁷ Likewise, most of the aspects mentioned in the remaining lines such as *neokoriai*, presence of the imperial treasury (θησαυρὸς τοῦ κυρίου), soldiers (ἱερὸν οὐξίλλον), and assize (πρώτη τῶν ἀγορέων) are just the epigraphic confirmation of themes already appearing on the local bronzes under Valerian and Gallienus.²⁰⁸ Finally, the additional analogy drawn between Perge, Ephesus and their corresponding Artemis was already represented on *homonoia* coins of the same period.²⁰⁹

The claims and enthusiasm displayed by Perge also need to be connected with a series of graffiti directly carved on columns facing these inscriptions. These graffiti

²⁰³ For the genesis of such acclamations, its development in the high imperial period and the extended attestation in Late Antiquity see Roueché (1984) and Wiemer (2004). On the epigraphic manifestations of the phenomenon in Asia Minor and its relevance to the local political culture see Kuhn (2013b) and Fernoux (2011) 134-150. On its use in religious communication see Chaniotis (2009).

²⁰⁴ Nollé (1993a) 90. Rigsby (1996) 453-454 proposed a Hellenistic origin of the *asylia* in Side but Nollé (2001) 650-651 favours an unprecedented grant under Aurelian, which increases the magnitude of the competition for rank and titulature in that later period.

²⁰⁵ Under the Domitian, Artemis Pergaia was already considered *asylos* [*I.Perge* 65] and the sequence is also attested in the Severan nymphaeum sponsored by Aurelia Paulina [*I.Perge* 195]. Again, Rigsby (1996) 449-454 proposes an origin in the Hellenistic age even though all the surviving evidence dates to the Roman imperial period.

²⁰⁶ See Nollé (1991) 334-344.

²⁰⁷ Roueché (1989b) 212 and Weiss (1991) 381-383.

²⁰⁸ Roueché (1989b) 211-213; Weiss (1991) 366, 379-381; Merkelbach-Şahin-Stauber (1997) 71-72.

²⁰⁹ Franke-Nollé (1997) 170-171.

depict again agonistic symbols of pre-eminence in Pamphylia and record written references to two different international events taking place in the city.²¹⁰ One of the texts refers to the Ἀσύλια Πύθια, which started to be recorded on local coins in the 250s and aimed to compete with the previous Pythian monopoly of Side.²¹¹ The remaining testimonies commemorate the unparalleled Τακί(ε)ιος μητροπολί(ε)ιος ἰσοκαπετώλιος.²¹² The origin of this latter *agon* was obviously the metropolitan status awarded by Tacitus, who was also responsible for the grant of the prestigious and rare Capitoline rank.²¹³ A crown inserted between the two ionic volutes of another column also reminds us that the set of sacred festivals in Perge was completed by the Ἀγύστια Ὀλύμπια οἰκουμενικά.²¹⁴ Such a combination of imperial awards, elevation of ranks and local celebrations resembles closely the scenarios presented by earlier case studies such as Thyateira and Aphrodisias. As was previously shown, the efforts of local notables engaged in political life and supported by an active civic community achieved those promotions and the subsequent concession of international games. The acclamation of Perge after 275 similarly mentions the benefactions made by *consulares*, who sponsored agonistic celebrations.²¹⁵ One of the individuals belonging to this privileged group might be the Cornelianus acclaimed in two contemporary inscriptions carved on the theatre walls. There he is praised for having founded

²¹⁰ For a collection of all the agonistic representations attested both in the coinage, inscriptions and architectural elements of Perge see Erol-Özdizbay (2012).

²¹¹ *I.Perge* 313 [see Weiss (1991) 370-372]. Local coins of the city also represent its *homonoia* links with Delphi following the example of Side [see Franke-Nollé (1997) 171-172]. For instance, the successful international career of an anonymous athlete who won twice the Pythia of Side also included four victories in the Pergean Pythia [*IG* VII.49=Moretti (1953) no.88]. On the controversy concerning the celebration of the most prestigious Pythian festival in Pamphylia see also Wallner (1997) 127.

²¹² *I.Perge* 333-337. For the commemoration on coins see Merkelbach-Şahin-Stauber (1997) and Roueché (1989b) 210.

²¹³ See Wallner (1997) 211-212. On the limited attestations of Capitoline games in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire see Ziegler (1985) 147-148 and Leschhorn (1998) 40.

²¹⁴ *I.Perge* 312. According to Weiss (1991) 365, 371 and 373, this festival was established under Valerian when it started to appear on coins.

²¹⁵ *I.Perge* 331.II (*Il.*17-20): αὖξε Πέρρη, ἧ ὑπατικοὶ φιλοδοξοῦσιν! αὖξε Πέρρη, ἧ ὑπατικοὶ ἀγω[v]οθετοῦσιν!

(κτίζις) an Olympian work (Ὀλύμπιον ἔργον) on behalf of the *metropolis*.²¹⁶ Despite the aforementioned existence of an Olympic festival in Perge and the probable reforms carried out in the *scaenae frons* and orchestra, it is yet impossible to determine the nature of an enterprise which he was encouraged to preside (προκάθησε).²¹⁷ As for Cornelius himself, the man is possibly related or even identical with the *quaestor pro praetore* Cl. Cornelianus Latro Apellianus, who was honoured by his patria between the 250s and 275/6.²¹⁸ The exact identity and senatorial status of another important benefactor called Diodotos is unknown. However, his generous contributions towards the building splendour, *neokoriai* and festivals were equally acclaimed in the theatre of a city which was again compelled to raise – αὐξε!²¹⁹

The very well documented case of Perge under Tacitus encapsulates exactly the model of epigraphy, civic life, political action and imperial diplomacy that this thesis has studied. The emperor needed a base from which his Gothic campaign could be launched and sustained. Pamphylia had remained considerably safe from foreign threats and Perge offered the most suitable conditions with its lofty acropolis and safe distance from the exposed sea – unlike Side. Most importantly, this *polis* had been able to preserve a local political activity after the 260s that is not attested elsewhere in western Asia Minor. Its civic mint continued to issue bronze coinage of reasonable

²¹⁶ *I.Perge* 338-339.

²¹⁷ See Şahin (2000) 203-205. Öztürk (1999) 186, (2009) proposes that the reforms of the orchestra were connected with the celebration of water spectacles under Tacitus.

²¹⁸ *I.Perge* 290. Members of the Cornelian and Latronian families are attested in Perge throughout the high imperial period [*I.Perge* 173, 201]. The senatorial career of Cl. Cornelianus Latro Apellianus is otherwise unknown and, therefore, the identification of this *quaestor* Cornelianus with one of the acclaimed *consulares* remains only hypothetical. Likewise, the identification of *patria* in the honours of Roman officials is not always straightforward [see Erkelenz (2001)]. Nonetheless, Foss (1996) IV.18 is probably wrong in attributing these inscriptions to a governor of the late-antique period.

²¹⁹ *I.Perge* 340-342. The last inscription appears directly carved with red colours on the fine relieves representing the Dionysos' cycle, see Inan–Atık–Öztürk–Alanyalı–Ateş (2000) 322-330.

fineness.²²⁰ Pythian, Olympic and Capitolian games were depicted and the population was engaged in a growing context of regional competition. At the same time, the wealthiest members of the civic community were committed to sponsoring constructions and celebrations, which were accelerated by continuous imperial grants of fiercely sought and requested ranks and titles. Perge ended up becoming metropolis and its citizens, gathered in a recently renovated theatre, could finally proclaim its indisputable supremacy over Pamphylia.²²¹ Before that climax, *asylia*, *symmachiai* and *neokoriai* have been pouring in a region of modest imperial significance before the 3rd century AD. By 276, Perge reached the same four neocorate previously attained by a sacked capital, Ephesus, which they claimed to emulate. The final – and probably compensatory – sixth *neokoria* of Side was unprecedented not only in Asia but also in the rest of the Roman world, where the commemoration of such grants and titles used to matter.²²² Indeed, the production of inscribed testimonies surviving from southern Anatolia could only be effective in a context of active civic life in which the local population competed for their pride but did not have to struggle for their own existence.

²²⁰ Howgego (1985) 64; Johnston (1998) 156-158; Johnston (2007) 56-64. Side shows only a small decline between the reigns of Gallienus and Aurelian, and Perge even experiences an improvement under Tacitus.

²²¹ The construction of the spectacular *scaenae frons* was not completed before the second quarter of the 3rd century and additional reforms – including the elaborate Gyantomachy and Centauromachy friezes – continued after 250 [see Öztürk (1999) 180-190; Inan–Atik–Öztürk–Alanyalı–Ateş (2000) 297-322; and Gliwitzky (2010) 56-62 for the different phases of the building]. For the role of Asia Minor theatres at the end of the 3rd and 4th centuries regarding the celebration of festivals and other civic activities which provoke acclamations such as that of Perge see Pont (2014) and Chaniotis (2007).

²²² *I.Side* 26. Considering that the sixth *neokoria* occurred before the grant of an additional metropolitan title and after Aurelian's reign – when coins still display 3 *neokoriai*, Nollé (1993a) 287-290 has proposed a chronology by which Tacitus awarded the additional *neokoriai* in 276 and, later, the emperor Probus added *metropolis*. Such an exact reconstruction of events, even if grounded, cannot be confirmed [see Burrell (2004) 185-186]. Yet both imperial awards most certainly intended to quench the reactions of jealous Sidetans complaining about Perge's accession and acclamations. Those reactions may have even increased if Perge also managed to match the final neocorate pre-eminence of Side as perhaps recorded in a fragmentary inscription found in Attaleia [see Burrell (2004) 179].

