# Close-Kin Marriage in Roman Anatolia*

Peter Thonemann, University of Oxford

**Abstract**: Many societies have a normative preference for close-kin marriage of one or another variety. Whether this was true of any part of the Roman world has been hotly debated in recent decades. Earlier scholarship suggests that marriage between close kin may have been considerably more common in some parts of the Roman world (e.g. Egypt) than in others (e.g. the Latin West). This paper assembles the evidence for close-kin marriage throughout the Asia Minor peninsula during the Roman imperial period, and concludes that close-kin marriage – particularly in the form of FBD first-cousin marriage – may have been unusually common and/or normatively desirable in Lykia and neighbouring regions.

## I. The Problem of Roman Endogamy

Early in Dio Chrysostom's *Euboicus*, a creative evocation of rural Euboea in the late first century AD, we meet two poor Euboean huntsmen. These men were the sons of two herdsmen on a large Euboean private estate, who had turned to hunting and small-scale agriculture after the confiscation of the estate by the emperor. The two huntsmen live together in a remote part of rural Euboea, and each is married to the other's sister. At the time that the *Euboicus* is imagined as taking place, the two men are on the brink of contracting a still closer relationship by marriage, since the daughter of one couple is about to marry the son of the other, her cousin two times over. These two young people had apparently lived under the same roof since birth: close-kin marriages do not come much closer than this.[1]

At the other end of the social hierarchy, in the fourth book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, we are introduced to a wealthy Greek family, with urban property and slave-run rural estates, and a daughter of marriageable age. Presented with the choice of two suitors – a rich man from a neighbouring city, and the girl's own first cousin, three years older than her, and reared in the same house – the girl's parents chose to marry her to her cousin. Everyone, except the disappointed suitor, seems to have regarded this as an entirely proper and desirable outcome.[2]

What, if anything, can the historian conclude from these two cases of close-kin marriage in Roman Achaea? The first example is at best fictionalised; the second is unambiguously fictional, and its cultural setting is vaguely "Greco-Roman"

* peter.thonemann@classics.ox.ac.uk. This paper was conceived at Lamledra, presented to seminar audiences in Cambridge and New York (Columbia), and much improved by two anonymous *CCJ* referees. My thanks to all.

[1] Dio *Or.* 7.10; 7.20; 7.65-80. Another daughter was married to a rich man in a nearby village: 7.68. On the "Westermarck effect" (possible negative sexual imprinting against companions of early childhood), two valuable recent surveys are Rantala and Marcinkowska 2011; Scheidel 2013.

[2] Apul. *Met.* 4.26; Treggiari 1991: 118-19; Bradley 2000a.

rather than specifically Achaean.[3] More or less by definition, people like Dio's Euboean huntsmen and their families are usually completely invisible to us, and it takes an optimistic disposition to argue that Dio "must have been" reflecting widespread social realities among the rural poor of the eastern Roman empire. Cousin-marriage may indeed have been common among both the rural poor and land-holding élites of Roman Greece, or it may have been a conventional literary motif for depicting a virtuous and close-knit family. At most, Dio and Apuleius show that cousin-marriage was *imaginable* at all levels of Greco-Roman society; they certainly do not show whether it was at all typical.

For the greater part of the Roman world, our knowledge of family structures and marital preferences is pretty much limited to the evidence provided by inscribed tombstones. Generally speaking, close-kin marriage is far from conspicuous in our epitaphic corpus. An influential study of close-kin marriage in the Roman West concluded that endogamy – at least in the Roman West, and at least among the inscription-producing classes – was rare.[4] A large sample of élite genealogies from the first four centuries AD produced few, if any, examples of close-kin marriage among the Roman senatorial aristocracy. Moreover, a sample of several thousand Latin epitaphs from the western provinces showed only a very small proportion of marriages between people sharing the same gentilician, providing some – admittedly rather fragile – proxy evidence for the relative rarity of close-kin marriage in the Roman West.

Of course, we can point to plenty of specific individual examples of close-kin marriage in epitaphs from the Latin-speaking provinces. The difficulty lies in judging how far we are entitled to generalise from particular cases. In a well-known epitaph from Simitthus in Tunisia, two patrilateral parallel cousins (the children of two brothers) commemorated their happy marriage as the decision of fate and the result of unusually close fraternal affection: "Sulpicius Primus and Sulpicia Faustina were born of two brothers, who were very close; they were happily married, as destiny decided, with Urbica, [Faustina's] mother, lending her voice to destiny". A second text, the tombstone of Faustina's father Sulpicius Faustus, informs us that Faustina was an only child; after her father's death, "her mother raised her, and had great difficulty knowing to which suitor she should marry her; she gave her to a good man, having chosen from several".[5] It is tempting to see this particular cousin-marriage as having been made for good practical reasons (keeping Faustus' property within the family in the absence of a male heir); historians of structuralist inclinations might also wish to see the union as reflecting a traditional preference for endogamy among the Berber societies of North Africa. But we ought also to respect the accent placed by these two texts on specific and contingent sentimental factors: the closeness of the two brothers, the personal wishes of the mother, and the preferences of the married couple themselves. All societies (perhaps all families) have members who make

[3] "Fictive" character of the *Euboicus* narrative: Day 1951; Ma 2000: 108-11. The world of the *Metamorphoses*: Millar 1981; Harrison 2013 (cosmopolitan). Perils of anecdotage: Saller 1980.

[4] Shaw and Saller 1984.

[5] *AE* 1998, 1577–1578; Corbier 2005: 268-79. Compare the self-consciously defensive praise of first-cousin marriage in *SEG* 48, 1849 (Apamene: VI AD), with Feissel 1998.

odd marital choices. Hence single isolated examples of this kind do not get us very far; we certainly cannot use them as a basis for generalisations about "traditional marriage patterns" or "wider kinship structures" in Roman North Africa.

Nonetheless, there is no particular reason to assume that what was true of the Roman senatorial élite or of *bürgerlich* families in the western Roman empire was also true of the peasants or civic aristocrats of Roman Anatolia or Syria. It is abundantly clear that close-kin marriage was characteristic of all levels of society in Roman Egypt, even assuming (as has recently been argued) that Egyptian "brother-sister marriages" were in fact mostly cases of cousin-marriage, with one cousin being adopted by the spouse's parents.[6] Marriage between first cousins seems also to have been quite normal among both élite and sub-élite groups at Roman Palmyra.[7] The notion that a single set of marriage preferences characterised the entire Roman empire from Housesteads to Dura Europos – or even that there was a single characteristic "Greek" marital system throughout the eastern Roman empire – can easily be shown to be false.[8] What we need is evidence for *systematic regional patterns* of close-kin marriage or its avoidance. The aim of this paper is to collect, classify and offer some preliminary analysis of a coherent (and relatively abundant) regional body of evidence for close-kin marriage, drawn from the rich funerary epigraphy of Roman Asia Minor.

## II. Licinnia Flavilla of Oinoanda

In the early years of the third century AD, at the small city of Oinoanda in northern Lykia, a certain Licinnia Flavilla erected a monumental mausoleum to house the tombs of her parents and ancestors. The structure's outer walls carried one of the longest inscriptions known from Roman Asia Minor, a vast genealogy of Flavilla's family, with short biographical notes on dozens of different family members.[9] One whole face of the mausoleum was reserved for the genealogy of Flavilla's great-grandmother, Flavia Platonis of Kibyra, who traced her ancestry back some thirty generations to the mythical foundation of Kibyra by the legendary hero Kleandros of Sparta. Another wall was dedicated to the local Oinoandan genealogy of Flavilla herself, stretching across twelve generations, and encompassing some sixty distinct individuals. A third façade (very poorly preserved) appears to have given an overlapping genealogy, this time focussing on the non-Oinoandan marital connections of Flavilla's family.[10]

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[6] Huebner 2007; Huebner 2013: 155-61, 187-96. For criticism, see Remijsen and Clarysse 2008; Rowlandson and Takahashi 2009.

[7] Smith 2013: 91-5. Close-kin marriage in Roman Mesopotamia: Lee 1988.

[8] Whether the Christianization of the Roman empire led to a homogenization of marital practices between East and West is not a question I can pursue here: e.g. Goody 1983; O'Roark 1996.

[9] I know of no parallels for a genealogical monument on this scale. For much shorter epigraphic genealogies, see *I.Milet* 422 and the analogous examples collected by Chaniotis 1987 (Hierapytna, Kyrene, Chios; also *SEG* 38, 1544, Commagene), none of which are remotely comparable to the inscriptions on Flavilla's mausoleum.

[10] *IGR* III 500 + *SEG* 46, 1709; Jameson 1966: 125-30, with Stemma 1; Hall, Milner and Coulton 1996 (new fragments, and reconstruction of the whole monument). For the extended kin-connections of the family, see MacMullen 1990; Slavich 2003; Reitzenstein 2011.

