# Expressions of Ionianness in the Roman Period

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# Abstract

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The present thesis provides an analysis of expressions of a distinct sense of an Ionian identity ('Ionianness') in the Roman period. With the creation of the Roman province of Asia and the ever-increasing degree of incorporation of the Greeks into the Roman Empire, questions of identity gained new relevance and urgency for the Greek provincials. The Ionian cities are thereby a special case, as they, unlike many other cities in Asia Minor, were all old Greek *poleis* and could look back on a renowned tradition of great antiquity. They also continued to hold common meetings and festivals as members of the Ionian Koinon, which can still be seen as the main focal point of Ionianness in the Roman period. My aim is to complement studies of the extant literary sources – which have traditionally received the greatest share of attention – with analyses of the rich epigraphic and numismatic material from the Ionian cities, which are among the best-attested from the province of Asia. In doing so, I want to achieve a more holistic and nuanced picture, and I hope to contribute to further the understanding of Greek culture under the Roman Empire. The individual chapters are of thematic nature and focus on one aspect of Ionian identity respectively: the perception of Ionia as a cultural region, the Ionian Koinon, myths and cults, ways of time reckoning, and onomastics. The thesis is rounded off by an examination of expressions of Ionianness outside of Ionia, further highlighting its continuing value as a form of cultural capital in the Roman period.

# Abbreviations

In addition to the standard abbreviations in *SEG* (for epigraphic corpora) and in Brill's *New Pauly* (for ancient authors and their works, and for modern publications), I use:

| | |
|---|---|
| *AIO* | Attic Inscriptions Online, https://www.atticinscriptions.com/. |
| *CGRN* | Pirenne-Delforge, V., Carbon, J.-M., and Peels, S. (2016), *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)* (Liège), http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/. |
| *I.Sagalassos* | Eich, A., Eich, P., and Eck, W. (2018), *Die Inschriften von Sagalassos Teil 1*, IK 70 (Bonn). |
| *I.Milet* 1–30 | Knackfuss, H. (1908), *Das Rathaus von Milet*, Milet I,2 (Berlin). |
| *I.Milet* 31–186 | Kawerau, G. and Rehm, A. (1914), *Das Delphinion in Milet*, Milet I,3 (Berlin). |
| *I.Milet* 187–406 | Rehm, A. and Herrmann, P. (1997), *Milet VI, Inschriften von Milet, Teil 1* (Berlin/New York). |
| *I.Milet* 407–1019 | Herrmann, P. (1998), *Milet VI, Inschriften von Milet, Teil 2* (Berlin/New York). |
| *I.Milet* 1020–1580 | Herrmann, P., Günther, W., and Ehrhardt, N. (2006), *Milet VI, Inschriften von Milet, Teil 3* (Berlin/New York). |
| *I.Nordkarien* | Blümel, W. (2018), *Inschriften aus Nordkarien*, IK 71 (Bonn). |
| *I.Priene*$^2$ | Blümel, W. and Merkelbach, R. † (2014), *Die Inschriften von Priene*, IK 69, 2 vols (Bonn). |
| *I.Sardis* 1–228 | Buckler, W. H. and Robinson, D. M. (1932), *Sardis VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions Part I* (Leiden). |
| *I.Sardis* 301–788 | Petzl, G. (2019), *Sardis: Greek and Latin Inscriptions Part II: Finds from 1958 to 2017*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 14 (Cambridge, MA/London). |
| *JRA* | *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (Cambridge 1988–). |
| *MedAnt* | *Mediterraneo Antico: economie, società, culture* (Pisa 1998–). |
| Osborne–Rhodes, *GHI* | Osborne, R. and Rhodes, P. J. (2017), *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 478–404 BC* (Oxford). |
| *PHI Lebedos* | McCabe, D. F. (1989), *Lebedos Inscriptions. Texts and List,* The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, Packard Humanities Institute CD #6 (Princeton). |
| *PHI Nysa* | McCabe, D. F. (1991), *Nysa Inscriptions. Texts and List,* The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, Packard Humanities Institute CD #7 (Princeton). |
| *PHI Phokaia* | McCabe, D. F. (1989), *Phokaia Inscriptions. Texts and List,* The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, Packard Humanities Institute CD #6 (Princeton). |
| *PHI Teos* | McCabe, D. F. (1985), *Teos Inscriptions. Texts and List,* The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, Packard Humanities Institute CD #6 (Princeton). |

# Introduction

*Il n'y a pas d'identité culturelle.*
F. Jullien 2016

*Manners makyth man.*
William of Wykeham 1324–1404

In February 1922, the situation for the Greeks of Asia Minor began to look more and more desperate: Turkish forces were tightening the noose around Smyrna, British diplomats advised the Greeks to prepare for evacuation. The Greek National Defence (*Amyna*) at Constantinople was not willing, however, to accept the political and military situation, and sent a memorandum to Anastasios Papoulas in Smyrna, the commander-in-chief of the Greek army of Asia Minor. This note contained a six-point programme for the establishment of an autonomous state around Smyrna, with Papoulas as its head of government. As a name for this new political entity *Amyna* proposed 'Ionia'.[1] When confronted with this plan while on holiday in Mexico, Eleftherios Venizelos, the former Prime Minister of Greece and leader of the Greek national liberation movement, recommended that *Amyna* should refrain from emphasising the Greekness of their Asia Minor project and instead make it more inclusive for Armenians and other non-Turkish nationals as well, if they wanted their undertaking to succeed.[2] Ultimately, just as in antiquity, there was not meant to be an Ionian state in the 20th century AD. Smyrna was taken (or 'liberated' according to the Turkish point of view) by the Kemalist army on 9 September 1922, and the continuous Greek inhabitation of the west coast of Asia Minor was brought to an end after almost 3,000 years. However, the name and memory of Ionia still live on today, for example in the name of the communal district Νέα Ιωνία in the north

[1] Smith 1998², 252–253.
[2] An English translation of substantial parts of this letter can be found in Smith 1998², 258–260.

of modern Athens, which had its origins in a refugee camp for those who were expelled from all over Asia Minor in the so-called population exchange of 1922. This historical anecdote serves to illustrate that 'Ionia' continued to exist into the modern era as a *lieu de mémoire* epitomising Greek culture and identity, and functioning as a label demarcating the Greeks of Asia Minor from their non-Greek neighbours.[3]

Anglophone historians in particular have paid almost exclusive attention to Ionian history in the Archaic period. More recent examples include Greaves 2010, where it is simply assumed that the history of Miletos after the Archaic period is not worth discussing, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of evidence comes from later periods. A similar sentiment prevails in Gorman 2001, and Mac Sweeney 2013 primarily uses material from the Hellenistic and Roman periods to reconstruct events from the Archaic period. The reasons for this focus are varied: it is due, in part, to a traditional interest in origins (ethnogenesis, the Ionian Migration), particularly in the 19th and early 20th c. AD, as well as to the enduring significance of the prominent natural philosophers of the so-called Ionian Enlightenment (Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes of Miletos, Heraclitus of Ephesos, Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, Xenophanes of Kolophon), as well as the lyric poets (Anacreon of Teos, Mimnermos of Kolophon/Smyrna, Kallinos of Ephesos), in addition to the fact that Homer himself was said to be born in Ionia (Chios, Smyrna, and Kolophon among others raise strong claims to be his native city). The Ionian Revolt at the beginning of the 5th c. BC has been another focus of scholarly attention, and in Herodotus' *Histories* we have a detailed narrative history of Archaic and early Classical Ionia at our disposal, which even

[3] Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* is applied to Graeco-Roman antiquity in Stein-Hölkeskamp and Hölkeskamp (eds) 2006, and Stein-Hölkeskamp (ed.) 2010.

includes discussions of ethno-cultural aspects of the Ionians as a distinct group.[4] A narrative source of comparable scope is lacking for all other periods.

From the Hellenistic period onwards, with the intensification of the epigraphic habit among the Greeks in western Asia Minor, the voice of the Ionians themselves gains clarity and strength through the direct testimonies of their extant (stone) inscriptions. The coins issued by the Ionian cities also begin to assume a greater expressiveness, incorporating inscriptions (ethnics and magistrates' names) and more complex and varied iconographies. This development culminates in the Roman Imperial period, when civic provincial coins increase in size and complexity, and cities such as Ephesos and Smyrna abound in publicly displayed inscriptions. The character of the sources alone, quite apart from the intrinsic interest of the topic, in itself warrants a separate examination of the Ionians in the Roman period.

In 1984, Simon Price lamented: 'The Greeks under Roman rule suffer from a double prejudice. On the one hand, Hellenists lose interest in the Greeks after the Classical period; on the other, Roman historians find it hard to avoid a Romanocentric perspective'.[5] Fortunately, this is no longer true, and the Greek provincials in the Roman Empire have been studied extensively in recent scholarship. This has highlighted the institutional and cultural continuities from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods – without ignoring the changes brought about by Roman rule, of course.[6] It has now almost become a truism that Greek culture in Roman times needs to be studied in its own right. This manifests itself not only in an ever-increasing number of scholarly publications (for example the productive monograph series 'Greek Culture in the Roman World' established in 2007 by Cambridge

[4] On Herodotus and ethnicity, see e.g. Thomas 2001 and Vignolo Munson 2014.
[5] Price 1984a, 79.
[6] Chaniotis 2018, 1–9 promotes the notion of a 'long Hellenistic age' extending down to the reign of Hadrian, and provides an up-to-date bibliographical overview.

University Press, or the collective volumes *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire* edited by Simon Goldhill in 2001 and *What's New in Roman Greece? Recent Work on the Greek Mainland and the Islands in the Roman Period* edited by Valentina Di Napoli et al. in 2018), but also in international research projects (such as 'La politique des honneurs dans les cités grecques à l'époque impériale' directed by Anna Heller and Onno van Nijf).

The incorporation of the Greek world into the Roman Empire has also raised questions of identity more acutely than ever before. Building on a long-standing tradition of sociological and psychological research, the concept of 'identity' has been employed as a central approach in ancient history as well, in particular in the last two decades. Ancient historians have fruitfully centred their work on issues of individual and especially collective identities.[7] The majority of scholars have thereby accepted the anti-essentialist view that identity is multi-layered, context-dependent, fluid, and constructed.[8] It is seen as a conglomerate of various layers of different points of reference (family, city, region, province, *ethnos*, Greekness, cultic association, profession, gender, age...) which were salient or made explicit to differing degrees according to context. Investigations of Greek identity-constructions in Roman Asia Minor have largely focused on generic 'Greek' or 'civic' perspectives.[9] Recent scholarship, however, has pointed out that the traditional cultural regions of Asia Minor (Ionia, Caria, Lydia, Aiolis, Phrygia, and so on) continued to be seen as meaningful frames of reference in the Roman period (see Chapter 1.2). In the case of

[7] See e.g. Demetriou 2012; Häussler 2013; Newby 2016; Revell 2016; Johnston 2017; Papakonstantinou 2019; or the collective volumes Howgego, Heuchert, and Burnett (eds) 2005; Coşkun, Heinen, and Pfeiffer (eds) 2009; Schmitz and Wiater (eds) 2011; Vanacker and Zuiderhoek (eds) 2017; Pohl et al. (eds) 2018.

[8] Preston 2001, 87: 'Identity is now seen not as an eternal given, but as something actively constructed and contested in a particular historical context, based on subjective, not objective criteria'; Dandrow 2017 on the fluidity of ethnic identities in Strabo's *Geographika*; an early champion of an anti-essentialist view on Ionian and Dorian ethnicities is Will 1956, whose work unfortunately remained unappreciated until recently.

[9] E.g. Bowie 1974; Rogers 1991; Woolf 1994; Swain 1996; Konstan and Saïd (eds) 2006.

the Ionians, the remarkable survival of the Ionian Koinon, attested until the mid 3rd c. AD (see Chapters 2.1–2.2), as well as the explicit identification of individuals and groups as 'Ionian' – attested both in an emic and an etic perspective in inscriptions, literature, and on coins – further encourage an investigation of expressions and perceptions of a distinct Ionian identity in the Roman period, which is the focus of this thesis.

The socio-political and economic framework of the Roman Empire has been studied as a form of 'proto-globalisation', and the insights of modern globalisation studies have been applied profitably to frame the situation of the provincials.[10] Building on the well-established Foucauldian conception of (collective) identity presupposing an out-group/the Other against which one can define oneself,[11] this perspective embraces the notion that, in the specific context of the Roman Empire, provincials felt that their identities were under threat – by the complexities of an expanded, interconnected, multioptional, and multicultural world – and began to cultivate or re-appreciate distinctive local and especially regional forms of identity-constructions.[12] This phenomenon is well attested in our own day, albeit manifesting in different forms shaped by the modern nation-states and supra-national bodies like the EU.[13] Many people today perceive the consequences of globalisation as a threat to their identities, which has, on the one hand, led to a reappraisal

[10] E.g. by Witcher 2000; Hingley 2005; Hitchner 2008; Schuol 2014; Pitts and Versluys (eds) 2015; Plattner 2017.

[11] Most influential in classical studies: Hartog 1980; Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993; Hall 1997, 47; Gruen 2011.

[12] Ando 2010, 18: 'it very much appears as though the imposition of an imperial legal and administrative superstructure promoted and perhaps harnessed the celebration of the local'; 43: 'the historical and cultural self-understanding fundamental to local patriotism in the Roman empire … deserves further research'; Woolf 2010, 200: 'Perhaps the most vivid impression made by this collection [the collective volume Whitmarsh (ed.) 2010] as a whole is how integral these local understandings were to the global nature of that empire, and how deeply interconnected macro- and microidentities were'; see also Hitchner 2008, 7–8; Whitmarsh (ed.) 2010; Hodos 2010; Häussler 2013, 215–304; Johnston 2017, 125–189.

[13] Massey 1994, 156: 'the globalization of social relations is yet another source of (the reproduction of) geographical uneven development, and thus of the uniqueness of place ... What we need, it seems to me, is a global sense of the local, a global sense of place'; Warf and Arias 2009, 5: 'Far from annihilating the importance of space, globalization has increased it ... Glocalization, therefore, is a two-way-street'; Jullien 2016, 54–55.

of regional traditions and customs (for example 'Europe of the regions', glocalisation, the Slow Food movement).[14] Having grown up in rural Upper Bavaria, I have noticed a complete shift in the valuation of 'Bavarianness' for example. In my childhood and adolescent years, Bavarian dialect, food, costumes, games, music, and social institutions were perceived by the majority of people living in Bavaria but not partaking in this culture as something parochial and rather embarrassing. The last decades, however, have seen a complete reversal, and things Bavarian are now widely welcomed and even emulated as an expression of authenticity and autochthony. This is the case, for instance, with the use of dialect words by speakers of High German, hipster bars and restaurants taking over aspects of traditional taverns as quintessential expressions of conviviality (*Gemütlichkeit*), people who bought Bavarian costumes for their visit of the Munich Oktoberfest also wearing them in other contexts, an ever-increasing number of books and journals dedicated to Bavarica, and so on. On the other hand, the perceived threats of globalisation have also triggered a surge of xenophobia directed against immigrants, along with political movements defending the alleged purity of a völkisch identity (*Bloc identitaire* in France, *Identitäre Bewegung* in Austria and Germany).[15]

What distinguished the Greeks – and, in the province of Asia, the Ionians in particular – from other provincials of the Roman Empire was that their education, language, philosophy, and literature were also appreciated as a cultural ideal by leading Romans, which is likely to have had a positive influence on Greek identity-constructions.[16] The case

[14] The concept of 'glocalisation' has been applied to the study of ancient Greek culture e.g. by Vlassopoulos 2013.

[15] Sanahuja 2017.

[16] Beard, North, and Price 1998 I, 313: 'No one can be culturally unaffected by imperialism'. More or less subconscious processes of provincials trying to comply with Roman notions and stereotypes being held to have underlaid identity-constructions: Spawforth 2001 (Lydians); Saïd 2001 (Greeks); Nijf 2005 (Greek athletes); Johnston 2017, 125–189 (Gauls and Spaniards); see also Huet and Valette-Cagnac 2005.

of the Ionians is a special one among the Greeks of the province of Asia, inasmuch as they could look back on a reputable history of great antiquity, whereby Ionia both produced many famous philosophers and poets, and featured in important events of world history. According to a widely accepted tradition, they were also one of the 'primordial' Greek tribes; Ionians are mentioned in a great number of literary works, and continued to be recognised as a distinct group in the Roman period.[17]

*Methodology*

Ethnicity has been one of the focal points in the study of Greek identity in scholarship of recent decades, particularly after the seminal publication of Jonathan Hall's *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* in 1997.[18] Most scholars have embraced the notion that ethnicity should not be seen as an intrinsic, unchangeable, and essentialist form of identity (*The Ionians behave in a certain way/do certain things because they are Ionians*), depending ultimately on biological-'racial' premises, which were not only discredited by the atrocities committed in their names during the Third Reich and other totalitarian regimes but also never corresponded to any social realities on the ground.[19] It is rather the constructivist approach to ethnic identity as performative and contextual which is now widely accepted by the majority of scholars (*The Ionians are perceived/perceive themselves as Ionians because they behave in a certain way/do certain things*).[20] As the study of ethnicity has reached

[17] For Aiolian identity in the Roman period, see Ellis-Evans 2019, 250–284.
[18] E.g. Mitchell 2000; Malkin (ed.) 2001; Hall 2002; Ruby 2006; Luce (ed.) 2007; Luraghi 2008; Funke and Luraghi (eds) 2009; McInerney (ed.) 2014.
[19] Luraghi 2014, Malkin 2014, and Müller 2014 all provide a good overview of the history of the terminology and the most influential scholarly publications.
[20] Rather polemically, Connor 1993, 198: 'shared cultural patterns … are a social construct. Being Ionian (or Dorian, or Aeolian), in other words, was a decision, conscious or unconscious, not an automatic inheritance from one's ancestors'; Johnston 2017, 231–276 applies the concept of performativity to identity-constructions in the Roman West.

somewhat of an impasse of late,[21] I have decided instead to frame my study of the Ionians in the Roman period around the concept of 'cultural identity', which has been fruitfully applied by ancient historians to a variety of peoples and time periods.[22] I define 'cultural identity' in a broad sense as encompassing a variety of markers of identity such as language, religion, myths, onomastics, dating systems, and a common association (*koinon*), thus eschewing the more ambiguous connotations of 'ethnicity'.[23] Nonetheless, I understand 'ethnicity' in a narrow sense as referring first and foremost to blood relationship and common descent, and as such I include it as one aspect of cultural identity, taking effect mainly on a discursive level, and most prominently in the form of foundation myths.[24] The notion that it is more appropriate to define Greekness in cultural rather than biological-'racial' terms in fact goes back to antiquity, and is well attested in the Greek world. It is implied by Herodotus, made first explicit by Isocrates, and experienced a revival among Second Sophistic circles in the 2nd c. AD.[25]

[21] Luraghi 2014, 218: 'even the most sophisticated approach to ethnic identity runs the risk of reifying a cultural phenomenon, thereby affirming the perspective of some historical agents as if it were an objective fact'; 224: 'The inherently dynamic nature of ethnicity makes it difficult to isolate for analysis, and yet, if recent scholarship has taught us anything, it is that, rather than reduce the continuum of human experience to a series of discrete synchronic structural models, it is necessary to start from social and cultural history and to delay the comparative moment to a later stage of the interpretive process'; Malkin 2014, 291: 'We do not need to present yet again the biological, racial (or "cultural", depending on who happens to be using the term "culture" and for what purpose), constructed, or instrumentalist positions, unless we can articulate them better'; Müller 2014, 30: 'même si cela se doit se faire au prix d'une forme de relégation (définitive ?) de la notion d'ethnicité, dont on a sans doute usé et abusé', the subtitle of her paper is: 'La fin de l'ethnicité?'.

[22] E.g. Gruen 1993 and (ed.) 2011; Woolf 1994; Laurence and Berry (eds) 1998; Goldhill (ed.) 2001; Berns et al. (eds) 2002; Hodos 2010; Hoff 2017; see also Swain 1996, 89: 'For since Greek identity [in the Roman period] could not be grounded in the real political world, it had to assert itself in the cultural domain and do so as loudly as possible'.

[23] A similar distinction is made by Whitmarsh 2001, 305: ''cultural identity' is not to be confused with 'ethnicity''.

[24] Hall 2002, 17: 'If cultural identity can be defined as the conscious reification of ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices, selectively extracted from the totality of social existence and endowed with a particular symbolic signification for the purposes of creating exclusionary distinctiveness, then ethnicity is a *specific type* of cultural identity'. On the lack of a standardised definition of 'ethnicity', Müller 2014, 15–17. On ethnic identity as a discursive strategy, see Jones 1998.

[25] Hdt. 1.147; 8.144.2 (retaining common descent as one factor); Isokr. *or*. IV 50; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1.89.4; see Saïd 2001; Konstan 2001; Hall 2002, 172–228.

For three other important markers of cultural identity, namely food, dialect, and clothing style, there is unfortunately not enough extant source material at our disposal for the Roman period, so I have had to leave them out of the discussion.[26] Determining the source value of material culture for the study of ethno-cultural identity is a thorny issue, and as an investigation of the archaeological material lies outside my area of competence and would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis, it could also not be included here.[27] I use the shorthand term 'Ionianness' to designate expressions and perceptions of a distinct Ionian cultural identity.

The most abundant sources for examining expressions of an Ionian cultural identity are the public and private stone inscriptions from the cities of Ionia (see Map 1). The epigraphic material of almost every Ionian city is readily accessible in individual corpora, some of which being of very recent date.[28] In addition, the rich production of provincial coinage is an indispensable pool of information. The ongoing publication of the volumes of *Roman Provincial Coinage*, and in particular the associated online database and its sophisticated search tools, allow for quick comparative analyses of the numismatic material.[29] Wherever

[26] The only reference to a specific Ionian food I could find is Athen. 3.111d: κνηστὸς ἄρτος ποιὸς παρὰ Ἴωσι, Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ Ἐφέσιός φησιν ἐν Ἰωνικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι; on dress and identity, see e.g. Kuper 1973; Geddes 1987; Miller 2013; Lee 2018. The Ionic dialect has disappeared almost completely from the epigraphic evidence by the Roman period; the literary use of Ionic in so-called pseudo-Ionic works especially in the 2nd c. AD (e.g. Arrian's *Indike* or Lucian's *On the Syrian goddess* and *On astrology*) deserves further attention, but could not be considered within the scope of this thesis.

[27] On material culture and identity, see e.g. Woolf 1994; Berns et al. (eds) 2002; Mac Sweeney 2009; Eckardt 2014; Knapp 2014; Müller and Veïsse (eds) 2014; Quatember 2018; Luraghi 2014, 216–217 stresses that while the archaeological evidence is surely an important source for the study of ethnicity, it only assumes real source value when combined with written testimonies; similarly Hall 2002, 24: 'Ethnicity may be communicated archaeologically, but there can be no archaeology of ethnicity among societies who have left us no record'.

[28] *I.Didyma* (1958); *I.Milet* (1908, 1914, 1997, 1998, 2006); Milesian islands: *IG* XII 4,4 (2018); *I.Priene*$^2$ (2014); Samos: *IG* XII 6,1 + 2 (2000–2003); *I.Ephesos* (1979–1984); *I.Erythrai* (with Klazomenai, 1972–1973); *I.Smyrna* (1982–1990); Kolophon/Klaros: Ferrary 2014 provides all the delegation texts; Myous: *I.Nordkarien* 166–170 (2018); Chios: *IG* XII 6,3 (in preparation); *PHI Teos* (a corpus is planned by Mustafa Adak); *PHI Phokaia* and *PHI Lebedos* (25 and 14 inscriptions only).

[29] *RPC* I (44 BC–AD 69, print and online), II (AD 69–96, print and online), III (AD 98–138, print and online), IV (AD 138–192, with temporary numbers, online only), VI (AD 218–238, Asia Minor and Egypt, with temporary

possible I aim to contextualise the individual epigraphic and numismatic testimonies by comparing them not only with contemporary material from the respective city, but also with coins and inscriptions from other periods, as well as from other cities and regions. In the case of the literary sources, with which I complement the epigraphic and numismatic testimonies, I aim at using only contemporary works and at examining what they reveal about notions current in the period in which they were written. Strabo's and Pausanias' works especially are all too often used merely as quarries of information on the events, ideas, or institutions of the Archaic or Classical periods.[30] By taking the narrative framework and the historical context of the respective author into account, I hope to achieve a 'thick description' of Ionian cultural identity, that is to say not just an observation and classification, but also an explication of the system of meaning in which these expressions were embedded.[31]

I therefore approach the material primarily from a discourse-analytical perspective, as the most appropriate way to do justice to the constructed, multi-faceted, and context-dependent nature of expressions of cultural identity. Critics of the constructivist approach have claimed that it ultimately leads to a nihilist and unproductive relativism.[32] While I work on the assumption that cultural identity is constructed rather than a given essential, this does, however, not necessarily imply that cultural identity did not matter at all. On the contrary, I contend that it had very real and consequential significance.[33] This is neatly epitomised in the recent manifesto of the French philosopher, classicist, and sinologist F.

numbers, online only), VII.1 (AD 238–244, province of Asia, print and online), IX (AD 249–254, print and online).

[30] E.g. by Herda 1998, 2006a, and 2006b, or by Mac Sweeney 2013 and 2017.

[31] Geertz 1973, 3–30; see also Goldhill 2010, 67 describes Pausanias' work as 'a narrative which guides, which directs the viewer – towards a cultural identity'.

[32] E.g. Malkin 2014, 291; Tibi 2002 regarding a modern European identity.

[33] Howgego 2005, 1: 'For all that it may be a contingent construct, identity is a powerful driver of action, as we know all too well from our own experience. Identity matters'.

Jullien, *Il n'y a pas d'identité culturelle. Mais nous défendons les ressources d'une culture*.[34] With regard to a modern national/European/global identity, Jullien advances the idea that it is more appropriate and productive to understand expressions of cultural identity as 'cultural resources', which are accessible to anyone seeking to make use of them and which may be activated according to context. His concept of 'cultural resources' builds on Bourdieu's theory of 'cultural capital',[35] which I have found a very useful tool for framing the functionality and contextual value of cultural identity, and which I make use of throughout this thesis. Introduced originally to study the performance of French school children in the 1960s, the idea of cultural capital has been widely applied to individual identity-constructions and is useful in the case of the Ionians regarding the offices of the Ionian Koinon (see Chapter 2.2) and individuals claiming descent from Ionian founding heroes (see Chapter 3.2.2). But there were also collective claims to Ionianness, made either directly via the label 'Ionians' on civic coins (see Chapter 5.2) or indirectly, when the inhabitants of a city were described as children of an Ionian founding hero (see Chapter 3.2.2), which can all be understood as a form of 'institutionalised cultural capital'[36].

This dissertation investigates in which contexts, and the actors by whom, expressions of a distinct Ionian cultural identity were employed and the functions these assumed, not only on a discursive level, but also in a real and tangible way as concrete embodiments of Ionianness.

[34] Jullien 2016.

[35] First presented in Bourdieu and Passeron 1970, elaborated e.g. in Bourdieu 1979a and 1979b.

[36] The three forms of cultural capital defined by Bourdieu 1979b are 'incorporé', 'objectivé', and 'institutionnalisé'.

*Chapter overview*

Following the available source material, each chapter of this thesis is concerned with a different aspect of the discursive construction of Ionianness in the Roman period. In the first chapter, I discuss Ionia as a cultural region. After giving a historical overview of conceptions of Ionia as a cultural and geographical entity in pre-Roman times, I examine the extent to which it is represented as a discrete region by authors such as Strabo and Pliny. The case of the *polis* Metropolis receives special attention, as it added the designation 'in Ionia' to its name in the Roman period. I then proceed with an analysis of how the creation of the province of Asia affected the traditional cultural regions of western Asia Minor. The reorganisation into the Roman *conventus* system did not engender new regional, sub-provincial group identities or feelings of belonging. Furthermore, while signs of the emergence of a distinct provincial Asian identity are discernible in certain contexts, the Ionian cities also applied new provincial developments as models for a regional framework (as in the case of city titles: κόσμος τῆς Ἰωνίας, μητρόπολις τῆς Ἰωνίας, πρώτων Ἰωνίας). This showcasing of Ionianness was of particular relevance in the heated province-wide intercity rivalries of the 2nd and 3rd c. AD. I thus aim to establish to what degree Ionia was still perceived as a coherent cultural region and meaningful frame of reference for identity-constructions in the Imperial period.

The Ionian Koinon, whose continued activities into the mid 3rd c. AD are a powerful testimony to the vitality of Ionianness in the Roman period, is the focus of the second chapter. Starting with an overview of the nature and functions of the *koinon* in pre-Roman times, this chapter complements Peter Herrmann's fundamental study of the Ionian Koinon in the Roman period by providing a detailed prosopographic study of the attested *koinon*

officials.[37] I then offer a new explanation for the epigraphic and numismatic attestations of high priests of the 'Koinon of the 13 Cities' from Sardis. On the basis of new inscriptions from Sardis, found in 2016 and published in 2019, I argue that the Sardian 'Koinon of the 13 Cities' cannot have been identical with the Ionian Koinon. At the end of the chapter, I examine how the creation of the supra-provincial *synhedrion* of Hadrian's Panhellenion in AD 131/2 further promoted notions of Ionianness.

The third chapter discusses specifically Ionian deities, cults, and myths. It starts with detailed analyses of Poseidon Helikonios and Apollo Delphinios, treated as important Ionian deities both in ancient and modern literature. In the case of the latter, new iconographic identifications are possible on the basis of numismatic and sculptural evidence. Subsequently, Ionian cult practice and festivals, especially the Panionia, still celebrated by the Ionian Koinon in the Roman period, are the focus of attention. The second part of the chapter deals with mythological narratives of the so-called Ionian Migration. First, I elucidate the value of the relevant passages in the works of Strabo and Pausanias, not as sources for events and beliefs of the Archaic period, but rather for contemporary Roman notions of Ionianness. I then align this analysis with the mainly epigraphic testimonies for the Ionian founding heroes in Roman Ionia – the best-attested are Neileus in Miletos and Androklos in Ephesos – in order to highlight the socio-cultural importance of these founding heroes as embodiments of Ionianness in the Imperial period.

In the fourth chapter, I examine potential expressions of Ionianness on the levels of time reckoning and onomastics. As the calendar system was a crucial element among the *nomima* of a Greek polis, Ionian month names can be seen as an important marker of a group identity since the Archaic period. It is remarkable that none of the Ionian cities

[37] Herrmann 2002.

changed its month names after the introduction of the provincial calendar of Asia in 9/8 BC. One may even detect clear awareness of the distinctiveness of the Ionian month names, as in an inscription from Ephesos from AD 162/3 or 163/4 (*I.Ephesos* 24B) which refers explicitly to the difference between the local Ionian month name (Ἀρτεμισιών) and the one used by 'the Macedonians and the other Greek tribes and their cities' (Ἀρτεμίσιος). In contrast to other cities in Asia Minor that began to employ an era count in the Roman period (Sullan, Pharsalian, Actian Era), the Ionian cities maintained the tradition of counting their years by eponymous magistrates. A similar conservatism can be revealed regarding the names of civic subdivisions, such as *phylai* or *chiliastyes*, which never fundamentally changed in the Ionian cities in the Roman period. An onomastic study concludes this chapter, establishing the degree to which personal names of specific Ionian flavour, such as Apatourios, Anthestērios, Lēnaios, Badromios and Metageitnios, remained limited to culturally Ionian territory even in the Imperial period.

In the fifth and final chapter, I analyse claims to Ionianness outside Ionia. First, I call attention to identity-constructions in the Ionian colonies in the Black Sea region. Their perceived liminal position at the fringes of the Greek world surrounded by 'barbarians' seems to have impelled them to maintain awareness of their Ionian 'colonial' past, as attested in epigraphic, numismatic, and literary sources from the Roman period. While the harnessing of Ionianness by the Black Sea cities is founded in their 'colonial' relationship, there exist other cases of a similar appropriation which cannot be easily explained at first sight. Thus, the small city of Isinda in Pisidia and the *conventus* centre Synnada in Phrygia ostentatiously called themselves 'Ionians' on civic coins from the 2nd and 3rd c. AD. Framing these claims within the concept of 'mythological kinship', I aim at contextualising them and

consider whether they may plausibly be connected to the creation of Hadrian's Panhellenion and budding intercity rivalries.

In the course of this thesis, I will show that Ionianness, albeit as constructed and fluid as all expressions of identity, continued to be employed situationally as a cultural resource and to be accepted as a valid form of cultural capital in identity-discourses of the Roman period. By highlighting the continued cultural vitality of Greek traditions in Roman Ionia as well as the cognitive changes brought about by its inclusion in the geographically and psychologically expanding horizons of the growing Roman Empire, I hope to make a significant contribution to the understanding of the development of Greek culture in the Roman world.

# 1) Mental Geographies

*There are, in fact, many wonders in Ionia and they are but little inferior to those in Greece.*
Paus. 7.6.1 (my translation)[38]

*For it [the Aegean] is, indeed, set in the middle of the whole inhabited world and of the sea, to the north leaving the Hellespont, Propontis, and Pontus, and to the south the rest of the sea, separating Asia from Europe at the point where they first divide after the Hellespont. It has the most distinguished and civilised races on each of its banks, on this side Ionia and the Aiolian land, and on the other side Greece, so that only this sea could be said to be in the midst of all of Greece, if one should classify the Greeks who are on either continent as a single race.*
Aristeid. *or*. XLIV 3–4

## 1.1 Historical overview

In order to assess the role that Ionia as a region played in the constructions of Ionianness in the Roman period, it is pertinent to first ask how Ionia was perceived as geographical space in this period.[39] For this purpose, we have at our disposal two fairly extensive geographical descriptions from the 1st c. AD: book 14.1 of Strabo's *Geographika* and chapters 112–120 of book 5 of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*.[40] Unfortunately, no description of Ionia written by an author from Ionia survives, but as Strabo makes much use of Artemidoros of Ephesos' *Iōnika Hypomnēmata*, he is the closest we get to an internal

[38] The ancient texts and translations (with slightly modified orthography) are from the respective Loeb editions, unless stated otherwise. For the passages from Herodotus and Aelius Aristides I drew on the translations by R. Waterfield in the Oxford World's Classics edition and Behr 1981.

[39] Lebreton 2009 provides an insightful treatment of the perceptions of Asia Minor and shows that its perception as a bridge between orient and occident, so prominent in modern scholarship, emerges only in the 3rd–5th c. AD; see also Bavaj 2006 for an overview of the implications of the 'spatial turn' for regional history.

[40] Paus. 7.2–5 is a mythological-historical excursus of the Ionian Migration embedded in the account of Achaia, which will be treated in detail in Chapter 3.2.1. It is bracketed out of the discussion here because it is mainly concerned with foundation myths and only briefly mentions noteworthy sanctuaries, hydrological, and orological features (7.5.4–13) connected with the 13 Ionian cities, without adding to the understanding of Ionia as a region; while it is established that Pausanias made use of Herodotus' *Histories* (see e.g. Moggi 1996, 83–87; Hutton 2005, 190–213), Moreschini 1994 explains the differences between Pausanias' and Strabo's account of Ionia with the fact that the former tried to consciously differentiate his work from the latter's; the new commentary on Strabo by Roller 2018 does not add anything to our understanding of Ionia as a region.

Ionian perspective from the late Hellenistic period.[41] Following a brief historical overview, I discuss the geographical extent of Ionia as represented in Strabo and Pliny, before analysing the place of Ionia in relation to the superimposed administrative units of the *conventus* districts and, on a larger scale, within the framework of the province of Asia: both of these transcended the traditional boundaries of Ionia and thus potentially challenged its perceived coherence.

Regarding the perception of Ionia as a geographically coherent region, Alan Greaves pointed out that

> *[t]he cities that constituted Ionia did not share a defined and contiguous body of land, such as an island, archipelago, plain, valley, or peninsula. The physical space that Ionia occupied is a messy conglomeration of aspects of all of these more easily defined landforms, which we might associate with a territorially defined state entity*.[42]

For him, Ionia is constituted of four different geographical zones: the valleys (of the Hermos, the Kaystros, and the Maiandros), the peninsulas (the two horst ridges of the Erythrai and the Mykale peninsulas), the islands (Chios and Samos), and the sea between (see Map 1).[43] The one aspect which nearly all the Ionian settlements have in common is their liminality: they are all set on a narrow coastal strip between the sea and (often) a

[41] On the concept of space in mythographic writing from the Imperial period, see Delattre 2017.

[42] Greaves 2010, 66–67; and 67: '…Ionia was a "mosaic" of states, each made up of numerous small pockets of land, each of which had its own economic potential and character'. Olivier Mariaud coined the term 'territorialisation' for this in his paper 'History and prehistory of the collective political organisation of Ionia' at the interdisciplinary conference 'Shedding Light on the Matter. Ideascapes and Material Worlds in the Land of Thales' which took place at the Faculty of Classics of the University of Cambridge on 22–23 March 2018.

[43] Greaves 2010, 46; on the importance of the sea, 67: 'If "Ionia" had, or has, any validity as an ethnic and political entity in antiquity, then the function that the sea played in its formation, operation, and identity must be recognized'; 57: its connective force was so big that 'it would seem reasonable that Phokaia was considered to be a part of the community of Ionian cities, even though it does not form a contiguous landmass with Ionia and is wholly surrounded by Aeolia'; on the connectivity of the maritime, see also Horden and Purcell 2000, 133–135.

mountain.[44] Alfred Philippson had already pointed out a strong east-west orientation in the geography of Ionia, which Greaves took further to give more weight to the connections between the Ionian cities and their hinterland, to the detriment of the connections between the cities themselves.[45] Whereas this might be true to a certain extent for commercial activity, especially in the case of Ephesos, most of our sources do not support such geographical determinism.[46] Regarding the conceptualisation of the Maiandros Valley as a region, Peter Thonemann has shown that it is not the geographical features, but 'the region's reality in social consciousness, its inhabitants' awareness of living in, and *belonging to*, a particular region' which is the most decisive factor for the construction of a regional identity.[47] Whereas Ionia was surely also a physical reality, with more or less clearly defined boundaries, framing it as a *Kulturlandschaft*[48], as 'lived space'[49] is more helpful for our evaluation of the significance of Ionia in the Roman period. It entails the notion that participating in cultural expressions that were recognised as specifically Ionian was more decisive for determining one's Ionianness than 'living in Ionia'.[50]

As with most other Greek regions, Ionia had probably been named after the people who inhabited it, so that the conception of its regionality was determined by the characteristics

[44] Greaves 2010, 57; this liminality had been of a double nature in the Archaic and Classical periods, when Ionia lay on the fringes of the Achaemenid and Athenian empires respectively. With the conquests of Alexander the Great, Ionia's position changed to a central one: Billows 2007, 33.

[45] Philippson 1936, 3; Greaves 2010, 68.

[46] In his discussion of Archaic Ionia, Mariaud 2012, 162–164 speaks against overemphasising the links between Ionian cities and non-Greek hinterland.

[47] Thonemann 2011, 23–24; similarly Warf 2009, who describes the shift in geography from surfaces to networks during the globalisation processes of the 20th and 21st c. AD: 'space as produced, not given' (70); he goes on to highlight that these networks are not random ahistorical phenomena but mirror and reinforce existing power structures (72) and argues in favour of the concept of 'relational space' (74–75).

[48] See e.g. Cosgrove 2004, 64–65.

[49] That is in terms of Edward Soja's 'Thirdspace', which synthesises Henri Lefebvre's classic trialectic *espace perçu – espace conçu – espace vécu*, the latter combining and transcending the former two: Soja 1996.

[50] Reger 2007 comes to the same conclusion from a material-culture perspective: '«region» is a cultural phenomenon, not just, or even necessarily primarily, an economic one' (71). For him, geography, topography, and ethnicity are only secondary determinants; see also Cosgrove 2004, 60–61.

of its inhabitants, and not the other way around.[51] The Ionians of the Archaic period must have perceived themselves as unmistakably distinct from their Anatolian neighbours. While a certain degree of exchange and interaction with indigenous cultures is naturally to be expected, the Ionians were surely very different in their whole way of life (for example language, *polis* culture, burial practices) from the non-Greek populations of inland Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia.[52] But people living in Ionia also spoke a different dialect, used different alphabets, worshipped different gods, and bore different names from those Aiolian and Dorian Greeks on the coast and islands south and north of it.[53]

For Herodotus, Ionia consists of the 12 cities of Miletos, Myous, Priene, Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, Phokaia, Chios, Erythrai, and Samos, which he divides further into four different dialect groups, plus Smyrna, an originally Aiolian city which later *became* Ionian (1.142, 149–150). He problematises Ionian identity by stating that the participants of the Ionian Migration were a highly varied group, and that what unites the Ionians of the 5th c. BC is merely their persistent claim to Ionianness.[54] In his final verdict on the identity of contemporary Ionians – albeit one that does not encompass all the 12 cities as he himself admits – Herodotus offers a mixture of ethnic and cultural elements:

[51] Hall 2015, 20; Kaplan 2014, 309 stresses that 'the tie to the land was never as powerful a formative factor in shaping ethnic identity as the general theories of ethnic identity would lead one to believe'.

[52] Greaves 2010, e.g. ch. 8 on cults, ch. 9 on visual arts; Mariaud 2012, 177–181.

[53] On Ionian onomastics, see e.g. Thonemann 2006, Curbera 2013, and below Chapter 4.2.2; the cults of northern Ionia are treated by Graf 1985; on dialects, see e.g. Buck 1955, 173–189.

[54] Vignolo Munson 2014 argues against older notions of ethnocentricity and for a high degree of cultural relativism in Herodotus; Connor 1993, 195 calls Herodotus a 'constructionist'. Hdt. 1.146: 'It is sheer stupidity to say that they did so because they are somehow more Ionian than the rest of the Ionians or have a nobler origin than the others. In the first place, a not insignificant proportion of the citizens of the 12 communities are Abantians from Euboia, who have no right to the name 'Ionian'; then there is an admixture of Minyans from Orchomenos, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian expatriates, Molossians, Pelasgians from Arcadia, Dorians from Epidaurus, and a number of other peoples. As for those who came from the town hall of Athens and who consider themselves to be the noblest Ionians – well, they did not bring wives with them on their voyage of colonisation, but murdered some Carians and took their daughters to be their wives'.

> *In fact, however, the name [Ionian] applies to everyone who can trace his origin back to Athens and who celebrates the festival of Apaturia, which is celebrated everywhere except at Ephesos and Kolophon. The excuse they give for being the only ones not to celebrate the Apaturia is some murder or other.* (1.147)[55]

But while the territorial aspect is absent in his discussion of Ionian identity,[56] Herodotus still mentions Ionia frequently as a concrete geographical region distinct from its neighbours, for example when describing its most favourable climate:

> *In terms of climate and weather, there is no fairer region in the whole known world than where these Ionians – the ones to whom the Panionion belongs – have founded their communities. There is no comparison between Ionia and the lands to the north and south, some of which suffer from the cold and rain, while others are oppressively hot and dry.* (1.142)

Contemporaneous to Herodotus, the Athenian tribute quota lists from the mid 5th c. BC start to be subdivided by regional rubrics, one of which is the Ἰονικὸς φόρος; this, however, groups together not only all the Ionian settlements, but also most settlements in Caria, Mysia, and Aiolis such as Halikarnassos, Iasos, Kaunos, Pitane, Elaia, Kyme, Gryneion, and Myrina. The other attested rubrics are the Hellespontine, Thracian, Nesiotic, and Carian, but the latter appears only briefly and was incorporated into the Ionian group in 438/7 BC.[57] In the Athenian mind, Ionia figures here as a catch-all label for Asian Greek communities up to the Hellespont, incongruous with any territorial realities on the ground.[58]

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[55] Thomas 2001, especially 225–228 shows how Herodotus highlights the discrepancies between Ionian ethnic self-perception (subjective ethnicity) and their history of origin (objective ethnicity).

[56] Thomas 2001, 215.

[57] Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor 1950, 68; see also Osborne–Rhodes, *GHI* 119 for the most up-to-date discussion; the lists begin in 454/3 BC and are extant until 432/1 BC; while an arrangement according to regions was applied very soon, the rubrics are first attested in 443/2 BC and appear still in the so-called Standards Decree of 425–415 BC (Osborne–Rhodes, *GHI* 155 l. 7; the dating is disputed, *IG* I$^3$ 1453 gives 430–405 BC, *AIO* ca 414 BC?). As Leah Lazar pointed out to me, Caria was probably abandoned as a rubric, because many of the cities listed there were contested by Persia and ceased to be under Athenian control.

[58] A similar distinction might still resonate in the title of the association of the Dionysiac artists of Ionia and the Hellespont, see below Chapter 1.2. See also Zacharia 2003, 44–56 who in her discussion of Euripides' *Ion* argues against the older notion of anti-Ionian sentiment in Classical Athens.

That the cultural element was more decisive than the territorial aspect in conceptualisations of Ionia – especially from an external perspective – can also be shown in the case of the Persian Empire. In the extant Near Eastern sources, the designation 'Yawan, Yaunā' *vel sim.* was not only used for Ionians but for Greeks in general.[59] From an eastern point of view, all other Greeks were thus seen as culturally similar or even equal to the Ionians, which finds explanation in the fact that the Ionians of Asia Minor were those Greeks with whom the Assyrians and Persians first came in closer contact.[60] This is neatly illustrated on the tomb reliefs of the Achaemenid kings of the 5th c. BC, where the depictions of subjected peoples are occasionally specified through trilingual inscriptions. Here, the Yaunā are subdivided into 'those who are of the mainland' (Ionians), 'those dwelling by the sea' (islanders), and 'those dwelling across the sea' (mainland Greeks, including the 'Yaunā takabarā', 'Ionians bearing shields on their heads', that is the Macedonians).[61] These labels, however, did not refer to administrative districts, but rather groups of people.[62] In the 4th c. BC, when the Ionian cities had again come under Persian rule, Ionia became the namesake for an administrative unit governed by a satrap, as attested in an inscription recording the arbitration of a boundary dispute between Miletos and Myous from 391–388 BC.[63] We do not know the exact remit of this satrapy of Ionia, but as an external label used by an empire to refer to one of its administrative units, it is

[59] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 323; Klinkott 2001 provides an exhaustive treatment of the terminology; on Persian perceptions of Greeks, see Kuhrt 2002 and Rollinger 2009; an overview of earlier Greek and foreign language terms designating Ionia or the Ionians is given by Mac Sweeney 2017, 384–387.

[60] The first attestation, in Assyrian texts, goes as far back as 735–705 BC, Crielaard 2009, 43. Similar reasons are likely to underlie the same synecdochical use of 'Ionia/Ionian' for 'Greece/Greek' surviving into modern Turkish (Yunanistan), Arabic (يونان, Yunan), Hebrew (יוון, Yavan), Aramaic (ܝܘܢܝ, Yawnoye), Sanskrit (यवनदेश Yavanadeza), Hindi (यूनान, Yunan), and Indonesian (Yunani) among others; cf. the use of 'Franks' by the Ottomans referring to Westerners in general.

[61] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 324–325, 331–332; Rollinger 2009, 39–43.

[62] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 331.

[63] *I.Milet* 9 l. 30 = *Rhodes–Osborne, GHI* 16 l. 42; it is here attested in the rare alternative form ἐξαιτράπης … Ἰωνίης, for a recent discussion of the content of the text, see Ehrhardt 2017; Blümel in *I.Mylasa* II p.7 collected all the attestations of the different variants of 'satrap' in Greek inscriptions.

again unlikely to have matched the exact boundaries which the Ionians would have given to their region.[64]

In the Hellenistic period after the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Greek way of life spread into inland Asia Minor, and settlements which were of Carian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Mysian origin increasingly took over features of *polis* institutions, the Greek language, and Greek names. Concurrently, a process of a koine-isation set in, eroding the differences between the Greek ethnicities, not only in the sphere of language.[65] For the Ionian cities, the Hellenistic period brought the practical consequence of no longer being ruled by the same hegemonic power: before Alexander, all Ionia was under Persian dominion; after him, the west coast of Asia Minor was much fought over by his successors, and cities could be forced to change allegiance overnight between the Antigonids, the Seleucids, the Ptolemies, and the Attalids, or were left free and autonomous.[66] This new situation of fragmentation surely contributed to undermining still further the perception of Ionia as a coherent region, especially from the political point of view. Yet the cities of the Ionian Koinon maintained a sense of Ionianness in the religious and cultural sphere and continued to meet to conduct the Panionia, probably on an annual basis.[67]

## 1.2 Ionia in the Roman period

It has been noted that regional designations based on ethno-cultural affiliations, such as Ionia, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia among others, were still in use and had meaning under the

[64] Hornblower 1994, 216.
[65] Harl 2011, 771–772; Chrubasik and King (eds) 2017.
[66] Metcalfe 2005, 24–38 gives a narrative of the historical events; see Heitmann-Gordon 2018 on the predominant atmosphere of contingency in the early Hellenistic period.
[67] Billows 2007 even argues for a revival of Ionian identity in the Hellenistic period; on the Ionian Koinon and its activities, see Chapters 2.1–2.2.

Roman Empire and even beyond.[68] In the case of Ionia, this is most vividly testified to by 1st and 2nd c. AD authors referring to it as 'ἡ νῦν Ἰωνία'.[69] Strabo for example introduces his description of Asia Minor in the following way:

> *This Asia comprises the first nations on the east, the Paphlagonians and Phrygians and Lykaonians, and then the Bithynians and Mysians and the Epictetus, and, besides these, the Troad and Hellespontia, and after these, on the sea, the Aiolians and Ionians, who are Greeks, and, among the rest, the Carians and Lycians, and, in the interior, the Lydians.* (Strab. 12.1.3).

For both Strabo and Pliny, Ionia was still a geographical entity with clearly defined boundaries: both authors agree that the Milesian Posideion promontory marked the border in the south and the city of Phokaia the one in the north (see Map 1).[70] The natural border to the west was purportedly the sea, but the islands of Samos and Chios, as well as a plethora of smaller and less important ones, were seen as an integral part of Ionia as well. This is not only evident from their membership in the Ionian Koinon (Samos and Chios), but also through their close economic, political, and military connections to the Ionian mainland throughout antiquity.[71] Strabo includes the islands in his discussion of Ionia from south to north. In Pliny's description, by contrast, they are separated from the treatment of the Ionian mainland (this being due to the methodological approach of his work) and are described only in 5.135–136 in the section dedicated to the islands. Geologically, Samos

[68] Thonemann 2011, 22 fn. 54: 'These geographical expressions (Lydia, Caria, Phrygia, and so on) continued to have an intense cultural significance in the Roman imperial period'; Strobel 1996, 118: 'Fortleben der traditionellen ethnischen Regionen und historischen Landschaften'; see also Spawforth 2001; Howgego 2005, 11. More critically Robert 1967, 98–99 for whom Ionia, Aiolis, Lydia 'n'ont pas de sens … à l'époque impériale, disons même plus largement à l'époque romaine. … des cadres qui n'ont à ce moment aucun rapport avec une realité politique ou administrative'.

[69] Strab. 7.7.2; 11.5.3; 17.1.46; 13.3.3; Paus. 1.29.5; 9.33.2; Aristeid. *or*. I 19 and scholia ad 15; also in Vell. 1.4.3: *quae hodieque appellatur Ionia*.

[70] Strab. 13.1.2:Ἕρμου καὶ Φωκαίας, ἥπερ ἀρχὴ μὲν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐστί; 14.1.2: ἔστι δ᾽ οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδίου τοῦ Μιλησίων καὶ τῶν Καρικῶν ὅρων μέχρι Φωκαίας καὶ τοῦ Ἕρμου τὸ πέρας τῆς Ἰωνικῆς παραλίας; 14.1.38: εἶθ᾽ οἱ ὅροι τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ τῶν Αἰολέων; 14.2.29: Φώκαιαν καὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Ἰωνίας. Plin. *nat.* 5.112: *Ionia ab Iasio sinu incipiens numerosiore ambitu litorum flectitur. in ea primus sinus Basilicus, Posideum promunturium*; 5.119: *finisque Ioniae Phocaea*.

[71] Greaves 2010, 54; Mariaud 2012, 162–163.

and Chios actually form extensions of the Mykale and the Erythrai peninsulas respectively.[72]

The eastern border of Ionia is much harder to establish, and no clear indications are given by the ancient authors. This was pointed out by Alfred Philippson in his concise analysis of the geography of southern Ionia from 1936, in which he takes the presence of Greek cities as a surrogate criterion for determining the borders of Ionia with Caria and Lydia.[73] Following this approach, we should have a closer look at the places discussed by Strabo and Pliny in their descriptions of Ionia, in addition to the well-known 13 canonical cities of Miletos, Myous, Priene, Samos, Ephesos, Kolophon, Teos, Lebedos, Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai, Smyrna, and Phokaia.

In his description of Ionia, Strabo mentions a number of islands (*nēsos*, *nēsion*, *nēsidion*, *nēsis*), small towns (*polichnion*, *polichnē, polismation*), villages (*kōmē*), and localities (*topos*), as well as natural features such as mountains, bays, lakes, and rivers. The only settlements he refers to as *poleis* – other than the 13 main cities – are Anaia and Marathesion, both dependent on Samos and Ephesos respectively.[74] It is clear from his account that he understands Ionia to consist only of a thin coastal strip and the islands immediately offshore. Geographically, Strabo also includes the settlements on the northern bank of the lower Maiandros as far as Nysa in his description of Ionia in 14.1

[72] Greaves 2010, 52–54 and 68; the results of a recent survey in the Mykale peninsula carried out between 2001 and 2009 are published in Lohmann et al. 2007; Lohmann, Kalaitzoglou, and Lüdorf 2014; Lohmann, Kalaitzoglou, and Lüdorf 2017. Their finds lead them to conclude that the Mykale in the Imperial period experienced a decline in settlement activity corresponding to the loss of importance of Priene, Lohmann, Kalaitzoglou, and Lüdorf 2017 I, 237–273, esp. 272.

[73] Philippson 1936, 3.

[74] On the location of and finds from Anaia, Marathesion, and Phygela, see Keil 1908; Patterson 2013, 217, solely based on a Homeric reference in a *phylē* name, goes a bit too far in suggesting that 'the Phygelans' Ionian associations may have been somewhat muted' to the benefit of their Achaianness. That Phygela was never part of the Ionian Koinon was surely not a question of perceived ethnical belonging, but of sheer size, as the settlement was never a big and important enough city; in Strab. 14.1.20 it is called a *polichnion*.

(especially the *poleis* of Magnesia, Tralleis, and Nysa), but prefaces this with the explanation:

> *After Magnesia comes the road to Tralleis, with Mt. Mesogis on the left, and, at the road itself and on the right, the plain of the Maiandros, which is occupied by Lydians and Carians, and by Ionians, both Milesians and Myesians, and also by the Aiolians of Magnesia. And the same kind of topographical account applies as far as Nysa and Antiocheia.* (14.1.42)

A little bit earlier in his description of Phrygia, he states that the Maiandros, in its final passage before emptying into the sea between Miletos and Priene, flows through 'Caria itself, which is now occupied by the Ionians' (12.8.15). But Caria proper begins for him only south of the river:

> *coming now to the far side of the Maiandros, the parts that remain to be described are all Carian, since here the Lydians are no longer intermingled with the Carians, and the latter occupy all the country by themselves, except that a segment of the seaboard is occupied by Milesians and Myesians.* (14.2.1)

Further on, at the end of the section on Caria, he indicates that, according to Artemidoros of Ephesos, Tralleis and Magnesia lie in Ionia.[75] Strabo thus seems to conceive of the lower Maiandros Valley as a zone which cannot be clearly ascribed to one of those ethnic labels, but was mainly inhabited by a mixed population of Carians and Lydians, with the exception of the Ionian Milesians and Myesians, and the Aiolian Magnesians (implicit through their descent from Magnesia in Thessaly).[76]

[75] Strab. 14.2.29: 'But one comes to the road that leads into Tralleis after crossing the Maiandros, at about the middle of the journey, where are the boundaries of Caria… Again, from the Maiandros, traversing next in order the length of Ionia along the same road, the distance from the river to Tralleis is 80 stadia; then to Magnesia, 140; to Ephesos, 120; to Smyrna, 320; and to Phokaia and the boundaries of Ionia, less than 200; so that the length of Ionia in a straight line would be, according to Artemidoros, slightly more than 800 stadia'.

[76] Strab. 14.1.39 calls Magnesia on Maiandros a πόλις Αἰολίς; that the Magnesians themselves also still highlighted their Aiolianness in the 2nd c. AD is well attested through their claim to membership in the Panhellenion (*IG* II$^2$ 1091, reign of Antoninus Pius) where they describe themselves as ἄποικοι |[ὄντες Μαγνήτων] τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ (ll. 3–4) and συνα|[γωνισάμενοι δὲ] πολλάκις Ἴωσι καὶ Δωριεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐ|[κ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ]ένους Αἰολεῦσι (ll. 5–7), see Chapter 2.4; Thonemann 2011, 22–26 highlights the importance of the notion of 'perceived space' when talking about the Maiandros Valley.

Nino Luraghi has convincingly demonstrated that Strabo's account of Ionia mirrors closely his contemporary situation.[77] Luraghi pointed out the strong focus on Ephesos as the culturally most dominant and important of the Ionian cities: its founder Androklos is given as the only natural son of Kodros, the Smyrnaeans are said to be descendants of the Ephesians, and only here does Strabo include a conspicuous amount of Hellenistic and Roman history as well. In contrast, most anecdotes about Miletos, which is described in other sources as the first Ionian foundation founded by Neileus, the leader of the migration, are about decline and destruction, and its main source of pride, the large number of its colonies, as a matter of the past. This Ephesocentrism might be due to Strabo's source, Artemidoros of Ephesos' *Iōnika Hypomnēmata*, but even if it was, Strabo probably chose it because it reflected Ephesos' economic and political pre-eminence in the early Imperial period in the most appropriate way.[78]

Pliny's account of Ionia in 5.112–120 is less detailed than Strabo's. For example, he does not mention Pyrrha, the islet Narthekis, the town of Anaia, Lake Selinousia, the island of Aspis, Chalkideis, Hypokremnos, the Alexandreion, Airai, and Kybeleia. On the other hand, he lists almost 40 islands and islets off Ionia not found in Strabo.[79] There are also some settlements on the coast mentioned only by Pliny, which he describes as no longer existing (the *oppida* Pteleon, Helos, and Dorion near Erythrai; Daphnus, Hermesta, and Sipylum, the former capital of Maeonia; the former site of Temnos at the mouth of the Hermos river between Smyrna and Phokaia) or not securely locatable (Matium south of Ephesos and another Matium belonging to Kolophon; Parthenie close to Klazomenai). It is interesting to note that Pliny interrupts his account of the coastal locations south of Ephesos (Panionion,

[77] Luraghi 2000.
[78] Luraghi 2000, 364–366.
[79] Plin. *nat.* 5.134–138.

Phygela, Marathesium) to include Magnesia on Maiandros, whereas all the other settlements of the lower Maiandros Valley are discussed in the chapter on Caria (Nysa, Tralleis, Antiocheia, and others, 5.108). This might be because he uses the official *conventus* register as a source here, but also ties in well with Strabo's description of the city; it seems to have held a special position in the region, being perceived as an old Greek *polis*, although neither counted among the Ionian or Carian settlements. Another peculiarity in this section is that Thyateira on the river Lykos (5.114–115) is described as 'inland' immediately following his mention of Magnesia on Maiandros. This must refer to the well-known Lydian town and is probably due either to the confusion of Magnesia on Maiandros with Magnesia under Sipylos (which could have been mentioned in one of his sources in connection with nearby Thyateira), or the homonymity of the Lydian and the Phrygian rivers called the Lykos.

From both epigraphic and literary sources we know of other smaller settlements on the coast of Ionia not mentioned by Strabo and Pliny, such as Teichioussa, Ionia polis, Thebes on Mykale, Bouthia, Dioshieron, or Sillyos.[80] Metropolis[81] in the hinterland of Ephesos (see Map 1) is attested as a *polis* from Hellenistic times onwards.[82] It is mentioned by Strabo only twice – in the preliminary remarks of the Ionia chapter (14.1.2), as lying on the way from Ephesos to Smyrna, and as producing good wine (14.1.15) – and is not discussed in the narrative section.[83] Metropolis distinguished itself from other cities of the same name

[80] On the location of Teichioussa, see the detailed analysis of Lohmann 2001; an exhaustive treatment of all attested toponyms of southern Ionia can be found in Lohmann 2002; the last four are marked as *polis*/*polichnion* of Ionia in Steph. Byz. *ethn.* s.vv. On the collective identity of the inhabitants of Thebes on Mykale, which was abandoned in the Hellenistic period, see Mack 2015b.

[81] The ancient name survives in the name of the modern city of Torbalı, which lies in the plain below the ancient town.

[82] Meriç 1982, 13–17.

[83] Plin. *nat.* 5.120 merely lists it as part of the Ephesian *conventus* district.

by specifying that it lay 'in Ionia'.[84] The only evidence for this addition comes from the city's coinage, where this specification is found consistently from the 1st–3rd c. AD.[85] The fact that the addition is attested only on coins issued by the city itself, but not in the literary sources or in the city's comparatively small corpus of inscriptions,[86] suggests that it functioned beyond a purely pragmatic-descriptive level and reflects a conscious choice.

In the case of cities with more common names, such distinctions usually make use of prominent landmarks such as mountains or rivers, for example (limiting myself to Asia Minor) Apollonia on Rhyndakos, Magnesia under Sipylos, Magnesia on Maiandros, Herakleia under Latmos, and Herakleia under Salbake.[87] Metropolis under Gallesion or on Kaystros would thus have been a more obvious choice. Regional self-ascription in general is very unusual, and in the few attested cases, an ethnic or the name of the region in the genitive is more common.[88] The homonymous Phrygian Metropolis always added ΦΡΥ/ΦΡ/Φ to its name on its only extant coins from Decius' reign, which should most likely be extended to ΦΡΥΓΩΝ.[89] The genitive option was apparently excluded by Metropolis in Ionia to avoid ambiguities and false connotations, as the city's name could of course also

[84] Ptol. *Geog*. 5.2.17 and Steph. Byz. *ethn.* s.v. interestingly locate it in Lydia though.

[85] First under Domitian (*RPC* II 1054), and still on the last coins recorded by *RPC* under Gordian III (*RPC* VII.1 451–454, 462–463). Only on smaller denominations with less space is the specification regularly absent (nearly all coins under 23 mm omit it, e.g. *RPC* VI 4829–4841 or VII.1 455.6–459.2, ⌀ 16–23 mm), equally on larger coins in cases where the name of a magistrate is mentioned (there is in fact not a single attestation in which those two specifications occur together, e.g. *RPC* VI 4842–4847, or VII.1 460.1–461, ⌀ 29–35 mm).

[86] All the inscriptions published so far can be found in *I.Ephesos* 3401–3494 (1981), Engelmann 1999, *I.Metropolis* I (2003), Dreyer 2010, and Dreyer 2015; Meriç 1982, 2 and 57 is too simplistic in dismissing the testimonies of Ptolemaios and Stephanos of Byzantium as simply wrong, and taking the mention of 'in Ionia' on the coins as the ultimate proof for the city's location in Ionia.

[87] In the first two cases, the additions are also attested numismatically: ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ (ΑΠΟ) ΣΙΠΥΛΟΥ (e.g. *RPC* I 2449; IX 576), ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ (ΑΠΟ/ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ) ΡΥΝΔΑΚΟΥ (e.g. *RPC* II 876; VI 4168); for an overview see Leschhorn and Franke 2002, Index I: 'Geographisches/Geographical Terms'.

[88] E.g. ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΙΗΤΙΔΟΣ (*RPC* III 3211) and ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΚΙΗΤΩΝ (*RPC* III 3214); ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΔΟΣ (*RPC* IV.3 9012); in inscriptions only: ἐν Ἀντιοχείαι τῆς Περσίδος (*I.Magnesia* 18 ll. 9–10) and Ἀντιοχέων τῶν Περσικῶν (*I.Estremo Oriente* 252 l. 1).

[89] *RPC* IX 829–842; on Phrygian regional identity and the Koinon of Phrygia, see Dräger 1993, 70–77; Thonemann 2011, 109–117; Vitale 2012, 80–83.

be read as a noun, and the title '*mētropolis* of Ionia' was a privilege reserved for Miletos.[90] If we take their choice of words seriously, we might be able to discern a subtle distinction made by the Metropolitans: they were neither claiming to be 'Ionian' nor 'of Ionia', but merely living 'in Ionia'.[91] Thus, they managed to locate themselves within the orbit of the famous old cities of Ionia without disturbing their sensitivities by actually claiming a share in their cultural identity.[92] On the one hand, this may be understood as further evidence for the continued existence of Ionia as a perceived regional space even beyond the famous old Ionian cities. On the other hand, it corroborates the notion that living in Ionia was not enough to make one Ionian.[93]

Another interesting choice of name was made by the Milesians when they founded the settlement of Ionia polis on the southern shore of the Latmian Gulf possibly in the Archaic period (see Map 1).[94] The name is attested only in four inscriptions from the first half of the 2nd c. BC, but the town, whose harbour served as an important connection between the marble quarries in its vicinity and Miletos, apparently continued to exist in the Roman period.[95] As Ionia polis was located right on the border between Milesian and Carian

[90] *IG* II$^2$ 3300 l. 4; *I.Didyma* 312 l. 7; *I.Milet* 1435 ll. 1–2; Guerber 2009, 116–123, 326–341 has highlighted, that we cannot dismiss those city titles as meaningless advertisements used at will. They were in fact official titles sanctioned and/or awarded by the Romans and that this was generally respected is suggested by the fact that the majority of them are only attested for one city respectively, see Chapter 1.3.2. A clear example is *I.Priene*$^2$ 229 where the city title awarded under the Flavians (most likely φιλοσέβαστος) was erased just like Domitian's name.

[91] I am aware of only one other case of cities using ἐν + dative in this same context: Apollonia and Herakleia in Pontos: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΗΤΕΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΟΝΤΩ (*RPC* IV.1 5005–5008, 9496, 9670, 10377, 10525, 10943; also in inscriptions: *IGBulg* I$^2$ 396 ll. 9–11: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ); ΗΡΑΚΛΗΑΣ ΕΝ ΠΟΝΤΩ (e.g. *RPC* VI 3539; and *I.Heraclea Pontica* 73 ll. 1–2: ἐκ τῆς ἐν Πόντῳ Ἡρακλείας) and ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΑΝ (ΕΝ) ΠΟΝΤΩ (e.g. *RPC* VI 3548, 3554–3568).

[92] The genealogical claims to Ionianness on coins of Isinda and Synnada will be discussed below in Chapter 5.2.

[93] Similarly, Strabo marks cities as 'Ionian' (only ones of the *triskaidekapolis*) to stress their ethno-cultural affiliation when there is no doubt that they are situated in Ionia: e.g. Strab. 14.1.27 (Kolophon as πόλις Ἰωνική); 14.1.31 (Erythrai as πόλις Ἰωνική); cf. 14.1.39 (Magnesia on Maiandros as πόλις Αἰολίς); Samos: 10.2.17 (Ἰωνική), 8.3.6 (ἵνα χωρίσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνικῆς), 8.3.20 (τῆς Ἰωνικῆς Σάμου).

[94] Peschlow-Bindokat 1977/78, esp. 134–135.

[95] The inscriptions are *I.Milet* 149 and 150, *I.Didyma* 40, and Günther and Prignitz 2016. The usual form of the name is Ionia polis (ἐξ Ἰωνίας πόλεως: *I.Milet* 150 l. 103; ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλε[ι]: *I.Didyma* 40 l. 16; εἰς Ἰωνίαν πόλιν:

territory, one might detect an assertion of the Milesians' Ionianness in naming one of their settlements the 'Ionian *polis*'.[96]

Strabo mentions another instance of Ionia being used as a regional-geographic label, which is also well attested in inscriptions: the Dionysiac artists of Ionia and the Hellespont.[97] This association came into being in the mid 3rd c. BC and its name continued to be used in the Imperial period.[98] Here, Ionia is again used not as a clearly defined territorial unit, but a cultural sphere to which the city where it was based (first Teos, later Ephesos, Myonnesos, Lebedos) belonged.[99] The label 'Ionia and the Hellespont' then evolved into a metonymic umbrella term encompassing all of the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, and its survival into the Roman period adds yet another facet to the ambiguous picture of Ionia sketched out so far.

To my knowledge, the only attested work from the Roman period dealing specifically with Ionian history is Artemidoros of Ephesos' *Iōnika Hypomnēmata* from the 1st c. BC. It is known from a short quotation in Athenaios which tells us that a certain type of bread was made only by the Ionians.[100] We cannot of course from this fragment extrapolate the general nature of the work, but it is likely that it dealt with cultural peculiarities of the

*I.Milet* 149 l. 45, 150 l. 104, Günther and Prignitz 2016, p. 159 l. 29), but the alternative Ionopolis (Ἰωνοπολίτιδος: *I.Milet* 150 l. 83; εἰς τὸν Ἰωνοπολιτικὸν κόλπον: *I.Milet* 150 l. 101) is attested as well; on its continued existence, see Peschlow-Bindokat 1977/78, 314–135.

[96] A neat parallel case is the city of Rhodiapolis ('the Rhodian *polis*') in Lycia; the inscriptions attributed to Ionia polis have now been edited together in *I.Nordkarien* 154–157.

[97] Strab. 14.1.29: ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἡ σύνοδος καὶ κατοικία τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ μέχρι Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐν ᾗ πανήγυρίς τε καὶ ἀγῶνες κατ᾽ ἔτος συντελοῦνται τῷ Διονύσῳ. Strabo's wording can be seen as paraphrasing the association's official title, but is still close enough to be taken as a serious testimony.

[98] Le Guen 2001, 13, who does not discuss the name though; Imperial attestations: *I.Tralleis* 50 ll. 6–8: ἡ σύνοδος |τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας κα[ὶ] |Ἑλλησπόντο<υ>; *I.Ephesos* 1618B ll. 12–14: καὶ ἀρ|χιερατεύσαντα τῶν ἐπ᾽ |Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.

[99] Aneziri 2003, 72 argues that Ionia and the Hellespont were originally the core areas of the association's activities.

[100] Athen. 3.111D: κνηστός · ἄρτος ποιὸς παρὰ Ἴωσι, Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ Ἐφέσιός φησιν ἐν Ἰωνικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν.

Ionians.[101] With the exception of the early Hellenistic *Peri tōn Iōnōn* by Demetrios of Phaleron (Diog. Laert. 5.81), the very few other attested *Iōnika* stem all from the Classical period or before and deal with founding myths and matters of cult.[102] This dearth of regional historiography is probably due to the fact that Ionia was at no point a political unity and that its cities all had their own local histories.[103]

In contrast to mainland Greece, Ionia's past had no grand political or military achievements to offer, and the Ionian Revolt as its most important historical event was not particularly suited to commemoration.[104] In all of the numerous references to the history of Hellenistic and Roman Ionia in Strabo, the Ionians appear as passive objects, devoid of agency.[105] Thus, the cornerstones of Ionian memory in the Roman period, next to references to foundation myths establishing connections to Athens and Achaia (see Chapter 3.2.1), came from the cultural sphere. This is particularly evident in Strabo, who lists *viri illustres* after the description of cities in western Asia Minor, something which he does almost nowhere

[101] *FGrH* s.v. Ionien: 'es ist anzunehmen, dass die späten Ὑπομνήματα Artemidors reiches material mindestens für kultur und kult enthielten'; Luraghi 2000, 366 holds that Strabo used them for his description of Ephesos and that they treated the Ionian Migration as well.

[102] Kadmos of Miletos (6th c. BC? or rather mythical; *RE* s.v.; Suda s.v.: Κάδμος Πανδίονος: συνέταξε δὲ Κτίσιν Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰωνίας ἐν βιβλίοις δ̄), Bias of Priene (6th c. BC; Diog. Laert. 1.85: ἐποίησε δὲ περὶ Ἰωνίας, τίνα μάλιστα ἂν τρόπον εὐδαιμονοίη, εἰς ἔπη δισχίλια), Panyassis of Halikarnassos (early 5th c. BC; Suda s.v.: ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλειάδα ἐν βιβλίοις ιδ', εἰς ἔπη θ', Ἰωνικὰ ἐν πενταμέτρῳ, ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ Κόδρον καὶ Νηλέα καὶ τὰς Ἰωνικὰς ἀποικίας, εἰς ἔπη ζ'.), Metrodoros of Chios (?) (maybe the 5th–4th c. BC; Plut. *symp.* 6.8.1 (694A–B): ἐδόκει δ' ἡ βούβρωστις ἕτερον εἶναι (sc. τοῦ βουλίμου)· τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον ἐλαμβάνομεν ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρου Ἰωνικῶν. ἱστορεῖ γὰρ ὅτι Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰολεῖς ὄντες θύουσι Βουβρώστει ταῦρον μέλανα καὶ κατακόψαντες αὐτόδορον ὁλοκαυτοῦσιν); Billows 2007, 40 fn. 29 wrongly ascribes Kadmos and Metrodoros to the Hellenistic period.

[103] *FGrH* s.v. Ionien; on the *polis* histories of several of the Ionian cities, see Thomas 2019, 177–226.

[104] The Meliac War as a crucial event in Ionian pre-history is relatively well attested for the Hellenistic period (*I.Priene*$^2$ 132 with the exhaustive commentary by Magnetto 2008, esp. 81–97, and *IG* XII 6,1 155), see Mac Sweeney 2013, 178–181; in the Roman period however, this war appears only in Vitr. 4.1.4 and there is not a single mention of it in the Greek sources.

[105] E.g. the capture of Miletos through Alexander the Great (14.1.7), the relocation of Ephesos through Lysimachos (14.1.21), the extension of *asylia* of the Ephesian Artemision by Alexander the Great, Mithridates, Antonius, and Augustus (14.1.23), the construction of the Ephesian harbour through Attalos Philadelphos (14.1.24), the refoundation of Smyrna through Antigonos and Lysimachos (14.1.37), the siege of Smyrna by Dolabella and his victory there over Trebonius, one of the murders of Caesar (14.1.37), the revolt of Aristonikos (14.1.38).

else.[106] These include famous philosophers, historians, artists, and orators from the Archaic period down to – and this is quite remarkable – Strabo's own lifetime.[107] Strabo draws an uninterrupted line of cultural history and represents the Ionia of his own time as a flourishing and intellectually thriving cultural landscape – in stark contrast to contemporaneous mainland Greece, with its past glories and modern-day decline.[108] By undermining classicising Athenocentrism, he rewrites Greek cultural history and claims the bigger share of it for his native Asia Minor.[109] Another factor which could have played an important role in this assertion of the regional cultural identity of the Ionians might have been the perceived threat posed by Roman cultural practices and values.[110]

## 1.3 Provincial identities

### 1.3.1 Ionia and the *conventūs* of Asia

Having highlighted the significance of Ionia as a cultural space, I will now set its perceived physical boundaries against the geographical extent of the newly created province of Asia and its *conventus* subdivisions. While the influence of Roman provincialisation on a more

[106] Desideri 2000, 36–41.