IV.7. Internal Revolt, Civic Defence and Final Transformation

The imperial, civic and epigraphic splendour of Perge was almost as short-lived as the rule of its promoter Tacitus. This emperor once again claimed the title *Gothicus Maximus*,²²³ but died either assassinated or ill around Cappadocia in the middle of 276.²²⁴ The murder of his half-brother and succeeding *imperator* Florian in Cilicia was equally sudden.²²⁵ During the following reign of Marcus Aurelius Probus, both the *HA* and Zosimus report that bands of Isaurians led by a local tribesman called Palfuerius/Lydius revolted and started ravaging Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycia.²²⁶

The same rough orography preventing the incursion of foreign threats into southern Anatolia had also fostered suitable conditions for the development of banditry.²²⁷ The emperor Commodus already commended the citizens of Boubon in northern Lycia for having killed a group of marauders with their own means.²²⁸ Both chapter II and the analysis of the martyrs' acts have shown the important duties and magnitude of local *eirenarchs* and *diogmitai* in the first half of the 3rd century AD. In 256, Valerius Statilius Castus, a σύμμαχος τῶν Σεβαστῶν πραιπόσιτος βιξιλατιώνων, was similarly appointed to control the peace by land and sea and spent twelve days in the territory of Oinoanda.²²⁹ Termessos also honoured a *clarissimus dux* as “guardian of the peace”.²³⁰ With regard to Isauria, this region between Pisidia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia and Cilicia was even more notorious for the traditional presence of brigands and pirates, especially in its remote and inaccessible strongholds.²³¹ A reasonable urban and epigraphic progress can be observed after the Flavian period

²²³ Peachin (1990b) 93 and Kreucher (2003) 75.

²²⁴ See Watson (1999) 107 and Cisek (1994) 216.

²²⁵ See Watson (1999) 108; Kreucher (2003) 122-133; Sauer (1998); Cisek (1994) 217-221.

²²⁶ *HA Prob.* 16.4 and *Zos.* I.69-70.

²²⁷ See Mitchell (1999d) 155-159.

²²⁸ Schindler (1972) no.2 [=Kokkinia (2008b) no.5]. See Brélaz (2005) 299-303.

²²⁹ *IGR* III.481+1501 [=ILS 8870]. See Lorient (1998).

²³⁰ *TAM* III.I.88. See Christol (1978).

²³¹ Feld (2005) 174-206 and Shaw (1990).

when Rome took direct control of the region.²³² However, the delicate balance between *pax* and development was broken when the disturbing events of the mid-3rd century impacted on the area. The inscribed account of Shapur I's deeds records that several settlements along the coast (Selinous, Antioch ad Cragum, Anemurium, Celenderis and Seleucia ad Calycadnum) and one in the interior (Dometiopolis) were sacked following Valerian's capture.²³³ In the subsequent turmoil and lack of a stable imperial power, a local man called Trebellianus proclaimed himself ruler of Isauria according to the *HA*.²³⁴ This story is probably fictitious but resembles a regional pattern of conduct and revolt, which is historically confirmed in the later uprising of Lydius/Palfuerius.²³⁵ In this case, the sudden death of Tacitus brought another interim of imperial uncertainty in Anatolia and the Isaurian leader most likely used this opportunity to prepare his attack.²³⁶ At the same time, an important segment of the local population may have been willing to facilitate a rebellion that could liberate them from the continuous toil of army supplies and abuse.²³⁷

Like the cities of western Asia Minor in the 260s, the inhabitants of Pamphylia, Pisidia and northern Lycia were now forced to face the dire consequences of disruptive threats. One of the local responses of civic defence and struggle is illustrated by a series of fragmentary inscriptions found near Ovacık, an isolated settlement by the Bey Dağları in the pass between Termessos (*Maior*) and modern

²³² Lewin (1991) 170-174; Lenski (1999); and Feld (2005) 102-118. On the activities of peace-keeping forces during this period see Hopwood (1989). It is also clear that the majority of the attested population adapted their native nomenclature as a result of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 [Pilhofer (2006) 61-63].

²³³ Huyse (1999a) 41 no.27. See Kettenhofen (1982) 114-116, Huyse (1999b) 91-94, Feld (2005) 119-123. On the maybe related evidence provided by the walls of nearby Lamus (Adanda) see above.

²³⁴ *HA Trig.Tyr.* 26.

²³⁵ See Feld (2005) 123-128 and Hartmann (2001) 265 no.59.

²³⁶ Magie (1950) 720. After the Tacitus' death, Probus was proclaimed emperor in Egypt before August 29th 276 [*O.Mich.* I.157] and was recognised in most of the Eastern provinces, while Florianus was in Asia Minor and controlled the western part of the Empire. Probus' troops advanced into Cilicia [Zos. I.64.1-4; Zon. 12.29] and Florian was finally killed in Tarsus.

²³⁷ See Mitchell (1995) 216-217.

Elmalı.²³⁸ This exceptional testimony provides us with the latest case in which the continuity, transformation and survival of civic life in south-western Asia Minor can be assessed before Diocletian's accession.

M. Aur. Hermaios and his son M. Aur. Kiliortes, referred to as πρωτοκωμήτης,²³⁹ and προοίκος κώμης respectively,²⁴⁰ are the protagonists of this final episode. One of the inscriptions records that Hermaios had been extremely generous and useful for his community and a long acclamation extolled some of these beneficial actions. In one of the better preserved sections, we can read:

“[L]et the noble bandit-chaser (ληστοδειώκτης) guard the city! Let the one who killed the bandits guard (φρουρείτω) the city! He was a legal representative (ἐκδικήσας) of the city, let him guard the city! Let the one who was legal representative of the city many times stay in here (ἐπιδημείτω)! He provided the annona [.....], let him stay in here! He acted in the interests of peace (ὕπερ τῆς εἰρήνης), let him stay in here! Let the son? of Askoures stay in here! Hermaios, son of Askoures, the bandit-chaser while we live, let him stay here so that we can continue living! Let him stay in accordance with the governor's command! He saved the city many times, let him stay in here! He fed the city [---]”.

Most of the activities performed by Hermaios such as the distribution of food, provision of *annona* or legal assistance had frequently featured in the careers of members of the local elite throughout the 3rd century AD. The insistence on his success to crush bandits became even more meaningful in the troubled context affecting Pisidia and Pamphylia between 276 and 278. The lacunose state of most of the fragments obscures the exact circumstances of the episode. It has generally been assumed that the *polis* mentioned in the acclamation is Termessos.²⁴¹ The problem with this interpretation stems from the fact that Hermaios is never referred to as one

²³⁸ The inscriptions were first reported by Harrison (1979) 235-237 during his exploration of the Elmalı plain and its surrounding valleys. Based on his squeezes, notes and photographs, Ballance-Roueché (2001) edited the inscriptions [SEG 51.1813]. The area of Ovacık was again surveyed by İplikçioğlu-Çelgin-Çelgin (1991), who published two of the texts before Ballance's and Roueché's edition [SEG 41.1390. cf. 46.1681-1682].

²³⁹ SEG 51.1813 I D.ii (l.20). On this title see Schuler (1998) 235.

²⁴⁰ SEG 51.1813 II (l.2). Schuler (1998) 236.

²⁴¹ Zimmermann (1996) 275-277; Mitchell (1999d) 162; Brélaz (2005) 310-311; Fernoux (2011) 149; Kuhn (2013b) 308-311.

of the well-known urban magistrates of the Pisidian city such as the *eirenarch* or *agoranomos*, who actually appear in other parts of the text.²⁴² Instead, his position of *πρωτοκωμήτης* only confirms his relevance in the rural environment in which his village was located.²⁴³ The previous case study of Termessos has shown that the territory granted to this *polis* by the *lex Antonia* was vast and required the development of police forces and fortresses like the one surviving near Ovaçık to guarantee its protection.²⁴⁴ All those measures seem to have failed to stop the Isaurian attacks and four lines in one of the fragments probably imply that the urban centre lost control of part of that territory temporarily.²⁴⁵ In such a scenario, cooperation by the countryside population was needed and local village leaders such as Hermaios had to lead the defence, especially in areas as remote as the fringes of the Bey Dağları. For those reasons, it seems more likely to me that the inhabitants of Hermaios' *kome* were responsible for the expressions of affection dedicated to their particular "bandit-chaser" and decided to memorialise locally their acclamation following an epigraphic trend already observable at Perge.

In order to support their emotive and frontal opposition to the departure of Hermaios, a series of documents sent by Roman authorities was attached to the acclamation. The letters show that close collaboration between the provincial/military and the civic/local levels was necessary to bring the Isaurian threat to an end. For

²⁴² Eirenarch: SEG 51.1813 I A.ii (l.1); C.ii (ll.6-7, 16). Agoranomos: SEG 51.1813 I.D.i (l.4).

²⁴³ The traces of the inscription recording the name of the village in which Kiliortes was *προοίκος* [SEG 51.1813 II (l.2)] have not yet been deciphered successfully [see Ballance–Roueché (2001) 102]. In any case, this *kome* is to be identified with the remains of residential units and a necropolis where the inscriptions of Hermaios and his son Kiliortes were found. Harrison (2001) 57-58 reported the existence of sarcophagi and abundant late-antique ceramics, which I had the chance to visit in the summer of 2012 [see also Hellenkemper–Hild (2004) 770-771]. Unfortunately, the area has been completely depleted by local villagers who have even used explosives to extract stone and conduct illegal excavations. Finally, the genitive *Ἀσκουρέως* is used in the text as a patronymic and not as an ethnic, see Ballance–Roueché (2001) 101-102 and Zimmermann (1996) 268.

²⁴⁴ The fortress lies on a steep elevation located between the ancient settlement of Hermaios and Kiliortes and the modern village of Ovaçık. For a description of the site and a plan of the fortress see Harrison (2001) 59-60.