Here is an extract from the account of Flavilla's immediate ancestors, which gives a good flavour of the whole:[11]

> Trokondas, third of that name, had a son Thoas. The sons of Thoas were Mousaios and Thoas, of whom one was known as Licinnius Mousaios, the other as Marcius Thoas, and both served as Lykiarchs. Mousaios and Ammia, daughter of Kroisos, had two sons, Licinnius Thoas and Licinnius Mousaios, homonymous with his father, as well as a daughter Tation. Marcius Thoas and Marcia Ge, daughter of Marcius Molebes Loubasis,[12] had a son Marcius Flavianus Thoas and a daughter Tation. The son of Marcius Thoas, Flavianus Thoas, died childless, but his daughter Tation married Licinnius Thoas, the son of Licinnius Mousaios, and they had a son Licinnius Maximus. The second Licinnius Mousaios married Licinnia Kneila[...]ra, the daughter of Licinnius Alexippos of Choma, and their children were Licinnius Longus the Lykiarch and Licinnia Maxima and Licinnius Fronto. The children of Licinnius Thoas and his second wife Flavia Platonis, daughter of Flavius Aristokles of Kibyra, were Mucianus and Flavianus and Flavilla. The daughter of the second Licinnius Mousaios, Licinnia Maxima, married her cousin Maximus, the son of Licinnius Thoas and Tation.

Thanks to this vast, obsessive genealogy, we probably know more about the marital choices of this one extended élite family at Oinoanda than about any other family in the entire Roman world, with the single exception of the Julio-Claudian imperial house. The first thing to strike a reader of the text is the very large number of marriages between close family members. Flavilla herself was married to her mother's step-brother; her father and mother, Licinnius Thoantianus and Licinnia Maxima, were first cousins, the children of two brothers; her paternal grandfather and great-aunt had each married their own first cousins; and so on. In total, of the thirty marriages directly recorded in Flavilla's genealogy, at least eight were marriages between close kin.[13] In fact, the sum total of close-kin marriages in this particular family was probably much larger: several more unions between close relatives can be plausibly inferred on the basis of their personal names.[14]

Closer attention reveals that marriages between kin are not evenly distributed across all the various branches of the Licinnian family tree, but seem to have been concentrated in particular branches of the family at particular periods. For example, in the mid-first century AD, as described in the extract quoted above, a certain Licinnius Thoas married his father's brother's daughter (Fig. 1). Of Thoas' own four children, Licinnius Maximus married her father's brother's daughter, and Licinnia Flavilla (grandmother of the builder of the mausoleum)

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[11] *IGR* III 500, Col. II 1-47.

[12] [θ]υγατρὸς Μαρκίου Μο[λε]βουλουβασιος (*IGR* III 500); Zgusta 1964: 328 §948 ("Sicher zu teilen"); Milner and Mitchell 1995: 100 (*SEG* 45, 1821 and 1823, Oinoanda).

[13] Close-kin marriages (cf. Jameson 1966: Stemma 1): (**i**) Licinnius Thoas (5) = Licinnia Tation (9). (**ii**) Licinnius Maximus (10) = Licinnia Maxima (12). (**iii**) Licinnius Fronto (13) = Licinnia Flavilla (16). (**iv**) Licinnius Thoantianus (37) = Licinnia Maxima (35). (**v**) Licinnia Flavilla (38) = Aelius Aristodemos. (**vi**) Licinnius Fronto (54) = descendant of Flavianus (15) (*SEG* 46, 1709 I). (**vii**) Claudius [--] (51) = Mettia Androbiana. (**viii**) Flavianus Diogenes (48) = Claudia Androbiana (52). Nos. (**i–iv**) are marriages between patrilateral parallel cousins; No. (**vii**) is a marriage between matrilateral cross-cousins; No. (**v**) is a marriage between a step-uncle and step-niece; No. (**viii**) and (apparently) No. (**vi**) are marriages between second cousins.

[14] E.g. Licinnius Longus' marriage to a certain Aelia Licinnia Longilla (*IGR* III 500, Col. III 50-3).

married her father's brother's son: in effect a case of "daughter-swapping" between two brothers. The next generation down, the son of one of these couples went on to marry his own father's brother's daughter. Across three generations, we find four examples of exactly the same type of marriage, between a man and his father's brother's daughter – a type known to the anthropologists as patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage, or FBD (father's brother's daughter) marriage. This recurring pattern can hardly be a coincidence. In the first century AD, the Oinoandan Licinnii seem to have gone through a phase of favouring a particular kind of close-kin marriage for their sons and daughters ("in this family, we marry our cousins").

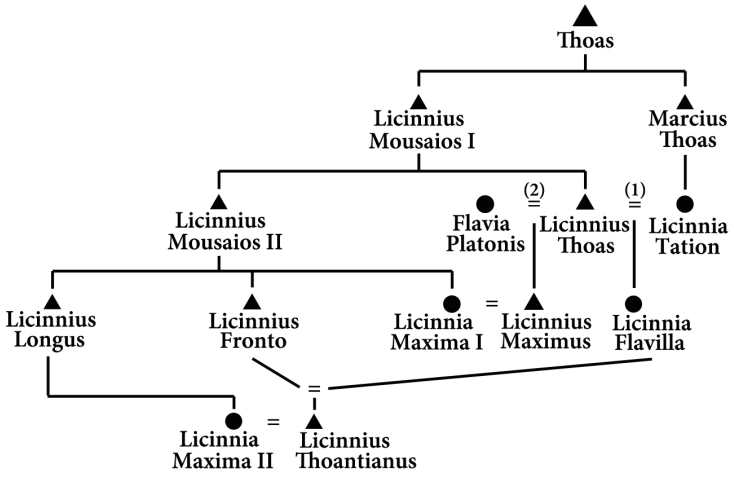


*Figure 1. Some close-kin marriages among the Oinoandan Licinnii.*

That is not to say that cousin-marriage was the only possible option for family-members in this period. Some time after his original marriage to his cousin, Licinnius Thoas went on to marry a second wife from a different city altogether, Flavia Platonis, who belonged to one of the richest families of nearby Kibyra. Licinnius Thoas' brother, Licinnius Mousaios, married a woman from the Lykian city of Choma, and his niece and daughter-in-law, Licinnia Maxima (also originally married to her cousin), took as her second husband a certain Iulius Antoninus, a member of the most prominent élite family of Oinoanda.[15] It is tempting to think of the Oinoandan Licinnii as oscillating opportunistically between endogamy and exogamy. The two acceptable faces of Licinnian matrimony were marriage to a first cousin and marriage to a rich neighbour; certain family members even experienced both.[16]

The sheer length of Flavilla's genealogical inscription – unparalleled anywhere in the Roman world – is an indication of how seriously this family took its marital choices. One of the main purposes of the inscription is to commemorate a long history of "good" marriages, both to close family members and to members of other local élite households.[17] For the Licinnii of Oinoanda, endogamy was not

[15] C. Iulii of Oinoanda: Wörrle 1988: 55-76; Milner and Mitchell 1995. The Licinnii eventually developed marital links with the civic élites of Kibyra, Balboura, Xanthos, Choma, and Patara.

[16] Reitzenstein 2011: 65. For oscillation of this kind ("centripetal" and "centrifugal" tendencies), see Bourdieu 1977: 52-8.

[17] "Genealogical bookkeeping": Van Nijf 2010: 173.

just one among several possible marital strategies. First-cousin marriage was a normative good which, when achieved, was celebrated with particular pride and pleasure. This norm did not exclude out-marriage, since successful exogamy (to a member of another local élite family) was pursued and celebrated with just as much enthusiasm. The point is that we are not dealing with a spectrum of different marital options, but with a dyad: marriage in, or marriage out.

## III. Representing Close-Kin Marriage in Roman Asia Minor

The Licinnii of Oinoanda were, without doubt, profoundly unusual in the obsessive detail in which they chose to advertise their family tree.[18] What is harder to establish is whether they were also peculiar in their marital strategies. From this single monument alone, we cannot tell whether a preference for close-kin marriage on this scale was distinctive to (a) the Licinnii, (b) the inhabitants of Oinoanda, (c) the inhabitants of Roman Lykia, (d) the civic élites of Roman Lykia, (e) the inhabitants of Roman Asia Minor, or any number of other cross-cutting categories.