[107] Luraghi 2000; **Miletos**: Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Hekataios, Aischines; **Priene**: Bias; **Samos**: Pythagoras, Polykrates, Syloson, Kreophylos; **Ephesos**: Heraclitus, Hermodoros, Hipponax, Parrhasios, Apelles, Alexander Lychnos; **Kolophon**: Mimnermos, Xenophanes, Polymnastos, Homer; **Teos**: Anakreon; **Erythrai**: Sibylla, Athenais, Herakleides; **Chios**: Ion, Theopompos, Theokritos, Homer; **Klazomenai**: Anaxagoras; **Smyrna**: Homer; **Magnesia on Maiandros**: Hegesias, Simos, Anaxenor; **Tralleis**: Pythodoros, Pythodoris, Menodoros, Dionysokles, Damas 'the Mackerel'; **Nysa**: Apollonios, Menekrates, Aristodemos, Sostratos.

[108] Strabo is the first author attested who applies this nostalgic narrative of decline, which was then also taken up by e.g. Seneca, Pliny, Dio, Plutarch, and of course Pausanias: Desideri 2000, 39.

[109] Luraghi 2000, 360: 'la Ionia all'alba del principato rappresentava come non mai il cuore pulsante della cultura greca'; Sartre 2003, 8: 'L'Ionie apparaît vraiment comme la Grèce d'Asie'; cf. also Paus. 7.6.1: Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θαύματα πολλά τε καὶ οὐ πολλῷ τινι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀποδέοντά ἐστιν. This quotation, together with the fact that Pausanias inserted the Ionia-excursus in his account of Achaia, shows that he cared about highlighting the cultural identity of the Greeks of Asia Minor (thus implicitly himself): W. Ameling in Moggi 1996, 106.

[110] Regarding Pausanias' perspective, Moggi 1996, 107: 'Quanto all'affermazione della identità culturale degli Ioni d'Asia, ritengo che essa sia finalizzata non tanto (e non solo) alla definizione dei legami con la Grecia metropolitana, quanto a contrastare l'omologazione alla cultura romana'.

general Greek identity has received much scholarly attention since Greg Woolf's seminal study from 1994, the question of how 'becoming provincial Asian' might have shaped the identity-construction of the Ionians in particular remains to be explored.[111]

In his discussion of the area south of the Katakekaumene plain, Strabo notably states that the Romans did not respect the traditional ethno-geographical borders at all when they divided the region into *conventus* districts:

> *To this confusion no little has been contributed by the fact that the Romans did not divide them according to tribes, but in another way organised their jurisdictions, within which they hold their popular assemblies and their courts*.[112]

This much-discussed statement has been taken by some scholars as the ultimate proof that the Romans created the province with its subdivisions *ex nihilo*.[113] Strabo, however, wrote a

[111] While our understanding of Roman provincial organisation has been furthered recently and it has been shown that Greek *koina* are in many cases not congruent with a whole Roman province (e.g. by Vitale 2012 or Lozano Goméz 2017), the distinction between a Roman (*provincia*/*eparcheia*) and a Greek perspective ('Koinon of (the Hellenes in) Asia') is not a crucial one for the purpose of this chapter; Vitale 2012 showed that, while in the 1st–2nd c. AD the whole province of Asia was subdivided into the *eparcheiai* of Asia, Phrygia, and possibly Lesbos, in contrast to other provinces in Asia Minor, the Koinon of Asia in fact represented the whole province and not just one of its *eparcheiai*; he further highlights the inseparability of Greek and Roman perspectives, Vitale 2012, 37: 'bestimmte Koina in Kleinasien [sind] nur in engster Verknüpfung mit der römischen Verwaltungsgeographie, nämlich als territoriales Pendant zu gleichnamigen Eparchien zu verstehen'. See e.g. *I.Milet* 3 where the Koinon of the Hellenes is equated with the *eparcheia*; also Edelmann-Singer 2015, 182: 'Bei all diesem scheinbar auf die eigene, griechische Identität ausgerichteten Bemühen ab dem Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts darf eines nicht übersehen werden: Die Titel des Asiarchen, Bithynarchen, Galatarchen, Makedoniarchen etc. drücken zwar ein neues Selbstbewusstsein aus, beziehen sich als Referenzrahmen jedoch auf eine römische Einrichtung, nämlich die Provinz. Sie sind also der Versuch einer Abnabelung, aber immer im Rahmen der von Rom vorgegebenen topographischen, administrativen und ideologischen Grenzen'.

[112] Strab. 13.4.12: εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν ταύτην οὐ μικρὰ συλλαμβάνει τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φῦλα διελεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας.

[113] Mommsen 1899, 197 fn. 1 is usually given as the first to support this claim, but in fact, he does not discuss possible precursors of the Roman *conventūs*, all he says is that their introduction has to be dated back to the creation of the province and cannot be ascribed to Sulla, as some scholars claim ('Diese selbst, eigentlich *conventus civium Romanorum* sind ohne Frage so alt wie die Provinz selbst, da die Rechtsprechung in denselben mit der Einrichtung der Statthalterschaft selbst zusammenfällt'). This hypothesis was dominant until the 1980s; recently Merola 2001 was the only one who still maintains it (see 172 fn. 116 for an overview of the secondary literature), but also admits that the Romans took over the Attalid customs system (173); however, she raises the interesting point that the *conventus* system might not have been put into place as a whole in one single creational act, but is more likely to have become institutionalised as the result of a longer formation process (179–180). Haensch 1997, 311 fn. 47 is more cautious, but tends rather towards a Roman invention, again putting too much weight on the Strabo passage. For Mitchell 1999, 25 the 'question remains entirely open'.

century after Asia had become a Roman province, and the fact that he makes no reference to pre-existing structures does not exclude the possibility that the Romans could have modelled their administrative divisions on the Attalid *topoi*. We know that those had not respected ethnic boundaries either, so the Strabo passage can in no way support the weight of the argument which it is often made to bear.[114] Whereas the debate continues about the extent to which the Romans took over Attalid structures, only very few scholars now would deny that they did so.[115] Taking over pre-existing divisions must have been the most efficient and practical way for dealing with the organisation of vast territories, and this is attested not only for the Seleucids, who calqued their administrative units on the Achaemenid satrapies, but also for the Attalids, who largely took over Seleucid structures in turn.[116] A number of indications suggests the same in the case of the Romans: For one, the Roman province of Asia at the time of its creation seems to have been almost coextensive with the former Attalid kingdom.[117] Moreover, it has been pointed out that all the Attalid *kistophoroi* minting centres reappear as *conventus* capitals in the Roman period.[118] Furthermore, one could add the slightly odd attribution of Magnesia on Maiandros to the *dioikēsis* of Miletos, rather than to Ephesos or Tralleis, as might have been expected. The free city of Magnesia was not a part of the Pergamene kingdom and lay on the road midway between the latter two cities, which were the centres of Attalid *topoi*.[119] The most probable explanation for Magnesia's inclusion in the newly created *conventus* of Miletos is that, at the introduction of the *conventūs*, the

[114] Habicht 1975, 68: 'the wording of Strabo does not exclude the possibility that with their assize-system the Romans did no more than change an already existing pattern'.
[115] First suggested by Wilamowitz in Schulten 1892, 12 fn. 2, supported e.g. by Ameling 1988, 14–18; Mileta 1990, esp. 444: 'direkte Nachfolgeeinrichtungen der *topoi* des Pergamenischen Reiches'; Daubner 2006$^2$, 203; Fournier 2010, 64: 'une conception romaine de l'administration venue se greffer sur une trame territoriale préexistante'.
[116] Mileta 1990, 428–431; Daubner 2006$^2$, 207; Thonemann 2013, 8–10.
[117] Fournier 2010, 63.
[118] Mileta 1990, 431–432; those were: Pergamon, Ephesos, Sardis, Tralleis, Laodikeia, Apamea, and Synnada.
[119] Thonemann 2013, 10.

districts of Ephesos and Tralleis remained largely the same as the Attalid *topoi* and the Milesian *conventus* was a new district made up of former free cities.[120]

Strabo also records the establishment of the province by Manius Aquillius after the victory over Aristonikos, and presents a picture of continuous and unchanged administrative tradition: 'Manius Aquillius came over as consul with ten *legati* and organised the province into the form of government that still now endures'.[121] This surely refers to the *conventus* system as such and does not imply that the geographical extent of the province remained unchanged.[122] Thanks to a comparatively rich body of ancient source material from the 1st c. BC and the 1st c. AD, we are in a position to reconstruct the names and number of the *conventus* capitals, and to a certain extent also the towns and villages under their jurisdiction, with a fair amount of confidence (see Map 2).[123]

The earliest source is Cicero's *Pro Flacco* from 59 BC, which deals with L. Valerius Flaccus' governorship of Asia in 62/61 BC.[124] In the text, Cicero mentions Apameia, Laodikeia, Adramyttion, and Pergamon as administrative centres for the province-wide collection of money from the Jewish population (68),[125] and Pergamon, Smyrna, and Tralleis as cities 'where there are many Roman citizens and justice is administered by our magistrate' (71).[126]

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[120] Mileta 1990, 442 explains the creation of the *conventus* of Smyrna, which had never been part of the Attalid kingdom, in a similar way.

[121] Strab. 14.1.38: Μάνιος δ' Ἀκύλλιος, ἐπελθὼν ὕπατος μετὰ δέκα πρεσβευτῶν, διέταξε τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς τὸ νῦν ἔτι συμμένον τῆς πολιτείας σχῆμα.

[122] Mitchell 1999, 22; Vitale 2012, 53.

[123] The most complete overview can be found in the table in Mitchell 1999, 23, which contains four minor errors: Smyrna and Tralleis are absent from the first column with the evidence from *Pro Flacco*; Sardis is missing in the second column; the inscription from Didyma from AD 40 is erroneously called *I.Didyma* 140, instead of the correct *I.Didyma* 148; the entry 'Smyrna' under *SEG* 37-884 belongs to *I.Didyma* 148.

[124] The most recent edition is Maselli 2000 who does not, however, completely replace Webster 1931; Kurke 1989 is the only monograph-length treatment of the speech; the most important secondary literature on the *Pro Flacco* includes Classen 1985, 180–217; Steel 2001, 53–74; Alexander 2002, 78–97; Canali de Rossi 2005; Tahin 2014, 75–86.

[125] Mitchell 1999, 27; Merola 2001, 172 is more cautious and objects that they must not necessarily have been *conventus* capitals, but are more likely to have merely been important cities with a considerable Jewish population.

[126] Fournier 2010, 64–65.

The next testimony is an inscription from Miletos with a letter from a Roman magistrate, an even more fragmentary copy of which was also found in Priene.[127] This text specifies that the Koinon of the Hellenes consists of 'you [the Milesians], the Ephesians, the Trallians, the Alabandians, the Mylasians, the Smyrnaeans, the Pergamenes, the Sardians, and the Adramyttians'.[128] It further stipulates that the cities mentioned, unmistakably the *conventus* capitals of the province of Asia, should forward the document to the towns belonging to their *dioikēsis*.[129] It is probable that the same mechanism underlay the copying of the *SC de agro Pergameno* from 101 BC, found at Smyrna, Adramyttion, and Ephesos, which can thus be seen as our best testimony supporting the hypothesis that the *conventus* system was already in place in the late 2nd c. BC.[130] The fact that a copy of the letter to Miletos was found in Priene shows that these orders were carried out, and that Priene was part of the Milesian *dioikēsis*. Furthermore, the presence of two envoys from Magnesia on Maiandros at the end of the text makes it most likely that this town was also part of the Milesian district, as is then safely attested for the Flavian period by *I.Ephesos* 13.[131] The absence of the Phrygian *conventus* centres Laodikeia, Apameia, and Synnada, as well as Lykaonian Philomelion, which were administered by the governor of Cilicia from 56–50 BC, together with the identification of the individual named Cicero (l. 39) as the famous orator, has been taken as evidence for dating the text to the latter's governorship of Cilicia in 51/50

[127] *I.Milet* 3; *I.Priene*$^2$ 13; Sherk 1969, n. 52.
[128] *I.Milet* 3 ll. 42–46: δι' ἃς [αἰτίας] |πρός τε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γέγραφα, [πρὸς] |[ὑ]μᾶς, Ἐφεσίους, Τραλλιανούς, Ἀλαβανδεῖς, Μ̣[υ]|[λ]ασεῖς, Σμυρναίους, Περγαμηνούς, Σαρδιανο[ύς], |Ἀδραμυτηνούς.
[129] *I.Milet* 3 ll. 46–47: ἵνα τε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῆι δ[ιοι]|[κ]ήσει τῆι ἰδίαι πόλεις διαποστείλησθε.
[130] Mileta 1990, 439.
[131] Habicht 1975, 77.

BC.[132] Consequently, the author of the letter was determined as Q. Minucius Thermus, the governor of Asia during that time.[133]

One of our most detailed sources for the *conventūs* of Asia is again book 5 of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. It is remarkable that he does not list the different districts and the towns and villages within their jurisdiction in any systematic way. It has been shown that he uses an Augustan *conventus* register as one of his sources, but in fact only in cases for which he does not have better material at hand, and when he does mention the *conventus* district to which a given town or village belonged, it is often the only information provided.[134] Thus, he lists the dependent settlements – often incomplete, with the remark 'and others of no note' – for the districts of Sardis, Synnada, Apameia, Laodikeia/Kibyra, Philomelion/Lykaonia, Adramyttion, and Pergamon. When discussing the better-known cities of Ionia, however, he never mentions their affiliation to a *conventus* district, and when he refers to the jurisdictions of Smyrna and Ephesos respectively, he does so out of the main narrative sequence, at the end of the passage on Ionia, and only lists the more

[132] Thus Habicht 1975, 68–69, 71; Herrmann in *Milet* VI,1, p. 155–156; and most recently Blümel and Merkelbach in *I.Priene*$^2$, 34–38; Bowersock 1970, 226–227 argued that the Cicero mentioned was the orator's son and the author was Octavian in 29/28 BC; he explained the absence of the Phrygian *dioikēseis* (which had been reunited with Asia in 49 BC) with the fact that they had been given to the Galatian king Amyntas by Antonius and were only reunited with Asia after the former's death in 25 BC. However, the unique appearance of Tralleis and Mylasa as *conventus* centres speaks in fact for an earlier date, and no other scholar has since followed Bowersock's theory.

[133] Blümel and Merkelbach in *I.Priene*$^2$ suggest that the reason for this letter was the bad behaviour of the *pro quaestore* in Asia, L. Antonius, which was met with criticism by Ferrary 2009, 71. It is very difficult to extract historical meaning from the fragmentary ll. 37–42 (one might, for example, question the indiscriminately accepted restoration ἀνείλ̣[ηφε] in l. 38 which could equally be an aorist form of ἀναιρέω), where a Cicero is mentioned (as […]ι Κικέρ[ων]ι, l. 39). Yet, no one seems to have seriously taken into account the possibility that the Cicero mentioned could also have been Quintus Tullius Cicero, the orator's brother and governor of Asia 61–58 BC, whose name would perfectly fit the letter traces of l. 37 ([…]ọ Κοΐν[τ]ου Ṭ[.....]ọ[…]; and indeed restored as such by Canali de Rossi 2000). Allowing that the author of *I.Milet* 3 was speaking of a Cicero who was his predecessor rather than one in charge of another province at the same time, the year 56 BC becomes the most attractive alternative (the author could then be the governor C. Septimius, Stumpf 1991, 30–31), and the separation of the Phrygian *dioikēseis* from the province of Asia (on which see Syme 1939, 301–302; Stumpf 1991, 48–50) might in fact be seen as a more probable context having prompted the whole document. Canali de Rossi 2000 republishes the letter and identifies the sender as Cn. Pompeius, but the historical scenario created by him remains ultimately unconvincing, see e.g. the critical remarks by Thomas Corsten in *SEG* 50-1178.

[134] Habicht 1975, 69; Dalla Rosa 2012, 263; Vitale 2012, 47.

obscure places, which he had not mentioned before. Except for the capitals Smyrna and Ephesos, we do not learn to which *conventus* any of the main Ionian cities belongs. The *conventus* of Miletos is not mentioned at all. What Pliny does confirm though, is Strabo's assertion that the *conventus* districts did not respect ethno-geographical borders, as, for example, Smyrna is said to be the centre for a large part of Aiolis, as well as for the Lydian Magnesia under Sipylos and the Macedonian Hyrkaneis,[135] whereas the Carian settlements of Mastaura and Brioula, the Lydian Hypaipa and Upper and Lower Kilbianoi, as well as the Mysomakedones[136] are part of the Ephesian *conventus*.[137]

The so-called Customs Law of Asia, which was inscribed in AD 62, but preserves senatorial and imperial regulations from as far back as 75 BC, contains a supplement defining the territory of the province through its *conventus* districts: Ἐφεσίας, Μειλησίας, Ἁλικαρνασσίας, [Σμυρν]αίας, Περγαμηνῆς, Ἀδραμυτικῆς, Ἑλλησποντίας, Σαρδιανῆς, Κιβυρα̣τικῆς (that is of Laodikeia), Ἀπαμηνῆς, Συνναδικῆς, Λυκαονικῆς (that is of Philomelion).[138] The absence of the otherwise securely attested Alabanda is most probably due to a slip by the mason.[139] Based on the mention of the Roman proconsuls C. Furnius and C. Silanus at the beginning of the passage, we can be sure that this reflects the setup of the province of Asia in the year 17 BC. As an official administrative document, it reflects the Roman organisational structure of the province and unsurprisingly makes no mention of Ionia. It further provides the first

[135] Strab. 13.4.13 does not mention a Macedonian element, but calls them Hyrkanian colonists from Persia; yet Pliny is more accurate in this case, as the name is securely attested as 'Macedonian Hyrkaneis' in *I.Ephesos* 1498 ll. 7–8 (AD 89/90) and *TAM* V,2 1308 ll. 5–6 (AD 138–161). This makes it likely that the settlement was a Seleucid military colony.

[136] Another (Seleucid?) military colony, not securely located, but probably in the eastern Mesogis range, see Cohen 1995, 220–222 with all the bibliographic references; the few other attestations next to Pliny include Ptol. *Geog.* 5.2.15, an honorific inscription from Antiocheia on Maiandros from the first half of the 1st c. AD (Buresch 1894), and three coins of the Augustan-Tiberian period (Leschhorn 1984b).

[137] Plin. *nat.* 5.120; on Strabo's views on Roman power, see Sartre 2015.

[138] *Editio princeps*: Engelmann and Knibbe 1989, 26 ll. 89–91; my quotations are from the masterful new edition in Cottier et al. 2008 which includes an extensive commentary and a reconstruction of the Latin text.

[139] Haensch 1997, 308; Mitchell 2008, 194.

attestation for the *conventus* of Halikarnassos. The Hellespontine *dioikēsis*, mentioned for the first time by Cicero in a letter to Minucius Thermus from 51/50 BC, is a remarkable case inasmuch it is named not after a city, but a region.[140] It has been argued that this *conventus* had already been established at the creation of the province of Asia, and its name can thus be taken as further evidence for the continuity of pre-existing structures under Roman rule: one of the Attalid districts was called οἱ καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον τόποι, while the free city of Kyzikos was not part of the Attalid kingdom.[141]

Another epigraphic testimony for the Asian *dioikēseis* is *I.Didyma* 148, a base for a statue of Caligula, which – as Louis Robert has shown – was set up by the 13 representatives of the province of Asia.[142] Almost all of those individuals stem from *conventus* capitals: Miletos, Pergamon, Kyzikos[143], Apameia, Laodikeia, Adramyttion, Philomelion, Halikarnassos, Smyrna, and Sardis. The fact that three of them do not allows us to ascribe their native cities confidently to the missing, but otherwise attested, *conventūs*: Synnada is represented by a man from Ioulia-Ipsos, Alabanda by one from Antiocheia on Maiandros, and Ephesos by an individual from Kaisareia-Tralleis.[144]

The last and most important piece of evidence for the geographical remits of the *conventus* districts was found in Ephesos in 1969 and was first published in 1975.[145] It is a fragmentary register of cities grouped under their respective *dioikēseis* with sums of money and short rubrics written next to them. Based on some of the city names, it has been dated to the

[140] Cic. *fam.* 130 (13.53); the only other such case is the Lykaonian *conventus*.
[141] Campanile 2004c; Thonemann 2008, 58–59; I have no quick answer to the question why it would have been absent from the list in *I.Milet* 3.
[142] Robert 1949, 206–238; see now also Filges and Günther 2007, 146–147 for a new description, edition, and German translation, including a very small photo on tab. 35.
[143] This cannot be taken as a proof that the *conventus* was named after the city (as Robert 1949, 231–232 and Mitchell 1999, 23 do), as the inscription does not list *conventus* affiliation, but merely city ethnics. It thus cannot be maintained that a *conventus* of Kyzikos was established between the reigns of Augustus and Caligula, as Robert 1949, 232 does.
[144] For the identification of the towns of Ioulia, Antiocheia, and Kaisareia, see Robert 1949, 212–219.
[145] Habicht 1975.

Flavian period, most likely to the 70s or 80s AD.[146] The exact nature of the document is debated, but it is nonetheless invaluable for our purposes.[147] It details the full extent of the Milesian *dioikēsis*, which encompassed Samos, Magnesia on Maiandros, Priene,[148] Herakleia under Latmos,[149] and Carian Amyzon. The appearance of the last is quite puzzling, as it lies much closer to Alabanda, and seems to have been under this city's jurisdiction as the account of Pliny implies.[150] Jeanne and Louis Robert explain this with the hypothesis that the Milesian *conventus* was temporarily abolished during the Augustan period, and that Amyzon became part of the Alabandian district.[151] This is unconvincing, however, as the *conventus* of Miletos is attested in the 'Customs Law of Asia' for 17 BC. The fact that Pliny does not mention it is easily explained by his method (as all the cities of this assize district are comparatively well-known, he had other sources at hand and did not need to resort to the *conventus* register) and cannot be taken as proof for its abolishment. Unless we assume that Amyzon changed from the Alabandian to the Milesian district at some point before the Flavian period for some unknown reason (which is not attested for any other city)[152], it seems most reasonable to conjecture that Pliny was not using the *conventus* register for this specific passage, but followed another source which was organised by purely geographic principles. He would thus have omitted, or been unaware

[146] Habicht 1975, 66.
[147] Habicht 1975, 66: 'the meaning of the whole document is therefore far from being clear'; Knibbe 1987 very cautiously suggested it to be the official tax inventory of the *fiscus Asiaticus*; Gschnitzer 1989 tried to argue that it is a register of charging rates for certification ('Beurkundungsgebühren'); Mitchell 1999, 27 calls Knibbe's hypothesis 'fraught with problems of detail', but accepts that the inscription is most probably 'concerned in some way with the Roman taxation system, rather than with a non-Roman institution'; Haensch 1997, 307 fn. 27 and Merola 2001, 152–159 are equally critical about Knibbe, but tend to follow Gschnitzer.
[148] Not extant on the stone, but convincingly restored by Habicht 1975, 77 as the only plausible city to fill the gap.
[149] Oddly named Herakleia Salbake in the inscription, which must be an error, Habicht 1975, 67; Robert and Robert 1983, 30.
[150] Plin. *nat.* 5.109: *praeterea sunt Thydonos, Pyrrha, Eurome, Heraclea, Amyzon, Alabanda libera quae conventum eum cognominavit*.
[151] Robert and Robert 1983, 30.
[152] Dalla Rosa 2012, 263.

of, the exception of Amyzon. A similar case of a mismatch between geographical proximity and ascription to a *conventus* is Chios (the only other Ionian city mentioned in *I.Ephesos* 13), which belonged to the Pergamene *dioikēsis*. The better-preserved parts of the inscription render the remit of the *conventūs* of Sardis, Pergamon, Apamea, and Halikarnassos; the extant dependent towns of the first three districts are in fact surprisingly similar to the lists given by Pliny.[153]

This overview shows us that the *conventus* system of Asia seems to have been remarkably stable.[154] It was expanded over the course of time: Halikarnassos is first attested as *conventus* centre in 17 BC, Aizanoi and Philadelphia were added in the 2nd c. AD, and Thyateira had its own assize district by the early 3rd c. AD at the latest.[155] The only two *conventūs* which were dissolved and subsequently integrated into others were those of Tralleis and Mylasa.[156]

Regarding the status of the main Ionian cities within the administrative framework of the province we only have secure knowledge about the *conventus* capitals Smyrna, Ephesos, and Miletos whose jurisdiction certainly extended beyond the boundaries of Ionia. Furthermore, we know that by the late 1st c. AD Samos and Priene belonged to the Milesian, and Chios to the Pergamene assize district. This is understandable for the former two, but rather surprising for the latter, which could also have been part of the Ephesian or the Smyrnaean *conventus*. Furthermore, the 'Customs Law of Asia' speaks of cities lying within

[153] Habicht 1975, 71 (Sardis), 78 (Pergamon), 80–81 (Apameia).
[154] Haensch 1997, 307; Mitchell 1999, 22.
[155] Mitchell 1999, 23.
[156] Both last attested in *I.Milet* 3 from the mid 1st c. BC, Tralleis is part of the Ephesian *dioikēsis* by the early Augustan period, Plin. *nat.* 5.120. The economic decline after natural catastrophes in the second half of the 1st c. BC and the Parthian invasion in 40/39 BC are usually given as an explanation for this, Habicht 1975, 71; Haensch 1997, 308–309 is very critical about this and suggests measures of efficiency as an explanation for their demotion; note that Strab. 14.1.42 and Cicero in *Pro Flacco* highlight the wealth and provincial pre-eminence of Trallian citizens.

the boundaries of the province of Asia, which were assigned to another province for administrative purposes,[157] and of the free cities, that did not take part in the annual assizes, but maintained their own courts.[158] While we can be certain that the *conventūs* were used first and foremost to administer jurisdiction in the province, we know far less about possible other functions the system might have come to be used for over the course of time.[159] This all suggests that the assize districts should better be perceived as abstract constructs for mainly administrative purposes, rather than geographically consistent entities.[160] The ascription of the other Ionian cities (Kolophon and Lebedos to Ephesos?; Teos, Erythrai, Klazomenai, and Phokaia to Smyrna?)[161] thus has to remain pure speculation.[162] While it is surely true that cities would have been eager to become promoted to *conventus* capitals due to the economic benefits which ensued, it is telling that this distinction was never used in inscriptions or on coins as part of a city's titles to

[157] L. 94: [εἴ τε διοικήσ]ε̣ων ἐν [Ἀσί]α̣ τῶν προγεγραμμ̲ένων ἐτέραι εἰσὶν ἐπαρχεῖαι προσν̲ε<ν>εμ̲ημέναι; Mitchell 2008, 197.

[158] The question of the free cities is a difficult one (Mitchell 2008, 186: 'It is as difficult to produce a full list of Asian free cities as it is to identify those which were definitely not free under the Roman province'), and we have very little certainty regarding their exact legal status. As there existed various terms for it (*eleutheria*, *autonomia*, *ateleia*, *immunitas*, *libertas*), one should not think of them as one monolithic category, but allow for shades of freedom relating to different aspects, see e.g. Ferrary 2002, 138–141; Dmitriev 2017 points out the difficulties surrounding the Greek and Latin legal terminology. Whether the cities mentioned in the 'Customs Law of Asia' as outside the *dioikēseis* (ll. 88–91) really are the free cities, is disputed even within the same volume (Cottier et al. 2008, 138 think they are 'mainly, if not exclusively, free cities', whereas Mitchell 2008, 197 takes this passage literally and refers it to cities lying geographically outside of the *dioikēseis*). Still useful on free cities is Bernhardt 1971; more recent treatments are Ferrary 1999, Guerber 2002, and Boffo 2003 (Republican period only).

[159] Very sceptical: Haensch 1997, 307 fn. 27; more optimistic: Habicht 1975, 91; Mitchell 1999, 26–28; Fournier 2010, 48–49.

[160] Mitchell 1999, 22 points out that 'to think of the assizes as dividing Asia into spatially defined regions … is a clear misconception'. I do not find Fournier 2010, 55 (following Merola 2001, 158–159) convincing, who wants to see the geographical-territorial aspect as the second integral feature of the *dioikēseis*, next to their administrative-jurisdictional function.

[161] As e.g. in *RPC* I 363–364; based on die-links, Robert 1967, 99–100 ascribes Kolophon to Ephesos, and Erythrai, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia to Smyrna.

[162] None of the Ionian cities is called free by Pliny, who records this detail meticulously in other instances (e.g. *nat.* 4.8; 4.16; 4.24–27; 4.35–36; 4.42–43; 4.105–109; 5.24–25; 5.79; 5.104–109; 5.135–136). But this might again simply be due to the fact that he was not using an official register for their description.

boast its prestige.[163] This leads to the conclusion that the *conventus* districts should not be seen as relevant for the construction of cultural identity.[164]

### 1.3.2 Ionia and the province of Asia

As there surely was never any doubt about the fact that all of Ionia was part of the province of Asia,[165] it seems more likely that this new larger framework also had an impact on the constructions of Ionian identities. While in the Imperial period the name of Asia would be unmistakably associated with the Roman province, the choice of name at its creation in the late 2nd c. BC might be seen instead as a reflection of Roman expansionist ambitions.[166] Until then, the name of Asia had been used both for the whole known continent, encompassing the land masses east of the Hellespont through Syria to India, as well as for what is most commonly referred to as 'Asia Minor', which was perceived as a peninsula protruding outwards from the continent of Asia.[167] Sometimes the continent was divided into 'upper' (ἄνω) and 'lower (κάτω) Asia', with the latter referring to Asia Minor; these

[163] None of the examples brought forward by Fournier 2010, 49–55 conclusively supports his claim that the *conventūs* also came to serve as 'espace identitaire' (53), the only potential exception being the very late *I.Perge* 331, from AD 275/6 in which Perge styles herself as 'first of the *agorai*' (ll. 15–16: αὖξε Πέργη ἡ πρώτη τῶν ἀγορέων), but this is an isolated case and the acclamation comes only after at least seven others, so it can surely not have been perceived as very relevant.

[164] The Phrygian *dioikēseis* seem to be an exceptional case, Thonemann 2011, 112–117.

[165] See e.g. *I.Milet* 1045 ll. 8–9 (Augustan): [τῆι Ἰω]νίᾳ τῆι τε ξυμπάσῃ ἐπαρ|χείᾳ; from a Roman perspective: Varro *ling.* 5.3.16: *et Asia dicitur prioris pars Asiae, in qua est Ionia ac prouincia nostra*, which is admittedly slightly ambiguous inasmuch as it merely juxtaposes Ionia and the province of Asia without clarifying their relationship. Still in the Suda s.v. the Ionians are defined as Ἀσιῶται καὶ Ἀττικοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ferrary put forward the hypothesis that the Greek cities became formally part of the province only after the Mithradatic War (Ferrary 2001b), but I will not engage in the discussion of the earliest history of the Koinon of Asia which is not relevant for the present chapter; on the status of the free cities, see above fn. 158. On the spatial indeterminacy of the Republican provinces, Gargola 2017, 69–82.

[166] Robert 1967, 93: 'A l'époque romaine, dans la province d'Asie la «Landschaft» c'est la province d'Asie elle-même'.

[167] Thus it was distinguished from the continent of Asia already in Hdt. 4.37, and not for the first time in Strabo as Vitale 2012, 1 claims; the notion of Asia Minor as a peninsula appended to the continent of Asia apparently betrays an Achaemenid perspective, Bichler 2016; see Lebreton 2009 for an analysis of the different perceptions of Asia Minor throughout antiquity, and Schiltz 2016, 1–3 for the etymology and history of the name of Asia.

labels continued to be understood and used in the Roman period.[168] The continent was occasionally also called 'Great Asia' and the peninsula 'Asia proper'.[169] After the creation of the Roman province of Asia, the same name-game was also played with the whole continent and the province: Aelius Aristides for example states in his second Smyrnaean Oration:

> *Here it clearly appeared how great an adornment it [Smyrna] was for Asia, I do not mean only that up to the springs of the Maiandros and what your proconsular lot defines, but what the Greeks originally called Asia, and they principally applied the name to one of the three continents* (*or.* XXI 7);

and in another of his speeches we read:

> *It [the province of Asia] has achieved such distinction that although the whole region is so great, in the interior bounded by the Phasis and by the Nile, and at the beginning all this inclusively was called 'Asia' by the Greeks, now this part near the sea has deprived the continent of its name and has appropriated it for itself* (*or*. XXIII 10).

Varro in the 1st c. BC mentions another relevant detail: 'For Asia means the Asia, which is not Europe, wherein is even Syria; and Asia means also that part of the aforementioned Asia, in which is Ionia and our province'.[170] The continent of Asia is here defined *ex negativo* as non-European. This opposition had been given concrete geopolitical outlines for the first time after the conquests of Alexander the Great, when a *stratēgia* of Europe and one of

[168] First in Hdt. 1.72 for whom the lands west of the Halys, from the Cypriote Sea in the south to the Pontos Euxeinos in the north, constitute the distinct region of Lower Asia; also e.g. in App. *civ.* 2.89: Διασωθεὶς δ᾽ οὕτω παραδόξως ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περαιωθεὶς Ἴωσι μὲν καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν μεγάλην χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι (καὶ καλοῦσιν αὐτὰ ἑνὶ ὀνόματι Ἀσίαν τὴν κάτω), συνεγίγνωσκε πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλοῦσι.

[169] E.g. in Strabo: καὶ δὴ καὶ καλοῦμεν Ἀσίαν ταύτην ἰδίως καὶ ὁμωνύμως τῇ ὅλῃ (2.5.24); οἱ δὲ νῦν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου καλοῦσιν Ἀσίαν, ὁμωνύμως τῇ ὅλῃ ἠπείρῳ ταύτην Ἀσίαν προσαγορεύοντες (12.1.3); Ptol. *Geog.*: Μεγάλη Ἀσία (5.0; 6.0; 7.0; 7.5.2; 8.29.17), ἡ ἰδίως (καλουμένη) Ἀσία (5.1.8; 5.2.1; 8.17.1; 8.17.8; 8.29.17); Ptolemaios provides also the first Greek attestation for 'Asia Minor': τὰ παράλια τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας (*Tetr*. 2.3.17).

[170] Varro *ling*. 5.3.16: *ut Asia sic caelum dicitur modis duobus. nam et Asia, quae non Europa, in quo etiam Syria, et Asia dicitur prioris pars Asiae, in qua est Ionia ac prouincia nostra*.

Asia were established, with the latter eventually becoming equated with the Seleucid Empire.[171]

Much work has been done on the alleged dichotomy between Europe and Asia, often entangled with the Greek-barbarian divide.[172] Yet Bichler, among others, has pointed out that most of the ancient sources do not provide the sort of clear-cut ideological dichotomy that modern scholars would like.[173] In fact, one must be very wary of the implied ideological narrative contexts of each case, as Europe and Asia are not presented in a unified way in our sources, and in most instances there seems to have been an awareness that there were barbarians and Greeks living on both continents. It is important nevertheless to note that the stereotypes of decadence, slavishness, effeminacy, and extravagance circulating since the 5th c. Athenian tragedies, could always be attached to the name of Asia (see Concluding Remarks).

I would like to begin my study of provincial Asian identity with an analysis of the representation of the province of Asia in the numismatic material. Next to its practical function as currency, coinage issued by provincial *koina* can surely also be seen as a form of ideologically charged communication.[174] Compared with other provinces, such as Macedonia, Galatia, Cyprus, Crete, Pontos, and Bithynia, the surviving evidence for Asia is comparatively small, which is most likely due to the high volume of existing civic coinage in

[171] Kosmin 2014, 124–125; there also seems to have been an awareness of this connection in Italy, as the impressive relief from Laurentum (now in Palazzo Chigi, Rome) commemorating the battle of Alexander the Great at Arbeles illustrates. Here, two turreted personifications of Europe and Asia, identified by inscriptions in Greek, stand sacrificing with *paterai* at an altar between them; the monument is dated to the last quarter of the 1st c. BC, *LIMC* s.v. I 2; see *IG* XIV 1296 for the Greek texts accompanying it.

[172] E.g. Hall 1989; Harrison (ed.) 2002; Almagor 2005; Vlassopoulos 2013; Jensen 2018.

[173] Bichler 2014; see also Aristeid. *or.* XXVI 63: 'You do not now divide the races into Greeks and barbarians, nor have you made your distinction a foolish one in the eyes of mankind, since you present a city more populous than the whole Greek race, one might say. But you have divided people into Romans and non-Romans'.

[174] Edelmann-Singer 2015, 301: 'Ihr identitätsstiftender Wert und ihre propagandistische Aussagekraft'; on coins as markers of identity, see also the contributions in Howgego, Heuchert, and Burnett (eds) 2005 and Morelli and Filippini (eds) 2016.

western Asia Minor.[175] Against this background, the few surviving specimens issued by, or making reference to, (the Koinon of) Asia should be seen as all the more informative.[176]




Fig. 1.1: *RPC* I 2994.6.

My first examples are bronze coins from Sardis from AD 23–26 bearing ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΑΣΙΑΣ within a wreath on the reverse (Fig. 1.1), *RPC* I 2994 (13 extant specimens) and 2995 (44 extant specimens).[177] They honour Drusus and Germanicus as ΝΕΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ on the obverse, and are of unusual size (⌀ 28 mm) for this period. Whatever event might have initiated their minting – the editors of *RPC* tentatively connect them to some minor provincial games held at Sardis – the fact that they were struck under an *archiereus* (of

[175] Edelmann-Singer 2015, 301 fn. 533. The interesting cases of the COM ASIA (Augustus until Trajan) and the CA coins (only under Augustus) will not be discussed here, as they were not issued by the province, but by Roman magistrates, as the Latin inscriptions make clear. On the continuing debates about the interpretation of these coins, see Edelmann-Singer 2015, 293–300.

[176] The reading of the reverse inscription ΕΜΜΟΝΙ ΑΣΙΑ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ of *RPC* IV.2 1333 from Magnesia under Sipylos from AD 178–182 (?), as given by *RPC* and Karl 1975, 45–46 who cannot make sense of it, must surely be emended to ΕΜΜΟΝΙΔΕΙΑ which is attested, apparently as the name of a festival, in Magnesia on several other coins (Karl 1975, 45). Petzl and Malay 2017, 39–42 n. 4 publish a new inscription from Lydia in which the Magnesians are called the Ἐμμονίδαι. They explain this as a reference to the otherwise unknown mythical founder of the city, after whom the numismatically attested festival was named; they also speak in favour of this emendation of RPC IV.2 1333.

[177] I follow the dating and location given by *RPC*.

Asia) who also specifies that he was a Sardian permits us to identify them as coinage of the province of Asia.[178]



Fig. 1.2: *RPC* IV.2 2752.4.

A second interesting case stems from Ephesos under the reign of Antoninus Pius: *RPC* IV.2 2752 and 2379 have ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ inscribed on the reverse (Fig. 1.2). While the latter city ethnic in the genitive is surely to be understood as the minting authority, the mention of the Koinon of Asia in the nominative (or accusative) might best be seen as a sort of caption to the image on the reverse of the coins. They depict a statue of Artemis of Ephesos in the centre, a Nike crowning her to her left, and a turreted female figure holding a *patera* and a long staff to her right. Following the convincing interpretation of the latter figure as Asia offered in *RPC* (a similar representation is discussed below), these coins might give us a glimpse into the self-conception of Ephesos in the mid 2nd c. AD. While the main focus is on the city's own pre-eminence and most famous patron deity, Asia is also present, acknowledging the leading role of Ephesos within the province and contributing to its fame.

[178] For other attestations of references to provincial games on coins, see Karl 1975, 76–79.

A very similar iconography of Asia can be found on *RPC* VII.1 330 (AD 238–240) bearing the reverse inscription ΑΣΙΑ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΣΜΥΡΝΑ (Fig. 1.3).[179] On these coins, the personification of Smyrna stands opposite the turreted figure of Asia, who again holds a spear and a *patera*, sacrificing over an altar fire. The minting of these coins may thus have been stimulated by a cultic context, and while they have been interpreted as a joint coinage between Smyrna and the *koinon*, it seems more likely that Smyrna should be seen as the sole minting authority.[180] Whatever the case, this seems to be the only attested example of a *homonoia* issue between a city and a province; the fact that Asia is situated on the left, which was traditionally the place of honour on *homonoia* coins, could be seen as an indication that Smyrna respected the greater importance of the *koinon*.[181]



Fig. 1.3: *RPC* VII.1 330.3.

[179] See Franke 1987, esp. 100–101; Klose 1987, esp. 55; Kienast 1995, esp. 280–281; Franke and Nollé 1997, 215–216 nn. 2235–2248; Pera 1984 on earlier *homonoia* coins.
[180] Klose 1987, 55 *contra* Edelmann-Singer 2015, 278.
[181] *RPC* VII.1, p. 39–43; it is the only example in the exhaustive catalogue of the *homonoia* coinage collected by Franke and Nollé 1997; to my knowledge, the corresponding commentary volume announced by them has not yet been published.

It appears most likely that this Asia type was in fact modelled on Roman depictions of provinces, such as the one on the reverse of a sestertius from the reign of Hadrian, where the province of Asia is identified through a Latin inscription and represented as sacrificing to the emperor, holding a staff in her left hand and a *patera* over a burning altar in her right (Fig. 1.4).[182]




Fig. 1.4: *BMCRE* III 1638 rev.

Smyrna had also issued coins representing another, rather unique, expression of provincial identity under Domitian and Trajan. The Domitianic coin type (*RPC* II 1019 and 1020) depicts on the obverse a veiled female figure, carrying a cornucopia in her left hand and ears of corn in her right (Fig. 1.5). While this iconography might suggest an identification with Demeter, the accompanying inscription leaves no doubt about her identity:

[182] *BMCRE* III 1638 (= *LIMC* s.v. II 3; similar II 4); see also above fn. 171.

ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΣΙΑΝ. This bust type then reappears on the obverse of pseudo-autonomous coins in the 3rd c. AD but with vaguer inscriptions.[183]



Fig. 1.5: *RPC* II 1019.2 obv. (left) and 1020.1 obv. (right).

The Trajanic coins, of which as many as 25 specimens survive (*RPC* III 1964), depict Asia on the reverse as a full figure, standing in contrapposto, again veiled, and carrying cornucopia and ears of corn. The corresponding inscription reads: ΖΜ(ΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ) ΑΣΙ(ΑΝ) ΦΟΥΣΚΩ ΑΝΘΥ(ΠΑΤΩ), ΣΤΡ(ΑΤΗΓΟΣ) ΡΟΥ(ΦΟΣ?) (Fig. 1.6). It has been argued convincingly that this image is based on a Smyrnaean statue of the province of Asia, perhaps set up in Smyrna's provincial *neōkoros* temple.[184] And this is to be seen as the most likely explanation for the accusative ΤΗΝ ΑΣΙΑΝ used in the inscription of the Domitianic coins.

[183] *RPC* VI 4681 (rev. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΡ ΑΣΙΑΣ Γ ΝΕ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒ) and 4682 (rev. ΕΠ ΣΤΡ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΟΥ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ); VII.1 321 (obv. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ).

[184] Klose 1987, 33; Burrell 2004, 41–42 identifies the temple which the personification of Smyrna is holding in her right hand on the reverse of *RPC* II 1019 and 1020 as the city's first *neōkoria* temple.



Fig. 1.6: *RPC* III 1964.1.

Personifications of Asia, be it the province or the continent, are very rare in the surviving material evidence. In the case of the Domitianic and Trajanic coins, Asia surely appears as assimilated to Demeter to highlight the province's fertility and abundance.[185] While in all this numismatic material the civic element is always present, the province of Asia has been shown to appear on the same conceptual level, and the coins under discussion can be seen as neat examples of local appropriation of a provincial identity.[186]

Naturally, the perspective of each individual provincial would have been more complex and nuanced, and could change according to different contexts.[187] For Roman Asia Minor, the multilayeredness of expressions of identity can be illustrated well by the example of the famous orator and eternal patient Aelius Aristides: born in ca AD 117 in the area of the

[185] *LIMC* s.v.; Klose 1987, 33.

[186] Edelmann-Singer 2015, 188–190 on coinage as expression of provincial identity.

[187] Edelmann-Singer 2015, 186: 'angebrachter, nicht von nebeneinander existierenden und konkurrierenden Identitäten auszugehen, sondern viel eher von sich überlagernden, je nach Handlungsmoment, Amt und Karrierestatus aktivierten Identitäten der provinzialen Elitevertreter zu sprechen. … Die Provinzialen nutzen die neuen Chancen, die ihnen die Provinziallandtage boten, um ihre provinziale, im Elitestatus verhaftete Identität zu ihrem eigenen Vorteil in neuen Formen zu repräsentieren'.

small Mysian town of Hadrianoi, with which he maintained links throughout his life, he spent long periods at his family's estates there, and two of his dedicatory inscriptions, to Dike and Nemesis and to Sarapis, have been found in the region.[188] A sense of his local patriotism might be detected in his praise of Kyzikos, the most important city of Mysia, when he disparagingly remarks: 'Why should one speak of the Ionians and Aiolians and the islands and cities near at hand?'.[189] He was also a naturalised citizen of the old Ionian city of Smyrna (see, for example, his five Smyrnaean orations *or*. XVII–XXI),[190] as he was an inhabitant of the Roman Empire: he had Roman citizenship, travelled to Rome, encountered emperors in his dreams, and spoke at festivals in other provinces, for instance before the Achaian Koinon in Corinth.[191] Most prominently, Aristides described himself as the greatest devotee of the god Asklepios and spent formative periods of his life at the Asklepieion in Pergamon; furthermore, as his surviving works testify and recent scholarship on his *Hieroi Logoi* has revealed, he was obsessed with his professional career as an orator.[192] But Aristides was of course an inhabitant of the province of Asia as well, which comes to the fore in, for example, *or*. XXIII *Concerning concord among the cities*, which he delivered at the provincial assembly in Pergamon and in which he addresses the rivalries for provincial pre-eminence between the leading cities of Pergamon, Ephesos, and Smyrna. Here, he presents the province of Asia as a coherent harmonious entity, which forms the 'navel of the whole Empire' (ἐν ὀμφαλῷ μὲν τῆς πάσης ἡγεμονίας ἵδρυται, 9), and Ephesos is called the 'common treasury of Asia' (ταμιεῖόν τε κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, 24).

[188] Robert 1937, 216–218.
[189] *Or*. XXVII 15; this can be taken as further evidence for the ongoing perception of the Ionians as a distinct group of people in western Asia Minor.
[190] On multiple citizenships, see below fn. 197.
[191] On Aristides' representations of and attitudes towards the Roman Empire, see Swain 1996, 254–297; Jones 2004; Pernot 2008; Fontanella 2008 and 2015; Cortés Copete 2013.
[192] E.g. Luchner 2010; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010; Downie 2013.

But in addressing his audience as 'You, Ionians, and you, whether you be autochthonous or Arcadians' (ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες εἴτε αὐτόχθονες εἴτε Ἀρκάδες, 60),[193] he also provides one of the few truly ethnic references to the Ionians in his oeuvre, emphasising the common descent of the Smyrnaeans and Ephesians on the one hand, and the different background of the Pergamenes on the other.[194] As a Smyrnaean citizen he surely included himself among the Ionians here.

On a more pragmatic level, we are reminded just how much his movements and actions need to be perceived as taking place within the framework of the province, when he tells us in great detail in his *Hieroi Logoi* how he managed to dodge obligations to serving in provincial and municipal magistracies several times (*or.* L 71–104).[195] His Mysian hometown, the city of Smyrna, and the provincial assembly had urged him to take over this form of liturgy, as was expected of citizens of his wealth and standing. The cases were even brought to court, and Aristides seems rather proud that he succeded in having his immunity confirmed through the intervention of Roman magistrates and even, as he alleges, the imperial family.[196]

Leaving the complexities of Aristides' identity aside for now, the province of Asia can be shown to have been a substantial frame of reference for identity-construction in a number of other contexts as well, both for individuals and cities.

[193] On notions of autochthony, see Heller 2006a and Roy 2014. Occasionally, the term is also used in the city titles of Stratonikeia (*I.Stratonikeia* 15 l. 2) and Sardis (together with πρωτόχθων which is attested only there, *I.Sardis* 382 ll. 7–8, but the latter alone is more common: *I.Sardis* 357 ll. 1–2; 389 l. 5; 395 l. 1; 411 l. 4; 418; 447 l. 7; its precise force is still unclear, but as it appears in conjunction with αὐτόχθων in *I.Sardis* 382, it surely was more than a mere synonym for the latter).

[194] Swain 1996, 291 notes that Aristides does not resort to the argument of common Greek descent in exhorting the three cities to harmony; on the inadequacy of applying a purely ethnicity-centred approach to the Second Sophistic, see Kemezis 2014 and Dench 2017.

[195] Behr 1994, 1205–1212.

[196] Swain 1996, 268–274.

*Euergetism and politics of honours*

With citizenship in multiple communities becoming more widespread from the 1st c. AD on and not only among athletes, artists, or the star performers of the Second Sophistic, members of the local elites no longer restricted their benefactions to their native cities alone.[197] The best-known example from Asia Minor for this phenomenon, which has been succinctly described as 'supra-civic euergetic activities', is the mega-*euergetēs* Opramoas of Rhodiapolis.[198] He held citizenship in at least eight Lycian *poleis* and lavished his benefactions over communities all over the province of Lycia.[199] The Roman citizenship of an ever-increasing number of Greek notables – albeit functioning on a different level – is likely to have further challenged the civic identities of local communities.[200] While the cities remained important arenas for the interplay of euergetism and honours, setting euergetic displays within the context of a provincial sanctuary, a *koinon* assembly, or during provincial games clearly came to be seen as the most prestigious and desirable way of doing so.[201]

On the other end of the spectrum, the province of Asia also became a player in the politics of honour.[202] The recently published funerary stele from Pergamon for a certain Dion provides an extraordinary visual addition to the comparatively small corpus of honours by

[197] Edelmann-Singer 2015, 185: 'Loslösung der Eliten von den Städten'; Zuiderhoek 2009 in his concise study of euergetism in Roman Asia Minor argues that the main motivations behind euergetic undertakings were not economical, but political and ideological. On multiple citizenships in the Greek cities under the Roman Empire, see Stefan 2017 and the contributions in Heller and Pont (eds) 2012. The concept of cosmopolitanism in antiquity is examined e.g. by Richter 2017 (among Second Sophistic writers) and in the collective volume Lavan, Payne, and Weisweiler (eds) 2016 (with regard to empires). Busetto 2017 traces its historical development until modernity. As a neat epigraphic example one can adduce *I.Smyrna* 667, an inscription issued by Smyrna in the second half of the 3rd c. AD honouring an athlete who was Θυατειρηνὸς καὶ |Σμυρναῖος καὶ Φιλαδελφε<ὺ>ς καὶ Βυ|ζάντιος καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων πολείτης (ll. 7–9).

[198] Rizakis 2007 in his discussion of the Roman Peloponnese; on Opramoas, see Kokkinia 2012. Other famous examples include Herodes Atticus and M. Antonius Polemo, whose supra-civic benefactions are listed in Philostr. *soph.*, or C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus of Pergamon.

[199] Kokkinia 2012, 329.

[200] Campanile 2004a; Ando 2010, 41–42; Pont 2012, 286.

[201] Zuiderhoek 2017 on the extension of euergetism beyond the horizon of the city.

[202] See the collective volume Heller and Nijf (eds) 2017 for the most recent analyses.

the Koinon of Asia.[203] The text of the eight lines of iambic trimeters and especially of the following three elegiac couplets is carefully arranged, the pentameters are indented and a centred heading precedes the last couplet.[204] But what is most remarkable is the spatial arrangement of the four honorific wreaths represented on the stele: the monument is clearly dominated by the laurel wreath within a stylised pediment into which Η ΑΣΙΑ is inscribed. Below and in the same line are two laurel wreaths by the *boulē* and *dēmos* of Pergamon respectively, and one of ears of grain by the city's *gerousia*, each of them bound with a ribbon. Although it remains unclear for what reason the deceased was honoured by the Koinon of Asia, the wreath's placement at the top of the monument is a clear indication that his two children who set up the monument valued those honours higher than the ones bestowed on their father by the Pergamene institutions.[205]

City and province can also be shown as functioning on the same level in honorific titles using kinship terminology. Most common are 'sons/daughters of the *polis*/*dēmos*', upon which were modelled the lesser-attested titles including civic institutions (son/daughter/mother/father of the *gerousia*/*boulē*/*neoi*/a *phylē*), but there are also a handful of cases extant of the title 'son/daughter of Hellas/Asia/Lesbos/Pontos/the *eparcheia*'.[206] Cl. Valerianus Terentullianus is the only 'son of Asia' known to us to date, and

[203] Müller and Staab 2017, 343–344 date it tentatively from the second half of the 1st c. BC to the first half of the 1st c. AD, mainly based on letter forms; to their list of *koinon* honours (346 fn. 18) could be added *I.Ephesos* 1312 from the second half of the 4th c. AD.

[204] Müller and Staab 2017 provide a good picture of the whole monument (342) and a close-up of the inscription (345).

[205] Cf. the wreath awarded to the proconsul Paullus Fabius Maximus by the Koinon of Asia in 9 BC which was to be proclaimed at the provincial games of the Rhomaia Sebasta in Pergamon (and all Kaisereia contests in all the other cities of the province) as: στεφανοῖ [ἡ Ἀσ]ία Παῦλον Φάβιον Μάξιμον εὐ[σεβ]έ[σ]|τατα παρευρόντα τὰς εἰς Καίσαρα τειμάς, *I.Priene*[2] 14 ll. 59–60.

[206] Canali de Rossi 2007 (47–54 for the provincial titles, 102 for Lesbos) has catalogued all the attestations, but without offering an analysis of the phenomenon. The latter title surely was awarded by the Koinon of Lesbos, one of the few interesting cases of sub-provincial *koina* in the Roman period, Vitale 2012, 89–92; on the Lesbian Koinon in the Hellenistic period, see Ellis-Evans 2019, 200–248.

he gives this specification even before his high priesthood of Asia; this rare title was surely perceived as a highly prestigious one.[207]

Another major source of pride for Greek provincials was elevation to senatorial or equestrian rank, and the following inscription nicely illustrates how this could be connected to expressions of provincial Asian, but also civic and regional, Ionian identity. This is *I.Didyma* 296, an honorific inscription from Didyma for an individual whose name is not preserved. Among his claims to fame is listed that he was the fifth person from all of Asia, and the first and only one from Miletos and the rest of Ionia, to have become a senator.[208] It is not surprising that the province of Asia is mentioned first as the larger and thus more impressive point of reference. But it is important to note that the honorand's civic and regional affiliations are asserted here as well, next to his provincial and his Roman identities.[209] While the civic level remained an important point of reference, identification as Ionian is here adduced as a further prestigious asset attestting to the continued relevance of Ionianness for individual identity-constructions.

A very similar perspective can be observed in an honorific inscription for a Milesian athlete[210] from 20 BC, which survives in two copies from Miletos and Didyma (*I.Milet* 369,

[207] Canali de Rossi 2007, 52–54 n. 30a–b.

[208] Ll. 6–11: αὐτὸς δὲ πλατύ[ση]|μος δήμου Ῥωμαίων, πέμπ[τος] |μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ὅλης ἐκ το[ῦ αἰ]|ῶνος εἰς σύγκλητον εἰσελθ[ών,] ||[ἀ]πὸ δὲ Μειλήτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλη[ς Ἰ]|ωνίας μόν[ος καὶ πρ]ῶ̣τ̣ο̣ς. This is in fact the only attestation of a member of the Senate being called '*platysēmos* (= *laticlavius*) of the Roman people' and not *synklētikos*. But the following lines make it clear that this cannot refer to the position of *tribunus laticlavius*, which is the more common meaning of *platysēmos* usually translated as *chiliarchos platysēmos*; on the different significations of the Roman *latus clavus*, see Talbert 1984, 11–16. The dating of the inscription is debated: Woodward 1926/27, 123 suggests an early Imperial date based on the fact that the honorand was only the fifth Asian to become a senator, but Richard Harder in the last main edition (*I.Didyma*, from 1958) ascribes it to the Hadrianic period based on the lettering. Halfmann 1979, 108 postulates the first years of Vespasian's reign as *terminus ante quem*, based on prosopographic considerations.

[209] Kuhn 2017 in her illuminating study of honours for senators and equestrians from the Graeco-Roman East unfortunately does not include this inscription in her discussion. A similar case is the one of T. Ael. Geminius Macedo whose daughter Geminia Olympias proudly mentions that he was the first person from Thessalonica to become *archōn* of the Panhellenion, *IG* X 2,1 181 ll. 7–9: πρῶτον γε|νόμ̣ε̣ν̣ον ἄρχοντα Π̣α̣ν̣ε̣λ̣λήνων ἀπὸ τῆς |λ̣α̣μπροτάτης Θεσσα̣λ̣ο̣ν̣ε̣ι̣κ̣έων πόλεως.

[210] By connecting this text with *IvO* 219, Robert 1937, 141 confirmed that the athlete was a Milesian and that his father's name ended in *-kratēs.* Robert 1967, 114 fn. 7 then tentatively identifies him with Demosthenes

*I.Didyma* 201).[211] In this catalogue of victories at different games all over the Greek world, the agonistic achievements are often further specified with a remarkable level of detail to make them sound even more impressive: the athlete was 'first of all' to have won the triad of *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *hoplitēs* at the Nemeia in sequence in the same year (*I.Milet* 369 ll. 3–5), at the Great Aktia Kaisareia on the same day (*I.Milet* 369 ll. 9–11), and at the contest organised by the *hieronikai* and *stephanitai* of the *oikoumenē* (*I.Didyma* 201 ll. 5–7). He was further the 'first and only of those [the Greeks] from Asia' to have been proclaimed 'best of the Hellenes' after having won the armour race from the *tropaion* at the Eleutheria in Plataia organised by the Koinon of the Hellenes (*I.Milet* 369 ll. 5–9), and the 'first and only [of all]' to have achieved this also a second time (*I.Milet* 369 ll. 12–16). But he also boasts that he was the 'first of the Ionians' to have won the *hoplitēs* category at the Sebasta Rhomaia organised by the Koinon of Asia (in Pergamon) (*I.Milet* 369 ll. 12–13), to have won the *stadion* and *hoplitēs* categories at the Pythia for a second time (*I.Milet* 369 ll. 14–15), and to have won the triad of *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *hoplitēs* at the Nemeia for a second time (*I.Didyma* 201 ll. 9–11). Lastly, he even mentions that he was the 'first of the Milesians' to have won the *hoplitēs* category at the Isthmia (*I.Milet* 369 l. 14), as well as the *stadion* at the Heraia in Argos (*I.Didyma* 201 ll. 7–9). What becomes clear from this inscription is, that in the agonistic sphere Ionia could function in the exact same way as the civic, provincial, or universal level. If one could not claim to have been the first of all participants or the first

of Miletos who won a triple victory at Olympia and was celebrated in an epigram by Krinagoras (*Anth. Pal.* VI 350), but admits himself that this does not quite work.

[211] There are only minor textual differences: *I.Milet* 369 l. 12: τὰ Σεβαστὰ Ῥωμαῖα τὰ τιθέμενα – *I.Didyma* 201 ll. 1–2: [τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ῥω]|μαίων τὸν τ̣[ιθέ]μ̣ε̣ν̣ο̣ν̣; *I.Milet* 369 l. 15: [τὸ] δ̣εύτερον – *I.Didyma* 201 l. 4: πάλιν; *I.Milet* 369 l. 12: εἰκόνι – *I.Didyma* 201 l. 20: ἰκόνι. Next to the *addenda* by Peter Herrmann in *Milet* VI,1, p. 215, the most important contributions to the understanding of these inscriptions are Robert 1929a; 1937, 141; 1949, 177–125; 1966a, 109 fn. 3; 1967, 114 fn. 7; see also Moretti 1953, 151–156 n. 59; a new edition of the Didyma stone is provided by Filges and Günther 2007, 172–175 n. 158. However, none of those studies comments on the meaning and implications of the different specifications.

of one's fellow provincials to have achieved something, one could also bring into play a regional frame of reference. In our case, if another Ionian had already achieved the same thing, one would expect the mention of the city as a further means of distinguishing oneself. While there are some parallel cases from the Roman period of athletes claiming to have been the first of their cities to have won a certain victory,[212] the reference to a regional framework is, to my knowledge, unique. The impressive and unparalleled level of detail in this text suggests that we need to take these claims seriously and that they were officially sanctioned by the authorities of the contests.[213] In order for this to have worked, there must have existed a consensus among the participants and organisers of the games as to who counted as an 'Ionian'.

*Imperial cult and city titles*

What came to be seen as the most prestigious jewel in a person's honorific crown in the Roman province of Asia, however, was undoubtedly the discharge of the provincial high priesthood, which is the single most frequently mentioned title in honorific inscriptions.[214] By virtue of its wording alone – *archiereus tēs Asias*/*asiarchēs* – Asia was constantly brought to mind as an *espace identitaire*.[215] It is now widely accepted that the rituals performed within the remit of provincial emperor worship were not merely superficial flattery devoid of religious sentiment, but meaningful cultic expressions of the Greek provincials.[216] While

[212] E.g. from Kos, Rhodos, Iasos, Aphrodisias, Thonemann 2007, 156 with n. 17.
[213] Robert 1966a, 109 fn. 3: 'Tous ces records sont soigneusement distingués. Il n'y a aucune raison de prendre tout cela pour des mensonges ou des exagérations et de le traiter par une plaisanterie soupçonneuse'.
[214] Much fundamental work on the high priests of Asia has been done by D. Campanile e.g. 1994, 2004b, 2006; see also Kirbihler 2008 and Frija 2012 for more recent treatments.
[215] I follow the dominant scholarly view that the titles designate the same office (recently vindicated e.g. by Weiß 2002; Campanile 2004b) and not two separate offices as has sometimes been claimed (e.g. by Friesen 1993, 92–113 and 1999); Edelmann-Singer 2015, 161–162 provides a neat summary of the debate; see Heller 2017 for a study of honorific titles for priests in Roman Asia Minor.
[216] Price 1984b is still the seminal study; see also Friesen 1993, Witulski 2010[2], and the contributions in Kolb and Vitale (eds) 2016; Madsen 2017, 102–103 whose insightful analysis concludes that a greater part of the

only the cream of the civic elite had the chance to become active players in the religious activities of the *koinon* – as delegates to the assembly and, of course, as (cult) officials – attendance at the provincial games and festivals was open to everyone who could afford to travel there, and one can assume that they were widely frequented by all tiers of the local communities where they were held.[217]

The vigour and momentousness of the imperial cult are further attested by the fact that the office titles which were closely associated with it (for example *archiereus*, *theologos*, *hymnōdos*) became so popular that they were eventually taken over by civic and other Greek cults, where they had not been attested previously.[218] Broadening the perspective from an individual to a civic level, an example of a provincial imperial cult temple being used as a platform for cities to display their loyalty towards the imperial house and thus to assert their provincial identity is a group of 13 statue bases dedicated by smaller and medium-sized Asian towns at the *neōkoros* temple in Ephesos under Domitian.[219] It is remarkable that the majority of them mention explicitly that the temple was κοινὸς τῆς Ἀσίας, and that the *archiereus* of Asia, under whom the dedication took place, is listed at the end of the text, with the proconsul of the year at the beginning.

Further, the *neōkoros* title, which was used by Asian cities from the late 1st c. AD onwards to advertise the privilege of having been awarded a provincial imperial cult temple, became one of the most important bones of contention in the notorious intercity rivalries of the 2nd

agency in establishing provincial imperial cult must be ascribed to the emperors and Roman magistrates in the provinces, which does however not exclude that emperor worship could have developed into an echo chamber fostering provincial (elite) identity.

[217] Herz 2016 on the cultic implications of the contests; on the relationship between civic and provincial imperial cult, see Frija 2016 and Holler 2016.

[218] These are the findings of my 2015 MSt thesis at Oxford, in which I conducted an analysis of the offices of *theologoi* and *hymnōdoi*, which I hope to publish in a separate article; for the *archiereus* of the Ionian Koinon, see Chapter 2.2.

[219] Friesen 1993, 29–49 provides a good overview and analysis; the extant monuments were erected by Synaos, Keretapa, Teos, Klazomenai, Macedonian Hyrkaneis (see above fn. 135), Kyme, Aizanoi (2), Aphrodisias, Silandos, Stratonikeia, Tmolos, and an unknown city.

and 3rd c. AD.[220] It was included in a city's official titulature, proudly advertised in inscriptions issued by civic institutions, and often featured on a city's coinage, both textually (despite the spatial limitations) and even visually as representations of the temples themselves.[221] But once more and more cities were granted this privilege, it lost its glamour and the next step was to distinguish oneself with multiple *neōkoros* titles. Thus, Pergamon called herself 'the first to be twice/thrice *neōkoros*' and Ephesos later 'the first to be four-time *neōkoros*'.[222] As much as they might have sharpened respective civic identities, these rivalries concerning city titles functioned purely, and can only be fully understood, within the context of the province of Asia to which several of them even make specific reference.[223]

The leading cities also highlighted their provincial pre-eminence by showcasing their (claims to) *prōteia* in their official titulature: next to the *neōkoriai*, these included 'first of Asia', later puffed up as 'first of Asia in beauty and size' (Smyrna) or 'only first of Asia' (Ephesos);[224] as well as '*mētropolis* of Asia', which came to be refined as 'first *mētropolis* of Asia' (Pergamon), 'greatest and first *mētropolis* of Asia' (Ephesos) or 'most splendid *mētropolis* of Asia' (Tralleis) after it had become more widespread and lost its exclusivity.[225]

It has been shown that we cannot dismiss these titles as transparent illusions and

[220] Heller 2006b, 179–197 and 210–227; classic studies of the intercity rivalries in Asia Minor are Robert 1977b and Merkelbach 1978, more recent treatments include Heller 2006b and Guerber 2009.
[221] Burrell 2004, 7–11.
[222] Burrell 2004, 22–37 (Pergamon); 76–77 (Ephesos). Heller 2006b, 217–227, 269–281. For the letter of Hadrian to the Pergamenes rejecting their request to gain a third *neōkoria* temple, see Müller 2009.
[223] Ando 2010, 33: 'The scale of those contests and their prominence in the historical record is powerful testimony to Roman success in reorientating traditional forms of civic and regional rivalry around a new dynamic, whose currency was the expression of loyalty to Rome and whose reward was distinction among, and occasionally power over, one's peers'.
[224] Guerber 2009, 328–331.
[225] Heller 2006b, 208, 283–291; Puech 2004 in her analysis of this term argues convincingly against the older theory that until Hadrian there could only be one *mētropolis* per province.

meaningless advertisements used randomly.[226] They were in fact official titles awarded and sanctioned by the Romans, and the fact that the great majority of them are only attested for one city respectively shows that this was generally respected.[227] The seriousness of these squabbles is most entertainingly illustrated by the famous letter of Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians (*I.Ephesos* 1489, AD 140–144) concerning the correct use of the full city titles of Ephesos, which had been confirmed by the emperor, by the Smyrnaeans and Pergamenes. He admonishes the cities to be respectful and apply all the official titles in their correspondence with each other if they expect the others to do the same. The facts that an emperor had to deal with these matters and that at least three copies of this document were published in Ephesos reflect the importance attached to such titles by the cities.[228]

We have further evidence that it was not only the top three cities of the province who actively engaged in this competitive ranking. The medium-sized towns of Nysa and Magnesia on Maiandros advertised their positions as 'sixth of Asia' and 'seventh of Asia' on coins from the mid 3rd c. AD.[229] And that these quarrels were not mere paper tigers, detached from the reality on the ground and irrelevant for the common people, is further illustrated by graffiti from the basilica of the Smyrnaean agora, where the words 'Asia' or 'first of Asia' have been read in a number of cases.[230]

[226] Guerber 2009 has illuminated the subtleties and hierarchies involved in these titles; *I.Ephesos* 3072 ll. 25–26: ἐν ταῖς ε' μητροπόλεσιν |ἀρχιερασαμένου suggests that by the mid 3rd c. AD there was an official count of *mētropoleis* in Asia and that the title might have been connected to the presence of an imperial cult temple.
[227] Official Roman sanctioning was sometimes even mentioned explicitly, e.g. *I.Smyrna* 638 ll. 1–6, 3rd c. AD: ν̣ε̣ω̣κ̣ό̣ρ̣ο̣ς̣ τ̣ῶ̣[ν Σε]||βαστῶν καὶ κόσ|μος τῆς Ἰωνίας κα|τὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς |ἱερωτάτης συνκλή|του Σμυρναίων πόλις.
[228] *I.Ephesos* 1489/1489A/1490; a composite text is republished by Taeuber 2011, 91–92.
[229] Robert 1977a, 64–77.
[230] Bagnall et al. 2016, T9.1; T13.1; T15.7; T32.2; TP68.1; TP100.4; TP104.1; TP109.4.

Having demonstrated how Asia became a major new framework within which cities and their elites gained new ways of expressing their own position and identity, we shall now return to Ionia to see whether it played a role in this context as well. While the greater number of attestations refers to the larger and surely more prestigious scope of the province of Asia, it is highly remarkable that the titles 'first of…' and '*mētropolis* of…' were also applied to a regional context. Sardis prided itself on being '*mētropolis* of Asia and all of Lydia (and Hellas)'[231], Silandos '*mētropolis* of Mokadene'[232], Stratonikeia is attested as '*mētropolis* of Caria'[233], Aphrodisias a little bit later as 'first *mētropolis* of Caria'[234], while Miletos added '*mētropolis* of Ionia' to its city titulature.[235] The latter might also have played with its prominence and widely acknowledged fame as mother city of numerous and famous colonies especially in the Black Sea area.[236] Explicit reference to its glorious 'colonial' past together with the myth-historical statement that it was 'first of Ionia to have been founded' comes to form the standard civic titulature of the less eminent city of

[231] *I.Sardis* 389 (honours for Caracalla, AD 211–217); 393 (honorific stele, after AD 212, but before Elagabal's grant of the third *neōkoria*); only '*mētropolis* of Asia' in *I.Sardis* 411 (agonistic, during the time of the second *neōkoria*); 419 (architrave from the Marble Court, AD 211/2); with the addition of Hellas on statue bases from the 2nd and 3rd c. AD (*I.Sardis* 382; 383; 395; 401; largely restored also in 397; 398; 404), and even on pseudo-autonomous bronze coins from the reign of Gordian III as ΑΣΙΑΣ ΛΥΔΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ Α ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΣΑΡΔΙΣ on the obverse (*RPC* VII.1 244–246); Herrmann 1993, 240–243 is surely right to explain the occurrence of Hellas as a myth-historical reference to a 'colonial' relationship with Greece through the figure of Pelops; however, his claim that Asia is here not referring to the province but to an alternative mythological name for Lydia cannot be maintained in the light of the epigraphic evidence; see also Puech 2004, 379; Heller 2006b, 301–305.

[232] *TAM* V,1 47A ll. 12–14, milestone, AD 299–302.

[233] *I.Stratonikeia* 15 l. 2: τῆς αὐτόχθονος καὶ μητροπόλεως τῆς Καρίας, dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius by Bowersock 1995, 92–94 and to the 120s AD by Ferrary 2014, 150–151.

[234] Ἀφροδεισίων τῆς πρώτης μητροπόλεως τῆς Καρίας, in four Klarian delegation texts published for the first time in Ferrary 2014 n. 193 (AD 171/2); n. 205 (AD 174/5 or 175/6); n. 228 (AD 180/1); n. 203 (AD 152/3–177/8, partly restored); on 149–151 Ferrary discusses the title, without offering an explanation though. 'First' was most likely added to distinguish itself from Stratonikeia, Puech 2004, 366–367; on Aphrodisias' self-representation, see Yildirim 2004.

[235] *IG* II$^2$ 3300 (AD 131/2); *I.Didyma* 312 (AD 125–150); restored in the very fragmentary *I.Milet* 1435; cf. Plin. *nat.* 5.112 *Miletus caput Ioniae*.

[236] Puech 2004, 362; Heller 2006b 297–301; the only city making comparable assertions was Herakleia Pontike, who called itself ΜΑΤΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΩΝ and ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΑΝ ΜΑΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΝ on coins from the Imperial period, Leschhorn 2009, 110–110; Dana 2011b, 12 fn. 24; see also below Chapter 5.1.

Miletos from the mid 2nd c. AD on.[237] As it could not possibly compete on a provincial level with the claims to fame by the big players Pergamon, Sardis, Ephesos, and Smyrna, Miletos did not make any reference to Asia, but seems to have limited itself to the scope of Ionia.[238] Reading these pieces of evidence together, we should not jump to the conclusion that they necessarily presuppose the existence of administrative units called 'Ionia', 'Caria', or 'Lydia'.[239] Although it has been shown that the term *mētropolis* was used first in an ethno-religious regional context,[240] it is telling that it gained prominence and was included in public inscriptions and on coins only after it had been applied within the more competitive provincial context. The statue group honouring Hadrian on the occasion of the consecration of the Olympieion at Athens in AD 131/2 can further illustrate how this title was used on different levels for the same purpose. 4 of the 20 inscriptions on the statue bases, which were set up by different cities from all parts of the Greek world and the *koinon* of the Kyprioi (*IG* II$^2$ 3289–3310), use *mētropolis* in order to distinguish themselves: Miletos as *mētropolis* of Ionia (*IG* II$^2$ 3300)[241], Ephesos as *mētropolis* of Asia (*IG* II$^2$ 3297), Koropissos as *mētropolis* of the Kietans (*IG* II$^2$ 3307), and Pompeiopolis as *mētropolis* of Paphlagonia (*IG* II$^2$ 3298).

[237] The first securely datable testimony stems from the reign of Antoninus Pius (*Milet* VI,3, p. 115); the full formula is: ἡ πρώτη τῆς Ἰωνίας ὠκισμένη καὶ μητρόπολις πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πόλεων ἔν τε τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης Μιλησίων πόλις (also in the genitive when *polis* is replaced by *dēmos* and *boulē* of the…); it is well preserved in *I.Milet* 240 + 1111, 260, 262, and 1140, and has been restored in the more or less fragmentary honorific texts for emperors *I.Milet* 233, 234, 235 + 1106, 236, 1104, 1106, and 1107, as well as in the very fragmentary *I.Milet* 1184–1202.