²⁴⁵ SEG 51.1813 I.D.ii (ll. 6-9): [...] *πάλιν προτρέπο[με]ν ἀνήκειν εἰς τὴν [λα]μπρὰν Τερμησέ[ων] πόλιν*.

example, the prefect Valerius Euethius contacted Hermaios' son, Kiliortes, as soon as he found out that "the band of marauders who had been wandering around the Termessian *chora* failed".²⁴⁶ The document sent by the provincial governor Aquilinus to λοιποὶ πρωτοκωμῆται confirms that Hermaios and Kiliortes were not the only local village leaders involved in these operations.²⁴⁷ Likewise, other surviving sections record the participation of *bouleutai* and various prominent citizens including members of the nearby Lycian league and groups of young men.²⁴⁸ The first document of the whole dossier precisely opens with a request by the *perfectissimus dux* Ursius to Hermaios concerning selected νεανίσκοι, who most likely had to be sent to Cremna.²⁴⁹ As Zosimus dramatically reports, Lydius and his rebels retreated inside the walls of the colony, where the Roman army besieged and finally defeated them.²⁵⁰ The archaeological surveys carried out by S. Mitchell have shown the extent of a siege in which mounds, ramps and projectiles were used.²⁵¹ The initial struggle and final success of Termessos and its villages to defend their land possibly compelled Roman administrative and military authorities to appeal for the collaboration of local troops. Hermaios may have been requested by those same authorities to lead the group of young men and abandon a homeland that was still feeling unsafe and opposed the removal of its leader.

With regard to the Roman provincial/military level, we find in Cremna the governor Terentius Marcianus dedicating an inscription and vows to the emperor M.

²⁴⁶ SEG 51.1813 II (ll.3-5). This man seems to be identical with the *rationalis*/καθολικός Valerius Euethius who appears in Egypt between 302-304 [PLRE I Euethius cf. Zimmermann (1996) 269-271].

²⁴⁷ SEG 51.1813 I.C.ii (ll.17-21).

²⁴⁸ SEG 51.1813 I.D.ii (l. 10-14), I.C.ii (l. 9-10). A ὑποφύλαξ is attested in SEG 51.1813 I C.ii. (l.15) and might be connected with the collaboration of the Lycian league, see Ballance-Roueché (2001) 103 and Zimmerman (1993). This would be one of the latest attested activities of the *koinon*, together with the petition sent to Maximinus Daia concerning the ban of Christians in AD 312 [I.Arykanda 12].

²⁴⁹ SEG 51.1813 I.A.i (ll.1-16). On the maintenance of a military culture in the cities of the eastern part of the Roman Empire see Brélaz (2008).

²⁵⁰ Zos. I.69-70. See Brandt (1991).

²⁵¹ Mitchell (1995) 177-208 and Davies (2000).

Aur. Probus in 278/9.²⁵² In the aftermath of the revolt, Marcianus was also honoured by multiple cities of the region, including Termessos and his *patria* Sagalassos.²⁵³ It is also possible that the διασημώτατος ἡγεμὼν Aquilinus mentioned in Hermaios' dossier was a local from Olympos praised by his motherland.²⁵⁴ Both governors of Lycia-Pamphylia shared their belonging to the equestrian order. As chapter III has shown, this provincial seat had been mainly occupied by senators such as Septimius Mannus or Tib. Pollenius Armenius Peregrinus in the preceding decades. The change of status observable during the Isaurian attacks may have been caused by the necessity of finding suitable candidates who were familiar with the particular features of southern Anatolia and could still manage military affairs successfully after Gallienus' reforms. This mixture between imperial troops and local elements also seems to underlie the presence of a series of epitaphs between Ovaçık and Arykanda in which some soldiers of the II Legion show strong traces of indigenous onomastics.²⁵⁵ In Arykanda itself, an inscription honours a certain Aur. Ursius who was in charge of praetorian soldiers.²⁵⁶ A statue base of this man set up in Balboura praises him as δοῦξ, τρίβουνος πραιτωριανῶν ὁ σωτήρ τῶν Λυκίων and therefore he is almost certainly identical with the *dux* Ursius, who contacted Hermaios concerning Cremna.²⁵⁷ The creation of the I, II and III *Isauricae* seems to be connected with these events too, even though there is no evidence for the establishment of veteran colonies to control the rebels reported by the *HA*.²⁵⁸ The only contemporary reference to a

²⁵² *I.Pisid.Cen.* 15 [see Mitchell (1995) 208-210].

²⁵³ *IGR* III.358 (Sagalassos); *TAM* III.1 89 (Termessos); *AE* 1915.53 (Trebenna). *I.Kibyra* 65 [*SGO* 17/1/1] might also be included into this list as it records the setting up of a golden statue for a Marcianus who is praised for being a virtuous saviour. Both Corsten and Merkelbach–Stauber have preferred to identify him with the *dux* L. Aur. Marcianus honoured in Termessos.

²⁵⁴ *TAM* II.3.1173 [see Ballance–Roueché (2001) 101].

²⁵⁵ Bean (1971) 30-31, no.52. See also Mitchell (1999d) 167-168.

²⁵⁶ *I.Arykanda* 26. See Mitchell (1999d) 165-166.

²⁵⁷ Milner (2012) 96-98; Ballance–Roueché (2001) 100.

²⁵⁸ Mitchell (1995) 217. On the presence of Roman soldiers in Isauria see Laminger-Pascher (1985). For a *statio* in the area of Olympos perhaps connected with these events see *SEG* 54.1431.

κολωνεία in the region appears in the titles that Trebenna displayed precisely when the rhetor and *lykiarch* Torquatus honoured the aforementioned Terentius Marcianus.²⁵⁹ The allegiance of its population and leaders to repel the threats most likely provided the city with such a prestigious honorific rank.²⁶⁰ The final victory of the local civic communities of this area of Pisidia is again illustrated by the testimonies from Ovaçık. Although his father Hermaios was already dead (γενόμενος), M. Aur. Kiliortes, the former προοίκος κόμης, still managed to receive honours in the urban centre of Termessos after a resolution of its *boule* and *demos* had been passed. Both political institutions praised his defence of the peace (ειρήνης προστατης) and the later completion of all *liturgiai*, including the prominent high-priesthood of the equally *MM. Aurelii* emperors Carus, Carinus and Numerian in 283.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ *AE* 1915.53. For the identification of this man with the M. Aur. Torquatus in *SEG* 51.1837 see Jones (2003) 131-133. For the role of this man in the local defence of Trebenna see Mitchell (1999d) 165 and Onur (2005) 15-16. A discussion about his monumental tomb can also be found in Çevik–Varkıvanç – Bulut–Kızılgut (2005) 56-58.

²⁶⁰ On the grant of the title of *colonia* as an honour starting in the Severan period see Millar (1990). On its possible appearance also in Balbura when the city honoured the *dux* Ursius see Milner (2012) 97-98.

²⁶¹ *SEG* 51.1813 III. On the date of this inscription see Zimmermann (1996) 271-272 and Mitchell (1999d) 163. For the reign and origins of these emperors see recently Altmayer (2014).

CONCLUSIONS

The honours that the peacekeeper M. Aur. Kiliortes received from Termessos in AD 283 are a good illustration of some of the continuities and changes that both this Pisidian city, south-western Asia Minor and even the Roman Empire experienced from Commodus' death to Diocletian's accession. As regards continuity, a decision (δόγμα) of the *boule* and *demos* still extolled the activities of one member of their political community with titles such as "very illustrious" (ἀξιολογώτατος) and "very honourable" (ἐνδοξότατος), which were commonly recorded in the careers of other 3rd century citizens of the *polis*. Likewise, Kiliortes' rural prominence and provenance was not an impediment to reach the prestigious office of imperial high-priest once he had successfully defended the integrity of the Termessian territory. In the first half of the 3rd century, it has been shown that the yield of these extensive lands sustained the wealth and benefactions of an elite who aspired to be considered ἀρχιερατικός. Most of that elite and, naturally, the majority of the free inhabitants of Termessos only became Roman citizens after 212 as a result of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. A visible change of nomenclature commemorating the emperor Caracalla was subsequently adopted by the local population and the example of M. Aur. Kiliortes demonstrates that it could still be epigraphically displayed in the last quarter of the 3rd century AD. The content of his honorific inscription followed therefore the patterns of a preceding epigraphic practice which was connected with its local, regional and imperial context.

The last chapter of this thesis has argued that the transformation of precisely this context had a substantial impact on the production of both epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Both emperors – some of whom could only trace their Roman citizenship back to AD 212 like Kiliortes – and their collapsing imperial structures failed to maintain a *status quo* which promoted peace and protection in south-western

Asia Minor before Valerian's capture. As a result, the urban centres of the region almost completely stopped the commemoration of magistrates, authorities, rulers and benefactors. The memorialisation of such aspects had previously been sustained by an active political community fostering a civic life which celebrated its achievements in common places of reunion such as the theatre, agora or stadium. In the introduction, it was stated that the main aim of this thesis was studying the nexus that could be established between local activity and the corresponding epigraphic record. From this type of study, a contextualised assessment of the epigraphic evidence was intended, which would later invite a reconsideration of the period.