In fact, epigraphic evidence strongly suggests that marriage between close kin was very widespread among the civic élites of southern Asia Minor (Lykia, Pamphylia, Pisidia), usually between first cousins, but also between uncles and nieces and other relatives.[19] "Very widespread" is probably as close as we can get to quantifying the phenomenon, since for the overwhelming majority of attested marriages, in southern Asia Minor and elsewhere, we have no means of telling whether the couple were close kin or not. The sheer volume of evidence for close-kin marriage does at least indicate that it was an entirely *normal* feature of élite society in the cities of Lykia and neighbouring regions. Nonetheless, as we shall see, southern Asia Minor is not typical of the peninsula as a whole: the evidence for close-kin marriage in western, northern and central Anatolia (Ionia, Lydia, Bithynia, Phrygia) is very scanty by comparison. This need not mean that close-kin marriage was actually more common in Lykia than elsewhere in Asia Minor, only that close-kin marriage is (for several overlapping reasons) more visible in our Lykian evidence than it is elsewhere.

As we would expect, most of our evidence derives from epitaphs, along with a handful of honorific inscriptions. Rather than organising the material geographically or by type of marriage, I have chosen to present it under three broad headings, reflecting the manner in which close-kin marriages are commemorated in our surviving documents. The *first* category consists of epitaphs and honorific inscriptions which explicitly advertise the close kinship of married couples through phrases like "my wife and cousin". Such documents leave no room for doubt about the close-kin status of married couples; I shall call this "marked" consanguinity. The *second* category consists of inscriptions which indicate blood-connections between husbands and wives only indirectly, usually

[18] We should note the distinctively Oinoandan tendency towards epigraphic gigantism: Mitchell 1990: 183.

[19] Although marriages between patrilateral parallel cousins may be more visible in our evidence than other kinds of close-kin marriage: see further below, Section V.

by giving the couple's lineages to the third or fourth generation. In such cases, the close-kin status of married couples can be inferred with reasonable certainty, but is not explicitly "marked"; I will refer to these as cases of "unmarked" consanguinity. The *third* category is made up of inscriptions which do not indicate a kin-relationship between the married couple at all, but where the couple's joint family-tree can be reconstructed with the aid of other documents. I will refer to such cases as instances of "concealed" consanguinity.

*Figure 2. Funerary monument of Killortes and Aristainete of Arykanda.*

We begin with cases where families, like the Oinoandan Licinnii, advertised their consanguineous unions with pride. At Arykanda in eastern Lykia, a lavish funerary monument of the mid-second century AD was erected by a certain "Killortes, son of Pigres, grandson of Killortes, for Aristainete, daughter of Krateros, granddaughter of Killortes, his sweetest wife and cousin (*gynē kai exadelphos*)" (Fig. 2).[20] Had he wished to, Killortes could very easily have concealed his blood-relationship with his wife: if his tomb-inscription had read simply "Killortes, son of Pigres, for Aristainete, daughter of Krateros, his sweetest wife", we would never have guessed that the two were related. Instead, Killortes chose to highlight his twofold relationship with Aristainete in two different ways, both by giving their shared papponym ("grandson/ granddaughter of Killortes") and by calling her his "wife and cousin". Similarly, a third-century sarcophagus from Sidyma in western Lykia was set up by a certain M. Aur. Ptolemaios and M. Aur. Demetria, "the wife and cousin (*synbios kai exadelphos*) of Ptolemaios". Had the words "and cousin" been omitted from the epitaph, we should never have guessed that the couple were already connected

[20] *I.Arykanda* 111. Killortes and Aristainete belonged to one of the wealthiest families at Arykanda: see Zimmermann 2007: 117 (stemma); Reitzenstein 2011: 191.

by blood.[21] At Olympos in eastern Lykia, around the turn of the third century, Hoplon, son of Hoplon, grandson of Diotimos, erected a tomb for himself, his parents, and "Melitine, also known as Aristonoe, daughter of Archepolis, granddaughter of Eukles, his cousin and wife (*exadelphos kai gynē*)"; since Hoplon and Melitine's paternal grandfathers had different names, Hoplon must have married the daughter of one of his mother's siblings.[22] At a somewhat higher social level, at Rhodiapolis in western Lykia, a certain M. Arruntius Demetrios Claudianus set up a posthumous honorific inscription for his wife, a former high-priestess of the imperial cult, who is further described as "his father's cousin" (*hē tou patros autou [exa]delphos kai gynē*), i.e. Claudianus' first cousin once removed.[23]

Another example of "marked" close-kin marriage at the very highest level of the social hierarchy comes from the city of Xanthos in western Lykia. In the early second century AD, one of the wealthiest families of Roman Lykia, the Arruntii of Xanthos, erected a huge *exedra* at the Xanthian Letöon, adorned with statues of numerous family members with associated honorific inscriptions. One of these inscriptions honours a certain M. Arruntius Teithonos, "father of Arruntia Hegetoris, the late wife and cousin (*gynē kai anepsia*) of Arruntius". Thanks to other inscriptions from the Letöon *exedra*, the family's genealogy can be reconstructed with certainty: Arruntia Hegetoris was married to her father's brother's son, M. Arruntius Claudianus, the first Lykian senator.[24] At a slightly lower social level, in the mid-second century AD, a wealthy aristocrat from Karian Stratonikeia by the name of Myonides Damylas held several major priestly offices along with Tryphaina Damyla, "his cousin and wife (*anepsia kai gynē*)". The couple's twin status as spouses and patrilateral parallel cousins was proudly recorded in two separate honorific texts, one in prose, the other in verse.[25]

Consanguineous marriage could also be "marked" in a slightly different manner, by indicating the multiple connections of an older relative to the married couple. So for instance at Apollonia by Pisidia, a member of the city's wealthiest family, Alexandros son of Olympichos, describes his father's brother on a private honorific monument as "his uncle and father-in-law", implying that Alexandros

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[21] *TAM* II 224 (third century AD). *TAM* II 223 records the burial of M. Aur. Demetrios, son of Hippokrates, "son of Demetria, and *exadelphos* of Ptolemaios". Hippokrates was evidently an earlier husband of Demetria; *exadelphos* must therefore here carry the sense of "cousin once removed" (*sc.* and step-son).

[22] *SEG* 41, 1387 (Olympos). Note that Hoplon was a citizen of Olympos alone, while Melitine was a citizen of both Olympos and Gagai.

[23] *SEG* 56, 1786 (date uncertain). The restoration [ἐξά]δ̣ελφον is certain.

[24] Balland 1981: 149, no. 58. Balland's reconstruction of the family (p.152) should be modified in the light of Cavalier 2011: 355 Fig. 6.2 (*SEG* 61, 1263): Arruntia Oindeme's husband was called M. Arruntius Apollonides, and (pace Balland 1981: 153) Arruntia Oindeme and M. Arruntius Teithonos were not cousins. Balland 1981: 251-6 postulates another first-cousin marriage at Xanthos, on very fragile grounds; in no. 80, line 3, where Balland restores [ἀνεψ]ιάν, we could equally well have [ἀρχιέρε]ιαν or [τετελευτηκυ]ῖαν.

[25] *I.Stratonikeia* 257a: ἡ ἀνεψιά… καὶ γυνή (with stemma p.126); *I.Stratonikeia* 541 (*SGO* I 02/06/06): πατροκασιγνήτην ἄλοχον σεμνήν τε. Cf. *I.Stratonikeia* 255 and 256, which do not indicate the couple's consanguinity.

had married his patrilateral parallel cousin.[26] At a significantly more modest social level, a villager from the eastern part of the territory of Amorion, on the western fringe of the Anatolian plateau, commemorated his "paternal uncle (*patrōs*) and father-in-law", showing that he too had married his father's brother's daughter.[27] The uncle's perspective appears in a fragmentary epitaph from Amastris in Paphlagonia, erected by a man for his "nephew and son-in-law".[28] Finally, another example of cousin-marriage among the civic élite of Karian Stratonikeia emerges from an honorific inscription for a priestly couple and their immediate relatives, in which a man is described as "uncle of the priest and priestess".[29]

A lengthy Christian verse epitaph of the early fourth century AD, from the upper Tembris valley in northern Phrygia, stands in a class of its own. The author of the epitaph, Akakios, had only a single child, a daughter Loukilla; after his wife's death, "he gave her to a husband (*anēr*), her cousin (*anepsios*) Trophimos, in the hope of being tended for in his old age". In fact, Loukilla died childless within eighteen months, leaving Akakios without descendants. This is a very rare case where we are given an indication of the intended social function of a close-kin marriage: by retaining his sole daughter within his lineage, Akakios was hoping to ensure that he would be looked after in his old age. (He may also have been motivated by practical reasons of inheritance, but if so, there is no indication of it in his epitaph.)[30]

"Marked" phrases like "wife and cousin" or "uncle and father-in-law" leave no room for doubt about a couple's close-kin status. In other cases, the couple's consanguinity was left implicit ("unmarked"), to be inferred from the names of their parents and grandparents. A telling example derives from the city of Patara in western Lykia. In the early third century AD, two siblings from the Pataran civic élite both married close relatives. M. Aur. Nemeso, who married her mother's brother, is explicitly described in an honorific inscription from Sidyma as "wife of her uncle (*theios*) M. Aur. Eukarpos, of eternal memory". Around the same time, Nemeso's brother Alkimos also married a close relative, his father's brother's daughter M. Aur. Chrysion. However, in Alkimos and Chrysion's epitaph, the couple's close-kin status is not spelled out explicitly. Instead, the reader is left to infer it from their parentage, which is listed to the fourth generation (him: "Alkimos, son of Dionysos, grandson of Alkimos, second of that name"; her: "Marcia Aurelia Chrysion, also known as Iasonis, daughter of Alkimos, third of that name").[31] The two couples made rather different choices

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[26] *MAMA* IV 160 (early first century AD), with stemma p.49.