[238] Note how the Milesian titulature plays with the notion of *prōteia*; while it could not dream of competing with the bigger cities in the province, it asserted its one-upmanship on the historical level, Puech 2004, 378.

[239] As e.g. Vitale 2012, 83 suggests for Caria; however, he also corroborates that the *provincia* of Phrygia and Caria is only attested from the mid 3rd c. AD on (83–88), and states that there was never an administrative unit of Lydia, nor of Ionia (74–75). Puech 2004, 375–380 also argues in favour of the interpretation presented here.

[240] Puech 2004, 385–390; for an empire-wide overview of the attestations of the *mētropolis*-title, see the table on 402–404.

[241] Ehrhardt and Günther 2013, 215 take this as an allusion to Miletos' renown as mother city of many colonies and place the emergence of the title in the context of the creation of the Panhellenion at Athens.

In accordance with the observations in the introduction to this chapter, this should be taken as further evidence for the continued vitality and validity of the older ethno-cultural regional identities.[242] In the case of Ionia, this is corroborated by numismatic attestations for Samos claiming to be 'first of Ionia'[243] and, more prominently, a number of epigraphic testimonies from Smyrna calling the city '*kosmos* of Ionia' next to its titles 'first of Asia in beauty and size', 'most splendid', '*mētropolis*', and 'thrice *neōkoros* of the Sebastoi'.[244] In a less formulaic way, the concept of *kosmos* had been applied to Ephesos as well, but referring to the province of Asia, when in an honorific text from AD 89/90 the *dēmos* of Flavia Philadelphia addressed the *dēmos* of Ephesos as [τ]ὸν νεω[κό]ρον |καὶ φιλοσέβαστον |καὶ κοσμοῦντα τὴν Ἀσίαν |Ἐφεσίων δῆμον (*I.Ephesos* 236 ll. 1–4). As in the 2nd c. AD the official title used by Smyrna was ἡ λαμπροτάτη καὶ πρώτη πόλεων τῆς Ασίας καὶ δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Σμυρναίων πόλις,[245] we can see that Smyrna only included the reference to Ionia in its city titles at a later stage, apparently together with *mētropolis*, in order to enhance its prestige in competition with Ephesos and Pergamon. Just as with titles mentioning Asia, the ones mentioning Ionia are only found in one city respectively, which suggests that they were in general respected by other cities, which could have made similar claims.

[242] Similarly, Puech 2004, 385–390.
[243] ΣΑΜΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΙΑΣ, *RPC* IX 666 and 670, both under Decius; Guerber 2009, 329.
[244] The full formula, attested from the awarding of the third *neōkoria* in AD 214/5 onwards, is: ἡ πρώτη τῆς Ἀσιας κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ λαμπροτάτη καὶ μητρόπολις καὶ τρὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἱερωτάτης συνκλήτου καὶ κόσμος τῆς Ἰωνίας Σμυρναίων πόλις (*I.Smyrna* 637, 638, 640, 665, 666, 667, and 674, as well as the new text Herrmann and Malay 2003, n. 4); in *I.Smyrna* 603, 646, and 673 the addition '*kosmos* of Ionia' is apparently absent. Note that κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἱερωτάτης συνκλήτου comes directly after '*kosmos* of Ionia' in two cases (*I.Smyrna* 638 and Herrmann and Malay 2003, n. 4). Aelius Aristides calls Smyrna τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄγαλμα (*or.* XIX 1) and more tellingly the crown of Ionia (ὁ στέφανος) and the ornament of Asia (τὸ πρόσχημα) (*or*. XXI 13). The latter might refer back to Herodotus who had called Miletos the ornament of Ionia: καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα (Hdt. 5.28).
[245] *I.Smyrna* 814I ll. 1–4; 815A ll. 12–15; 672 ll. 1–6.

As a similar case we may adduce *I.Mylasa* 365 = *I.Erythrai* 125, an epigraphic document from Mylasa in Caria from AD 112/3 commemorating a delegation of judges sent to Mylasa by the Ionian city of Erythrai, which was inscribed on a column drum in the local sanctuary of Zeus Osogo together with related texts from other cities (*I.Mylasa* 361–376). Here, the Erythraeans call themselves 'Asian Ionians' (Ἀσιανοὶ Ἴωνες, l. 1) and 'well-born' (εὐγενεῖς, l. 3). They thus self-identify not only as Erythraeans, but also as Asian provincials, and as Ionians of noble descent.[246] Their Ionianness is surely to be seen as the most relevant sign of distinction in the specific context of this epigraphic dossier, where other non-Ionian cities from the province of Asia and from the province of Lycia and Pamphylia performed the same services.[247] The competitive context of these inscriptions is further evoked by the inclusion of prestigious city titles such as *mētropolis*, the privilege of *autonomia*, but also by mentioning kinship (*syngeneia*) with the Mylasaeans or asserting one's provincial Lycian identity.[248]

The above illustrates how one could assert one's Ionianness – or one's regional identity more generally – in the very same context as displays of a provincial identity. Within the picture sketched out in this chapter – members of the elite loosening ties with their native

[246] The editors of *I.Erythrai* 125 and *I.Mylasa* 365 refer the mention of Ἴωνες to the Ionian Koinon. But given that there are no parallels for the *koinon* sending a delegation of judges and that two of the individuals mentioned herein appear again in *I.Mylasa* 368 as representing the Erythraeans only, I think it safest to take the reference as an ethno-cultural indication. Note that Erythrai could always have been motivated to distinguish itself from its Boiotian homonym, which is also attested in an honorific inscription by the city set up and found in Delphi from ca 260 BC (ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρυθραίων τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίαι, *Syll.*[3] 412 l. 12), and still in Strab. 14.1.31 (πόλις Ἰωνική), Paus. 6.15.6 (Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ οἱ Ἴωνες), an honorific text for Caracalla (Varınlıoğlu 1980, 155 n. 3 l. 4: ἡ λαμπροτάτη καὶ Ἰωνὶς Ἐρυθραίων πόλις), and a 3rd c. AD honorific inscription from Erythrai for a priest of the Ionian Koinon (*I.Erythrai* 64 ll. 0–2: [ἡ λαμπ]|[ρο]τάτ[η] κ̣αὶ Ἰω[νὶς] Ἐρυθραίων πόλεως); similarly, an inscription from Priene honouring an *agoranomos* (3rd c. AD, *I.Priene*[2] 61, ll. 1–3: ἡ λαμπροτάτη Πριηνέων Ἰώνων πόλις).

[247] Aphrodisias: *I.Mylasa* 363 ll. 1–3 and 7–9; Lampsakos: *I.Mylasa* 371; Xanthos: *I.Mylasa* 361, 362, 369, 370; Side: *I.Mylasa* 363 ll. 4–6 and 10–11; Termessos: *I.Mylasa* 364; Tlos: *I.Mylasa* 366, 372; Attaleia: *I.Mylasa* 367 ll. 1–8; Patara: *I.Mylasa* 367 l. 9.

[248] *Mētropolis*: Xanthos (*I.Mylasa* 361 ll. 1–2; 369 ll. 2–4; 370 l. 2) and Tlos (*I.Mylasa* 366 ll. 3–4); *autonomia* and *syngeneia*: Termessos (*I.Mylasa* 364 l. 3); Lycians: Xanthos (*I.Mylasa* 361 l. 1; 362 l. 1; 369 l. 1; 370 l. 1) and Tlos (*I.Mylasa* 366 l. 1; 372 l. 1).

cities, and the larger framework of the province gaining relevance on a number of different levels – we see that individuals brought into play other forms of cultural capital in order to distinguish themselves from other supra-civic benefactors. Ionianness could thus have gained more importance as a cultural asset heightening one's personal prestige, especially when confronted by other provincials from Mysia, Caria, Lydia, or Phrygia; within a purely civic context, where all or most of the competitors for honours were Ionians themselves, this would of course not have worked. As the usage of city titles shows, the same is also applicable to cities in competition with other non-Ionian cities.

While the Greek cities surely remained an important point of reference for identity-constructions in the Imperial period, this chapter has shown that the province of Asia provided a new structural framework for defining one's place in the world, giving space to the enhancement of civic identities, while ultimately also transcending them.[249] The same holds true for distinct regional identities.[250] While Ionia was still perceived as a coherent cultural space in the Imperial period both from an external and an internal perspective, it has become clear how certain expressions of Ionian identity, such as civic titulature, were modelled on provincial precedents and only became used as forms of cultural capital from the 2nd c. AD onwards. Nonetheless, Ionianness remained a valid currency which the Ionians could bring into play, in addition to their civic identities, to distinguish themselves from other provincials, which became especially salient in the notorious intercity rivalries of the 2nd and 3rd c. AD.

[249] While making an important contribution to the understanding of the impact of provincialisation on the Greeks, Ando 2010 might be ascribing too much agency to the Roman state when portraying the emergence of a new provincial identity as the result of a conscious strategy by the Romans.

[250] Edelmann-Singer 2015, 183: 'Provinz als identitätsstiftendes Kollektiv'. Fernoux 2013 argues against the existence of provincial identities, and while he can demonstrate convincingly that the cities remained the most important frame of reference, he fails to take the multilayeredness of identity into account, and, in his one-dimensional structuralist approach, goes too far in describing civic and provincial identities as mutually exclusive.

# 2) The Ionian Koinon

*In fact, it is tolerably clear, that in its later days the Ionian League was devoid of any meaning.*
Caspari 1915, 188

In this chapter I analyse the Ionian Koinon as one of the most direct and explicit channels for expressing Ionian cultural identity. It is attested throughout practically all of Greek history, from the Archaic period to the 3rd c. AD, and with this impressive tradition of almost 1,000 years it was one of the most long-lived Greek institutions, comparable perhaps only to the Olympic Games.[251] The majority of scholars working on the Ionian Koinon have been interested first and foremost in its Archaic origins and the location and archaeology of its meeting point, the Panionion.[252] Later phases in the history of the *koinon*, especially the Roman period, have mostly been treated as unworthy of attention, and its continued existence as an archaistic eccentricity 'devoid of any meaning'.[253] The main exception was Peter Herrmann, who recently collected all the evidence from the Roman phase and advanced a cautious judgement on the continued socio-cultural significance of the Ionian Koinon in the Imperial period.[254] It is in fact from the Hellenistic and Roman periods that we have the most and most instructive epigraphic evidence for the *koinon* and its activities.

[251] Herrmann 2002, 224.
[252] The main studies are: Wilamowitz-Möllendorf 1906a; Caspari 1915; Lenschau 1944; Roebuck 1955; Cassola 1958; Fogazza 1973; Mac Sweeney 2013, 157–197; on the Panionion: Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967; Lohmann 2005 and 2017; Herda 2006b; Cobet et al. (eds) 2007; many of these contributions are now perceived as methodologically problematic inasmuch as they often try to match archaeological findings from the Archaic period with the patchy information from authors writing in a much later period such as Herodotus, and even Strabo or Pausanias: see Cobet 2007.
[253] Caspari 1915, 188.
[254] Herrmann 2002, 240: 'Eine politische Wirkung wird man kaum voraussetzen können, aber im Rahmen der Selbstvergewisserung einer Gruppe von alten Städten mit hohem Traditionsanspruch wird die weiterführende Existenz des Ionischen Bundes ihre Bedeutung behalten haben'. The Hellenistic material has recently been studied by Metcalfe 2005, Kowalzig 2005, 45–56, and Billows 2007, though the latter's focus is primarily a regional and not an institutional one.

After giving an overview of the *koinon*'s history before the Roman period, I therefore re-examine the Roman evidence for the *koinon* in the light of contemporary civic and province-wide elite competition and intercity rivalries, with a special emphasis on attested *koinon* officials and their social background. I then reassess the attestations of the 'Koinon of the 13 Cities' from Sardis, which have unanimously been studied as evidence for the Ionian Koinon until very recently.[255] On the basis of new epigraphic evidence published in 2019, I will argue that this attribution can no longer be upheld. The chapter will conclude with a comparative perspective on the Panhellenion created by Hadrian in AD 131/2, a supra-regional body of Greek cities and *koina* which fostered ethno-cultural notions of Greekness (Ionianness, Dorianness, Aiolianness...) and which seems to have served similar functions as the Ionian Koinon, bestowing cultural prestige on cities and individuals.

## 2.1 The Ionian Koinon before the Roman period

### 2.1.1 The Panionion, the Panionia, and other activities of the *koinon*

The foundation of the Ionian Koinon and the location(s) of the Panionion in the Archaic period are hotly debated issues, the details of which are beyond the word restrictions of this thesis, however.[256] Suffice it to say that the *koinon* is first mentioned by Herodotus in connection with events in the mid 6$^{th}$ c. BC, and that the Panionion is described as a sacred precinct dedicated to Poseidon Helikonios and located on the Mykale peninsula by most of

[255] The first scholar to voice doubts about this was Heuchert 2014, 297.

[256] On the *koinon*'s foundation, see Mac Sweeney 2013, 173–187 who lists most of the relevant secondary literature; on the controversies regarding the location of an earlier Archaic Panionion and the dating and nature of the structures on Otomatiktepe, see Lohmann 2005 and 2017 who advanced the hypothesis that the former was located on Çatallar Tepe high up in the Mykale; Herda 2006b argued against this and defended most of the findings of Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967.

the ancient authors.[257] On the top of a hill named Otomatiktepe on the northern side of Mykale (see Map 1) near the modern village of Güzelçamlı, a monumental altar (4.26 m x 17.78 m) surrounded by an unfinished *temenos* wall was identified by German archaeologists in the late 1950s, and this is still considered to be the location of the Panionion by the majority of scholars.[258] The absence of a proper temple structure together with the paucity of archaeological finds suggest that this Panionion was never a fully-fledged, permanently used Greek sanctuary, but rather a temporary cultic gathering point frequented probably only annually on the occasion of the Panionia festival.[259] By the end of the 5th c. BC, the latter seems to have been held at a place in the vicinity of Ephesos probably for reasons of safety, but from the mid 4th c. BC on, the site on Otomatiktepe apparently regained importance and visibility, as is suggested by the construction of a theatre/*bouleutērion* on its southwestern slope and by epigraphic findings:[260] a resolution of the *boulē* of the Ionians from the mid 4th c. BC found in Güzelçamlı (now lost) is the first secure attestation of an institutionalised deliberative body of the Ionian Koinon.[261] It is likely that this council would have held its meetings on the occasions of the annual festival

[257] Hdt. 1.148: Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος; Diod. 15.49.1: περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μυκάλην ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ; Strab. 8.7.1–2: πρῶτον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τὸ Πανιώνιον, τρισὶ σταδίοις ὑπερκείμενον τῆς θαλάττης; Plin. *nat.* 5.113: *regio omnibus Ionibus sacra et ideo Panionia appellata*; Mela 1.87.20: *ibi est Panionium sacra regio, et ob id eo nomine adpellata quod eam communiter Iones colunt*; on Poseidon Helikonios, see Chapter 3.1.1.

[258] Herda 2006b, 53–54 defended the dating of the structures to the 6th c. BC by Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967, 22–28, *contra* Lohmann 2005, 70–73. T. Wiegand had been the first scholar to identify this site with the Panionion in 1898.

[259] Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967, 17.

[260] Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967, 28–37; Herda 2006b, 50–52; on the transfer of the Panionia to Ephesos, see Hornblower 1982; if Diod. 15.49 is indeed to be connected to these events, this would establish 373/2 BC as the *terminus post quem* for the return to the Panionion, Herda 2006b, 55–56.

[261] *I.Priene*$^2$ 398 regulating the priesthood of Zeus Boulaios and Hera (ll. 6–8), which fits in nicely with the *boulē*'s recent institutionalisation. Jurisdictional functions of the *koinon* are already attested in the early 4th c. BC through an arbitration between its member cities Miletos and Myous which the by-then ruling Persians had delegated to the 'judges of the Ionians' (*I.Milet* 9 = *Rhodes–Osborne, GHI* 16, 391–388 BC, a recent discussion of the text can be found in Ehrhardt 2017), and still in the early 2nd c. BC (*I.Priene*$^2$ 132 ll. 59–60; 147 ll. 7–10); *bouleutai* are also mentioned in *I.Smyrna* 577 l. 21 = *I.Milet* 10 l. 18 (289/8 BC).

in the *bouleutērion*/theatre building.[262] A second inscription found in Güzelçamlı (now in the Archaeological Museum of İzmir) from the second half of the 4th c. BC belongs in the same context; this records another resolution of the Ionian Koinon dealing with the conduct of and the contributions to the Panionia.[263] The Panionion is mentioned in inscriptions as a place of honorific display and cultic activity down to the 2nd c. BC,[264] but it had no claim to exclusivity as a meeting place of the *koinon*, as the Panionia are attested to have been celebrated in Miletos around 167/6 BC.[265] That the Ionian Koinon also met in others of its member cities and that it celebrated festivals other than the Panionia is shown by the establishment of the Alexandreia festival in honour of Alexander the Great on the isthmus of the Erythraean peninsula in the territory of Teos,[266] as well as by a victory list from Messene which mentions the Alexandreia festival celebrated by the Ionian Koinon in Smyrna.[267]

The conducting of the Panionia was already seen as the *koinon*'s main activity by Herodotus, the most important source for the pre-Classical Ionian Koinon (1.147).[268] The

[262] Later testimonies for simultaneity of festival and council meetings are *I.Milet* 306 from 167/6 BC, which explicitly states that the *koinon* resolved honours for king Eumenes II while the festival was held (ll. 61–62), and Philostr. *Ap.* 4.5–6.

[263] *I.Priene*$^2$ 399, which also mentions sacrifices to Zeus Boulaios (ll. 9–10).

[264] *I.Smyrna* 577 ll. 13–14 = *I.Milet* 10 ll. 11–12 (289/8 BC): στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐφ' ἵππου ἐμ Πανιωνίωι; *I.Priene*$^2$ 185 (2nd c. BC): [Ποσ]ειδῶνος Ἑ]λικωνίου [ἐμ Παν]ιωνίωι.

[265] *I.Milet* 306 ll. 61–62; in the Roman period, they seem to have been regularly celebrated in one of the member cities, Philostr. *Ap.* 4.5–6: in Smyrna; *soph.* 2.25 (612): in Phokaia.

[266] Strab. 14.1.31; it is also mentioned in *I.Erythrai* 504 (268–262 BC), 30 (ca 260 BC), 87 (3rd/2nd c. BC), and probably 89A (Augustan).

[267] *SEG* 46-422 ll. 8–10: Ἀλεξάνδρεια τὰ ἐν |[Σμ]ύρνηι τὰ συντελούμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν |[Ἰών]ων (second half of the 2nd/first half of the 1st c. BC), see Gauthier 2000, 634–635 and Habicht 2000, 126. As the place of origin of the honoured athlete is not specified, as the *agōnes* which he won as a child are all located in the Peloponnese, and as his patronymic points to a Dorian origin, we have to assume that he was a local and that he is thus the first attested case of a citizen from a city that was not a member of the Ionian Koinon participating in one of its festivals, Gauthier 2000, 631–632; Habicht 2000, 123. This being the only instance where an *agōn* carried out by the Ionian Koinon is mentioned in a victory list, we cannot establish whether the Messenian athlete is an exceptional case.

[268] Scott 2005, 43: 'Herodotus makes it clear that the Panionion was a religious centre'; the *koinon* has justly been labelled an amphictyony, e.g. by Fogazza 1973, 159; Kowalzig 2005, 54; Metcalfe 2005, 106; Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007, 178.

gathering on the occasion of this festival needs to be seen as the most important expression of a collective Ionian identity and also as an active assertion of the members' *polis* status.[269] Herodotus reports that the members of the Ionian Koinon held assemblies at the Panionion to deliberate on political actions on four occasions between the downfall of the Lydian Empire in the middle of the 6th c. BC and the battle of Lade in 494 BC.[270] Yet, these four instances should be understood as extraordinary *ad hoc* reactions to immediate threats, rather than evidence for claiming an inherently political nature of the Ionian Koinon.[271] That there could arise tensions when it came to common financial matters is attested in the case of the contributions by each member city for the conduct of the Panionia. This is mentioned in *I.Priene*$^2$ 399 (which would probably not have been inscribed on stone if the members had always paid their contributions duly)[272] and was still an issue in the late 2nd c. BC, as shown by *I.Priene*$^2$ 64, which records honours for a citizen who together with his brother had procured financial aid when the city had to pay 'interest' (τόκοι) to the Ionians.[273]

[269] Mack 2013, 100: '[the Panionia] played a very important role for these communities in the construction of their identity in relation to each other. By participating and by being seen to participate alongside the other cities they were able to express their identity as legitimate *polis* actors'.
[270] Hdt. 1.141 (threatened by Cyrus in the 540s BC); 1.170 (after Cyrus' sack of Ionia in the 540s BC, Bias of Priene advises the Ionians to emigrate to Sardinia; before, Thales of Miletos had admonished them to found a common place of council (*bouleutērion*) in Teos, the centre of Ionia, and to treat the Ionian cities as mere *dēmoi*); 5.108–109 (the Ionians send support to Cyprus against the Persians in 497 BC); 6.7 (before the Battle of Lade in 494 BC).
[271] Fogazza 1973; Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007, 173; it is further not uncommon for amphictyonies to take on a political function under certain circumstances, Scott 2005, 44. Cassola 1958 tries to argue that the *koinon* was primarily a political league.
[272] Mac Sweeney 2013, 176.
[273] As there is no other evidence for an institutionalised *koinon* treasury, I think it is more likely to refer this payment to the city's regular contributions to the *koinon* and not to the repayment of some other loan from a Panionion treasury (as suggested in the commentary on *I.Priene*$^2$ 64 l. 104). A good parallel for sanctions on members for not fulfilling their duties is attested for the amphictyonic Koinon of Athena Ilias, studied recently by Ellis-Evans 2016: cities and individuals had to pay fines for not sending delegates, not providing the sacrificial animal, or not paying their due 'interests' (τόκοι, *I.Ilion* 5 ll. 11 and 189; 6 l. 10); on the explanations brought forward to account for the use of τόκοι to designate membership fees, see Lefèvre and Pillot 2015.

In the Hellenistic period, most of the decrees issued by the Ionian Koinon were honorific ones for citizens of one of its member cities.[274] But two 2nd c. BC honorific inscriptions set up by the *koinon* in Delphi and Pergamon show that it had expanded its sphere of interaction beyond the borders of Ionia, and that it should be perceived as aspiring to act on a Panhellenic level just as many other Hellenistic *koina*.[275] Furthermore, it cultivated diplomatic contacts with Hellenistic kings and Roman rulers, which could lead to the establishment of ruler cult, and it was acknowledged by these as a socio-political reality worthy of consideration. In his planned *synoikismos* of Lebedos and Teos from ca 303 BC, Antigonos Monophthalmos included regulations for the delegates to the Panionion (*RC* 3, ll. 2–4). The Ionian Koinon established a cult with a festival for Antiochos I in Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 504, 268–262 BC), honoured Eumenes II with a golden statue and named a day of the Panionia after him (*I.Milet* 306, 167/6 BC), and issued an honorific decree for the priest of Nikomedes II Epiphanes who had also been honoured by the *koinon* previously (*I.Priene*$^2$ 43, before 128/7 BC, stating that in his prayers the priest had wished for the best for the Ionians and the Romans (!), ll. 19–20). In the second quarter of the 1st c. BC, it set up honorific statues for a Roman proconsul and for Pompey in the sanctuary of Apollo Klarios (*SEG* 60-1247 and *SEG* 49-1509). But the scarcity of evidence compared to the

[274] *I.Smyrna* 577 = *I.Milet* 10 = *SEG* 35-926 (Chios) (289/8 BC); *I.Smyrna* 575 (mid 3rd c. BC, very fragmentary); *I.Milet* 120 (1st c. BC or later); 170 (second half of the 2nd/first half of the 1st c. BC); 251 (ca 100 BC); 1085 (mid 2nd c. BC); *I.Erythrai* 348 (2nd c. BC); *IG* XII 6,1 428 (Samos, 2nd c. BC); *I.Priene*$^2$ 43 (before 128/7 BC); 44 (after 100 BC); 45 (2nd c. BC); 89 (2nd c. BC, very fragmentary); *F.Delphes* III,2 135 (mid 2nd c. BC).

[275] *F.Delphes* III,2 135: the *koinon* honours an individual (from Delphi or Athens?) with a bronze statue alongside 24 other *koina* (e.g. of the Amphiktyones, Epeirotes, Cretans, Achaians), *dēmoi*, and Athenian civic subdivisions; *AvP* VIII,3 4 (ca 2nd c. BC): a fragmentary honorific statue base for a Pergamene citizen by the Ionian Koinon. Even if the Ionian Koinon surely never reached the political influence of the Hellenistic Achaian or Aitolian Koinon, it is highly regrettable that it has been almost completely neglected in the fundamental studies of Hellenistic *koina*, e.g. Larsen 1968; Mackil 2013; Beck and Funke (eds) 2015.

prolific contacts between individual member cities and Hellenistic rulers should warn us about overestimating the political weight of the *koinon* on a supra-regional level.[276]

One element which surely helped to foster the notion of a collective Ionian identity not only among the *koinon* councillors issuing honorific decrees, but also among the honorands and within the communities where these inscriptions were erected, are the formulations found in the justification clauses: a person is honoured 'because he behaves in a friendly/affectionate manner and benevolently both towards each single city and towards the Ionians collectively'[277], 'because of his virtue and his goodwill towards the (Koinon of the) Ionians'[278], or as 'benefactor (and *patronus*) of the Ionians'[279].

From Klaros we now have an important new inscription shedding light on the activities of the Ionian Koinon in the early 2nd c. BC.[280] It is a decree issued by the *koinon* responding to a request from Kolophon confirming the *koinon*'s participation in the penteteric festival of Apollo Klarios with processions and sacrifices.[281] The Kolophonian call for this *theōria* points again to the *koinon*'s significance at an internal and external level, and reaffirms the bonds between the *koinon* and its member city at a moment when the latter was seeking

[276] Metcalfe 2005, 106: 'Rather, it would seem that the *Koinon* was principally an internal tool of the Ionian *poleis* that was occasionally used to bestow honour on certain regional powers at a higher level than its constituent parts were capable of'.

[277] *I.Milet* 10 ll. 4–6 (= *I.Smyrna* 577 ll. 5–7 = *SEG* 35-926 (Chios): ll. 5–7): οἰκείως καὶ φιλανθρώπως καὶ ἰδίαι ἑ|κάστηι τῶμ πόλεων καὶ κοινῆι Ἴωσι χρώμενος δια|τελεῖ.

[278] *I.Milet* 170 ll. 3–5: ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐ|νοίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς Ἴω|νας; *I.Milet* 1085 l. 2: ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτό; *I.Priene*$^2$ 43 ll. 9–10: ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν καὶ εὔνους τῶι κοινῶ[ι] |τῶν Ἰώνων.

[279] *IG* XII 6,1 428 l. 4: ε̣ὐεργέτην τῶν Ἰώνων; *SEG* 60-1247 ll. 5–6: εὐεργέτην τε καὶ πά|τρωνα τῶν Ἰώνων; *SEG* 49-1509 ll. 5–7: τὸν εὐεργέ|την καὶ πάτρωνα τῶν |Ἰώνων.

[280] *Editio princeps* with French translation Müller and Prost 2013, 94–96.

[281] Müller and Prost 2013 (*SEG* 63-949; with critical remarks by Denis Rousset in *BE* 2014, 533–534 n. 409): Ἔδοξεν τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Ἰώνων· ἐπειδὴ Κολοφώνιοι, |συγγενεῖς ὄντες καὶ μετέχοντες τῶν θυσιῶν ||[.]Ω[- - - - - ] ... ὅπως οὖν φαίνηται τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων διὰ παν|τὸς εὐσεβῶς διακείμενον πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καὶ σύναυ|[ξ]ον τὰς τιμὰς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κλαρίου, τύχηι ἀγα|θῆι, δεδόχθαι Ἴωσιν ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Κλάρον θεωρίαν |κατὰ πενταετηρίδα ὅταν συντελῶσιν Κολοφώνιο[ι] |τήν τε πανήγυριν καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τ[ῶι] |Κλαρίωι, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδειχθέντας θεωροὺς καθ᾽ ἕτο[ς καὶ] |τοὺς εἰς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀποδεικνυμένους, ἀφι[κομέ]|νους εἰς Κλάρον, ὅταν ἡ θυσία καθήκηι, συμπομπ̣ε̣[ῦσαί] |τε καὶ θυσίας συντελέσαι τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Κλαρίωι |καὶ τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι τῆι Κλαρίαι, καθότι νε[νό]μισται παρὰ |Κολοφωνίοις.

legitimisation for and recognition of its Panhellenic aspirations.[282] Interesting is the use of kinship terminology (l. 2: συγγενεῖς ὄντες) referring to the *koinon* as a whole, which most likely had already been employed in the original plea of the Kolophonians.[283] In the same vein, the Ionian Koinon seems to have been asked to recognise the *asylia* of the Klarian sanctuary at an earlier point.[284]

### 2.1.2 Members and membership

While the mythical tradition knows of 12 original Ionian foundations in Asia, the number of *koinon* members seems to have been fixed at 13 from the early Hellenistic period onwards, by which point Smyrna had also been admitted.[285] This number continued to be stable as late as the 3rd c. AD, as a coin series from Kolophon shows.[286] In the Smyrnaean copy of an honorific decree issued by the *koinon* for the Milesian Hippostratos from 289/8 BC (*I.Smyrna* 577), a transcript of which was to be stored in every member city (ll. 20–24), it is referred to as the 'Koinon of the Ionians of the 13 cities' (ll. 1–2). As in the two other extant specimens of the same decree found at Miletos and Chios the *koinon* is simply called the

[282] Müller and Prost 2013, 122–123, who want to see the Panionian participation here as a sign of loyalty towards the Romans, who however cannot be addressed as new masters of the sanctuary as early as the 190s BC; Rutherford 2019 studies the many epigraphically attested delegations to the Klarian oracle (ca AD 105–235), assembled by Ferrary 2014, from a network theory-perspective; on *theōria* and the Panionion, see Kowalzig 2005, 45–56; *I.Priene*$^2$ 65 l. 53 (ca 120 BC) explicitly mentions a *theōros* to the Panionion.

[283] On kinship diplomacy, see Curty 1995 and Jones 1999b; note that in his letter to the Ionian Koinon from 167/6 BC, the Pergamene king Eumenes II called the city of Miletos *syngenēs* (l. 65) based on its status as *mētropolis* of Kyzikos, the native city of Eumenes' mother Apollonis.

[284] In connection with the 1958 excavation in Klaros, Robert 1974, 174 mentions an unpublished *koinon* decree referring to the *asylia*. See Müller and Prost 2013, 106 for all the other instances of *asylia* recognitions for Klaros, one of them from the Thessalian Koinon; see also Rigsby 1996, 351–353 and Knäpper 2018, 153–155.

[285] The 12 cities are: Ephesos, Miletos, Myous, Lebedos, Kolophon, Priene, Teos, Erythrai, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Chios, and Samos; Hdt. 1.142; 7.95; Strab. 14.1.3; Ail. *var.* 8.5; *IG* XII,5 444 l. 27; Vell. 1.4; Suda s.v. Ἰωνία. On Smyrna's subsequent addition: Strab. 14.1.4; Paus. 7.5.1; Vitr. 4.1.4; it was not already a member in the Classical period as Mac Sweeney 2013, 188 claims, misinterpreting Hdt. 1.143, who explicitly states that they did not allow any other Ionian city to join the *koinon* and that Smyrna was the only one to ask for admission; the first secure attestation of Smyrna as a member is *I.Smyrna* 577 from 289/8 BC.

[286] Discussed in Chapter 3.1.2.

'Koinon of the Ionians', it is likely that the Smyrnaean wording deliberately aimed at highlighting its recent admission as a 13th member and thus its pride in being counted among the Ionian cities.[287] Smyrna is generally described as an old Aiolian settlement in the literary sources, through which we can trace the efforts to construct a mythological account of its 'Ionianisation' that was designed to explain and legitimise its membership in the Ionian Koinon.[288] What is further remarkable in *I.Smyrna* 577 is the mention of the number 13, despite the fact that at the time of this decree two of the member cities, Kolophon and Lebedos, had been integrated into the larger Ephesos by order of Lysimachus in ca 294 BC.[289] At least the Lebedians seem to have been allowed to maintain a distinct communal identity within the Ephesian civic subdivision *chiliastys Lebedios*.[290] It is uncertain to what extent their temporary disintegration affected their representation in the *koinon*, but they could hardly have continued to be addressed as proper *poleis* during that period.[291]

Over a decade earlier, at some point between 306 and 302 BC, Antigonos Monophthalmos had planned to synoicise Lebedos with Teos.[292] The remains of one of the two extant letters of Antigonos to the Teians, the upper part of which is not preserved, begin with a clause regulating the participation of the Lebedians in the Panionia:

[287] Commentary on *I.Smyrna* 577; *I.Milet* 10; Forrest 1985, 95 n. 1 gives Hippodamos as honorand in l. 9 of the Chian copy (Ἱππόδαμον), but in the commentary on *I.Milet* 10 in *Milet* VI,1, Peter Herrmann speaks strongly in favour of regarding it as the Chian copy of *I.Smyrna* 577, and the final letter of the name might in fact be a Υ (Ἱπποδάμου) which would make it the patronymic of Hippostratos as in the other two copies; on the spelling variation Hippodēmos in *I.Smyrna* 577 and *I.Milet* 10, see Rigsby 2013, 140–141.

[288] Mac Sweeney 2013, 187–197.

[289] Ager 1998, 12; Boehm 2018, 74–76; Paus. 1.9.7 and 7.3.4 even relates that the two cities were destroyed; see also the commentary on *I.Smyrna* 577.

[290] On civic subdivisions and identity, see Chapter 4.2.1.

[291] Mack 2013, 100–101; Ager 1998, 13–14 suggests that even if their political status was compromised, they might still have participated in the Panionia in the traditional way.

[292] Ager 1998, 9–12; editions: *LBW* 86; *Syll.*[3] 344; *RC* 3; *PHI Teos* 59; recent studies on this *synoikismos* are Pezzoli 2006; Mack 2013, 100–104; Egetenmeier 2016; Boehm 2018, 92–104.

> [— ὅστις δ’ ἄν] εἰς τὸ Πανιώνιον ἀποστέ[λληται, ὠιό]μεθα δεῖν [πράττειν πάντα τὰ][293] |[κο]ινὰ τὸν ἴσον χρόνον, σκηνοῦν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πανηγυράζειν μετὰ τῶν παρ’[ὑμῶν ἀπεσταλμέ]|νων καὶ καλεῖσθαι Τηΐον.
>
> *[… whoever] is sent to the Panionion, we thought that he should [perform all the] common rites for the same period of time, that he should camp and attend the festival with [your delegates], and that he should go under the name of Teian* (*RC* 3, ll. 2–4, my translation).

While it is still debated whether this planned *synoikismos* was ever carried out,[294] the very detail-oriented treatment of the arising practical issues speaks in favour of a high degree of realistic practicality. Thus, it seems to have been a viable option that Lebedos, one of the original Ionian foundations, would no longer have been nominally represented in the Panionion, but go under the name of Teos.[295] As it was surely a vital interest of the Lebedians to maintain some sort of distinct communal identity, they were possibly ascribed to a civic subdivision of their own in Teos – as would later be the case in the *synoikismos* with Ephesos – which might be reflected in the fact that Antigonos still acknowledged the conceptual existence of a Lebedian delegate even if he was to be called Teian.[296] Thus, as some sort of concession to the Lebedians, they would have been able to maintain their own agency in the internal affairs of the Panionion, while for an outsider their participation in the Ionian Koinon would no longer have been visible. What is further worth mentioning is that the Teian delegates are named in the plural, while there is only one ex-Lebedian. This might reflect a certain degree of proportional representation within the *koinon* itself,[297]

[293] The restoration of the first line could be improved to [—**τὸν δ’ἀεί (?)**] εἰς τὸ Πανιώνιον ἀποστε[**λλόμενον**, ὠιό]μεθα δεῖν [πράττειν...], as πράττειν lacked a subject otherwise.
[294] Ager 1998, 10; Pezzoli 2006, 368; Egetenmeier 2016, 168.
[295] Ager 1998, 10.
[296] Ager 1998, 18–19; Mack 2013, 100–101.
[297] Or different duties of the member cities or even individual choice as Metcalfe 2005, 75 points out.

suggesting that the *koinon* also acknowledged geopolitical realities and the individual sensitivities of its members.[298]

Another crucial, and in this context hitherto neglected, piece of evidence is the case of Myous.[299] At some point in the early 3rd c. BC it seems to have lost its political independence and to have been incorporated into the neighbouring *polis* of Miletos.[300] By the late Hellenistic period at the latest its people had resettled in Miletos, leaving the city completely abandoned due to its ecological misfortunes.[301] Vitruvius interestingly remarks that the Ionians transferred Myous' rituals and vote (in the Ionian Koinon) to the Milesians,[302] for which the planned addition of the Lebedian Panionion-ambassador to the group of the Teians can be seen as an earlier parallel. As the *koinon* duly noted when one of its members was absent at a meeting where a decision was taken,[303] the persistent use of the label τρισκαιδεκάπολις for the Ionian Koinon, even after Myous' loss of independence, might be indicative of a high degree of conservatism among the members. This clinging to labels and traditions could have been of particular interest for *poleis* that had lost much of their former importance by the time of the Roman Empire. Cities such as Lebedos, Klazomenai, or Phokaia have left only scant traces in the material from the Roman

[298] Strab. 14.3.3 describes such an organising principle for the Lycian Koinon: the biggest cities had three, the medium sized two, and the smallest one vote in the assembly; judges and magistrates were elected proportionally; and financial contributions and liturgies were distributed according to the same principle. Similarly, the composition of the council of the Delphic Amphictyony was far from stable both in number and in representation of the members, e.g. for the 3rd c. BC, see the table in Sánchez 2001, 524–526.

[299] All the testimonia and inscriptions from the city have been assembled by W. Blümel in *I.Nordkarien* pp. 101–117.

[300] Ehrhardt 2017, 262–263 takes the mention of 13 Ionian cities in *I.Smyrna* 577 (289/8 BC) as a *terminus post quem* and *I.Milet* 1029 = *I.Nordkarien* 169 (late 3rd c. BC) as a *terminus ante quem* for Myous' loss of autonomy. A Milesian citizenship decree from the early 3rd c. BC, published in Günther 2009, 173–177 n. 3, is likely to be the very document of the enfranchisement of the Myesians.

[301] Strab. 14.1.10; Paus. 7.2.11; Mackil 2004, 494–497; on ancient views on coastline changes due to alluviation, see Horden and Purcell 2000, 312–320; Thonemann 2011, 306–314 on the Maiandros delta in particular.

[302] Vitr. 4.1.4: *cuius sacra et suffragium Milesiis Iones attribuerunt*.

[303] *I.Priene*$^2$ 43 l. 7: [ἔ]δοξε τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Ἰώνων πλὴν Χίων; *I.Milet* 120 ll. 5–6: Χῖοι δὲ [Κλαζομέ/Κολοφώ?]|νιοι οὐ παρῆσαν.

period (especially in the epigraphic and numismatic record), and one wonders of what sort their status and participation in the Ionian Koinon might have been by then.[304] They would of course have had a lively interest in continuing the traditions of the Ionian Koinon, as it would have provided for them a convenient platform through which to remain in contact with the powerful and influential provincial elites from Ephesos and Smyrna, and to a lesser degree from Miletos.[305] As Ionianness was the main factor binding them to the *koinon*, they must have had a special interest in keeping its relevance alive.

In the pre-Roman period, then, the Ionian Koinon appears as a firmly established institution issuing honorific inscriptions, engaging in ruler cult, and celebrating *koinon* festivals at the Panionion or in one of its member cities.[306] Participation in its meetings and festivals was surely an important means of expression of a distinct Ionian identity. While this is more tangible in the surviving evidence on a *polis* level, there are no extant direct attestations of individuals employing the *koinon* for explicit expressions of Ionianness. The situation changes drastically in the Imperial period where nearly all the attestations for the Ionian Koinon stem from individuals whose tenure of a *koinon* office is mentioned in inscriptions as a source of pride and prestige.

[304] Graf 1985, 382 on Klazomenai: 'ansonsten dämmerte die Stadt als unbedeutender Flecken unter dem Reichsfrieden dahin'.

[305] These three cities were in fact the only ones of the *koinon* members that ever became *neōkoroi*, see Burrell 2004.

[306] It has even been considered a precursor and model for the provincial Koinon of (the Hellenes in) Asia, Deininger 1965, 10–12; Herrmann 2002, 223; Edelmann-Singer 2015, 40.

## 2.2 The Ionian Koinon in the Roman period[307]

The last attested activities of the Ionian Koinon before the Imperial period are the erection of the two aforementioned honorific statues in Klaros in the 60s BC.[308] We then only hear of it again under Augustus,[309] which has led some scholars to assume that the *koinon* had ceased to exist during this period and was re-established only under Augustus.[310] Whether this was indeed so, or whether the evidence from these years simply has not survived, there seems to have been a renewed interest in the *koinon* from the early Imperial period onwards, probably accompanied by structural reforms, especially the creation of new offices (see below). The Ionian Koinon also continued to function as a decision-making body in the Roman period. The only two extant inscribed *koinon* decrees are the fragmentary *I.Milet* 120 (1st c. BC or later), the purpose of which cannot be established with certainty,[311] and *I.Milet* 1045 (Augustan), most likely an honorific decree for C. Iulius Epikrates. Further testimonies which we may assume were underpinned by a *koinon* decree are: an honorific inscription from Ephesos in which Octavia Capitolina is honoured by the Ephesian *boulē*, *dēmos*, and *gerousia* as well as the *xynon* of the Ionians;[312] a dedication to Tiberius from Priene;[313] Philostratus' account of how Apollonius of Tyana had been invited to join the

[307] Since the fundamental study of the topic by Herrmann 2002, new epigraphic evidence has come to light: the *koinon* decree from Kolophon from the 2nd c. BC (Müller and Prost 2013, see Chapter 2.1.1 with fn. 281); a statue base from Klaros from 63 BC (*SEG* 60-1247); and an honorific inscription from Ephesos from the 1st c. AD (Engelmann 2000, 86 n. 19).

[308] *SEG* 49-1509 (for Pompey) and *SEG* 60-1247 (for the proconsul P. Servilius Globulus).

[309] *I.Milet* 1131 ll. 8–9: the posthumously honoured C. Iulius Epikrates had been *archiereus* of Asia and of the Ionians for life.

[310] Fogazza 1973, 168; Herrmann 2002, 239.

[311] Possibly a motion introduced by the Erythraeans concerning honours bestowed upon one of their fellow citizens by the *koinon*, see the commentary on *I.Milet* 120.

[312] Engelmann 2000, 86 n. 19, dated to the 1st c. AD based on letter forms: [ἡ βουλὴ] καὶ ὁ δῆμος |[καὶ ἡ γε]ρουσία καὶ τὸ ξυ|[νὸν τῶ]ν Ἰώνων ἐτείμ|[ησαν] Ὀκταβίαν Καπε|[τ]ωλ[εί]ν̣αν σωφροσύ|νης καὶ φιλανδρίας |χάριν.

[313] *I.Priene*[2] 215, AD 14–37: [τὸ κ]οινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων |[Τιβε]ρίῳ[ι] Κ[α]ίσ̣αρι Σε|[βαστ]οῦ υἱῶι Σεβαστῷι |[καθιέ]ρῳ[σε]ν̣.

assembly of the Ionians in Smyrna through an 'Ionian *psēphisma*';[314] Hadrian's epithet Panionios;[315] and an honorific inscription from Ephesos which was erected on the basis of 'a decision of the Ephesians and the other Ionians'.[316] Slightly more material survives regarding the festivals and contests connected with the Ionian Koinon, the latter of which seem to have been newly introduced in the Roman period.[317] The first attestation of a contest during a *koinon* festival stems from the second half of the 2nd/first half of the 1st c. BC.[318] This festival in honour of Alexander the Great as well as the Panionia continued to be celebrated in various locations in the Roman period, and in the 3rd c. AD, the Great Pythia Panionia were established in Didyma.[319]

Koinon *officials*[320]

The introduction of contests to the *koinon* festivals necessitated the creation of the office of *agōnothetēs* which is only attested in inscriptions from Didyma from the 1st–3rd c. AD.[321] While the function of this office is rather self-explanatory, the duties of the *basileus* of the Ionian Koinon cannot be determined with certainty. This office is already attested in the late Classical and Hellenistic evidence where it designated the representatives of each city

[314] Philostr. *Ap.* 4.5: ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα Ἰωνικόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ κοινωνῆσαί σφισι τοῦ ξυλλόγου.
[315] Discussed in Chapter 3.1.1.
[316] *I.Ephesos* 3069, late 2nd/early 3rd c. AD: [- - -] Ποντικὸν |Στρατόνεικος |λόγων ἕνεκα |Ἐφεσίων |καὶ τῶν ἄλλων |Ἰώνων γνώμηι; see fn. 620.
[317] Herrmann 2002, 231; Fogazza 1973, 169 even asserts that holding festivals and games was the *koinon*'s main and only occupation in the Roman period; L. Robert (*BE* 1968 n. 469) announced a study of the Panionia in the Roman period, which was never published.
[318] *SEG* 46-422 ll. 8–10: Ἀλεξάνδρεια τὰ ἐν |[Σμ]ύρνηι τὰ συντελούμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν |[Ἰών]ων.
[319] Panionia: Strab. 14.1.20 (in the Panionion); Philostr. *Ap.* 4.5–6 (in Smyrna); possibly Philostr. *soph.* 2.25 (612) (in Phokaia); Dion. Hal. *ant.* 4.25.4–5 (in Ephesos); *I.Didyma* 339 ll. 12–14 (1st c. AD) mentions *agōnothetai* of the Koinon of the Ionians. Alexandreia: Strab. 14.1.31 (in Erythrai); *SEG* 46-422 (in Smyrna, second half of the 2nd/first half of the 1st c. BC); *I.Erythrai* 89A (Imperial period) mentions a contest carried out by the Ionian Koinon which is likely to refer to the Alexandreia as well, but possibly to the Panionia (Robert 1929b, 148); the festivals will be discussed in greater length in Chapter 3.1.2.
[320] A detailed overview of all attested *koinon* officials can be found in Appendix 1.
[321] *I.Didyma* 339 ll. 12–13 (1st c. AD); 252 l. 6 (3rd c. AD); 305 ll. 4–6 (late Imperial).

to the Panionion.[322] In the Roman period, three individuals, all of which had Roman citizenship, are known to have held it: **1)** Claudia Hedeia from Chios who also discharged several civic offices (*gymnasiarchia*, *agōnothesia*, priesthood of Livia) in the 1st c. AD (*SEG* 15-532);[323] **2)** T. Fl. Varus Calvisianus Hermokrates from Phokaia, a Roman *eques* who had worked his way up from Roman military positions via civic Phokaian offices (*prytanis*, *stephanēphoros*, twice priest of Massalia, *agōnothetēs*) to the high priesthood of Asia in the 1st/2nd c. AD (*OGIS* 489 = *PHI Phokaia* 18); the honorific inscription for his wife Flavia Ammion (*CIG* 3415) mentions that she held the same civic and provincial offices as he did, with the notable exception that her husband's role as *basileus* of the Ionians did not automatically make her *basilissa* of the Ionians; **3)** T. Fl. Scribonianus from Samos, a priest of Hera in the second half of the 2nd c. AD, who erected an honorific statue for his sister, who had served as priestess of Hera as well (*IG* XII 6,1 331). Scribonianus proudly points out that there had also been priests of Hera as well as *archiereis* and *basileis* of Ionia among their ancestors (ll. 6–9). Another honorific inscription from Samos from the 3rd c. AD also mentions that the ancestors of the unknown honorand had been *archiereis* and *basileis* of the *triskaidekapolis* of Ionia (*IG* XII 6,1 326 ll. 6–8). Similar cases are a *hydrophoros* inscription from Didyma from the 1st c. AD which lists the *agōnothesia* and *basileia* of the Ionian Koinon (*I.Didyma* 339 ll. 12–13) among a number of civic offices (*prophēteia*, *stephanēphoria*, *agōnothesia*, *archierateia*, *gymnasiarchia*, *paidonomia*, *chorēgia*) discharged by the maternal ancestors of the *hydrophoros*; and an honorific text for the daughter of Vedius Servilius Gaius, a priestess of Ephesian Artemis, whose family belonged

[322] *I.Priene*$^2$ 399 ll. 17, 21, 22, 24 (second half of the 4th c. BC) and *I.Erythrai* 348 l. 8 (2nd c. BC); in *I.Priene*$^2$ 65 l. 53 (ca 120 BC) the denomination *theōros* is used; Herrmann 2002, 233; Momigliano 1934 and Carlier 1984, 450–455 speculate about the earlier history of the Ionian *basileus*.

[323] Another person of the same name, most likely a relative, is attested in *I.Smyrna* 697 l. 26 (after AD 124), on which see Hallmannsecker 2017.

to the highest ranks of Ephesian society in the mid 3rd c. AD and prided itself on having produced 'many *prytaneis* and single *grammateis*, *archiereis* in the five *mētropoleis*, *basileis* of the Ionians, as well as senators and consuls'.[324]

The first attested *archiereus* of the Ionians is **1)** the Milesian C. Iulius Epikrates who also took over the high priesthood of Asia and various civic offices (*agōnothesia* for life, *gymnasiarchia* of all the gymnasia) under Augustus.[325] His grandfather had had close contacts with Caesar, his family was one of the most prominent in Miletos at that time, and Epikrates himself is called a 'friend of Augustus'[326]. He is the only person known to have served as *archiereus* of the Ionians for life, and as *I.Milet* 1131 is a posthumous monument we should accept this as reliable information. As he was apparently the first to have discharged this office, one might assume that it had been intended as a lifelong position initially, but it is unlikely that this practice was continued as no other attested *archiereus* of the Ionians added this to his title. In total, we know of eight other individuals who held this position from the 1st to the 3rd c. AD: **2)** in the 1st c. AD, Posidonios, son of Diodotos, was also *prophētēs* in Didyma, *kōtarchēs*, *stephanēphoros*, *gymnasiarchos*, and *stratēgos* of Miletos, and is one of only two attested *koinon* officials without Roman citizenship (*I.Didyma* 281 ll. 4–10); **3)** Fl. Andreas from the Milesian island-*dēmos* of Leros served as *stephanēphoros*, *prophētēs*, *gymnasiarchos*, *kōtarchēs*, *stratēgos* of Miletos, and *prostatēs* of the *gerousia* at the end of the 1st c. AD (*I.Didyma* 287 ll. 11–18); **4)** his son T. Fl. Dionysodoros is attested as *prophētēs*, *archiereus* of the Sebastoi, *gymnasiarchos*, *agōnothetēs*, and *chorēgos* of the children (*I.Didyma* 287 ll. 1–10); **5–6)** M. Ulpius Flavianus Damas and Iulia Flaviana Glaphyra, the parents of a *prophētēs* in Didyma, also served as

[324] *I.Ephesos* 3072 ll. 23–27: γένους οὖσαν πᾶσιν |βαθμοῖς πολλῶν πρυτάνεων καὶ γραμμα|τέων μόνων καὶ ἐν ταῖς ε' μητροπόλεσιν |ἀρχιερασαμένου καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ἰώνων, καὶ συνκλητικῶν καὶ ὑπατικῶν.
[325] *I.Milet* 1131 ll. 8–9; *editio princeps* Herrmann 1994 with extensive commentary.
[326] *I.Milet* 1131 ll. 3–4: φίλον [c.5–7]ον γενόμενον Αὐτοκράτορος |Καίσα[ρος θε]οῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

*archiereis* of the Sebastoi (*I.Didyma* 279 ll. 10–16) in the first half of the 2nd c. AD; in this inscription the *archierateia* of Ionia and the *archierateia* of the Sebastoi are clearly distinguished from each other and it is made clear that they were not held at the same time;[327] **7)** Babaïthis, the daughter of Nikeratos, who was also the first woman who still belonged to the age-class of *parthenoi* to become *stephanēphoros*, is the only other *koinon* official who did not have Roman citizenship (*I.Didyma* 356 ll. 10–11)[328]; her daughter, Flavia (?), served as *hydrophoros* in Didyma when Hadrian visited Miletos and Didyma in AD 129 (*I.Didyma* 356 ll. 5–8); **8)** an unknown woman from Miletos, who is recorded as having also held the *archierateia* of the Sebastoi, *stephanēphoria*, various *gymnasiarchiai*, *paidonomia*, all the *chorēgiai*, *agōnothesia* of the Didymeia Kommodeia, *hydrophoria* of Artemis Pythiē, and *kōtarchia* at some point in the late 2nd/3rd c. AD (*I.Milet* 265 ll. 5–17); **9)** an unknown man from Miletos served as *stephanēphoros*, *gymnasiarchos* of all the gymnasia, *kōtarchēs*, ambassador to the emperors, and *prostatēs* of the *gerousia* in the late 2nd/3rd c. AD, and seems to be the only attested case of an iterated *koinon* office ([ἀρχιερ]εὺς Ἰωνίας β', *I.Didyma* 301 l. 5). Next to these individuals, *archiereis* of Ionia are mentioned collectively as ancestors of honoured persons in the two inscriptions from Samos already quoted.[329]

The *koinon* office of a *hiereus* is attested only twice in the 3rd c. AD, and seems to have been a late development, but one should not discard the possibility that it may be a mere abbreviation for the better-attested *archiereus*. T. Fl. Aur. Alexandros, who also held a number of civic offices in Erythrai (*hiereus* of Alexander, *agōnothetēs* of the Dionysia, *agoranomos*, *boularchos*, twice *seitōnēs*, *eirēnarchos*) was *hiereus* of Ionia (*I.Erythrai* 64 l.

[327] *I.Didyma* 279 ll. 10–16: ἀρχιερέων τῶν Σε|βαστῶν, ποιησάντων θεωρίας ἐπὶ ἡ|μέρας δέκα καὶ μονομαχίας ἀποτό|μους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκαδύο καὶ ἀρχιερέ|ων τῆς Ἰωνίας, ποιησάντων δὲ καὶ ἐ[σ|τιά]σεις καὶ δημοθοινίας καὶ γυμν[ι|κὰ? καὶ ἐπι]δόσει[ς καὶ] ἱπποδ[ρομίας].

[328] Chaniotis 2016 has shown that the word *parthenos* in inscriptions from Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor primarily refers to the age-class rather than to virginity.

[329] *IG* XII 6,1 331 ll. 6–9 (second half of the 2nd c. AD) and *IG* XII 6,1 326 ll. 6–8 (3rd c. AD).

9), while Cl. Kallistos, a *stratēgos* of Kolophon, was responsible for the only coins issued in the name of the Ionian Koinon in AD 251–253, most likely during his tenure of office of *hiereus* of the Ionians.[330]

The main function of the *basileus* of the Ionian Koinon seems to have been conducting sacrifices and other rituals,[331] and was as such distinguished from the *archiereus*, whose responsibilities were probably of a more organisational-practical nature.[332] Together with the greater amount of extant evidence this points to a higher degree of prestige for the office of *archiereus* of the Ionians. As suggested by its first attestation in *I.Milet* 1131, it was probably created as a reaction to the establishment of the provincial *archiereus* of Asia under Augustus, which in turn was most likely modelled on the homonymous office of Hellenistic ruler cult.[333] The Ionian cities which were all represented in the provincial assembly witnessed the introduction of the office of *archiereus* of Asia and its involvement in the worship of Augustus and Rome at Pergamon. The taking over of this title for a newly created *koinon* office might be indicative of its members' desire to maintain a certain degree of distinction and pre-eminence within the (now also cultically unified) province of Asia, with the non-Ionian city of Pergamon as the new centre of the provincial imperial cult.[334] This would become especially relevant in the 2nd c. AD for Ephesos and Smyrna as the fiercest rivals of Pergamon, which could not bring into play a claim to an old Greek ancestry comparable in prestige to that of the Ionians. That Ionianness mattered in this

[330] *RPC* IX 600, discussed in detail in Chapter 3.1.2.
[331] Herrmann 2002, 235.
[332] In *I.Didyma* 279 ll. 13–16, the couple who served as *archiereis* of the Ionians are said to have organised public banquets and feasts, gymnastic contests, voluntary distributions, and horse races, which should however not be understood as regular duties of the *koinon* high priests, but as extraordinary euergetic activities illustrating the generosity of the couple.
[333] On which see Müller 2000; there is no evidence for the *archiereus* title between the end of the Attalid dynasty and Augustus; Herrmann 2002, 237–238.
[334] Burrell 2004, 17–22.

specific context as well is illustrated by Aelius Aristides addressing the three cities as 'You, Ionians [the Ephesians and Smyrnaeans], and you, whether you be autochthonous or Arcadians [the Pergamenes]'.[335]

In three inscriptions, the *archierateia* of the Ionians seems to be linked to the *archierateia* of Asia (later of the Sebastoi), but given the explicit dissociation of the two offices in *I.Didyma* 279 ll. 10–16, and the six cases of Ionian *archiereis* who did not hold the provincial high priesthood, a close connection between or even simultaneity of the two offices cannot be postulated.[336] Interestingly, all the attested individuals who served as *archiereis* of the Ionians come from Miletos/Didyma, but the two inscriptions from Samos mentioning *archiereis* among the ancestors of the honorands (*IG* XII 6,1 331 ll. 6–9 and *IG* XII 6,1 326 ll. 6–8) suggest that this was not an exclusive prerogative of Miletos. *Basileis* are attested from Chios, Miletos, Phokaia, Samos, and Ephesos, and the two *hiereis* known to us hailed from Erythrai and Kolophon. While the absence of the smaller *koinon* members Klazomenai, Lebedos, Priene, and Teos does not come as a surprise, it is curious that there is not a single official from Smyrna among the extant attestations. What is clear however is that all the attested *koinon* officials stem exclusively from member cities and that all of them, except for two, had Roman citizenship.[337] The majority of them belonged to the highest echelons of society in their cities and are attested to have held all of the most important civic offices as well. Parallel to the evidence from the provincial level and in accordance with the general trend, female *basilissai* and *archiereiai* of the Ionian Koinon

[335] Aristeid. *or*. XXIII 60.
[336] As suggested by Herrmann 1994, 216–217; *archiereus* of Asia/the Sebastoi and of the Ionians: *I.Milet* 1131 ll. 8–9; *I.Didyma* 287 ll. 6–7; *I.Milet* 265 ll. 5–6; Ionian *archiereis* without provincial offices: *I.Didyma* 281 l. 9; *I.Didyma* 287 ll. 13–14; *I.Didyma* 356 ll. 6–7; *IG* XII 6,1 331 ll. 6–9; *I.Didyma* 301 l. 5; *IG* XII 6,1 326 ll. 6–8.
[337] Posidonios, the son of Diodotos (*I.Didyma* 281) and Babaïthis, the daughter of Nikeratos (*I.Didyma* 356).

are attested as well.[338] That *koinon* offices were of hereditary nature, or became at least family traditions, is suggested by a number of cases, most explicitly on Samos where the office of *basileus* of the Ionians was specified by the unique designation 'by hereditary descent' (ἀνὰ πάτρην).[339] In Miletos/Didyma, a father and his son both served as *archiereis* of the Ionians (*I.Didyma* 287), and in Phokaia, a descendant of the *basileus* of the Ionians T. Fl. Varus Calvisianus Hermokrates (*OGIS* 489 = *PHI Phokaia* 18) is said to have delivered a speech during the Panionia.[340] *Koinon* officials are also mentioned collectively among ancestors in three further honorific inscriptions.[341]

The Ionian Koinon continued to be an exclusive club of Greek cities representing the interests of its members also in the Roman period. Discharging a *koinon* office conferred prestige, and can be regarded as a form of institutionalised cultural capital for the civic elites, who proudly mentioned it alongside their tenure of civic and provincial offices. This suggests that in the Roman period the *koinon* was by no means an anachronistic fossil devoid of any meaning, and the introduction of contests and new offices in the early Imperial period supports the notion that it was indeed a living institution adaptable to new situations, and that participation in it continued to be of socio-cultural significance for the Ionian cities. The renewed attention which the Ionian Koinon seems to have received during the reign of Augustus is likely to reflect its role as vehicle for emperor worship.[342] It acquired greater relevance as a means of distinction at a time when the Koinon of Asia was

[338] *SEG* 15-532 (Chios, 1st c. AD); *I.Didyma* 279 (first half of the 2nd c. AD); *I.Didyma* 356 (AD 129); *I.Milet* 265 (late 2nd/early 3rd c. AD); see Bremen 1996, esp. 117–125 on joint office-holding in the imperial cult.
[339] *IG* XII 6,1 331 ll. 7–8 and 12–13.
[340] Philostr. *soph.* 2.25 (612); probably the great-grandson, on whom see Jones 2003.
[341] *IG* XII 6,1 326 ll. 6–8 (*archiereis* and *basileis*); *I.Didyma* 339 ll. 12–14 (*agōnothetai* and *basileis*); *I.Ephesos* 3072 ll. 26–27 (*basileia*, see also Strab. 14.1.3).
[342] Edelmann-Singer 2015, 40–43, esp. 40: 'Als Träger des hellenistischen Herrscherkultes scheint insbesondere das ionische Koinon ein Integrationspotential entwickelt zu haben, das seine Existenz bis in die römische Zeit sicherte'.

also becoming established as a supra-regional institution in the cultural-religious sphere, so that one might even explain the revival of the Ionian Koinon as a reaction to the emergence of the Koinon of Asia. The Ionian cities likely sought to counterbalance the new prominence given to non-Ionian Pergamon as the cultic centre of the province by highlighting their own cultural prestige, and to position themselves advantageously within the new structures of power by emulating the provincial office of the *archiereus*. The provenance of the extant *koinon* officials corroborates the idea that the member cities of the Ionian Koinon remained the same throughout its history. In the following chapters I will examine in detail to what extent cultural differences between Ionians and the other Greeks of Asia Minor were actually still perceptible in the Roman period, but what becomes clear from the analysis of the Ionian Koinon is that participation in the activities of the *koinon* must be seen as the main factor in reinforcing the notion of a distinct Ionianness, however constructed this might have been. The continued existence of the Ionian Koinon kept alive the notion that the Ionians constituted a distinct group. For the cities this probably worked both ways, insofar as they participated in the *koinon* because they were Ionian, and were Ionian because they participated in the *koinon*.

## 2.3 The Koinon of the 13 Cities at Sardis

In this context, two attestations of individuals from Sardis from the Antonine period who have traditionally been regarded as *archiereis* of the Ionian Koinon should be reconsidered.[343] That citizens from a city other than the 13 traditional Ionian cities should have taken over the highest *koinon* office has caused a great deal of puzzlement among

[343] E.g. by Gillespie 1956; Lacroix 1956, 24–30; Engelmann 1972; Price 1984b, 260; Lindner 1994, 144–149; Kampmann 1997; Herrmann 2002, 236; Bennett 2014, 77–78; as far as I can see, Heuchert 2014, 297 is the only one to have questioned this identification.

scholars and has not found a truly satisfactory explanation so far.[344] The first case is that of L. Iulius Libonianus, who was publicly honoured in Sardis as a civic benefactor and held the offices of *archiereus* of Asia of the Sardian temples in Lydia, priest of the greatest Zeus Polieus, *archiereus* of the 13 cities, *stephanēphoros*, priest of Tiberius Caesar, first *stratēgos* (two times), and *agōnothetēs* for life.[345] He is further already known as *stratēgos* of Sardis from coins under Trajan (*RPC* III 2392 and 2393). The second individual is M. Cl. Fronto, attested on Sardian civic coinage as first *stratēgos* (*RPC* IV.2 1426, 1490, 1937), and as *asiarchēs* and *archiereus* of the 13 cities on a series of bronze coins issued by the Koinon of the 13 Cities (*RPC* IV.2 948, 949, 951–956, 958, 1019, 2296, 2297, 2318, 7773, 11105). This coin series deserves further attention as it has been treated as one of the most important pieces of evidence for the Ionian Koinon in the Roman period. Based on the imperial portraits and titles on the obverses it can be dated to AD 141–144.[346] In total, 49 specimens survive bearing the reverse inscription (in varying degrees of abbreviation): ΠΡΟΝΟΗ(ΘΕΝΤΟΣ) Μ ΚΛ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΓΙ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ.[347] As there is no city ethnic used, it seems justified to address this coinage as an issue of the Koinon of the 13 Cities.[348] There are nine different reverse types, all of which are either closely related to Sardis and well attested on its civic coins (Hades on a chariot

[344] Herrmann 2002, 230–231 summarises the hypotheses brought forward, but also points out: 'Man sieht nicht recht, wie dieser Mann aus einer von Ionien entfernten Stadt zu dem Oberpriestertum des Bundes gekommen sein kann' (236).
[345] *I.Sardis* 47; the similar, but very fragmentary *I.Sardis* 48 most likely refers to him as well.
[346] Heuchert 2014, 299.
[347] To the 47 specimens listed on *RPC* online can be added *SNG* Turkey 10,1 pl. 1 n. 1 of the type *RPC* IV.2 952 (obv. Faustina I, rev. imperial temple of Sardis) and one of the type 'Demeter on biga', which was sold in an online auction on https://cngcoins.com/ on 5 June 2019 for $3,500.
[348] Heuchert 2014, 297; that the *koinon* appears in the nominative/accusative actually confirms this assumption rather than undermining it, as nearly every other issue by a *koinon* in the 2nd c. AD exhibits the same feature; see the coins of the Koina of Bithynia, Pontus, Galatia, Cyprus, Crete, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Phrygia in *RPC* III and IV and *BMC Phrygia*; also Deininger 1965 on Bithynia (63), Galatia (69), and Macedonia (96); against Kampmann 1997, 89 who claims that just as with city ethnics the genitive was the standard also in the cases of *koina* as issuing authorities.

carrying off Persephone; Demeter in a serpent biga; the head of Mount Tmolos; a reclining river god with Tmolos (?) and infant Dionysus; the Sardian temple of Kore; the Sardian temple of the imperial cult), or generic imperial motifs (Dionysos and Apollo in cart; standing Tyche with cornucopia).[349] One complication, a reverse inscription seemingly linking two of the coins to Pergamon and Ephesos, has recently been eliminated as being due to early modern tooling and forgery.[350] The only remaining obstacle preventing us from addressing the coin series as an entirely Sardian affair is the interpretation of the iconography of one reverse type, which has traditionally been regarded as a depiction of Heracles and Auge, the ancestors of the Pergamene dynasty.[351] This was partly due to the fact that one of these coins mentions Pergamon on its reverse, which is however the one specimen which has been shown to be tooled. Considering Sardian mythological traditions and the iconographic details of the coins, it is more likely that the female figure should be identified with the Lydian queen Omphale.[352] Thus, the entire coin series issued by the Koinon of the 13 Cities under the supervision of the Sardian M. Cl. Fronto can be considered as firmly and exclusively linked to the city of Sardis, which is further corroborated by the fact that the Sardian civic coins issued by Fronto are remarkably similar to the *koinon* issues in size, weight, and design.[353] While the connection between Sardis and the Koinon of the 13 Cities has up to now been regarded as an extraordinary, short-lived affair, new epigraphic evidence from Sardis published in 2019 stands to completely change the picture.

[349] Heuchert 2014, 300.
[350] Heuchert 2014, 301–305; the tooled coin is *RPC* IV.2 1019.3 (= Gillespie 1956 n. 12), the forgery is Gillespie 1956 n. 25, both bearing the inscription: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΓΙ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΡΟ Μ ΚΛ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ.
[351] E.g. by Gillespie 1956; Lacroix 1956, 29–30; Engelmann 1972; Kampmann 1997; Herrmann 2002, 230; Heuchert 2014, 303–304.
[352] This argument is developed at length in Appendix 2.
[353] Heuchert 2014, 300; Edelmann-Singer 2015, 291–293 on similarities between *koinon* and civic coinage.

This new evidence means we now have six further attestations of Sardian citizens serving as *archiereus*/*archiereia* of the 13 cities/*triskaidekapolis*: **1)** the Sardian *phylē* Pelopis erected an honorific statue for Tib. Cl. Stlaccius Niger, who was *archiereus* of the 13 cities, twice *agōnothetēs* of the penteteric *agōnes*, three times in a row *stephanēphoros* together with his sons Iulianus and Stlaccius, as well as priest of Zeus Polieus (*I.Sardis* 384, dated to the 2nd c. AD? based on letter-forms); **2)** P. Ael. Gell[ius?/ianus?] was publicly honoured for discharging the *archierōsynē* of the 13 cities (*I.Sardis* 352, 1st–2nd c. AD); **3)** an unknown individual was *archiereus* of the 13 cities (*I.Sardis* 379, very fragmentary, dated to the 2nd c. AD? based on letter-forms); **4)** an honorific inscription for the daughter of Iulius Menogenes mentions that she was twice *archiereia* of Asia, *archiereia* of the 13 cities, and *stephanēphoros* of the city (*I.Sardis* 350 ll. 2–6, 1st–2nd c. AD); **5)** her husband Iulius Machairion served as *archiereus* of Asia, *archiereus* of the *triskaidekapolis*, *stephanēphoros*, and *agōnothetēs* (*I.Sardis* 350 ll. 8–12); **6)** their son Iulius Machairion was *archiereus* and *ekdikos* of Asia, *stephanēphoros* designate, *agonōthetēs*, *archiereus* of the *triskaidekapolis*, priest of Zeus Polieus, and *panēgyriarchos* (*I.Sardis* 350 ll. 12–19).

The dating of *I.Sardis* 350 provided by the first editor (1st–2nd c. AD) can be refined through further prosopographic considerations. Iulius Menogenes, mentioned here as twice *archiereus* of Asia and twice *stephanēphoros* of the city (ll. 6–8), is likely to be identical with the *stephanēphoros* Menogenes, son of the *nomothetēs* Demetrios, mentioned on a Sardian *cinerarium* from the first half of the 1st c. AD,[354] who is also attested as twice *archiereus* with his full name Ti. Iulius Menogenes, son of the *nomothetēs* Demetrios, in *I.Didyma* 148 which is securely dated to the last years of Caligula (AD 40/41).[355] Given his

[354] *I.Manisa* 438 = *I.Sardis* 591: Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Μηνογένου τοῦ Δημη|τρίου νομοθέτου, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ η΄·|Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀρτεμιδώρου Σκορδεις |ἐτῶν νδ΄; dating by Herrmann 1996, 57–61.

[355] Robert 1949, 206–238 is still the seminal study of this inscription.

*nomen gentilicium* and the parallelism of his attested offices (especially that he was twice *archiereus* of Asia), it seems most plausible to assume that all three attestations refer to the same person who lived in the first half of the 1st c. AD.[356] The name of the honorand's husband and son further corroborate this assumption. Machairion is a very rare name, attested only in Roman Lydia, and next to our two Iulii here we only know of four other individuals bearing this name:[357] **1)** Machairion and **2)** his son C. Iulius Machairion, who was *archiereus* and *stephanēphoros* of Maionia in the 1st c. AD;[358] **3)** C. Iulius Quadratus Machairion honoured by the *boulē* and *dēmos* of Sardis in the 1st c. AD;[359] and **4)** Cl. Machairion, an *archōn* of Saittai under Hadrian (and possibly later), only attested on coins.[360] Given the rarity of the name, all these Iulii Machairiones must have belonged to the same family, and, considering the parallelism of their offices, the husband of the honorand in *I.Sardis* 350 might in fact be identical with n. **2)**.

It thus becomes clear that the assumption of the *archierateia* of the 13 cities by members of different Sardian elite families can by no means be regarded as an exception, but should rather be seen as a regular and institutionalised liturgy as early as the mid 1st c. AD. Therefore, Sardis must have been a fully fledged member of this Koinon of the 13 Cities. As it would be slightly awkward to assume that the Lydian city was admitted into the ranks of the Ionian Koinon – for which there is no evidence in the epigraphic, numismatic, and literary sources – the Koinon of the 13 Cities cannot have been the Ionian Koinon, but must

[356] Also suggested by Georg Petzl in his commentary on *I.Sardis* 350.
[357] The name Machairion mentioned in Paus. 8.11.5–6 for the slayer of Epameinondas at Mantineia in 362 BC is apparently a nickname only ('sword-man'), Thonemann 2017, 190 fn. 14.
[358] *TAM* V,1 544, from Maionia; Thonemann 2017, 190 fn. 14 points out that this is one of the earliest extant individuals from the northeast of Lydia attested as a Roman citizen.
[359] *I.Sardis* 339–341, all dated based on letter forms.
[360] *RPC* III 2543, 2543A, 2543B.

have been another *koinon* centred around Sardis.[361] This is, moreover, in perfect harmony with the fact that in none of the eight attestations from Sardis is the Koinon of the 13 Cities labelled as Ionian; it is instead simply called the *triskaidekapolis*, the 13 cities, or the Koinon of the 13 Cities.

It is further interesting to note that the term *triskaidekapolis* is used for the Ionian Koinon only once before the Roman period, when Smyrna advertised its recent admission and the new number of members.[362] Whenever the Ionian cities refer to their *koinon* as *triskaidekapolis* in the Roman period, it is always specified as 'Ionian'. [363] This seems to indicate pride in their prestigious ethno-cultural affiliation on the one hand, but may also be due to the existence of another Koinon of the 13 Cities within the same province from which they wanted to distinguish themselves. It would also seem likely in this case that this newly founded *koinon* modelled itself on the Ionian Koinon, thus affirming the latter's validity and cultural prestige. That Sardis, who seems to have been the driving force behind the creation of this new *koinon*, chose the Ionian Koinon as a model highlights the fact that the latter was perceived as a relevant and highly prestigious institution by cities that were not numbered among its members. Having eliminated the Sardian and Pergamene connections from the evidence for the Ionian Koinon in the Roman period, it emerges that

[361] I consider it most likely that this *koinon* formed as a response to the support and benefactions granted to 13 cities in western Asia Minor by Tiberius after the devastating earthquakes of AD 17 and 23 (Tac. *ann*. 2.47 and 4.13). One crucial piece of evidence is *I.Sardis* 9, a list of delegates from these cities who met at Sardis to issue a decree, which might be the very one based on which an honorific monument was erected for Tiberius on the Forum Romanum next to the temple of Venus Genetrix (Phlegon *Mir.* 13.1), a copy of which seems to be the extant *CIL* X 1624 from Puteoli. These 13 cities form a geographically coherent, more or less Lydian group; they are all located in the Hermos and Lykos valleys (Sardis, Magnesia on Sipylos, Temnos, Philadelphia, Apollonis, Mostene, Macedonian Hyrkanis, Hierokaisareia, Tmolos) with Aigai, Myrina, and Kyme being the furthest outposts on or closer to the coast. Only Kibyra (added later) falls out of the geographical frame. I hope to develop this argument further elsewhere.

[362] *I.Smyrna* 577, 289/8 BC.