First, it was necessary to provide a methodology which could allow the identification of inscriptions dating to the 3rd century AD. The first chapter of the thesis emphasised, on the one hand, the unreliability of using letterforms as a valid criterion. On the other, it revealed the exceptional appearance of explicit chronological marks such as consular formulas or identifiable local eras in the inscriptions of south-western Asia Minor. In contrast to these complexities, the same epigraphic testimonies recorded the presence of numerous individuals who potentially incorporated (*M.*) *Aurelius/a* as a result of the same Caracalla's edict that changed the nomenclatures of the citizens of Termessos after 212. From such testimonies, only those in the region of Lydia provided enough externally identifiable dates according to which the effects of the CA could be traced chronologically. These were the reasons that justified the comprehensive analysis of the Lydian evidence and its subsequent comparison with the remaining areas studied in this thesis. My analysis concluded that the overwhelming majority of (*MM.*) *Aurelii* are attested in the first half of the 3rd century, even if some of them – especially, those belonging to groups with direct exposure to the emperors such as procurators, soldiers or athletes – could

have been granted Roman citizenship by either Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. The same analysis also demonstrated that the maintenance of Greek nomenclature (name + patronymic) or the use of single names in this same period did not always imply a peregrine status. The application of the strict and unprecedented methodology deriving from these results significantly increased the amount of inscriptions that could be used to study the civic life of south-western Asia Minor, particularly in the years following Septimius Severus' death. This period has traditionally been considered to be obscure and ill-documented by those scholars who focus on the dearth of illuminating literary sources. This thesis, on the contrary, has used the abundance of epigraphic material and other types of complementary evidence such as coins and archaeological remains to corroborate the continued existence of scenarios which are reminiscent of those vividly described by Dio Chrysostom or Aelius Aristides in the 2nd century.

The second chapter explored these scenarios in the light of the inscriptions available from four cities and regions among the vast Anatolian peninsula. The use of such a local approach intended to mitigate the negative preconceptions of decline and crisis historically associated with the 3rd century AD. The case-studies of Ephesus, Lydia, Aphrodisias and southern Anatolia have argued that those elements of the civic life of Asia Minor which were conveyed by means of inscriptions did not undergo major transformations, despite the turbulent episodes of intrigue, plotting and internal instability affecting the emperors and their courts at Rome. Local prominent families were still praised on account of benefactions for the same citizens who continued to decree honours for them. Members of this elite emphasised the illustrious past of their ancestors and boasted of successful descendants. Praiseworthy action was, however, not only restricted to old families and the abundance of honoured *Aurelii* even in

areas where levels of Roman citizenship were substantial before AD 212 suggest some degree of renewal and social mobility too. Regardless of the origins of those honoured, their local careers belonged to a political community referred to as 'fatherland'. *Boule*, *demos*, and in some cases, *gerousia* continued to provide the framework in which magistrates conducted their activities. Yet willingness or enthusiasm for those actions cannot be measured on the sole basis of the surviving epigraphic evidence; neither in the four case studies included in chapter II nor in any other city in the rest of the Roman Empire. The main point of inscriptions is to record for the present and future time the fact that something happened and not the way in which it came to fruition. The epigraphic discipline, therefore, cannot always illuminate interesting debates about local politics, especially in the high Roman imperial period when the inscribed record of decrees gradually disappeared. While it is easy to attest the existence and continuity of certain institutions, it is more difficult to perceive what was happening inside them and describe their functioning. Likewise, fundamental aspects of political action such as free speech, oligarchisation and internal dynamics can hardly be assessed. Exactly for these reasons, the increasing hierarchies and collective office holding which can be observed in the evidence should not be subject to unfounded hypothesis and biased conclusions suggesting an automatic lack of candidates. In this regard, the cease of building activity should also be reconsidered when regional exceptions and peculiarities contradict this allegedly general phenomenon of the 3rd century AD. Furthermore, even if the scale of new constructions in some areas was not as magnanimous as the celebrated urban expansion of previous centuries, the local evidence again leaves no doubt as to the use and the maintenance of those monuments in the first half of the 3rd century. The same evidence also shows unmistakably a reinvigorated interest in sacred festivals and

agonistic celebrations, some of which derived from the continuity of religious institutions and cults defining the identity of sanctuaries such as the Apollonian Didyma and *poleis* such as the Artemisian Ephesus. These initiatives, most of which were personally funded, also required considerable expenses and continuous care in order to perpetuate the memory of the founder as the examples of Aphrodisias and Oinoanda, among others, demonstrated. Such a reality was present not only at the great urban centres and capitals of Roman provinces but also at rural settlements which became particularly visible in this period. The inscriptions produced in the *katoikiai* of the Cayster valley and the rest of Lydia corroborated the relevance and political organisation of these local entities. The hinterland of Side also illustrated the insistent efforts of individuals who equally aspired to achieve personal promotion. In both urban and rural environments, the population strove to commemorate their existence with funerary inscriptions and an unprecedented number of sarcophagi that still stated patron gods, political institutions or active associations as recipients of fines preventing the interruption of their eternal rest. In sum, the combination of the aspects attested in all the case studies of this chapter confirmed and expanded the validity of that introductory statement by L. Robert denying the epigraphic crisis of Asia Minor in the Severan period.

Chapter III studied how this uninterrupted epigraphic production reflected the communication established between the ruling power of Rome and the active local institutions from which most of those inscriptions emanated. Firstly, the unquestionable relevance that decisions dictated by the emperors could have for settlements such as Thyateira was shown. Secondly, the fundamental role of diplomacy became clear in the light of the many honours bestowed upon local ambassadors and the letters that Roman emperors addressed to their subjects in south-

western Asia Minor. According to both types of testimonies, it was concluded that aspirations and concerns for rank, primacy and rights continued to determine the preparations for most of the diplomatic missions. Along with the continuity of the content and forms of such expressions of pride, there was, however, a change with respect to the frequency in which coveted imperial titles were granted. Emperors in the 3rd century AD accelerated the approval of requests carefully prepared by many cities which became *neokoros*, *metropolis* and *conventus* for the first time. Simultaneously, traditional regional centres previously favoured by similar grants tried to excel by accumulating these titles. This new wave of intercity rivalry also affected the celebration of many agonistic competitions which managed to reach sacred and international ranks. This chapter argued that such attitudes and the apparently indulgent imperial policies in place had the potential to create reciprocity between rewarded communities and granting authorities. Unfortunately, the exact scale of this reciprocity cannot normally be pinned down as it depends on the examination of partial epigraphic evidence. What this examination attests, in any case, is that an unprecedented number of individuals native to south-western Asia Minor achieved imperial influence by becoming senators, equestrians and soldiers. Such an influence did not only benefit the promotion of their places of origin, but also provided the imperial powers with administrators such as the *curatores rei publicae*, who needed to be familiar with local circumstances. The inscriptions of the first half of the 3rd century indeed record a high degree of proximity between those imperial representatives and the population hosting them. Proconsuls in the provinces of Asia and Lycia-Pamphylia continued to be essential for the management of many local aspects ranging from the administration of justice to the supervision of finances and projects. The interaction of their subordinates and procurators with locals was even

more intense as their appointments did not have to be balloted every year. However, the closest contact between such imperial structures and the local population was caused by the numerous troops who either crossed or stayed in Anatolia in this period. The frequent transit of both the imperial court and soldiers required the provision of supplies, support and lodging, which was a burden beyond the means of many people. This source of conflict caused complaints that communities hoped to solve by addressing petitions to the ruling authorities and, above all, to the Roman emperor, who was still deemed to be accountable for their welfare. The high epigraphic habit of several areas in south-western Asia Minor happens to record dramatic scenes which are not exclusive to the 3rd century AD. For the aims of this thesis, such vivid testimonies have rather been used to highlight the stability of channels of communication which assured the legitimacy of the system of imperial petitions and responses from the reign of Septimius Severus until, at least, the death of Philip the Arab.

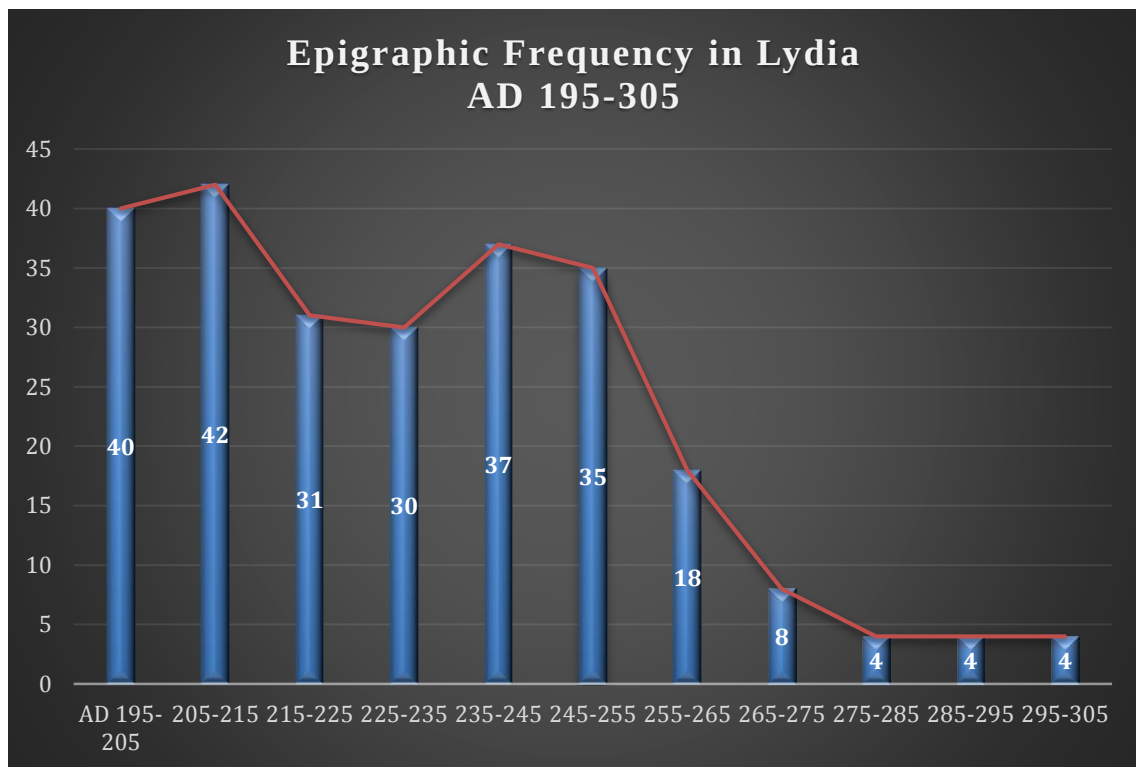
The final chapter IV was introduced by the traces of civic life that can be observed in the acts of those Christian martyrs refusing to comply with Decius' edict. These problematic stories contained several elements such as characters, procedures and vocabulary that resembled very closely the local and imperial structures described in chapter II and III. The epigraphic evidence dating to the 250s does not suggest a major rupture either. However, the number of surviving testimonies deriving from this continuity was not similar. The stagnation of epigraphic production also coincided with a decrease in the number of cities which minted their own bronze coinage, especially in western Asia Minor. The extreme difficulties faced by the Roman Empire in the 260s even affected places such as Aphrodisias, which had previously managed to commemorate with inscriptions its exceptional role in the establishment