[27] *MAMA* VII 269 (Yukarı Ağzıaçık), Ναννας Κλεάρχῳ πάτρῳ καὶ πενθερῷ. The name Ναννας could be either masculine or feminine: Zgusta 1964: 351 §1013-24.

[28] Marek 1993: 164, no. 22 (Amasra), τὸν ἀδε[λ]φιδοῦν καὶ γα[μ]βρόν.

[29] *I.Stratonikeia* 192: [ὁ] θεῖος τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τῆς ἱερείας (with stemma p.76), Ti. Fl. [--], son of Flavius Lainas = Flavia Mamalon (patrilateral parallel cousins).

[30] *SEG* 15, 796 (*SEG* 30, 1484; *SGO* III 16/31/15: upper Tembris valley, exact provenance uncertain).

[31] Nemeso and Eukarpos: *TAM* II 189 (cf. *TAM* II 188 and 190, which do not indicate the couple's consanguinity). Chrysion and Alkimos: Engelmann 2012: 196-8, no. 20. Stemma: Zimmermann 2007: 119. The family's social standing: Reitzenstein 2011: 224-5.

about how to mark their pre-existing kinship links. Nemeso was happy to be known as "wife of her uncle"; Alkimos and Chrysion signalled their status as first cousins only indirectly, through their respective paternal lineages.

The epitaph of Alkimos and Chrysion thus falls into my *second* category, that of "unmarked" consanguinity. At Kotenna in north-east Pamphylia, a woman called Kbaroues is described as "grand-daughter on her mother's side of Stanamoas, son of Setas... grand-daughter on her father's side of Neoptolemos, son of Setas". Kbaroues was evidently the daughter of two cousins, the son and daughter of the brothers Neoptolemos and Stanamoas.[32] At Lykian Isinda and Arneai, and at Tyriaion in the Kabalis, marriages between patrilateral parallel cousins (the children of two brothers) can be plausibly inferred on the basis of homonymous grandfathers in the paternal line.[33] At Olympos in eastern Lykia, a certain Aur. Phidias erected a tomb for himself and his brother Epaphrodeitos, "and for my wife Arete, daughter of Epaphrodeitos"; it is likely enough that Arete was Phidias' niece.[34] In a familial epitaph from Diokleia in central Phrygia, repeating patterns of personal names within the family (Eukles, Rhesimachos, Timotheos) make it clear that the children of two brothers must have married one another.[35] Onomastics also strongly suggest that a rich Aphrodisian aristocrat of the first century AD, Eusebes son of Menandros, married his brother Menandros' daughter.[36] There are several other cases in the funerary epigraphy of Asia Minor where close-kin marriage may be suspected on the basis of onomastic connections between husband and wife, but where the precise character of the relationship between the couple cannot be established with any certainty.[37]

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[32] Bean and Mitford 1970: 30-3, nos. 12–13 (Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 95-7, Göd 1–3); Feld 2005: 108. Van Bremen 1996: 96-7 describes Kbaroues as "probably" the grand-daughter of two brothers; that Neoptolemos and Stanamoas were indeed brothers emerges clearly from Bean and Mitford 1970: no. 12a.

[33] Isinda: Heberdey and Kalinka 1897: 31, no. 37; Pembroke 1965: 231 n.2 (Hermaktas, son of Sarpedon, grandson of Hermaktas = Sembridase, daughter of Hermokrates, grand-daughter of Hermaktas. Arneai: *TAM* II 759 (AD 101/2; cf. *TAM* II 766); Van Bremen 1996: 258; Reitzenstein 2011: 215 (Dioteimos, son of Ouassas, grandson of Dioteimos = Lalla, daughter of Teimarchos, grand-daughter of Dioteimos). Tyriaion: Naour 1980: no. 30 (badly misunderstood by Naour; in line 1, read Ἀρτέμω[ν] Μολεσεος: Artemon, son of Molesis, grandson of Hermaios = Pouas, daughter of Hermaios, grand-daughter of Hermaios).

[34] *TAM* II 1128 (text problematic); cf. Pembroke 1965: 231 n.2 (I cannot see the relevance of *TAM* II 1168).

[35] *MAMA* VI 353 (Ahırhisar), with an implausible stemma; see Thonemann 2013: 136-7. The date of the text is uncertain (probably late Hellenistic or early Imperial).

[36] *IAph2007* 9.1, with Van Bremen 1996: 239-40. Menandros and Eusebes donated the propylon and north portico of the Aphrodisian Sebasteion.

[37] A few examples (not exhaustive): (**1**) *MAMA* VIII 352 (*I.Sultan Dağı* 507, Anaboura), Lucia Valeria Maxima = C. Valerius Eveius; note that Maxima's uncle (θεῖος: perhaps her mother's brother?) was named C. Eveius Eveianus (for the rare gentilician Eveius, see Salomies 2006: 104). (**2**) *SEG* 54, 1313 (Hierapolis), Aurelia Marciana, daughter of Marcianus = M. Aelius Marcianus. (**3**) *SEG* 47, 1825 (*I.Konya* 50: Iconium), a collective grave for two married couples, M. Aelius Sospes = Claudia Kyrilla, and Claudius Sospes Basileus = Aelia Sospitilla. (**4**) *SEG* 58, 1454 (Prusias ad Hypium), Glykon, son of Glykon, grandson of Noukchouros = Chrysion, daughter of Noukchouros (his second marriage). (**5**) *SEG* 57, 1147–1148 (Daldis/Charakipolis), Neikaia = Arkesilaos, son of Asklepiades; Neikaia's maternal and paternal grandfathers were named Arkesilaos and Asklepiades respectively. (**6**) *TAM* V 1, 733 (Gordos), Tatianos, son of Tatianos

Perhaps the two most interesting examples of "unmarked" consanguinity derive from the small city of Sillyon in Pamphylia and from Xanthos in Lykia. At Sillyon, several honorific inscriptions of the second century AD describe the career of a wealthy female civic benefactor called Menodora, daughter of Megakles, and her son, "Megakles (III), (adoptive) son of Megakles (II), natural son of Apollonios (III), grandson of Apollonios (II), great-grandson of Apollonios (I), great-great-grandson of Megakles (I)". Apparently Menodora was the daughter (and perhaps sole child) of Megakles (II). She married her father's brother, Apollonios (III), by whom she had a son, Megakles (III); this boy was then adopted by his own paternal uncle (and maternal grandfather), Megakles (II). This adoption is best explained on the assumption that Megakles (II), like the Christian Akakios in northern Phrygia, would otherwise have been lacking a male heir. He hence married his daughter off to his own brother, and adopted the couple's son (his own grandson and nephew) as his heir.[38] The case is a beautiful illustration of some of the practical benefits of close-kin marriage and adoption in a society practicing patrilineal inheritance. If a man like Megakles (II) happened to have no sons, marrying his daughter to a close kinsman allowed him to transmit his property to his descendants while also retaining it within his own lineage.[39]

Interesting for different reasons is a private honorific inscription from Xanthos, dating to the early first century BC. The honorand is a certain Ptolemaios, a member of the uppermost stratum of Lykian society (he acted as ambassador to Rome on behalf of the Lykian *koinon*).[40] Ptolemaios was married to a woman called Arsinoe, natural daughter of Ptolemaios' brother Aichmon: Arsinoe hence married her father's brother. But, as we learn later in the text, Ptolemaios was not Arsinoe's first husband. Among the family-members who joined in honouring Ptolemaios is a woman called "Erpidasa, daughter of E[uelth]on", who describes Ptolemaios as her "step-father" (*patrōios*).[41] Arsinoe was therefore first married to a certain E[uelth]on, apparently not a kinsman; only after her first husband's death did she marry her father's brother.[42] It is possible that Ptolemaios married his brother's young widow in order to prevent her wealth

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and Polyneike = Polyneike. (**7**) *SEG* 39, 1303 (north-east Lydia), Ammion, daughter of Teimaios = Teimaios.