[363] *I.Smyrna* 577 ll. 1–2: Ἰώνων τῶι κοινῶι τῶν τρε[ισκαί]|δεκα πόλεων; *SEG* 15-532 ll. 7–8: [τοῦ τρισκα]ιδεκαπολειτικοῦ τῶν Ἰώνων |[κοινοῦ]; *I.Didyma* 356 ll. 6–8: τῆς τρισκαιδε[καπό]|λιδος τῶν Ἰώνων; *IG* XII 6,1 326 ll. 7–8: τῆς τρισκαιδεκ[από]|λεως Ἰωνίας.

the latter remained an exclusive club, the scope of which was limited to the traditional member cities of Ionia. It was however also acknowledged as an important player on the socio-cultural level by other cities in the province of Asia, who could even imitate it and create an almost homonymous *koinon* in the 1st c. AD, thereby acknowledging the ethno-cultural exclusivity of the Ionian Koinon. Participation in the activities of the Ionian Koinon can thus be seen as a valid means of perpetuating and reaffirming Ionianness in an active way even in the Roman period.

## 2.4 Ionianness and the Panhellenion

Another institutionalised confederation which united Greek cities and fostered an ethnic definition of Greekness in the 2nd c. AD was Hadrian's Panhellenion. The exact nature and admission criteria of the Panhellenion are still not entirely clear, but according to current research it appears to have been an Athens-based supra-provincial *synhedrion* of cities and *koina* from all around the Aegean which engaged first and foremost in emperor worship; its creation in AD 131/2 should mainly be ascribed to the agency of Hadrian himself.[364] Its members stemmed predominantly from mainland Greece (Athens, Sparta, Argos/the Achaian Koinon?, Corinth (despite being a Roman colony), Megara, Epidauros, Hypata/the Thessalian Koinon, Chalkis, Akraiphia, Amphikleia/the Phocian Koinon, Methana, Naryka), Asia Minor (Miletos, Tralleis, Magnesia on Maiandros, Rhodes, Kibyra, Timbriada, Synnada, Apameia, Eumeneia, Aizanoi, Thyateira, Sardis), Macedonia (Thessalonike), Thrace (Perinthos), and Crete (Hierapytna, Gortyn, Lyttos/the Cretan Koinon), but also from more

[364] The most important studies are: Oliver 1970; Follet 1976, 125–135; Spawforth and Walker 1985 and 1986; Nafissi 1995; Jones 1996 and 1999a; Spawforth 1999; Weiß 2000; Romeo 2002; Gordillo Hervás 2012.

distant areas such as Cyrene (Cyrene, Ptolemais-Barca, Apollonia) and Epirus (Nikopolis).[365] Greek communities from the west, Egypt, Syria, other provinces in Asia Minor as well as the most important cities of the province of Asia – Ephesos, Smyrna, and Pergamon – are completely absent from our evidence so far. Given the nature of the evidence (in most cases just making mention of an office or title), chance survival of the epigraphic material must be considered a major factor here, as has also been suggested by the recent discovery of new epigraphic testimonies.[366]

The Panhellenion and its festival never seem to have attained the appeal and grandeur of established Panhellenic contests, or even the more recent provincial games. In comparison to these they are hardly ever mentioned in victory lists, and most of its members seem to have been second- or third-rank communities for whom the Panhellenion served as a means of distinguishing themselves from other cities within their provinces.[367] Of the members of the Ionian Koinon, Miletos is the only one securely attested as participating in the Panhellenion.[368] That none of the other Ionian cities seems to have shown interest in the Panhellenion might be explained by the fact that both 'clubs' fulfilled similar functions. Participation in their activities (festivals, games, imperial cult) conferred cultural prestige upon their members, but vis-à-vis the diversity of the attested members of the

[365] Gordillo Hervás 2013 goes too far when including cities as members of the Panhellenion which dedicated statues in the Athenian Olympieion, used Hadrian's epithet Panhellenios, or hosted Panhellenic festivals; the latter two criteria are based on the overly simplistic notion of a direct link of the word and the institution which is at odds with the exclusive nature of the Panhellenion and the general historical context; Jones 2008 has shown that not every attestation of the word *Panhellēn* can be connected with Hadrian's institution; see also Ferrary 2001a on pre-Hadrianic *Panhellēnes*.

[366] Hadrian's letter to Naryka: first in *SEG* 51-641, then by Jones 2006, the official *editio princeps* is Knoepfler 2006; Panhellenes from Timbriada: Takmer and Gökalp 2005; the re-interpretation of published inscriptions and coins also continues to advance our understanding: Jones 1999a on Thyateira; Weiß 2000 on Phrygian Eumeneia.

[367] Spawforth 1999, 350–352; Pawlak 2013; see also the imperial letters regarding athletes who avoided participation in the Panhellenia, Oliver 1970, 107–109 nn. 21 and 22.

[368] The crucial piece of evidence is *I.Didyma* 361 l. 5 mentioning a Milesian citizen as Panhellene, and not *IG* II$^2$ 3300 (dedication of a statue in the Athenian Olympieion by the Milesians) as Ehrhardt and Günther 2013, 215 purport. Samos is sometimes included, but Jones 2008 has shown that the relevant inscription is of Augustan date.

Panhellenion, the Ionian Koinon with its centuries-long tradition seemed to have maintained its exclusivity and might therefore have been regarded as still more prestigious an organisation. Big cities such as Ephesos and Smyrna with their *neōkoros* and *mētropolis* titles did not have to prove their antiquity or *eugeneia*, and they might have been put off by the Panhellenion's inherent Athenocentrism.[369] Smaller Ionian cities on the other hand might simply not have been able to procure enough wealthy benefactors to assume the expenses connected with participation in both 'clubs'. Miletos seems to occupy a middle ground here, but should be seen as rather exceptional.

Some cities on the Greek mainland – such as Athens, Sparta, Argos, Megara, or Corinth – whose Greekness is unlikely ever to have been questioned, can plausibly be regarded as charter members of the Panhellenion.[370] In other cases, however, cities had to apply for membership, and it is telling that these cities tended to prove their Greekness by referring to their affiliations with the Ionians, Dorians, and Aiolians, which were considered the three true Greek *ethnē*.[371] Thus, in a decree issued by the Panhellenion, the inhabitants of Magnesia on Maiandros are described as 'colonists of the Magnesians in Thessaly, who were the first of the Hellenes to cross over to Asia and to settle there, and who often fought together with the Ionians, the Dorians, and the Aiolians of the same stock'.[372] The text goes on to mention their good relations with the Romans and the emperor, and these formulations probably reflect the wording of the Magnesians' original application for admission. Similarly, in a dedication set up in Italian Puteoli 'according to a decree of the Panhellenion', the city of Kibyra calls itself a 'colony of the Lacedaemonians, akin to the

[369] Heller 2006a, 98–99.
[370] Jones 1996, 41.
[371] Romeo 2002, 21.
[372] *IG* II$^2$ 1091 ll. 3–7: ἄποικοι |[ὄντες Μαγνήτων] τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων |[διαβάντες ε]ἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ κατοικήσαντες, συνα|[γωνισάμενοι δὲ] πολλάκις Ἴωσι καὶ Δωριεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐ|[κ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ]ένους Αἰολεῦσι; not all of the new emendations by Oliver 1970, 94–95 n. 5 are convincing.

Athenians ... being among the most famous and greatest cities of Asia because of its Hellenic stock, because of its longstanding friendship with and goodwill towards the Romans, and because of the special honours which Hadrian bestowed upon it'.[373] The third case is the most revealing: a city in Cyrenaica (most likely Ptolemais-Barca) had applied for membership in the Panhellenion, but this seems to have been opposed by the city of Cyrene, which might have feared for a loss of prestige within its province. Hadrian decided the matter and explained in a letter to Cyrene that the other city should be admitted, but would be allowed to send one delegate only,[374] and not two like the Cyreneans, 'whose stock is Achaian and perfectly Dorian', while the former 'are true-born Greeks, but obtained the additional name of "Ptolemaeans" from the fact that King Ptolemy ... conquered the city'.[375] This supports the notion that the Panhellenion also became a playground for intercity rivalries, and that Ionianness, Dorianness, and Aiolianness – regarded as the most superior 'shades of Greekness'[376] – gained new validity in civic identity-discourses precisely because participation in the Panhellenion was founded on such ideas.[377] The attested members of the Panhellenion clearly show us that we should not see these categories as

[373] S. Follet in *BE* 1996 n. 195 ll. 2–9: Ἡ Κιβυρατῶν πόλις, ἄποικος Λ[ακεδαιμονίων καὶ] |συγγενὶς Ἀθηναίων καὶ φί[λη, μετέχουσα καὶ] |αὐτὴ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος [συνεδρίου, ἐν ταῖς] |ἐνδόξοις οὖσα καὶ μεγάλαις [τῆς Ἀσίας πόλε]|σιν διά τε τὸ γένος τὸ Ἑλληνι[κὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν] |πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ παλαιοῦ φι[λίαν τε καὶ εὔνοι]|αν καὶ διὰ τὸ εὐξῆσθαι τειμαῖ[ς ἐξαιρέτοις ὑπὸ] |θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἀνέθηκε τῆι [θεᾶι ?, κατὰ τὸ δό]|γμα τ[ο]ῦ Πανελληνίου ἐνγρα[φεῖσα εἰς τὸ συνέδριον]; based on autopsy of the stone, Lombardi 2003 provided new restorations, not all of them more convincing than Follet's, but l. 9 τὴν [εἰκόνα] is superior to all solutions offered so far (*CIG* 5852; *IG* XIV 829; *IGR* I 418; *OGIS* 497; Oliver 1970, 95–96 n. 6, Curty 1995 n. 81).

[374] A delegate to the Panhellenion has been identified in a marble portrait with a distinctive bust-crown found in 2002 on the Athenian Agora, published by Riccardi 2007.

[375] *SEG* 28-1566 ll. 9–12: [οἷς ἐστι τὸ] γέ|νος Ἀχαιὸν καὶ ἀκρειβῶς Δώριον · αὐτοὶ δὲ ἰθαγενε[ῖς Ἕλληνές εἰσιν, Πτολεμαέ]ων δὲ |προσεκτήσαντο τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικρα[τεῖν τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον ... τὴ]ν πό|λιν; the latter is my own restoration based on Jones 1996, 47–53 who considerably advanced the understanding of this fragmentary inscription after the fundamental study of Reynolds 1978; see also l. 16: ἀνάμνησιν τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑμῶν εὐγενείας.

[376] The expression was coined by Spawforth 2001.

[377] Doukellis 2007, 304: 'The members do not simply participate in the network displaying their identity; they reinforce their identity because they participate in the network'.

rigid and impenetrable, however, as many of these would not have been regarded as truly Greek from an essentialist ethnic perspective.

*Conclusion*

Analysis of the attestations of the Ionian Koinon in the Roman period has shown that discharging a *koinon* office was a highly prestigious liturgy undertaken by members of the civic elites, who mentioned this alongside the provincial *archierateia* and the highest civic offices. It has further been shown that office-holding and participation in its meetings were restricted to the traditional Ionian cities, between whom the celebration of the *koinon* festivals rotated; the *koinon* should thus be considered as one of the most direct and explicit channels for expressing an Ionian cultural identity. As the Ionian Koinon provided a further, but more exclusive, playground for civic and regional elite competition and intercity rivalries, its survival into the 3rd c. AD should not come as a surprise. It is however impressive that this centuries-old association of cities managed to adapt itself to the changing concerns of its members in a new world order. It thus gained new relevance as an institution conferring prestige and cultural credentials on individuals and cities who vied for distinction in all possible ways, and first and foremost in the field of culture. At a time when the Koinon of Asia also became firmly established as a supra-regional institution in the cultural-religious sphere, participation in the Ionian Koinon must have served as an important and more exclusive means for its members to assert their cultural superiority over other eminent cities in the same province, such as Pergamon and Sardis. While Ionianness was thus the legitimating criterion for their membership in the Ionian Koinon in the first place, it was these cities' participation in *koinon* activities which served to perpetuate the socio-cultural importance of Ionianness in the Roman period.

# 3) Cults and Myths

*Ionic*
*That we've broken their statues,*
*that we've driven them out of their temples,*
*doesn't mean at all that the gods are dead.*
*O land of Ionia, they're still in love with you,*
*their souls still keep your memory.*
*When an August dawn wakes over you,*
*the atmosphere is potent with their life,*
*and sometimes a young ethereal figure,*
*indistinct, in rapid flight,*
*wings across your hills.*
C. Cavafy 1911 (transl. E. Keeley and P. Sherrard 1972)

'ὦ θεοί', εἶπεν 'Ἰώνων ἡγεμόνες…'
Philostr. *Ap.* 4.6

Religious practice and cultic activities are regarded as central factors in the construction of a sense of group affiliation and collective identity in antiquity and beyond.[378] In the Greek world before the Roman period, religion was heavily centred on the *polis* as the main frame of reference, and accordingly the collective identity created through it was first and foremost a civic one.[379] There had, however, always been larger supra-*polis* frameworks in which religious activities took place, such as the Amphictyonic League at Delphi or the Ionian Koinon. From the late Classical period onwards, regional *koina* began also to assume a greater role in the religious life of *polis* citizens.[380] In the case of the Ionians of Asia Minor, there was an additional ethno-cultural element at play, too. Given the overall strong focus

[378] See Muñiz Grijalvo 2015 on religion as a factor of Greek identity-constructions in the Imperial period; Galli 2004 on religious identities in the Second Sophistic milieu.
[379] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990; on the continued vitality of Greek religious life in the Roman period, see e.g. Gordon 1990; Woolf 1997; Muñiz Grijalvo, Cortés Copete, and Lozano Gómez (eds) 2017; Parker 2016, 88 on religion in Aelius Aristides'oeuvre: 'a complicated and untidy but still perfectly habitable religious world'.
[380] See e.g. Mackil 2013, esp. 147–236 and the contributions in Beck and Funke (eds) 2015.

on civic identities continuing in the Roman period, shared cultic features and activities become even more significant, especially if they were already recognised and explicitly labelled as such in antiquity.[381] In the first part of this chapter, I analyse the role that Ionianness played in the religious life of cities and individuals in Roman Ionia, and examine whether there were religious elements (cult epithets, festivals, rituals) which the Ionian cities had in common and which distinguished them from the other Greeks, particularly those in Asia Minor. In the second part of the chapter, I study Ionian (foundation) myths as attested in the Roman period, and contextualise them within the discourses of their contemporary society in order to establish their significance for the construction of Ionian identities.

## 3.1 Ionian cults

### 3.1.1 Ionian deities

Among the numerous cult epithets of the Greek gods, I am aware of only three which are exclusively attested in Ionia or were explicitly labelled as 'Ionian' in antiquity. The first is Dionysos Phleus, for whom we have only scant evidence from Hellenistic Priene (priesthood for life) and Erythrai (sacrifice) as well as from Roman Ephesos (priesthood [for life], *mystai*).[382] The *Etymologicum Magnum* (a Byzantine encyclopedia) mentions the cult on Chios as well.[383] This limited geographical distribution, which however covers more than just one sub-region of Ionia, has been taken as an indication of the Ionianness of this cult.[384]

[381] Smarczyk 2000, 65–66.
[382] *I.Priene*$^{2}$ 144 ll. 1 and 3 (ca 130 BC); 168B (ca 130 BC); and potentially 119 l. 32 (the personal name Phleas, 2nd c. BC); *I.Erythrai* 207 l. 61 (first half of the 2nd c. BC); *I.Ephesos* 902 l. 7 (early 1st c. BC); 1595 l. 5 (second half of the 2nd c. AD); 1270 l. 4 (Imperial); and possibly 1257 l. 2 (no date); see Graf 1985, 283–284.
[383] *Etym. m.* s.v. Φλῶ 796 ll. 43–44.
[384] Graf 1985, 370: 'kann so als ionisch im engern Sinn angesprochen werden'.

*Poseidon Helikonios*

The one deity whose worship is unanimously described as an Ionian peculiarity in the literary sources is Poseidon Helikonios.[385] This is first expressed unambiguously by Herodotus who refers to the Panionion as a sanctuary of this god: Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ ('The Panionion is a sacred place of Mykale, facing north; it has been dedicated to Poseidon Helikonios by the Ionians by common consent', my translation).[386] In the only two extant inscriptions found in the vicinity of the Panionion, which date to the late Classical period, no mention of Poseidon Helikonios is made, but an inscription from Priene from the 2nd c. BC unmistakably links the god with the Panionion.[387] In the Roman period, Strabo and Pausanias continue to confirm this close connection, and from their wording we get the impression that the worship was not a matter of the past, but was still ongoing in their lifetimes.[388]

[385] The epithet's etymology was already a matter of debate in antiquity, see *RE* s.v. Helikonios, but the majority of the ancients seem to have preferred to trace it back to the famous Poseidon sanctuary at Helike in the Peloponnese (Diod. 15.49.1; Strab. 8.7.2; Paus. 7.24.5), already mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 8.203; 2.575 only the city name). The notion that it derived on morphological grounds from Ἑλικών seems to have been a minority opinion of philologists and lexicographers (*RE* s.v. Helikonios). The other Homeric appearance of Ἑλικών in connection with Poseidon (Hom. h. *Pos.* 3) which is usually adduced in support of this theory should rather be seen as a variant of Helike, as it is mentioned in conjunction with Peloponnesian Aigai just as in *Il*. 8.203 (the same presumably also in [Hdt.] *Vita Homeri* 17). On topographical cult epithets transferred to places other than the one underlying the epithet, see Parker 2003, 178.

[386] Hdt. 1.148; the cult of Homer's Poseidon Helikonios (*Il.* 20.404) should be referred to Helike in the Peloponnese (as it is in *Il*. 8.203) and not to the Asian Panionion, as the Ionians of Asia are completely absent from the epic (this is already noticed by Strab. 12.3.27: οὐδ᾽ αὐτὴν Σμύρναν λέγει, οὐδὲ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν Ἰώνων πόλεις καὶ τῶν Αἰολέων τὰς πλείστας; the Ἰάονες in *Il.* 13.685 are the Athenians and possibly the Euboians, West 2011, 284). The debate is ancient, however; Strab. 8.7.2 gives the main arguments of both sides.

[387] Inscriptions from the Panionion: *I.Priene*$^2$ 398 and 399, both of which interestingly mention Zeus Boulaios; *I.Priene*$^2$ 185: [Ποσ]ειδῶνος |[Ἑ]λικωνίου |[ἐμ Παν]ιωνίωι, written in an oak wreath and thus most likely referring to the deity's priesthood, dated to the 2nd c. BC based on letter forms.

[388] Strab. 8.7.2: τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου Ποσειδῶνος, ὃς **καὶ νῦν ἔτι** τιμῶσιν Ἴωνες, καὶ θύουσιν ἐκεῖ τὰ Πανιώνια; 14.1.20: πρῶτον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τὸ Πανιώνιον, τρισὶ σταδίοις ὑπερκείμενον τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπου τὰ Πανιώνια, κοινὴ πανήγυρις τῶν Ἰώνων, **συντελεῖται** τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ θυσία; Paus. 7.24.5: Ἴωσιν ἱερὸν ἁγιώτατον Ποσειδῶνος ἦν Ἑλικωνίου. **διαμεμένηκε** δέ σφισι, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὕστερον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἀφίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας, σέβεσθαι Ποσειδῶνα Ἑλικώνιον.

The deity's Ionian character is further corroborated by the provenance of the surviving epigraphic testimonies. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, his cult is safely attested in Priene (dedications), Miletos (*lex sacra*) and its colony Sinope (priesthood), as well as on Naxos (boundary stone), Samos (attestations of a Helikonion), and the neighbouring island of Ikaria (dedication).[389] In addition, the worship of Poseidon Helikonios in Athens is mentioned in a quotation of the Classical author Kleidemos.[390] In the Roman period, the cult is still securely attested on Samos, where the association of people 'going up to the Helikonion' continues its honorific activities exactly as it had done in the previous centuries.[391] Furthermore, we have epigraphic testimonies from the Milesian Black Sea colonies of Tomis (private dedication) and Istros (priesthood).[392] Pausanias' references to an altar of Poseidon Helikonios in Miletos as well as a precinct and altar of the god in Teos can also be taken as evidence for ongoing cultic activity in these cities.[393]

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[389] *I.Priene*$^{2}$ 177 (dedication, 3rd c. BC); 178 (dedication, 2nd c. BC); *I.Milet* 1218 (*lex sacra*, 437/6 BC); *I.Sinope* 8 (regulations for the priesthood of Poseidon Helikonios, 4th or 3rd c. BC); we cannot be sure whether the seated Poseidon on 3rd c. BC coins from Sinope is in fact Helikonios, as is taken for granted by Saprykin 2010, 472 and suggested by Waddington, Babelon, and Reinach 1925, 203 n. 48 and pl. XXV, 33–34; the most recent edition of the coins refrains from specifying the epithet (*SNG IX. The British Museum Part 1: The Black Sea* (London 1993), pl. LV nn. 1515–1517); Naxos (boundary stone, *SEG* 36-761, ca 425–400 BC); Samos: *IG* XII 6,1 168 (*lex sacra* concerning the sacrifices offered by the *synodos* in the Helikonion, 3rd c. BC); 132 (honorific inscription by the *chiliastys* members 'who go up to the Helikonion', 2nd c. BC); XII 6,2 1229 (from Oine on Ikaria, dedication, 2nd c. BC); Robert 1935, 480 already argued for the existence of a Samian Helikonion.

[390] *FGrH* 323 F1 (Kleidemos), Lexicon Seguerarium, Antiatticist s.v. ῎Αγραι 9.24: καὶ Κλείδημος ἐν πρώτωι Ατθίδος· «τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄνω τὰ τοῦ ᾽Ιλισοῦ πρὸς ῎Αγραν Εἰλείθυια· τῶι δ᾽ ὄχθωι πάλαι ὄνομα τούτωι, ὃ<ς> νῦν ῎Αγρα καλεῖται, ᾽Ελικών· καὶ ἡ ἐσχάρα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ ᾽Ελικωνίου ἐπ᾽ ἄκρου»; Wachsmuth 1874, 394–397.

[391] *IG* XII 6,1 466 (fragment of honorific inscription, 1st c. BC–1st c. AD) and 467 (fragment of honorific inscription, 1st–2nd c. AD).

[392] Tomis: *ISM* II 151 (private dedication, 2nd c. AD); Istros: *ISM* I 143 (dedication of a statue by priest of Poseidon Helikonios for life together with his *synmystai*, followed by a list of priests, AD 212–ca 250).

[393] Paus. 7.24.5: καὶ Μιλησίοις τε ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν Βιβλίδα Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν Ἑλικωνίου βωμὸς καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐν Τέῳ περίβολός τε καὶ βωμός ἐστι τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ **θέας ἄξιος**; the altar in Miletos in front of the city is not the one mentioned by Strab. 14.1.3 and 14.1.5 which was located on Cape Posideion, Lohmann 2002, 241; in addition to the mentioned cities, Herda 2006b, 55 fn. 68 also lists Pantikapaion, Ephesos, Klazomenai, and Chios as attested cult sites of Poseidon Helikonios, but without giving references. The personal names Helikōnios (Ephesos and Klazomenai, both 4th c. BC) and Helikonias (Pantikapaion, 1st c. AD) are interesting in themselves, but on their own do not allow us to infer the existence of a corresponding cult epithet. The references for an Ephesian cult given by Graf 1985, 415 only mention Poseidon without the epithet. I could not find any mentions of Helikonios on Chios, the cults of which have been thoroughly studied by Graf 1985, esp. 42–43 on Poseidon.

The most striking piece of epigraphic evidence comes from Imperial Priene, where a round statue base from the Hellenistic period bearing a private honorific inscription was reused in the Augustan period as an altar of Poseidon Helikonios and Augustus.[394] It was found in 2008 and first published in 2014. The lettering of the Roman inscription is executed in a rather irregular and quite careless fashion, which together with the fact that an older monument was reused makes it likely that this is a civic altar, mirroring Priene's economic decline from the Imperial period on.[395] The excavators deduced from the existence of this altar that there must have been a cult building for Poseidon and Augustus in Priene by this time, and if we take the two Hellenistic dedications to Helikonios (see fn. 389) into account, one might postulate this also for an earlier period.

The archaeological evidence from the Panionion site on Otomatiktepe suggests that its importance declined during the Hellenistic period (see Chapter 2.1.1). While references in inscriptions attest to the continued existence and (albeit limited) use of the Panionion at least until the late 2nd c. BC, the festival could also be celebrated in one of the member cities of the *koinon*, which is attested to have happened in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods – probably when the required resources where not procured by the members or when there were safety concerns.[396] Even if the archaeological remains at the site of the Panionion itself are very scarce, ceramic finds in the vicinity indicate that the houses and the Hellenistic fort ca 500 m east of the Panionion hill were continuously occupied at least

[394] *I.Priene*$^2$ 179: Ποσειδῶνος Ἑλι|κωνίου καὶ |Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ. The genitive used here makes the editors' identification of the stone as an altar the most likely possibility, but a boundary marker of a sanctuary (as *I.Priene*$^2$ 159–161) would be conceivable as well.

[395] Lohmann, Kalaitzoglou, and Lüdorf 2017 I, 237–273, esp. 239 and 272.

[396] Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967, 57; use of Panionion in Hellenistic times: *I.Smyrna* 577 l. 14 = *I.Milet* 10 l. 12 (bronze statue set up in the Panionion, 289/8 BC); *I.Priene*$^2$ 185 (Poseidon Helikonios in the Panionion, 2nd c. BC); *I.Priene*$^2$ 65 l. 53 (*theōros* to the Panionion, ca 120 BC); celebration of the Panionia in individual cities: Diod. 15.149.1 (in Ephesos, 373/2 BC); *I.Milet* 306 ll. 60–62 (in Miletos, 167/6 BC); Philostr. *Ap.* 4.5–6 (in Smyrna); possibly Philostr. *soph.* 2.25 (612) (in Phokaia).

until the Imperial period.[397] Strabo's description of the Panionion might indicate contemporary activity as well and we should thus not completely exclude the possibility that the Panionia continued to be celebrated occasionally on the site north of Mykale.[398] That the Panionia festival rotated between the member cities, however, seems safe to assume, based on the extant evidence especially from the Roman period. It would be most natural to think that this happened in the cities' own Helikonios sanctuaries, which have been considered as 'branches' of the Panionion.[399] Thus it is easy to assume that the Samian Helikonion hosted the Panionia, just as the civic Helikonios precincts at Teos and Miletos probably did; this is especially likely for the latter city, where we even hear of *agōnothetai* of the Koinon of the Ionians.[400] An Ephesian coin, dated to the reign of Philip the Arab through the mention of his wife Otacilia Severa on the obverse, bears the inscription ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΩΝ and the depiction of a tetrastyle temple on the reverse. Unfortunately, it is not included in Karwiese 2012, the respective *RPC* volume has not yet appeared, and none of the previous editions provides a drawing or picture.[401] It is not easy to make good sense of the inscription, and Eckhel in fact read it as ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΟΝ which seems more plausible, as one would expect ΚΟΙΝΟΝ to be followed by an ethnic specification, or if it was referring to the Panionia festival, the plural form ΚΟΙΝΑ.[402] It is thus possible that the coin represents an otherwise unattested Ephesian civic Panionion temple (on Artemis Panionios in Ephesos, see below).

[397] Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967, 37–45.
[398] Strab. 14.1.20: πρῶτον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τὸ Πανιώνιον, τρισὶ σταδίοις ὑπερκείμενον τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπου τὰ Πανιώνια, κοινὴ πανήγυρις τῶν Ἰώνων, συντελεῖται τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ θυσία.
[399] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906a, 46.
[400] *I.Didyma* 339 ll. 12–14, 1st c. AD.
[401] Vaillant 1700, 164; Eckhel 1794, 508; Mionnet 1833, 189 n. 723; Akerman 1841, 114 n. 51; it is not mentioned in Leschhorn and Franke 2002 or Leschhorn 2009.
[402] Vaillant 1700, 164: '*Ephesiorum Commune Panioniorum*'; Akerman 1841, 114: '*The Community of the Ephesians, with all Ionia*'.

Coming back to Priene, it is indeed remarkable that the Panionion featured so prominently in the Hellenistic epigraphy of this city, and that the *koinon* priesthood of Poseidon Helikonios lay in the hands of the Prieneans at least until the Augustan period.[403] Yet, we should not take this as an indication of absolute Prienean control of the site on Otomatiktepe and its general administration of the Panionia. What has not been explored further so far is the possibility that what is referred to in some of the Prienean inscriptions might in fact be a 'civic Panionion' in which Poseidon Helikonios was venerated. Indeed, were this not the case, it would be rather difficult to make sense of the fact that Priene granted free meals in the city's *prytaneion* and the Panionion **on every day** as a special honour for benefactors, which seems impossible from a practical perspective if this is referring to the site on Otomatiktepe.[404] Further, this honour (without the temporal specification) was bestowed by the city on foreign judges from Phokaia, Nisyros, and Astypalaia. Priene clearly perceived this Panionion as its own, and it is hard to imagine that the other members of the *koinon* would have accepted sharing their meals in the *koinon* Panionion with foreigners who had no connection to the *koinon* but only to Priene.[405] I admit that the priesthood sales *I.Priene*$^2$ 146–148 are most likely to refer to the *koinon* cult as they constantly mention the regulations of the Ionians as points of reference for the specifications of the priesthood. This is in line with Strab. 14.1.20 who mentions that the priests of Poseidon Helikonios were traditionally young Prienean men. However, the attitude coming to the fore in the priesthood sale-inscriptions is not one of hegemonic

[403] As seems to be safe from the priesthood sales *I.Priene*$^2$ 146–148 and Strab. 8.7.2; Wiemer and Kah 2011, 48 also highlight the *koinon*'s agency, however.
[404] On *sitēsis* grants in Priene, Metcalfe 2005, 51–59. Charles Crowther pointed out to me that this might refer to potential *sitēsis* only.
[405] This is also argued for by Lohmann 2005, 76 and in the commentary on *I.Priene*$^2$ 144 ll. 7–8. Free meals in the *prytaneion* and the Panionion as civic honours are attested from ca 330/300 BC to after 84 BC in *I.Priene*$^2$ 19; 29; 46; 56; 66; 67; 69; 71; 86; 93; 107; 144.

dominance but of respectful obedience, and in the Imperial period priests of the Ionian Koinon are known from cities other than Priene as well.

The cult of Poseidon Helikonios thus appears as continuing into the Imperial period on a civic level and – if we assume that he kept being venerated during the Panionia – also on the level of the *koinon*; that it continued to be perceived as a specifically Ionian affair can be deduced also from the literary evidence circulating in the Roman period, and it was surely also highly relevant for the cities that were not part of the Ionian Koinon, such as the ones on the shores of the Black Sea.

*Apollo Delphinios*

Another god who is occasionally labelled as a specifically Ionian deity is Apollo Delphinios, the worship of whom is slightly better attested than that of Poseidon Helikonios.[406] The most explicit expression of this can be found in Strabo's description of Massalia (modern Marseille), a colony of Ionian Phokaia: ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τὸ Ἐφέσιον ἵδρυται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δελφινίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν· τοῦτο μὲν κοινὸν Ἰώνων ἁπάντων, τὸ δὲ Ἐφέσιον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστι νεὼς τῆς Ἐφεσίας (4.1.4, 'But on the headland lie the Ephesion and the temple of Apollo Delphinios. The latter is common to all Ionians, whereas the Ephesion is a temple of the Ephesian Artemis', my translation). This passage has been interpreted in different ways: while traditionally it was believed that Strabo understood the cult of Delphinios as being 'common to all the Ionians' or 'shared in common by all Ionians', as in the Loeb translation, Fritz Graf has rejected this notion and argued instead that it was only the Delphinion in Massalia in particular which was 'open to all Ionians'.[407] This is

[406] E.g. Bourboulis 1949, 45 recognises an 'old Ionian religious stratum'.

[407] Graf 1979, 3 fn. 12: 'Abzulehnen ist die oft wiederholte Ansicht, Strabon bezeichne den Kult des Delphinios als allen Ioniern gemeinsam: er sagt bloss, der Kult in Massilia stehe allen Ioniern offen'; similarly Malkin 2011, 176.

grammatically possible, as τοῦτο seems to refer back to τὸ τοῦ Δελφινίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν and the second half of the sentence also speaks of the Ephesion at Massalia in particular. Nonetheless, it has been pointed out that all other instances in the *Geographika* of the construction κοινόν + genitive speak in favour of the traditional interpretation.[408] While adhering to this view as well, Stefan Radt claims that Strabo is giving a misleading impression here as Apollo Delphinios is not limited to Ionian territory. It will be pertinent to have a closer look at the extant testimonies for this cult in order to properly contextualise Strabo's statement. But let me first give a brief overview of the nature of the cult itself.[409]

Already in antiquity, popular etymology derived the epithet from δελφίς ('dolphin'), which led modern scholars to consider the god as a protector of seafaring.[410] Another possibly pseudo-etymological connection is sometimes drawn in modern scholarship between the epithet and the god's famous sanctuary of Delphi, but this is morphologically unlikely and is never directly attested in the ancient sources.[411] For Robert Parker, the epithet Delphinios remains 'meaningless' and 'incomprehensible'.[412] Graf 1979 was the first to realise that the cult was not primarily a maritime one, as the previous majority view had claimed, but an important state cult involved with citizenship, the state hearth, and the

[408] Radt 2006, 409.
[409] Graf 1979 is still the main point of reference; earlier treatments are Aly 1911 and Bourboulis 1949. Herda 2011 analyses the cult at Miletos.
[410] E.g. *RE* s.v. Apollon, 18. The only ancient testimony connecting animal and epithet is Hom. h. *Ap.* 493–495 (referred to by Plut. *mor.* 984A); dolphin iconography has occasionally been connected with Apollo Delphinios, as in the case of the unique dolphin-shaped coins from Olbia (6th c. BC, Petropoulos 2010, 287 and Killen 2017, 207), where the cult is well attested from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, see Lifshitz 1966 and Graf 1974. The late Hellenistic dolphin-pillar from Mylasa is too isolated a case to be securely ascribed to the cult of Apollo Delphinios (as suggested by Carbon 2013, who cannot offer a satisfying explanation for its presence), as the cult is otherwise unattested in the Carian city. Note also that there are only two doubtful lemmata in *LIMC* s.v. Apollo I F j) 'Mit Delphin'.
[411] E.g. by Roller 2018, 176 on Strab. 4.1.4: 'Strabo was in error in suggesting that Apollo at Delphi was a common Ionian cult, and the wording here may be sloppy'. It is telling that the epithet is never attested in Delphi itself, and Delphic Apollo is usually Pythios; Graf 1979, 4 points out that the only attested adjectival form is Δελφαῖος, though West also translates Δέλφειος in Hom. h. *Ap.* 496 as 'Delphian' in the Loeb edition.
[412] Parker 2003, 179.

*ephebeia*. Especially in Miletos we are well informed about the cult's involvement with state affairs, as the city's Delphinion has been excavated and public documents concerning citizenship and *proxenia* were inscribed on its walls.[413] For the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods we have evidence for the cult not only in Ionia and Ionian colonies in the Black Sea region, in Attica, on Euboia and Aigina, but also on Crete, in Sparta and on the Dorian islands of Thera and Nisyros.[414] While it is clear from this geographical distribution that Apollo Delphinios cannot originally have been an exclusively Ionian peculiarity – Graf suggested a merging of a Mycenaean Delphinios with Dorian Apollo[415] – we should focus again on the Roman period and how the deity was perceived then.

In the Imperial period, the extant evidence dwindles, but we can be sure that the cult survived prominently in Miletos. In *I.Didyma* 346 (7/6 BC), the *hydrophoros* inscription of Nannion daughter of Iason granddaughter of Demetrios, we hear of a (marble) statue of Apollo Delphinios which had been set up by Nannion's ancestor Demetrios son of Glaukos during his tenure of office as *stephanēphoros*. As this Demetrios is not mentioned in the extant *stephanēphoroi* lists, we can be sure that he discharged the office at some point during the gap in the lists between 184/3 and 89/88 BC. If we do not want to allow for too big a generational gap between Nannion and Demetrios, it seems most likely that he was

[413] Kawerau and Rehm 1914; a new investigation was conducted in the recent *DFG* project 'Das Apollon-Delphinios-Heiligtum von Milet: Geschichte und Funktionen eines zentralen Polisheiligtums' 2004–2009 under the supervision of Alexander Herda, see Herda 2005 and 2011. Texts inscribed on the walls of the Delphinion are e.g. *I.Milet* 31–121.

[414] To the list in Graf 1979, 3–4 can be added the Attic deme of Thorikos (*IG* I$^3$ 256bis = *CGRN* 32, sacrificial calendar, ca 440–430 or ca 380–375 BC), Odessos (*SEG* 61-560: unpublished dedication of marble benches in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios, already mentioned in *SEG* 53-728, 5$^{th}$/4$^{th}$ c. BC), Pantikapaion (*SEG* 56-912, dedication to the god, albeit heavily restored, ca 400–350 BC; further, the names Μολπᾶς and Μολπαγόρης attested there in the 4$^{th}$ c. and in 304–284 BC respectively (*LGPN* IV s.v.) might point to the existence of a board of *molpoi* who were closely connected to Delphinios in Miletos). It is also possible that the cult existed in the Milesian colony of Sinope and the Black Sea town of Gorgippia, where the very rare name Δελφίνιος is attested (Sinope: *LGPN* VA s.v. 2–4, 5$^{th}$–4$^{th}$ c. BC, second half of the 4$^{th}$ c. BC, and ca 205–185 BC; Gorgippia: *LGPN* IV s.v., first half of the 3$^{rd}$ c. BC).

[415] However, Parker 2003, 179 points out that 'Delphinios', as an adjectival form, is very unlikely to have originally been an independent deity.

her grandfather Demetrios' grandfather, homonymity between grandparent and grandson being the most common onomastic feature in the Greek world, which would lead to a date in the late 2nd c. BC for the original dedication of the statue of Apollo Delphinios.[416] The statue is mentioned together with a bronze Aithiopian (or the hero Aithiops?), and even though their place of erection is not specified, as is the case with the other statue dedications mentioned in the inscription (the temple of Apollo in Didyma and the theatre), it is most likely that this was the Milesian Delphinion.

In the numismatic material of the city, the laureate head of Apollo Delphinios in profile (or more rarely in three-quarter) view seems to have been the preferred deity on coins from the 4th down to the 1st c. BC, mirroring its importance as the main state cult in this period.[417] In the Roman period, it is the standing cult statue of Apollo Didymeus which features most prominently on Milesian civic coinage.[418] From the Neronian period on, a new Apollo type appears on the city's coins. There, the god is depicted as seated and nude with his right arm lifted over his head and his left hand holding a bow, and the iconographic details of the omphalos with a serpent coiled around it and occasionally a tripod and/or a laurel tree clearly allude to the oracular god of Delphi.[419] This type is found on coins until the early 3rd c. AD (Figs 3.1–4) and then again on a frieze block from the theatre from the 4th c. AD (Fig. 3.5).[420]

[416] Thomas 1983 reconstructs the family tree of Nannion in this way too.

[417] Kinns 1986, 233; Marcellesi 2004, in her exhaustive analysis of Milesian coinage until the 2nd c. BC, does not specify which Apollo is depicted, but simply refers to it throughout as 'tête (laurée) d'Apollon'.

[418] That Apollo Didymeus had become the main civic deity in the Imperial period is explicitly stated in *I.Milet* 134 ll. 6–7 (late 1st c. AD) where he is addressed as προκαθηγεμόνα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν.

[419] The lifted right arm is interpreted as a gesture of crowning in close connection to the god's *stephanēphoroi* by Robert 1967, 51, but see Temporini 1982 for a thorough analysis of this gesture, who concludes that it was a Milesian peculiarity.

[420] *RPC* I 2712 (Neronian); *RPC* III 2146A (Hadrianic) and 1350 (Hadrianic silver *kistophoros*); *RPC* IV.2 1077 (ca AD 175); 1158 (ca AD 175–177); 3027 (ca AD 175); and several coins from under the reign of Septimius Severus, Robert 1967, 48 fn. 6; theatre frieze: Kawerau and Rehm 1914, 287.



Fig. 3.1: *RPC* I 2712.2 (Neronian).



Fig. 3.2: *RPC* III 2146A.1 (Hadrianic).



Fig. 3.3: *RPC* IV.2 1077.1 (ca AD 175).




Fig. 3.4: Robert 1967, pl. I n. 14 (under Septimius Severus).



Fig. 3.5: relief from the Milesian theatre (4th c. AD).

The longevity of this 'Delphic' coin type suggests that it was based on a cult statue of the god, which fits well with the fact that the Neronian coin with this type was minted under the same official who took a particular interest in the cult of Apollo Delphinios (see below on *I.Milet* 134).[421] There are also two extant bronze statuettes of this type, whose Milesian origin is not secure but should not be excluded given the remarkable similarities and the general rareness of this Apollo type.[422] Furthermore, this 'Delphic' type is the only depiction of Apollo on Milesian coins in the Roman period apart from the much more prominent Apollo Didymeus type. All this evidence taken together seems compelling enough to consider this type as representing Apollo Delphinios. It is thus plausible, albeit far from provable, that this 'Delphic' Apollo Delphinios was the very statue set up by Demetrios son

[421] Thomas 1983, 132.
[422] Thomas 1983, pl. 27 n. 3 and pl. 28 n. 1.

of Glaukos in the late 2nd c. BC.[423] An explanation for this could be that Demetrios or his commissioners from the Delphinion wanted to represent their old civic deity as an incarnation of the famous oracular deity from mainland Greece, possibly supported through (pseudo-)etymological arguments, in order to enhance the prestige of their old cult, at a time when its importance was beginning to be challenged by Apollo Didymeus.

That Apollo Delphinios must have been represented in an iconographically distinct way in 2nd c. AD Asia Minor is implied by a passage of Artemidoros' *Oneirokritika*, where the meaning of his appearance in dreams is interpreted as signifying 'stays abroad and movements'.[424] Recent scholarship has highlighted that this work is a reliable guide to conceptions and values of its contemporary society and that the associations of particular deities with certain activities or spheres of life must be considered as meaningful.[425] Yet, the areas of competence mentioned by Artemidoros do not at all fit with the (Milesian) Delphinios as a deity of the state hearth, but seem to refer to the Delphic oracular god in his capacity as advisor for travels and possibly colonisation projects.[426] As there is no other mention of Delphi in his work and Artemidoros seems to have known Miletos (4.24), his reference can thus be taken as additional evidence for the Milesian deity being connected with Delphic characteristics and/or iconography.

An assimilation of Apollo Delphinios in Miletos to the Delphic god is all the more likely because we have further evidence for the continued worship of the former. *I.Milet* 134 is

[423] Robert 1967, 51; Thomas 1983, 128–130. Two statues of the river Maiandros set up in the Baths of Faustina at Miletos (also depicted on coins) exhibit the same particular gesture of the raised right arm, which makes it most likely that they were modelled on the Delphinios statue, Temporini 1982 esp. 362–363; see also Thonemann 2011, 316.

[424] Artem. 2.35: Ἀπόλλων ὁ Δελφίνιος ἀποδημίας καὶ κινήσεις εἴωθε σημαίνει.

[425] Bilbija and Flinterman 2015, 59; see also the contributions in Chandezon and Bouchet (eds) 2014.

[426] *RE* s.v. Delphinios 1) takes this statement as evidence for Delphinios being a god of mariners and colonisers; unfortunately, Harris-McCoy 2012 who provides the most recent edition, translation, and commentary does not discuss this passage.

a decree by the *dēmos* of Miletos from the (end of the) 1st c. AD concerning the duties of the *prophētai* in Didyma and the *stephanēphoroi* in Miletos.[427] In this text, a clear polarity is tangible between Apollo Didymeus, by now the main civic deity, and Apollo Delphinios in Miletos: with the decree the *dēmos* aims at highlighting its piety towards the Didymaean Apollo, the leader of the city, and the Delphinios, as well as the Emperors who are jointly worshipped with them, and copies of the text are to be published in the two sanctuaries respectively.[428] Furthermore, the two offices with whom the decree is concerned are unequivocally ascribed to the two deities: the *prophētēs* is the priest of Apollo at Didyma, and the *stephanēphoros* is the head of the Milesian Delphinion.[429] Next to the evidence for the continued physical existence of the latter sanctuary, this inscription also provides information on ritual activity connected with Delphinios: the traditional feast of the *molpoi* (ll. 15–17: τὰς εὐωχίας τῶν |τε κόσμων καὶ τῶν μολπῶν κατὰ τὰ π[ά]|τρια ἔθη). While the *molpoi* are well attested as the presiding body of the cult in Miletos, I think that what is referred to here cannot be the cult association, but must be a ceremony of the same name.[430] The grammar of the text at ll. 29–31 has puzzled the editors and commentators discussing this inscription: τὸν μὴ ἐπιτελέσαντα προφήτην τοὺς κόσμους ἢ τὸν μὴ ποήσαντα στεφανηφόρον τοὺς μολποὺς ('the *prophētēs* who does not discharge the *kosmoi* or the *stephanēphoros* who does not do the *molpoi*'). Kawerau and Rehm in their commentary on *I.Milet* 134 tried to explain this as an abridged way of referring to the feeding of the *kosmoi* and the *molpoi*, but all the other mentions of the *kosmoi* in the

[427] It is not a 'Kultgesetz' as its title in *I.Milet* and its incorporation in *LSAM* (n. 53) insinuate: see Chaniotis 2004a, 291.
[428] *I.Milet* 134 ll. 6–10: εὐσέβειαν εἴς τε τὸν προκαθη|γεμόνα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν Ἀπόλ|λωνα Διδυμέα καὶ εἰς τὸν Δελφεί|νιον καὶ εἰς τοὺς συνκαθειδρυμέ|νους αὐτοῖς Σεβαστοὺς and ll. 37–40: τὴν μὲν μίαν ἀνα|σταθῆναι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος |τοῦ Διδυμέως, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐν τῶι |ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δελφεινίου.
[429] Herda 2011, 60.
[430] Sokolowski ad *LSAM* 53 seems to have been the only scholar to have seen this as well.

epigraphic material of Miletos and Didyma make it amply clear that officials of that name never existed, but that they were in fact a ceremony whose beneficiaries are sometimes explicitly specified.[431] Given the overall parallelism of *I.Milet* 134, the same must be the case for the *molpoi* here, a festivity at the Delphinion during which a banquet was provided by the *stephanēphoros* in office. The decree preserved in *I.Milet* 134 is a countermeasure against the (by then apparently common) practice of replacing this ritual banquet with payments of money (ll. 18–22).[432] While this surely indicates an alteration of the ritual practice through the incumbent magistrates, it should not be interpreted as a sign of the cult's decline, as it also demonstrates that the occasion of the *molpoi* festivity was still remembered and respected in the late 1nd c. AD.

The Milesian cult of Delphinios was still alive in the 2nd and 3rd c. AD as well, when we have evidence for cult officials explicitly assigned to the deity. Antipatros Ioulianos was honoured as *prokitharistēs* and *pyrophoros* of the god in the late 2nd c. AD, and P. Ael. Granianus Ambibius Macer as *prokitharistēs* and *chorēgos* of Delphinios in the early 3rd c. AD.[433] While the *chorēgia* had always been a common *leitourgia* in Greek cities, the office of *prokitharistēs* is only attested in Roman Miletos and bears witness to ongoing musical performances during festivals and rituals of Apollo Delphinios.[434] Antipatros Ioulianos is the

[431] *I.Didyma* 291 l. 6: [ἐπιτετελεκὼς δὲ τ]οὺς κόσμους (early Imperial); 322 ll. 6–7: [καὶ τοὺς] |κόσμους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δ[ώδεκα] (early Imperial); 268 ll. 6–8: καὶ τούς τε κόσμους ἐ[ν] |τῶι ἱερῶι ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἡμέρας |[ἐπε]τέλεσ[εν] (second half of the 1st c. AD); 279B ll. 2–7: [κατὰ |μ]ὲν τ̣[ὴ]ν προφητείαν δοὺς τ̣αῖς |[γ]υναιξὶν καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις δι|ανομὴν καὶ τοῖς παισὶν καὶ τ̣ῇ βου|λ̣ῇ πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοὺς |κόσμους (first half of the 2nd c. AD); 314 ll. 11–13: ἐπιτελέσασα δὲ καὶ |τοὺς κόσμους ταῖς τε γυναι|ξὶ καὶ π̣ρ̣θένοις εὐαρέστως (first half of the 2nd c. AD); 312 ll. 20–21: ἔδωκεν τῇ τῶν κόσμων ἑορτῇ ταῖ̣ς ἐκ Νᾳ[οῦ γυναι]ξ̣[ὶ]ν καὶ |ταῖς παρθένοις διανομὰς (AD 125/150); 269 ll. 6–7: δοὺς ὑπ[ὲρ κόσμων δια]|νομὰς βουλῇ, γυναιξίν, [παρθένοις] (2nd c. AD); 270 ll. 6–7: [δοὺς ὑ]π̣ὲρ κόσμ̣[ων] |δ̣ι̣ᾳ̣ν̣ο̣[μὰς βουλῇ, γυναιξίν, παρθ]ένοι̣[ς] (2nd c. AD); 387 l. 2: [— τοῖς] κόσμοῖς· ἔ[δωκεν] (Imperial).

[432] Chaniotis 2003b, 179–184.

[433] *I.Milet* 1140 (= *I.Nordkarien* 155) ll. 9–11: προκ̣ιθαριστὴν |καὶ πυρ̣ο̣φ̣ό̣ρ̣ο̣ν̣ τοῦ Δελφεινί|{νι}ου Ἀπόλλωνος (AD 177–193); *I.Didyma* 182 ll. 17–19: τὸν προκιθαριστὴν τοῦ Δ̣[ελφι]|νίου Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ̣ [χο]|ρηγὸν (ca AD 230).

[434] The only other attestation of a *prokitharistēs* next to the two already mentioned is in the more fragmentary *I.Didyma* 264 l. 7: […o]υ προκιθαριστοῦ πρε[…] (second half of the 1st c. AD); Almazova 2006 provides an analysis of the office, explaining it as the leading musician in the cult of Delphinios.

only known *pyrophoros* at Miletos (he is also mentioned in *I.Didyma* 372 l. 17), but the office is well attested in other parts of the Greek world, mostly also in connection with Apollo, and its remit seems to have been the bringing or bearing of the sacred or sacrificial fire.[435]

Outside of Miletos, cult for Apollo Delphinios in the Roman period has been conjectured for Erythrai, Chios, Oropos, and Chalkis, but the evidence for this is shaky, and should not be taken too seriously. In Erythrai, where the cult is safely attested in the 5th c. BC, we only have one personal name Delphinios from the Imperial period.[436] In Chios, the ancient toponym Delphinion, a harbour settlement attested in literary and epigraphic sources and archaeologically excavated, has survived as a modern place name, but no evidence for cultic activity has been found there, and given its location it appears more plausible to explain its name as the 'place of dolphins', rather than to connect it with the deity.[437] The same might be true for the homonymous sacred harbour close to Oropos mentioned by Strab. 9.2.6. The evidence for a Delphinios cult in Chalkis is watertight, but it belongs to the 2nd c. BC, and the fact that it is mentioned by Plutarch cannot be taken as proof for its continuation into the Roman period.[438]

The only other reliable attestation for the cult from the Imperial period stems from Athens, where Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios in the vicinity of the Olympieion.[439] A dedication by a Smaragdos from the 1st or 2nd c. AD was made to Δελφ[…] which is most likely to be restored as Δελφ[ινίῳ] (as in *IG* III 138 and Boegehold et al. 1995,

[435] Robert 1966c, 746–748. Given the poetic vocabulary of the inscription, πυρφορ[…] in *I.Didyma* 363B l. 15 (probably from the second half of the 3rd c. AD) does not necessarily refer to the office.
[436] *LGPN* VA s.v. 1; the 5th c. BC dedication is *I.Erythrai* 209.
[437] Boardman 1956 gives a good overview.
[438] Plut. *Titus Flamininus* 16; *SEG* 58-957, a dedication to Delphinios on a marble tripod.
[439] Paus. 1.19.1: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Δελφινίου; Travlos 1971, 83 on its location; Parker 2005, 436 on the ritual aspects.

136), and not as Δελφ[ικῷ] (as in *IG* II$^2$ 4743 l. 2) which is without parallel in Attica. In the Classical period there were also deme temples of Apollo Delphinios mentioned in the sacrificial calendars of Erchia and Thorikos.[440] There are also several further literary testimonies for the Athenian Delphinion, some of which date from the Roman period, where the law court for justifiable homicide cases was held and oaths were sworn, attesting to the cult's involvement with state affairs.[441]

Apollo Delphinios continued to play an important role in the cultic life of Miletos in the Roman period, but he seems to have lost his role as the main civic deity to the oracular god at Didyma at some point in the 1st c. BC. His iconographic assimilation to Delphic Apollo might have been a reaction to that and makes it unlikely that he was presented or perceived as an old Ionian deity by then. If, further, we take the spread of the cult before the Roman period into account, it cannot be seen as distinctly Ionian. How are we then to explain Strabo's statement that Delphinios was 'common to all Ionians'?

The author clearly seems to have perceived the presence of the Delphinion and the Ephesion in Massalia as something extraordinary and worthy of mention, and he gives a lengthy aetiological explanation for the existence of a temple dedicated to Ephesian Artemis in this city in southern Gaul. He starts his discussion of Massalia by stating that it was a Phokaian foundation and he explicitly mentions that the city has 'Ionian laws' (4.1.5 οἱ δὲ νόμοι Ἰωνικοί).[442] Later in this passage he describes Massalia as a sort of second-rate

[440] Erchia: *LSCG* 18A (= *CGRN* 52A) ll. 25–27, ca 375–350 BC; Thorikos: *IG* I$^3$ 256bis (= *CGRN* 32 = Osborne–Rhodes, *GHI* 146) l. 6, ca 430 BC. Two Athenian dedications to the deity are unfortunately not securely dated and need to be left out of the discussion here: *IG* II² 3725 and 4851, no dates given in any edition.

[441] Boegehold et al. 1995, 135–139 collect the *testimonia*.

[442] Massalia also seems to have used the Ionian month names, cf. *SEG* 50-1076: Apatouriōn attested on an unpublished lead tablet; Malkin 2011, 189–197 on the Ionian *nomima* of Massalia; Lomas 2004 gives a good overview of the identity-constructions of the Massaliotes in the Roman period; the existence of a 'priesthood of Massalia' in Phokaia shows that this 'colonial' relationship was still commemorated in the Roman period; Graf 1985, 420–421 on this extraordinary cult for a personified colony.

Athens in barbarian lands where in his own days even Romans go to be educated instead of travelling to Athens itself. This could be seen as mirroring the situation in Ionia where Smyrna and Ephesos were rivalling Athens as centres of education and culture. Strabo thus presents Massalia to a certain degree as an Ionian city and he uses this fact to explain the otherwise surprising presence of a Delphinios sanctuary there.[443] As far as we know, Phokaia never had a Delphinion, and Strabo might have taken into account his contemporary situation, when the cult is prominently attested only in Miletos.[444] Strabo uses Ionianness to explain a cultic particularity, but he does not necessarily see this particularity as a constituent element of Ionianness.

*The cult epithet Panionios*

But there are also much more explicit references to Ionianness in cult epithets. Apollo Panionios is epigraphically attested in Ephesos in the 2nd c. AD.[445] Unfortunately, the inscription is fragmentary, but it seems safe to assume that there was a priesthood of this god which an unknown individual discharged three times:

> [ἱερείας Ἀπ]όλλωνος Πανιωνίου τρὶς εὐωχ[ησάσης —]
> [— ἀ]ρχιερείας τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν [Ἐφέσῳ —]
> [τὸν τοῦ κ]υρίου Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος ναὸν στ[— ἱερατευσάσης]
> [τῆς Ἀρτέμ]ι̣δ̣ος ἱεροπρεπῶς καὶ ἀξίως [—]
> *vac.*

The text is inscribed on a building block of a wall of white marble (h 23.5 cm, w 119 cm, d 53 cm); it is broken on the right, and there is anathyrosis on the left and top, with two dowel holes on the upper side.[446] We cannot therefore establish how much of the text we

[443] Note that Dion. Hal. *ant.* 4.25.4–5 describes the Ephesian Artemision as a Panionian sanctuary which was funded by all the Ionians and where they gathered for festivals, contests, and sacrifices.
[444] On Phokaia as a place of the celebration of the Panionia festival, see Chapter 3.1.2 with fn. 474.
[445] *I.Ephesos* 814; *editio princeps* Keil and Maresch 1960, n. 2.
[446] Skizzenbuch Milter 1955 n. 2577; Skizzenbuch Knibbe 1966, 24.

have lost, whether it began above or on the left of the block, and whether it continued on the right. As the space under l. 4 was uninscribed, however, we can be sure that this was the last line. The surviving text in this line further makes it likely that this is indeed an honorific inscription for a priestess of Artemis, as suggested by its title in the Ephesos corpus ('Ehreninschrift für eine Dame').[447] In consequence, we should expect the honorand to be in the accusative, and so the end of l. 3 should be restored as ἱερατεύσασαν. Following from this, the priestess cannot have been identical with the *archiereia* of Asia of the temples in Ephesos in l. 2 who appears in the genitive. The mention of the temple of Lord Caesar Hadrian, that is to say Ephesos' second *neokōria* temple, in the accusative in l. 3 should best be connected with the *archiereia* as well, within whose remit it fell.[448] We know from another Ephesian inscription that this temple was consecrated under Ti. Cl. Piso Diophantos who had also been the driving force behind the Ephesian request to Hadrian for a second *neokōria*.[449] As Hadrian's titulature speaks in favour of a date of *I.Ephesos* 814 close to the *neokōria* grant, the *archiereia* mentioned in l. 2 could have been Piso's wife ('during whose term of office the city was awarded the temple' or 'whose husband asked and received the temple from the emperor').[450] Given this chronological framework, it would appear most plausible to identify the honoured priestess of Artemis as the sister of the *archiereia*. The priesthood of Apollo Panionios could have been discharged by the *archiereia* as well, but within the honorific context of the inscription it is more likely to have been discharged by the honorand's father (or less likely her brother). I would thus restore:

[447] The word ἱεροπρεπῶς is attested in Ephesos only in honorific inscriptions for priestesses of Artemis from the Imperial period: *I.Ephesos* 987 l. 11 and *I.Ephesos* 992A l. 6.
[448] On this temple, see Burrell 2004, 66–70.
[449] *I.Ephesos* 428: [δὶς νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων] |[πόλε]ως ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμ[ησαν] |[Τι(βέριον) Κλ]αύδιον Πείσωνα Διόφαντον |[τὸ]ν ἀρχιερασάμενον τῶν δύο ναῶ[ν] |[έ]ν Ἐφέσῳ, ἐφ' οὗ καθιερώθη ὁ θεοῦ |Ἀδριανοῦ νεώς, ὃς πρῶτος ᾐτήσατο |παρὰ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ ἐπέτυχεν.
[450] Burrell 2004, 67 dates the inscription to AD 134/5–138.

[ἱερέως Ἀπ]όλλωνος Πανιωνίου τρὶς εὐωχ[ήσαντος —]
[— ἀ]ρχιερείας τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν [Ἐφέσῳ —]
[τὸν τοῦ κ]υρίου Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος ναὸν στ[— ἱερατεύσασαν]
[τῆς Ἀρτέμ]ι̣δ̣ος ἱεροπρεπῶς καὶ ἀξίως [—].
*vac.*

As there is no mention of the Ionian Koinon or the Panionia festival and the priesthood of Apollo Panionios was not directly connected to a provincial office, it appears most likely to refer to an otherwise unattested civic Ephesian priesthood.

Another attestation of Apollo Panionios can be found in Vitruvius where we hear that the Ionians after having migrated from Greece to Asia first built a temple to this god.[451] What is highly peculiar is that this temple was of the Doric order. The second temple they jointly founded was one dedicated to Artemis, which Vitruvius describes as Ionic in style. While this latter structure is easily identifiable as the Ephesian Artemision, the localisation of the first temple is not as straightforward. One might expect the grand temple at Didyma to have been referred to here as the first temple built by all the Ionians, but this can be ruled out, as it was clearly Ionic in style.[452] The oracular shrine at Klaros, whose early Hellenistic building is of the Doric order, has been determined as the most suitable candidate among the Apollo sanctuaries in Ionia.[453] The new decree by the Ionian Koinon regarding a *theōria* to the penteteric festival at Klaros also discloses a keen interest of the *koinon* in the Klarian sanctuary in the 2nd c. BC, while, at the same time, the sanctuary of Apollo Klarios is unequivocally represented in the text as belonging to Kolophon.[454] This connection even found iconographic expression in the mid 3rd c. AD: Kolophonian coins under Trebonianus

[451] Vitr. 4.1.5: *Et primum Apollini Panionio aedem, uti uiderant in Achaia, constituerunt et eam doricam appelauerunt quod in Dorieon ciuitatibus primum factam eo genere uiderunt*.
[452] As suggested by Kleiner in Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967, 6. On the *Bauornamentik* of the Hellenistic and Roman temple in Didyma, see Voigtländer 1975 and Pülz 1989.
[453] Gros 1993, 63–65 and 64 fn. 36 listing previous scholars supporting this identification.
[454] Müller and Prost 2013; see above fn. 281.

Gallus and Valerian depict the 13 Ionian cities sacrificing in front of the temple of Apollo Klarios, which will be discussed in detail below.[455]

A third piece of evidence from Athens from the 1st c. AD might further corroborate the connection between Apollo Panionios and Klaros. It is a marble altar with a relief depicting Apollo with kithara and plectrum and an inscription specifying its dedicatee: Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγυιέως Προστατηρί[ου] |Πατρῴου Πυθίου Κλαρίου Πανιωνίου (*IG* II² 4995). While the first three epithets are clearly functional and well attested in Athens, Pythios and Klarios are topographical in origin and we might read Panionios here as a local epithet too, on the analogy of Klarios.[456] It might thus have been the case that at certain occasions, especially during the festival of the Panionia, Apollo was worshipped under the epithet of Panionios at Klaros in the Imperial period. We should, however, not go as far as to address the Klarian temple as a *koinon* sanctuary.[457] What seems more relevant is Kolophon's agency in using the *koinon* as a means to display Ionianness in order to heighten its civic prestige as late as the 3rd c. AD. On the other hand, Apollo's epithet cannot have been limited to the occasion of the Panionia festival, but must have gained some lasting prominence, as its priesthood in Ephesos and its appearance in Athens indicate.

Similarly, one should not treat the attestations of Artemis Panionios on 2nd c. AD coins from Smyrna and 3rd c. AD coins from Ephesos as relating to the festival of the Ionian Koinon only.[458] The goddess is represented uniformly as standing, facing left, wearing a short *chiton* and a mantle, holding a bow in her left and a laurel branch in her right hand, with a

[455] Trebonianus Gallus: *RPC* IX 600; Valerian: *BMC Ionia* 45 n. 60 with pl. VIII n. 16.
[456] On Apollo's epithets in Athens, see Parker 2005, passim.
[457] As Gros 1993, 64 does: 'la fonction confédérale d'un véritable Panionion'.
[458] Smyrna: *RPC* IV.2 310 (AD 160–180, pseudo-autonomous with Zeus Akraios on the obv., bronze, average ⌀ 21 mm, 48 specimens, obv. ΖΕΥΣ ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ, rev. ΣΜΥΡ ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΟΣ); Ephesos: Karwiese 2012, 136 n. 611 (AD 217–218, Macrinus on the obv., 29.5–32 mm, obv. ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΟΠΕ ΣΕΟ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟΣ, rev. ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΟΣ); 160 n. 722 (AD 222–235, Severus Alexander on the obv., 28–32 mm, obv. Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, rev. ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΟΣ).

prow beneath her feet.[459] There are no good parallels for this iconography, so we might consider it an Ionian peculiarity of the Imperial period, possibly even modelled on a cult statue. Whereas one might be tempted to associate the epithet with the Panionia, this Artemis was most likely venerated together with Apollo Panionios at Ephesos in the civic Panionion.[460] With this epithet, the Ephesians and Smyrnaeans openly harness Ionianness as a form of distinction in the religious landscape of the cities. That they even chose to put them on their coins shows further that they played a role within discourses of civic identity, and that they were perceived as important and prestigious enough to stand in for cities on their coinage.

It is a different story when the same epithet is used for the emperor Hadrian, which is attested in Ephesos, Miletos, and Teos, always in conjunction with his titles Olympios and Panhellenios.[461] This has rightly been explained as an official title which was conferred on the emperor by the Ionian Koinon (probably through a decree), most likely as a reaction to his receiving the title Panhellenios at the occasion of the foundation of the Panhellenion in AD 131/2.[462] Ionianness appears here to have been employed by the cities of the Ionian Koinon as a means of distinguishing themselves from other Greek cities (in the

[459] Karwiese 2016, 171 and 189 sees the Ephesian coins as referring to the Panionion and explains the prow as an allusion to Poseidon Helikonios, which seems rather far-fetched to me, as prows are a very common iconographic element on Greek coins in the Roman period.

[460] Klose 1987, 31; Herrmann 2002, 231 remarks, however, that the connections between the epithet and the festival are unsure. For the possible existence of an Ephesian Panionion temple, see the discussion of *I.Ephesos* 814 above.

[461] *I.Ephesos* 1501 (statue base erected by a citizen for Hadrian as his *euergētēs* and *sōtēr*); *I.Milet* 20 (marble base erected by the *dēmos* of Miletos for Hadrian as *euergētēs* of the city, dated to AD 135/6 based on the emperor's titles); Teos: Robert 1946b, 86–89 (building inscription on the architrave of the temple of Dionysos).

[462] Robert 1946b, 89: 'c'est la Confédération Ionienne qui a dû le nommer Πανιώνιος, sans doute à l'imitation du titre de Πανελλήνιος donné en 132 lors de la creation du Panhellénion'; Herrmann 2002, 227 also holds that the title was based on a *koinon* decree; an earlier editor of *I.Ephesos* 1501 boldly claimed that 'It needs no explanation' (Hicks 1890, 165 n. 501); foundation date of the Panhellenion: Romeo 2002, 21. The picture is slightly complicated by the Chian statue base *SEG* 15-530 which honours Hadrian as Olympios Panhellenios only (it is clear on the photograph generously sent to me by Charles Crowther that the inscription ends after Panhellenios). As one would expect Chios to include the title Panionios, we should thus allow for a longer gap between the award of Panhellenios and that of Panionios.

Panhellenion).[463] They aimed at increasing the value of their cultural capital by directly linking it to the emperor himself. Hadrian apparently accepted this honorific epithet, but as we should expect, it remained limited to Ionia itself, and, unlike Olympios and Panhellenios, it seems to have fallen out of use after Hadrian's death.[464]

### 3.1.2 Ionian cult practice

Two festivals were labelled as specifically Ionian in ancient literature. The celebration of the Apatouria is adduced by Herodotus as a defining feature of Ionianness (next to Athenian descent), but he immediately qualifies by admitting that the Ephesians and the Kolophonians do not maintain this festival.[465] He clearly presents these two Ionian cities as an exception for which he feels the need to provide an, albeit vague, explanation. As is the case with nearly all Greek festivals, the Apatouria are best attested in Classical Athens, but this bias should not lead us to the conclusion that it was considered an Athenian festival only.[466] It is also attested on Samos, and in the Imperial period there was a sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania called the Apatouron on the Kimmerian Bosporos, close to the Teian colony of Phanagoreia and the Milesian colony of Pantikapaion, which is likely to be connected to the festival as well (see Map 3).[467] The presence of the month name

[463] Robert 1946b, 89 also takes this seriously: 'Dans le concert des villes grecques du monde entier unies dans le Panhellénion, les villes ioniennes ne voulaient pas laisser oublier qu'elles formaient un groupe illustre par l'antiquité et la noblesse de leurs origins, et dont la Confédération à l'antique passé pouvait décerner un titre apprécié'; similarly Ferrary 1996, 209: 'souligner l'ancienneté de leur hellénisme'.

[464] E.g. *I.Milet* 233 ll. 7–8: Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Ὀλυμ|πίου καὶ Πανελληνίου υἱὸν (under Antoninus Pius) or *SEG* 42-1191 ll. 4–5: θεῶι Ἀδρι|ανῶι Πανελληνίωι (Aizanoi, AD 157); attestations of Olympios Panhellenios alone: *I.Iasos* 8 l. 1 (*SEG* 36-987A): Διῒ Ὀλυμπίωι Πανελληνίωι (AD 135/6); *AvP* VIII,3 7 ll. 5–6: Ὀλυμπίου Πανελληνίου (AD 137); *I.Aphr.* 5.5 i.a: Ὀλυ|[μπ]ίῳ Παν|[ελ]λη|νίῳ (Hadrianic).

[465] Hdt. 1.147: εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτήν· ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

[466] Trümpy 1997, 62 fn. 285 calls it 'dieses ionische Fest'; on the Athenian Apatouria, see Parke 1977, 88–92; Parker 2005, 458–461.

[467] Samos: [Hdt.] *Vita Homeri* 29; Apatouron: Strab. 11.2.10; *CIRB* 1111 = *IOSPE* II 343, 389–348 BC; *CIRB* 971 = *IOSPE* IV 418, 349–310 BC; *CIRB* 75 = *IOSPE* II 19, ca 150–125 BC; *CIRB* 31, 9 BC–AD 7; *CIRB* 35 = *IOSPE* II 28,

Apatouriōn, attested in many Ionian cities well into the Roman period (see Chapter 4.1.1), may be seen as an indication for the existence of the festival in a given city, but this connection is too uncertain to be taken into account here.[468]

The situation is similar for the Dionysos festival of the Anthestēria celebrated in spring. It is well attested in Athens and the month name Anthestēriōn continued to be used in Ionian cities in the Roman period, too.[469] There are further good testimonies for the Anthestēria from Teos, the Milesian colony of Kyzikos, and Didyma/Miletos.[470] When mentioning this festival (referred to as the older Dionysia celebrated in the month of Anthestēriōn), Thucydides remarks that the Ionian descendants of Athens are accustomed to do the same still in his own days.[471]

Other festivals which are considered as Ionian in most of the secondary literature are the Thargēlia, the Lēnaia, and the Pyanopsia/Pyanepsia.[472] But they are less well attested than the two discussed so far, and, apart from the geographical spread of the respective month names derived from them, we do not have any ancient statement attesting to their perceived Ionianness.

The remarks by Herodotus and Thucydides describe their contemporary situation only, but given that their works were still read and engaged with in the Imperial period, we can

AD 243; the connection between Apatouron and Apatouria is also argued for by Braund 2018, 187–255, esp. 234–242.

[468] Trümpy 1997, 1 is surely right to point out that months were generally named after a festival celebrated during them; but that obliterates the fact that the cultic life of a polis was not a monolithic, unchanging system, but was in fact much less stable than its month names. Furthermore, the latter could also have been taken over from (m)other cities without adopting a corresponding festival.

[469] On the Athenian Anthestēria, Parker 2005, 290–316; on the continued use of the Ionian month names, see Chapter 4.1.1.

[470] Teos: Osborne–Rhodes, *GHI* 102B ll. 32–33, D ll. 1–2, 5–8 (in Abdera), 480–450 BC; Kyzikos: *CIG* 3655 ll. 19–22, early 3rd c. BC; *SEG* 28-953 ll. 52–53, AD 25–50; Didyma: *I.Didyma* 258 ll. 11–13, early Imperial.

[471] Thuk. 2.15.4: καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν.

[472] E.g. the articles in *RE* s.v.

assume that at least the *pepaideumenoi* would have been familiar with the notion that the Apatouria and the Anthestēria were, or had once been, an Ionian peculiarity.

Next to these civic festivals, the Panionia organised by the Ionian Koinon can be seen as a more direct expression of Ionianness in the Roman period. Given the number of the attested *koinon* officials, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that they were held annually. They were surely the main occasion for the members of the Ionian Koinon not only to come together to offer joint sacrifices, but also to hold contests, a *panēgyris*, as well as a council meeting at which, at least, (honorific) decrees were voted on.[473] The Panionion north of Mykale might still occasionally have been used for the celebration of the Panionia in the Roman period, but the only direct attestations stem from the member cities of the Ionian Koinon. Anecdotes from Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* and *Life of Apollonius* make it likely that the Panionia were held in Smyrna and Phokaia in the Imperial period.[474] From a 1st c. AD inscription from Didyma we learn that the Ionian Koinon had *agōnothetai*, who must have overseen the games of the Panionia.[475] In the 3rd c. AD, there was a Didymaean festival called the Great Pythia Panionia for which is attested the office of *agōnothetēs*.[476] This was probably the name under which the Panionia were celebrated at Didyma, and their name might in fact indicate that they were celebrated there on a

[473] Herrmann 2002, 228; contests as part of the Panionia are only attested for the Roman period; the Alexandreia organised by the *koinon* included *agōnes* in the second half of the 2nd/first half of the 1st c. BC already, with *SEG* 46-422 as the earliest attestation. A sacrifice seems to be mentioned explicitly in *I.Priene*$^2$ 77 l. 3: [τὴν κοινὴν θυσί]ᾳν ἐ[τ]έλε[σε] τῶν Ἰώνων ἀξίως τοῦ τε ἡμετέρου δήμο[υ καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ].

[474] Philostr. *Ap.* 4.5–6: Ἀφικνουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν προαπήντων μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχον Πανιώνια θύοντες; Philostr. *soph.* 2.25 (612): αἱ μὲν δὴ μελέται τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους ὀκτώ που ἴσως ἢ δέκα καί τις λόγος οὐ μακρός, ὃν ἐν Φωκαίᾳ διῆλθεν ἐπὶ τῷ Πανιωνίῳ κρατῆρι; on Hermokrates of Phokaia, see Jones 2003, 127–130.

[475] *I.Didyma* 339 l. 12–13 (*hydrophoros* inscription, 1st c. AD); Herrmann 2002, 231.

[476] *I.Didyma* 252 l. 6: ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Μεγάλων Πυθίων Πανιωνίων (*prophētēs* inscription, 3rd c. AD); restored by Robert 1960, 469–470 in *I.Didyma* 305 l. 6: [Πυθίω]ι Πανιωνίων (*prophētēs* inscription, late Imperial) and *I.Didyma* 332 l. 10: [τῶν Πανιωνίω]ν Πυθίων (*hydrophoros* inscription, late 3rd c. AD). The unsatisfactory restoration in *I.Didyma* 200 ll. 3–4: νικήσαντα |[— Πανι]ώνιον has been identified by Günther 1996 after autopsy of the stone as an incorrect reading of [ἐγ]κώμιον and can thus be dismissed as evidence.

permanent basis in the 3rd c. AD. That these games were of considerable importance for late Imperial Miletos is indicated by the fact that they are mentioned on coins issued under Salonina (AD 253–268), the reverses of which depict a victory urn over two palm branches and bear the inscription ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΙΩΝ.[477]

The conduct of sacrifices by the Ionian Koinon in front of the temple of Apollo Klarios, as depicted on Kolophonian coins from the reigns of Trebonianus Gallus and Valerian, has already been mentioned.[478]



Fig. 3.6: *RPC* IX 600.1 (under Trebonianus Gallus).