of the new province of Phrygia and Caria. The Anatolian peninsula suffered for the first time in the imperial period the direct attacks of foreign threats which caused a profound disruption of its civic life. Local mints eventually stopped their production and the extremely limited inscriptions available record episodes of resilience mostly surviving from rural lands. The topography of southern Anatolia, by contrast, managed to cope better with these threats and the distinctive development of its cities in the mid-3rd century became even more visible under Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian and Tacitus, especially in the *metropolis* Perge. Nonetheless, the singularity of this region ended up being interrupted by the same problems that forced M. Aur. Kiliortes to defend his territory in Termessos during the reign of Probus.

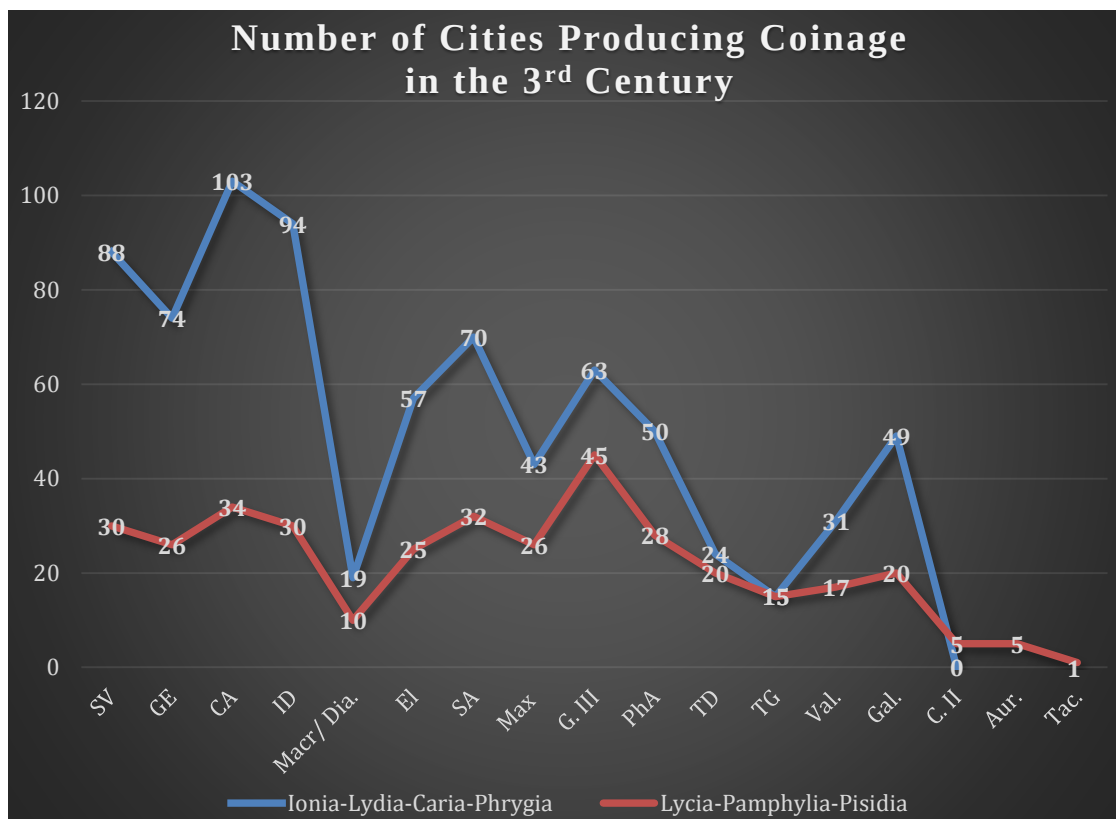
I hope to have demonstrated that the first three quarters of the 3rd century AD in south-western Asia Minor can be studied synchronically using local evidence. This evidence had previously been approached from a historiographical tradition dominated by the concept of ‘decline and crisis’. Other thematic studies of the inscriptions of this region, on the other hand, have always tried to provide an excessively long chronological framework, which diminished the necessary examination of regional circumstances, families, continuities and changes in detail. This thesis intends to fill this scholarly gap and enhance, as a result, the importance of this fundamental period in the history of the Roman Empire. Despite the limitations dictated by the constraints of both epigraphic practice and doctoral research, I hope that my work encourages the reconsideration of other regions in which an analogous analysis can be conducted.²⁶² Meanwhile, *saxa locuta sunt!*

²⁶² For example, this thesis has not focused on the settlements of northern and eastern Turkey, where substantial evidence attesting civic life and diplomatic activities is also available. The same reality is also found in other regions beyond the Anatolian peninsula such as the Balkans or the Levant in which synchronic studies of their 3rd century inscriptions are lacking.

APPENDIX 1



APPENDIX 2



I. EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS OF MM. AURELII BEFORE THE CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA
WHOSE DATES CAN APPROXIMATELY BE ESTABLISHED

	NAME	INSCRIPTION NO.	PLACE	DATE	REASONS FOR DATING	COMMENTS
1	(M.) Aur. Athenaius	TAM II.955, 957 <i>I.Eph.</i> 3057	Thyateira	After 212 (* from 180)	The inscriptions from Thyateira recording the existence of (M.) Aurelius Athenaius can be dated after AD 212 according to prosopography. However, this <i>rhetor</i> seems to be already attested as magistrate on local coins under Commodus	<i>BMC Lydia</i> p.306 no.82-83. [cf. Puech (2002) 153-154 and Bennett (2011) 150-151].
2	M. Aur. Demonstratus Damas	<i>I.Sardis</i> 79	Sardis	After 211 (* from 194)	The inscription includes a reference to the emperor Caracalla and his deceased father. Yet, M. Aur. Demonstratos Damas already appears as president of the <i>xystos</i> in a papyrus dating to 194	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1178 [cf. Strasser (2003)]
3	Marcus Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 3022	Ephesus	c. AD 25/26	Proconsul of Asia	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1488 [cf. Pflaum (1940) 268-273]
4	M. Aur. Menemachus	<i>I. Eph.</i> 47, 293, 1075	Ephesus	Before 193?	Reference to the emperor Commodus erased?	
5	Marcus Aurelius Antonius Ateimetos	<i>I.Eph.</i> 502	Ephesus	Late 2 nd century	P. Vedius Antoninus (Papianus Antoninus) is <i>prytanis</i> and C. Flavius Aptus <i>alytarch</i>	
6	M. Aur. Her[mog]lenes	<i>SEG</i> 32.1149	Kome of Mandragoreis (Magnesia ad Meandrum)	209	Consular date	One of the seven Roman citizens signing the petition of market rights [cf. Nollé (1982) 54-55]
7	M. Aur. Tatianus	<i>SEG</i> 32.1149	Kome of Mandragoreis	209	Consular date	<i>Idem</i>
8	M. Aur. Mindius Mattidianus	<i>ILS</i> 8858 <i>I.Eph.</i> 627 <i>I.Eph.</i> 3056	Halicarnassus Ephesus Ephesus	After 180	Imperial procurator under Commodus	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1559
9	Marcus Aurelius Iulianus	<i>I.Smyrna</i> 639	Smyrna	Before 212/3?	The treasurers Menophilos and Aphrodisios follow the pattern of Greek nomenclature	
10	M. Aurelius Aristodemus	TAM II.176	Sidyma	After 185	List of the first members of the <i>gerousia</i> of Sidyma established under Commodus with the approval of the governor Pomponius Bassus	The only <i>Aurelius</i> among the <i>bouletai</i> who constituted that first <i>gerousia</i>

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	NAME	INSCRIPTION NO.	PLACE	DATE	REASONS FOR DATING	COMMENTS
1	M. Aur. Diadochus	TAM V.2.950, 951, 952	Thyateira	217-235	The emperor Severus Alexander gives permission to organise gladiatorial shows both at Pergamon and Thyateira. M. Aur. Diadochus is also attested as <i>strategos</i> on coins of Macrinus and Diadumenian	<i>BMC Lydia</i> p. CXXIV-CXXV [cf. TAM V.2.951-952 and Bennett (2011) 150-151].
2	M. Aur. Moschianus II	TAM V.2.952	Thyateira	After 217/8	Prosopography	Father of M. Aur. Diadochus
3	M. Aur. Priscillianus Saturninus	TAM V.2.957	Thyateira	Second quarter 3 rd c.	Prosopography. Grandson of M. Aur. Athenaius	
4	M. Aur. Bassus	TAM V.2.985	Thyateira	c. 220	Prosopography (M. Gn. Licinius Rufinus)	Millar (1999) 90-108
5	M. Aur. Menogenes II	TAM V.2.1272	Hierocaesarea	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
6	M. Aur. Manilius Alexander	TAM V.3.1494	Philadelphia	229/230	Date according to local era (Actian)	
7	M. Aur. Diodorus II	TAM V.3.1495	Philadelphia	c. 229/230	Prosopography. (M. Aur.) Manilius Alexander is mentioned	Petzl (2007) 83-84
8	M. Aur. Artemon II	TAM V.3.1497, 1498, 1499, 1500	Philadelphia	Mid-3 rd c.	Prosopography (connection with L. Pescennius Gessius)	<i>I.Smyrna</i> 635
9	M. Aur. Artemon (I)	TAM V.3.1499	Philadelphia	Mid-3 rd c.	Prosopography	Father of M. Aur. Artemon II
10	M. Aur. Pius Socrates	TAM V.3.1511	Philadelphia	253-260	Attested on local coins of Daldis under Gallienus	Robert (1934) 54-58
11	M. Aur. Anventus (Adventus?)	SEG 57.1230	Şehitlioğlu (north of Thermai Theseos)	11 th July 213	Date according to local era (Sullan)	
12	M. Aur. Artemidorus IV	<i>I.Eph.</i> 3247	Cayster Valley (near modern Tire)	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
13	M. Aur. Menander	<i>I.Eph.</i> 3855	Katoikia of Ideiphytenoi	213/4	Date according to local era (Caesarean) and dedication to Caracalla	
14	M. Aur. Daphnus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 616	Ephesus	217-218	Appius Alexander, procurator of Macrinus and Diadumenian.	