[38] Van Bremen 1994, on *IGR* III 800–802 and *BE* 1967, 606.

[39] The same priorities are clear in the classical Athenian laws on *epiklēroi*, on which see Patterson 1998: 91-103; Vérilhac and Vial 1998: 101-17.

[40] Baker and Thériault 2005: 351-66 (*SEG* 55, 1502).

[41] Baker and Thériault (2005: 360) mistranslate the term *patrōios* as "paternal uncle", generating chaos in their *stemma* of the family; they further claim that the word only has a single parallel, in *I.Lindos* 300, lines 4-8 (where the sense is not clear from the context). In fact, *patrōios* = "step-father" is perfectly common in the epigraphy of Roman Asia Minor: cf. *TAM* V 1, 786 (Yayakırıldık); *SEG* 56, 1259 (NE Lydia, precise provenance uncertain); *I.Smyrna* 689, III.19 (a man from Thyateira, with a step-father from Tmolos); *TAM* II 130 (Lydai). In the *Basilica*, πατρωός translates the Latin *uitricus*, "step-father": *Bas. Schol.* 45.3.2.4 = *Dig.* 38.10.4.6.

[42] It is worth nothing that Arsinoe, natural daughter of Aichmon, was at some point adopted by a certain Alkimos (*SEG* 55, 1502, line 7). It is tempting to wonder whether Alkimos might have been E[uelth]on's father, and hence that Arsinoe was adopted by her first husband's father upon marriage: at least one analogous case is known from Roman Lykia (*TAM* II 148, from Lydai: see further below).

from being misappropriated by some unsuitable suitor.[43]

In each of these last few cases, the spouses' status as close kin is implicit and "unmarked": they do not indicate their blood relationship with an explicit phrase like "wife and cousin", but leave the reader to infer it from their respective lineages. But if married cousins (say) choose not to record the relevant bits of their genealogy at all, then their kinship is completely invisible, and we can only rely on the chance survival of other evidence to prove the blood connection. At Pisidian Termessos, where the vast number of extant funerary inscriptions (more than a thousand) is a gold-mine for the reconstruction of civic élite genealogies, I have found three "concealed" cases of marriage between patrilateral parallel cousins, and one likely case of marriage between second cousins.[44] Similar instances of "concealed" close-kin marriages – identifiable only with the help of external evidence – are known at Lykian Idebessos (cousin marriage) and Pisidian Adada (one case of cousin marriage and one uncle-niece marriage).[45]

## IV. Sibling Marriage in Roman Lykia

We turn, finally, to one especially problematic category of close-kin marriage in Asia Minor, namely marriage between brothers and sisters, the evidence for which is almost entirely confined to Lykia. I know of three cases of "marked" brother-sister marriage in Lykia, all from Tlos or neighbouring Arsada, and all dating to the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period. So, for example, a funerary monument from Tlos was erected in memory of a certain Androbios son of Leontiskos by (among others) "Teitanis, daughter of Leontiskos, for Androbios, her brother and husband (*adelphos kai anēr*)".[46] There are also a further six "unmarked" cases of sibling marriage, one from Istlada near Myra, one from Bonda near Limyra, three from Olympos in eastern Lykia, and one from Pisye in south-west Karia (Rhodian Peraia); in each case, brother-sister marriage can be plausibly (if not decisively) inferred on the basis of homonymity between the

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[43] An anonymous referee points out the analogy with Apuleius's situation in his *Apology* (Bradley 2000b). Apuleius' wife, a wealthy widow, had had to fight off several unwelcome marital advances from extended kin seeking to retain her wealth within the family.

[44] (**1**) *TAM* III 63, with Stemma G (p. 302) and Heberdey 1929: 90-9: Apollonios (G17) = Ge (G19) (patrilateral parallel cousins). If Strabon (G1) is identical to Strabon (G4), then Apollonios' own father Strabon (G13) would have married his patrilateral parallel cousin once removed (G10, i.e. his father's brother's son's daughter). (**2**) *TAM* III 646+14, with Stemma H (p. 303) and Heberdey 1929: 99-104: Ti. Cl. Agrippinus (H13) = Ti. Cl. Nannelis (H14) (patrilateral parallel cousins). (**3**) *TAM* III 671, with Stemma O (p. 309) and Heberdey 1929: 118-20: M. Aur. Platon (O8) = Aur. Oa (O10) (patrilateral parallel cousins). (**4**) *TAM* III 741+308+668, with stemma at p. 115: M. Aur. Ptolemaios = Oa (apparently second cousins: Oa is Ptolemaios' father's father's brother's son's daughter).

[45] Idebessos: *TAM* II 835+859, with Stemma C (p.303), and Pembroke 1965: 231 n.2: Eukles = Euelthis (patrilateral parallel cousins). Adada: *IGR* III 364/5+377, with Van Bremen 1996: 258: Antiochos, son of Tlamoas = Anna, daughter of Hoplon (patrilateral parallel cousins); Tlamoas, son of Hoplon = Iaie, daughter of Antiochos (maternal uncle and niece). Both couples acted as high-priests of the imperial cult at Adada.

[46] *TAM* II 636 (ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἀνδρί). Also *TAM* II 593 (Tlos: γυναῖκα… καὶ ἀδελφήν); *SEG* 27, 907 (Arsada: ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυ[τ]ῆς ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἀδελφ[ῷ]). Cf. Schuler 2006: 417-18.

husband's and wife's fathers.[47]

Ought we to take these nine cases at face value, as genuine examples of marriage between full or half-siblings?[48] Perhaps so; but it has recently been suggested, with some plausibility, that many (and perhaps all) of these cases are likely to have resulted from the adoption of the husband by the wife's father, and hence were in fact marriages between non-related individuals who became *adoptive* siblings upon marriage. An adoption of precisely this kind is directly attested in a funerary inscription from Lydai in the far west of Lykia, set up by Menodora, daughter of Apollonides, for her husband Theugenes, son of Theramenes, adoptive son of Apollonides.[49] There is, of course, no reason to think that adoptive status was always rigorously recorded in funerary inscriptions.

This hypothesis is attractive, if difficult to prove. Much depends on what we make of the very numerous contemporary cases of sibling marriage in Roman Egypt, the interpretation of which is still very much an open question (adoption at marriage or genuine brother-sister unions?).[50] True sibling marriage may in fact have been more widely practised in the Greek-speaking world than scholars tend to assume. It is notable that we have two cases of full sibling marriage from the Macedonian colony of Dura-Europos in the mid-first century AD, sometimes supposed (for no particularly good reason) to result from Parthian influence on local marital practices.[51] Given the manifold uncertainties still surrounding sibling marriage in the Greek East, it is safest to leave this handful of Lykian and Karian sibling marriages to one side for the time being.

## V. Conclusions

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[47] *SEG* 56, 1745 (Istlada: Platonis, daughter of Philon = Philon, son of Philon, grandson of Hippolochos); *SEG* 54, 1406 (Bonda: Pteunase, daughter of Ermandeimis = Ermandyberis, son of Ermandeimis); *TAM* II 979 (Olympos: Aurelius –is, son of Rhesimachos = Athenais, daughter of Rhesimachos); *TAM* II 1122 (Olympos: Aur. Arteimas, son of Paua = Aurelia Tyche, daughter of Paua); *TAM* II 1166 (Olympos: Nise, daughter of Enteimos = Enteimos, son of Enteimos); Debord and Varinlioğlu 2001: 123-4, no. 16 (Pisye: Chotis, daughter of Agriadas = Leon, son of Agriadas, both Rhodians).

[48] Marriage between full siblings was practised by the Hekatomnid dynasty of Karia in the fourth century BC (Hornblower 1982: 358-63; Carney 2005: 79-83), but only the most sanguine primordialist could suppose that this has any direct bearing on sub-élite marital practices in Karia and Lykia three centuries later. Marriage between half-siblings by the same father was legal in Classical Athens, but seems to have been uncommon (only a handful of examples known): Huebner 2007: 43-4. Marriage between full siblings, half-siblings and adoptive siblings was forbidden under Roman law.

[49] *TAM* II 148, with Huebner 2007: 31. Huebner cites further examples of this practice from rural Galatia (*RECAM* II 303: υἱὸς θετὸς καὶ γαμβρός) and Serrai in Makedonia (*SEG* 30, 596: Διοσκουρίδης Μουκασου, φύσει δὲ Παιβου… ἑαυτῷ καὶ Σουρᾳ Μουκασου συνβίῳ). However, two other alleged Anatolian instances, *MAMA* I 232 and *SEG* 6, 137 (*MAMA* X 169), should be rejected: Thonemann 2013: 134, n.37.

[50] See above, n.6.