The reverse of these coins depicts a humped bull (zebu) next to a lighted altar around which 13 figures are gathered with their right arms lifted (Fig. 3.6). That this is a civic Kolophonian coinage is made explicit by the mention of the city's *stratēgos*, who was also *hiereus* of the

[477] Mionnet 1808, 174 n. 812; *Auktionskatalog Hirsch München 21. Sammlung Consul Weber 1908*, 200 n. 2914: 'Preisurne auf einem Spieltisch, unter diesem zwei gekreuzte Palmzweige … Schön und selten'.
[478] Trebonianus Gallus: *RPC* IX 600, 13 extant specimens, all from the same obverse die; Valerian: *BMC Ionia* 45 n. 60 with pl. VIII n. 16.

Ionians, and the somewhat isolated inscription ΚΟΛΟΦΟΝΙΩΝ at the bottom of the coin.[479] The identification of the 13 figures as the members of the Ionian Koinon is made explicit through the inscription ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ running as a sort of caption across the middle of the coin. We can thus securely identify the scene as a sacrifice by the Ionian Koinon in front of the Apollo temple at Klaros. It would be tempting to connect this sacrifice with the participation of the Ionian Koinon in the festival of Apollo Klarios as specified in the late Hellenistic decree discussed above (Chapter 2.1.1), and to identify the occasion prompting the minting of these coins (under the supervision of the *koinon*'s priest) as an attempted revival of this older tradition.[480]

What has not been taken into account in the study of these coins, however, is the very similar iconography found on Ephesian coins dated to the reign of Macrinus (AD 217/8).[481] On these, a group of people (five and ten), their right arms raised, stand around an altar next to which a zebu can be made out, with the scene taking place in front of a tetrastyle temple with a statue of the standing emperor in its middle. The inscription ΒΩΤΑ (= Latin *vota*) is included in the tympanum of the temple or in the exergue. This is a very rare feature on Greek coins,[482] and should best be seen as a transfer not only of the term but also of the practice of the *vota publica* at the occasion of the accession of an emperor, as regularly commemorated on Roman Imperial coins.[483] It can thus be considered as the appropriation

[479] *RPC* IX 600 renders it as ΚΟΛΟΦΟΝΙΩ, but as a N is the same when turned upside down, the last letter of ΙΩΝΩΝ seems to have been shared between the two words, thus saving some space; Cl. Kallistos, the *hiereus* of the Ionians mentioned on *RPC* IX 600, is also attested as *stratēgos* of Kolophon on *RPC* IX 601–603 (Volusianus).

[480] Debord 2010, 294; the decree in Müller and Prost 2013; for the coinage of Kolophon in the mid 3rd c. AD, see now Hostein and Mairat 2019. It is curious that of the Ionian cities only Chios and Phokaia are represented among the numerous delegation inscriptions from Klaros (ca 105–235), Rutherford 2019, 169; city networks in Asia Minor in the mid 3rd c. AD are studied from a numismatist's perspective by Hostein 2019.

[481] Karwiese 2012, 137 nn. 614–616.

[482] The only parallel stems from Perge from the mid 3rd c. AD, transliterating it as ΟΥΩΤΑ, but in a very different iconographic context, Karwiese 2000b.

[483] This is the interpretation of Price 1984b, 214–215 against Karwiese 2000a, who wants to explain the *vota* as otherwise completely unparalleled and un-Greek vows for erecting an imperial cult temple in Ephesos.

of a Roman ritual by the inhabitants of the province of Asia on the occasion of the accession to power of Macrinus.[484] Furthermore, this peculiar iconography seems to have persisted, and was taken up ca 35 years later by Kolophon, when the city commemorated the participation of the Ionian Koinon at the festival of Apollo Klarios. The gesture of the raised arms of the 13 *koinon* representatives has been explained as 'holding wreaths' (for example in *RPC* IX 600). But since I could not find any traces of wreaths on either the photographs provided by *RPC* online or the specimen held at the *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien*,[485] it seems more likely that the gesture depicted is one of vowing, just as on the Ephesian coins. Through this iconographic assimilation, the sacrifice for Apollo Klarios would have been put on the same level as the imperial cult, thus increasing its assumed prestige, and the Ionian Koinon would have been placed on par with the whole province of Asia.[486]

Another festival which was organised by the Ionian Koinon itself are the Alexandreia in honour of Alexander the Great. Strabo relates that they were celebrated in a grove dedicated to Alexander on the isthmus of the Erythraean peninsula.[487] This festival is mentioned in Hellenistic inscriptions from Erythrai and is still attested in the Imperial period, when contests were also included in it.[488] We know, however, that in the late Hellenistic period it was celebrated in the city of Smyrna, that it included the category of

[484] Roman coins mentioning the *vota publica* for Macrinus are *RIC* IV.1 5–13; on *vota publica* for the decennials and vicennials of emperors in the 2nd and 3rd c. AD, see Chastagnol 1984.

[485] Inv. n. GR 17088; it appears further that the representatives have raised their left and not their right arm, as stated in *RPC*; my thanks go to the museum's curator Dr. Vondrovec for facilitating the autopsy in January 2019.

[486] Hostein and Mairat 2019 highlight the close connection between Apollo Klarios and the imperial house in the 3rd c. AD. On Ionia and the province of Asia, see Chapter 1.3.2.

[487] Strab. 14.1.31: ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν Χαλκιδέων ἄλσος καθιερωμένον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου, καὶ ἀγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰώνων Ἀλεξάνδρεια καταγγέλλεται, συντελούμενος ἐνταῦθα.

[488] *I.Erythrai* 504 l. 25 (honorific decree by the Ionian Koinon for Antiochos I and II, 268–262 BC); *I.Erythrai* 30 l. 23 (honorific decree for Antiochos I, ca 270–260 BC); Robert 1929b, 148 restores it convincingly in *I.Erythrai* 89A ll. 5–7: [καὶ τὸν ἀχθέντα] |ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰώνων [Ἀλεξάνδρωι] |ἀγῶνα (the *dēmos* of Erythrai honours an athlete listing his victories, Imperial).

the 'race in armour', and that people from cities which were not members of the Ionian Koinon were also allowed to participate.[489]

In contrast to the Alexandreia, the Panionia never featured in victory lists, for which there is otherwise abundant evidence from the Roman period. This might indicate that participation in the latter remained limited to the *koinon* cities and/or that they never gained a status comparable to the traditional and provincial Panhellenic contests, and were thus not perceived as prestigious enough to be included in victory lists.

When the protagonist of Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* came to Smyrna at the time when the Ionian Koinon was celebrating the Panionia there,

> *he came before the Ionians and said, 'What is this bowl?' 'The Panionian bowl', they replied. He then drew from it, poured a libation, and said, 'You gods that guide Ionia, let this beautiful colony enjoy safety from the sea. Let no disaster burst from the sea on to the land. Do not let Aigaion the Earth Shaker ever shatter the cities'*.[490]

For Philostratus, the meeting of the Ionian Koinon and the festival of the Panionia were commonplace events of the province of Asia which did not require any further explanation.[491] The Panionian bowl (*kratēr*) is, however, explicitly highlighted as a peculiarity unfamiliar to the non-Ionian Apollonius. In Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, we learn that this Panionian *kratēr* was also the subject of an oration held by Hermokrates of Phokaia in his native city.[492] A ceremonial mixing bowl of the same name is attested in

[489] *SEG* 46-422 (honorific inscription from Messene, 2nd/1st c. BC): Ἀλεξάνδρεια τὰ ἐν |[Σμ]ύρνηι τὰ συντελούμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν |[Ἰών]ων ὁπλίταν; the present tense of συντελούμενα suggests that the festival's location in Smyrna was contemporary and perceived as permanent, Gauthier 2000, 635.

[490] Philostr. *Ap.* 4.6: Παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλης ἡμέρας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας, "τίς" ἔφη "ὁ κρατὴρ οὗτος;" οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν "Πανιώνιος." ἀρυσάμενος οὖν καὶ σπείσας, "ὦ θεοί," εἶπεν "Ἰώνων ἡγεμόνες, δοίητε τῇ καλῇ ἀποικίᾳ ταύτῃ θαλάττῃ ἀσφαλεῖ χρῆσθαι καὶ μηδὲν τῇ γῇ κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς προσκωμάσαι, μηδ᾽ Αἰγαίωνα σεισίχθονα τινάξαι ποτὲ τὰς πόλεις."

[491] Explicit statements of the contemporary situation in this work, e.g. Philostr. *Ap.* 1.15.2: 'He once came to Aspendus in Pamphylia, a city situated on the river Eurymedon, and the third in importance of the province'; we cannot be certain, however, whether this refers back to the 1st c. AD or to Philostratus' own times; on Philostratus' sources and their treatment, see Flinterman 1995, 67–88.

[492] Philostr. *soph.* 2.25 (612): αἱ μὲν δὴ μελέται τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους ὀκτώ που ἴσως ἢ δέκα καί τις λόγος οὐ μακρός, ὃν ἐν Φωκαίᾳ διῆλθεν ἐπὶ τῷ Πανιωνίῳ κρατῆρι; see also Jones 2003, 127.

temple inventories and expenditure lists on Delos in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods. We know that, in the 4th c. BC, it had an iron support and, with its holding capacity of 23 *arystēres* (ca 6 l), was not an especially big or monumental specimen of a *kratēr*.[493] In the 3rd c. BC, it had been repaired twice and given a bronze support.[494] It was also mentioned in a speech on Delos by Hypereides, who states that the **Greeks** collectively mix the Panionian *kratēr*.[495] While interesting in its own right, the existence of the earlier Delian mixing bowl has led scholars to dismiss the evidence from Philostratus' works as a gross archaising error.[496] It would not however be in the least surprising if the Ionian Koinon was using a specific cultic vessel called 'Panionian' for its ongoing ritual activities, such as pouring libations before prayers, in the Imperial period. We have no reason, moreover, to assume that the Ionians would have copied this from the Delian *kratēr* (which disappears from our extant sources after 272/1 BC), or that Philostratus simply invented it on the basis of Hypereides' description. It would be highly interesting to learn what either of these *kratēres* looked like, and whether their status as cultic objects embodying Panionianness found further expression in their decoration and iconography as well.

[493] *I.Délos* 104 (364/3 BC) ll. 129–130: ἀμφορίσκος· πανιώνιος κρατὴρ ὑπόστατον ἔχων σιδηρῶ|ν; *IG* II$^2$ 1640 (355/4 BC) ll. 19–20: ἀμφ[ο]ρίσκος· Πανιών[ι]ος κρατὴρ ὑπόστατο[ν ἔχων σιδηρῶ]|[ν]· ἀρυστῆρες *v* ΔΔIII and restored in *IG* II$^2$ 1638B ll. 56–57 (359/8 BC): ἀμ[φορίσκος· Πανιώνιος κρατὴρ ὑπόστατον ἔχων σι]|δηρῶν· ἀρυστῆρας ΔΔII[I]; the conversion is based on the equation of *arystēr* with the better-attested *kotylē* (Waterfield 1998, 593), the latter measuring 0.24 or 0.27 l (Dilke 1987, 26).

[494] *IG* XI,2 154A ll. 35–36 (297 BC?): τὸμ |πανιώνιον στεγνώσαντι καὶ κλύσαντι Ἡρακλείδηι; *SEG* 36-731 (272/1 BC) l. 28: Θεοτιμίδει τὸν Πανιώνιον στεγνώ[σαντι κ]αὶ εἰς τὸμ πυθμένα χαλκ[ὸν ἐπιθέντι ?], Tréheux 1986, 301 on the dating; Crönert 1908, 188 for the details of the repair works. Wilhelm 1905 was the first to realise that this refers to the *kratēr* and not to a building.

[495] Athen. X 24 (424e): Ὑπερείδης Δηλιακῷ· καὶ τὸν κρατῆρα τὸν Πανιώνιον κοινῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες κεραννύουσιν; the entry in Suda: (203) Πανιώνιος κρατήρ gives no further information.

[496] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906a, 51 fn. 3: 'Entweder der Sophist oder gar die damaligen Ionier haben da einen argen archaistischen Schnitzer gemacht'.

## 3.2 Ionian myths

Another crucial element for the constructions and assertions of collective identities in antiquity, even more so than cultic practice, was the existence of mythological narratives attesting to common descent or interconnected foundation histories from the distant past.[497] The majority of scholars have moved on from treating myths – and especially foundation myths – merely as potential quarries for the reconstruction of the earliest phases of Greek history. The material is now approached with different questions: What can myths reveal about the notions and agendas of the author who recorded them?[498] What is their function within the narrative context of the work in which they appear? What do they tell us about identity-discourses within contemporary society?[499] Through proper contextualisation such a discourse-analytical approach does better justice to the fact that there existed different variants for many mythological tales, which need to be taken seriously in their own right.[500]

[497] E.g. Dowden 1992, 74–92; Patterson 2010, 141, who describes them as 'genuine expressions of local identity'; Smarczyk 2000, 62–65 on their importance for a collective Ionian identity; Lafond 2005 for the Roman Peloponnese; Weiß 1984, Scheer 1993, and Lindner 1994 for the Greeks of Asia Minor; Chaniotis 2003a, 79–81 for Aphrodisias.

[498] Johnston 2018, who unfortunately did not include Ionian myths in her discussion, is a prominent advocate for applying the tools of narratology, sociology, and cognitive science to the study of (Greek) myths.

[499] Simonton 2018, discussing the fragment of the early Hellenistic historiographer Hippias of Erythrai, is an excellent recent example of how such an approach can be applied in a highly fruitful way. That this is indeed a more appropriate way of approaching the material is strongly suggested by Strabo, one of the two main sources for Ionian foundation myths, who informs us that he sees the scope of his work not in rendering an exhaustive description of ancient history, but to present the things as they are now: ὅ τι δ᾽ ἂν διαφύγῃ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας, τοῦτο μὲν ἐατέον, οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῆς γεωγραφίας ἔργον, τὰ δὲ νῦν ὄντα λεκτέον (12.8.7).

[500] This plurality was recognised as an essential trait of myths e.g. by Lévi-Strauss 1955, 434: 'we define the myth as consisting of all its versions; to put it otherwise: a myth remains the same as long as it is felt as such'. While constituting a substantial contribution to the study of Greek myth, Veyne 1983 has rightly been criticised, recently by Hawes 2014, 178–185, for glossing over this plurality and decontextualising the ancient voices. Hall 1997, 41–42 takes the alternative versions of myths as 'indicating specific stages in the discursive construction of ethnicity'.

### 3.2.1 The myths of the Ionian Migration

The myths relevant for the present investigation pertain mostly to the Ionian Migration and the foundation of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor.[501] The scholarship on this subject has long been dominated by a historically positivist perspective focused solely on the exploitability of the myths for reconstructing the earliest history of Ionia and the Ionians, regardless of the historical and social context of the respective authors and works in which those myths were transmitted.[502] While interesting in its own right, I am here not concerned with the ongoing debate about the historicity of the Ionian Migration (the term is in fact an ancient one),[503] but with the role these stories played for the identity-constructions of the inhabitants of Ionia in the Roman period.

While allusions to the Ionian Migration occur comparatively frequently in the extant ancient sources, the two most exhaustive accounts stem from the Imperial period and can be found in the works of Strabo and Pausanias.[504] These two are further the only authors to render a full list of Ionian founding heroes, and as both also hailed from Asia Minor it is

[501] For an overview, see Fowler 2013, 569–590.

[502] E.g. Mac Sweeney 2017, who does however not apply her conviction 'that the texts have much more to offer as evidence for the time they were written in, rather than as evidence for the time they were written about' (410) to her own article, in which she deals with the Archaic and Classical periods only, while the majority of the sources used were written in the Roman period. Mac Sweeney 2013, 162 fn. 15 provides a representative list of scholars following positivist and constructionist stances, the most influential of which are Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906b, Lenschau 1944, and Sakellariou 1958 on the positivist side; Prinz 1979, Cobet 2007, Crielaard 2009, Greaves 2010, and Thomas 2019 are advocates of the constructivist approach. Striking recent examples of deeply rooted historical positivism are Kerschner 2006 or the contributions of A. Herda e.g. 1998, esp. 1: 'Ja, es ist sogar damit zu rechnen, daß einige Gründer nie wirklich gelebt haben, was auch für Neileos nicht sicher auszuschließen bleibt!'; on the contexts of Greek mythology in general, see Buxton 1994.

[503] Most scholars now support the view that there was no mass migration from the Greek mainland of Ionians to Asia Minor, but that a distinctive Ionian cultural identity only formed in Asia Minor as a blend of various different origins: Connor 1993; Ulf 1996; Mac Sweeney 2017, 382 with fn. 9.

[504] Mac Sweeney 2017, 402–405 provides a table with all the 113 ancient authors making reference to the foundation of the Ionian cities.

surely worth having a closer look at their accounts of the Ionian Migration to establish their relevance for their respective contemporary cultural contexts.[505]

But let us first consider another treatment of the subject, which was known to and used by both Strabo and Pausanias: Herodotus' 'Ionian *logos*' in Hdt. 1.142–147.[506] The resulting overall tenor of his account was one of plurality and mixture:

> *There was a time when the whole Greek race was weak, and the Ionians constituted by far the weakest and most insignificant part of it. Apart from Athens, there was no other city of any distinction. The majority of the Ionians, including the Athenians, avoided the name and did not want to be called 'Ionian' … It is sheer stupidity to say that they did so [founded 12 cities] because they are somehow more Ionian than the rest of the Ionians or have a nobler origin than the others. In the first place, a not insignificant proportion of the citizens of the 12 communities are Abantians from Euboia, who have no right to the name 'Ionian'; then there is an admixture of Minyans from Orchomenos, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian expatriates, Molossians, Pelasgians from Arcadia, Dorians from Epidaurus, and a number of other peoples. As for those who came from the townhall of Athens and who consider themselves to be the noblest Ionians – well, they did not bring wives with them on their voyage of colonisation, but murdered some Carians and took their daughters to be their wives. … Moreover, some of these Ionians were ruled by Lycians descended from Glaukos the son of Hippolochos, some by Kaukones from Pylos, who were descended from Kodros the son of Melanthos, and some by both at once. All the same, it is true that they adhere to the name 'Ionian' more than any other Ionians, so let them have their claim to be pure Ionians. In fact, however, the name applies to everyone who can trace his origin back to Athens and who celebrates the festival of Apaturia…* (1.143–147)

It is striking how the writer from Halikarnassos portrays the Ionians of Asia Minor in an unfavourable and tendentious way, undermining their claim to ethnic purity and the exclusiveness of the Panionion.[507] His reasons for such an attitude are surely partly to be

[505] On the relationship between those two authors, see Moreschini 1994, Moggi 1996, 87–92, and Pretzler 2005; important recent contributions to a more contextualised study are Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner (eds) 2001 and Hutton 2005 for Pausanias, and Dueck, Lindsay, and Pothecary (eds) 2005 for Strabo.

[506] On Strabo and Herodotus: Patterson 2013, 204; on Pausanias and Herodotus: Moggi 1996, 83–87 and Hutton 2005, 190–213.

[507] Negative comments about the Ionians also in 2.16, 4.142, 5.69, 5.87–88, 6.12; furthermore, the whole Panionios episode in 8.104–106, so masterfully interpreted by Hornblower 2003, could also be seen as a metaphorical disparagement of the Ionians who have become emasculated because of their involvement with the Persians; see below fn. 761.

sought in the Ionians' relatively inglorious role in the Persian Wars (which is of great importance in the narrative of the *Histories*), but might also have been of a more personal nature, as his hometown appears to have been culturally heavily influenced and overshadowed by the more prominent Ionian cities.[508] The account is too detailed and specific, however, to be dismissed as a purely Herodotean invention, and is thus most likely to reflect current foundation stories. We can deduce from this that there existed the notions that **1)** the Ionians from Asia Minor were not the only Ionians there were in the Aegean,[509] **2)** Athens could be considered as the Ionian mother city,[510] **3)** the inhabitants of the cities of Ionia stemmed from all over the Greek world and intermingled with local Anatolians, and **4)** Kodros, the son of Melanthos, who will be of significance later on, was thought to come from Pylos originally. In 1.145, another tradition comes to the fore, which locates the origins of the Ionian tribe in Achaia, whence it was then expelled by the Achaians.[511] It is hard to reconcile the concept of a unified mass migratory undertaking, in which terms the Ionian Migration has so often been described, with the characterisations in Herodotus' account. This may also be due mainly to the author's narrative agenda and personal prejudices, and a glimpse of such a tradition might in fact still show up in 1.145 when he speaks of 'those who came from the townhall of Athens and who consider themselves to be the noblest Ionians – well, they did not bring wives with them on their

[508] Connor 1993, 202; Thomas 2001, 214 and 225–228.
[509] Next to the Athenians, Herodotus explicitly calls the Chalcidians, the Eretrians, the Keans, the Naxians, the Siphnians, and the Seriphians Ionians (8.46–48).
[510] In 1.56, the Athenians are called Pelasgian Ionians (the Pelasgian connection of the Ionians also in 7.94); Ion, the son of Xouthos, after whom the Ionians were named (7.94), is also mentioned as military leader of Athens (8.44) and father of the eponymous heroes of the four Athenian *phylai* (5.67); the Ionian cities of Asia Minor are called Athenian colonies (9.106).
[511] 'I think that the reason the Ionians formed a league of 12 communities and refused to admit more is that they were also twelvefold when they lived in the Peloponnese, just as the Achaians (who drove them out of the Peloponnese) are now. The 12 Achaian communities, counting westwards from Sikyon, are as follows: Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai …, Bura, Helike (where the Ionians took refuge after they had been defeated by the Achaians) …'.

voyage of colonisation'. The term used by Herodotus to describe this colonisation originating in Athens is precisely the one that becomes the standard one to designate the Ionian Migration: ἀποικίη. While the notion that Athens itself was Ionian seems to pre-date Herodotus, it has been shown that the presentation of the city as *mētropolis* of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor can be connected to Athenian imperialist claims from the mid 5th c. BC onwards, at which time Herodotus was composing his *Histories* for an Athenian audience.[512] Herodotus thus attests to the existence of a variety of myths narrating the foundation of the cities of Ionia, with a special focus on Athens' role in it.[513] And it is precisely the author's transmission of and choices out of this plurality, which reveal his or his contemporaries' ideas and agendas.

*Strabo*

When we come to read the description of Ionia in Strabo's *Geographika*, which also contains an account of the Ionian Migration, several relevant pieces of information have already been provided earlier in the work.[514] We have been informed that the ancient Athenians were called Ionians, and that the Ionians who colonised Asia sprang from Attic stock (8.1.2; 8.7.1); that Ion, the son of Xouthos and the daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus, was appointed king of the Athenians because of his military prowess and divided the people into four *phylai*; that Attica and the part of the northern Peloponnese,

[512] E.g. Hall 1997, 51–56; Mac Sweeney 2013, 162–163; Smarczyk 1990, 328–384 provides a good analysis of the complex development. This mythological tradition also found explicit elaboration in Euripides' *Ion* (on the foundation of the cities in Asia Minor esp. 74, 1575–1588), on which see Zacharia 2003 and Martin 2018. The notion of Athens as *mētropolis* of Ionia was also embraced by the Ionian cities, as e.g. *I.Priene*$^2$ 65 ll. 47–49 (ca 120 BC) or *I.Didyma* 164 l. 5 (AD 212 or later) shows.

[513] Thomas 2019, 222 points out that Athens' role is hardly ever mentioned in accounts written by Ionian authors.

[514] On Strabo's use of myth, see Patterson 2017, who remarks that myths help to explain identity and origins, and to bring order to complicated ethnological realities (282); for the way in which the Roman present dominates even Strabo's interest in certain foundation stories, see Trotta 2005, who analyses cases of historical colonisation.

into which Athenian Ionians had emigrated, were called Ionia after Ion; that after the return of the Herakleidai, the Achaians drove those Ionians out of the Peloponnese and back to Athens, whence they sent forth the Ionian *apoikia* to Asia under the leadership of the sons of Kodros, who founded the 12 Ionian cities on the coast of Caria and Lydia (8.7.1); finally, that this Kodros was king of Athens, just as his father Melanthos had been, who had previously ruled over Messene, and fled to Athens when driven out by the Herakleidai (9.1.7). That ancient Attica was called Ionia and the Athenians Ionians is illustrated nicely through a Homeric quotation (*Il*. 13.685, the only mention of Ionians in the *Iliad*) and an epigraphic anecdote:

> *In early times Attica was called Ionia and las; and when the poet says, 'There the Boiotians and the Iaonians', he means the Athenians; and Megaris was a part of this Ionia. Furthermore, since the Peloponnesians and Ionians were having frequent disputes about their boundaries, on which, among other places, Krommyonia was situated, they made an agreement and erected a pillar in the place agreed upon, near the Isthmus itself, with an inscription on the side facing the Peloponnese reading: 'This is the Peloponnese, not Ionia', and on the side facing Megara, 'This is not the Peloponnese, but Ionia'* (9.1.5–6).[515]

The Ionian Migration is further mentioned as a chronological point of reference in 8.7.2, 10.2.17, and 13.1.3.[516] In the main passage about Ionian myths in 14.1.3, Strabo then gives a brief account of the Ionian foundations. He renders the otherwise unattested tradition according to which Androklos, as the only legitimate son of Kodros amongst the Ionian founding heroes, was the leader of the Ionian *apoikia* and founded Ephesos. The other Kodrids mentioned (Kydrelos, founder of Myous; Nauklos, second founder of Teos; Knopos, founder of Erythrai) are explicitly labelled as being only bastard sons (νόθοι) of Kodros,

[515] Such an inscription, if it ever existed, would have been an invaluable support for the purpose of my Chapter 1.1; very similar in Plut. *Theseus* 25.3–4, where the erection of the pillar is ascribed to Theseus; that this was a widely known anecdote is suggested by the references to it in the inscriptions on Hadrian's Arch in Athens, Spawforth and Walker 1985, 93.

[516] On myths as chronological markers in Strabo, Clarke 2008, 140–150.

while the founders of the remaining Ionian cities are said to be Pylian (Neileus, founder of Miletos; Andraimon, founder of Kolophon; Aipytos, the son of Neileus, founder of Priene), Theban (Philotas, second founder of Priene), Athenian (Apoikos and Damasos, third founders of Teos; Philogenes, founder of Phokaia), Boiotian (Geres, third founder of Teos) or of mixed (Egertios, founder of Chios) or unspecified origin (Andropompos, founder of Lebedos; Athamas, first founder of Teos; Paralos, founder of Klazomenai; Tembrion and Prokles, founders of Samos). Smyrna, which Herodotus described as an originally Aiolian city which joined the ranks of the Ionians later on, is here presented as a sort of Ephesian colony, which was subsequently conquered by the Aiolians and then reconquered by the ousted Ephesian Smyrnaeans who had sought refuge in Kolophon in the meantime (14.1.4). We have already encountered the story of such a double expulsion in the case of the Ionians from Athens, and in both cases it seems to serve as a narrative tool to harmonise different mythological versions or, more likely, to insert new players into already existing myths.[517] The conspicuous Ephesocentrism implicit in 14.1.3–4 (with Androklos being the only legitimate son of Kodros, the *basileion* of the Ionians being based at Ephesos, and Smyrna being depicted as an Ephesian colony), which is absent from any other ancient testimony for the Ionian Migration, is thus most likely to be explained by the fact that the source for this passage was not, as previously held, the classical mythographer Pherekydes of Athens (although he is adduced at the very beginning of 14.1.3), but the unfortunately lost *Ionika hypomnēmata* by the late Hellenistic writer Artemidoros of Ephesos, whose work was heavily consulted by Strabo, and which appears to have intentionally recast the Ionian Migration in a version favouring the position of Ephesos.[518]

[517] Patterson 2013, 219 for the case of Miletos.

[518] Luraghi 2000, 362–366; a similar reworking with a local focus might have taken place in the late Hellenistic *Inquiries Concerning His Fatherland* by Hippias of Erythrai, in the only surviving fragment of which (Athen. 6.258f–259f = *FGrH* 421) we learn of the death of Erythrai's Kodrid founder Knopos, see Simonton 2018; for

Although Strabo's founding heroes really come across as a motley crew, seemingly not providing any connecting point for a collective Ionian identity, it was only one version among many. Strabo might have chosen it precisely because of its focus on Ephesos, which in the Augustan period was the most prominent and influential of the Ionian cities as well as the capital of the province of Asia.[519] Nonetheless, the Ionian Migration as such is still maintained as a joint and unified undertaking in Strabo; he does not abandon or seriously question the concept itself, and he continues to label it explicitly as 'Ionian'.[520] The ethnic variety among the Ionian founding heroes is to a lesser degree also found among the nameless masses following them (Thebans in Priene, Athenians in Phokaia, a mixed crowd on Chios), and even more conspicuous is the emphasis on pre-Ionian populations in almost all of the cities: generally Carians and Leleges, who are said to have been expelled by the Ionians, in Miletos also Cretans. In the Strabonian passages from preceding books discussed above, the Ionians travelling to Asia Minor are unequivocally presented as being of Athenian stock, but here, in a digression on the history of Miletos, we are told that there existed a version, unsurprisingly ascribed to the Messenians and Pylians, claiming that many Pylians had followed Kodros' father Melanthos to Athens, and from there with the Ionians to Asia.

The plurality of Ionian foundation stories had been taken up and elaborated further by poets such as Mimnermos and Anacreon (Strab. 14.1.3–4); it is also present in Herodotus (who sardonically adduced it to deconstruct Ionian claims to ethnic purity), and can ultimately be taken as reflecting the various different local traditions existing side by

an excellent general analysis of local history, see Clarke 2008; on the concept of 'intentional history', see Foxhall, Gehrke, and Luraghi (eds) 2010.

[519] Luraghi 2000, 366; Haensch 1997, 298–321.

[520] Strab. 8.7.2.; 10.2.17; 13.1.3; 14.1.3.

side.[521] That there was a continued awareness of this also in the early Imperial period is suggested by Strabo's treatment of Ionian myths.

*Pausanias*

Even more detailed and exhaustive, and thus of greatest relevance for contemporary notions on Ionian origins, is Pausanias' long excursus on the history and sights of Ionia in 7.1–5.[522] The narrative by and large resembles that in Strabo: Ion went from Athens to the northern Peloponnese, where he came to rule over the Ionians; from there his descendants were expelled by the Achaians and went back to Athens, whence they left to Asia (7.1–2). There is a significant difference, however, in that for Pausanias the Ionians are not originally Athenians, but Aigialeis from the northern Peloponnese (7.1.4). He is very clear that when they went to Athens, they were merely accepted as co-settlers there.[523] Another important point is that he clearly distinguishes between the Ionian people and their non-Ionian leaders: firstly, the sons of Ion are part Hellenic (Ion is the son of Xouthos, the son of Hellen), part Athenian (Ion's mother is the daughter of king Erechtheus), and part Aigialian (Ion marries Helike, the daughter of the Aigialian king). Then, during the Ionian Migration, the sons of Kodros are described as Messenians and Pylians, and Athenians, and the fact that the expedition was led by individuals of an ethnicity different from that of the common people is explicitly pointed out.[524] We are also told that the host following the Kodrids

[521] Thomas 2019, 177–226 provides an excellent analysis of the different traditions of the foundation myths of Erythrai, Miletos, Ephesos, and Chios; she also highlights the importance of the respective authors' narrative agenda and makes clear how the individual cities dealt with their non-Greek foundation stories.

[522] Moggi 1996, 104; Habicht 1984 has shown that Pausanias' account is largely corroborated by the epigraphic evidence, esp. 43–46 on Ionian foundation myths; Hawes 2014, 175–222 provides an excellent analysis of Pausanias' use of myth, but does not discuss the Ionian foundation stories.

[523] 7.1.9: Ἴωνας δὲ ἀφικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Μέλανθος Ἀνδροπόμπου συνοίκους ἐξεδέξαντο.

[524] 7.2.2–3: 'This was the third expedition sent out from Greece under kings of a race different from that of the common folk … The third occasion was the expedition to which I have referred, when the sons of Kodros

consisted not merely of Ionians and Athenians, but of a whole variety of people from mainland Greece (Thebans, Minyans from Orchomenos, Phocians, and Abantes from Euboia).[525]

After this general outline, Pausanias continues to individually discuss the foundation histories of the Ionian cities. What is striking here is the emphasis on pre-Ionian, indigenous or other, populations. In fact, all of the Ionian cities, except for Klazomenai and Phokaia, were not originally Ionian foundations, but had been inhabited by Carians/Leleges (Miletos, Ephesos, Myous, Priene, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Erythrai, Samos, Chios), Cretans (Miletos, Kolophon, Erythrai, Chios), Lydians (Ephesos), Amazons (Ephesos), Lycians and Pamphylians (Erythrai), as well as other Greeks (Kolophon, Teos, Chios, Smyrna).[526] The original founders of some cities are even described as 'aboriginal' (*autochthōn* explicitly for Miletos and Ephesos, implicitly for Samos and Chios), which implies the claim to have full rights to the land they inhabited.[527] And while the pre-Ionian inhabitants are occasionally said to have been driven out by the Ionians (Ephesos, Lebedos, Smyrna), there are also explicit references to the Ionians being integrated into the existing populations (as *synoikoi* in Teos, Erythrai, and Samos, as *sympolitai* in Kolophon). Furthermore, all the prominent sanctuaries of Ionia mentioned in the excursus are described as being of pre-Ionian date: the temple of Apollo in Didyma, the Ephesian Artemision, the Samian Heraion, and the

were appointed leaders of the Ionians, although they were not related to them, but were, through Kodros and Melanthos, Messenians of Pylos, and, on their mother's side, Athenians'.

[525] This is most likely based on the longer list in Hdt. 1.146, which Pausanias checked and altered accordingly; on Pausanias and Herodotus, see Moggi 1996, 83–87 and Hutton 2005, 190–213. It is interesting to note that a similar distinction between people and leaders can be observed in the case of the Dorians who in Sparta came to be ruled by descendants of the Herakleidai, Hall 1997, 56–65, who shows that the two need to be perceived as distinct entities even if they were often mixed up.

[526] On the particular attention to the Carians and Cretans, see Thomas 2019, 213–221.

[527] The founders of Samos and Chios are said to be descendants of local rivers and nymphs, which can be seen as a statement of autochthony, Dowden 1992, 75; there might also be an allusion to Athens, to the autochthonous city par excellence, Heller 2006a, 103; on Asterios, the son of the autochthon Anax, as indigenous ruler of Miletos (Paus. 1.35.6 and 7.2.5), see Novello 2018.

oracular sanctuary of Apollo in Klaros. These autochthonous traditions are also emphasised by the local poets Asios of Samos (Archaic?) and Ion of Chios (5th c. BC), whom Pausanias names as his sources, and in their respective versions of the foundation myths of the two islands, the Ionians appear to have been left out of the picture completely.[528]

On the other hand, another remarkable feature of Pausanias' account, especially in the light of the version offered by Strabo, is that the majority of the Ionian cities – 9 out of 13 – come to be ruled by Kodrids (no specifications of legitimacy are given as in Strabo).[529] The leading role in the Ionian Migration is ascribed to the Kodrid Neileus and accordingly, the foundation of Miletos is treated first. This seems to be the traditional narrative and is also found in a number of other literary and epigraphic sources.[530] From the 2nd c. AD on, it is even explicitly mentioned in the civic titulature of Miletos.[531] Of the four cities without their own Kodrid founding hero, Klazomenai is described as a Kolophonian colony encompassing a certain element of Ionians, but mostly people from Kleonai and Phlious (both in the northeastern Peloponnese; 7.3.8–9); on Samos, the indigenous population accepted the Ionians as *synoikoi*, and the Epidaurian Prokles, who claimed direct descent from Ion, eventually ruled over the island (7.4.1–3); Smyrna was settled by Ionians from Kolophon who expelled the earlier Aiolian population (7.5.1); only for Chios, which is said to have joined the Ionian Koinon upon the decision of its king Hektor (who appears to be a

[528] Simonton 2018, 504–505 lists other examples from Jacoby's *FGrH*; Dowden 1992, 80–85 highlights the importance of pre-people in Greek myth as contrasting figures to the Greeks, who ultimately introduce culture and civilisation; similarly, Thomas 2019, 213–221 on the Carians' role as the necessary 'Other' for Ionian identity-constructions; see also Berman 2017 on the relevance of similar 'pre-foundational' myths for Thebes, Kroton, and Athens.

[529] That Aipytos, the Kodrid founder of Priene, is said to be a son of Neileus (7.2.10), and thus only a grandson of Kodros, might reflect the inferior role of Priene in the Maiandros delta area as compared to that of Miletos throughout most of antiquity.

[530] Marmor Parium, *IG* XII,5 444 ll. 42b–44; Ps.-Plut. *de vita Hom.* 1.3 (Aristotle F76 Rose); Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F125; Apoll. Rhod. 1.959; Ail. *var*. 8.5. Strabo's/Artemidoros' Ephesocentric version with Androklos as leader can thus be seen as a consciously altered variant and/or local tradition.

[531] See above fn. 237.

descendant of the Boiotian Amphilochos, who had ruled over Chios four generations earlier), is Pausanias at a loss to give an Ionian connection for either its inhabitants or its rulers (7.4.8–10).

Having a Kodrid ruler is described as being of crucial importance for the admission into the ranks of the Panionion, as is specifically mentioned in the case of Phokaia.[532] Furthermore, Pausanias presents the Kodrid founding heroes as the most important and decisive ones, he mentions only tombs of the Kodrids (Neileus in Miletos, Androklos in Ephesos, Promethos in Kolophon, Andraimon in Lebedos) as significant *theōrēmata*, but not of any other previous founding heroes.[533]

The picture we get from Pausanias' account is thus also quite variegated. On the one hand, it preserves various local traditions about pre-Ionian foundations and population groups attesting to the antiquity and local patriotism of the individual cities.[534] That this would have been emphasised in 2nd c. AD Asia Minor can be explained with the ongoing intercity rivalries for titles and privileges, in which great antiquity and autochthonous traditions surely played an important role in addition to Greekness and cultural superiority.[535] On the other hand, the story of the Kodrids and the Ionian Migration as a unified undertaking still offered a convenient narrative frame tying together these different traditions and providing a point of reference for the construction or assertion of a collective Ionian

[532] Emlyn-Jones 1980, 13; Paus. 7.3.10: 'The Phokaians are by birth from the land under Parnassos still called Phocis, who crossed to Asia with the Athenians Philogenes and Damon. Their land they took from the Cymaeans, not by war but by agreement. When the Ionians would not admit them to the Ionian confederacy until they accepted kings of the race of the Kodridai, they accepted Deoites, Periklos and Abartos from Erythrai and from Teos'.

[533] The tombs of Oinopion on Chios and of Rhadine and Leontichos on Samos are only mentioned in the sightseeing section (7.5.13) and not brought into direct relation with the foundation myths.

[534] Hawes 2014, 191–193 on Pausanias' relationship to mythological variants; Ganter 2014 on the interdependences of local myths and ethnicity.

[535] See Chapter 1.3.2; a very explicit expression of this can be found e.g. in a decree from Tlos erected in Sidyma (ca under the reign of Commodus), *TAM* II 174 Da ll. 7–12: τῆ<ς> δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ θεῶν |καὶ κτιστῶν αὐτοχθόνων οὔσης |ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἡμεῖν πρὸς Σιδυμεῖς |ὡς τέκνων πρὸς γονεῖς ἀδια|λείπτου ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἑνότη|τος καὶ ὁμονοίας.

identity. Despite the admitted ethnic plurality, the version offered by Pausanias upholds that it was the Ionian Migration under the leadership of the Kodrids, and ultimately also membership in the Ionian Koinon, that made the cities of Ionia what they still were perceived as in the 2nd c. AD: Ionian.

The presence of the Ionian excursus within Pausanias' *Periegesis*, which is dedicated to the description of the monuments and sights of the Greek mainland (the area covered corresponds roughly to the Roman province of Achaia in the 2nd c. AD), has perplexed scholars.[536] It is in fact the only substantial passage dealing with a region outside of the geographical scope of the work, and no justification for it is made. Moreover, Pausanias treats Ionia in the same way the main regions are treated, listing its respective *theōrēmata* and relating myths and stories connected to them.[537] The point of departure for the Ionian excursus is the region of Achaia, with whose early history the Ionians are intimately connected. After the long account of the Ionian foundations Pausanias also describes noteworthy contemporary characteristics and sights of Ionia (7.5.4–13): its climate, its famous temples, and its remarkable natural features (rivers, springs, baths, mountains, caves). He concludes the whole excursus on Ionia and the Ionians with the words: 'There are, in fact, many wonders in Ionia and they are but little inferior to those in Greece'.[538] This is an appraisal of Ionia in the 2nd c. AD, through which Pausanias decidedly placed it on the cultural map of the Greeks. It is generally agreed that his hometown was Magnesia under Sipylos, which was part of the *conventus* of Smyrna at least in the early Imperial period, and it would not be surprising if he had received part of his education in this Ionian

[536] Moggi 1996, 82–83 and the discussion on 106–116.
[537] Hawes 2014, 178 on the 'place-boundness' of Pausanias' account.
[538] My translation; 7.6.1: τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θαύματα πολλά τε καὶ οὐ πολλῷ τινι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀποδέοντά ἐστιν.

city, as one of the main cultural centres of the eastern Mediterranean in the 2nd c. AD.[539] This vindication of western Asia Minor vis-à-vis mainland Greece can also help to explain why Pausanias chose a less Athenocentric version of the myth (the Athenians are, for example, never labelled as Ionians in his work) and put greater emphasis on the pre-Ionian history.[540]

As we have seen, a variety of foundation stories for the Ionian cities in Asia Minor circulated, with different emphases, among which a unified mass migration of Ionians from the Greek mainland was merely one out of a number of alternative versions. The examples of Strabo and Pausanias show, however, that the narrative frame of the Ionian Migration was still a significant one in Asia Minor in the 1st c. BC to the 2nd c. AD.[541]

### 3.2.2 Ionian foundation heroes in the material evidence

This picture can be enriched through the numismatic, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence, in which the individual Ionian cities acknowledged and promoted their respective founding heroes.[542] Ion, the son of Xouthos, was not himself a founder, but merely the

[539] Plin. *nat.* 5.120; Bowie 2001, 21–25.

[540] Moggi 1996, 86 tries to explain the downplaying of the Athenian connection by suggesting that Pausanias wanted to save Athens from the negative connotations of the Ionians of Asia as presented in Herodotus, but this does not take into account the overall very positive portrayal of the Ionians in Pausanias. It is on the other hand not surprising that other Second Sophistic writers, especially those with stronger Atticistic tendencies, brought into play the Athenian origin of the Ionians (e.g. Aristeid. *or*. I 19; *or*. I 64; *or*. XXIII 26; *or*. XXIX 27; Philostr. *imag*. 2.8.6; *Ap.* 8.7.25) thus attesting to the survival of this mythological tradition as well.

[541] Based on her analysis of all the literary evidence for the Ionian Migration, Mac Sweeney 2017, 410 fn. 128 concludes that it was even the most popular one during the 1st c. BC and the 1st c. AD.

[542] On coins as expressions of identity in the Roman Empire, see Weiß 2004 and the contributions in Howgego, Heuchert, and Burnett (eds) 2005, esp. those by Howgego, Williamson, and Weiß. Price 2005, 115: 'the sculpture and the coins be seen as 'memory theatres' in which communities represented to themselves and others images of their past and hence their identities'; the most important studies of founding heroes in Asia Minor are Weiß 1984; Strubbe 1984–1986; Scheer 1993; Lindner 1994; Leschhorn 1984a does not include the Roman period.

eponym of the *ethnos* as a whole.[543] His cult is only scarcely attested in Athens[544] and on Samos[545] in the 5th c. BC, and thus does not require discussion here.

Similarly, actual cultic veneration of Neileus[546], the Ionian founding hero of Miletos, is only securely attested in the Archaic period through the mention of a priest for his cult who dedicated a tiny bronze bucket in the Samian Heraion.[547] We have however good evidence that Neileus was regarded as relevant for the construction of Milesian civic identity at least from the Hellenistic period onwards.[548] In ca 200 BC, the *dēmos* of Miletos honoured its statesman Lichas with a statue, on the base of which an epigram was inscribed (*I.Milet* 12a = Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 01/20/33). Here, the poet calls the Milesians Neleids (Νηλεΐδαισιν, l. 7) and the whole text bursts with expressions of Ionianness: Lichas is the 'first of the Ionians' (πρῶτος Ἰώνων, l. 7), his ancestors were 'highly distinguished among the Ionians' (πατέρες γὰρ ἀριστεύοντες Ἰώνων, l. 13) and an 'ornament for all of Ionia' (πάσηι κόσμος Ἰαονίηι, l. 16). In an epigram for Lichas' wife Bitto (*I.Didyma* 537 = Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 01/20/34), the poet also circumscribed Miletos as 'city of

[543] Vitr. 4.1.4 and Vell. 1.4.3–4 are the only ones to make Ion the leader of the Ionian Migration, but this must surely be seen as a simplified contraction, and it is never mentioned in any Greek source; on eponymous founding heroes in the Dorian parts of the Greek world, see Malkin 1985.

[544] A sanctuary of Ion is implied in *IG* I$^3$ 383A l. 147 (429/8 BC), an Athenian inscription concerning the treasurers of the Other Gods (see Linders 1975 for a discussion of the nature of this text); Paus. 1.31.3 records that the tomb of Ion can be seen in the Attic deme of Potamoi.

[545] Two boundary markers for a 'temenos of Ion from Athens' found on Samos (*IG* XII 6,1 245–246); for a detailed epigraphic analysis, see Barron 1964, who develops the interesting, but rather convoluted hypothesis that this was a purely Samian undertaking; he also wants to identify the 'eponyms from Athens' on five similar boundary markers from Samos with the four Ionian *phylē* heroes, the sons of Ion, whose cult is completely unattested otherwise however; Shipley 1987, 114–116 emphasises the inherent imperialistic traits and ascribes all the agency in establishing those cults to the Athenians; similarly Smarczyk 1990, 328–384.

[546] Following Herda 1998, 2 and Mac Sweeney 2013, 48–49 fn. 7, I distinguish the Kodrid Neileus from the Homeric Neleus, king of Pylos and father of Nestor, which – albeit not applied consistently by all ancient authors – is also supported by Pausanias' spelling as well as by the majority of the epigraphic attestations from the Imperial period.

[547] *IG* XII 6,2 544, second quarter of the 6th c. BC, 3.2 cm high; the correct reading of the crucial part of the inscription was achieved by Lazzarini 1978 who emended the one from the *editio princeps* (Dunst 1972, 135–137); Herda 1998, 20–23 convincingly ascribes the priesthood to Miletos, not Samos. The sanctuary of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile in Athens, attested in an inscription from 418/7 BC (*IG* I$^3$ 84 = *LSCG* 14), is a case apart and cannot be dealt with here, see Wycherley 1960 and Robertson 1988, esp. 231–233.

[548] Robert 1938, 200 fn. 3 claims that the Milesians always called themselves Neileids in Hellenistic epigrams.

Neileus' (πόλις … Νείλε̣[ω], l. 14). Another epigram for Milesian war dead from the same period (*I.Milet* 732 = Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 01/20/08), refers to the citizens of Miletos again as Neleids ([N]ε̣[λ]είδα̣ς, l. 6).[549] The close connection of Neileus with the *polis* of Miletos continues to be attested in metric inscriptions from the 2nd c. AD as well: in a funerary epigram the *polis* is referred to as 'Neleid land' (Νειληὶς ἡ θρέψα[σά] σε εἴληχεν γύη, *I.Milet* 75 = Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 01/20/27 ll. 7–8), and in a metric response from the oracle at Didyma, the Milesians are again called 'inhabitants of the city of Neileus' (Νειλῆος ἀκοντοδόκου ναετῆρας, *I.Didyma* 496B = Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 01/19/05 l. 9).[550]

Furthermore, Neileus was present as an eponym for one of the Milesian civic subdivisions (*patriai*), attested in a *prophētēs* inscription from Didyma from 66 BC (πατριᾶς Νειλεϊδῶ[ν], *I.Didyma* 229 II l. 3) and probably also in an undated fragment in the museum of Miletos (Νειλεϊδ[ῶν], *I.Milet* 1440 l. 8).[551] A more remarkable and very visible proof that the Milesians chose to identify themselves as descendants of their Ionian ancestor in the Roman period is a statue of Neileus which stood in the very centre of the city. Its columnar base (h. 1.26 m, ⌀ 0.70–0.71 m) was found between the so-called Ionic Stoa and the Nymphaion, and it bears a short inscription explaining that the *dēmos* had restored this statue of its founder Neileus (❦ ὁ δῆμος ❦ |Νειλέα ❦ |τὸν κτίστην |ἀποκατέστη|❦σεν. ❦, *I.Milet* 269).[552] The monument is generally connected to the last phase of decoration of the Nymphaion in the mid 3rd c. AD, but the text implies that there had been a similar statue

[549] Peek 1966, 228–229 dates it to ca 200 BC, based on letter forms, and suggests that its poet could have been the same as the one who composed *I.Milet* 12a (and *I.Didyma* 537, Peek 1971, 212–213). A recent analysis of *I.Milet* 12a and 732 can be found in Boulay 2011.

[550] Peek 1971, 207–209 further improved the reading, 208 for the meaning of the very rare ἀκοντοδόκος; also in Fontenrose 1988, 196–198.

[551] For an analysis of the civic subdivisions of Miletos and a list of all attested *patriai*, see Jones 1987, 320–327, esp. 325. It is interesting to note that they are only ever mentioned in inscriptions from Didyma.

[552] See Bol et al. 2011, 67 for a drawing of the base and pl. 27h III.4.1 for a photograph.

before as well.[553] While being the appropriate title for their founding hero, in the province of Asia *ktistēs* was also frequently used for Roman emperors and wealthy benefactors, who had rendered outstanding services to a *polis* community.[554] It is significant for the identity-constructions of the Milesians in the Roman period that they apparently never did so and that the only extant attestation of a Milesian *ktistēs* is the statue base of Neileus.[555]

That this Ionian kinship connection was not only employed on the collective level of the *polis* is wonderfully illustrated by a Milesian funerary inscription from the 2nd c. AD, published in 2010.[556] The sizeable slab of white marble (h. 0.87 m, w. 0.75 m, d. 0.27 m) was brought to the courtyard of the museum of Miletos; the editors do not provide any further indication of provenance. As there are clamp holes on the top on the left and right, and both sides show anathyrosis, the stone seems to have been part of a larger funerary complex. The text is complete and the letters are extraordinarily well-cut.[557] All this already indicates the wealth and high social standing of the deceased and her family, which is confirmed by the text itself. The commemorated person is Claudia Menestho, scion of one of Miletos' most distinguished families.[558] After naming her closest relatives (parents, uncles, husband, son), the inscription claims that she 'traced her ancestry back to Neileus and the other founders and benefactors of the city' (ll. 9–12, κατά|γουσα γένος ἀπὸ

[553] For the dating: *I.Milet* 269 and Bol et al. 2011, 67–68, who specify the period as AD 243/4; Mac Sweeney 2013, 49 erroneously dates it to 245–243 BC apparently confusing AD and BC dating.
[554] Leschhorn 1984a, 4–5; Scheer 1993, 190; there are numerous examples e.g. from Ephesos (discussed below).
[555] The only two other potential examples I could find are: *I.Milet* 310 ll. 1–4: Ἀπόλλωνι Διδυμεῖ καὶ Ạ[ὐτοκράτορι] |Νέρουᾳ Τραιανῶι Καίσᾳ[ρι Σεβαστῶι] |Γερμανικῶι Δακικῶι κ[τίστηι?] |Μιλησίων; but the editors remark that κ[τίστηι] does not fill out all the space of the line; something like κ[αὶ τῶι δήμωι τῶι] |Μιλησίων seems thus much more plausible; and *I.Milet* 1146 ll. 6–7 [τὸν εὐεργέτη]ν̣ κα[ὶ] |[κτίστη]ν̣, where the restoration is too fragmentary to be seriously taken into account as evidence here.
[556] Ehrhardt and Günther 2010, 404–408.
[557] Ehrhardt and Günther 2010, 404.
[558] Ehrhardt and Günther 2010, 406 restore her family tree back to the early Imperial period; Herrmann 1987 discusses members of this family in high positions at the Seleucid court.

Νείλεω |καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτιστῶν καὶ |εὐεργετῶν τῆς πόλεως).[559] While there are some other cases of individuals from Miletos and Didyma claiming descent from unnamed founders and benefactors,[560] Claudia Menestho is the only person known to have included the Ionian founding hero in her family tree.[561] That she, as one of the foremost representatives of the civic elite of Miletos, did so in order to promote her and her family's grandeur, nicely supports the notion that Ionianness remained a valid form of cultural capital which could be proudly displayed not only as a marker of collective identity, but also by individuals.

In Ephesos, references to the city's Ionian founding hero, Androklos, are more numerous and even more explicit than in Miletos, and they first show up in the material evidence in the Hadrianic period. In poetic inscriptions, we encounter the synonym Androkleidai for the inhabitants of Ephesos, the circumscription 'city of Androklos', and the favourable comparison of a proconsul with the founding hero.[562] There was also a professional association called the Androkleidai who honoured the senator P. Vedius Papianus Antoninus, a member of the prominent Ephesian family of the Vedii, as 'ancestral benefactor and *ktistēs* of our fatherland' in the 2nd c. AD.[563] In Ephesos, the title '*ktistēs* (of

[559] For the use of κατάγω in this specific sense, see Jones 2010, 33.

[560] *I.Didyma* 152 ll. 12–14 (first half of the 2nd c. AD); *I.Didyma* 275 l. 4 (ca AD 100); *I.Didyma* 279 ll. 8–9 (first half of the 2nd c. AD).

[561] In her interpretation of Hdt. 2.143, Polito 2015 tried to argue that the famous geographer Hekataios of Miletos had done the same, but Herodotus unequivocally speaks of a god, not a hero;

[562] *I.Ephesos* 1548B l. 20 (= Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 03/02/31, 2nd c. AD), honorific inscription in elegiacs for the sophist Soteros; *I.Ephesos* 1064 ll. 1–2 (= Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 03/02/38 (2), 1st/2nd c. AD), prayer to Hestia in iambics (for the context, see Büyükkolancı and Engelmann 1998, 65–67); *I.Ephesos* 2044 ll. 2–3 (4th c. AD), hexameter inscription for proconsul Messalinus who restored the theatre, τὸν ἄξιον οἰκιστῆρα |τηλεφανοῦς Ἐφέσου, προφερέστερον Ἀνδρόκλοιο.

[563] *I.Ephesos* 3079 ll. 7–11, τὸν ἐκ |προγόνων εὐεργέ|την καὶ κτίστην |τῆς πατρίδος ❦ ἡ|μῶν; very similar in *I.Ephesos* 730 ll. 7–8 and in *SEG* 33, 939 ll. 10–12, both civic honorific inscriptions for Papianus. Fontani 2002, 36 interprets these Androkleidai as a poetic circumscription for the Ephesians in general, but this remains unconvincing as it is at odds with the whole nature and style of the inscription and does not take into account the other monuments erected by similar associations (Kalinowski 2002, 128–135). Another very instructive example for contemporary citizens being honoured as *ktistai* are the statue bases for two Plancii Vari which were erected in Perge during the reign of Hadrian among statues of seven mythological founding heroes

the fatherland)' is attested only for emperors and members of the Vedii family.[564] Papianus famously bequeathed his property to the treasury of the Artemision and with this act probably earned the title of *ktistēs*, which his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had borne before him.[565] That in 2nd-c. AD Ephesos this title was closely linked with Androklos is suggested by Pausanias, and the mention of Papianus' title in the inscription set up by the association of the Androkleidai surely added to its perceived prestige.[566]

As a civic subdivision was named after him, the Ionian founder was also embedded within the organisational structure of the polis.[567] That he was the object of some sort of cultic veneration at least in the 2nd c. AD is attested through an honorific inscription for a *paraphylax* (civic policeman) 'who had provided olive oil for all the gymnasia on the day of Androklos'.[568] Another honorific inscription set up by a professional association honours an unknown person who, among several other higher offices, had also served as a *paraphylax* and provided wine in the Androklōneion.[569] It is more likely that this was the club house of the *paraphylakes* rather than the tomb of Androklos.[570] This close connection between the

(*I.Perge* 101–109), Weiß 1984, 181–182. Interestingly, the ethnicity of each mythological *ktistēs* is mentioned explicitly.

[564] For Hadrian (*I.Ephesos* 272, 274, 3410; *SEG* 33-943; Knibbe, Engelmann, and İplikçioğlu 1989, 163–164 n. 2.), Antoninus Pius (*I.Ephesos* 282D, 1504, 2050), Septimius Severus (*I.Ephesos* 294), and for a P. Vedius Antoninus (*I.Ephesos* 727, 2065, 3075).

[565] This identification of the Publii Vedii Antonini in *I.Ephesos* 727, 2065, and 3075 is based on Kalinowski 2002, 132–135, who provides a good overview of the role of the Vedii as prominent benefactors in Ephesos; see also Fontani 1996. A detailed stemma can be found in Quatember and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2017 fig. 1, who also provide a collection of all the extant inscriptions relating to the Vedii in Ephesos (305–342). Kalinowski 2007 reconstructs the history of an honorific monument for the Vedii family on the Tetragonos Agora.

[566] Kalinowski 2007, 759 suggests that this let him appear as a 'sort of contemporary Androklos'; Strubbe 1984–1986, 290–297 claims a stronger link between the title and actual public building activities of the honorand or the granting of privileges and benefactions to the city.

[567] *SEG* 33-890 l. 4; see Chapter 4.2.1.

[568] *I.Ephesos* 644 ll. 9–12: παραφυλάξαντα φιλοτεί|μως καὶ ἐλαιοθετήσαντα |ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς γυμνασίοις |τῇ τοῦ Ἀνδρόκλου ἡμέρᾳ; Habicht 1984, 43 fn. 11 for the source value of this passage.

[569] *SEG* 34-1107 ll. 8–9; without being able to offer another solution, I would like to point out that a building deriving its designation from a name ending in -ος usually shows the ending -ειον and not -ωνειον (Asklepieion, Olympieion, Sebasteion…); the *editio princeps* Knibbe and Engelmann 1984, 143–144 has ἐν τῷ Ἀνδροκλω.[…], whereas most of the following scholars render it as ἐν τῷ Ἀνδροκλων[…] (e.g. Thür 1995, 73).

[570] Both suggestions were offered in the *editio princeps*.

civic police officers and Androklos is further strengthened by one of the most visible and explicit displays of the Ephesians' Ionian roots in public space. We know that there existed a statue of the Ionian founder at least in the 3rd c. AD, which was renovated by the *paraphylakes*. This act is commemorated on the extant statue base with an inscription: Ἄνδροκλον |τὸν τῆς πόλεως |κτίστην |οἱ περὶ Αὐρ(ήλιον) Νεικόστρατον τὸν |καὶ Εὐπάλιν Εὐπαλίου φιλο|σέβαστον παραφύλακες |ἀνενεώσαντο.[571] The dowel holes on top of the extant statue base make it likely that this was a bronze statue of Androklos as a hunter accompanied by a dog.[572] Androklos' boar hunt was a subject intimately linked with the Ionian foundation of Ephesos.[573]

While this statue has not survived, there are extant sculpture pieces from Ephesos that have been identified as representing Androklos. The earliest example was published only in 2010 and is the fragment of a marble statue of a youth clad in chlamys accompanied by a dog; it was found in the Nymphaeum built by the proconsul C. Laecanius Bassus, which is dated to AD 78/79.[574] Another extant attestation is the torso of a young hunter in the style of Skopas' Meleager found in the Nymphaeum Traiani (AD 102–114), which was identified as Androklos mainly on the basis of a dog which was part of the monument.[575] The third example was found in the *Kaisersaal* of the gymnasium of Vedius (ca AD 150). This also comprises the torso of a young man, naked except for a chlamys, but his head has also survived, which presents a beardless youth with longer curly hair. The identification as

[571] *I.Ephesos* 501; Erkelenz 2004 convincingly reconstructs the history of this monument, which consisted of different parts in secondary use. Kalinowski 2007, 758–759 pointed out that the verb ἀνανεοῦμαι used for the renovation of statues is attested in Roman Asia Minor only in connection with city founders such as Androklos and Alexander the Great, but interestingly also with members of the Vedii family.

[572] Thür 1995, 71–73 with figs 7–8.

[573] Athen. 8.361c–e quoting from Kreophylos' *Annals*, who does not however mention Androklos by name; he refers to the agents of the myth merely as οἱ τὴν Ἔφεσον κτίζοντες. The connection between Androklos and the boar hunt is established via the mention of the spring Hypelaios in both Athen. 8.361d and Strab. 14.1.21.

[574] Rathmayr 2010, 27–28 and fig. 10.

[575] Rathmayr 2010, 28 and fig. 11; Quatember 2011, 69 and pl. 119, 1.

Androklos was made likely through the paw of a dog touching boar bristles which belonged to the statue.[576] In all these three cases, it is not clear whether the statues actually portrayed Androklos himself or an eminent individual (Bassus, Antinoos) in the style of Androklos.[577] If the latter was the case, they would provide strong examples for the individual employment of the Ionian founding hero in order to display close ties to the city and heighten one's personal prestige.

It is furthermore very likely that a silver statuette of the Ionian founder was carried through the city as part of the procession established by C. Vibius Salutaris in AD 104.[578] Androklos' name is not extant in the surviving parts of the monumental inscription detailing Salutaris' foundation, but it has been convincingly restored by Reinhold Merkelbach in *I.Ephesos* 27 l. 183 and *I.Ephesos* 30 l. 18, and none of the scholars working on the text after him have cast serious doubts on his restoration.[579] Another instance of a statue of Androklos can be found in Pausanias' description of the founder's tomb, on top of which the periegete saw the statue of a man in armour.[580] Further possible figural depictions of Androklos include reliefs from the so-called Temple of Hadrian and the heroon/fountain on the *Embolos*, where he is shown among the gods as a founding hero, with a naiskos on his head and accompanied by a dog, and as a rider killing a boar.[581] The mythological scene of Androklos

[576] Thür 1995, 67.

[577] Rathmayr 2010, 27–31; see Linant de Bellefonds 2011, 30–31 for excellent photographs of the latter two statue fragments.

[578] Rogers 1991, 107–110 highlights the importance of the Ionian foundation myth in Ephesos in the 2nd c. AD.

[579] Rogers 1991, 107.

[580] Paus. 7.2.9: ἐπίθημα δὲ τῷ μνήματι ἀνήρ ἐστιν ὡπλισμένος; the same motif might be depicted in a panel of the famous Parthian Monument, Thür 1995, 70.

[581] Rathmayr 2010, 33–36 and 57–59 figs 16–19; on the nature and dating of the so-called Temple of Hadrian and its relief decoration, see now Quatember 2017, esp. 116–125 and 269–273; the heroon/fountain had been identified by Thür 1995 as the tomb of Androklos mentioned in Paus. 7.2.9, but no other scholar has followed her interpretation (e.g. Jones 1993; Engelmann 1996a; Scherrer 1999; Burrell 2004, 68–69). To my knowledge the archaeological publication of this monument has not appeared yet; it was announced in Thür 1995, 81 fn. 111, who discusses it amply and provides a reconstruction, as *FiE* XI,2, which is now Quatember 2011. It would be interesting to verify whether the fragment of an undated architrave block bearing the inscription ΑΝΔΡΟ[- -] (*I.Ephesos* 1943), which was found in Hanghaus I, could be connected with this heroon/fountain.

hunting the boar is also depicted on a lead tessera bearing the inscription [Ἄνδ]ροκλος.[582] Its presence has been assumed on a very fragmentary black-and-white mosaic from the Late Antique phase of the Tetragonos Agora, where the word κάπρο[ς] ('boar') is legible,[583] on a coffer depicting a boar (the spear piercing it was probably painted) next to which stood the inscription ΚΤΙΣΤΑ,[584] and in the topographical designation Σύαγρος ('boar'), apparently based on a monument located on one end of the Arkadiane street in the 5th c. AD.[585]

That Androklos played an important role for the civic identity of Ephesos is further highlighted through his presence on coins from the 2nd c. AD onwards.[586] The numismatic evidence can be divided into five groups on the basis of iconography:

**A)** Androklos riding a horse galloping to the right, he is about to spear a boar running to the right (Fig. 3.7).

**B)** Androklos walking to the right, spear and chlamys over his shoulder, carrying a dead boar, behind him an olive tree (Fig. 3.8).

**C)** Androklos standing, attacking a boar to his right, dog at his feet (Fig. 3.9).

**D)** 1. Androklos shaking hands with the autochthonous hero Koressos; 2. Androklos shaking hands with a personification of Alexandria.

**E)** Androklos standing on the right of the cult image of Artemis Ephesia (Fig. 3.10).[587]

[582] Gülbay and Kireç 2008, 109 n. 130.
[583] *I.Ephesos* 501A; Scheibelreiter-Gail 2011, 255–256 n. 41 with fig. 209.
[584] *I.Ephesos* 557A; Thür 1995, 68 with fig. 5 ascribes this coffer to the Roman quay building in the harbour.
[585] *I.Ephesos* 557; Rathmayr 2010, 33.
[586] In Killen 2017, the most recent analysis of Greek *parasēma* as symbols of civic identity down to the Hellenistic period, there are no mentions of founding heroes from any Ionian city; the only instance of a founding hero being used as *parasēmon* seems to be Leukippos for Magnesia on Maiandros, Killen 2017, 83–84 and 238–239.
[587] Rathmayr 2010, 25–27; they can all be found in Karwiese 2012.



Fig. 3.7: *RPC* IV.2 1126.1 = Karwiese 2012 n. 258 (AD 138–161).



Fig. 3.8: *RPC* III 2084.2 = Karwiese 2012 n. 195 (AD 117–138).



Fig. 3.9: *RPC* IX 610.1 = Karwiese 2012 n. 1011 (AD 249–251).



Fig. 3.10: *RPC* III 2055.1 = Karwiese 2012 n. 142 (AD 98–117).

The identification is assured from the fact that for each type there exists a specimen on which the name Androklos is explicitly mentioned on the coin.[588] Most of them are depicted on coins of bigger size (25–39 mm), but there is also a great number of coins of smaller denomination (16–20 mm) making implicit reference to the myth of Androklos through the depiction of a pierced boar.[589] These coins are attested continuously from the reign of Trajan until the reign of Gallienus with no peaks of popularity discernible. The Ionian founder would thus have been visible in everyone's hand and firmly embedded in the civic landscape of Ephesos. What needs explanation is that he appears on the civic coinage of Ephesos only in the 2nd c. AD, but not before. This can be seen as part of a wider phenomenon, as it has been highlighted that it was in this time that many cities of western Asia Minor 'rediscovered' their foundation myths and heroes, and showcased them on coins and as statues.[590] A reason for this can be found in the intercity rivalries concerning city titles and privileges which flourished in the 2nd c. AD, and for which cities could bring into play their antiquity and individual foundation stories as cultural capital in order to distinguish themselves against competitors. While the Ionianness, and Greekness more general, of the founding heroes was surely an important aspect of this, it did not necessarily rule out other claims to antiquity and autochthony, which could also include a non-Greek ethnicity like that of the Lydians.[591] Possibly as a consequence of this renewed presence of

[588] For A): Karwiese 2012 nn. 258 and 258A; for B): nn. 195, 224, 768, and 867; for C): nn. 603, 769, and 1011; for D): nn. 146 and 604; for E): n. 142.
[589] Karwiese 2012 index 2 s.v. *Eber*.
[590] Weiß 1984, 194 ascribes this to the cities' need to assert their own individuality in a politically and culturally homogenised world; Robert 1980, 412 and Strubbe 1984–1986, 280 connect this trend also with the foundation of the Panhellenion.
[591] E.g. Sardis calling itself '*mētropolis* of Asia, Lydia (and Hellas)' (*I.Sardis* 382, 389, 393, 395; *RPC* VII.1 244–246) as well as *autochtōn* and/or *prōtochthōn* (*I.Sardis* 382, 389, 395, 399, 404, 411, 418, 447); the mention of its Lydian past to create a kinship tie with Rome through the Etruscans during the competition for the new imperial cult temple in AD 26 (Tac. *ann*. 4.55–56); the depiction of the local Lydian hero Masdnes on coins (*RPC* VII.1 232); Strubbe 1984–1986, 267–268; Heller 2006a, 102–105; cf. also the distinction ἀρχαιοτάτη Παφλαγονίας on Imperial coins from Gangra-Germanicopolis, Robert 1980, 203–219; on notions of autochthony in Pausanias, see fn. 193.

founders in the public discourse, emperors – and in Ephesos the Vedii – were honoured and styled as *ktistai* of cities as well, which in turn may have increased interest in mythological founders, as a sort of symbolic counterweight through whom the prestige of (imperial) benefactors could be enhanced.

That on the level of city foundations Ionianness was merely one option out of several – albeit an important and valid one – is clear through the evidence from Teos, Erythrai, and Smyrna. In Teos in the late 1st c. AD, the eminent citizen Ti. Cl. Philistes was honoured as 'new Athamas', who is mentioned by Pausanias as the descendant of Aiolos and first mythical founder of the city.[592] The city's coinage from the Roman period is largely dominated by Dionysos, but the Archaic poet Anacreon makes an interesting appearance as well, attesting to the city's local pride in the cultural achievements in their Ionian past and the desire to create a cultural continuum between the 'ancient' and the 'Roman' Teians.[593] In Erythrai, the eponymous hero Erythros, said to be the son of Rhadamantys from Crete and the first founder of the city, is explicitly mentioned as such on a coin from the mid 3rd c. AD.[594] The Erythraeans called their fatherland the 'city of Erythros' – interestingly it is also called the 'Kekropid land', thus highlighting the Athenian-Ionian links – in an honorific inscription in elegiacs from the Imperial period.[595] In yet another poetic text, Lucius Verus is labelled 'new Erythros', probably on the occasion of his visit to the city.[596] At Smyrna, references to different founders, including Pelops, Theseus, as well as

[592] *CIG* 3083 ll. 4–5; Herrmann 2000, 87–91; on the practice of honouring individuals as 'new heroes', see Robert 1981, 353–361 and Strubbe 1984–1986, 297–298.
[593] Anacreon on *RPC* IV.2 2780, VI 4726–4727; on *RPC* IV.2 1006 a youthful hero standing with one foot on a prow has been identified as Athamas by Imhoof-Blumer 1908, 79 n. 10, but this is far from certain as there are no iconographic or epigraphic indications supporting this. Note that Anacreon is labelled 'poet of the Ionians' in Dion Chrys. *or*. II 62.
[594] Paus. 7.3.7; *RPC* VI 4720: ΕΡΥΘΡΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ ΕΡΥ.
[595] *I.Erythrai* 106 ll. 3–4.
[596] *I.Erythrai* 224 l. 32; Robert 1981, 354–355.

Alexander the Great and the two Nemeses, appear in the numismatic, literary, and epigraphic evidence.[597]

What mattered for Greeks in the Roman period when it came to foundation myths and original populations is conveniently summarised in the late 3rd c. AD-handbook *Division of Epideictic Speeches* ascribed to Menander Rhetor, which provides guidelines for orators composing a city encomium amongst others.[598] First, he recommends, one should mention the founders themselves, especially if they are gods, but demigods and heroes are still reputable. If they were humans, only military leaders and kings are worthy of mention. Then he moves on to talking about the original inhabitants of a city:

> *In a first step, we shall divide the settlers into Hellenes and barbarians. Secondly, the barbarians we divide into the most ancient (for example Phrygians) or the most royal (for example Lydians, Medes, Persians, Ethiopians, Scythians). The procedure is clear if one goes according to the proposition just stated: it is necessary to demonstrate that the races which settled the barbarian city you are praising are either the oldest or the wisest or the most imperial or, all in all, possess one virtue, or more, or all, to the highest degree. With Hellenes, they should belong to the races held to be the noblest. The three races which are the highest and also the best known are those of the Dorians, Aiolians, and Ionians. The Aiolian race is the strongest by far, the Dorian the most courageous, the Ionian the most distinguished. One should therefore demonstrate that a Hellenic city stems from one of these races. In this way we shall form a judgement of the race of the inhabitants; and we shall assume that the praises we sing of the races also befit the settlers: Smyrna and Ephesos for instance belong to the most distinguished group, and many of the cities in Crete and the city of Rhodes to the most courageous (for they are Dorian), and similarly with the others* (353–354).[599]

[597] E.g. Pelops: *RPC* IV.2 237; Alexander's dream and the two Nemeses: *RPC* IV.2 239, 3087, and VII.1 310; the two Nemeses: *RPC* III 1966, IV.2 235, 246, 257, VI 4671; Theseus and Pelops: Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 05/01/19; Aristeid. *or*. XVII 5; *or*. XVIII 2; *or*. XIX 4; *or*. XX 5; *or*. XXI 3–4; for an excellent analysis of Smyrna's founders and their role for the citizens' collective identity in the Roman period, see Kuhn 2009.

[598] On the question of authorship, see Heath 2004, 127–131 who affirms that it was not written by Menander and that we cannot establish its real author; Russell and Wilson 1981, xl date it to the reign of Diocletian.

[599] My translation based on Russell and Wilson 1981.

*Conclusion*

This chapter has highlighted the continued vitality of the religious life in the Ionian cities. Cultic activities which were perceived as specifically Ionian – such as the worship of Poseidon Helikonios, Apollo Delphinios, Apollo and Artemis Panionios, or the festival of the Panionia – still played an important role in the *poleis* of the Roman period. It has been shown, especially in the case of the cult epithet Panionios, that Ionianness could be harnessed by the cities as a form of cultural capital in order to heighten their own prestige in the competitive atmosphere in the province of Asia and, from the creation of the Panhellenion on, in the whole Greek East. These rivalries apparently also triggered a renewed interest in the mythical past and foundation stories of the Ionian *poleis*. While this could include pre-Ionian myths and references to general, even barbarian, antiquity, the Ionian Migration and its protagonists have been shown to be central points of reference for expressions of civic and individual identities. This appreciation of Ionian myths and foundation stories is manifest not only in the literary testimonies (most elaborately in Strabo and Pausanias), but also in the epigraphic, archaeological, and numismatic evidence. The Ionian foundation heroes were firmly embedded in the civic life of the Ionian cities, most notably in Miletos and Ephesos, with explicit references being present in public and private inscriptions, through statues and reliefs on civic monuments, and most prominently on the cities' coinage.