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15	M. Aur. Herculanus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 625	Ephesus	215-222	Ephesus <i>neokoros</i> for the 4 th time	Burrell (2004) 76-78
16	M. Aur. Statilius	<i>I.Eph.</i> 625	Ephesus	215-222	Ephesus <i>neokoros</i> for the 4 th time	Burrell (2004) 76-78
17	M. Aur. Septimius Marinus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 629	Ephesus	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
18	M. Aur. ?	<i>I.Eph.</i> 629	Ephesus	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
19	M. Aur. Tryphon	<i>I.Eph.</i> 971	Ephesus	216/217	The consuls Catus Sabinus and Cornelius Anullinus appear.	
20	M. Aur. Parnassus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 972	Ephesus	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
21	M. Aur. Asclepiades (son of Parnassos)	<i>I.Eph.</i> 972	Ephesus	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
22	M. Aur. Caius II	<i>I.Eph.</i> 972	Ephesus	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
23	M. Aur. Metrodorus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 991, 300, 1106a, 3058	Ephesus	After 212/3	Prosopography (Ephesus <i>neokoros</i> for the 3 rd time, honours for Caracalla)	Burrell (2004) 70-76
24	M. Aur. Asclepiades (Ephesian, Elian, Athenian)	<i>I.Eph.</i> 1112	Ephesus	c. 225	Festival (Mariana from Marius Septimius Marius)	
25	M. Aur. Chresimus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 1113	Ephesus	c. 225	Festival (Mariana from Marius Septimius Marius)	
26	M. Aur. Dionysicles	<i>I.Eph.</i> 1577	Ephesus	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
27	M. Aur. Hephestion	<i>I.Eph.</i> 3011	Ephesus	After 212/3	Series of <i>agoranomoi</i> inscriptions	
28	M. Aur. Eutyches	<i>I.Eph.</i> 3012	Ephesus	After 212/3	Series of <i>agoranomoi</i> inscriptions	
29	M. Aur. Artemidorus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 3058	Ephesus	Mid-3 rd century	Prosopography. Appearance of M. Aur. Metrodorus	
30	M. Aur. Artemidorus Metronianus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 3071	Ephesus	After c. 233	Epinician games for either Severus Alexander or Maximinus Thrax	Perhaps the same man attested in <i>I.Eph.</i> 3058
31	M. Aur. Halophorus	<i>I.Eph.</i> 3088	Ephesus	Mid 240s	Honorary inscription for the proconsul L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus	
32	M. Aur. Menophilus II	<i>SEG</i> 60.1161	Ephesus	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	cf. Rici (2010b)
33	M. Aur. Antiochus	<i>SEG</i> 60.1161	Ephesus	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>)	

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					<i>Aurelii</i>	
34	M. Aur. Alexander II	SEG 60.1161	Ephesus	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
35	M. Aur. Livius	I.Smyrna 790	Smyrna	After 212/3	Group of inscriptions on weights of <i>agoranomoi</i>	
36	M. Aur. Herasonos?	I.Smyrna 791	Smyrna	After 212/3	Group of inscriptions on weights of <i>agoranomoi</i>	
37	M. Aur. onus	I.Smyrna 791	Smyrna	After 212/3	Group of inscriptions on weights of <i>agoranomoi</i>	
38	M. Aur. Metiochus	I.Smyrna 792	Smyrna	After 212/3	Group of inscriptions on weights of <i>agoranomoi</i>	
39	M. Aur. Ofelius	I.Didyma 156	Didyma	After 249/250	Honorific inscription for (Aurelius) Appius Sabinus	PIR ² A 1455.
40	M. Aur. Apemantus	I.Didyma 315	Didyma	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
41	M. Aur. Biblianus	I.Didyma 315	Didyma	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
42	M. Aur. Apollonius	I.Mylasa 522	Mylasa	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
43	M. Aur. Alexander	I.Mylasa 522	Mylasa	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
44	M. Aur. Axiotimus	I.Mylasa 522	Mylasa	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
45	M. Aur. Polites II	I.Keramos 33	Keramos	249/252	Honours for the <i>caesar</i> C. Valens Hostilianus (son of Trajan Decius)	
46	M. Aur. Isocrates III	SEG 41.940a	Keramos	249-251	Milestone recording Clodius Celsinus governor of Phrygia-Caria	
47	M. Aur. Diogenes	SEG 41.940b	Keramos	255	Milestone recording him as governor in the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus	
48	M. Aur. Apollocles	SEG 41.940b	Keramos	255	Milestone recording him as governor and the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus when they were consuls for the third and second time respectively	

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49	M. Aur. Epagathus	<i>I.Tralleis</i> 55	Tralles	Mid 240s	Honorific inscription for (L.Egnatius Victor) Lollianus	
50	M. Aur. Chariton	<i>I.Tralleis</i> 55	Tralles	Mid 240s	Honorific inscription for (L.Egnatius Victor) Lollianus	
51	M. Aur. Euarestos	<i>I.Tralleis</i> 66	Tralles	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
52	M. Aur. Onesimus	<i>I.Tralleis</i> 69	Tralles	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
53	M. Aur. Letois	<i>I.Tralleis</i> 90	Tralles	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
54	M. Aur. Trophimus	<i>I.Tralleis</i> 90	Tralles	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
55	M. Aur. Soter	<i>I.Tralleis</i> 141	Tralles	c. 220	Sequence of festival and prosopography	
56	M. Aur. Hermolaus	Robert–Robert (1954) no.149	Apollonia Salbake	214-216	Letter of Caracalla to the people and council concerning the passage of troops	
57	M. Aur. Attalus	Robert–Robert (1954) no.92.b	Herakleia Salbake	225	Date according to local era	
58	M. Aur. Apelles	<i>MAMA</i> VI.73	Attouda	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
59	M. Aur. Tychicus	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
60	M. Aur. Soterichus	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
61	M. Aur. Daphnus II	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
62	M. Aur. Epaphroditus	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
63	M. Aur. Antiochus	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
64	M. Aur. Tatianus	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
65	M. Aur. Tr....	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	

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66	M. Aur. Charitinus	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
67	M. Aur. ?	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
68	M. Aur. Demetrius	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
69	M. Aur. Hermes	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
70	M. Aur. Zoticus (son of Eutychion)	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
71	M. Aur. Zoticus (son of Valerius)	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
72	M. Aur. Eupompus	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
73	M. Aur. Dia....	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
74	M. Aur. Posidonius	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
75	M. Aur. Ama....	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 119	Magnesia ad Meandrum	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
76	M. Aur. Stratonicus	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 197	Magnesia ad Meandrum	212/217	Statue base of the emperor Caracalla	
77	M. Aur. Theophiletus	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 197	Magnesia ad Meandrum	212/217	Statue base of the emperor Caracalla	
78	M. Aur. Daphnus	<i>SEG</i> 43.718	Iasos	After 209-211	Former high-priest of 3 <i>Augusti</i>	
79	M. Aur. Arrianus	<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> 311	Panamara	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
80	M. Aur. Demetrius II	<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> 446, 449	Panamara	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
81	M. Aur. Meneclis	<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> 456	Panamara	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
82	M. Aur. Antiochus	<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> 1528	Stratonicea	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	