[51] *SEG* 2, 820–822 (Dura, AD 32/3–36/7), with Frandsen 2009: 58-9; Andrade 2013: 232. The practice of sibling marriage among the Parthian kings is not in doubt (Rougemont 2012: no. 73), but nor is there any reason to see it as distinctively Parthian: the Ptolemies and Seleukids, the Parthians' chief dynastic peers, also practised royal endogamy.

Including the eight close-kin marriages attested in the genealogy of Licinnia Flavilla, but omitting the nine Lykian and Karian cases of brother-sister marriage, we are left with a total of thirty-seven certain or highly probable cases of close-kin marriage from Roman Asia Minor, spread across the whole period from the first century BC to the fourth century AD.[52] These thirty-seven marriages are tabulated in Fig. 3.[53] I make no grand claims for the statistical significance of this sample. It is, of course, quite impossible to judge what proportion of the *total* number of marriages in Roman Asia Minor (or even of marriages among the uppermost stratum of the civic élite) were marriages between close kin. Nonetheless, compared to (say) the small total numbers of close-kin marriages attested in classical Athens or in late Republican and early imperial Rome, the sheer bulk of evidence from Roman Asia Minor is impressive.[54]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Karia | Stratonikeia | *I.Stratonikeia* 257a, 541 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 2. | Karia | Stratonikeia | *I.Stratonikeia* 192 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 3. | Karia | Aphrodisias | *IAph2007* 9.1 | Paternal uncle/niece |
| 4. | Paphlagonia | Amastris | Marek 1993: 164, no. 22 | Cousins |
| 5. | Phrygia | Appia (?) | *SGO* III 16/31/15 | Cousins |
| 6. | Phrygia | Diokleia | *MAMA* VI 353 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 7. | Phrygia | Amorion | *MAMA* VII 269 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 8. | Phrygia | Apollonia | *MAMA* IV 160 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 9. | Pisidia | Adada | *IGR* III 364/5+377 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 10. | Pisidia | Adada | *IGR* III 364/5+377 | Maternal uncle/niece |
| 11. | Pisidia | Termessos | *TAM* III 63 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 12. | Pisidia | Termessos | *TAM* III 646+14 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 13. | Pisidia | Termessos | *TAM* III 671 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 14. | Pisidia | Termessos | *TAM* III 741+308+668 | Second cousins |
| 15. | Kabalis (Pis.) | Tyriaion | Naour 1980: no. 30 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 16. | Lykia | Oinoanda | *IGR* III 500 (n.13, no. **i**) | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 17. | Lykia | Oinoanda | *IGR* III 500 (n.13, no. **ii**) | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 18. | Lykia | Oinoanda | *IGR* III 500 (n.13, no. **iii**) | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 19. | Lykia | Oinoanda | *IGR* III 500 (n.13, no. **iv**) | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 20. | Lykia | Oinoanda | *IGR* III 500 (n.13, no. **v**) | Step-uncle and step-niece |
| 21. | Lykia | Oinoanda | *IGR* III 500 (n.13, no. **vi**) | Second cousins (?) |
| 22. | Lykia | Oinoanda | *IGR* III 500 (n.13, no. **vii**) | Matrilateral cross-cousins |

[52] The size of the sample is not large enough to permit any judgements about change over time, which would anyway be rendered effectively impossible by the very varied development of the epigraphic habit over time in different parts of Roman Asia Minor.

[53] I also omit the questionable cases (based on onomastics alone) collected in n.37 above. I signal here three further cases that have been mistakenly taken as instances of close-kin marriage. (**1**) Bresson 1991: no. 9 (Kedreai), understood by Bresson as a case of uncle-niece marriage; but if τὸν θεῖον (line 9) means "cousin" not "uncle" (thus W. Blümel, *I.Rhod.Per.* 558), then the evidence for the marital connection disappears. (**2**) *TAM* II 866 (Idebessos), understood by Kalinka (*TAM* II p.302, Stemma B) and Pembroke (1965: 231 n.2) as a case of uncle-niece marriage; but τῷ γανβρῷ (line 5) means "brother-in-law" not "son-in-law". (**3**) Heberdey and Kalinka 1897: p.33, no. 40 (Isinda), understood by Pembroke (1965: 231) as a case of cross-cousin marriage; but γανβρῷ (line 4) means "brother-in-law" not "son-in-law".

[54] Vérilhac and Vial 1998: 124 collect seventeen Athenian cases of close-kin marriage attested in literary sources; see further Thompson 1967; Thompson 1972: 211, n.2; Cox 1997. An up-to-date catalogue is a desideratum. Close-kin marriage is occasionally explicitly commemorated in Athenian honorific monuments of the Hellenistic period: *SEG* 19, 207 (θεῖον κα[ὶ ἄ]νδρα); *I.Délos* 1975 (the same family: ἀνεψιὰν καὶ γυναῖκα), with Dillon 2010: 50.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23. | Lykia | Oinoanda | *IGR* III 500 (n.13, no. **viii**) | Second cousins |
| 24. | Lykia | Xanthos | Balland 1981: no. 58 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 25. | Lykia | Xanthos | *SEG* 55, 1502 | Paternal uncle/niece |
| 26. | Lykia | Sidyma | *TAM* II 224 | Cousins |
| 27. | Lykia | Patara | *TAM* II 189 | Maternal uncle/niece |
| 28. | Lykia | Patara | Engelmann 2012: no. 20 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 29. | Lykia | Isinda | Heberdey and Kalinka 1897: no. 37 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 30. | Lykia | Arneai | *TAM* II 759 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 31. | Lykia | Arykanda | *I.Arykanda* 111 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 32. | Lykia | Idebessos | *TAM* II 835+859 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |
| 33. | Lykia | Rhodiapolis | *SEG* 56, 1786 | First cousins once removed |
| 34. | Lykia | Olympos | *TAM* II 1128 | Paternal uncle/niece |
| 35. | Lykia | Olympos | *SEG* 41, 1387 | Matrilateral cousins |
| 36. | Pamphylia | Sillyon | *IGR* III 800–802 | Paternal uncle/niece |
| 37. | Pamphylia | Kotenna | Bean and Mitford 1970: nos. 12-13 | Patrilateral parallel cousins |

*Figure 3. Close-kin marriages in Roman Anatolia.*

The data fall into some suggestive patterns. We ought first to note the highly differentiated *social distribution* of close-kin marriage. The overwhelming majority of the examples discussed in this paper derive from the uppermost strata of the civic élite; in only a single case, from the territory of Amorion in eastern Phrygia (no. 7 in Fig. 3), can we be sure that we are dealing with a sub-élite and non-urban family.[55] Of course, most of our epigraphic evidence of any genre is the product of wealthy families; absence of evidence for close-kin marriage among rural and non-élite classes is not necessarily evidence of absence. But at the very least, our evidence provides no support for the notion that close-kin marriage was more characteristic of an indigenous substrate than of the Romanized office-holding urban élite. In a society without endogamic marital rules, there is no *a priori* reason to expect that close-kin marriage will tend to be more prevalent at village level than in élite and urban contexts; in early modern England, the opposite seems to have been the case.[56]

More striking still is the highly uneven *geographic distribution* of close-kin marriage in Asia Minor. As Fig. 4 graphically illustrates, epigraphic evidence for close-kin marriage in Roman Asia Minor is heavily concentrated in the far south of the peninsula; more than three-quarters of the relevant documents derive from Lykia and the neighbouring regions of Pisidia and Pamphylia. The evidence for close-kin marriage elsewhere in Asia Minor is exiguous: a single case from Paphlagonia, four examples from widely spaced parts of Phrygia, and three cases among the civic élites of Karian Stratonikeia and Aphrodisias. I have found not a single unambiguous case of close-kin marriage in the voluminous (and

[55] The social level of the family attested in Marek 1993: 164, no. 22 (Amastris, no. 4 in Fig. 3) is unclear. The Christian Akakios, from the upper Tembris valley (no. 5 in Fig. 3), was able to afford an unusually lavish and elegant tombstone (Mitchell 1993: II 106), and was surely a member of the civic élite of Kotiaion or Appia. It is difficult to judge the status of the family commemorated in *MAMA* VI 353 (Diokleia, no. 6 in Fig. 3); this manner of collective commemoration has no clear parallels in the region.

[56] Rarity of kin-marriage in rural parishes in early modern England: Macfarlane 1986: 248-50.

discursive) funerary epigraphy of north-east Lydia;[57] nor have I located any instances in the epigraphy of the old Greek cities of western Asia Minor (Ionia, Aiolis, the Troad). No doubt I have missed some examples, but I should be surprised if the overall geographic distribution were seriously affected.