The poem *Ionic* by C. Cavafy from 1911 with which I began this chapter could also, at first sight, be regarded as a product of the 2$^{nd}$ c. AD. Its melancholic tone and nostalgic evocation of a more glorious Greek past – not to mention Cavafy's archaising use of the Greek language – seem to breathe the spirit of Pausanias' antiquarian outlook and Aelius Aristides' classicism. But just like those two ancient Greek writers, Cavafy speaks of his

contemporary situation, in which things had changed on the outside, but where the religious landscape had remained basically unaffected: the gods are not dead in Ionia.

# 4) Times and Names

## 4.1 The construction of time

ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἰουλίας τῆς Φιλέρω|τος <μ>ηνὸς Ληναιῶνος κε’
*I.Milet* 564 ll. 12–13, funerary, AD 175/192.

Ἔτους ρξβ’
*IG* XII 6,1 441 l. 1, honorific fragment from Samos, apotheosis era, AD 175/6.

[ἐπὶ ὑπ]ά̣των Βρ̣ο̣υ̣ντίου Π̣ρ̣αίσεντι τὸ δεύτε̣ρον καὶ Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου τὸ δεύτερον, ἔτου̣[ς] |[ε]ἰκοστοῦ τῆς Ἀ̣ὐ̣τοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου, τε̣τ̣ά̣ρ̣τ̣ου δὲ ἔτους τ̣ῆ̣ς̣ |Αὐτοκρ̣άτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομάδου, υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, Σεβαστῶν ἡγεμονίας, κατὰ δὲ |τὸν πρότερον ἀριθμὸν υ̣ρα, μηνὸς Περιτίου τεταρτ̣η̣ ἐν Εὐρωπῷ τ̣ῇ̣ πρὸς Ἀραβίᾳ, ἐπὶ |ἱερέων Διὸς μὲν Λυσανίου τοῦ Ζηνοδότου τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ Θεοδώρου τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ Ἀ̣θ̣ηνοδότου τοῦ |Ἀρτεμιδ̣ώ̣ρ̣ου, τ̣ῶ̣ν̣ δ̣ὲ̣ π̣ρογόνων Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Διοκλέους τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου, β̣ασιλέως δὲ Σελεύκου Νικ[ά]|τορος Δανύμου τοῦ Σελεύκου τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ Δανύμου.
*P.Dura* 25 ll. 14–20, contract between two brothers, AD 180.

### 4.1.1 Calendar and dating systems

Next to its political institutions and cults, one component of a Greek city’s traditional *nomima*, and thus a defining aspect of its collective identity, was the possession of its own distinct calendar system.[600] Katherine Clarke (2008) has neatly worked out the constructedness of Greek articulations and expressions of time-organisation, and highlighted their value as sources for the ancient historian by elucidating how they reflect a society’s underlying self-perception within time and space. In his monograph on Roman temporal organisation and conceptions, Denis Feeney (2007) has also questioned the holistic structuralist notion that there can be only one unique unitary way of structuring

[600] Trümpy 1997, 1; Robu 2014, 407; colonies taking over the *nomima* of their mother cities explicitly e.g. in Thuk. 6.4.4 (Gela had Dorian *nomima*, its own colony Akragas the *nomima* of Gela) and 6.5.1 (in Himera the Chalcidian *nomima* prevailed, although the language was a mixture of Chalcidian and Doric), and still in Strab. 4.1.4 (Massilia preserved the *nomima* of Phokaia), see above fn. 442.

time in each culture, and stresses their simultaneous multiplicity, of which the epigraphs at the beginning of this chapter give a good impression.[601]

One cannot but point to the French Revolutionary Calendar (in use 1793–1805) as a modern case of openly propagandistic identity-construction by means of the introduction of a new calendar system entirely different from the preceding one.[602] The attention paid to features of the calendar such as the names of the months, the beginning of the year, and of course the starting point of the year-count, the epoch year, is clear proof of the ideological value attached to them.[603] This is nicely illustrated by the set of month names suggested at an early stage by Charles-Gilbert Romme, one of the main driving forces behind the Revolutionary Calendar: *régénération*, *réunion*, *jeu de paume*, *La Bastille*, *la Montagne*, *la République*, *L'unité, la fraternité*, *la liberté*, *la justice*, and *égalité*.[604] These were unmistakably calqued on central values and *lieux de mémoire* of the Revolution. In the end, the Convention Nationale voted for another proposal, Fabre d'Églantine's now famous neologisms (*Vendémiaire*, *Brumaire...*), which were all firmly rooted in the seasonal cycle of the year. The Convention's justification for this choice – that the embeddedness of these month names in agriculture and the seasons was representative of the natural order and made the new calendar more intelligible for the whole nation, while at the same time avoiding political implications – is again highly revealing.[605]

[601] Another seminal work on ancient calendar systems is Stern 2012. For anthropological approaches to the perception of time, see e.g. Gell 1992 and Adam 1994, who also engage with the structuralist model.

[602] Shaw 2011, 3 and passim on its ideology and implications for everyday life; see also Thonemann 2005, 80–82 and 76: 'calendrical time as an expression of power and instrument of royal propaganda'; Kosmin 2018, esp. 19–101 on similar issues regarding constructions of time in the Seleucid Empire; Stern 2017 and Dench 2018, 134–154 on calendar systems as expressions of power relations in the Roman Empire; Rüpke 2017 on the calendar as a medium of propaganda in Augustan Rome.

[603] The proclamation of the Republic on 22 September 1792 was fixed retrospectively as the starting point of the new year count, the beginning of the year thus luckily coinciding with the autumnal equinox, Shaw 2011, 42–44.

[604] Shaw 2011, 61 with fn. 6.

[605] Shaw 2011, 63.

In the following section, I shall explore the extent to which a similar awareness of the potential cultural capital of calendrical systems can be detected in the cities of Roman Ionia, both in regard to cyclical (calendars, months) and linear (eponymous dating, eras) constructions of time.

*The Ionian calendar in the Roman period*

Whereas the naming of months shows an immense degree of diversity throughout the Greek world in general, it is striking that the calendars of the Ionian cities are remarkably similar to one another. In fact, none of these individual civic calendars contains more than two month names that are not also attested in another Ionian community.[606] Month names found almost exclusively in Ionian cities include Anthestēriōn, Apatouriōn, Boēdromiōn, Lēnaiōn, Thargēliōn, and Taureōn. This relative uniformity makes it plausible to postulate an Ionian 'ur-calendar' from which our extant examples were subsequently derived.[607] Although the existence of such a common origin in the (pre-)Archaic period can only remain an attractive hypothesis, we have concrete parallel evidence for a similar interdependence in the cases of colonies taking with them the calendars of their *mētropoleis*; Miletos is a prominent example.[608] Next to the choice of names, there is another universal feature supporting such a claim: almost all of them end in -ών and not in -ος or -εύς as in most other Greek cities.[609] That months ending in -ών should be regarded as Ionian is a largely accepted view, which finds corroboration through the geographical spread of the

[606] Trümpy 1997, 14, which is seminal as the only monograph-length study of Greek month names.
[607] Already suggested by Burkert 1977, 346; Trümpy 1997, 18–31, focussing on determining the original sequence of the months; on the Samian calendar, see Hallof 1999.
[608] Trümpy 1997, 2 and 89–93; Ehrhardt 1988$^2$ I, 113–126 for Miletos.
[609] Month names formed in such a way are most likely to have derived from the genitive plural of festivals which took place in the respective month, Trümpy 1997, 1–2.

epigraphical evidence.[610] Instances of common 'Ionian' month names or others ending in -ών found outside of culturally Ionian-Attic territory can be satisfactorily explained: most of them stem in fact from coastal Caria, where Ionian influence comes as no surprise.[611] This naming tradition becomes especially apparent in cases where formations from the same festival or deity are attested in both Ionian and non-Ionian forms.[612] Furthermore, it was still alive and even underpinned new creations in Roman Athens, where an intercalary month Hadrianiōn is attested, as compared to Hadrianos in Egypt and Aphrodisias.[613] The most striking piece of evidence for the awareness of a distinct Ionian identity regarding month names comes, however, from Roman Ephesos. In *I.Ephesos* 24B, from AD 162/3 or 163/4, the Ephesian *boulē* and *dēmos* decreed that the whole month of Artemisiōn should be consecrated to the city's famous patron goddess (ll. 28–29: [ὅ]λον τὸν μῆνα τὸν Ἀρτεμισιῶνα εἶνα[ι ἱερὸν πάσας |τ]ὰς ἡμέρας). The drafters of the decree are predictably silent about the economic advantages underlying such an expansion of a 'festival truce' (ἐκεχειρία),[614] and present their decree as an honorific one designed to enhance the greatness and prominence of the Ephesian Artemis.[615] They state that their patron deity is

[610] Bischoff 1919, 1574; Trümpy 1997, 10–14.

[611] Trümpy 1997, 13 and 111–117: Iasos, Halikarnassos; 277–281: Amyzon, Stratonikeia; the exceptions listed in 10 fn. 42 all appear to derive from a post-Classical Thessalian 12-god-calendar, which is a separate case, 266–270; there is a Thargēliōn in Mysian Gambreion not far from Pergamon (*CIG* 3562 l. 2, 3rd c. BC; see http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/108/ for more recent bibliography and comments on this inscription, although none of these discusses the month name) which Trümpy 1997, 277 lists under 'Randzonen des griechischen Kulturkreises' without further explanation. Interestingly, Steph. Byz. *ethn.* s.v. calls Gambreion a πόλις Ἰωνίας, so that there might actually have been some sort of Ionian connection or influence present.

[612] E.g. Boēdromiōn-Boadromios, Hekatombaiōn-Hekatombios, Thesmophoriōn-Thesmophorios, Posideōn-Posideios. The examples can easily be multiplied; see the index of Trümpy 1997, 290–294.

[613] *IG* II$^2$ 2067 col. III l. 197; for Egypt, see Scott 1931, 261–262; *I.Aphr.* 13.109A l. 23 and 14.17 l. 6.

[614] That in the 2nd c. AD ἐκεχειρία may no longer have meant an actual armistice is clearly shown by the use of the word in the proconsular letter *I.Ephesos* 24A ll. 15–16 as a translation for *iustitium*. This was already argued for by Robert 1937, 178 ('trêve judiciaire') and is now widely accepted; next to reasons of genuine piety economic benefits must have played a role here as well: Rogers 2012, 223: 'the courts were to be closed and public exactions of money were prevented'; 224: 'More sacred days during the month of Artemision meant … finally more profits for the polis'; Kokkinia 2009, 195 fn. 11: '… involved privileges related to the taxation of goods during the festival and (possibly) the cessation of public business (ἐκεχειρία)'.

[615] Kokkinia 2009, 196 shows that *I.Ephesos* 24B is modelled very closely on the standard formulae of civic honorific decrees. Her study merits further attention as it is the first one to interpret the three inscriptions as

universally worshipped amongst Greeks and barbarians, as attested by the temples and shrines in her honour, but especially through the fact that a month is named after her:[616]

> καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μέγιστον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν σεβασ|μοῦ ἐστιν τεκμήριον, τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτῆς |εἶναι μῆνα καλούμενον παῤ ἡ[μ]ῖν μὲν Ἀρτεμισ[ι]|ῶνα, παρὰ δὲ Μακεδόσιν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν |τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς[617] πόλεσιν Ἀρτεμίσιον (ll. 15–20).
>
> *And this is the greatest proof of the reverence shown to her: the fact that a month is named after her, which amongst us is called Artemisiōn, but amongst the Macedonians and the other Greek tribes and their cities Artemisios* (my translation).

What interests us most here is that the month is called Artemisiōn 'amongst us' (παῤ ἡ[μ]ῖν), but Artemisios amongst the Macedonians and the other Greek tribes and their cities. It might be tempting to amend the restoration in l. 17 to παῤ'Ἰ[ωσ]ιν instead of παῤ ἡ[μ]ῖν.[618]



Fig. 4.1: *I.Ephesos* 24B l. 17.

This new reading fits the letter traces perfectly (indeed the only trace is of a vertical hasta which could equally be an I instead of an H) and the spacing on the stone (Fig. 4.1), and

part of the honorific monument for T. Ael. Marcianus Priscus. Most scholars have indeed focused on the Ephesian decree for Artemis (e.g. Rogers 2012, 222–229; the numbering of the three sides A, B, C is already misleading), but the decree for Priscus is in fact on the front side of the block. Thus, the proconsul's edict *I.Ephesos* 24A need not necessarily have been connected to *I.Ephesos* 24B (and indeed, there is no mention of the expansion to the whole month in *I.Ephesos* 24A), but was most likely included in the monument because it specifically mentions the honorand Priscus (Kokkinia 2009, 199: 'Any information on the governor's actions it may contain is clearly incidental'). For an earlier parallel with similar honorific implications, see *FGrH* 328 F 166, relating that the Athenians decreed the whole month of Dēmētriōn to be holy.

[616] This universal worship could in turn have motivated the Ephesians to wish to stand out in their reverence to Artemis by having a month-long festival in her honour, which is especially explicable in the context of the notorious intercity rivalries in 2nd c. AD Asia Minor; Chaniotis 2011, 273–274 lists examples of other cities with festivals exceeding the usual length of three to five days.

[617] The editors of *I.Ephesos* 24B give here erroneously αὐταῖς, but on the picture and the squeeze it is without any doubt αὐτοῖς.

[618] In this inscription, movable ν is always written: ἐστιν (l. 16); Μακεδόσιν, ἔθνεσιν (l. 18); πόλεσιν (l. 19).

would also make better sense of the following juxtaposition with the Macedonians and the other Greek tribes, as Ephesos would surely not have referred to itself as an *ethnos*, and failed to adduce all the remaining Ionian cities that could have testified to Artemis' universal glory.[619] Furthermore, such a pairing of Ephesians and Ionians is markedly expressed in *I.Ephesos* 3069, an honorific inscription from roughly the same period (late 2nd/early 3rd c. AD), in which the Ionian Koinon is circumscribed as 'the Ephesians and the other Ionians'.[620] If my emendation for *I.Ephesos* 24B is correct, the evidence for a distinct Ionian identity tangible in this inscription through the specific mention of the spelling variants of the month name would become all the more striking.

As Ἀρτεμισιών is the month most often attested in the different Ionian civic calendars, it provides a particularly apt case for testing the general rule.[621] Indeed, all attestations of the form ending in -ών stem from Ionian cities, their colonies, or regions with a marked Ionian cultural influence, from the 5th c. BC down to the Imperial period: Ephesos, Miletos (with Patmos[622], Olbia, Kyzikos, Odessos, Istros), Didyma, Erythrai, Priene, Phokaia (with Lampsakos), Klaros, Magnesia on Maiandros, Nysa, Herakleia under Latmos, Samos, Chios, Delos, Amorgos, Naxos, Tenos, Andros, Chalkidike.[623] The mention of Artemisiōn in one of the delegation texts of Carian Herakleia Salbake at the sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros is more likely to belong to the Kolophonian calendar, because it is integrated in the local dating formula at the beginning of the inscription and does not appear together with an era dating,

[619] See Chaniotis 2011, 272–276 on the affective dimensions of this inscription.

[620] [- - -] Ποντικὸν |Στρατόνεικος |λόγων ἕνεκα |Ἐφεσίων |καὶ τῶν ἄλλων |Ἰώνων γνώμηι, Herrmann 2002, 227; a very clear picture of the squeeze in Knibbe and İplikçioğlu 1984, 61 n. 19 fig. 7, who completely distort the meaning by mistranslating it as 'Stratonikos ehrt, auch im Namen der übrigen Ionier, Pontikos für seine ephesische Rede'.

[621] Trümpy 1997, 12; Knoepfler 1989, 29 calls it a 'mois pratiquement panionique'.

[622] *IG* XII 4,4 3911 l. 1, 1st c. BC; the inscriptions from the so-called Milesian islands Patmos, Leros, and Lepsia have been edited together for the first time in 2018 in *IG* XII 4,4; for their (economic) relation with Miletos throughout the centuries, see Thonemann 2011, 283–291.

[623] See the index in Trümpy 1997, 291 listing all the cities; it is attested in the spelling variants Ἀρτεμισιών, Ἀρτεμεισιών, and Ἀρτεμεισεών.

which is found in the two other attestations of month names in the Klarian delegation texts which do not belong to the Kolophonian calendar.[624] By contrast, in regions using the Macedonian-Seleucid calendar (for instance Lydia, inland Caria, Lycia, Phrygia, Mysia, Pisidia, Syria, Armenia…), only the forms Ἀρτεμ(ε)ίσιος occur. I have only found four inscriptions in total where a month name ending in -ος appears in the corpus of an Ionian city, but none of them is to be associated with the respective city's Ionian calendar:

**1)** *I.Milet* 1052 (210 BC) was put up in Dorian Kos; Ἀρτεμιτίου in l. 1 apparently reflects an adjustment to the local month name and was not used in the original Milesian decree, which is also supported by the spelling with a second τ instead of the usual σ.

**2)** *I.Smyrna* 581 (2nd c. BC) was erected in Astypalaia, and the mention of Artemisios in l. 102 belongs most probably to a later addition by the Astypalaian magistrates, as indeed the Doric form of the definite article (ἀ) immediately following it suggests.

**3)** The provenance of the funerary inscription *I.Smyrna* 201 (2nd c. AD, l. 15 μ(ηνὸς) Ἀρ̣τ̣εμισίου) is unknown, but the fact that the deceased is referred to as Σμυρναῖος in l. 3 makes it unlikely that it was set up in Smyrna itself.

**4)** *I.Ephesos* 3831 (probably AD 158/9, l. 2 Ἀρτεμισίου) was found in Ödemiş, ancient Hypaipa, and is dated with the Pharsalian Era, which was used almost exclusively in the Kaystros Valley (see Chapter 4.1.2), but not at all in Ephesos;[625] it is thus very unlikely to belong to an original Ionian context.

[624] Artemisiōn: Ferrary 2014 I, n. 4 l. 3, ca AD 110; Daisios: n. 188 l. 20, again from Herakleia Salbake, but at the end of the inscription and with the Sullan Era; Peritios: n. 229 l. 2, from the Macedonian Koinon with the Macedonian provincial era. Furthermore, there are good attestations for the Macedonian month names at Herakleia Salbake: Dios: Robert and Robert 1954, n. 112 l. 4, AD 222; Lōos: n. 93 l. 16, AD 172, and n. 92B l. 1, AD 225; Artemisios: n. 119 ll. 5–6, AD 171 (if correctly restored: μη(νὸς) Ἀρτεμε[ι|σίο]υ̣); Daisios: Ferrary 2014 I, n. 188 l. 20, AD 169/70.

[625] *I.Ephesos* 1387 is the single attestation of era dating in an inscription from Roman Ephesos, see Chapter 4.1.2 with fn. 711.

On the other hand, a single rather surprising case where Ἀρτεμισιών seems to have been part of the Macedonian calendar (*I.Priene*$^2$ 14 l. 70) deserves further consideration. It is now generally held that the Ionian cities – as in fact most communities in Asia Minor – continued to use their traditional month names under the Roman Empire,[626] but changed their calendar system from a lunisolar to a solar one in 9/8 BC in accordance with a decree of the Koinon of Asia (*I.Priene*$^2$ 14).[627] The main purpose of this decree was not, however, to harmonise all the calendrical systems in Asia, but first and foremost to honour Augustus by starting the year on his birthday, 23 September.[628] That the publication of the decree was mainly aimed at showcasing loyalty to Augustus is further highlighted by the fact that the extant fragments were all (with the exception of the Apameia texts) found in places which could hardly have been addressed as the leading cities of their *conventūs*, which alone were officially required to set them up on marble stelai.[629] This new provincial calendar was surely based on the official Seleucid system with Macedonian month names, still in use in Asia in the 1$^{st}$ c. BC,[630] with the only difference that the name of the first month was changed from Dios to Kaisar in accordance with an earlier *koinon* decree (*I.Priene*$^2$ 14 l. 54).

That the complete harmonisation of the month names was never intended, and that their diversity was in fact indirectly acknowledged even in the dossier itself is suggested by the fact that, in the amendment regarding the organisation of the annual election of

[626] E.g. Guerber 1995, 394–395; Thonemann 2015a, 125.

[627] A fragmentary Milesian festival calendar from the Severan period shows that this *polis* used the provincial calendar system, but here the month names are rendered as numerals, Ehrhardt 1984.

[628] Price 1984b, 54–56; Stern 2012, 274–278.

[629] *I.Priene*$^2$ 14 ll. 65–67: ἐν ταῖς ἀφηγουμέναις τῶν διοικήσεων πόλεσιν ἐν στήλαις λευκολίθοις ἐνχαραχθῆ τό τε δελτογράφημα τοῦ Μαξίμου καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ψήφισμα; copies are extant from Priene, Eumeneia, Apameia, Maionia, and Dorylaion (Laffi 1967), as well as from Metropolis in Ionia (Dreyer and Engelmann 2006, 175–182).

[630] Thonemann 2015a, 124; esp. in *I.Priene*$^2$ 14 l. 53: συνχρηματίζειν τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἡμέραν and l. 73: ὁ μὲν νῦν ἐνεστὼς Περίτιος μήν; *I.Ephesos* 7 ll. 35–36 suggest that the Ionian calendars had already been in line with this early Macedonian provincial calendar as well.

magistrates, the tenth month is not called Lōos, but the universally understandable δέκατος (*I.Priene*$^{2}$ 14 l. 83). Furthermore, as has not previously been noticed, the seventh month is given in its Ionian form Ἀρτεμισιών, and not the well-attested Macedonian-Seleucid one, as would be expected here. Unfortunately, the list of month names is not extant in any other of the copies of this dossier, so we cannot say with certainty that they did not also have the Ionian form. Yet, it is most likely that it is indeed due to its Prienean provenance that it occurs here with the ending -ών. As this was – apart from Πάνημος, which was spelled exactly the same in the Ionian and Macedonian calendar – the only other month name that appeared in both the traditional Prienean and the provincial calendar, it is not difficult to imagine that this was no mere slip, but that the local authorities responsible for the engraving (or even the stonecutter himself?) 'improved' the reading of the document in cases that would have appeared flawed in their eyes.[631] This may then be seen as another instance of a month name being used as a mark of cultural distinction. The command Ἀχθήσονται οἱ μῆνες κατὰ τάδε – followed by the list of months with their respective number of days (ll. 67–71) – would refer to the length of the months only, and not to their names as well, which would have been given here as a mere point of reference; it should thus not (as it has often been done) be misunderstood as an implicit command to change the cities' traditional designations. I have in fact not been able to find a single case of a city changing its month names to comply with the ones in the *koinon* decree.[632] The mention of Lōos and Dystros in the corpus of Aelius Aristides are more likely to reflect the

[631] Stern 2012, 276–277 shows that they had also done so regarding the count of days which differs in Paullus Fabius Maximus' original Latin version and the final Greek list in *I.Priene*$^{2}$ 14 ll. 68–71.

[632] The two attestations of the Macedonian month names Apellaios and Dystros in graffiti in the Ephesian Hanghaus II, WE 4, room 22 (Taeuber 2005, 139 GR 56 and GR 60) cannot be taken as indicative that the provincial calendar was widely used in Ephesos (where no other attestations of these two month names are recorded), but are more likely to reflect the individual preferences of the owner, a member of the highest ranks of the Romanised civic elite with close contacts to Roman governors.

author's personal naming habits (who had grown up in rural Mysia and was strongly influenced by Pergamene culture) rather than the Smyrnaean civic calendar.[633]

The continued use of Macedonian Dios – which was supposed to be replaced by Kaisar – especially supports this assessment.[634] This is particularly telling in the case of Maionia, where Dios as the first month is still attested throughout the 1st–3rd c. AD,[635] despite the fact that in this city the calendar dossier was publicly displayed. Unfortunately, we do not have any attested month names after 9/8 BC from Priene, Eumeneia, Apameia, or Dorylaion, where the other extant fragments of the text were found. Metropolis in Ionia, where a sixth copy has recently been unearthed,[636] had already used Macedonian month names in the 2nd c. BC (*I.Metropolis* 1A l. 2: Daisios; 1B l. 2: Panēmos, 144/3 BC), and thus the fact that Dystros is attested there in the early Imperial period cannot be taken as evidence for an adaptation of the month names according to the *koinon* decree.[637] The limited importance of the month names of the new 'official provincial' calendar – at least in the first three centuries AD –[638] is further highlighted by cases where Roman dates are converted directly to Ionian month dates: *I.Ephesos* 27 ll. 448–450 (AD 104); *I.Smyrna* 202 ll. 15–17 (3rd c. AD); *SEG* 45-1598 ll. 4–7 (Metropolis, AD 168). The complete absence of Boēdromiōn (the Ionian September/October month which would have been replaced by Kaisar) in the Roman period should not be taken as evidence for a general change of the

[633] Subscription to *or*. XXII: 'The Eleusinian Oration was written at almost the exact moment in Smyrna, in Lous [= Lōos], the tenth month, in the proconsulship of Macrinus, the author being 53 years, 6 months of age. It was delivered in Smyrna in the Council Chamber'. The tenth month of the Smyrnaean calendar is listed as Hekatombaiōn in the Florentine *Hemerologion* and is also epigraphically attested (*I.Smyrna* 202 ll. 16–17, 3rd c. AD); *or*. XLVIII 16: Dystros 'according to our usage in Asia'.

[634] Thonemann 2015a, 125.

[635] *TAM* V,1 591 l. 1 (AD 26/27); 549 l. 2 (AD 81/82); 550 l. 12 (AD 214/5).

[636] Dreyer and Engelmann 2006, 175–182.

[637] Dystros in Engelmann 1999, 140 n. 2 l. 4. The month Klareōn in *I.Ephesos* 3424 l. 1 found in Metropolis (AD 180/192) has to be ascribed to the Ephesian calendar, Engelmann 1999, 142.

[638] That the creation of an official provincial Asian calendar was ultimately a lasting success is suggested by the *Hemerologia* and the literary mentions of κατὰ Ἀσιανούς from the 4th–8th c. AD, Thonemann 2015a, 128–129, T16, T18–24.

month name; similarly, the evidence for a month Kaisar/Kaisareōn in the Ionian cities is very scarce.[639]

The fact that in the earlier provincial calendar the year had also started with the autumnal equinox in late September surely facilitated the implementation of the decree's stipulations of a New Year on 23 September, and must have softened the sense of novelty for citizens.[640] While it is almost certain that Augustus' birthday was subsequently widely celebrated as the beginning of the year throughout the province, it is possible – albeit far from provable – that not all Asian communities did in fact convert to the solar system, and instead alongside their month names continued to keep their lunisolar calendars, with differing month lengths and intercalary months instead of days.[641] The resulting cycling back and forth of the New Year's date as compared to the Julian calendar does not seem to have been perceived as problematic – if it was noticed at all – by the Roman authorities.[642]

[639] Ephesos seems to be the only city where we can be fairly sure about the existence of a Kaisar/Kaisareōn. Merkelbach 1979 argues for its presence in *I.Ephesos* 1601E l. 2, G l. 5, M l. 13, which cannot be taken as a final proof as in all three instances the beginning of the month name is lost and it could thus equally have been Neokaisareōn (also attested in *I.Ephesos* 1601D l. 11; 614B ll. 7–8; 3247 l. 3). But the attestations of an Ephesian Neokaisareōn seem indeed to presuppose a Kaisareōn. The restoration of this month name in the fragmentary *I.Ephesos* 1815 is too uncertain to be taken into account here. The assumption of a Smyrnaean Kaisareōn rests solely on the Florentine *Hemerologion*; that the calendar therein referred to as 'of the Asians' belongs in fact to Smyrna was first suggested by Kubitschek 1915 and was then ingeniously corroborated by Robert 1936. Trümpy 1997, 101 gives *LBW* 1535 as additional epigraphic evidence. However, this stone is not from Smyrna but is a *pierre errante* from Lydia (probably Iulia Gordos), as its first editors already observed.

[640] Laffi 1967, 41; note that the French Revolutionary Calendar also started its year on the autumnal equinox, Shaw 2011, 3.

[641] Already Samuel 1972, 182; Thonemann 2015a, 129–139 lists the secure and possible cases of lunisolar calendars from the Imperial Greek world (Athens, Macedonia, the Jewish diaspora, Amastris, Laodikeia on the Lykos, Kibyra, Pergamon?, Stratonikeia in Caria, northeast Lydia). Note that also in Athens the beginning of the year was changed from Hekatombaiōn to Boēdromiōn, in which Augustus' birthday fell, McLean 2002, 160.

[642] Thonemann 2015a, 140; for a similar situation in mainland Greece, see Plut. *Aristides* 19.8: καὶ νῦν διηκριβωμένων τῶν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ μᾶλλον ἄλλην ἄλλοι μηνὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν ἄγουσιν ('even now that astronomy is a more exact science, different peoples have different beginnings and endings for their months'); compare also Cic. *Verr*. 2.2.129 who points out the particularity that the Sicilians and other Greeks want to 'make their days and months fit with the ordered pattern of the sun and moon' (transl. Feeney 2007, 196) by introducing intercalary days.

*Honorific months*

Nonetheless, the Greeks of Asia Minor also did acknowledge Augustus, and Roman rule in general, by calling the first day of the month Σεβαστή and by replacing month names with new ones in honour of members of the imperial house.[643] Naming months after kings and rulers as an honorific practice is attested from the Hellenistic period onwards.[644] The first known instance appears to be the Athenian Dēmētriōn for Demetrios Poliorketes.[645] Attestations from Asia include a Pergamene Eumeneios as well as a Laodikeōn, Antiocheōn, and Stratonikeōn from Smyrna, which are all attested in the Florentine *Hemerologion*, but also in Smyrnaean inscriptions from the Imperial period.[646] This survival over centuries corroborates the notion that month names were distinctive civic identity markers, as has been argued above in connection with the Ephesian Artemisiōn.[647] Next to the already mentioned Neo-/Kaisareōn in Ephesos, there are further attestations of Roman imperial honorific months in Ionia at Miletos (Ti(berios), *I.Milet* 602 l. 9) and Smyrna, where we find

[643] On the count of days: Thonemann 2015a, 126; on honorific months: Scott 1931, esp. 264–266.

[644] As this practice is mainly attested in Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Egypt but never in the western Mediterranean, Scott 1931, 266 concludes that it should be seen as 'essentially Hellenistic and eastern'.

[645] Plut. *Demetrius* 12; *FGrH* 328 F 166; Scott 1931, 201–202; Habicht 1970[2], 52; Thonemann 2005 on Demetrios' impact on the Athenian calendar.

[646] Pergamene Eumeneios: *I.Pergamon* 249 l. 2, see Scott 1931, 203; Daubner 2008 is ultimately not convincing in affiliating this name with Zeus Eumenes instead of King Eumenes; Smyrnaean Laodikeōn: *I.Smyrna* 578 l. 33, 3rd/2nd c. BC; *I.Smyrna* 711 l. 8, late Imperial (letters); possibly in *I.Smyrna* 736 l. 18, AD 121/2; Antiocheōn: *I.Smyrna* 203 ll. 7–8, Imperial; the only other two possible (heavily restored) attestations of an Antiocheōn stem from Laodikeia on Lykos and are Hellenistic: *I.Laodikeia am Lykos* 2 l. 16–17: ἐν [τῶι μηνὶ τῶι Ἀν|τεοχ]εῶνι (apparently a misprint for [Ἀν|τιοχ]εῶνι); *I.Laodikeia am Lykos* 4A l. 17: ἐν τ̣[ῶι μην]ὶ τῶ[ι Ἀ]ντιοχεῶνι, but on the accompanying picture εῶ are the only letters clearly visible; Stratonikeōn: *SEG* 45-1598 ll. 6–7, Metropolis, AD 168.

[647] Fujii 2013, 154: 'the calendrical system functioned as a vehicle for building up civic identity in terms of intimacy with the Empire and competition for leadership of the island', regarding the situation on Roman Cyprus.

Kaisarios, Tiberios, and Hierosebastos in the Florentine *Hemerologion*,[648] as well as an epigraphically attested Σεβαστοῦ μήν.[649]

That the presence and choice of imperial honorific months could vary considerably from city to city is further highlighted by the case of Carian Aphrodisias, where we can be confident – because of the continued use of Dios and despite the lack of evidence pre-dating 9/8 BC – that the earlier provincial calendar had been in use as well. Here, the remarkable number of six imperial honorific months survive, three of which are only attested in Aphrodisias: Kaisar/Kaisareōn, Klaudiēos (only here), Tiberios[650], Traianos Sebastos (only here), Lōos Hadrianos, Iouliēos (only here). This should not come as a surprise in a medium-sized city like Aphrodisias that owed its position and wealth largely to Roman patronage, and the civic identity of which was in its representation strongly focused on the imperial house, probably because it lacked Classical and Hellenistic traditions.[651] This high number of honorific months has led some scholars to postulate a third entire calendar system formed exclusively of such imperial months, in addition and next to the provincial Macedonian names and a consecutive numerical counting.[652] The main basis for such a claim is the contemporaneous presence of D(e)ios and Kaisar/Kaisareōn in Aphrodisian inscriptions. As has been discussed above, however, the first in fact persisted in most parts of Asia, and so it is just as probable that the latter month

[648] These are the forms given in the manuscript; Samuel 1972, 175 changes them to Kaisarion, Tiberion, Hierosebaston; Merkelbach 1979, 162 renders them as Kaisareôn and Tiberiôn. The only other non-abbreviated attestations of the latter from Aphrodisias and Kalymna have Tiberios. One might consider including Euangelios from the *Hemerologion* amongst the Roman honorific months as well, Scott 1931, 205; Robert 1969, 273–274.

[649] *I.Smyrna* 709 l. 24, 1st c. AD?; this is either another name for the month Kaisar/Kaisareōn (Scott 1931, 266), or more likely for Hierosebastos from the *Hemerologion*.

[650] Also attested in Miletos (μη(νὸς) Τι(βερίου), *I.Milet* 602 l. 9), Smyrna (*Hemerologion*), on Kalymna (*Tit.Cal.* 158 ll. 3–4, 169 l. 1, 175 l. 1, 192A l. 2); Scott 1931, 272 lists one for Pergamon as well, but I could not find any evidence for this.

[651] E.g. Reynolds 1982; Smith 1987, 89–90; Kokkinia 2008; Chaniotis 2009, 329–332.

[652] Robert 1966b, 390–391; Chaniotis 2004b, 412–413; other examples of complete Roman honorific calendars are attested in Egypt (Scott 1931, 241–263; Begert 1996) and Cyprus (Fujii 2013, 144–160).

name would have been used as a mere alternative.[653] It would also seem rather excessive and impractical to have three calendrical systems in use at the same time, and one would have to assume either that such a 12-month-system was introduced under the Julio-Claudians (Kaisar/Kaisareōn, Iouliēos, Klaudiēos, Tiberios) and then modified later on (Traianos Sebastos, Lōos Hadrianos), or that a full system was only established in the 2nd c. AD with Hadrian's reign as *terminus post quem*.

Given the rich epigraphic testimony of Aphrodisias, it appears unnecessary to postulate at least ten more month names to fill all the missing gaps, as exactly 12 Aphrodisian month names are attested.[654] Furthermore, such a mixed system is well attested in Smyrna, Ephesos, and Miletos, and the introduction of Kaisar as the first month of the provincial calendar provides a neat precedent.[655] The month Lōos Hadrianos is the only case of an actual double naming and should thus be treated as a special case. The fact that in all three attestations both names seem to appear jointly speaks against the existence of two separate month systems and might reflect the fact that Hadrian wanted to display his modesty in only having his name added to the traditional month.[656] But what is most telling is that there are two instances in the epigraphic record of Aphrodisias where Macedonian and imperial honorific month names are used within the same document or dossier of

[653] I do not see any major objections for the first month having two names within one system. Similarly, the first day of the month could be referred to in three different ways (Σεβαστή, νουμηνία, α') as Thonemann 2015a, 133–136 has shown for the calendars of northeast Lydia.

[654] The contemporaneous presence of both Kaisar and Kaisareōn in Aphrodisias as well as their overall similarity make it most probable that they refer to the same month, Scott 1931, 265.

[655] Vagts 1920, 38–39 and Scott 1931, 265 support the notion of a mixed system in Aphrodisias.

[656] In *I.Aphr.* 13.206 l. 19 where only Lōos is preserved, there would – according to the photograph on http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph130206.html – actually be enough space to restore Ἁδριανοῦ right after, where there even seem to be letter traces left. In Athens, only an intercalary month was named after Hadrian, while in Egypt he had his own honorific month, Scott 1931, 273 and 261–262.

documents.[657] This dissonance has not so far been satisfactorily explained and is best accounted for by assuming a mixed calendar system.[658]

As part of the calendar reform in 9/8 BC most Greek communities of Asia seem to have implemented the effective, rather ostentatious 'suggestion' to begin the year on Augustus' birthday, and in connection with that some of them also seem to have taken over the Roman 365-day solar year count with its intercalation system and month lengths. Together with the introduction of honorific months for emperors in individual cities, this surely must be seen as an important expression of loyalty and an indication of willingness to integrate into the Roman Empire.[659] Nonetheless, it speaks at the same time of a remarkable degree of surviving independent agency, reflecting the ability to adopt to orders, suggestions, and ideas from Rome, and a certain degree of flexibility and autonomy, in largely retaining their traditional month names and changing them only here and there individually according to their keenness to showcase support for Rome *ex proprio motu*.[660] The Romans themselves on the other hand apparently never sought to enforce their whole calendar system, with its month names and count of days, onto the eastern provinces,[661] but rather acknowledged local patriotism by merely aiming at province-wide harmonisation based on regional traditions.[662] As the analysis of *I.Ephesos* 24B has illustrated, maintaining their old

[657] Gorpiaios and Klaudiēos in *I.Aphr.* 13.604 ll. 2 and 20; and in the testament dossier of Attalos Adrastos also Klaudiēos (*I.Aphr.* 12.1007 l. 19) next to Apellaios, Deios, and Xandikos (*I.Aphr.* 12.26C ll. 1, 11, 17, 24; D l. 6; E l. 10).

[658] Jones and Smith 1994, 471 mention this 'old problem' without resolving it.

[659] Stern 2012, 232.

[660] Stern 2012, 232–233, 284; for the possibility that some cities kept their lunisolar calendar, see Thonemann 2015a.

[661] These also continued to mint their own coins; the western provinces largely adopted the Roman calendar system and coinage, Millar 2000, 17–18; Edelmann-Singer 2015, 274. On the ending of civic coinage in the west, see Burnett, Amandry, and Ripollès 1992, 18–19.

[662] Feeney 2007, 210: 'Partly this is a reflection of the Romans' general administrative preference for laissez-faire and subsidiarity, and the lack of interest in imposing the calendar is related to a wide range of similar policies in other spheres. Partly, however, this hands-off tendency reflected the way that the Roman calendar itself continued to be a distinctive marker of Romanness'.

month names appears to have been of specific importance for the Ionian cities, who still in the 2nd c. AD could use them to distinguish themselves from the other Greek *ethnē* in the Roman Empire.[663]

### 4.1.2 Eponymous magistrates and era dating

The two main ways of linear time reckoning in the Greek world were era dating and the naming of years after eponymous magistrates. It has been highlighted that both could be used as expressions of civic identity or political loyalty.[664] A clear modern example of openly propagandistic identity-construction by means of introducing a new era can be found in Iran, where in 1976 the Shah changed the epoch year of Iranian time reckoning from the traditional Islamic starting point of AD 622 (Muhammad's Hejira) to 559 BC, the first regnal year of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Achaemenid Empire, while retaining the traditional month names.[665]

*Eponymous Magistrates*

To begin with the eponymous dating system, Robert Sherk's series of articles (1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1992, 1993) still offers the most exhaustive collection of the relevant source material and raises important methodological caveats in regard to the numismatic evidence. Yet Sherk's register should be used with caution, as he is on occasion too quick to accept attestations of ἐπί + title as an eponym, even when the evidence is too fragmentary or uncertain, as for example in the cases of Aphrodisias, Herakleia under

[663] Clarke 2008, vii: 'Both the articulation of time and the establishment of parameters for a 'shared' history have been seen individually as modes of self-expression for communities'.
[664] From a numismatic perspective, Howgego 2005, 7–10 on their source value and complementary nature.
[665] This change was revoked only two years later in the face of the changing power dynamics before the revolution, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* s.v. calendars.

Latmos, Klazomenai, Lebedos, or Teos. Sherk's distinction between true and false eponyms was criticised by Dmitriev 1997, whose alternatives of 'whole-city', 'branch', and 'sub-branch' eponyms are not any more convincing.[666] Most of these eponymous offices are generally regarded as having been liturgical in nature, involving the expenditure of money by an individual for the public good.[667] This assumption is further corroborated by the fact that they were often taken over by 'gods' (that is to say the temple treasury), kings, emperors, or members of the imperial family as well, and that deceased citizens are recorded as having discharged them multiple times or 'for eternity' by means of testamentary bequests.[668]

The non-numerical eponymous system only becomes meaningful if continuous lists of such eponymous officials existed as points of reference, as in the better-attested cases of Miletos, Athens, Lindos, Thasos, or Rhodes. The oldest testimony stems from Athens (starting in 597/6 BC), from where we have fragments until AD 30/31; the extant Milesian lists cover a span of almost 600 years (from 525 BC down to the reign of Tiberius, with lacunae); at Kamiros the eponyms are recorded from 279 BC to the late 2nd c. AD.[669] This brief overview alone nicely outlines the impressive tradition and continuity of the practice from the late Archaic to the Roman period, of which the Greeks themselves were proudly

[666] On the Classical and Hellenistic eponymate, see Fröhlich 2016.

[667] Sherk 1991, 250; 1992, 233–234; Quaß 1993, 323–328, and 328–334 on the distinction between *leitourgia* and *summa honoraria*; *I.Ephesos* 10 provides a detailed list of the considerable expenditures of the Ephesian eponymous *prytanis* in the Imperial period.

[668] Robert 1938, 143–150; 1946a, 51–64; and Sherk 1993, 283–288 catalogue gods, kings, emperors, and members of the imperial house attested as eponyms. This can be seen as symptomatic of the general economic condition of a *polis*: the exceptional number of times Apollo Klarios discharged the eponymous *prytaneia* in Kolophon has now risen to 150, Ferrary 2014 I, 600–602 n. 316; in wealthy Ephesos on the other hand, there is only one attestation of Artemis as eponymous *prytanis*, *I.Ephesos* 1078 ll. 2–4, early 3rd c. AD. But this might partly be due to differences in the epigraphic habit of the cities and Sherk's universalistic claim that this was always a sign of severe economic crisis should be modified to the extent that there was also an honorific element at play, especially in the cases of kings and emperors (as already noted by Ehrhardt 1988[2] II, 503 fn. 1157 who criticised it as one-sided and Robert 1959b, 202 fn. 3); for endowments specified through the addition of ἥρως/ἡρωίς, δι'αἰῶνος/εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα/αἰώνιος, or ἀθάνατος, see Robert 1966b, 389–390; Sherk 1993, 289–290.

[669] An overview of all attestations of eponyms' lists can be found in Sherk 1990a, 250–256.

aware.[670] In Asia Minor, the most widespread office to serve as the eponym was the *stephanēphoros* (for example in Miletos, Smyrna, Priene, Chios from the 2nd c. BC on, Magnesia on Maiandros, Herakleia under Latmos, Sardis, Aphrodisias, Iasos, Mylasa, Stratonikeia) which in the Roman period even came to replace earlier titles in Carian, Lydian, and Phrygian cities.[671] Other offices used as eponyms in the Ionian cities include the *prytanis* (for example in Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Phokaia, Teos, Chios until the 2nd c. BC), *dēmiourgos* (on Samos), and *hieropoios* (in Erythrai only).[672] Next to these, more generic titles such as *archōn*, *stratēgos*, or *hiereus* were widely used on the Greek mainland, the Aegean islands, and in the colonies, too. *Koina* could employ their own eponymous dating as well, for example with the *archiereus*/*hiereus* of the Lycian Koinon or the *agonothetēs* of the Koinon of Athena Ilias;[673] for the Ionian Koinon unfortunately we only have one possible attestation from the mid 4th c. BC.[674]

Despite the longevity of the practice, changes in the titles of the eponymous magistrates did occur. In the cases of Miletos, Priene, Chios, and possibly Magnesia on Maiandros this appears to have happened through a gradual internal process of contraction of two titles rather than sudden replacement.[675] That the title of the eponym was a marker of political

[670] Next to the eponyms' lists displayed in inscriptions, see e.g. the fragmentary 2nd c. AD chronicle from Pergamon (*I.Pergamon* 613) drawing the picture of an uninterrupted tradition of the city's eponymous *prytaneia*; Philostr. *soph.* 2.26 (613): καὶ τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἀρχὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἦρξεν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς τίθενται Σμυρναῖοι τὰ ὀνόματα ('and there he held the *stephanēphoros* office, after which the Smyrnaeans name their years', my translation); Arrian dating events in his *Anabasis* frequently by the Athenian *archōn epōnymos* (1.1.1; 2.11.10; 2.24.6; 3.7.1; 3.15.7; 3.22.2; 7.28.1).

[671] McLean 2002, 152–153 with fn. 21.

[672] From Klazomenai there is only one attestation of a possible eponymous magistrate from the 3rd c. BC, *I.Erythrai* 510 l. 16: ἐπὶ προυροῦ Ἑκαταίου.

[673] Sherk 1992, 225–226; 1991, 258; on the Koinon of Athena Ilias, see Ellis-Evans 2016.

[674] *I.Priene*$^2$ 398 ll. 1–2: ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀμύντορος ἔδοξεν Ἰώνων τῆ βουλῆ, from the Panionion.

[675] Sherk 1992, 230–231, 242; 1990b, 265–266; *stephanēphoros* is held to be an honorific addition which came to be used as the sole designation (first Vanseveren 1937, 344–347): *prytanis* > *prytanis stephanēphoros* > *stephanēphoros* on Chios, in Priene, and Magnesia on Maiandros; *aisymnētēs* > *aisymnētēs stephanēphoros* > *stephanēphoros* in Miletos, for which see also Herda 2006a, 58–61. There is no reason to postulate the identity of the well-attested Aphrodisian eponymous *stephanēphoros* with the priest of Aphrodite (which is never used for dating purposes) as Sherk 1991, 231–232 does solely based on one individual who held both offices at different times. Note in particular that his example is the case of a woman who discharges the

dependency and thus ultimately as an expression of civic identity, or the lack thereof, is exemplified by a number of cases: for instance non-Boiotian cities which became part of the Boiotian Koinon in the Hellenistic period took over the league's eponym; on Delos, the dominion of Athens was reflected in the use of the Athenian eponymous *archōn*; when all of Caria was under Rhodian control in the early 2nd c. BC, the Rhodian priest of Helios was used for dating purposes there as well.[676] Similarly, Roman rule in Asia Minor found expression in the use of the priest of Roma (and Augustus) as part of the eponymous dating formula, but it is telling that this dating form is most commonly used in addition to the traditional civic eponym, for example in Pergamon, Kyme, Nysa, Mylasa, Panamara, Side, and on Cyprus.[677] In Sardis, the earlier *stephanēphoros* was replaced as eponym by the priest of Roma as early as the late 2nd c. BC,[678] but this was reversed in the early Imperial period, probably in connection with the introduction of the provincial imperial cult.[679] Other possibilities for showcasing loyalty towards Rome were the dating by the regnal years of an emperor, the mention of the incumbent consuls as equivalents to the Greek eponymous magistrates, or dating by proconsuls.[680]

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*stephanēphoria* multiple times posthumously through an endowment; furthermore, *I.Aphr.* 15.261 (1st–2nd c. AD) makes it clear that these two offices were seen as operating on different levels.

[676] Sherk 1990a, 281; 1990b, 269–270; 1991, 237.

[677] Sherk 1990b, 266; 1991, 243; for the single cities Sherk 1991 and 1992 s.vv.; in Cyprus, references to Roman officials and emperors dominated the dating system, and the traditional eponymous magistrates were only used in conjunction with these, Fujii 2013, 135–156.

[678] Sherk 1992, 244, who wrongly adds a double eponymy of the priest of Roma and the priest of Zeus Polieus at the end of the development. The only piece of evidence for this is a contract between Sardis and Ephesos from 98/97 or 94/93 BC (and thus earlier than the latest attestations of the priest of Roma as single eponym from 'about the end of the first century BC', comm. on *I.Sardis* 114) which specifies the exact date of the beginning of the contract for both cities, *I.Pergamon* 268 DE ll. 34–36: ὡς μὲν Ἐφέσιοι ἄγουσιν ἀπὸ πρυτάνεως Σελεύκου, ἱερέ[ως] δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀρτεμιδώρου, μηνὸς Ταυρεῶνος τετράδος ἀπιόντος· ὡς δὲ Σαρδιανοὶ ἐπὶ ἱερέω[ς] τῆς μὲν Ῥώμης Σωκράτου, τοῦ δὲ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως Ἀλκαίου, μηνὸς Δαισίου τετράδος ἀπιόντος. But as the priest of Roma is never elsewhere recorded as the eponym of Ephesos, and given the overall parallelism of the passage, one should discard the idea of the priest of Zeus Polieus as a Sardian eponym (which Sherk 1992, 245 fn. 66 contradictorily seems to support as well).

[679] Herrmann 1996, 57–58.

[680] This occurs mostly in texts with a certain involvement of Roman officials though; the former practice is attested e.g. in Pontus, Bithynia, Cyprus, Syria, Palaestina, and Arabia, McLean 2002, 157–158; dating by proconsuls occasionally in Ephesos, Guerber 1995, 395–397.

What is noteworthy is that in none of the cities of Ionia was the eponymous office used to express loyalty towards Rome, but that practically all of them continued only to use their traditional eponyms for dating purposes throughout the Imperial period. This is all the more remarkable as the applicability of the eponym system was limited to each individual *polis*, as not only the different titles but especially the different starting points and lengths of their terms of office could pose problems when addressing a supra-*polis* audience.[681]

*Era Dating*

Era dating, the more recent second option for linear time counting, has become the predominant standard in our world: Christian time reckoning, as well as the Jewish and the Islamic calendars, are all era-based systems. Whereas this practice was also very common in Roman Phrygia, Caria, Bithynia, and Lydia, even in private inscriptions, it is conspicuously absent in the source material from the Ionian cities.[682] Using an important historical event – the creation of or annexation into a province, the foundation or liberation of a city, a decisive victory, or the accession to power of a ruler (if continued after his death) – as the starting point from which the years were to be reckoned had a long-standing tradition in the Greek East. Commemorating the reconquest of Babylon by Seleukos I in 312/1 BC, the Seleucid Era was the first proper era-system, which proved to be highly successful and gained currency across a vast area over a considerable span of time.[683] Before the Seleucids, the Achaemenid Persian monarchs, the Egyptian pharaohs, the kings of Babylonia, or Alexander the Great had also counted time after their regnal years, but as

[681] As already noted by Thucydides, see Clarke 2008, 90–93.
[682] Leschhorn 1993 is still fundamental on era dating in Asia Minor and the Black Sea area; see also Kushnir-Stein 2005, 161 on the dating of eras and regnal years on coins, largely absent in western Asia Minor but very common further east.
[683] Kosmin 2014, 100–103 on its innovative force, ideological substance, and model function; see also Leschhorn 1993, 22–43 and Kosmin 2018, 19–44.

this practice was not continued by their respective successors, regnal dating should be seen as a combination of aspects of both eponymous and era dating.[684] The Seleucid Era was the only era which came into wider use in Hellenistic Asia Minor, and even outside Seleucid territory; an awareness of its origins is still attested in the 2nd c. AD (*P.Dura* 25, AD 180 dated amongst others by the Seleucid Era, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πρότερον ἀριθμόν, and the priest of Seleukos I!). The Yemenite Jews use it to this day.[685]

Turning to later eras, the Sullan Era, with 85/84 BC as the epoch year, was introduced by individual cities for different reasons (integration into the province of Asia, liberation or reconstruction) and is attested predominantly in Lydia and Phrygia, but not in Ionia and Aiolis.[686] The use of actual 'provincial eras' – counting from the foundation of the province – is attested for Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia among others, but never for Asia.[687] That the civic dimension was more important here than the provincial one is clearly shown by the fact that cities counted from the moment of their integration into an already existing province rather than from the foundation of the province itself.[688] The use of other civic 'freedom' or commemorative eras (for instance after the advent of an emperor) was mostly limited to coins and did not become widespread in public and private inscriptions. Similarly, mythological/pseudo-historical eras (a Trojan Era, *ab urbe condita*…) and Olympiad dating were used almost exclusively for calculation purposes by scholarly specialists like historians and astronomers or in specifically agonistic contexts.[689] The most well-known examples of

[684] Sherk 1990a, 249–250; Leschhorn 1993, 9. Some (Cyprio-)Phoenician cities (Sidon, Lapethos, Kition) used civic era dating on their coins from the late 4th c. BC on as well, but none of these was especially long-lasting and some might indeed only have been purely minting dates, Lipiński 2004, 171–172.
[685] Kosmin 2014, 101; on the survival of Hellenistic ruler cult in the Roman period, see Noreña 2015.
[686] Leschhorn 1993, 420–423.
[687] Samuel 1972, 247 for the Achaian and Macedonian eras, the latter still attested in AD 180/1 in a delegation by the Macedonian Koinon to Klaros, Ferrary 2014 I, 511 n. 229 l. 2; Leschhorn 1993, 398–410 for Galatia.
[688] Leschhorn 1993, 418–420, in the cases of e.g. Amastris, Abonouteichos, Sinope, and Kibyra.
[689] Amongst all the Roman coins, there is only a single one using the 'birth of the city' for dating, Feeney 2007, 140; Clarke 2008, 109–121 on the Olympiad reckoning.

'victory-eras' are the Pharsalian and the Actian Era, counting from Caesar's and Octavian's decisive victories, which came to be used above all in inland Asia Minor, especially in places where the much more widespread Sullan Era had never been applied.[690] The Pharsalian Era was apparently quickly overshadowed by the introduction of the Actian Era, and is only known once from Lydian Apollonis, and otherwise exclusively from the confined region of the Kaystros Valley, where it was in use at least until the 3rd c. AD.[691] The Actian Era is attested in Lydia and Phrygian Aizanoi, but ultimately neither of these victory-eras gained much currency and no extant coins are dated by them.[692]

There is no doubt that the introduction of era dating was in most cases originally intended as a special honorific measure, comparable to the introduction of honorific months and the imperial cult, which was not at all supposed to replace traditional eponyms.[693] This is suggested by the many instances where both specifications are rendered alongside each other and, particularly tellingly, by an inscription from Lydia where explicit references to the Pharsalian and Actian victories appear before the Greek eponymous magistrate.[694] The occurrences of the Seleucid Era alongside eponyms in Hellenistic texts from Greek cities – the former the official, empire-wide dating system emanating from and firmly rooted in its centre – have recently been described as a 'monumentalized acknowledgement of the community's subordination to the Seleucid kings and their world' and would thus have had very different ideological implications to similar cases featuring Roman eras.[695]

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[690] Leschhorn 1993, 420–428; for their exceptional attestations in Ephesos and on Samos, see below.
[691] Leschhorn 1993, 221–225.
[692] Leschhorn 1993, 424; Clarke 1999, 254–255, 286–287, 304 on the importance of Actium as a chronological watershed in Strabo.
[693] Feeney 2007, 139–140 highlights the limited relevance of eras in the Graeco-Roman world; for the possible connection between Actian Era and cultic veneration of Augustus, see Leschhorn 1993, 379.
[694] *TAM* V,2 1229 (28/27 BC, from Apollonis/Nakokome), ll. 1–7: ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ καὶ πρώτου τῆς Καίσα|ρος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Αὐτοκράτο|ρος θεοῦ νείκης, τετάρτου δὲ τῆς |Καίσαρος τ[οῦ] νεωτέρου Αὐτοκράτορο[ς], | θεοῦ υἱοῦ, στεφανηφόρου δὲ καὶ ἱερέ|ως τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Αἰσ|χρίωνος, μηνὸς Δαισίου δωδεκάτῃ.
[695] Kosmin 2018, 73.

The counting of days and months seems nonetheless to have been of greater importance to the Greeks than year reckoning, as attested in the decree of the Asian Koinon from 9/8 BC where the greatest honour conceivable was the commencement of the year on Augustus' birthday, and not the counting of years from Actium or the emperor's year of birth.[696] There is in fact no case attested where the introduction of an era altered a city's calendar system in any form.[697] Even if it is right and important to stress the honorific dimensions of the era-system, it is also true that, in some parts of the Graeco-Roman world, eras could gain the status of proper dating systems, especially in places without an earlier tradition of year reckoning.[698] This was certainly the case with the Sullan Era which was used in private contexts until the 6th c. AD, by which time it is unlikely that there was clear awareness of the significance of events in 85/84 BC.[699]

The concept of era dating was alien to the Romans, who continued to name their years after the consuls in office, who in turn are more comparable to traditional Greek eponyms. Thus it is not very likely that the Romans took serious initiative in the introduction of eras.[700] The introduction and application of eras in the 1st c. BC must therefore surely be seen as an expression of loyalty towards the Romans and as a means of constructing civic identity for the cities of the Greek East.[701] A good example for the latter can be found in a Klarian list of *theopropoi* from Amisos (AD 131/2), which is dated by a local freedom era as

[696] *I.Priene*$^2$ 14 ll. 43–49.
[697] Leschhorn 1993, 6.
[698] *Contra* Feeney 2007, 140: 'the eras were not dating systems, as they so inevitably appear to be'.
[699] Leschhorn 1993, 423; see e.g. the countless tombstones from rural northeast Lydia in *TAM* V,1, mostly dated by the year rendered in numerals only. To my knowledge the latest testimony here is *TAM* V,1 824 from AD 316/7 (year 401 of the Sullan Era) found at modern Kömürcü in the mountainous region between Iulia Gordos, Thyateira, and Attaleia.
[700] Leschhorn 1993, 419; Feeney 2007, 141.
[701] There are only three era-systems known from the western provinces, the Patavian, the Mauretanian, and the Cantabrian, the latter being a very striking case of retrospective identity-construction, Feeney 2007, 140; Johnston 2017, 56–60.

well as the standard Klarian *prytaneia* dating.[702] This might suggest that local eras could be used by smaller communities as a sort of propaganda currency in the absence of other major city privileges and titles such as *neōkoros*, *mētropolis*, or 'first of...'. On the other hand, it is not possible to demarcate spheres of political influence based on the spread of eras (and calendars), as bigger cities were especially anxious to maintain their traditional ways of eponymous dating.[703] This emerges very clearly from Leschhorn's catalogue of the testimonia of era dating, where the absence of Asia Minor's old and established Greek cities is striking.[704]

In the Smyrnaean corpus there are two inscriptions with era dating, but the editors have noted on stylistic grounds that they are most likely to stem from Phrygia (*I.Smyrna* 432) and Lydia (*I.Smyrna* 541). There is now one further possible attestation of era dating at Smyrna, found in a graffito in the basilica of the agora.[705] As this example might simply reflect the personal habits of the inscriber (whose Smyrnaean identity is not assured), and as the reading of the text of the dating passage itself is not entirely certain, this isolated case should not lead us to postulate the common use of an era in Smyrna.[706] The only secure examples of Ionian cities using era dating are Ephesos and Samos. From the former, we have a well-attested series of *kistophoroi* and gold staters dated by a municipal 'freedom' era beginning in 134/3 BC.[707] Specimens are extant with the numbers 1–86,

[702] Ferrary 2014 I, 264–265 n. 36.
[703] Leschhorn 1993, 34.
[704] Leschhorn 1993, 435–541; there are no attestations (except for the odd instance of the Seleucid Era, mostly in royal correspondence though) from Smyrna, Miletos, Didyma, Chios, Kolophon, Phokaia, Erythrai, Klazomenai, Teos, Lebedos, Priene, Pergamon, Kyzikos, Magnesia on Maiandros, Mylasa, Halikarnassos, Herakleia under Latmos, and Aphrodisias; from Sardis we have very few instances of era dating mostly of uncertain origin (436; 490; 505–506).
[705] In the formidably edited corpus Bagnall et al. 2016, 200 T16.1.
[706] As Bagnall et al. 2016, 36–40 do. Unfortunately, the name of the inscriber, Charias, was not very common in the Imperial period (4x only according to *LGPN*), so that it cannot be allocated to a certain region. But if the editors are right in referring the date to the Actian Era, it might point again to Lydia or Phrygia.
[707] Leschhorn 1993, 204–208 and Callataÿ 1997, 169 follow Rigsby 1979, who first argued that this era does not refer to the creation of the province of Asia (*contra* e.g. Kleiner 1972), but to a grant of freedom to

corresponding to 134/3–49/48 BC, with only minor lacunae.[708] As the evidence for this era is only numismatic, and the traditional dating system after the eponymous *prytanis* continued to be applied without interruption in Ephesian inscriptions until the 3rd c. AD, it is most likely that the era dating was intended not as a dating system proper, but a commemorative measure adding to the city's renown through reference to its special status of freedom.[709] That this narrative was maintained even when Ephesos had undoubtedly become part of the Roman Empire is all the more telling and provides an interesting insight into early perceptions of Roman rule in Ephesos. The one isolated attestation of the Pharsalian Era in *I.Ephesos* 1387 suggests that it was introduced to honour Caesar and as a short-lived expression of loyalty towards Rome, but is unlikely to have been responsible for the disappearance of the civic era on the coins, which is last attested in 49/48 BC; *kistophoroi* continued to be minted afterwards without any era dating.[710] Furthermore, the Pharsalian Era was surely never an alternative to the *prytanis* dating system, which is also used in the same inscription.[711] All other instances of era dating from Ephesos belong to the agonistic sphere and need not be discussed here.[712]

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Ephesos (and probably more Asian cities) in Attalos III's will; after the discovery of *I.Metropolis* 1 in 1999 (published in 2003), we now know that the Romans decreed freedom to all the cities of the former Attalid kingdom at some point after 133 BC, which does not exclude the possibility though that this was a mere confirmation of the regulations in the Attalid bequest. As this era is only attested in Ephesos, it should still be regarded as a freedom era of municipal scope, which is also supported by Metcalf 2017, 12–22 who provides a catalogue of the Ephesian *kistophoroi*.

[708] Leschhorn 1993, 487–488; for a die study for the years 89–85 BC, see Callataÿ 1997, 160–179.

[709] Rigsby 1979 even constructs a plausible scenario in which, out of all Asian cities, only Ephesos was granted this privilege next to Pergamon by Attalos III; on Ephesos' legal status during the Imperial period, see Guerber 1995.

[710] *Contra* Rigsby 1979, 40 and Leschhorn 1993, 206, who connect the disappearance of era dating on the Ephesian *kistophoroi* in a monocausal way with Caesar's presence in Asia Minor, but overestimate the importance of the single instance of Pharsalian dating at Ephesos (its hinterland with its own cultural and administrative traditions should not be taken as further evidence here).

[711] *I.Ephesos* 1387 ll. 1–4: ἔτους δεκάτου τῆς Γαΐου Ἰουλίου Καίσα|ρος νίκης, ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀράτου |τοῦ Ἀράτου τοῦ Ἀρτέμωνος, μηνὸς Μαι|μακτῆρος ἐνάτῃ ἱσταμένου.

[712] Using the local Ephesia and the Ephesian Olympia games imitating the Olympiad reckoning, in honorific inscriptions for athletes and victory lists only (e.g. *I.Ephesos* 1105A; 1106; 1119; 1121A; 1130; 1604; 1605; 1608), Leschhorn 1993, 289 fn. 2.

It is on Samos that the Actian Era is first attested, where it was continuously used by the *neōpoiai* of the Heraion recording their discharge of office until its replacement by a new and unique counting system beginning with Augustus' apotheosis in AD 14/15.[713] The two isolated attestations of a 'colonial' era from the Augustan period should be seen as short-lived separate cases, probably only used by resident Romans with no bearing on the official year count.[714] The traditional eponymous magistrate of Samos, the *dēmiourgos*, continues to be attested in the Roman period, appearing on its own as well as together with an era dating.[715] As the Apotheosis Era is not, however, limited to the *neōpoiai* texts and is attested until the late 2nd c. AD, even in private inscriptions, it seems to constitute the only exception to date of a stand-alone era dating coming into wider use in an Ionian city.[716] A possible explanation for this might be found in the special connection between Samos and Augustus – it was to this island that he went straight after his victory at Actium, and he was revered as 'Olympios' there – which in turn is likely to be based on a patron-client connection between the family of Livia and the island.[717] That the Samians perpetuated the

[713] Actian from 28/27 BC–AD 13/14: *IG* XII 6,1 159; 186; 187; 190; 191; Leschhorn 1993, 371–373.

[714] Leschhorn 1993, 373–376 summarising the scholarly debate on this question; Hallof's emendation in *IG* XII 6,1 186 l. 66 (ἔτους) λδ' τῆς κολωνίας instead of (ἔτους) δ' τῆς κολωνίας unnecessarily complicates matters.

[715] Sherk 1990b, 289 'feels' that the eponym dating continued to be used under the empire as well, which can in fact be substantiated by the epigraphic evidence: *IG* XII 6,1 190 (a *neōpoiēs* entry from AD 6/7 dated by Actian Era and *dēmiourgos*); 6,1 186 (a *neōpoiai* list from 28/27 BC–AD 13/14 with Actian dating alongside ἐπὶ + name); 6,2 598 (a statue base from AD 25/26 using the Apotheosis Era, Tiberius' years of reign, and the eponym); 6,1 198 (a *neōpoiai* list from the 2nd–3rd c. AD dated by ἐπὶ + name only).

[716] Apotheosis Era in *neōpoiai* lists from AD 27/28–182/3: *IG* XII 6,1 188; 193–195; in other texts: *IG* XII 6,2 598 (statue base, AD 25/26); 6,2 1227 (list of *ephēboi* from the neighbouring island of Ikaria, AD 81/82; according to A. Matthaiou Actian would be possible as well, but it is not otherwise attested after AD 14/15 on Samos); 6,1 420 (honorific base for Antoninus Pius by *boulē* and *dēmos*, AD 153/4–160/1); 6,2 727 (funerary, AD 162/3, Hallof reads ἔτους τμθ instead of [ρ]μθ, which he is unable to connect to any known era; as the letter shapes fit well with an apotheosis dating, this should still be considered as the more likely option); 6,2 801 (funerary, AD 164/5); 6,1 441 (honorific base, AD 175/6).

[717] Jones 2008, 109 calls Samos 'one of his favourite places'; Gnoli 2004, 266; Augustus was called Olympios only on Samos (*IG* XII 6,1 400 l. 3 and 6,2 598 l. 2) and in Mytilene (*IG* XII,2 206 l. 3; 209 l. 5; 540 l. 4; 656 l. 3; *IG* XII Suppl. 42 l. 1), see Herrmann 1960, 101–102; for the involvement of Livia and her family with Samos, see *IG* XII 6,1 390–391 (two bases of her statues dedicated to Hera by the Samian *dēmos*), 6,1 330 (honours for a priestess of Hera and Livia), 6,1 370–371 (honours for Livia's parents), and *I.Aphr.* 8.32 l. 5, where Augustus refuses to grant the status of a free city to Samos despite Livia's intercession (now re-dated by Gnoli 2004, 266 to 31–20/19 BC, supported by Chaniotis in *SEG* 54-1021), Reynolds 1982, 105–106.

memory of the clearly honorific origins of the Apotheosis Era is attested by the fact that, where the regnal years of reigning emperors (ἔτους… τῆς ἡγεμονίας) were occasionally used for dating purposes, this was always done in conjunction with the number of years from Augustus' consecration.[718]

## 4.2 The construction of names

### 4.2.1 Civic subdivisions

Next to dialect and month names, one of the distinctive features for mapping out the spread of the Ionians in the Archaic and Classical periods was the existence of the four old Ionian *phylē* names: Geleontes, Argadeis, Aigikoreis, Hoplēt(h)es.[719] Herodotus mentions them as the predecessors of the Kleisthenic system in Athens and they are (partly) attested as the names of civic subdivisions in Miletos and its colonies, Ephesos, Samos, Kolophon, Teos, and possibly Erythrai.[720] Whereas in most cities (including Athens) the *phylai*-system and with it the names of its tribes changed over time, the old labels still seem to have carried cultural meaning among Greeks after they were incorporated into the Roman province.[721] Both Strabo (8.7.1) and Plutarch (*Solon* 23.4) relate their names and connection to the hero Ion. In the Ionian cities of western Asia Minor, the two *phylai* of the

[718] *IG* XII 6,1 16 and 6,2 598 (under Tiberius); 6,2 1140 (under Vespasian); 6,1 194 (two numerals only, which Leschhorn 1993, 377–378 convincingly assigned to Augustus' apotheosis and Trajan's regnal years).
[719] On their origins and development still fundamental Roebuck 1961 and Roussel 1976, 209–220, complemented by Pierart 1985, 169–190 who do not discuss the attestations of *phylai* in the Roman period though.
[720] Hdt. 5.66; Pierart 1985, 171–184; a new Hellenistic decree from Kolophon reveals that two individuals purchased a plot of land for the *koinon* of the Geleontes, not a *phylē* but another civic subdivision (*genos*?) at Kolophon, Rousset 2014.
[721] The most exhaustive treatment of Greek civic subdivisions is Jones 1987, who embraces the notion of general decline, referring mainly to a decreasing complexity of civic subdivision though.

Bōreis and Oinōpes were apparently added early on to this tetrad.[722] Through the unique testimonies from the Milesian colonies of Kyzikos, Odessos, Tomis, and Istros, we know that these six names in fact survived there until the 3rd c. AD.[723] In their *mētropolis* the ten Kleisthenic *phylai* names were taken over at some point at the end of the 5th c. BC, to which two more came to be added; this system of 12 turned out to be very stable and continued to exist at least until the 2nd c. AD.[724] The picture is very similar in Priene which used the ten Athenian *phylai* from early Hellenistic times on.[725] To the six known *phylai* of Smyrna (Albēis, Ammōnis, Artemeisias, Lētōis, Mētrois, and Thēssēis)[726] can now probably be added a *phylē* Smyrnaiōn.[727] As all of them are attested in Imperial funerary texts, however, no statement can be made about continuities and changes in the Smyrnaean system.

It is only at Ephesos, as the epigraphically richest of the Ionian cities, that all *phylai* names are directly attested, and the increasing number of testimonies for the Ephesian sub-subdivisions of *chiliastyes* has now risen to 45.[728] While Ephesos had its own five traditional *phylē* names (Epheseis, Tēioi, Bembeinaioi/Bembinē, Euōnymoi, Karēnaioi),[729] to which a Sebastē, Hadrianē, and Antōni(ni)anē were added under the empire, it is very curious that

[722] As they existed not only in Miletos and its colonies, but also in Ephesos (e.g. *I.Ephesos* 1578A l. 7: Βορεύς; l. 8: Οἴνωψ) and on Samos (*IG* XII 6,1 56 l. 35: χιλιαστὺς Οἴνωπες; 140 l. 4: φυλῆς ΒΩ[ρέων?]) it is best not to refer to them as Milesian (*contra* Herda 2006a, 31), but as Ionian as well.

[723] Ehrhardt 1988², 98–112; this conservatism in the colonies could be indicative of a heightened interest in maintaining a sense of Ionian identity in a culturally very different environment; see Mitchell 2010 on the Ionians of Paphlagonia and below Chapter 5.1.3.

[724] *I.Didyma* 269 l. 9: τὰς ιβ' φυλάς, 2nd c. AD; on the Milesian *phylai*, see now also Herda 2006a, 31–34.

[725] Even if very unlikely, due to the overall scarcity of extant source material from Roman Priene, it cannot be established with certainty whether and to what extent Roman rule affected the internal organisation of this *polis*.

[726] Jones 1987, 302–303.

[727] Sänger 2009, n. 2 l. 8: τῇ Σμυρναίων φυλ[ῇ], attested in a very fragmentary Imperial funerary inscription from the 'Domitiansdepot' in Ephesos, the provenance of which is unclear though, Sänger points out that the formulations used have better parallels in Smyrna than in Ephesos. Furthermore, we know all the *phylai* in Ephesos, whereas the Smyrnaean system remains incomplete.

[728] Engelmann 1996b collects all the testimonies (except for the Alchēmenioi from *I.Ephesos* 68 l. 4) and offers a convincing explanation for the few exceptions to the rule that one *chiliastys* always belonged to the same *phylē*.

[729] Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F126 gives an aetiological account for all of them, rendering the epigraphically unattested form Bennaioi instead of Bembeinaioi.

the six old Ionian designations survived there as *chiliastyes* well into the Roman period.[730] The same is indeed attested on Samos and in Kolophon,[731] and could have occurred in Miletos as well, where the six old *phylai* names might have been transferred to a sub-subdivision (*chiliastys*?); but as the latter are poorly attested in Miletos this has to remain speculation. The fundamental importance of the *phylai* for the self-assertion of the Ephesian citizens has been persuasively shown by Guy Rogers in his insightful study of the Salutaris foundation from AD 104.[732]

As with their month names and lack of interest in era dating, the Ionian cities seem also to have been traditional and conservative in regard to the designations for their civic subdivisions. The continued use of the old Ionian (Ephesos, Kyzikos, the Milesian Black Sea colonies) and Athenian *phylē* names (Miletos, Priene?), which could be perceived as *mētropolis* of the Ionians (see above ch. 3.2.1), speaks of the continued preservation of a sense of distinct identity under the Roman Empire.[733]

### 4.2.2 Onomastics

It has almost become a truism that 'a study of personal names may be highly revealing if we are interested in the cohesion and cultural continuity of a specific community'.[734]

[730] The Hoplētes are not attested, but as we know that all the other five were part of the Epheseis *phylē*, it is highly likely that they existed in Ephesos as well. There is a considerable number of imperial *chiliastys*-naming which is exclusively related to the Julio-Claudians: Ioulieus, Tiberieus, Klaudieus, Nerōnieus, Drousieus, Kaisareus, Ancheiseus, Aphrodeisieus, Philorōmaios, and possibly also Bretannos, see the tables in Engelmann 1996b, 96–99. On *phylai* in cities of Asia Minor named after individuals, see Corsten 2014 (none from Ionia).

[731] Samos: *IG* XII 6,1 56 l. 35: χιλιαστὺς Οἴνωπες; Kolophon: Meritt 1935, 308–381 n. VI l. 2: Γελέοντας, most likely a *genos*, and not a *phylē* as the editor thinks.

[732] Rogers 1991.

[733] Marek 2016, 423–424.