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83	M. Aur. Apollonius Ammianus Daphnus	<i>I.Hierapolis</i> 34	Hierapolis	After 213	The people of Hierapolis appears as <i>neokoros</i>	Ritti (2003)
84	M. Aur. Apollonius II	<i>I.Hierapolis</i> 40	Hierapolis	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
85	M. Aur. Ammianus	<i>I.Hierapolis</i> 40	Hierapolis	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
86	M. Aur. Charmus Aurelianus	<i>SEG</i> 33.1137	Hierapolis	222-235	Dedication to Iulia Mamaea	
87	M. Aur. Chresimus	<i>I.Aph.</i> 12.642	Aphrodisias	212-217	Monument of Iulia Domna and Caracalla as sole emperor	
88	M. Aur. Antonius Nicomachus	<i>I.Aph.</i> 12.928	Aphrodisias	c. 250's	Prosopography type of games held in the city	Roueché (1993) no. 62
89	M. Aur. Papias	<i>I.Aph.</i> 12.924, 925, 926	Aphrodisias	c. 250's	Prosopography type of games held in the city	Roueché (1993) 58-60
90	M. Aur. Diogenes	<i>I.Aph.</i> 12.644, 645; <i>SEG</i> 41.940b, 47.1748	Aphrodisias	c. 255	Prosopography and reference to the 3 rd consulship of Valerian and 2 nd of Gallienus in a milestone from Keramos and Philomelion,	
91	M. Aur. Staton	<i>I.Aph.</i> 12.923	Aphrodisias	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
92	M. Aur. us	<i>I.Aph.</i> 12.215	Aphrodisias	After 212/3	Date of the festivals recorded	Roueché (1993) no. 70
93	M. Aur. Apollonius	<i>I.Aph.</i> 13.153	Aphrodisias	After 212/3	Hairstyle	Smith (2008) no. 24
94	M. Aur. Diodorus Callimedes	<i>I.Aph.</i> 13.105	Aphrodisias	After 212/3	Prosopography	
95	M. Aur. Papias	<i>I.Aph.</i> 13.155	Aphrodisias	After 212/3	Hairstyle	Smith (2008) no. 25
96	M. A. Menestheus	<i>I.Aph.</i> 8.115	Aphrodisias	212-217	Building dedication to the emperor Caracalla	
97	M. Aur. Chresimus	<i>I.Aph.</i> 12.641	Aphrodisias	212-217	Honorific inscription for the emperor Caracalla	
98	M. Aur. Zosimus	<i>SEG</i> 37.1186	Takina	213	Rescript of Caracalla and his <i>a libellis</i> M. Ofillius Theodorus	Destephen (2007) 164
99	M. Aur. Torquatus	<i>SEG</i> 37.1186	Takina	213	Rescript of Caracalla and his <i>a libellis</i> M. Ofillius Theodorus	Destephen (2007) 164
100	M. Aur. Zethus	<i>SEG</i> 37.1186	Takina	213	Rescript of Caracalla and his <i>a libellis</i> M. Ofillius Theodorus	Destephen (2007) 164
101	M. Aur. Gemellus	<i>SEG</i> 37.1186	Takina	213	Rescript of Caracalla and his <i>a libellis</i> M. Ofillius Theodorus	Destephen (2007) 164
102	M. Aur. Euplous	<i>SEG</i> 37.1186	Takina	213	Rescript of Caracalla and his <i>a libellis</i> M.	Destephen (2007) 164

II. EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS OF MM. AURELII AFTER THE CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA WHOSE DATES CAN APPROXIMATELY BE ESTABLISHED

					Ofillius Theodorus	
103	M. Aur. T...	SEG 37.1186	Takina	213	Rescript of Caracalla and his <i>a libellis</i> M. Ofillius Theodorus	Destephen (2007) 164.
104	M. Aur. Zenon	MAMA VI.40	Colossae	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
105	M. Aur. Tertullinus	IGR 3.414 + 1494	Olbassa	222-235	<i>Agonothetes</i> of the Severeia Augusteia Capitoleia (Severus Alexander)	Milner (1998) 65
106	M. Aur. Dionysius	SEG 57.1415	Sagalassos	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
107	M. Aur. Capiton	SEG 57.1415	Sagalassos	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
108	M. Aur. Metrodorus	SEG 57.1415	Sagalassos	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
109	M. Aur. Thoantianus	SEG 38.1450	Balboursa	After 212	Activities recognised by the <i>curator</i> of Attaleia and former governor of Macedonia in 212 M. Ulp. Tertullianus Aquila. Prosopography	Milner (1991) 45-46
110	M. Aur. Troilus	SEG 38.1450; Kokkinia (2008b) 33, 34	Boubon	After 212	<i>Lykiarch</i> proposing the honours for M. Aur. Thoantianus	
111	M. Aur. Hermaius II	Kokkinia (2008b) 33	Boubon	After 212/3	Appearance of the <i>lykiarch</i> M. Aur. Troilus and other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
112	M. Aur. Artemon III	Kokkinia (2008b) 34	Boubon	After 212/3	Appearance of the <i>lykiarch</i> M. Aur. Troilus and other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
113	M. Aur. Diogenes Hermaius	SEG 44.1166	Oinoanda	238-244	Title and sequence of the festival Euaresteia	Hall–Milner (1994) 26-30
114	M. Aur. Aphrodisius	SEG 44.1168	Oinoanda	222-235	Title and sequence of the festival Euaresteia	Milner (1994) 26-30
115	M. Aur. Demetrius	SEG 44.1170	Oinoanda	222-235	Title and sequence of the festival Euaresteia	Milner (1994) 26-30
116	M. Aur. Toalis	SEG 44.1171	Oinoanda	222-235	Title and sequence of the festival Euaresteia	Milner (1994) 26-30
117	M. Aur. Craterus	SEG 44.1177	Oinoanda	222-235	Title and sequence of the festival Euaresteia	Milner (1994) 26-30
118	M. Aur. Ammianus	SEG 44.1179	Oinoanda	235-238	Title and sequence of the festival Euaresteia	Milner (1994) 26-30
119	M. Aur. Onesiphorus	SEG 44.1183, 1199	Oinoanda	c. 260 A.D.	Sequence of the festival Demostheneia	Milner (1994) 31
120	M. Aur. Antimachus,	SEG 44.1183, 1184	Oinoanda	c. 260 A.D.	Sequence of the festival Demostheneia	Milner (1994) 31
121	Mar. Aur. Artemon II	SEG 44.1186, 1187	Oinoanda	c. 240-250	Prosopography	Milner (1994) 34

II. EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS OF MM. AURELII AFTER THE CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA WHOSE DATES CAN APPROXIMATELY BE ESTABLISHED

122	Marcia Aurelia Polycleia	SEG 44.1187	Oinoanda	c. 240-250	Prosopography	Milner (1994) 34-35
123	M. Aur. Orthagorianus	SEG 44.1197	Oinoanda	222-235	Title and sequence of the festival Meleagreia	Milner (1994) 41
124	M. Aur. Nanerianus Molesis	<i>I.Pisid.Cen.</i> 110	Ariassos	213/14	Date according to local era (Apamean). Honours for Caracalla	
125	M. Aur. Silanus Hoplon	<i>I.Pisid.Cen.</i> 110	Ariassos	213/14	Date according to local era (Apamean). Honours for Caracalla	
126	M. Aur. Condianus Diotimus	<i>I.Pisid.Cen.</i> 116	Ariassos	238/9	Date according to local era (Apamean)	
127	M. Aur. Quintilianus	<i>I.Pisid.Cen.</i> 128	Ariassos	264/5	Date according to local era (Apamean)	
128	M. Aur. Abas	IGR III.370	Adada	After 231	Participation in the epinician games of Ephesus and the Lacedemonian Commodeian Olympics	Spawforth (1986) 328- 329.
129	M. Aur. Xen...	Sterrett (1884-5) 299,420	Adada	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
130	M. Aur. Obrimianus Conon	Bean-Mitford (1970) no.21	Kasai	After 238	Ambassador of the city under Severus Alexander. Organiser of games under Gordian III	
131	M. Aur. Menon	<i>I.Selge</i> 49	Selge	After 212/3	Prosopography (Valeria Briseida)	
132	M. Aur. Tlepolemus	<i>I.Selge</i> 51, 52	Selge	After 212/13	Sequence of games in which all contestants and organisers are non-related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i> and Pre-CA Roman citizens.	
133	M. Aur. Memnonianus Tlepol...	<i>I.Selge</i> 54	Selge	After 212/13	Appearance of other non-family related (<i>M.</i>) <i>Aurelii</i>	
134	M. Aur. I...nus Seleucus	<i>I.Side</i> 134	Side	251-260	Pythian games under Trebonianus Gallus or Valerian	
135	M. Aur. Seleucianus Seleucus IV	<i>I.Side</i> 134	Side	251-260	Pythian games under Trebonianus Gallus or Valerian	
136	M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Platon	TAM III.21, 49, 50, 57, 58, 121, 123	Termessos	Soon after 212/3	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
137	M. Aur. Oples Platon	TAM III.25	Termessos	After 212/3	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
138	M. Aur. Padamurianus Oples	TAM III.104, 141, 142, 158, 163, 179; SEG 57.1482	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	

II. EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS OF MM. AURELII AFTER THE CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA WHOSE DATES CAN APPROXIMATELY BE ESTABLISHED

139	M. Aur. Diotimus (son of Konon)	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
140	M. Aur. Conon	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
141	M. Aur. Moles (son of Moles)	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
142	M. Aur. Antyllianus	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
143	M. Aur. Trophimus III	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
144	M. Aur. Theodorus (son of Attalianos)	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
145	M. Aur. Agathemerus	TAM III.104; SEG 57.1473	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
146	M. Aur. Phobianus	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
147	M. Aur. Trocondas (son of Epikrates)	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
148	M. Aur. Hermaius Molesius	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
149	M. Aur. Trocondas (son of Entimos)	TAM III.104	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
150	M. Aur. Platonianus Otanes	TAM III.108, 109, 110, 153, 156	Termessos	c. 223	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
151	M. Aur. Platonianus Pericles	TAM III.815; SEG 57.1440	Termessos	c. 223	Prosopography. List of priests	
152	M. Aur. Theodotus (son of Euelpistos)	TAM III.110	Termessos	c. 223	Prosopography. List of priests	
153	M. Aur. Meidianus Platonianus Varus	TAM III.112, 113, 173, 174, 175, 176	Termessos	c. 220s	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
154	M. Aur. Varianus Pericles	TAM III.118, 180, SEG 57.1464	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
155	M. Aur. Melesandrus II	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
156	M. Aur. Hermolaus	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
157	M. Aur. Valerius	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
158	M. Aur. Alexandreus	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
159	M. Aur. Maximus	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
160	M. Aur. Sosias	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
161	M. Aur. Artemon	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	