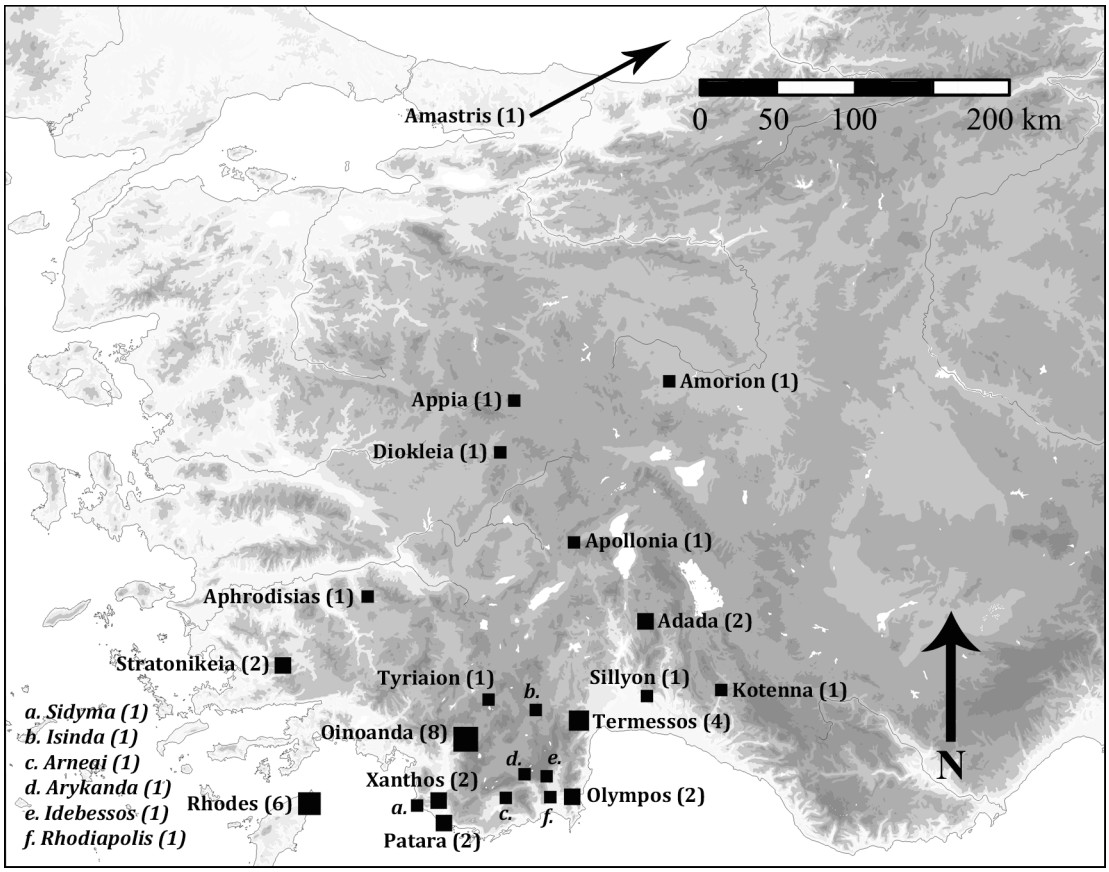


*Figure 4. The geographic distribution of close-kin marriage in Roman Asia Minor.*

How should we account for this concentration of evidence for close-kin marriage among the urban élite of Lykia and adjacent regions? Was close-kin marriage actually more common in southern Anatolia than elsewhere, or are we simply dealing with a distinctively Lykian tendency towards the *public commemoration* of close-kin marriage?[58] I see no way of knowing for sure. It is certainly striking that the one part of the insular Aegean which offers a significant body of evidence for close-kin marriage is the island of Rhodes, which enjoyed intimate cultural contacts with coastal Lykia and Karia throughout antiquity. The abundant late Hellenistic and early imperial funerary epigraphy of Rhodes

[57] The strongest candidate is to be found in *SEG* 57, 1147–1148 (Daldis/Charakipolis: n.37 above), where a woman married a man whose name and patronym were identical to the names of her two grandfathers.

[58] It is true that certain formal aspects of Lykian and Pisidian epigraphy might have led to an over-representation of close-kin marriages in the surviving evidence. The practice of listing one's parentage to the third or fourth generation (*x*, son of *y*, grandson of *z*) is unusual in most parts of Asia Minor, but common in Lykia and southern Pisidia; our knowledge of close-kin marriage at Pisidian Termessos is largely owed to this admirable local genealogical quirk. But even discounting cases of close-kin marriage known only indirectly from "extended parentages" of this kind, attested marriages between close kin in Lykia still easily outnumber those from any other part of Anatolia.

provides half a dozen instances of close-kin marriage, three of them explicitly commemorated ("my niece and wife").[59] Yet here too, it is impossible to say whether close-kin marriage was actually more common on Rhodes than on (say) Samos, or whether Rhodian spouses were simply more prone to commemorate their consanguinity on stone.

On the Greek mainland, marriages between close kin are occasionally attested among civic and senatorial élites during the first three centuries AD. However, unlike in Lykia, such unions are seldom commemorated explicitly; our knowledge of them largely derives from modern reconstructions of familial genealogies.[60] Even if we were to suppose, *ex hypothesi*, that élite close-kin marriage was widespread in all parts of the Greek East, we would still be left with a sharp regional discrepancy in commemorative practice: the civic élites of Roman Lykia and neighbouring regions were far more willing to record close-kin marriages on stone than the civic élites of Roman Sparta and Athens. It is worth emphasizing that this local pattern of commemoration is an important historical phenomenon in its own right. The fact that Lykian élites commemorated their close-kin marriages, and Spartan élites did not, is important evidence for the *normative desirability* of close-kin marriage in southern Anatolia (I shall return to this point below).

Third, and perhaps most interesting of all, élite Anatolian close-kin marriage falls into a very clear *structural* pattern. The types of close kin-marriage attested in our sources can be tabulated as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| FBD first-cousin marriage: | 21 |
| MBD first-cousin marriage: | 1 |
| MBD or MZD first-cousin marriage: | 1 |
| First-cousin marriage, uncertain type: | 3 |
| First-cousin marriage once removed: | 1 |
| Second-cousin marriage: | 3 |
| Paternal uncle/niece marriage: | 4 |
| Maternal uncle/niece marriage: | 2 |
| Step-uncle/step-niece marriage: | 1 |
| (Total:) | (37) |

[59] Close-kin marriage is explicitly commemorated in Maiuri 1925: no. 26 (I BC/I AD, τὰν ἀνεψιὰν καὶ γυναῖκα: cousin-marriage), and in *I.Lindos* 455 (*c*. AD 80-100), which attests two close-kin marriages in a single family in successive generations, between an uncle and his niece (or cousin) ([Κλευκρ]άτης τὰν ἀδελφιδέ[αν καὶ γυναῖκα]), and then between their son and his first cousin on his mother's side (Φίλιννα [τάν τε θί]αν καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτᾶς ματέ[ρα]). Close-kin marriages are also attested in *I.Lindos* 382 (as restored by Rice 1986: 217-20, maternal uncle and niece, late first century BC); Peek 1967: 374-6, no. 3 (Nisyros, with Rice 1986: 221-4, paternal uncle and niece, late second century BC); *IG* XII 1, 107 (Rice 1986: 225-33, a man and his father's brother's daughter's daughter, *c.* 50 BC).

[60] Spawforth 1985: 192; e.g. L. Volusenus Damares, married to his father's sister's daughter's daughter Memmia Damokratia (Spawforth 1985: 200, with Tables 1, 2 and 7); Tib. Claudius Eudamos, married to his father's half-brother's daughter Claudia Damostheneia (Spawforth 1985: 234-5, with Table 3). For a rare case where close-kin marriage was explicitly commemorated, see *IG* V 2, 465 (Megalopolis: ἡ ἀδελφιδῆ καὶ νυός).

Of the thirty-seven attested close-kin marriages in Roman Asia Minor (once again omitting cases of sibling marriage), a minimum of twenty-one of them (57%) took the form of FBD first-cousin marriages (marriages between the children of two brothers).[61] No less striking is the near-total absence of any other varieties of first-cousin marriage in our data-set, the sole exceptions being a single case of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage at Oinoanda (MBD) and a case of matrilateral cousin marriage at Olympos (MBD or MZD). We are, I suggest, entitled to speak of a *preferential marriage system* among the civic élites of southern Asia Minor in the early Roman imperial period. Other things being equal, when men of this class married close kin, they strongly favoured marriage with their father's brother's daughter.