[734] Morpurgo Davies 2000, 24 highlighting the deliberate nature of name giving and thus the awareness about distinctive onomastic features; but she also points out that conservatism in onomastics must not necessarily go along with dialect and cultural conservatism.

Naming habits have been labelled 'one of the features of regional identity'[735] and have been convincingly brought into effect to map out the expansion of a particular sphere of political and cultural influence.[736] Yet, whereas onomastic habits surely reflect a certain degree of ethnic awareness as well, it is important to exercise caution when inferring ethno-cultural self-perceptions from personal names, as matters are often too complex to allow for such simplistic deductions.[737] With the ongoing publication of the volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, and especially by means of its database, the study of Greek onomastics is being put on an entirely new basis. Important contributions to the field have been and continue to be made by harnessing the comprehensive data set contained in this corpus.[738] The material of the Ionian cities is spread out over three volumes: Chios and Samos are in Vol. I together with the other Aegean islands, Cyprus, and Cyrenaica; Vol. VA covers not only most of Ionia, but also Pontos, Bithynia, Mysia, Troas, Aiolis, and Lydia; Miletos and Myous are found in Vol. VB next to coastal Asia Minor from Caria to Cilicia.[739] Furthermore, the names of the Ionian Black Sea colonies in Vol. IV were of interest for our purposes here as well.

The final result of my search in the *LGPN* database for the period 50 BC–AD 299, which will form the statistical basis for this chapter, was 2,148 different names[740] attested for 7,469 individuals, with individual attestations subdivided as follows: Ephesos and its hinterland 2,627; Miletos/Didyma with the islands of Patmos, Leros, and Lepsia 2,230; Smyrna 877;

[735] Brixhe 2013, 28.

[736] E.g. Hatzopoulos 2000 for Macedonia.

[737] Coşkun 2013, 101 regarding Galatian and Phrygian naming patterns: 'A certain awareness of ethnic diversity must be reflected in these data'; but Parker 2013, 6: 'a simple inference from the apparent origin of an individual's name to his or her ethnicity or ethnic self-definition is often problematic'; 7: 'names are in many contexts useless as ethnic identifiers'.

[738] E.g. the collective volumes Hornblower and Matthews (eds) 2000, Matthews (ed.) 2007, Parker (ed.) 2013 and 2019.

[739] See the explanations for this in the introductions of the respective volumes.

[740] 839 with only one (39.1%, as compared to 54.5% in *LGPN* VA), 280 with two, 129 with three, 67 with four, 39 with five attestations; that means only 6.9% of the names are attested more than five times.

Metropolis 279; Phokaia 266; Chios 255; Kolophon/Klaros 250; Magnesia on Maiandros 209; Samos 205; Priene 78; Erythrai 70; Teos 69; Klazomenai 28; Lebedos 7; 19 were not securely locatable.

The 15 most popular names were

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ἀπολλώνιος | 171 | Ἡρακλείδης | 61 |
| Διονύσιος | 171 | Μένανδρος | 61 |
| Ἀρτεμίδωρος | 103 | Βασσός | 55 |
| Ἀλέξανδρος | 94 | Ῥοῦφος | 53 |
| Δημήτριος | 84 | Διογένης | 48 |
| Μητρόδωρος | 66 | Ἀσκληπιάδης | 44 |
| Ζώσιμος | 64 | Μηνόφιλος | 43 |
| Ἄτταλος | 62 | | |

Aside from the expected intrusion of Hellenistic dynastics and Latin names,[741] there is little difference between the most popular names in Roman Ionia and those of other periods and regions of the Greek world. Most of them are in fact Panhellenic and were used to a similar degree in other Greek communities and regions as well.[742] That Ionian onomastics are nonetheless deserving of a separate analysis had already been pointed out by Louis Robert, but they have not yet been covered comprehensively.[743]

'The first names that come to mind when we think of Ionic onomastics are usually those inspired by local cults and institutions (the Molpoi, Hecate, Meter, Men), by the great rivers

[741] On the use of Latin *cognomina* in Asia Minor, see Solin 2018; on Roman names in Greek cities, see Balzat 2019, who reaches the conclusion that the diffusion of Roman citizenship brought 'a new sort of sensibility towards onomastic choice' (235) in the Greek East of the Imperial period.
[742] Regarding the theophorics, see e.g. the chart in *LGPN* VA, XVII.
[743] Robert 1963, 315 fn. 1: 'J'aurai à le développer dans une étude générale sur l'onomastique ionienne'.

of Anatolia, or certain compounds with ἄναξ, θέμις or ἀγορή'.[744] This statement needs to be refined to a certain extent: names deriving from Hekatē, Mētēr, Mēn, and even the Molpoi were not confined to Ionia, but were also popular in many other regions of Asia Minor, such as Caria, Mysia, Troas, or Bithynia. Potamophoric names (after the Kaïkos, Hermos,[745] Kaystros, Maiandros, Skamandros, or Sangarios for example) were also used in Aiolis, Mysia, and Lydia. What is more, these three 'Ionian' onomastic trends belong largely to the Archaic and Classical periods, and none of them are still significantly present in Roman Ionia,[746] where we find for example only three attestations of a name based on the Molpoi (Εὔμολπος, all from Miletos). Names on ἄναξ, ἀγορή, and θέμις remain in use, but decline drastically compared to the pre-Roman periods, as do potamophoric names.[747]

Another major feature of naming practices in Classical and early Hellenistic Ionia was the use of simple names based on children's appellatives and words for private body parts, employed at all social levels.[748] Such names apparently came to be regarded as old-fashioned from Hellenistic times on, and survived into the Roman period only as second

[744] Curbera 2013, 107; this is also apparent in the onomastic study of the Milesian colony Apollonia Pontike in the Classical period, Avram 2010.

[745] Especially Smyrnaean names on Ἑρμ- could potentially be seen as compounds derived from the local river Hermos (see Thonemann 2006, 31–33) and the comparatively higher percentage of 3.88% in Roman Smyrna as compared to 1.75% in Roman Ephesos might indeed suggest this, but it is ultimately impossible to distinguish between theophoric and potamophoric names in this case, especially because the Ἑρμ-names from Roman Smyrna (e.g. 15x Ἑρμογένης, 6x Ἕρμιππος) were not limited to the settlements along the river, but common in many parts of the Greek world. For this reason they have been left out of consideration here.

[746] Thonemann 2006, 24–27 for the chronological and geographic distribution of the potamophoric names formed on Maiandros.

[747] Potamophorics: 2x Κα(ι)ΰστριος; 2x Μανδρύλος, 1x Μαιάνδριος, 1x Μανδρυλιανός, 1x Μανδρογένης, 1x Διόμανδρος, as compared to the large body of attestations collected in Thonemann 2006, 16–20; ἄναξ: 3x Ἑρμησιάναξ, 2x Ἀναξαγόρας, 2x Λεῶναξ, 1 Ἀναξικράτης, 1x Ἀναξίλαος, 1x Ἀναξίπολις, 1x Ἀριστῶναξ, 1x Δημῶναξ, 1x Καλλιάναξ, 1x Καλλιάνασσα, 1x Κλεάναξ, 1x Κλεάνασσα, 1x Μητρῶναξ, 1x Τιμησιάναξ; ἀγορή: 17x Ἀθηναγόρας, 2x Ἀρισταγόρας, 2x Ἑρμαγόρας, 1x Ἀνταγόρας, 1x Δημαγόρας, 1x Ἰσαγόρας, 1x Νικαγόρας, 1x Σφοδραγόρας, 1x Τιμαγόρας; θέμις: 4x Θεμίσων, 3x Θεμίστιος, 2x Ἀμφίθεμις, 2x Θεμιστοκλῆς, 1x Ἰατρόθεμις, 1x Θεμιστώ.

[748] Curbera 2013. The indigenous names surviving occasionally as second names in Roman Ionia and Asia Minor in general have been treated thoroughly by Robert 1963 and Zgusta 1964 and need not concern us here.

names after a compound name, which speaks nonetheless for a certain degree of cultural continuity.[749]

The general popularity of theophoric names in Greek onomastics is visible in the personal names of Ionia as well, and even to a larger extent than elsewhere in the Greek world, with a comparatively higher number of formations based on the Anatolian gods Mēn and Mētēr.[750] 'Heronyms' such as Telemachos, Nestor, Hektor, Sarpedon, or Ajax have recently been shown to have been especially popular amongst non-Greek peoples in Hellenistic and Roman Anatolia (for example Lycia, Pisidia, Isauria, Lykaonia) where they were used as distinction markers, displaying Greek *paideia* and replacing indigenous names, but this trend is not traceable in Roman Ionia.[751] Local historical celebrities of Ionian cities, such as Thales of Miletos, Bias of Priene, or Anakreon of Teos, have not found their way into the onomastic material either. The picture is slightly fuller for the mythical founders of the Ionian cities. Androklos, the founder of Ephesos, is very scarcely attested as a personal name and with no specific pattern discernible.[752] The Milesian founder Neileus/Nēleus is only scarcely attested as a personal name in Chios, the Milesian colony of Amisos, Skepsis, Attica, Corinth, Cyrene, and Thessalian Krannon.[753] Kydrēlos/Kyarētos, founder of Myous: 0x; Andropompos, founder of Lebedos only 2x in Ephesos (3rd/2nd c. BC); Andraimōn, founder of Kolophon: 0x; the Prienean founders Aipytos 2x in Epidamnos (Hellenistic and

[749] E.g. Dionysios Baus, Artemōn Gellias, Mēnogenēs Minnas, Curbera 2013, 116; see also Thonemann 2010, 168.

[750] *LGPN* VA, XVI–XVII; see also Parker 2000 on the usefulness of theophoric names for establishing the spread and popularity of particular cults; esp. 69–70, where he establishes that, wherever certain name types are particularly frequent, a corresponding cult is usually prominently attested as well, even if an existing cult was not always mirrored in a region's onomastic pattern.

[751] E.g. Telemachos 0x, Nestor 2x, Hektor 1x, Sarpedon 0x, Ajax 0x; Thonemann 2015b. The numbers given exclude the attestations of the mythological figures in literary sources taken into account by *LGPN*.

[752] 9x in total, 1x from Imperial Ephesos.

[753] Chios: 5x from the late 2nd c. BC to the 2nd c. AD; Amisos: 1x Hellenistic/Imperial; Skepsis: 1x second half of the 4th c. BC; Attica: 1x 4th–3rd c. BC, 1x AD 162–170, 1x AD 166/7; Corinth: 1x from the 2nd c. BC; Cyrene: 1x 2nd–1st c. BC; Krannon: 1x 215 BC.

Hellenistic/Imperial) and Philōtas 266x (with no pattern discernible, as it is too generic a name to be exclusively connected with this figure). Of the number of successive founders of Teos (Athamas, Nauklos, Poikēs[754], Damasos, and Gerēs), none has a prominent role in Ionian onomastics.[755] Knōpos, founder of Erythrai: 0x; Philogenēs, founder of Phokaia: 24x; the Klazomenian founder Paralos: 15x; Egertios, founder of Chios: 2x; the Samian founders Tembriōn 0x and Proklēs 130x in total (61x in Attica, but no clear connection to the Samian founder is discernible).[756] Just as elsewhere in the Greek world, and especially in the pre-Roman period, mythological founders apparently did not play an important role in Ionian naming practice.[757]

What can be seen from this brief overview is that of all the 85 attestations of Ionian founding fathers (not taking into account the more generic Philōtas and Proklēs), 51 (= 60%) stem from Ionia, Attica, the Ionian islands of the Aegean, or the Ionian colonies (mostly in the Black Sea region), 15 (= 17.6%) from Ionia alone, and 10 (= 11.8%) from Roman Ionia.

Regarding onomastic expressions of Ionianness, one might be tempted to look for explicit formations based on Ἰων-, but a search in the *LGPN* database quickly reveals that names such as Ἰωνικός/Ἰωνική, Ἰώνιος/Ἰωνία/Ἰωνίη, or Ἰωνίς are rarely attested in the Ionian cities, just as elsewhere in the Greek world, at all times.[758] One may however single out the

[754] Strab. 14.1.3; Paus. 7.3.6, the only parallel for the list of Teian founding fathers, has Apoikos for Poikēs. But given the epigraphic attestation, the Strabo manuscript reading Ποίκης should be preferred here, as had already been pointed out by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906b, 64.

[755] Athamas: 1x in Kos, mid 4th c. BC; 1x in Chios, second half of the 1st c. BC; 1x in Olbia, 4th/5th c. AD; 1x in Ptolemais-Barca in Cyrenaica, 1st c. AD; 2x in Poseidonia-Paestum, 6th c. BC and Hellenistic; 1x in Amphipolis, first half of the 3rd c. BC; 1x in Ephesos, Hellenistic/Imperial. Nauklos: 1x in Ephesos, first half of the 3rd c. BC. Poikēs: 1x in Teos, 2nd c. BC. Damasos: 2x in Athens, 5th and 4th c. BC; 1x in Olbia, 3rd c. BC; 1x in Abdera, 5th c. BC; 1x in Kyme, ca 350–250 BC; 1x in Tralleis, 2nd–1st c. BC. Gerēs: 2x in Aristophanes, 2x on Cyprus, 6th–4th c. BC.

[756] Philogenēs: 24x of which 11x in Attica, mainly 2nd c. AD; 1x in Miletos, 1st c. AD. Paralos: 15x of which 1x in Smyrna, 1st–2nd c. AD; 1x in Miletos, Imperial. Egertios: 1x in Athens, 6th c. BC; 1x in Erchia, ca 360–350 BC.

[757] Thonemann 2015b, 359.

[758] Ἰωνικός: 18x almost all Imperial; Ἰωνική: 9x all Imperial; Ἰώνιος: 1x 113–100 BC; Ἰωνία: 7x of which 4x Imperial; Ἰωνίη: 1x 3rd c. BC; Ἰωνίς: 4x of which 2x Imperial; only 6 out of these 40 (15%) stem from Ionian cities.

Milesian family of the Panhellene Cornelius Miletos who named his daughter, who was to serve as *hydrophoros* at Didyma, Ἰωνική.[759] The concurrence of these two rather unusual names in this family seems indeed to betray a desire to express Ionianness through personal names.

Unsurprisingly, Ἴων (48x) who played no cultic role in the Ionian cities but apparently had its own sanctuary in Athens, is comparatively more common in Attica, especially in the Hellenistic period, but this is not at all the case in Ionia.[760] Only one Πανιώνιος is attested from Chios (Hdt. 8.105).[761] Such specific ethno-cultural onomastic choices do not seem to have been made with a view to showcasing one's Ionianness. The case of a Milesian buried in Attica in the 1st–2nd c. AD is revealing for our purpose, as there Ἰωνικός is clearly marked as a nickname: [Φιν]τίας ὁ καὶ Ἰωνικὸς Μηνοφ[ίλου] |Μειλήσιος (*IG* II$^2$ 9927). Note that a Milesian is here labelled 'the Ionian' and thus disassociated from the local inhabitants in Athens.[762] Where it occurrs, this seems to originate in an etic ascription, especially common with slave names, which provides, however, a further testimony for the continued perception of Ionia as a distinct entity in the Roman period.[763]

It is further remarkable that most of those attestations stem from the Imperial period. This becomes even more apparent when we widen the horizon and include onomastic material from the city of Rome with 89 attestations of Ionicus/Ionica and similar names.[764] Similarly,

[759] *I.Didyma* 361 with the corrections of Robert 1959a, 667.
[760] Attica: 19x, of which 10 from the Hellenistic period; Ionia: 5x in total, 1x in Chios, 5th c. BC; 2x in Samos, 5th and 4th c. BC; 1x in Ephesos, 5th c. BC; 1x in Smyrna, 3rd c. BC; see Chapter 3.2.2.
[761] Hornblower 2003, 51–53 convincingly argued that this was an unhistorical invention of Herodotus 'to conjure up Ionianism' (53); the entry Πανιωνις? in *LGPN* VB based on *I.Stratonikeia* 1232 needs to be corrected to Παιωνις as pointed out by the editors in *I.Stratonikeia* II,2 35; Πανήωνεις was in fact a misprint for Παήωνεις.
[762] See also *IG* II$^2$ 9583 (2nd c. AD) where it was used as proper name in the patronymic of a Milesian in Athens (the same [Phin]tias?): Ἑρμείας · Ἰωνικοῦ · Μειλήσιος. Further, four Athenians bearing the name are attested between AD 144/5 and AD 211/2.
[763] On ethnics as personal names, see Fraser 2000, who comes to the conclusion that they were normally used outside of the region they were derived from.
[764] Solin 2003$^2$, 626–628.

Greek Ἀσιατικός is attested 85x in total, 37 of which in Asia, and Latin Asiaticus/Asiatica/Asia 93x in Rome. Whereas other Greeks would of course also have used ethnics as nicknames which could become proper personal names, this evidence strongly suggests that the Greek attestations of names formed on Ionia and Asia mostly reflect Roman onomastic practice.

It would thus seem that naming practices had little to do with Ionian identity-constructions in the Roman period, but one further possibility which has hitherto been neglected remains to be explored: names deriving from month names of specifically Ionian flavour, such as Apatouriōn, Lēnaiōn, Anthestēriōn, Thargēliōn, Taureōn, Boēdromiōn, and Metageitniōn.[765] These month names seem to have originally derived from festival names, which in turn could be linked to epithets of deities, but it is not always clear which of the latter two came first.[766] It is not necessary, however, to assume that a certain month name presupposes the existence of a corresponding festival, as indeed in most of the cities using Ionian months these names are not attested as festivals.[767] Cult epithets connected with the seven month names just mentioned are as good as absent from the source material from Asia Minor, and are attested for the greatest part only in literary sources, but not in the epigraphic material; for Anthestēriōn as an epithet I could not find even a single testimony.[768] Thus, it appears that it was indeed the more widespread months, and not the festivals or deities, which played a major role in Ionian naming habits, and that there

[765] Robert 1959b, 233 fnn. 1 and 3 calls Ἀνθεστήριος a 'nom essentiellement ionien' and Ἀπατούριος a 'nom massivement ionien'.
[766] Trümpy 1997, 1–2.
[767] No epigraphic testimonies for Apatouria, Lēnaia, Tauria, Boēdromia; Metageitnia only in Miletos (*I.Milet* 133 ll. 20–21, 2nd c. BC); Thargēlia in Miletos (*I.Milet* 133 l. 20, 2nd c. BC) and Priene (*I.Priene*$^2$ 416 l. 7, mid 4th c. BC); Anthestēria in Teos (*CIG* 3044B ll. 32–33, ca 470 BC; *SEG* 31-985D ll. 1–2, 6–7, 480–450 BC), Didyma (*I.Didyma* 258 l. 12, early Imperial), and Kyzikos (*CIG* 3655 l. 20, beginning of the 3rd c. BC; *SEG* 28-953 l. 52, second quarter of the 1st c. AD).
[768] See the respective entries in *RE*.

existed an awareness of the Ionianness of certain month names has been shown above in the case of *I.Ephesos* 24B. The city of Erythrai may illustrate this hypothesis. A famous list of priesthood sales (*I.Erythrai* 201, 300–260 BC) includes 54 different deities, most of whom bear an epithet. A quick survey of the *LGPN* database reveals that none of these epithets, in fact, is reflected in the 654 names from Erythrai attested for 1,413 individuals throughout antiquity.[769] In contrast, three of the Erythraean month names feature in the city's onomastics.[770]

The chronological and geographical distribution of personal names based on Ionian month names is as follows. Of the 177 attestations of Ἀπατούριος, Ἀπατούρη (2x), and Ἀπατούρις (3x) 51 stem from Ionia (25 of which from Miletos alone, followed by 16 from Priene), 46 from Ionian Black Sea colonies, 32 from the Aegean islands (19 of which from Delos, 3 from the other Kyklades, 1 from Euboia, 7 from Rhodes, and 2 from Kos), 30 from other parts of Asia Minor (15 from Caria[771], 7 from Mysia, 1 from Aiolis, 1 from Bithynia, 6 from Cilicia), 15 from Attica, and 3 from other parts of the Mediterranean (Macedonian Philippi, Magnesian Demetrias, Byzantium). With its 7 attestations in Roman Miletos, the name apparently continued to be in use and is in fact amongst the 50 most popular names of the city in that period. The 16 persons from Priene called Ἀπατούριος all lived between the 1st c. BC and the 1st c. AD. In the Black Sea colonies as well, the name remained popular, with roughly half of the attestations belonging to the Roman period. In Attica its popularity

[769] With the single exception of the more generic Βακχύλος (1x ca 370–360 BC, 1x ca 277–250 BC, 1x AD 147–161) and Βάκχων (1x ca 277–250 BC) which could have been modelled on Dionysos' epithet Bakcheus, which is however far from certain because of the general popularity of names formed on Bakch-.

[770] 4x Λήναιος (ca 306–304 BC; 3rd c. BC; ca 277–275 BC; 1st c. BC–1st c. AD); 3x Ἀπατούριος (ca 277–275 BC; ca 260–250 BC; 2nd–1st c. BC); 2x Λευκαθίδης (1st c. BC) from the month Leukatheōn, see Trümpy 1997, 106.

[771] As with month names, a certain Ionian cultural influence is evident here as well in Carian cities closely connected to southern Ionia such as Herakleia under Latmos (5x from the late 3rd c. BC), Amyzon (1x from the second half of the 2nd c. BC), or Iasos (1x ca 138–133 BC).

declined over time (only 2x in the Roman period), and the same happened on the Aegean islands, where the last attestation dates to ca 150 BC.

The distribution of the name Λήναιος/Λήναις and the female Ληναΐς (7x) is as follows: 103 in total, 51 from Attica, 28 from Ionia, 9 from the rest of Asia Minor, 10 from the Black Sea region, 1 from Delos, 1 from Rhodes, 3 from other regions (Oropos, Thessaly, Campania). In Ionia, it is again Miletos which dominates with 15 attestations, and this time almost exclusively from the Imperial period. This is also the case for the 9 other instances from the rest of Asia Minor. In the Black Sea colonies, no Λήναιος is attested after the 3rd/2nd c. BC, but in Attica the majority again stem from the Roman period, with no attestation before the 2nd c. BC.

The names Ἀνθεστήριος and Ἀνθεστηρίς (1x only) are attested 70x in total, 36 of which in late Hellenistic to Imperial Attica, with no one before the 2nd c. BC; 23 of which in the Black Sea colonies (6 from the Roman period), 8 of which in Ionia, 1 in Lydia, 1 in Mysia, and 1 on Kos. Of the 8 attestations in Ionia, which are all late Hellenistic to Imperial, 6 stem from Miletos.

Aside from the Milesian *hetaira* Θαργηλία from the Archaic period, who is only known from literary sources, 68 attestations survive of the name Θαργήλιος (with its related forms Ταργήλιος, Θαργηλίων, Θαργελεύς and one other female Θαργηλίς). It was never among the commonest names in Ionia: 8 attestations survive, none of which are from the Roman period. Perhaps surprisingly, it was especially popular in a number of cities in Hellenistic Caria, where the month name is however attested only in Iasos.[772] It has already been pointed out that the northwestern and the coastal regions of Caria may be seen as zones

[772] 48 attestations in total: 18x Olymos; 14 Mylasa; 6x Iasos; 3x Herakleia under Latmos; on Iasos, see Trümpy 1997, 114–117.

enjoying close cultural contacts with southern Ionia. But as none of the other Ionian month names are reflected to such a high degree in Carian onomastics, one might speculate whether there existed a local Carian deity with the epithet Θαργήλιος, or whether it was phonetically similar to a Carian name for which it then served as a Greek transliteration.[773] The 24 attestations of Ταυρέας are too small a sample to be of statistical significance, but at least their geographic distribution (16 from Ionia and Attica, 3 of which from the Roman period) marks the name as Ionian, thus likely deriving from the month name Taureōn.

The picture is even more clear-cut with the name Βαδρόμιος, attested 11x and exclusively in Ionia (Ephesos, Miletos, Smyrna, and Kolophon), with 3 of the Ephesians bearing this name belonging to the Roman period. Similarly, Μεταγείτνιος is only attested in Ionia (6x, Ephesos, Smyrna, Miletos, Samos) with the two Imperial attestations stemming both from Miletos.

This survey suggests that, even if the most popular names in Roman Ionia were by and large the same as elsewhere in the Greek world, some characteristics of Ionian naming habits (simple names, names formed with ἄναξ, θέμις, and ἀγορή) survived into the Imperial period to a certain degree. Furthermore, names derived from Ionian month names can be seen as a distinctive feature of the naming practice of Ionia, and continued uninterrupted into the Roman period. In two cases (Λήναιος and Ἀνθεστήριος), this trend even seems only to have started in the late Hellenistic period. Miletos, in particular, appears to have preserved this onomastic undercurrent until the Roman period. We should thus look more closely at Milesian onomastics and see whether this trend can be traced out more

[773] The epithet is attested for Apollo only, *RE* s.v. a); Parker 2000, 69–70 on the connection between the regional popularity of a name and the existence of a corresponding cult; Parker 2013, 5–6 on the assimilation of Greek and indigenous names based on phonetic similarity.

precisely.[774] In the case of Miletos we are fortunate enough to have at our disposal an invaluable source for reconstructing diachronic naming habits, at least among the city's elite: the *stephanēphoroi* lists covering the years 525/4 BC all the way down to AD 31/32, with only one major gap between 183/2–90/89 BC and a minor one between 259/8–233/2 BC.[775] The picture emerging from statistical analysis of these lists is the following:[776]

| | Potamonyms | Compounds of ἄναξ, θέμις, and ἀγορή | Formations on month names | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 525/4–416/5 BC (205 individuals) | 17 | 41 | 0 | 58 (≙ 28.29%) |
| 415/4–314/3 BC (187 individuals) | 3 | 14 | 1 | 18 (≙ 9.63%) |
| 313/2–260/59 BC + 232/1–184/3 BC (137 individuals) | 0 | 8 | 0 | 8 (≙ 5.84%) |
| 89/88 BC–AD 31/32 (176 individuals) | 0[777] | 8 | 2 | 10 (≙ 5.68%) |

Whereas a clear decline in the popularity of 'Ionian' names is evident in potamophoric names and compounds with ἄναξ, θέμις or ἀγορή, month name formations never featured prominently in the surviving *stephanēphoroi* lists. Yet, out of all 2,230 individuals attested for the territory of Miletos from 50 BC–AD 299, only 40 (≙ 1.79 %) bear names of Ionian flavour.[778] That these were used mostly by people of high social status is not only suggested

[774] For a prosopography of Miletos from the Archaic period to Late Antiquity, see now Günther 2017 together with the critical remarks in Thonemann 2018.

[775] I follow Rehm's dating of *I.Milet* 122–128, as the changes proposed by Cavaignac (see the summary in *Milet* VI,1, p. 166–167) are insignificant for the purpose of broader onomastic trends.

[776] Counted are the *stephanēphoroi* themselves as well as their fathers and sometimes grandfathers or adoptive fathers; the *LGPN* database helped to avoid the multiple counting of individuals which appear more than once in the lists.

[777] ᾽Ηγήμανδρος which is attested 3x in the lists is not to be seen as connected with the river Maiandros (᾽Ηγή-μανδρος), but is a compound of 'man' (᾽Ηγήμ-ανδρος), Thonemann 2006, 22–23.

[778] Month names: 7x Ἀπατούριος; 6x Λήναιος/1x Λήναις/2x Ληναΐς; 2x Ἀνθεστήριος; 1x Μεταγείτνιος. Potamonyms: 1x Μαιάνδριος. Compounds with ἄναξ, θέμις or ἀγορή: 1x Λεῶναξ; 1x Ἀναξαγόρας; 1x Ἀναξικράτης; 1x Ἀναξίπολις; 1x Καλλιάναξ; 1x Κλεάνασσα; 3x Θεμίσων; 2x Ἀμφίθεμις; 6x Ἀθηναγόρας; 1x Δημαγόρας; 1x Τιμαγόρας.

by the comparatively higher percentage of 5.68% of such names in the *stephanēphoroi* lists, but also holds true in the majority of the cases outside the *stephanēphoroi* lists, where they are attested for *stephanēphoroi*, *hydrophoroi*, *prophētai*, *tamiai*, *paidonomoi*, or their relatives.[779]

When compared to the better-attested naming habits of Roman Ephesos (2,627 individuals in total, out of which only 25 (≙ 0.95%) bear an Ionian name) or Smyrna (only 4 out of 877 (≙ 0.46%) individuals),[780] it appears that the elite of Miletos, at least in the onomastic field, were more eager to display their Ionianness under the Roman Empire. We can of course only speculate about the reasons for this phenomenon, but one might be tempted to connect it to the decreased importance of Miletos within the province of Asia, which was politically, economically, and culturally largely dominated by Ephesos, Pergamon, and Smyrna.[781] The onomastic Ionianness of the Milesians might thus have occasionally been brought into play as an alternative resource of cultural capital.

The general objection that one should not read too much into the choice of personal names (which is surely justified in many cases, as we are not in a position to know the precise connotations and values which they bore) can be countered in the case of the Ionians with the fact that those names are attested predominantly in Ionia (and culturally connected regions) and, as the Milesian *stephanēphoroi* lists show, even in the Roman period people

[779] E.g. Ἀπατούριος as father of a *hydrophoros* (*I.Didyma* 391B I l. 12), of a *prophētēs* (*I.Didyma* 308 III l. 3), and of a *tamias* (*I.Didyma* 329 ll. 17–18); Μεταγείτνιος as father of a *hydrophoros* (*I.Didyma* 341 l. 5); probably a *stephanēphoros* Μαιάνδριος (*I.Didyma* 349 l. 16); a *tamias* Ἀναξικράτης (*I.Didyma* 272 l. 26); Καλλιάναξ as grandfather of a festival *tamias* (*I.Didyma* 410 l. 4); a *paidonomos* Θεμίσων (*I.Milet* 336 l. 2); a *prophētēs* Ἀμφίθεμις (*I.Didyma* 391B I l. 6); Δημαγόρας as father of a *hydrophoros* (*I.Didyma* 408 l. 6); Ἀθηναγόρας as a *prophētēs* (*I.Didyma* 278 l. 2) and a son of a *gymnasiarchos* and *paidonomos* (*I.Milet* 361 ll. 2–3).

[780] See above fn. 745.

[781] As is illustrated e.g. by Aristides' speech *or.* XXIII, *Concerning concord among the cities*, in which he only mentions those three cities, but not Miletos, as competing for pre-eminence within the province of Asia; or by the fact that there is no attestation for the *neōkoros* title in Miletos before the reign of Septimius Severus and this at a time when Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamon, and even Sardis had long been twice *neōkoros*, Burrell 2004, 55–58; see also Heller 2006b, 297–301; on Miletos' city titles, see Chapter 1.3.2.

were able to know which names were in use over 500 years before. Against the background of the general trend of koine-isation levelling local characteristics from the 4th c. BC onwards, which is also visible in the onomastics of Ionia, the relatively fewer examples of individuals bearing Ionian names in the Roman period should thus be all the more seen as conscious efforts by – and forms of cultural capital for – the civic elites, in order to distinguish themselves from Hellenised indigenous people, other Greek provinicials, or Romans.

That Ionianness mattered also in the field of onomastics on the level of more abstract identity-discourses is nicely shown in an episode from Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*:

> *When he [Apollonius] arrived at Smyrna, the Ionians came out to meet him, since they happened to be celebrating the Panionia. Having also read an Ionian decree in which they entreated him to join their assembly and having come across a name which was not Ionic at all – for a certain Lucullus had signed the resolution – he sent a letter to their* koinon *rebuking them for this barbarism. Indeed, he also found a Fabricius and other such names in their decrees. How seriously he rebuked them is revealed in his letter on this matter*.[782] (my translation)

We are fortunate enough to also have this very letter preserved in the corpus of Apollonius' letters, and it is generally accepted as authentic.[783] It is also worth quoting in full:

> *To the Ionians: You think you ought to be called 'Greeks' because of your ancestry and the earlier migration, but Greeks have a certain bearing and appearance, just as they have particular customs and laws as well as a particular language and way of life. But most of you do not even have their names left, and under this new prosperity you have lost the tokens of your ancestors. And they would not receive you well in their tombs since you have become strangers to them, if really your names once used to be those of heroes, admirals, and lawgivers, but now are those of Luculli, Fabricii, and the blessed Lucanii. I would rather be called Mimnermos*.[784] (my translation)

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[782] Philostr. *Ap.* 4.5: Ἀφικνουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν προαπήντων μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχον Πανιώνια θύοντες, ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα Ἰωνικόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ κοινωνῆσαί σφισι τοῦ ξυλλόγου, καὶ ὀνόματι προστυχὼν ἥκιστα Ἰωνικῷ, Λούκουλλος γάρ τις ἐπεγέγραπτο τῇ γνώμῃ, πέμπει ἐπιστολὴν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν, ἐπίπληξιν ποιούμενος περὶ τοῦ βαρβαρισμοῦ τούτου· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Φαβρίκιον καὶ τοιούτους ἑτέρους ἐν τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις εὗρεν. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐρρωμένως ἐπέπληξε, δηλοῖ ἡ περὶ τούτου ἐπιστολή.

[783] Penella 1979, 24.

[784] Penella 1979, 76–77 n. 71: Ἴωσιν. Ἕλληνες οἴεσθε δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι διὰ τὰ γένη καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν, Ἕλλησι δ᾽ ὥσπερ ἔθη καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλῶττα καὶ βίος ἴδιος, οὕτω καὶ σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ᾽ ὑμῶν γε οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολωλέκατε τὰ τῶν προγόνων σύμβολα. [καλῶς] οὐδὲ τοῖς τάφοις ἐκεῖνοι δέχοιντ᾽ ἂν ἅτε ἀγνῶτας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἴ γε

By calling it a 'token of one's ancestors', Apollonius ascribes considerable significance to a person's name in defining cultural identity. While his main thrust is to highlight the generic contrast between Greek and Roman, his final example of the famous Ionian poet of the Archaic period makes clear that he is also addressing onomastic Ionianness here. This is further taken up by Philostratus when he has Apollonius point out the discrepancy between the ethno-cultural exclusiveness of the Ionian Koinon and their members having non-Ionian names, which was however not a realistic expectation in the Roman period as we have seen.[785] In fact, the poet from the Archaic period is the only attested bearer of the name Mimnermos all throughout antiquity. Apollonius' letter is moreover a very explicit testimony for the notion, especially current in Second Sophistic circles, that Greekness was defined not by one's descent, but by one's way of life, and was thus open to everyone who was willing to acquire Greek customs and culture.[786]

That ways of constructing time and naming practices could have been used as a very visible instrument for showcasing loyalty towards the Romans has been demonstrated in a number of cases of Asian communities (honorific months/*phylai*, introduction of eras). Yet the Ionian cities all shared the feature of a high degree of conservatism, which is especially revealing in the long, often uninterrupted tradition of dating by eponymous magistrates. It can be further seen in their month names and naming practices, which reflect a conscious awareness of their distinct Ionianness, as it acquired new significance within the widened framework of the province of Asia.

πρότερον ἡρώων ἦν ὀνόματα καὶ ναυμάχων καὶ νομοθετῶν, νυνὶ δὲ Λουκούλλων τε καὶ Φαβρικίων καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων. ἐμοὶ μὲν εἴη μᾶλλον ὄνομα Μίμνερμος.

[785] See also Rizakis 2019, 252–253.

[786] Flinterman 1995, 89–127 examines Greek identity in *Ap.*, esp. 92–95 on the dichotomy of cultural vs. ethnic definition of Greekness; see also Graeme 2018, 22–80 on the cultural authority of Apollonius as interpreter in *Ap.*, and Swain 1999 on *Ap.* as an apologia (and Apollonius as champion) of Hellenism.

# 5) Ionianness outside Ionia

*All the same, it is true that they adhere to the name 'Ionian' more than any other Ionians, so let them have their claim to be pure Ionians.*
Hdt. 1.147

*It is the continued existence, rather than the speciousness, of these ethnic claims which is significant.*
Hall 1997, 66

## 5.1 Claims to Ionianness in the Black Sea region

Up until the fall of the Soviet Union, research on the Greek cities of the Black Sea area, which in many cases was based on longstanding archaeological traditions, had mainly been conducted by and published in the languages of the modern states around the northern Black Sea (Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia) and was seldom noticed by western scholars.[787] Since the 1990s, however, academic interest in the region has grown in western Europe and the US, not least because of the engagement of individual academics who have straddled the divide between different scholarly traditions.[788]

The vast majority of the Greek cities around the Black Sea (see Map 3) were founded by settlers who had left Ionia at some point during the Archaic period.[789] The most prominent

[787] Mitchell 2002, 36; there are of course exceptions. Epigraphical corpora for many sites had been available for a long time: *IOSPE* I, II, IV (1885–1901, in Latin), *IOSPE* I$^2$ (1916, in Latin), *IGBulg* I$^2$ (1970, in Latin), *CIRB* (1965, in Russian), *I.Olbia* (1968, in Russian), and the more recent *ISM* I–III (1983–2000, Vol. I–II in Romanian, Vol. III in French), *I.Heraclea Pontica* (1994, in English), *I.Byzantion* I (2000, in German), *I.Sinope* I (2004, in English), and *IOSPE*$^3$ I (2015–, online, in English and Russian).

[788] E.g. G. Kantor who in his work for *SEG* makes Russian publications in the field of epigraphy more visible; I. Polinskaya and A. Ivantchik as directors of the online-based *IOSPE*$^3$ corpus; G. R. Tsetskhladze in numerous publications and collaborations that bring together archaeological and historical expertise (e.g. (ed.) 2012; Manoledakis, Tsetskhladze, and Xydopoulos (eds) 2017); or V. Cojocaru with his bibliography on the north shore of the Black Sea (2014 and 2018), his monograph on proxeny in this region (2016), and the collective volume Cojocaru and Schuler (eds) 2014. Earlier groundbreaking contributions are e.g. Marek 1993, Ascherson 1995, and Vinogradov 1997.

[789] See Tsetskhladze 2014, 317–318 for a reconstruction of the chronology of Black Sea colonisation.

exceptions are the Megarian colonies of Mesambria and Herakleia Pontike, and the latter's own foundations of Kallatis and Chersonesos. Apart from the Teian colony of Phanagoreia on the Taman Peninsula, all the other Ionian settlements are unanimously described as Milesian *apoikiai* in the ancient sources: Apollonia Pontike, Odessos, Dionysopolis, Tomis, Istros, Tyras, Olbia, Theodosia, Nymphaion[790], Pantikapaion, Dioskourias, Phasis, Amisos, Sinope (with Trapezous as a secondary foundation of the latter), and Tieion, to name but the largest and most important.[791] The great fame of Miletos as mother city occasionally led to erroneous attributions of Milesian origin to cities on the Black Sea shore (as for example Strab. 12.3.4 for Herakleia Pontike). For most of these cities, however, this Milesian connection is corroborated through the presence of the mother city's *nomima* (calendars, institutions, personal names, cults) from the earliest phase of Greek settlement.[792]

That general awareness of this Milesian 'colonial' history continued to prevail in the Imperial period is amply attested in the literary sources.[793] Interestingly, Miletos also mentions this explicitly as part of its civic titulature: ἡ πρώτη τῆς Ἰωνίας ᾠκισμένη καὶ μητρόπολις πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πόλεων ἔν τε τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης Μιλησίων πόλις ('The city of the Milesians which was the first of Ionia to be founded and mother city of many great cities in the Pontos, Egypt, and in many places

[790] Nymphaion's mother city is never specified in the extant literary sources; Samos had previously been suggested based on pottery finds, but the discovery of inscriptions mentioning the month name Kalamaiōn, which is otherwise only attested in Miletos and its colonies Perinth and Kyzikos, makes Miletos the more likely candidate: Trümpy 1997, 93; Avram, Hind, and Tsetskhladze 2004, 948.

[791] For all the references, see the individual entries in Avram, Hind, and Tsetskhladze 2004.

[792] Ehrhardt 1988[2] is still the most exhaustive treatment of the relations between Miletos and its colonies; Buĭskikh 2017 analyses the close connections of the architectural styles of the colonies with the Ionian motherland.

[793] E.g. Strab. 14.1.6; Sen. *Helv*. 7.2 (Miletos is the mother city of 75 colonies); Plin. *nat.* 5.112 (over 90 Milesian colonies); individual cities as Milesian foundations: Amisos (Strab. 12.3.14), Apollonia (Strab. 7.6.1), Dioskourias (Arr. *per. p. E.* 10.4), Istros (Strab. 7.6.1; Plin. *nat.* 4.44), Odessos (Strab. 7.6.1; Plin. *nat.* 4.45), Olbia (Strab. 7.3.17), Pantikapaion (Strab. 7.4.4; Plin. *nat.* 4.87), Sinope (Strab. 12.3.11; Arr. *per. p. E.* 14.5), Theodosia (Arr. *per. p. E.* 19.4), Tieion (Arr. *per. p. E.* 13.5).

throughout the inhabited world').[794] Most of the attestations for this formula are very fragmentary, and cannot be securely dated. The majority, however, seem to belong to the second half of the 2nd c. AD, with the earliest stemming from the reign of Antoninus Pius (*I.Milet* 234, AD 154 or 155). By referring to their city as *mētropolis*, the Milesians consciously played with the ambiguity of this term, which had taken on the meaning of 'district capital' during the Imperial period and which became highly contested in the context of the intercity rivalries for city titles and privileges in the provinces of Asia and Bithynia in the 2nd c. AD.[795] While Miletos could not dream of competing with the big players Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamon, and Sardis on a provincial level, who proudly called themselves '*mētropolis* of Asia' in varying ways, it appropriated the same word and artfully invoked its glorious 'colonial' past, just as it had done with the regional title '*mētropolis* of Ionia'.[796] The only other city known to have assumed a non-official title based on its ancient 'colonial' history in order to evoke an official title of provincial scope is Herakleia Pontike, which called itself ΜΑΤΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΩΝ and ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΑΝ ΜΑΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΝ on coins from the Imperial period.[797]

Evoking a relationship with the mother city Miletos was not only a theoretical construct devoid of practical consequences. This can be seen in two honorific inscriptions from Olbia from the late 2nd/early 3rd c. AD. In *IOSPE* I$^2$ 40, the honorand is posthumously crowned with golden wreaths by a total of 19 cities for his services and benefactions towards his

[794] The formula is well preserved in *I.Milet* 240 + 1111, 260, 262, and 1140, and has been restored in the more or less fragmentary honorific texts for emperors *I.Milet* 233, 234, 235 + 1106, 236, 1104, 1106, and 1107, as well as in the sometimes very fragmentary *I.Milet* 1184–1202; in *I.Milet* 1186, 1187, 1193, 1198, 1201, and 1202 the words '*mētropolis*' and 'Pontos' are preserved on the stone; the reference to Egypt is explained through the colony of Naukratis.

[795] Heller 2006b, 197–210, 297–298; Dana 2011b, 7–8.

[796] See above Chapter 1.3.2.

[797] Robert 1937, 247–248; Leschhorn 2009, 110–111; Dana 2011b, 8 with fn. 24; on the use of the Doric dialect in the Black Sea area in the Roman period, see Chapter 5.1.2.

native city Olbia, and towards the citizens of the other 18 cities, which are specified as foreign residents in the text.[798] These are also described as 'the Greeks' in general (ll. 16–17: περὶ τὴν πα|τρίδα φιλόστοργον καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας φιλόξενον, 'affectionate towards the fatherland and hospitable to the Greeks'), but the most interesting aspect is their provenance: almost all of them are located on the shores of the Black Sea (Herakleia, Amastris, Tieion, Odessos, Tomis, Istros, Kallatis, Chersonesos, Tyras, Sinope, Bosporus) or the neighbouring Propontis (Nicomedia, Nicaea, Byzantium, Prusa, Kyzikos, Apameia) (see Map 4). The only geographical exception is Miletos, whose presence can only be explained through sustained relations between mother city and colony. The more fragmentary *IOSPE* I$^2$ 41 seems to belong to a very similar context, as the extant city names imply (Olbia, Miletos, Apameia, Nicomedia, Nicaea, Byzantium, Prusa, Herakleia, Amastris, and probably Kallatis).

An explicit reference to the Milesian colonisation of the Black Sea (and Egypt) can also be found in *I.Milet* 732, an epigram commemorating Milesian war dead: 'For we continue the lineage of those forebears, who having carried floating Ares to the east and to the corners of the farthest Euxine Sea fortified cities there and also settled Naucratis in the mouth of the Nile'.[799] It would be very tempting to follow the re-dating of this difficult inscription to the 2$^{nd}$ or 3$^{rd}$ c. AD, as proposed by Stephen Mitchell, but even if its historical context cannot be established with certainty, a civic war memorial seems to fit better in the Hellenistic than in the Imperial period.[800]

[798] L. 12: τῶν ἐπιδημούντων παρ' ἡμᾶς ξένων; l. 32: τοὺς πολείτας καὶ τοὺς ξένους; ll. 34–35: τὰς πόλεις, ὧν |ἐπεδήμουν οἱ <ξ>ένοι; l. 37: αἱ πόλεις τῶν παρεπιδημούντων ξένων; ll. 44–45: πρὸ<ς> πολείτας σωτή|ριον καὶ πρὸς ξένους φιλάνθρωπον.

[799] Ll. 9–12: [κ]ε̣ίνων γὰρ πατέρων φέρομεν γέν[ος, οἵ]τε πρὸς ἠ[ῶ] |Ε̣ὐ̣ξεί[ν]ου πόντου τ' ἐσχα̣τ̣ί̣οιο μυ[χ]ούς |π̣[λ]ω̣τ̣ὸν Ἄρη στείλα̣ντες ἐπυργ[ώσ]αντο πόλη[α]ς, |Ν̣είλο̣υ̣ τ̣' ἐ̣ν̣ π̣ρ̣οχοαῖς Ναυ̣κ̣ρα̣τ̣ιν̣ ε̣ἰσ̣ά̣[μ]ενοι.

[800] Mitchell 2010, 101. Dated to ca 200 BC on palaeographic grounds by Peek 1966, 228; questioned by Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 01/20/08: 'eine Festlegung, zu der wir wenig Vertrauen haben'.

'Colonial' ties in the Black Sea area continued to be commemorated in the Roman period, as is illustrated through the case of Chersonesos. In a decree granting *isopoliteia* to a citizen of Herakleia Pontike, the latter is not only addressed explicitly as mother city, but is also more affectionately described as 'our mother', its inhabitants as 'good fathers' and the people of Chersonesos as 'loving sons'.[801] In another honorific decree for a citizen of Herakleia from AD 129/30, the Chersonesitans describe the goodwill the honorand has shown them as ἰσαδέλφωι ('like a brother's').[802] Similarly, in *IOSPE*$^3$ III 25 (= *IOSPE* I$^2$ 362), the Herakleians are called 'the most pious fathers' who acted on behalf of Chersonesos 'with familial feeling' showing 'every genuine affection'.[803] This inscription, from the reign of Antoninus Pius, is highly informative of the relations between Chersonesos and Herakleia in the 2nd c. AD.[804] It honours the Herakleians who had undertaken an embassy to the emperor in order to intervene on behalf of Chersonesos, possibly regarding the confirmation or restoration of the city's status as *civitas libera*.[805] From the perspective of Chersonesos it is quite understandable that they would have sought the assistance of the more prestigious city of Herakleia pleading for them. As it was very uncommon among the cities of the Black Sea to send foreign ambassadors to an emperor, this special favour is best explained through Herakleia's role as mother city.[806] It is very likely that the 'colonial' relationship was also mentioned in the address to the emperor justifying the plea, thus

[801] *IOSPE*$^3$ III 24 (= *IOSPE* I$^2$ 357), first third of the 2nd c. AD, l. 4: τᾶς ματροπόλιος Ἡρακλε<ί>ας; ll. 10–11: τὰν | ματέρα ἀμῶν; l. 6: οἷα πατέρων ἀγαθῶν πρὸς υἱοὺς φιλοστόργους; Chaniotis 2017, 164.
[802] *IOSPE*$^3$ III 22 (= *IOSPE* I$^2$ 359) l. 7; the word is otherwise only attested in Eur. *Or*. 1015 and testifies to the high literary style of the text.
[803] Ll. 3–4 τοὶ εὐσεβέστατοι πα|τέρες Ἡρακλεῶται οἰκείωι πάθει; ll. 6–7: καὶ πάσᾳ φιλοστοργίᾳ |κεχραμένοι γνασίωι.
[804] The editors of *IOSPE*$^3$ III 25 date it to shortly after 10 July AD 138, the *dies imperii* of Antoninus Pius; Avram 2012, 188 places it 'sans doute' around AD 150.
[805] Avram 2012, 188–190; see Plin. *nat.* 4.85: *mox Heraclea Chersonesus libertate a Romanis donatum; Megarice vocabatur antea, praecipui nitoris in toto eo tractu custoditis Graeciae moribus*, which shows awareness of both the Herakleian and even Megarian origins of Chersonesos and also highlights the city's Greekness.
[806] Avram 2012.

strengthening its effect. We therefore see here a good example of the impact of Roman institutions on the self-representation of Greek cities.

This awareness of their 'colonial' past also seems to be the reason for the dearth of foundation myths for the Black Sea cities.[807] Only in the Roman period is there some evidence for divine founders.[808] One exception is the Milesian colony of Sinope for which the late Hellenistic *Periplous* by Ps.-Skymnos lists a number of different foundation stories.[809] Their respective outlooks reflect the range of mythological traditions we saw earlier in relation to the foundation of the Ionian cities (Chapter 3.2.1): autochthonous eponymy (a nymph or Amazon called Sinope), local heroes linked to Panhellenic myths (Autolykos and his brothers Deileon and Phlogios as companions of Heracles or the Argonauts), and an Ionian city founder most likely preserving a historical oral tradition (the Milesian Habron, the Koan Kretines leading Milesian refugees).[810]

Most of these examples can also be framed within the context of kinship diplomacy, which remained an important tool for Greek cities even after their integration into the Roman Empire.[811] The colonies of the Black Sea could thereby place themselves among the ranks of the famous old Greek cities. The fact that mother cities also evoked their 'colonial' past in unilateral contexts outside the sphere of diplomacy (Miletos in its city titulature, Herakleia on its coins) suggests that these references should also be perceived as

[807] Ehrhardt 1988$^2$, 226–228; Dana 2011a, 355–362.

[808] Tieion: *RPC* III 1181–1182 (under Trajan) and IV.1 5567 (under Marcus Aurelius): ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΤ(ΗΣ); Tomis: *ISM* II 122 l. 1 (late 2$^{nd}$/early 3$^{rd}$ c. AD): [Δ]ιοσκόρους κτίστ[ας]; Kallatis: Heracles (Leschhorn and Franke 2002, 179 s.v. ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ); in the Propontis, the Samian colony of Perinthos commemorated Heracles as civic founder on the obverse of small denomination bronze coins from the late 2$^{nd}$ c. AD on, Schönert 1965, 121–126 nn. 197–221; on Perinthos' claim to Ionianness, see Chapter 5.1.2; Robert 1978, 38–42 provides more examples from other parts of the Greek world.

[809] Ivantchik 1997.

[810] Dana 2011a, 360–361; Ivantchik 1997, 34 mistranslates Κῶος as a personal name.

[811] Still fundamental are Curty 1995 and Jones 1999b, more recent treatments include Patterson 2010 and Settipani 2017; explicit examples from the Black Sea include *IGBulg* I$^2$ 43bis ll. 3–6 (= Curty 1995 n. 20, end of the 1$^{st}$ c. BC) in which Odessos calls an individual from Tomis *syngenēs*, and *IGBulg* I$^2$ 388bis ll. 7–9 (= Curty 1995 n. 21, 2$^{nd}$ c. BC) where Apollonia Pontike addresses the Istrians as *syngeneis*.

meaningful expressions within civic identity-discourses.[812] As we have seen in regard to the *mētropolis* title, the framework of the Roman provinces could thus provide Greek cities with new incentives to flag markers of distinction, such as widely acknowledged references to their histories of colonisation.

### 5.1.1 Pontic identities

The Greeks of the Black Sea region have also received attention under the purview of recent scholarly engagement with questions of identity.[813] Such issues were of particular relevance in their case because of their geographical location, which was perceived as peripheral to the Greek world, and their proximity to 'barbarian' tribes (Thracians, Getae, Scythians, Taurians, Sarmatians, Kolchians, Mariandynians…).[814] In addition to the links based on 'colonial' relationships already mentioned, several factors can be pointed out as contributing to a high degree of interconnectedness within the Black Sea area as a whole.[815] Through its geography, accessible only by passing through the strong currents in the narrow straits of the Bosporus, it formed a relatively closed region throughout antiquity; we know for example of only two major occasions when war fleets sailed into the Black Sea from the Aegean.[816] That it was a mainly self-contained region is not only suggested through the distribution patterns of amphorae, a great proportion of which were produced in the trade centres of Herakleia, Chersonesos, and Sinope, but also through the epigraphic evidence,

[812] Dana 2011a, 361–362 on the importance of the 'colonial' past for identity-constructions in the Roman Black Sea region.
[813] E.g. by Mitchell 2002, Dana 2011a, 339–393, or Chaniotis 2017, esp. 160–166, who however remarks that 'a systematic study [of identities in this region] … is a desideratum of future research' (162).
[814] Dana 2011a, 339–340; Tsetskhladze 2014; Chaniotis 2017, 164.
[815] The region's connectivity is also the topic of the three recent collective volumes Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary (eds) 2007; Cojocaru, Coşkun, and Dana (eds) 2014; and Kozlovskaya (ed.) 2017.
[816] Mitchell 2002, 43.

in which people from outside the area occur comparatively rarely.[817] While the whole area was united under a single rule for the first time by Mithridates VI Eupator, expressions of a proper regional Pontic identity only begin to appear in the 1st c. BC after the creation of the Roman province of Pontus.[818] The specification *Pontikos*/*Ponticus* came to be used in a legalistic sense to designate an inhabitant of the province.[819] That the employment of a new-found Pontic identity transcended the boundaries of the Roman provinces and was embraced by other inhabitants of the Black Sea area as well becomes clear in, for example, *IOSPE* I$^2$ 79, an honorific decree by the *dēmos* of Byzantium for Orontas, a citizen of Olbia (first half of the 1st c. AD). Here, Orontas' father Ababos is described as 'a man who was among the very first not only of his fatherland, but also of the whole Pontic *ethnos*' (ll. 4–6, οὐ μόνον τᾶς πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ |σύνπαντος τοῦ Ποντικοῦ πρατιστεύσαντος |ἔθνεος). While *ethnos* can occur as a translation of the Latin *provincia*,[820] the formulation used here also included Olbia, which was not part of the Roman province of Pontus; we can therefore read this passage as a testimony for the notion of a pan-Pontic regional identity, which seems to have been fostered by the creation of the province.[821] Similarly, the geographical specification ΠΟΝΤΟΥ/(ΕΝ) ΠΟΝΤΩ is used by the cities of Apollonia and Herakleia almost exclusively in the Roman period on coins as a marker of identity in order to distinguish

[817] On Black Sea trade in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, see Monakhov and Kuznetsova 2017; the amphorae from the Roman period are analysed by Vnukov 2017, who confirms the closedness of the Black Sea market and finds a peak of trade volume between the 1st and the mid 2nd c. AD (123) (see also the interesting remarks on the impact of the stationing of Roman troops on regional economic structures, 133–135). Avram 2013 collected all the attestations of inhabitants of the Black Sea region attested outside of their native city; Cojocaru 2016 provides a detailed study of the extant proxeny decrees from Black Sea cities; see also Mitchell 2002, 41–42.

[818] Mitchell 2002, 50: 'The concept of Pontic ethnicity thus owes its origin to the creation of a Roman province of Pontus'; Dana 2011a, 381–393, 392: 'à l'époque impériale les relations intra-pontiques sont les plus fréquentes et les plus étroites de toute son histoire'. Due to limitations of space, the complicated question of the Koinon of Pontos cannot be dealt with here: Vitale 2012, 145–204.

[819] Mitchell 2002, 48–50.

[820] *LSJ* s.v. 2.c.

[821] Dana 2011a 390–392; this geographical interpretation of *Pontikos* is corroborated by the reference to the Pontos, as the whole Black Sea, in ll. 13–14: ὑπὸ πάντων μὲν μαρτυρεῖται τῶν |εἰσπλεόντων εἰς τὸν Πόντον πολειτᾶν.

themselves from other homonymous cities.[822] It is further especially revealing that the personal name Pontikos only became very popular in the Roman period: of the 71 individuals bearing this name recorded by *LGPN* none is earlier than the 1st c. BC and 51 (= 72%) stem from all over the Black Sea and Propontis region.[823]

Another remarkable aspect of the Black Sea communities in the Roman period is the enhanced visibility and participation of indigenous populations. Whereas the Greek colonies had presumably always maintained close relationships with the tribes in the hinterland – first and foremost on a commercial level, but cultural borrowings are attested as well – it is only in the Roman period that non-Greek names begin to show up in the onomastic evidence in considerable numbers.[824] Among the 15 most common names of the individual Greek cities in the Roman period, we find ῎Αττας (Tomis), Ἀγαθήνωρ (Odessos), Εὐρησίβιος, Δάδος, Ἀργουάναγος, and ῎Αβραγος (Olbia), Ζῆθος and Ἀττίνας (Chersonesos), Μαστοῦς, Φαρνάκης, Γάστεις (Pantikapaion), Δάδας, Φάννης, Μαστοῦς, and Φαζίναμος (Tanais), Φαρνακίων, Φαρνάκης, Γαδίκιος, Κοσσοῦς, Ζαζζοῦς, and ῎Αττας (Gorgippia).[825] This must certainly be indicative of an increasing intermixture of Greeks and non-Greeks, especially, but not only, in those cities which were part of the Bosporan and the Mithridatic Kingdoms.[826] That the Roman Empire also enhanced the possibilities for a

[822] Coins: Leschhorn 2009, 59 (Apollonia) and 110–111 (Herakleia); for Apollonia also *IGBulg* I² 396 ll. 9–11: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ|μος ὁ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν |τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ (AD 194); only epigraphically for Dioskourias/Sebastopolis: *IG* II² 3303 ll. 2–3: Σεβαστοπολειτῶν |τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος (AD 132); on this practice, see also the discussion of Metropolis in Ionia in Chapter 1.2; the variant 'Pontica/Pontike' is a modern one.

[823] Mitchell 2002, 38–40; Dana 2011a, 386–389.

[824] Mitchell 2002, 41 argues that the survival of the colonies depended heavily on the relationship with the indigenous populations, especially in the early phases of Greek settlement; on these interrelations, see also Dana 2011a, 373–381 and Tsetskhladze 2014.

[825] The lists were compiled on the basis of *LGPN* online; Φαρνάκης and Φαρνακίων are of course related to the Iranian dynasty of the Mithridatids; a recent study of Thracian onomastics can be found in Dana 2019, who also highlights the counterintuitive implications of the name῾Έλλην: the vast majority of the attestations of this name stem from Roman Odessos, which seems to have been borne not by the established Greek inhabitants, but was 'chosen or assigned by natives who were undergoing integration, or were fully integrated, into the Greek-speaking society' (191).

[826] On issues of identity of the Greeks living on the Taurian Chersonnesos, see Xydopoulos 2016.

deeper social integration and allowed individuals with an indigenous background to ascend the social ladder and join the higher echelons of society is exemplified by the case of Ababos from Olbia mentioned above. This bearer of an Iranian name not only rendered services to the city of Byzantium (*IOSPE* I$^2$ 79 ll. 7–10), but even became acquainted with emperors (*IOSPE* I$^2$ 79 ll. 6–7) and dedicated a portico to Augustus and Tiberius in his hometown of Olbia (*IOSPE* I$^2$ 181).[827] Other cases attesting to the integration of indigenous people into the very core of the Greek *polis* are the lists of ephebes from Dionysopolis (*IGBulg* I² 14, after AD 212; *IGBulg* I² 47, AD 215; *IGBulg* I² 47(2), AD 221) and the public dedications to Achilles Pontarchēs by Olbian magistrates (*IOSPE* I$^2$ 130–144, all from the Roman period), in which indigenous names feature conspicuously alongside Greek and Roman ones.

### 5.1.2 Greekness

The intensifying intermixture of Greeks and 'barbarians' seems to have led, by the Roman period, to the emergence of negative stereotypes about the Pontic Greeks as barbarised and not properly Greek.[828] Dio of Prusa played with these stereotypes in his *Borysthenitikos* from the late 1$^{st}$ c. AD, a Platonic dialogue set in the city of Borysthenes/Olbia, but addressed to Dio's fellow citizens of Prusa.[829] The Borysthenites are portrayed as

[827] Dana 2011a, 390.

[828] Dana 2011a, 347: 'hellénité marginale, voire douteuse'; 375: '*mixobarbaros*' and '*mixhellēn*'; the topos runs through from Herodotus to Ovid's *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Dio's *Borysthenitikos or*. XXXVI, and Arrian's *Periplous* (e.g. 1.2 and 6.3).

[829] The most recent editions are Russell 1992 (Greek with commentary) and Nesselrath et al. 2003 (Greek, German translation, commentary, and interpretative essays); Bäbler 2007 has shown that, while Dio in all likelihood visited Olbia during his exile and some of his descriptions faithfully represent the city's state in the late 1$^{st}$ c. AD, we need to assume a greater degree of literary reworking, as suggested e.g. by the speech's nature as Platonic dialogue and the archaic use of the toponym Borysthenes instead of the contemporary Olbia. Note that the topos of Borysthenes as one of the last outposts of the Greek world features also in Aristeid. *or*. XVIII 10.

barbarised through their long cohabitation with the Scythians, in wearing Scythian dress (trousers and the other Scythian dress, the local black cloak, §7: ἀναξυρίδας εἶχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στολὴν Σκυθικήν, ἄνωθεν δὲ τῶν ὤμων ἱμάτιον μικρὸν μέλαν, λεπτόν, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ Βορυσθενῖται) and no longer speaking Greek clearly (§9: οὐκέτι σαφῶς ἑλληνίζοντες). They have long hair and beards, and carry around their weapons with them all the time, but are also great admirers of Homer and know the *Iliad* by heart.[830] While one might detect a pinch of irony in the description of their exclusive and narrow-minded worship of Homer, this aspect already indicates that Dio's picture is a more nuanced one.[831] He represents the inhabitants of Borysthenes as idealised Homeric heroes, forming a utopian archaic society, to serve as a 'mirror, model and admonishment for his fellow citizens at Prusa'.[832] The theme of the whole work, especially of the 'Iranian' myth making up the main part of the speech (§§28–60), is the problem of establishing order and harmony in a city and in the world.[833] Dio quotes the Milesian (!) poet Phocylides in order to illustrate his topic in a concise way: 'a small city on a hill top administered in an orderly fashion is superior to foolish Nineveh'.[834] If we consider the intended audience of the speech – not the Borysthenites, but the Prusaeans – Borysthenes, the acropolis of which was protected by deep ravines on two sides, emerges as this ideal city. The anti-essentialist notion that it is not enough to merely *be* Greek to achieve a state of good order, but that this can only be reached through (philosophical) education, goes hand in hand with the idea that there exist shades of Greekness (and Barbarianness) and that one may acquire a

[830] §§9 and 17; Swain 1996, 215–216 on the significance of long beards as a sign of masculinity.
[831] Gangloff 2006, 299–305 sees nothing but irony in Dio's portrayal.
[832] Jones 1978, 61–63; Bäbler 2002, 325; Dio himself makes the comparison with Homeric heroes in §17: ἅπαντες ἦσαν τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον, ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος τοὺς Ἕλληνας. That the speech was addressed to the inhabitants of Prusa is stated explicitly in the subtitle (ὃν ἀνέγνω ἐν τῇ πατρίδι) and implicitly at the end (§ 61).
[833] Russell 1992, 19.
[834] §13: πόλις ἐν σκοπέλῳ κατὰ κόσμον οἰκεῦσα σμικρὴ κρέσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης.

higher form of Greekness through education.[835] For Dio, the Borysthenites' Greekness is never in question, but what distinguishes them is that they are eager to listen to philosophical lectures and that some of them even read Plato.[836] Similarly, Kallistratos might be wearing Scythian dress, but he approaches the speaker in an orderly (Greek) way (§7: πάνυ κοσμίως) with his arm under his mantle,[837] and is interested in oratory and philosophy (§8).

While Dio harnessed regional stereotypes for his literary purposes, the fact that the Greekness of the Greeks of the Black Sea could be (and was) essentially questioned seems to have pushed them explicitly to emphasise or display that they too were real Greeks, even if this might never have been in doubt for themselves. This illustrates that the existence of and perceived proximity to an outgroup/outgroups from which one can dissociate oneself are fundamental prerequisites for constructions of identities and especially for their explicit showcasing. Expressions of a Greek cultural identity even prevailed in later Roman *coloniae*.[838] Remarkable examples include the office of the *hellēnarchēs* and its counterpart, the *archōn* of the Tanaitans, which possibly indicates an administrative separation of Greek and indigenous populations at Tanais;[839] the popularity of the personal name Ἕλλην in Odessos during the Roman period (26 attestations make it the fifth most

[835] §25: the traders from the hinterland might be Greek by name, but are even more barbarian than the Borysthenites (ὀνόματι Ἕλληνες, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ βαρβαρώτεροι ἡμῶν); §26: 'and yet it may perhaps seem odd that one who speaks the poorest Greek of all the people of Borysthenes should delight in the man who is most Greek and most wise [Plato] and should cultivate that man's society' (καίτοι ἴσως ἄτοπον βαρβαρίζοντα τῶν πολιτῶν μάλιστα τῷ ἑλληνικωτάτῳ καὶ σοφωτάτῳ χαίρειν καὶ ξυνεῖναι); §19: οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι as philosophical ideal.

[836] §5: Borysthenes as part of the Greek world (τῆς Ἑλλάδος); §18: 'they dwelt in a city that was ancient and Greek' (πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ἀρχαίαν καὶ Ἑλληνίδα); §16: 'Yet they were such ardent listeners, so truly Greek in character, that almost all the inhabitants were present, under arms, eager to hear me' (ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὕτως ἦσαν φιλήκοοι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ Ἕλληνες, ὥστε μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπαντες παρῆσαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, βουλόμενοι ἀκούειν); §26: lovers of Plato (ἐρασταὶ καί τινες οὐ πολλοὶ Πλάτωνος).

[837] Russell 1992, 215.

[838] See e.g. Barat 2016 on the Greek identity of Roman Sinope.

[839] *CIRB* 1237, 1242, 1243, 1245–1248, 1250, 1256, 1258, 1260A, 1521A; see Chaniotis 2017, 165.

common name);[840] the proud self-identification of Kalligone from Olbia, the heroine of a Greek novel only extant in papyrus fragments, before the Bosporan king Eubiotos: 'I might not be an Amazon or a Themisto, but I am a Greek and my name is Kalligone, and my courage is not weaker than any Amazon's';[841] and the description of the western Pontic cities as 'the Greek cities in the western parts of Pontos', among which Istros includes itself in a recently published decree from the reign of Tiberius, which at the same time attests to a perceived cohesion and loyalty in this region and to an awareness of its proximity to 'barbarian' enemies.[842] These overt self-identifications aside, there are other good reasons for believing that the Greek cities of the Black Sea saw themselves as a legitimate part of the Greek world, especially in the Roman period.[843] Probably due to a combination of their 'colonial' past, peripheral location, and late integration into the Roman Empire, political and cultural practices which were regarded as typically Greek seem to have thrived there even longer than in 'old Greece'.[844] From Chersonesos we have an impressive number of 2nd c. AD publicly inscribed civic honorific decrees of remarkable length and verbosity, a practice which diminishes in intensity in most other parts of the Greek world from the mid to late 1st c. BC onwards.[845] Even more remarkable is the fact that these Roman-period honorific decrees contain some of the latest surviving proxeny grants, a diplomatic

[840] See fn. 825.

[841] *PSI* 981 ll. 35–40 (2nd c. AD): εἰμὶ |[μ]ὲν γὰρ οὐκ Ἀμαζὼν οὐ|[δὲ] Θεμιστώ, ἀλλ' Ἑλληνὶς |[καὶ] Καλλιγόνη, οὐδεμιᾶς |[δὲ] Ἀμαζόνων τὸν θυμὸν |[ἀσ]θενεστέρα; the native city of Kalligone is specified in an unpublished papyrus as [Bo]ρυσθένους, *P.Oxy*. inv. 112/130(a) fr. 2 l. 3 (3rd c. AD), Stephens and Winkler 1995, 267–276; Dana 2011a, 373 confuses the two different papyri and claims that Kalligone asserts her identity before the queen of the Amazons.

[842] Bărbulescu and Buzoianu 2014, 416 ll. 5–7: τῶν ἐν τοῖς εὐωνύμοις μέρεσι τοῦ Πόντου Ἑλ|[λ]ηνίδων πόλεων μάλιστα δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλ[ε]|ως διὰ τὸ προκεῖσθαι ἔνγιστα τοῖς βαρβάροις; on the interpretation of this inscription's context, see Jones 2016. This is possibly to be perceived as a model or precursor of the West-Pontic Koinon, which is also called τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων later on, see Bărbulescu 2007.

[843] Chaniotis 2017, 144.

[844] Mitchell 2002, 45–47.

[845] Mitchell 2002, 47: 'If the honorand had been unnamed and unidentifiable, we might have been more inclined to date such a document [*IOSPE*$^3$ III 39] to around 180 BCE than 180 CE'; an exception are the two longer honorific decrees for T. Ael. Alkibiades of Nysa from the reign of Antoninus Pius (*PHI Nysa* 1 and 2).

institution which was of particular importance as a means to express and assert *polis* identity.[846] It had especially flourished during the Hellenistic period, but vanished almost entirely with the integration of the Greek cities into the Roman Empire.[847] Even more remarkably, those decrees of the Herakleian colony are all written in the Doric dialect. While the use of dialect features in these texts (especially Doric -α, but also τοὶ for οἱ, ποτὶ for πρὸς, infinitives in -μεν) has been described as an artificially archaic chancery style,[848] a comparison with the private funerary inscriptions from Chersonesos suggests that the Doric dialect was in fact used consistently from the Hellenistic period up until the mid to late 2nd c. AD.[849] One might ascribe this conservatism to the city's location at the northern shore of the Black Sea, but Herakleia Pontike and Kalchedon also employed the Doric form of their ethnics on coins of the 2nd and 3rd c. AD.[850]

### 5.1.3 Ionian identities

This brings us back to the Ionianness of the Black Sea cities in the Roman period. We have already seen that, as colonies of Miletos, some of them could still be perceived as explicitly Ionian. This is attested for Theodosia and Tieion, which Arrian designates as Ionian Greek *poleis*, as well as for Olbia, one of whose inhabitants, a tall and handsome young man named Kallistratos, is described by Dio of Prusa as 'having much Ionianness in his

[846] Mack 2015a, 233; *IOSPE*[3] III 16 (for an Amastrian, end of the 1st/beginning of the 2nd c. AD), 19 (for a Sinopean, AD 106–115), 20 (for a Sinopean, first half of to mid 2nd c. AD), 21 (for a Sinopean, 2nd c. AD), 22 (for a Herakleian, AD 129/30), 24 (for a Herakleian, first third of the 2nd c. AD), 26 (for an individual of unknown provenance, ca mid 2nd c. AD), 39 (for a provincial governor from Nicaea, AD 173/4).
[847] Mack 2015a, 233–281 with the graphs on 236–237.
[848] Barrio Vega 2018, 514.
[849] *IOSPE*[3] III 208–409; mostly visible in personal names such as Δαμάτριος, Εἰράνα, Ἀθαναγόρας, Ἀσκλαπιάδας, Ἀθάναιος, but also in the noun γυνά.
[850] Kalchedon consistently as ΚΑΛΧΑΔΩΝ, Herakleia consistently as ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΑΝ (ΜΑΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΝ), see *RPC* III, IV, and VI s.v.

appearance'.[851] Regarding the elements examined as markers of Ionianness in the previous chapters, the situation is similar to the cities of Ionia. An examination of the onomastic material of the Greek cities of the Black Sea reveals that personal names which could be perceived as specifically Ionian were never among the most common in the Roman period.[852] Individuals bearing such names are however still attested in the Black Sea area, and this should be seen as a continuation of earlier Ionian naming habits, as these names are comparably rarer outside culturally Ionian territory, and some of them not attested at all. These include names derived from Ionian months, compounds of -αγορα and -αναξ, and names related to Ionian deities.[853]

Just as in the cities of Ionia, the preservation of Ionian traditions is even more apparent in the civic subdivisions and month names, which were never fundamentally altered.[854] An artfully crafted list of ephebes from Odessos from AD 221 features the city's seven *phylai* represented as bearded Herms above the text; these are identified through inscriptions as Οἰνώπων, Βορέων, Ῥωμαίων, Γελεόντων, Ἀργαδέων, Αἰγικορέων, and Ὁπλέων.[855] We do not know when exactly the Roman *phylē* was added, but it is remarkable that the six

[851] Arr. *per. p. E.* 19.4.3: καὶ αὕτη πάλαι ἦν Ἑλλὰς πόλις Ἰωνική, Μιλησίων ἄποικος (Theodosia) and 13.5.4: πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ἰωνικήν, ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, Μιλησίων καὶ ταύτην ἄποικον (Tieion); Dion Chrys. *or*. XXXVI 8: πολὺ ἔχων Ἰωνικὸν τοῦ εἴδους, it is unlikely that this alludes to negative stereotypes about effeminate slavish Ionians (on which see below Concluding Remarks), as e.g. Russell 1992, 215–216 claims. As Kallistratos ('fair army') is depicted as a very manly, valiant, and warlike Homeric hero, it is more plausible to understand this reference to Ionianness as a positive one pointing to his genuine Greek ancestry as a descendant of the Milesians, which Russell 1992, 215 also admits. Kallistratos' homosexual affairs, which are explained as an inheritance from Borysthenes' *mētropolis* Miletos (§8), must be framed in this context as well, and the negative overtones in this passage are to be ascribed solely to the neighbouring barbarians' taking over the practice 'in a barbarian way and not without hubris' (βαρβαρικῶς καὶ οὐκ ἄνευ ὕβρεως), Houser 2002, 344–345.

[852] See Chapter 4.2.2.

[853] Ἀπατούριος: 6x in Odessos, 2x in Pantikapaion, 2x in Tanais, 1x in Istros, 1x in Tomis, 1x in Amastris; Ἀνθεστήριος: 4x in Odessos, 2x in Pantikapaion, 2x in Olbia (in the form Ἀνθέστιος); Ἀρισταγόρας: 7x in Istros, 1x in Pantikapaion; Νυμφαγόρας: 5x in Gorgippia; Ηγησαγόρας: 2x in Istros; Διαγόρας: 1x in Pantikapaion; Ηραγόρας, Ιππαγόρας, Πρωταγόρας: each 1x in Odessos; Ἀναξιμένης: 8x in Olbia, 1x in Istros; Δημῶναξ: 3x in Tomis; Ελικωνιάς: 3x in Pantikapaion.