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162	M. Aur. Trocondas (son of Sabagas)	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
163	M. Aur. Syriarches II	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
164	M. Aur. Syriarches (son of Iulianus)	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
165	M. Aur. Ptolemaius (son of Demetrianus)	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
166	M. Aur. Ptolemaius (son of Diotomus)	TAM III.118	Termessos	After 233	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i>	
167	M. Aur. Apelles	TAM III.141	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
168	M. Aur. Tiron	TAM III.141	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
169	M. Aur. Hermaius (Theodorus)	TAM III.141	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
170	M. Aur. Artemon (Didymos)	TAM III.142	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
171	M. Aur. Aristonicus	TAM III.142	Termessos	c. 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
172	M. Aur. Periclianus	TAM III.143, 165; SEG 57.1482	Termessos	After 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
173	M. Aur. Asclepiades	TAM III.144	Termessos	c. 217	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
174	M. Aur. Troilus	TAM III.144	Termessos	c. 217	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
175	M. Aur. Moles (son of Pillakos)	TAM III.144, 175, 196	Termessos	c. 217	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
176	M. Aur. Hermaius (son of M. Aur. Apollonius)	TAM III.150	Termessos	c. 257	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
177	M. Aur. Musaius	TAM III.150	Termessos	c. 257	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
178	M. Aur. Hermaius (son of Masas)	TAM III.152, 495; SEG 57.1482	Termessos	c. 218	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	

II. EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS OF MM. AURELII AFTER THE CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA WHOSE DATES CAN APPROXIMATELY BE ESTABLISHED

179	M. Aur. Mnesitheus	TAM III.152, 176	Termessos	c. 218	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
180	M. Aur. Hermaius (son of M. Aur. Melesander)	TAM III.153	Termessos	c. 225	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
181	M. Aur. Hermaius (son of M. Aur. Oples)	TAM III.156; SEG 57.1461	Termessos	c. 225	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
182	M. Aur. Hermaiscus (son of Menneos)	TAM III.157, 158	Termessos	c. 219	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
183	M. Aur. Platon II	TAM III.157, 169; SEG 57.1482	Termessos	c. 219	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
184	M. Aur. Thoas (son of M. Aur. Midus)	TAM III.160	Termessos	c. 253	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
185	M. Aur. Artemon (Heracles)	TAM III.160	Termessos	c. 253	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
186	M. Aur. Padamurianus Conon (son of M. Aur. Padamurianus)	TAM III.165	Termessos	After 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
187	M. Aur. Moantianus Melas	TAM III.166	Termessos	After 212/3	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
188	M. Aur. Diotimus (son of Platon)	TAM III.166	Termessos	After 212/3	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
189	M. Aur. Moles (son of M. Aur. Oples)	TAM III.167, 168	Termessos	c. 227	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
190	M. Aur. Hermaios (Theodoros)	TAM III.167	Termessos	c. 227	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
191	M. Aur. Orestianus	TAM III.168; SEG 52.1400, 1463, 57.1465	Termessos	After 212/3	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
192	M. Aur. Mousa? (son of M. Aur. Padamurianus)	TAM III.169	Termessos	After 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
193	M. Aur. Hermaius (son of Publius Aelius Platon)	TAM III.169	Termessos	After 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
194	M. Aur. Theodorus	TAM III.169	Termessos	After 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
195	M. Aur. Artemon (son of	TAM III.169	Termessos	After 231	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and	

II. EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS OF MM. AURELII AFTER THE CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA WHOSE DATES CAN APPROXIMATELY BE ESTABLISHED

	Diogenes)				catalogue of festivals	
196	M. Aur. Strabonianus	TAM III.173, 174	Termessos	c. 215	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
197	M. Aur. Craterus	TAM III.175	Termessos	c. 217	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
198	M. Aur. Moles (son of Pillakos)	TAM III.175	Termessos	c. 217	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
199	M. Aur. Tiberius Opletianus Pancrates	TAM III.178, 179; SEG 57.1441	Termessos	After 229	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
200	M. Aur. Heliodotus II	TAM III.180	Termessos	c. 232	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
201	M. Aur. Lucius Hermaius	TAM III.180	Termessos	c. 232	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
202	M. Aur. Mausonius	SEG 57.1462	Termessos	c. 257	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
203	M. Aur. Otanes	SEG 57.1463	Termessos	After 212/3	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
204	M. Aur. Varus Tiberius	SEG 57.1464	Termessos	c. 226	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
205	M. Aur. Nicephorianus	SEG 57.1482	Termessos	c. 220-230	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
206	M. Aur. Thoas Hermaius	SEG 57.1482	Termessos	c. 220-230	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
207	M. Aur. Masas	SEG 57.1482	Termessos	c. 220-230	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
208	M. Aur. E...	SEG 57.1465	Termessos	After 212/3	Prosopography. List of <i>probouloi</i> and catalogue of festivals	
209	M. Aur. L...	SEG 57.1446	Termessos	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
210	M. Aur. Torquatus	SEG 51.1837; AE 1915.53	Trebenna	Second half 3 rd c.	Identification with the man who honoured the governor Terentius Marcianus under Probus	Jones (2003) 131-133

II. EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS OF MM. AURELII AFTER THE CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA WHOSE DATES CAN APPROXIMATELY BE ESTABLISHED

211	M. Aur. Thaletianus	TAM II.1.23	Telmessos	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
212	M. Aur. Heliodorus	TAM II.1.23	Telmessos	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
213	M. Aur. Eucarpus	TAM II.1.188, 189, 190	Sidyma	After 212/3	Prosopography. Husband of Marcia Aurelia Nemeso, niece of the <i>lykiarch</i> Alkimos III, who is recorded as <i>agonothetes</i> under Caracalla	Reitzenstein (2011) 224-225
214	M. Aur. Eucarpus III	TAM II.1.188, 189, 190	Sidyma	After 212/3	Prosopography. Son of Marcia Aurelia Nemeso, niece of the <i>lykiarch</i> Alkimos III who is recorded as <i>agonothetes</i> under Caracalla	Reitzenstein (2011) 224-225
215	M. Aur. Demosthenes II	SEG 44.1211	Patara	Second quarter 3 rd c.	Prosopography. Grandson of the <i>lykiarch</i> under Septimius Severus Aur. Dionysius II.	Reitzenstein (2011) 223, 250.
216	M. Aur. Dionysius	SEG 44.1211	Patara	Mid-3 rd c.	Prosopography. Son of M. Aur. Demosthenes II and great-great-grandson of Iulius Fronto proconsul of Cyprus in AD 210	Reitzenstein (2011) 223, 250.
217	M. Aur. Dionysius	TAM II.2.572	Tlos	After 244	Honours for the <i>consul ordinarius</i> Tib. Pollenius Armenius Peregrinus	Dionysius was <i>lykiarch</i> and the honours to the <i>consul</i> were decided in the κοινοβούλιον. It might be identical to no.214.
218	M. Aur. Amphion	TAM II.2.586	Tlos	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
219	M. Aur. Pappus	TAM II.2.586	Tlos	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
220	M. Aur. ...archus	TAM II.2.677	Kadyanda	After 212/3	Appearance of other non-family related (M.) <i>Aurelii</i>	
221	M. Aur. Nicostratus	SEG 48.1693	Kyaneai	Second quarter 3 rd c.	Prosopography. Grandson of the <i>lykiarch</i> in AD 206 Neikostratos.	Reitzenstein (2011) 223-224.

III. EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS OF AURELIUS/A BEFORE THE CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA

	NAME	INSCRIPTION NO.	PLACE	DATE	REASONS FOR DATING	COMMENTS
1	Aur. Ctesippus	SEG 49.1676	Sardis	188/9	Petition to the proconsul Arrius Antoninus	See Malay (1999) 122
2	Aurelius Pompeianus	SEG 32.1149	Kome of Mandragoreis (Magnesia ad Meandrum)	209	Consular date	The complete name of the consul is L. Aurelius Commodus Pompeianus [PIR2 P 568]
3	Aur. Antoninus	I.Smyrna 602	Smyrna	198-209	Letter of Septimius Severus and Caracalla granting privileges to the sophist Claudius Rufinus	Aurelius Antoninus was ambassador with Aelius Speratus. Both names seem to be abbreviated
4	Aurelia Melite	I.Smyrna 727	Smyrna	Last quarter of the 2 nd c.?	Reference to a proconsul Aemilius or Aemilianus	High-priestess of Asia
5	Aur. Quartus	I.Eph. 3052	Ephesus	132-210 or 212-214	Reference to the second <i>neokoria</i> of Ephesos	Aurelius Quartus is a <i>kratistos</i> procurator of the 20 th <i>hereditatium</i>
6	Aur. ?	I.Milet. 944	Miletus	After 195	Reference to <i>divus</i> Commodus in the calendar	It is impossible to elucidate with the current information whether the calendar was set up after Commodus' death or under Caracalla [Ehrhardt (1984) 400-401]
7	Aurelia Menek?	GIBM 898 (McCabe no. 43)	Halicarnassus	Before 212/3?	Appearance of <i>Aurelius/a</i> in only one name of the approx. 12 recorded	List of men entering the class of <i>andres</i> . Aurelia Menek? was the priestess
8	Aur. Arimnastus	SEG 57.1367	Hierapolis	206-211	Dedication to Septimius Severus and his family after renovation works in the theatre. Name of the provincial proconsul	Aur. Arimnastus was an imperial procurator
9	Aurelia Briseis	I.Hierapolis 180	Hierapolis	Before 212/3?	Absence of <i>Aurelius</i> in the nomenclature of Aurelia Briseis' husband (Eutychos II Pompeios) who appears in first position	
10	Aurelia Paulina	I.Perge 195, 197	Perge	c. AD 204	Prosopography and building dedication to the emperor Septimius Severus and his family. She was granted Roman citizenship by Commodus	I.Perge 195 (l. 11-12) [τειμηθ]εῖσα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ Κομό[δου πολ]ιτεία Ῥωμαίων

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