Might this apparent preference for FBD marriage (marriage between patrilateral parallel cousins) result from systematic over-representation of this particular type of marriage in our surviving evidence? It is of course true that, in cases of "unmarked" and "concealed" close-kin marriage, patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage will tend to be more visible than any other type of cousin-marriage. To take a simple example: we are only able to identify a case of close-kin marriage at Arneai (no. 30 in Fig. 3) because the paternal lineages of both husband and wife are given to the third generation (Dioteimos, son of Ouassas, grandson of Dioteimos; Lalla, daughter of Teimarchos, grand-daughter of Dioteimos). Had Dioteimos and Lalla been cross-cousins, or matrilateral parallel cousins, their lineages alone would not have revealed their status as cousins. It is, then, quite possible that the real proportion of close-kin marriages taking the form of FBD first-cousin marriages was somewhat lower than 57%.

Nonetheless, I still see no reason to think that this figure is dramatically too high. We can test this claim, in a crude way, by limiting ourselves to cases where our knowledge of the kinship-connection between husband and wife does not depend on the reconstruction of paternal lineages – that is to say, where we are offered an *explicit* statement of the character of the relationship between husband and wife ("my uncle and husband" and suchlike phrases). There are, by my count, thirteen such cases in Roman Asia Minor, of which at least seven (54%) are cases of FBD cousin-marriage.[62] In short, the preponderance of patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage among close-kin unions in Roman Asia Minor is not just an optical illusion. FBD cousin-marriage was, at the very least, preferentially *commemorated*, and there is no good reason to doubt that this preference reflects real marital practices.

Demonstrating the existence of a preference for FBD cousin-marriage among the

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[61] Again, the comparison – or rather contrast – with the Athenian literary evidence (as tabulated by Vérilhac and Vial 1998: 124) is instructive: four cases of FBD cousin marriage out of seventeen cases in total (24%), along with two cases of MZD cousin marriage (matrilateral parallel cousins) and one of MBD cousin marriage (matrilateral cross cousins).

[62] Fig. 3, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 17, 24, 26, 27, 31, 33, 35 (omitting, once again, the three "marked" cases of sibling-marriage from Tlos and Arsada). This smaller sample gives us seven cases of FBD cousin-marriage, one case of matrilateral first-cousin marriage, three cases of unspecified cousin-marriage, one case of marriage between cousins once removed, and one case of maternal uncle/niece marriage.

élite families of Lykia and southern Anatolia is one thing; accounting for it is quite another. Most historians who have concerned themselves with cousin-marriage in antiquity have been content with functional explanations of two broad kinds: retaining dowries within the family, or more generally consolidating a family's inheritance, particularly in the absence of male heirs;[63] and/or strengthening family ties and securing inter-generational loyalty.[64] No doubt these functional advantages helped to determine marital choices in some individual cases. As we have seen, the marriage of Menodora of Sillyon (probably an only daughter) to her paternal uncle may well have been intended, at least in part, to provide her father with a male heir, and the Christian Akakios of northern Phrygia married his only daughter to her cousin in the hope that they would care for him in his old age.

But whether functional advantages of this kind can serve as general *explanations* of FBD first-cousin marriage in Roman Anatolia is more doubtful.[65] First-cousin marriage is in no way restricted to families which lacked male heirs. Nor do we have any reason to think that families systematically pursued close-kin marriage to the exclusion of other marital forms; as we have seen, in the case of the Licinnii of Oinoanda, first-cousin marriage and cross-*polis* exogamy together made up a dyad of preferred marital strategies. What is more, these functional advantages would have applied equally well to élite families at Termessos, Ephesos, and Lugdunum; they cannot help to explain the *distinctiveness* of close-kin marriage and its commemoration in southern Asia Minor.

Perhaps most important of all, we should be quite clear that the kinds of functionalist explanations outlined above are modern rationalisations of ancient marital behaviour. We have very little direct ancient testimony that close-kin marriage in the Greco-Roman world was favoured for reasons of inheritance, dowry-preservation or the consolidation of familial property.[66] Neither Menodora nor the voluble Licinnia Flavilla say anything of the kind; nor do the literary sources cited at the beginning of this paper (Apuleius and Dio Chrysostom) give any hint of practical considerations informing their subjects' marital choices. That is to say, we ought to be very wary of accounting for ancient marital behaviour in terms of instrumental rationality. That a particular form of marriage happens to be economically "rational" does not mean that it was in fact favoured for economically rational reasons.[67]

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[63] Thomas 1980: 349; Treggiari 1991: 109, 116-7; Vérilhac and Vial 1998: 87-8. Keeping family property together in the absence of male heirs: Van Bremen 1996: 257-8.

[64] Thompson 1967: 280; Huebner 2013: 155-61.

[65] I draw here on the important study of FBD cousin-marriage by Davis 1977: 197-222.

[66] Obvious exceptions are the Classical Athenian laws on the marriage of *epiklēroi* (above, n.39), and the case of Apuleius' wife (above, n.43).

[67] Nor do I believe that this regionally distinctive mode of commemorating close-kin marriage indicates the survival of a putative "epichoric" kinship system in Roman Lykia, the positive evidence for which is non-existent. Even if, counterfactually, we were able to trace a preference for FBD first-cousin marriage back into the late Iron Age in Lykia, that would not explain anything about the purposes and functions of local élite marital preferences in the Roman imperial period.

The fact that (some) families chose to commemorate their close-kin marriages prominently on their tombstones *when they did not need to do so* ought to be given due weight. Killortes of Arykanda and Teitanis of Tlos did not just happen to choose to marry close kin; they took sufficient pride in having married close kin that they deliberately highlighted the character of their relationship on their funerary monuments ("Aristainete, my sweetest wife and cousin"; "Androbios, her brother and husband"). Being married to your father's brother's daughter was not just practically useful (though it may well have been that too); it was also a matter of social prestige. The decision to identify one's spouse as sibling, cousin, or uncle on one's tombstone should, I suggest, be seen as analogous to recording the fact that one's spouse was a Roman citizen, a city-councillor, or a faithful and devoted wife. Being a Roman citizen, or being a faithful wife, of course brought certain practical benefits to an individual and his or her family, but they were also highly desirable traits *for their own sake*. In parts of southern Anatolia – although not, apparently, elsewhere in the peninsula – close-kin marriage was a categorical good, quite independent of its instrumental benefits.

This normative preference for particular kinds of close-kin marriage (at least among upper social classes, and at least in Lykia) ought not to be reduced to a single functional explanation, any more than the normative preference for faithful wives can be reduced to a question of instrumental rationality. In southern Anatolia, as elsewhere in the Roman world, there were plenty of good reasons for marrying one's father's brother's daughter: private sentiment, familial solidarity, maintaining inheritance, and so forth. What we can say is that in Lykia, unlike other parts of the Roman world, there was an *additional* reason for marrying one's father's brother's daughter, namely that this was a sufficiently socially prestigious act that one could boast about it to other Lykians on one's tombstone. As a result, it is possible that rates of close-kin marriage, FBD first-cousin marriage in particular, ended up being higher in coastal southern Anatolia than elsewhere in the peninsula (or indeed elsewhere in the Roman world). However, since we have no evidence of any kind about actual rates of different varieties of marriage, either in Lykia or elsewhere, this can be no more than an informed guess.

Abbreviations

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|---|---|
| *AE* | *L'année épigraphique.* |
| *BE* | *Bulletin épigraphique*, annually in *REG.* |
| *I.Arykanda* | S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Arykanda*. *IGSK* 48. Bonn, 1994. |
| *I.Délos* | *Inscriptions de Délos* (7 vols). Paris, 1926–1972. |
| *I.Konya* | B. H. McLean, *RECAM IV: Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum*. Ankara, 2002. |
| *I.Lindos* | C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902-1914.* Vol. II, *Inscriptions* (2 vols). Copenhagen and Berlin, 1941. |
| *I.Milet* | A. Rehm, P. Herrmann *et al*., *Inschriften von Milet* (3 vols). Berlin, 1997–2006. |
| *I.Rhod.Per.* | W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia*. *IGSK* 38. Bonn, 1991. |
| *I.Smyrna* | G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* (2 vols in 3). *IGSK* 23–24. Bonn, 1982–1990. |
| *I.Stratonikeia* | M. Ç. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia/The Inscriptions of Stratonikeia* (3 vols. in 4). *IGSK* 21–22, 68. Bonn, 1981–2010. |
| *I.Sultan Dağı* | L. Jonnes, *The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı I. IGSK* 62. Bonn, 2002. |

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| *IAph2007* | J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* (2007). http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/ |
| *IG* | *Inscriptiones Graecae* |
| *IGR* | R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (3 vols). Paris, 1906–1927. |
| *MAMA* | *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* I–XI. Manchester and London, 1928–2013. |
| *RECAM* II | S. Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor 2: The Ankara District: The Inscriptions of North Galatia.* Oxford, 1982. |
| *SEG* | *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* |
| *SGO* | R. Merkelbach and F. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* (5 vols.). Munich and Leipzig, 1998-2004. |
| *TAM* | *Tituli Asiae Minoris* |

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