[854] See Chapters 4.1.1. and 4.2.1.

[855] *IGBulg* I² 47bis with photographs on pl. 34 and 35.

traditional Ionian *phylai* still formed the structure of the citizen body of Odessos in the 3rd c. AD. Almost all the Ionian month names are attested for the calendar of Olbia in the Roman period (Apatoureōn, Thargēliōn, Lēnaiōn, Metageitniōn, Boēdromiōn, Kyanepsiōn, Panēmos, and the Milesian Kalamaiōn), and for Istros (Artemisiōn), Tyras (Lēnaiōn), and Odessos (Boēdromiōn and Apatoureōn) we have either one or two attestations of specifically Ionian months.[856]

The identities of the Greeks of Paphlagonia on the southern shores of the Black Sea have recently received detailed treatments by Stephen Mitchell and Madalina Dana.[857] Both scholars concluded that the extended road network of the Roman provinces, which facilitated quicker and safer journeys inland, fostered connections and exchange between the cities of Paphlagonia and the Ionian motherland and thus contributed to renewed identifications as Ionians on the side of the Black Sea Greeks. This is exemplified through the presence of Pontic cities among the delegations to the oracle at Klaros in the 2nd c. AD.[858] Mitchell also pointed out that the Paphlagonian city of Amastris claimed a place among the ranks of the old Ionian cities of Chios, Smyrna, and Kolophon when overtly asserting in all seriousness to be the birthplace of Homer on its civic coinage.[859] Especially remarkable are the pseudo-autonomous coins from the late 2nd c. AD bearing on the obverse – the space usually reserved for the emperor – a draped bust of Homer identified by the inscription ΟΜΗΡΟΣ.[860]

[856] Ehrhardt 1988², 117–118 gives all the references.
[857] Mitchell 2010; Dana 2014.
[858] Dana 2011c; Ferrary 2014 I, 177–178; this new connectivity is also confirmed by Lukian. *Alex.* 29–30.
[859] This was most likely supported by the fact that there was a local river called Meles, who was traditionally said to be Homer's father; Robert 1980, 415–419; Mitchell 2010, 96–97.
[860] *RPC* IV.1 4902–4908, 4910, 4913, 5477, 10200, 10959.

One of the most prominent cases of this newfound Ionianness in the region is the renaming of the small town of Abonouteichos.[861] At the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the city officially changed its name to Ionopolis, and it is not unlikely that it was in fact Alexander, the founder of the local oracle of the snake Glykon, who managed to obtain the emperor's approval for this initiative, as Lucian famously relates.[862] That this became the official new name of Abonouteichos is not only shown by its use on the civic coinage – the earliest attestations date to the early reign of Marcus Aurelius, the latest to the mid 3rd c. AD – but also by the fact that it has survived into the modern Turkish city name İnebolu.[863] Like other cities in northern Asia Minor which commemorated their (re-)foundation through kings, emperors, or high-ranking generals (Pompeiopolis, Hierokaisareia, Neokaisareia, Iuliopolis, Germanicopolis, Claudiopolis, Flaviopolis, Hadrianopolis), Abonouteichos thus claimed to have been founded by Ion, in his function as the eponym of the Ionians, which implies not only great antiquity but also a place among the prominent cities of Ephesos, Smyrna, Miletos, and Athens.[864] The qualification by Lucian of Alexander's initiative (μέγα ... τὸ τόλμημα) has to my knowledge not been noticed and one might ask whether it was the fact that an individual asked the emperor to change the city name that Lucian (and his audience) would have considered impudent, or the fact that Alexander had appropriated Ion as an eponym. This Ionian connection might have been constructed via

[861] Marek 1993, 82–88 provides a good overview of the city's political history.
[862] Lukian. *Alex*. 58: 'Was it not also a great piece of impudence on the part of Alexander that he should petition the Emperor to change the name of Abonouteichos and call it Ionopolis'; the classic study is Robert 1980, 393–436; further important contributions are Jones 1986, 133–148 and Chaniotis 2002; on name changes as important markers of identity, see Chaniotis 2003a.
[863] *RPC* IV.1 5362–5364 (under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus); IX 1218–1220 (under Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus); Robert 1980, 408–412; very explicit in the *Periplous* of Marcianus of Herakleia Pontike (3rd–5th c. AD) 20 (Müller): Ἀπὸ Γαρίου τόπου εἰς πόλιν Ἀβώνου τεῖχος, τὴν νῦν Ἰωνόπολιν λεγομένην, στάδιοι ρκ'.
[864] This was first seen by Robert 1980, 411–412, rejecting earlier interpretations which tried to link the new name directly to Glykon (via Apollo as Ion's father and Glykon's grandfather, or deriving it from ἰάομαι, supposedly alluding to the medical aspects of the Glykon cult).

the (claimed) foundation of Abonouteichos by the Milesian colony Sinope.[865] A reference to it also seems to lie behind the choice of the personal name Miletos for the son of the Paphlagonian Glykon (i.e. the snake; φύσει δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου), who served as a priest of Apollon Sōtēr in Kaisareia Troketta in Lydia in the late 2nd c. AD.[866]

I would like to conclude this geographical excursus with two funerary inscriptions from the 2nd c. AD which make explicit mention of Ionianness in connection to two cities located on the western shore of the Black Sea. The first one is engraved on a marble stele found in Odessos and presents a semi-metrical text sprinkled with Homeric word forms and expressions.[867] I render the text arranged by supposed verse division:

[...] v. 1
[ἥλυ]θεν[868] εἰς ἱε|[ρὴν ἠδ' ἰμ]ερόεσσαν |[Ὀδη]σσόν,
πολλὰ δὲ |λισσομένη δῆμον |κύδιστον Ἰώνων
αὐτή |μοι ζωὴν καὶ ἐλευθερί|ην
δωρήσατο· νῦν δ' ἀν|τ' ἐμοῦ θνήσκει καὶ ἔ|χει v. 5
φήμην καὶ ἔπαινον |ὡς Ἄλκηστις· εἰκοστὸν |
ζήσασα ἔτος βιότοιο |ἐν χερσὶ φίλαις Ὑακίν|θου
προλιποῦσα φάος |τοῦτον λάχε τύνβον.
ὦ παροδεῖτα, μή με λίπῃς.

*[She came] to holy and lovely Odessos,*
*and by often entreating the noblest people of the Ionians*
*she gave me life and freedom.*
*But now she died in my stead and has*
*fame and praise like Alcestis.*
*Having lived the twentieth year of her life, she left*
*the light in the loving arms of Hyakinthos and obtained this tomb.*
*Oh passer-by, don't leave me.*

[865] Abonouteichos as an *emporion* of Sinope: Marek 1993, 82.
[866] The inscription has been analysed magisterially by Robert 1980, 406–414; see also Jones 1986, 143, and Merkelbach and Stauber 1996, 16–20, who assume that Miletos' mother went on a pilgrimage to Glykon's oracle because of her infertility.
[867] *IGBulg* I$^2$ 222 with a good photograph on pl. 117, on the metre: 'Disticha elegiaca male composita sunt'; Calder III 1975 provides the most exhaustive analysis of the text; his verdict on the metre is even stricter: 'The epitaph is an odd mixture of prose and metrical tags ... The author had no understanding of classical meter ... any rhythm is fortuitous rather than devised' (80); see also Peek 1955, 691 n. 2088a and Conrad 2004, 149–150 n. 90; that it dates to the 2nd c. AD is strongly suggested by its many ligatures and its rectilinear sigmas and omegas.
[868] Suggested in *IGBulg* I$^2$ 222 and accepted by all subsequent scholars; one might however also consider the possibility that it could designate the place of origin whence the deceased came to Odessos.

The formulation in vv. 4–5 and the fact that Hyakinthos bears a mythological name and no patronymic strongly suggest that the funerary stele was erected by the freedman Hyakinthos for his deceased female owner, who seems to have been a foreign resident at Odessos (vv. 2–3).[869] This might further be corroborated by the physical characteristics of the monument: it is comparatively small (h. 68 cm, w. 34 cm, d. 6 cm, letter height 1.5–1.8 cm) and the recessed text panel is flanked by two unfluted rectangular columns topped with acanthus leaves, a feature which occurs frequently in Odessan funerary monuments, but usually with sculpted reliefs in the panel. This might indicate that, after the death of his former mistress, Hyakinthos did not have the financial means to afford extra figural decoration, but limited himself to a plain text. The comparison with Alcestis (v. 6), the mythological exemplum of a good wife, suggests that the deceased had indeed married Hyakinthos after having him manumitted.[870] The city of Odessos is described as 'holy and lovely' (v. 2) and its inhabitants are addressed as 'the noblest people of the Ionians' (v. 3). Together with the Homeric vocabulary we might connect this choice of words to the foreign freedman's desire to pay his respect to and exalt the city which has allowed his change of status and provided him and his former mistress with a new home.[871] That he did so by making reference to the city's past as a Milesian colony and including it among the famous Ionian cities testifies to Ionianness being perceived as a valid form of cultural capital in the 2nd c. AD in the Black Sea region.

[869] Calder III 1975, 81–83. Of the 48 attestations of Hyakinthos as a personal name in *LGPN*, only two pre-date the Roman period; a geographical pattern of its distribution is not discernible.
[870] For other epigraphic mentions of Alcestis in funerary texts, see Calder III 1975, 82 and Staab 2018, 81–82.
[871] Nollé and Oller Guzmán 2016, 76, on the attitudes of foreigners to their new home cities in metrical inscriptions.

The second text, inscribed on a limestone sarcophagus discovered in Constanța in Romania (ancient Tomis) in 1981, has only recently been published.[872] It is a poem consisting of 16 hexameter verses narrating the life of Euelpistos, an actor from Byzantium, and it begins:[873]

> Εἰναχίας γαίης προλιπὼν περιώνυμον |ἄστυ
> εἰόνιον τόδ’ ἔβην ἱερὸν πέδον, ἄστυ |Τόμοιο
>
> *Having left the far-famed city of the Inachian land*
> *I went to this holy Ionian ground, the city of Tomos*

The information conveyed in this opening passage is that Euelpistos left his native city of Byzantium and went to Tomis. What is relevant for our purposes are the poetic circumscriptions of the two cities. The ‘land of Inachos’ unambiguously alludes to the founding myth of Byzantium, and ‘city of Tomos’ introduces an eponymous hero of Tomis.[874] The crucial word εἰόνιον in v. 2 has however been interpreted differently by all the scholars working on the text so far. The first editors referred it back to ἄστυ in v. 1 and connected it to the heroine Io whose myth was closely linked with the Bosporus and the foundation of Byzantium. However, they also pointed out the possibility that it might go with ἱερὸν πέδον in v. 2 and refer to the Ionian origins of Tomis.[875] Gregor Staab read εἰόνιον together with ἱερὸν πέδον, but he regarded it as a variant of the very rare ᾐόνιον ‘located on the shore’.[876] Lastly, Johannes Nollé and Marta Oller Guzmán suggested that

[872] Avram and Jones 2011, who dated it to the second half of the 2nd c. AD based on letter forms (126) and provide clear photographs (127), from which one can get a good impression of how difficult the reading of the inscription is.
[873] I render the text established by Staab 2011 whose emendations of those first two lines made considerable improvements to the reading of the inscription.
[874] Russell 2017, 19–51 provides an excellent overview on the foundation myths of Byzantium; Tomos also appears on pseudo-autonomous coins, first under Antoninus Pius, as ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΟΜΟΣ (*RPC* IV.1 4487–4491, 4493) and ΤΟΜΟΥ ΗΡΩΟΣ (*RPC* IV.1 4481–4486), see Avram and Jones 2011, 132 fn. 22 for more references.
[875] Avram and Jones 2011, 130–131.
[876] Staab 2011, 100–101; Russell 2012 followed Staab’s interpretation.

εἰόνιον is indeed derived from Io, but is used as a poetic reference to Tomis which the heroine would have passed during her wanderings after her transformation into a cow.[877] As all the editors agree, given the poet's general tendency to avoid enjambement (there is only one between vv. 4–5), it is indeed preferable to interpret εἰόνιον as referring to Tomis and not to Byzantium. Regarding the spelling, nothing prevents us from reading the form on the stone as a variant of Ἰώνιον, the lengthening of I to EI being very common in the Roman period, and not only in metrical texts. This also occurs just one line before, in Εἰναχίας.[878] Together with the shortening of Ω to O this can be regarded as a quantitative metathesis serving to fit the word into the metre. Staab's solution of ᾐόνιον is not convincing, as there would in that case have been no need to change the first vowel for metrical reasons.[879] Ἰόνιον would of course be possible as well. It is the standard designation for the Ionian Sea west of Epirus, which is in fact always spelled this way (never Ἰώνιον) and should thus be distinguished from anything relating directly to the Ionians or Ionia.[880] In fact, popular etymology never linked it the Ionians, but to Io (first in Apollod. 2.3: ἡ δὲ πρῶτον ἦκεν εἰς τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης Ἰόνιον κόλπον κληθέντα), which seems however equally weak on linguistic grounds, as for example an earlier name for Syrian Antioch is said to have been Ἰώνη commemorating the daughter of Inachos.[881] As a connection with the

[877] Nollé and Oller Guzmán 2016, 78–81.

[878] Bechet 2009, 111–112 shows that EI for I is 'déjà banal depuis le début du Principat' on the west coast of the Black Sea, e.g. εἰερέα in *ISM* III 86A l. 1 (ca AD 50–100) and *ISM* III 70 l. 1 (reign of Marcus Aurelius), Εἴσιδι in *ISM* II 154 l. 4 (1st c. BC/1st c. AD), or Εἴστρος in *ISM* I 287 l. 1 (late 2nd/early 3rd c. AD).

[879] Staab 2011's objection, that the adaptation of personal names for metrical reasons is not as common as a disturbance of the metre due to personal names, is not completely valid for the Euelpistos inscription, as the very first word Εἰναχίας shows. Note that the poet also changed ἐπεὶ to ἐπὶ in v. 7 in order to make it fit into the metre. Thonemann 2014 gives numerous examples of similar adaptations in funerary verse inscriptions.

[880] The distinction in spelling is already consistently made by Herodotus (6.127, 7.20, 9.93) and Thucydides (1.24.1, 2.97.5, 6.13.1, 6.30.1, 6.34.4, 6.44.2, 6.104.1, 7.33.4, 7.57.11), and still by Strabo (2.5.20, 6.1.7, 6.3.5, 7.5.8, 7.5.9, 7.7.3, 7.7.8) and Pausanias (1.4.1, 1.12.1, 4.35.5, 4.35.7, 5.22.3, 6.15.13); despite admitting the linguistic difficulties, Biraschi 2004 unconvincingly tries to vindicate the Ionianness of the Ionian Sea.

[881] Lib. *or*. XI 51; similarily, *RE* s.v. Ionisches Meer (1). This is explicitly commemorated in Cavafy's poem *Greek Since Ancient Times* from 1927: 'Antioch is proud of its splendid buildings, |its beautiful streets, the lovely countryside around it, |its teeming population; |proud too of its glorious kings, its artists |and sages, its very rich |yet prudent merchants. But far more |than all this, Antioch is proud to be a city |Greek from ancient

Ionian Sea would make no sense either for Tomis or for Byzantium, it should be discarded as a possibility for the Euelpistos' inscription. Furthermore, the city of Tomis is nowhere directly associated with the wanderings of Io. The suggestion of Nollé and Oller Guzmán 'I came to this sacred ground, land of Io, to the city of Tomos' with its rather inelegant double apposition becomes thus improbable as well. I would like to vindicate the solution proposed in passing by the first editors of the inscription and translate it as 'I went to this holy Ionian ground, the city of Tomos'. Admittedly, the main obstacle for understanding it as a reference to Tomis' Ionianness is that the adjectival form Ἰώνιον is only attested once in Philostr. *Ap.* 7.35, where it might actually be a mistake for Ἰώνων, a variant also transmitted for this passage.[882] This does however not rule out the possibility that the mason omitted a letter here by mistake and we should read Ἰωνι<κ>όν. If this emendation is correct, the poet composing these hexameters would have harnessed the Ionianness of Tomis qua its status as a colony of Miletos in juxtaposition to Dorian Byzantium. It is interesting to note that just as with Hyakinthos in Odessos we have here a foreigner who settled in a new home town whose cultural identity was exalted in a funerary inscription.

## 5.2 The Ionians of Pisidia and Phrygia

I now examine overt and conscious expressions of Ionianness of cities which claimed to be Ionians on their civic coinage. The most productive of these was the Samian colony of Perinthos on the northwestern shore of the Propontis (see Map 4), which may serve as a suitable geographical link returning us from the Black Sea area back to Asia Minor, from where all the other numismatic attestations stem. The actual 'colonial' relationship with

times, related to Argos |through Ione, founded by Argive colonists |in honor of Inachos' daughter', transl. E. Keeley.

[882] As Staab 2011, 101 rightly points out.

Samos, still mentioned in literary sources in the Imperial period, is corroborated by the extant month and *phylai* names.[883] Making reference to their Ionian past, the Perinthians called themselves 'Ionians' on a number of coins minted in the reigns of Severus Alexander and Gordian III in the second quarter of the 3rd c. AD. Broadly speaking, these coins fall into two categories: provincial coinage with the emperor on the obverse and a variety of types on the reverse accompanied by the inscription ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ ΔΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ;[884] as well as pseudo-autonomous issues bearing the bearded head of Heracles and the inscription ΙΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ on the obverse, and a club (sometimes a bull or a dromedary) and ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΔΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ on the reverse.[885] The latter bear witness to the general numismatic prominence of Heracles as the founding hero of Perinthos, which even came to be renamed Herakleia in the late 3rd c. AD.[886] These pseudo-autonomous coins are all issues of small denominations (19–23 mm), and the same obverse type is attested without the addition ΙΩΝΩΝ in the late 2nd c. AD.[887] Similarly, most of the 11 provincial coin types on which the Perinthians label themselves Ionians are also attested without the addition ΙΩΝΩΝ, both before and during the reigns of Severus Alexander and Gordian III.[888] It is thus clear that there is no correlation between the mention of 'Ionians'

[883] Sayar 1998, 71, who collected all the testimonies for and inscriptions from Perinthos.
[884] Schönert 1965, nn. 736, 738, 747, 766, 767, 773, 778–781, 784, 788, 789 (Severus Alexander), 860 and 861 (Gordian III).
[885] Schönert 1965, nn. 207–221, in total 39 specimens.
[886] First attested under Diocletian in AD 286, Sayar 1998, 76.
[887] Schönert 1965 nn. 190–196 (without inscription on the obv., ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ on the rev., second half of the 2nd c. AD), 197–202 (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ on the obv., ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ on the rev., late 2nd c. AD), 204–206 (ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ on the obv., ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΝ on the rev., AD 198–218).
[888] **1)** Zeus within zodiac: Schönert 1965, nn. 788–789 (Severus Alexander); similar but without ΙΩΝΩΝ: n. 859 (Gordian III); **2)** Standing Tyche holding two temples: n. 784 (with the addition ΑΚΤΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ, Severus Alexander), n. 861 (with the addition ΑΚΤΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ, Gordian III); similar but without ΙΩΝΩΝ: nn. 516, 517 (with the addition ΑΚΤΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ, Septimius Severus), nn. 594–598, 618 (Caracalla), n. 653 (Geta), n. 719 (Tyche enthroned, Elagabalus); **3)** Hero (Perinthos?) shaking hands with Heracles: n. 781 (Severus Alexander); no other issues of this type known; **4)** Nude Ares standing: n. 780 (Severus Alexander); same type but without ΙΩΝΩΝ: n. 431 (Marcus Aurelius); **5)** Dionysos surrounded by satyrs, Pan, and Silenos standing in front of sleeping Ariadne: nn. 778, 779 (Severus Alexander); no other issues of this type known; **6)** Standing Artemis holding torch and bow: n. 767 (Severus Alexander); same type but without ΙΩΝΩΝ: nn. 422–430 (Marcus Aurelius), nn. 443–445a, 447, 506–508 (Septimius Severus), nn. 550, 551, 559–564, 590 (Caracalla), n. 654

and the types of the coins. What is remarkable, however, is that the addition is only attested for coins from the period of the second *neōkoria*. Why did Perinthos suddenly remember its Samian-Ionian origins in the second quarter of the 3rd c. AD and decide to advertise it on its coins?

Perinthos had been the only *neōkoros* city in the province of Thrace until the reign of Elagabalus (AD 218–222), when the province's *mētropolis* Philippopolis was also awarded this title.[889] That Perinthos began to advertise its second *neōkoria* at the same time has been taken as proof that it was Elagabalus who granted this privilege.[890] However, two temples already appear on the civic coinage under Septimius Severus and it is more likely that the city only began to advertise the exact number of its *neōkoriai* when its preeminent status within the province was challenged by Philippopolis.[891] I think that we also need to understand the use of the label 'Ionians' within the context of this new rivalry. While it is not attested for the provincial coinage under Elagabalus, the pseudo-autonomous coins are dated only by the mention of the second *neōkoria* and can thus equally be ascribed to his reign. We might connect this to Perinthos' desire to maintain its position of pre-eminence in Thrace, and to reinforce its cultural prestige within the province by highlighting its

(Geta), n. 698 (Elagabalus), nn. 840, 846 (Gordian III); **7)** Inscription in laurel wreath: n. 766 (Severus Alexander); same type but without ΙΩΝΩΝ: n. 588 (Caracalla), n. 765 (Severus Alexander), nn. 828, 829, 836, 837 (Gordian III); **8)** Prize crown: nn. 747, 773 (Severus Alexander); same type but without ΙΩΝΩΝ: nn. 505, 510, 513 (Septimius Severus), nn. 581, 591 (Caracalla), nn. 636–638, 657–660 (Geta), nn. 770–772, 774 (Severus Alexander), nn. 847, 848 (Gordian III); **9)** Agonistic table with lion feet and two prize crowns on top (with the addition ΑΚΤΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ): n. 738 (Severus Alexander); same type but without ΙΩΝΩΝ: nn. 494–504 (Septimius Severus), nn. 577–580, 586 (Caracalla), nn. 627–630 (additionally ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΑ, Caracalla and Geta), n. 639 (additionally ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΑ, Geta), nn. 646–649 (Geta), n. 679 (Elagabalus), nn. 733, 734, 750, 751 (without ΑΚΤΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ, Severus Alexander), nn. 748, 757 (Severus Alexander), nn. 807, 808 (Gordian III); **10)** Demeter enthroned holding ears of corn: n. 736 (Severus Alexander); same type but without ΙΩΝΩΝ: n. 735 (Severus Alexander), nn. 801, 814 (Gordian III), n. 911 (Gallienus); **11)** Serapis and Homonoia standing facing: n. 860 (Gordian III); no other issues of this type known.

[889] Haensch 1997, 329–332; Burrell 2004, 236–245.

[890] Sayar 1998, 76.

[891] Burrell 2004, 237–242; coins with two temples: Schönert 1965 nn. 516–519 (Septimius Severus), nn. 594–601, 614–618 (Caracalla), nn. 653, 668 (Geta).

cultural affiliation (and thus its antiquity), as opposed to its inland competitor whose name alone betrayed its more recent Macedonian origins.

The picture is very similar in cities in Ionia. Teos advertised its Ionianness on its provincial coinage for the first time under Severus Alexander, and then again under Gallienus and Valerian II. Among the small number of surviving Teian coins from the Roman period, only a few specimens bear the inscription ΤΗΙΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ on the reverse: one example bears the very common type showing Dionysos standing, holding a thyrsus and a kantharos, with a panther at his feet; and another four depict the seated Archaic lyric poet Anacreon playing the lyre, a type which is also attested without the mention of Teos' Ionianness.[892] On Samos, the first and only explicit claim to Ionianness is attested on coins of two different reverse types under the reign of Decius: one showing the cult statue of Samian Hera standing next to Nemesis, and one with the emperor on horseback approaching a standing figure who raises his right arm, both bearing the reverse inscription ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΙΑΣ ΣΑΜΙΩΝ.[893] It is unclear which specific occasion motivated the Samians to claim the *prōteia* of Ionia, but this surely belongs to the context of provincial intercity rivalry, and, as no other city is attested to have made use of it, it should be understood as an official title probably granted by Decius.[894] Similarly, the inhabitants of the small city of Priene, which had lost much of its economic and cultural importance by the Imperial period and could not hope to compete with Asia's major urban centres, seem to have rediscovered their Ionianness in

[892] Dionysos standing: *RPC* VI 4725 (Severus Alexander); without ΙΩΝΩΝ: e.g. *BMC Ionia* Teos nn. 71–73 (Nero), *RPC* IV.2 1003, 1004, 2769 (Antoninus Pius), 1007 (Commodus), IX 577 (Decius), *BMC Ionia* Teos n. 82 (Valerian), n. 85 (Gallienus). Anacreon: *RPC* VI 4726 (Severus Alexander) and *BMC Ionia* Teos nn. 87–89 (Valerian II); without ΙΩΝΩΝ: *RPC* IV.2 2780 (pseudo-autonomous, under Antoninus Pius) and VI 4727 (Maximinus).

[893] Nemesis and Hera: *RPC* IX 670 (2 specimens); similar type but without ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΙΑΣ: *RPC* IV.2 1058 (Commodus, 4 specimens), VII.1 574.1 (Gordian III, 16 specimens); emperor on horseback: *RPC* IX 666 (8 specimens); no other issues of this type known.

[894] Miletos explicitly called itself 'first of Ionia to be founded', see above Chapter 5.1; on *prōteia* claims, see Heller 2006b, 340–341 and above Chapter 1.3.2.

the early 3rd c. AD when they called themselves 'the most illustrious city of the Ionian Prieneans' in a public honorific inscription for a magistrate.[895]

We turn now to two further rather surprising cases of explicit claims to Ionianness. The first one is that of the small Pisidian city of Isinda (see Map 5), whose inhabitants called themselves 'Ionian Isindaeans' (ΙΣΙΝΔΕΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ) on civic coinage in the mid 3rd c. AD.[896] This label appears first on coins issued under Philip I, his son and co-ruler Philip II, and his wife Otacilia Severa, (AD 244–249), and is further used, albeit less frequently, under Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251–253) and Valerian I (AD 253–260).[897] It is attested on six different reverse types, two of which are only attested under Philip II and never without the addition ΙΩΝΩΝ.[898] As the other four types bearing the inscription ΙΩΝΩΝ are frequently attested on Isindaen civic coinage, often without the ethnic label,[899] it would be hazardous to establish a direct connection between them and the mention of Ionianness.

But how then are we to explain the Isindaeans' claim to Ionianness?[900] First of all, this needs to be seen within the larger framework of the province of Lycia and Pamphylia. While the situation here is not comparable to the rivalries in Asia or Bithynia in the 2nd c. AD, it is

[895] *I.Priene*$^2$ 61, ll. 1–3: ἡ λαμπροτάτη (= lat. *clarissima*) Πριηνέων Ἰώνων πόλις, on which the editors comment: 'Die Berufung auf die uralten Vorfahren ist charakteristisch für die archaisierende Atmosphäre der hohen Kaiserzeit. Die meisten Städte Kleinasiens haben sich fiktive griechische Siedler ausgedacht; die Priener waren immerhin tatsächlich Ionier'; it is dated to the 3rd c. AD based on letter forms, but given the absence of the *nomina* Marcus Aurelius for the honorand's grandfather (and father?), one could narrow it down to ca the second quarter of the 3rd c. AD.

[896] Aulock 1977 still provides the most exhaustive catalogue with a total of 743 specimens; French 1994 collected all the testimonia and inscriptions relating to Isinda.

[897] Aulock 1977 nn. 868–889; 911, 912; 931–934.

[898] One depicts the 'Farnese' Heracles (Aulock 1977, nn. 885–889), and the other depicts a female figure with her left foot resting on a globe, writing the letters APE on a shield – or holding a shield on which these letters have been written, Aulock 1977, nn. 976–984, who interprets the figure not as a wingless Nike (as has been done previously e.g. by Head 1911$^2$, 708 and *BMC Pisidia* Isinda n. 17), but considers it either the *boulē* or the personification of Isinda; the letters are most likely an abbreviation of APETH (less likely of APEIOΣ); Weiß 1992, 157 is aporetic regarding its interpretation.

[899] Especially the helmeted warrior on horseback with a snake below him, which appears on almost 50% of all the extant Isindaean coins and is first attested in the 1st c. BC already; the other types are: Zeus Nikephoros enthroned, a seated mother goddess, and a wreath.

[900] Weiß 1992, 157: 'Wie die Isinder zu ihren jonischen Vorfahren gelangten, weiß man gar nicht'.

nonetheless likely that Isinda was competing with her neighbours over prestige. Sagalassos called herself the 'first of Pisidia' from the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus onwards.[901] The *neōkoros* title and ethno-cultural affiliations with the 'old' Greeks seem to gain importance in this province only under Gordian III (AD 238–244).[902] Thus Sagalassos minted *homonoia* coins with Sparta under Philip II, and Selge some time later did exactly the same.[903] Sagalassos also seems to have asserted its Greekness through the continuation of the cult for Apollo Klarios, which is attested archaeologically, on coins, and through the local Klareia festival.[904]

In a 3rd c. AD inscription from Isinda, there is also mention of 'the penteteric Klarian *agōn*'.[905] It is precisely the establishment of this festival by imperial grant that Louis Robert identified as the basis and trigger for numismatic expressions of Ionianness at Isinda.[906] While this is surely an attractive solution, there might have been a further element at play substantiating the Isindaeans' claims. From a passage in Ovid's *Ibis* we learn that there was an aetiological tradition – which seems already to have become proverbial in the Hellenistic

[901] *I.Sagalassos* 23 and still in the 4th c. AD: *I.Sagalassos* 31.

[902] Weiß 1992, 161–162; on the *neōkoriai*, Burrell 2004, 175–190 and 266–269.

[903] Weiß 1992, 162; as *homonoia* coins are by and large confined to cities in Asia Minor and the Propontis, issues including Athens and Sparta are most likely to be framed in terms of kinship mythology, Franke and Nollé 1997 s.v.: Athens with Ephesos (Lucius Verus) and Smyrna (Commodus), Sparta with Sagalassos (Philip II), Selge (Decius I), Nysa (Maximinus), and Smyrna (Commodus); the only other two geographical exceptions are Delphi (with Perge and Side, both under Valerian I) and Egyptian Alexandria (with Ephesos and Samos, under Gordian III, and Side, under Valerian I); that Sagalassos did not create this Lacedaemonian connection *ex nihilo* is shown by a coin from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, on the reverse of which the Tyche of Sagalassos is crowning the hero Lakedaimon identified by an inscription (*RPC* IV.3 4955); other cities of southern Asia Minor claiming Lacedaemonian origins in the 3rd c. AD are Amblada and Kibyra (Weiß 1992, 156) as well as Alabanda under Philip I (Spawforth and Walker 1986, 90).

[904] Talloen and Waelkens 2004 and 2005, passim; the coins: e.g. *RPC* III 2790 (Nerva), 2794 (Hadrian); IV.3 4956 (Marcus Aurelius); VI 5866 (Elagabalus), 5876 (Severus Alexander), 5888 (Maximinus); the dedicatory inscription of the restored temple survives: Ἀπόλλωνι Κλαρίῳ καὶ Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι (*I.Sagalassos* 20); the introduction of the Klareia is explicitly ascribed to the Roman military officer Ti. Cl. Piso, who also served as *archiereus* and *agōnothetēs*, *I.Sagalassos* 48, 75, 76, 77; a study of filial cults in the Greek world is still a desideratum, Rutherford 2019, 174–176.

[905] The inscription was republished by French 1994, 64–65 n. 10 (*SEG* 44-1103).

[906] Robert 1983, 594 fn. 2; he only knew the coins from the reign of the Philips (AD 244–249), but the later attestations under Trebonianus Gallus and Valerian I show that we should perceive the Isindaeans' Ionianness not merely as circumstantial, but as being embraced in a more general way later on as well.

period, as Ovid was apparently drawing on Callimachus' *Aetia* – associating the killing of a certain Aithalos at the hands of his unnamed Isindaean host with the exclusion of Isinda from rites conducted by 'Ion/the Ionian'.[907] While there is no indication of the geographical location of the Isinda mentioned, this obscure remark has been interpreted in the sense that there was an Ionian city named Isinda which was excluded from the Panionian sacrifices.[908] The only testimonies supporting the existence of an Ionian Isinda are: **1)** The Athenian tribute quota lists, where the Isindioi sometimes feature under the Ἰονικὸς φόρος soon before or after the Ephesians, the Milesians, or the Klazomenians.[909] It has however been pointed out that the Ἰονικὸς φόρος also included cities outside of Ionia, and that the lists were not organised on strictly geographical principles but more likely reflect the order in which the payments came in.[910] **2)** A possible emendation of the name of the city 'Ionda' located '40 stadia from Ephesos' according to Diodorus Siculus, relating events of 390 BC.[911] **3)** The mentions of Isinda/Isindos as a 'city of Ionia' by the 2nd c. AD grammarian Herodian, an ascription which might have its origins in the proverbial expression.[912] These are very tenuous foundations indeed, but what becomes clear nonetheless is that the toponym Isinda was somehow linked to Ionia in the ancient imagination.[913] I would not go as far as

[907] Ov. *Ib*. 621–626: 'Just as the Isindian host robbed Aithalos of life, whom the mindful Ion/Ionian banishes even now from the sacred rites ... so may your entrails be pierced by hurled weapons, so, I pray, may you be hindered by your own supporters', my translation (*Aethalon ut vita spoliavit Isindius hospes, Quem memor a sacris nunc quoque pellit Ion ... Sic tua coniectis fodiantur viscera telis, Sic precor auxiliis impediare tuis*); cf. the very fragmentary Call. *fr.* (Pfeiffer) III 78–78c in the new edition Harder 2012 I, 253–254 (text) and II, 667–669 (commentary).
[908] E.g. by Smarczyk 2000, 60 with fn. 35, or in the Loeb edition of the *Ibis*.
[909] French 1994, 85–86.
[910] See Chapter 1.1.
[911] Diod. 14.99; the emendation was accepted by most scholars, French 1994, 85.
[912] *De prosod. cathol.* 3.1 (143): Ἴσινδος πόλις Ἰωνίας. λέγεται καὶ Ἴσινδα; 3.1 (288): Ἰσινδία χωρίον Ἰωνίας, λέγεται καὶ Ἴσινδα καὶ Ἴσινδος; probably based on this: Steph. Byz. *ethn*. s.v. Ἴσινδος, πόλις Ἰωνίας. ὁ πολίτης Ἰσίνδιος †αἰνετιτάς† [Pfeiffer, connecting this entry to the Callimachus fragment, suggests ἐν Αἰτίων τρίτῳ vel. sim.]. λέγεται καὶ Ἴσινδα· τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἰσίνδιος. καὶ χωρίον Ἰσινδία καὶ Ἴσινδα.
[913] There were at least two other cities with the same toponym, one in Lycia and one in Phrygia, French 1994, 86.

considering that Pisidian Isinda was a colony of Isinda in Ionia,[914] but I think it most likely that there was indeed a city of Isinda in or near Ionia that had ceased to exist by the Imperial period, allowing homonymous cities to appropriate the long-standing myth about Aithalos with its Ionian connection. And it could have been this connection that the inhabitants of Pisidian Isinda harnessed in the context of the budding provincial rivalries of the mid 3rd c. AD when they called themselves Ionians on their civic coinage.[915] An important point to note here is that this Ionianness referred first and foremost to Ionia, and only implicitly, if at all, to Athens, and the same applies to the solution offered by Robert regarding Apollo Klarios.

The last city to be discussed here is Synnada in Phrygia, a *conventus* centre in the province of Asia which was of considerable economic importance as a consignment station for the famous marble from the imperial quarries at Dokimeion (see Map 6).[916] There is only one inscription mentioning that the city was twice *neōkoros* (*MAMA* IV 59, AD 293–305), and as this title is never attested on its coinage the *neōkoriai* were apparently awarded after the city had stopped minting coins.[917] Synnada's inhabitants styled themselves as 'Ionians', 'Dorians' (both first under Antoninus Pius), and later on also as 'Ionians and Dorians' (first under Macrinus) on their coins. On numerous occasions, Louis Robert announced a monograph entitled *Les origines légendaires de Synnada et les parentés des peuples*, which unfortunately was never published.[918] The mentions of Ionianness are attested from the

[914] As *BMC Pisidia*, xciii and Babelon 1898, 205 do.

[915] Jones 1971², 143, albeit perceiving it from an essentialist viewpoint, already hinted in this direction: 'Its imperial coins show that it claimed Ionian origin; the claim was probably based on the accident that a city named Isinda had existed in Ionia, and is fairly certainly false, for Isinda is always reckoned a Pisidian city by Greek writers'.

[916] Russell 2013, passim; Thonemann 2015c, 163–164; Strab. 12.8.14 relates that the Romans called it 'Synnadaean marble'; on imperial quarries, see Hirt 2010; on the Asian *conventūs*, Haensch 1997, 307–312.

[917] Burrell 2004, 145–146.

[918] In Robert 1950, 90–91, the minutes of a course held at the Collège de France in 1944–1945, one can get an impression of the planned content; Curty 1995, 261 fn. 12 lists most of the references to this work in Robert's oeuvre. To my knowledge, an exhaustive treatment of the topic remains a desideratum.

mid 2nd c. AD until the end of Synnada's minting activity in the second half of the 3rd c. AD.[919] Claims to Dorianness alone appear comparatively less often, only on one type under Antoninus Pius (*RPC* IV.2 2205) and on pseudo-autonomous issues in the early 3rd c. AD (*RPC* VI 5770). A correlation between coin type and inscription cannot be established.[920] The two issues mentioning only 'Dorians' show a standing hero in military dress holding a spear and the Palladion, which has been interpreted as a depiction of the hero Lakedaimon, but a very similar iconography is also attested for a coin with reference only to Ionianness, and the figure there has been understood as the Athenian Akamas (*RPC* IV.2 2986, under Antoninus Pius).[921] Furthermore, these ethno-cultural claims appear on the reverses of nine different coin types, both provincial and pseudo-autonomous, which are also attested without them. To include them on coin reverses thus seems to have been an option from the reign of Antoninus Pius on, but what exactly motivated the choices in each instance cannot be determined with certainty.

There is, however, additional evidence shedding light on the way these claims were constructed. A bearded, draped bust of the city's eponymous founding hero Thynnaros appears on the obverses of two pseudo-autonomous coin issues, as the accompanying inscription indicates.[922] This mythical figure seems to have played an important role for the city's collective identity, as an inscription from the first half of the 3rd c. AD describes the inhabitants of Synnada as Thynnaridai.[923] It is, however, a 2nd c. AD inscription from Sparta

[919] First: *RPC* IV.2 2986 (Antoninus Pius); last: *BMC Phrygia* Synnada nn. 67, 70–73 (Gallienus, Salonina).
[920] *Contra* Robert 1950, 90 and Strubbe 1984–1986, 269.
[921] Strubbe 1984–1986, 269–270.
[922] *RPC* IV.2 9999 (2nd c. AD, 3 specimens, 15–17 mm), obv.: draped bust of bearded man, ΘΥΝΝΑΡΟΣ; rev.: owl perched on amphora, ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ; *RPC* IV.2 9996 (time of the Antonines or early third century, 5 specimens, 18–19 mm), obv.: draped bust of bearded man (assimilated to portrait of Marcus Aurelius), ΘΥΝΝΑΡΟΣ; rev.: Isis standing, ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ.
[923] *MAMA* IV 66 l. 8; a new dedication to Zeus Thynnarētēs, found recently at Aphrodisias, was linked to Synnada by Chaniotis 2010, 235–236.

which links this seemingly local hero with the city's claim to Dorianness: here, Thynnaros is apparently mentioned in connection with a foundation oracle and the Synnadaeans are marked out as colonists (*apoikoi*) of Sparta.[924]

The Ionian connection was apparently established via Akamas, the son of Theseus, who has been identified on the reverses of three coin types (*RPC* IV.2 2205, 2986, under Antoninus Pius; VI 5770, early 3rd c. AD) and is securely attested on the obverse of a pseudo-autonomous issue from the 2nd or early 3rd c. AD, on which a bust with a crested helmet is accompanied by the inscription ΑΚΑΜΑΣ (*RPC* IV.2 9995). This Ionian hero is also mentioned as founder of Synnada by the 2nd c. AD grammarian Herodian.[925] But ideological links to Athens seem to go back to the late Hellenistic period, when Synnada began to mint coins with the helmeted head of Athena on the obverse and an owl perched on an amphora on the reverse.[926] The most important piece of evidence, providing a context and explanation for Synnada's identity-constructions, is a fragmentary inscription from the Athenian acropolis which was convincingly identified as a Synnadaean decree.[927] Its Hadrianic date, surviving key words on the stone (Λακεδαιμο[ν...]; [ἀπο]ικίαν ἀγαγό[ντ...]; γῆν Ἀττική[ν]), and its findspot can be taken as strong evidence that Synnada became a member of Hadrian's Panhellenion.[928]

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[924] *IG* V,1 452; Jones 1996, 54–56 provides the most convincing restorations and interpretation.

[925] Herodian. gramm. *De prosodia catholica* 3.1 (379): Σύνναδα πόλις Φρυγίας. λέγουσι δὲ Ἀκάμαντα μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἀποπλανηθέντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς Φρυγίαν καὶ καταλαβεῖν πολιορκούμενον τὸν τῶν τόπων δυνάστην καὶ βοηθήσαντα αὐτῷ λαβεῖν χώραν καὶ κτίσαι πόλιν· συναθροίσαντα δὲ πολλοὺς οἰκήτορας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μακεδόνων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς συναγωγῆς καὶ συνοικήσεως Σύνναια προσαγορεῦσαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεφθαρμένως ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Σύνναδα κληθῆναι. Jones 1996, 55; Robert 1962[2], 251 fn. 1 referring to the version transmitted by Stephanus of Byzantium pointed out that Μακεδόνων should be regarded as a slip for Λακεδαιμονίων.

[926] For a discussion of these coins, see Thonemann 2011, 53–56 who connects them with Synnada's geographically unusual production of olive oil.

[927] L. Robert in *BE* 1951, 122 n. 2; all the extant fragments (*IG* II[2] 1075, 2291c, *IG* III 55, *Agora* I 155 and 1267) were first associated by Geagan 1972, 154 fn. 51, 158–160.

[928] L. Robert in *BE* 1951, 122 n. 2; Strubbe 1984–1986, 281–283; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 79–81; Nafissi 1995, 133–134; Romeo 2002, 27–28; Gordillo Hervás 2012, 248–254; Jones 1996, 39–41 was the first to cast doubts on Synnada's membership, which he himself toned down later (Jones 1999a, 13–14); however, some scholars still think it should be excluded from the Panhellenion's members (e.g. Spawforth 2012, 252).

As discussed above (Chapter 2.4) the creation of and participation in the Panhellenion fostered notions of 'ethnic' Greekness, as the extant inscriptions demonstrate: Magnesia on Maiandros explicitly highlighted its Aiolianness and boasted that it had fought alongside the Ionians and Dorians; Kibyra claimed to be of Hellenic stock, 'a colony of the Lacedaemonians and akin to the Athenians'; the Cyreneans presented themselves as 'of Achaian stock and perfectly Dorian'.[929] The emergence of Synnada's numismatic expressions of Ionianness and Dorianness (constructed via kinship with Athens and Sparta) surely needs to be understood in this context as well. However, these claims were not invented at random but seem to have been based on pre-existing notions. Apparently not every city made use of such mythological kinship ties when applying to the Panhellenion (Ptolemais-Barca, for instance, does not seem to have done so), which suggests that they needed to be constructed in a plausible way.[930] That Synnada continued to use these ethno-cultural labels on its coinage until the second half of the 3rd c. AD indicates that they became part of the city's collective identity. It is very likely that rivalries with neighbouring cities that were also members of the Panhellenion, such as Aizanoi, Apameia, and Eumeneia (which explicitly claimed Achaianness on it coins from the reign of Hadrian on)[931], further contributed to Synnada's seeking admission to the Panhellenion and its boasting Ionianness and Dorianness on its coins.

These claimed affiliations with the traditional tribes of the Ionians, Dorians, Achaians, and Aiolians, which were perceived as the highest forms of Greekness, surely served to bestow

[929] *IG* II$^2$ 1091 ll. 3–7; S. Follet in *BE* 1996 n. 195 ll. 2–9; *SEG* 28-1566 ll. 9–12; and above fnn. 372, 373, and 375.

[930] Weiß 2000, 626: 'eine nachweisbare, den Entscheidungsträgern und der gebildeten Öffentlichkeit einleuchtende Zugehörigkeit zum ruhmvollen Hellas der Vergangenheit'.

[931] Weiß 2000, 619–627; the earliest extant coins are *RPC* III 2577A, 2579–2583 (Hadrian), the last attested are *RPC* IX 805 and 806 (Trebonianus Gallus).

cultural prestige, as *eugeneia*, on cities of the Roman Empire, 'se «débarbariser»'.[932] While it completely misses the point to deride the historical credibility of such claims, their effectiveness as a persuasive strategy is nearly impossible to judge because they were mostly part of a whole bundle of interconnected arguments.[933] The important thing is that they kept being used – in interstate documents as well as in city titles on coins and inscriptions – which is a clear sign that they continued to matter to their contemporaries and remained a valid currency in identity-discourses.[934]

[932] Robert 1980, 412 fn. 95; Strubbe 1984–1986, 266; Jones 1999b, 106–121.
[933] Jones 1999b, 133.
[934] Weiß 2000, 628 rightly stresses that the Eumeneians' claims to Achaianness need to be taken as testimonies for contemporary notions and not as sources for Attalid history; see also the quotation at the beginning of the chapter, Hall 1997, 66.

# Concluding Remarks

*For the mark of their land is not only linen tunics, that fancy knot of hair, or a gourmet's table; it is also a land known for its seriousness, its eloquence, its arms, and its battles.*
Himerius *or*. LX 1 (transl. R. J. Penella 2007)

As a conclusion to this thesis, I now briefly discuss two further aspects of Ionianness that serve to round off the picture sketched out so far: negative stereotypes of Ionians presented in the literature of the Imperial period, and the question of whether it is possible to determine a certain point in time from which Ionianness ceased to be employed as a form of cultural capital. In a last step, I will then tie in the findings from the previous chapters and locate them within the larger frameworks of the province of Asia and the Roman Empire as a whole, while also pointing out new directions for potential future research.

*Stereotyping the Ionians*

All the expressions of Ionianness discussed so far have shown it to be a prestigious asset which continued to be harnessed for identity-constructions in the Roman period. However, Ionia's geographical location as part of Asia, as well as the notorious and inglorious role that the Ionian cities had played during the Persian Wars, together with their having been subjects of the Persian Empire for a long period, seem to have added another, negative facet to the perceptions of Ionianness. From an etic perspective, Ionians could also be described in the stereotypical terms which were frequently attached to Asians and eastern barbarians more generally: as effeminate, slavish, decadent, frivolous, extravagant, and

luxury-loving.[935] Such a negative view of the Ionians had already been propagated by Herodotus (see Chapter 3.2.1), and the dichotomy between Dorians and Ionians was further disseminated by Thucydides, who employed it as part of the explanatory framework for his account of the Peloponnesian War.[936] That the stereotyped contrast between tough, manly Dorians and luxury-loving, effeminate Ionians persisted into the Roman period is suggested, for example, by Ail. *var.* 14.7., where the luxurious habits of an overweight citizen are called 'Ionian rather than Lakonian' and condemned severely by the Spartan authorities.

Several other literary sources attest to the survival of negative stereotypes about Ionians in the Imperial period. At the beginning of Philostratus' dialogue *Heroicus*, the Ionian clothing style is equated with the Phoenician, and the Ionians are compared to the Sybarites from southern Italy, who had become proverbial for their excessiveness, extravagance, decadence, and luxury.[937] In Philostratus' love-letter n. 5 'To a Boy', the author lists a number of Greek cities and regions together with famous lovers associated with them. Ionia is linked with Branchos and Klaros, the male lovers of Apollo, and the writer asks: 'what is more voluptuous than that land?' The word used here to describe Ionia, ἁβρός, may mean 'graceful, delicate, pretty', but it is also frequently used in a disparaging way to mean 'dainty, luxurious'.[938] Dio of Prusa mentions the Ionians in the same breath as the Persians, Syrians, and Italiots (the Sybarites) as paradigms of excessive luxury (*or*. II 48), and describes the Ionians, together with the Thessalians, Italiots, and Getae,

[935] Connor 1993, 199. Next to the well-known testimonies in the 5th c. BC Athenian tragedies, *loci classici* for the dichotomy of Europeans and Asians include Hippokr. *Aer.* 16; Aristot. *pol.* 1285a, 1327b. On Greeks and barbarians, see e.g. Hall 1989; Harrison (ed.) 2002; Vlassopoulos 2013; Jensen 2018.
[936] E.g. Thuk. 1.6; 5.9.1; 6.77.1; 6.80.4; 6.82; 7.5.4; 7.57.1–5; 8.25.5.
[937] Philostr. *her*. 1.1.
[938] *LSJ* s.v. notes that it was in fact a common epithet applied to Asiatics, attested from Herodotus on; already in Bakchyl. *dithyr*. 18.2: τῶν ἁβροβίων ἄναξ Ἰώνων; Ionia could be considered the cradle of ancient homosexual society, Gangloff 2006, 301 fn. 143.

as addicted to sexual and culinary pleasures, in contrast to the ascetic Spartans and Indians (*or*. LXVIII 2). In Plutarch's *Life of Crassus* (32), a book of *Milesian Tales* becomes a symbol for effeminacy and obscenity, and the Parthians are said to descend from Milesian and Ionian courtesans. These stereotypes also feature in the works of Latin authors such as Propertius or Ovid, the latter of whom calls the Lydian girls amidst whom Hercules stood *Ioniacas*.[939] Further, the term 'τὰ Ἰωνικά', Ionic verses or songs, was generally connected with eroticism, wantonness, and lasciviousness, and their performance could be accompanied by licentious Dionysiac dancing.[940]

The most exhaustive testimony for notions of excessive Ionian luxury-loving can however be found in Book 12 of Athenaios' *Deipnosophistai*.[941] After having produced evidence for the excesses and decadence of various other peoples, such as the Persians and Medes, the Lydians, the Italiots, and especially the Sybarites, Athenaios goes on to collect attestations for Ionian *tryphē*, always depicting it as a negative quality leading to moral corruption and decay. He provides quotations regarding the Milesians (12.523e–524c) and their colony Abydos (12.524f–525b), the Kolophonians (12.524b, 526a–d), the Samians (12.525e–526a), and the Ephesians (12.525c–e), but also the Ionians as a group:

> *Kallias or Diokles in* Cyclopes *makes fun of all the Ionians, saying: 'What about luxury-loving, fine-dining Ionia? Tell me how it's doing!'* (524f).
>
> *Also Aristophanes in* Triphales*, poking fun at many of the Ionians: 'Then all the important foreigners who were there started following me around and making insistent requests: "Now that you've got the boy, please sell him on Chios!" Someone else: "No—in Klazomenai!" And another person: "No—in Ephesos!" And this guy: "In Abydos!"'* (525a–b).

[939] Prop. 1.6.31: *mollis ... Ionia*; Ov. *epist*. 9.73 and *ars* 2.197.
[940] Attested e.g. in Lukian. *De Mercede* 27*,* on which see the comment by Hafner 2017, 279–280; Athen. 14.620e–f where the performer of such songs is called 'Ionikologos' or 'kinaidologos'; but also in Latin poetry such as Hor. *carm*. 3.6.21–24.
[941] Also in Athen. 4.159d, 5.201e, 10.440b.

> *Antiphanes in* The Girl from Dodona *says the following about how all the Ionians generally are addicted to luxury: 'Whence its inhabitant? Has some pampered, luxury-loving crowd of Ionians wearing rich garments set off?' Theophrastus in his* On Pleasure *claims that in fact, as a result of the Ionians' profound addiction to luxury, they <...> even today this exquisite proverb remains current* (526d).
>
> *... of the peoples outside Italy, they [the Sybarites] preferred the Ionians, since the Ionians were devoted to a life of luxury* (12.519b).
>
> *In his description of the noble Alcibiades, Satyrus says: 'People say that when he was in Ionia, he seemed to be more addicted to luxury than the Ionians were'* (12.534b).

The tension emerging from these stereotypes and the Ionians' own claim to cultural prestige is well illustrated by the naturalised Ionian Aelius Aristides. In his encomium of the Roman Empire, he states that Ionia, 'much fought over, freed of its garrisons and satraps, is set forth for all as a model of beauty, having now surpassed herself to the extent that she formerly seemed to exceed the other races in grace and adornment' (*or.* XXVI 95). The continued currency of those negative stereotypes (especially on the side of the Romans) is likely to have spurred the Ionians to further emphasise the positive aspects of their Ionianness in order to distinguish themselves from the more recently Hellenised populations of inland Asia Minor.[942] While it is not possible to ascertain how seriously these stereotypes were taken outside the realm of literature, they certainly also contributed to maintaining the notion of Ionianness in the Roman period.

*The end of Ionianness*

We cannot be sure when Ionianness ceased to be employed as a form of cultural capital altogether. The last extant testimonies from an emic perspective stem roughly from the mid 3rd c. AD: *I.Priene*$^2$ 61 refers to the city as ἡ λαμπροτάτη Πριηνέων Ἰώνων πόλις, while

[942] The same applies to the Greeks of Asia in general, Romeo 2002, 35–37.

coins from Teos bear the inscription ΤΗΙΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ on the reverse (under Severus Alexander and Valerian II), and coins from Samos the inscription ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΙΑΣ (under Decius).[943] The last attestation of the Ionian Koinon is the coin series issued in its name at Kolophon (under Trebonianus Gallus and Valerian, discussed in Chapter 3.1.2). The lack of later similar testimonies must surely also be ascribed to the general decline of the epigraphic habit and of civic coinage in this period.

While other cultural regions within the province of Asia, such as Lydia and Caria, became the namesakes of their own provinces in the late 3rd c. AD, Ionia is never attested as the name of a separate administrative unit. After the province of Asia had been divided up into a number of smaller provinces under Diocletian, the core area which continued to go under the name of Asia was the western coast of Asia Minor, consisting mainly of the regions of Ionia and Aiolis.[944] Due to the lack of evidence from an emic perspective after the mid 3rd c. AD it is very difficult to establish the later significance of Ionianness for identity-discourses. Nonetheless, the notion of Ionianness lived on. In the 4th c. AD, the sophist and teacher of rhetoric Himerius, a native Bithynian, addressed two of his extant orations (delivered in Athens) *To those visiting from Ionia* (*or*. LIX, Εἰς τοὺς ἀπ' Ἰωνίας ἐπιδημήσαντας) and *To the Ionian guests* (*or*. LX, Εἰς τοὺς Ἴωνας ξένους).[945] In the latter, in particular, he praises the accomplishments of the Ionians in the past and extols various famous features of Ionia. However, these two speeches are also firmly rooted in the rhetor's present, and by addressing his audience directly with the words: 'I make this salute to Ionia through you, dear guests. Tell the Ionians that they have their just verbal deserts

[943] Discussed in detail in Chapter 5.2 with fnn. 896–899.

[944] Barnes 1982, 201–211, 215; Vitale 2012, 85–88 argues that a province called Phrygia-Caria already existed in the mid 3rd c. AD.

[945] Penella 2007 provides an excellent recent commentary with translations.

from my tongue' (*or*. LX 3), he provides a clear testimony for the continued vitality of a distinct sense of Ionianness in the 4th c. AD.

*The bigger picture*

Over the course of this thesis we have seen how Ionianness continued to be employed as a cultural resource conveying prestige. Direct expressions and vindications of identity become more salient in contexts where such identities are perceived as threatened. I have shown the changes brought about by the incorporation of the Ionians and the other Greeks of Asia Minor into the Roman Empire to be such a context, and have highlighted several cases in which these changing circumstances are likely to have reinforced the notion of Ionianness. Thus, Ionia was brought into play in civic titulature in exactly the same way as had been done before with the province of Asia in the context of the intercity rivalries of the 2nd and 3rd c. AD (Chapter 1.3.2). In so doing, the Ionian cities could distinguish themselves from other cities of Asia which could not claim such an ancient and exquisite cultural affiliation (Sardis or Pergamon, for instance). This can also be observed in the realm of cult, for example with the employment of the cult epithet Panionios, attested only in the Roman period for Apollo, Artemis, and Hadrian (Chapter 3.1.1). The continued activities of the Ionian Koinon (Chapters 2.1–2.2) need to be understood within this competitive context as well. While the Koinon of the Ionians has been shown to be an exclusive and conservative club of cities, participation in which can be seen as the most explicit expression of Ionianness, it also was adaptable to changing circumstances, as suggested by the creation of the office of the *archiereus* (modelled on the provincial office) as well as by the *koinon*'s engagement in imperial cult. Similarly, these rivalries seem to have triggered a renewed interest in Ionian foundation myths, apparent in both the literary and the

material evidence (Chapter 3.2). At Roman Miletos and Ephesos, in particular, the Ionian founding heroes were firmly embedded in the civic life of the cities. With the creation of the Panhellenion by Hadrian in AD 131/2 – which emerged as another impetus fostering the notions of Ionianness, Dorianness, and so on – the framework for competition expanded further. Explicit claims to ethno-cultural affiliations are attested only for a handful of cities from the Graeco-Roman East, and all the cities discussed in Chapter 5 that openly advertised their Ionianness seem to have constructed it in a meaningful way based on pre-existing traditions and notions. It is interesting to note that this encompassed ethnicities other than the traditional Greek tribes as well: cities in Lydia and Phrygia styled themselves as Macedonians, and the people of Mostene proudly called themselves Lydians on their civic coinage.[946] This should be seen as indicative of a renewed interest in ethno-cultural affiliations in general, and as the earliest attestations stem from the reign of Hadrian, the phenomenon appears to be connected with Hadrian's 'cultural policies', and the foundation of the Panhellenion in particular. Yet the obsession with origins and hierarchised forms of Greekness promoted by Hadrian ('ethnic' definition of Greekness via descent) should not be seen as an opposition to the more open cultural definition of Greekness via *paideia*, first put into words by Isocrates and prevalent in Second Sophistic circles.[947] The two definitions function on different levels: the first mainly on a civic, the

[946] ΜΟΣΤΗΝΩΝ ΛΥΔΩΝ (*RPC* III 1961; IV.2 1338–1340, 1342, 1363, 7790); ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (*RPC* III 1953, 1957; IV.2 1293, 1295, 1749, 9929); ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (*RPC* IV.2 1714, 2142–2144, 2146–2148, 2150–2152, 2155, 2492, 2978, 9984, 9986, 11100; VI 5636–5644; IX 801–804); ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (*RPC* IV.2 1185–1188, 1200, 1201, 2819–2821, 3324, 9319, 10893; VI 4554; IX 737–746, 750); ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (*RPC* IV.2 1688, 1689, 1696, 1970, 1974, 1975, 1978–1980, 2963, 9788; VII.1 744–750); given their unique toponyms, this cannot be seen as a mere distinction from other homonymous cities, which might have been the case with the 'Lycian' Apollonians (*RPC* III 2778–2780; IV.3 7722–7736). Note that only Dokimeion has a plausible claim to be a bona fide Macedonian foundation, as it was founded by the Macedonian general Dokimos, on whom see Diod. 20.107.3–4. Mitchell 2019 argues that Macedonian settlements in Lydia and Phrygia go back to the 4th c. BC and that these claims can thus be regarded as historically justified.

[947] As e.g. Romeo 2002 sees it; Isokr. *or*. IV 50.

second on an individual level. Moreover, the claims to Greek founders and the instances of kinship diplomacy discussed in Chapter 5 show that these were not essentialist, rigid, and exclusive categories, but could be accessed via the constructions of learned men, that is to say, precisely through *paideia*.[948] The case of Synnada provides a neat example for how these categories were not mutually exclusive.

A second peak in the interest in showcasing one's ethno-cultural affiliation is then noticeable from the early to mid 3rd c. AD, for example in the cases of Teos, Samos, Priene, Perinthos, and Isinda (Chapter 5.2), to which the coins of the Ionian Koinon issued by Kolophon in the 250s AD should be connected as well (Chapter 3.1.2). The most likely explanation for this phenomenon is that the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212 had put the perceived unification of the Roman Empire on a whole new level and thus further enlarged the potential frame of reference, which might have caused people to look for other forms of distinction for their identity-constructions.[949] Regionalism and a 'back to the roots' mentality are of course familiar counter-reactions to the perceived threats of a globalising world, a coping mechanism for individuals who are no longer able to comprehend the increased complexity of the interconnections and mechanisms of the world they live in.[950] The *polis* surely remained one of the most important frames of reference for identity-constructions even in the Roman period. However, I hope to have demonstrated that

[948] Doukellis 2007, 298–299 asserts that mythological kinship claims, with their inherent focus on blood and descent, never came to replace the understanding of Greekness as *paideia*.

[949] Ando 2016, 24: 'The impact of the universalization of citizenship upon political subjectivity and local structures of affective attachment constitute a third area that demands further investigation'; on the impact of the Antonine Constitution on local law in Asia Minor, see Kantor 2016, who also notes that 'it is at least a possible hypothesis that in some communities the great levelling act of Caracalla in fact made local pride more fierce and the maintenance of local status more vigorous' (52); Buraselis 2007, 154–158 on its psychological consequences; on its contexts and the motivations behind it, see now Imrie 2018.

[950] The interconnectedness of the Roman Empire is studied as a form of proto-globalisation e.g. by Hingley 2005; Hitchner 2008; and the contributors in Pitts and Versluys (eds) 2015. Recent studies of local identities can be found in Whitmarsh (ed.) 2010, see esp. the methodological remarks by Woolf 2010; similarly Johnston 2017 for the western parts of the Empire.

ethno-regional approaches also provide a fruitful way to further the understanding of Greek culture under the Roman Empire. While my angle is a synchronic one, other recent regional studies have shown that a diachronic approach may be applied in a productive way as well,[951] and cultural regions such as Lydia, Caria, or Phrygia remain open to further research in this direction.

My analysis of expressions of Ionianness in the Roman period has highlighted the overall constructedness of individual and collective cultural identities in general. That identity needs to be seen as something multifaceted and performative, which could be expressed and perceived in many different ways according to context, has run like a golden thread through the pages of this thesis. This should not, however, lead us to a nihilistic invalidation of the notion of cultural identity per se. I hope to have demonstrated how, and in which contexts, Ionianness was employed as a valid form of cultural capital, which was not used randomly, but continued to provide a meaningful frame of reference for the inhabitants of the Ionian cities in the Roman period.

[951] E.g. Thonemann 2011; Russell 2017; Ellis-Evans 2019.

# Maps




**Map 1: Ionia**




**Map 2: Cities attested as *conventus* capitals of the province of Asia**



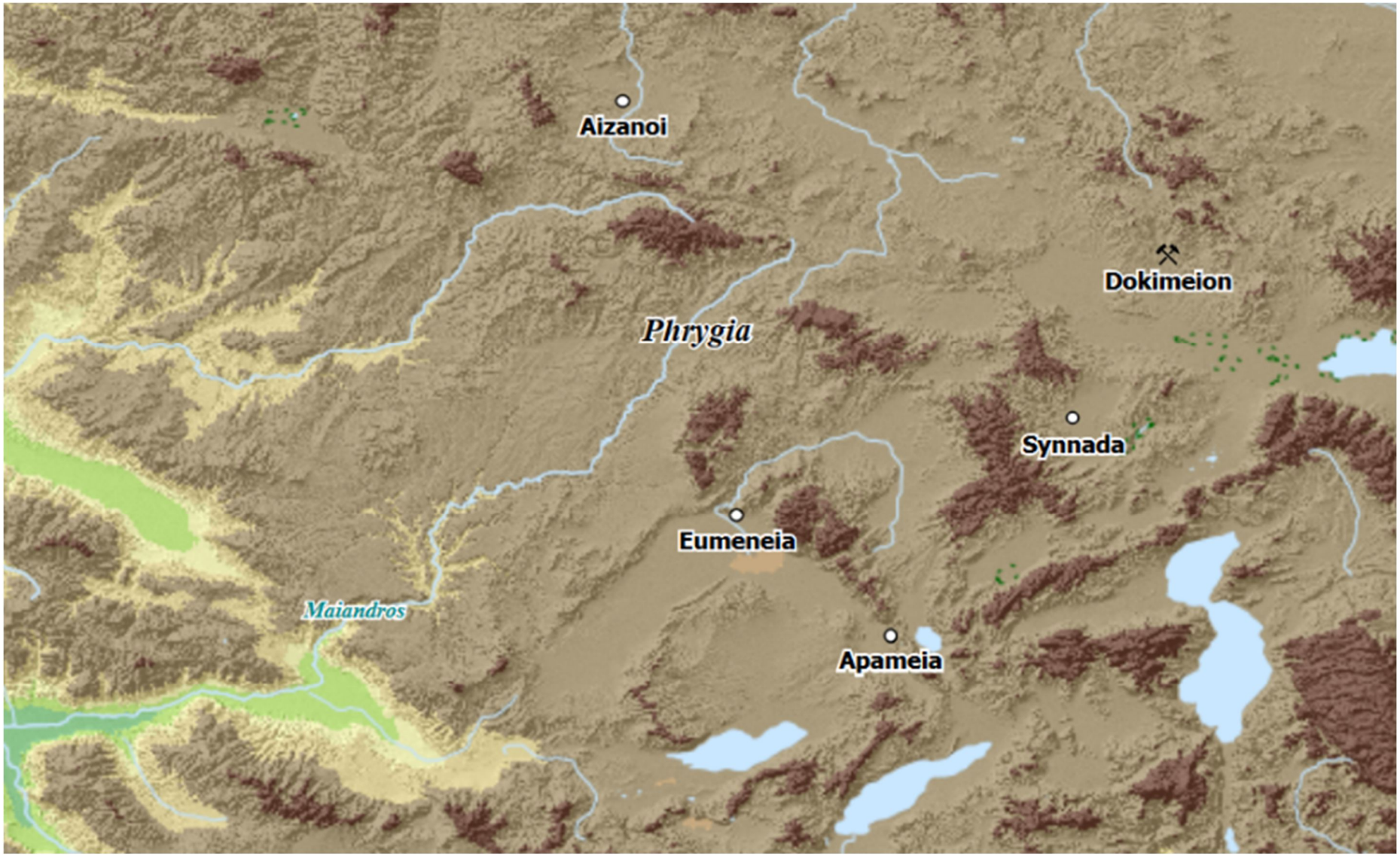

**Map 3: Greek cities of the Black Sea**




**Map 4: Propontis**




**Map 5: Isinda and its neighbours**




**Map 6: Synnada and its neighbours**

# Appendix 1

**Evidence for officials of the Ionian Koinon in the Roman period**

| Office | Source | Name | City | Date | Offices and liturgies discharged | Roman citizenship |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Basileus*** | | | | | | |
| βασιλεύσα[σαν τοῦ τρισκα]ιδεκαπολειτικοῦ τῶν Ἰώνων [κοινοῦ] | *SEG* 15-532 = Graf 1985, 458 n. 79 ll. 6–7 | Claudia Hedeia | Chios | 1st c. AD | γ[υμ]νασιαρ[χήσασαν τε]τράκις καὶ δὶς ἀλείψασαν τὴν [πόλιν κατὰ τ]ὴν τῶν Ἡρακλήων ἀγώνων πανή[γυριν, καὶ —]κις ἀγωνοθετήσασαν τῶν Ἡρα[κλήων καὶ Ῥωμ]αίων καὶ Καισαρήων καὶ βασιλεύσα[σαν τοῦ τρισκα]ιδεκαπολειτικοῦ τῶν Ἰώνων [κοινοῦ] ... [ἱ]έρηαν δ[ιὰ βίου τῆς Σεβαστ]ῆς θεᾶς Ἀφροδίτης Λιβίας | Yes |
| ἀγων[ο]θετησάντων τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰών[ων] καὶ βασιλευσά[ν]των | *I.Didyma* 339 ll. 12–13 | ancestors of Gemella ? Bassa | Miletos | 1st c. AD | προφητευσάντω[ν], ἑκάστου ἀνὰ δίς, στεφανηφορη[σάν]των, ἀγωνοθετ[η]<σάντων> Διδυμείων κα[ὶ Κα]ισαρείων καὶ Ῥωμ[αί]ων, ἀγωνοθετ[ησ]άντων Νέων Σ̣[ε]βαστῶν, ἀγων[ο]θετησάντων τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰών[ων] καὶ βασιλευσά[ν]των, ἀρχιερατ[ευσάντων, γυμνασι]αρχησάντων | ? |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Γ̣[..6...]σαντῶν πρε[σ]βυτῶν, τῶν π̣[ατέρ]ων, π[αιδ]ον[ο]μησάντῳ[ν, πρεσβ]ε̣υσ[άντων?, χο]ρηγησ[άντων —] | |
| βασιλέα Ἰώνων | *OGIS* 489 = *PHI Phokaia* 18 ll. 15–16 | T. Fl. Varus Calvisianus Hermokrates, from the Quirina tribe, son of Stratonikes | Phokaia | 1st/2nd c. AD | ἔπαρχον τεχνειτῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίς, ἔπαρχον σπείρης Βοσποριανῆς πρώτης, χειλίαρχον λεγιῶνος [ι]βʹ κεραυνοφόρου, ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πρύταν[ιν], στεφανηφόρον καὶ ἱερέα τῆς Μασσαλίας δίς, ἀγωνοθέτην, βασιλέα Ἰώνων | Yes |
| βασιλέως Ἰώνων ἀνὰ πάτρην | *IG* XII 6,1 331 ll. 12–13 | T. Fl. Scribonianus | Samos | second half of the 2nd c. AD | ἱερέως τῆς Ἥρας καὶ βασιλέως Ἰώνων ἀνὰ πάτρην | Yes |
| ἀρχιερέων καὶ βασιλέων ἀνὰ πάτρην τῆς Ἰωνίας | *IG* XII 6,1 331 ll. 6–9 | ancestors of Fl. Scriboniane, priestess of Hera | Samos | second half of the 2nd c. AD | ἱερέων τῆς Ἥρας καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ βασιλέων ἀνὰ πάτρην τῆς Ἰωνίας | [Yes] |
| ἀρχιερέων καὶ β̣[ασιλέ]ων τῆς τρισκαιδεκ̣[από]λεως Ἰωνίας | *IG* XII 6,1 326 ll. 6–8 | ancestors of a woman | Samos | 3rd c. AD | [..]άρχων καὶ στεφα[νηφόρων κ]αὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ β̣[ασιλέ]ων τῆς τρισκαιδεκ̣[από]λεως Ἰωνίας | ? |
| τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ἰώνων | *I.Ephesos* 3072 ll. 26–27 | ancestors of ?, daughter of the knight Vedius Servilius Gaius | Ephesos | mid 3rd c. AD | γένους οὖσαν πᾶσιν βαθμοῖς πολλῶν πρυτάνεων καὶ γραμματέων μόνων καὶ ἐν ταῖς εʹ μητροπόλεσιν ἀρχιερασαμένου καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ἰώνων, καὶ συνκλητικῶν καὶ ὑπατικῶν | Yes |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Archiereus*** | | | | | | |
| ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων διὰ βίου | *I.Milet* 1131 ll. 8–9 | C. Iulius Epikrates | Miletos | Augustan | ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων διὰ βίου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου καὶ γυμνασίαρχον πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων καὶ πάσας τὰς λειτουργίας ἐπιτελέσαντα | Yes |
| ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς [Ἰ]ωνί[ας] | *I.Didyma* 281 l. 9 | Posidonios son of Diodotos | Miletos | 1st c. AD | προφήτης ἅμα καὶ κωτάρχης ... καὶ στεφανηφόρος καὶ γυμνασιάρχης πατέρων καὶ γυμνασιάρχης νέων καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς [Ἰ]ωνί[ας καὶ] στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως | No |
| ἀρχιερέως τῶν Ἰώνων | *I.Didyma* 287 ll. 13–14 | Fl. Andreas | Miletos (Leros) | Flavian/ Trajanic | στεφανηφόρου, προφήτου αὐτοέτους πανηγυρικοῦ, ἀρχιερέως τῶν Ἰώνων, γυμνασιάρχου νέων, κωτάρχου, ἑστρατηγηκότος τῆς πόλεως δίς, προστάτου γερουσίας | Yes |
| [ἀ]ρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων | *I.Didyma* 287 ll. 6–7 | T. Fl. Dionysodoros, from the Quirina tribe, son of Fl. Andreas | Miletos (Leros) | first half of the 2nd c. AD | προφήτης ... αὐτοέτης πανη[γ]υρικός ... [ἀ]ρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων, γυμνασίαρχος γερουσίας, ἀγωνοθέτης, παίδων χορηγός | Yes |
| ἀρχιερέων τῆς Ἰωνίας | *I.Didyma* 279 ll. 13–14 | M. Ulp. Flavianus Damas and I. Flaviane Glaphyra | Miletos | first half of the 2nd c. AD | ἀρχιερέων τῶν Σεβαστῶν, ποιησάντων θεωρίας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ μονομαχίας ἀποτόμους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκαδύο καὶ ἀρχιερέων τῆς Ἰωνίας, | Yes |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | ποιησάντων δὲ καὶ ἐ[στιά]σεις καὶ δημοθοινίας καὶ γυμν[ικὰ? καὶ ἐπι]δόσει[ς καὶ] ἱπποδ[ρομίας] | |
| ἠρχι[ερα]τευκυίας τῆς τρισκαιδε[καπό]λιδος τῶν Ἰώνων | *I.Didyma* 356 ll. 6–7 | Babaithis, daughter of Nikeratos | Miletos | AD 129 | ἐστεφανηφορη̣[κυίας] πρώτης παρθένου, ἠρχι[ερα]τευκυίας τῆς τρισκαιδε[καπό]λιδος τῶν Ἰώνων | No |
| ἀρχιερέων καὶ βασιλέων ἀνὰ πάτρην τῆς Ἰωνίας | *IG* XII 6,1 331 ll. 6–9 | ancestors of Fl. Scriboniane, priestess of Hera | Samos | second half of the 2nd c. AD | ἱερέων τῆς Ἥρας καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ βασιλέων ἀνὰ πάτρην τῆς Ἰωνίας | [Yes] |
| τ[ῶν] Σεβᾰ[στ]ῷν ἀ̣ρχιερατεύσ[α]σ̣αν κ̣[αὶ τῶ]ν Ἰώνων | *I.Milet* 265 ll. 5–6 | ? | Miletos | late 2nd/ early 3rd c. AD | τ[ῶν] Σεβᾰ[στ]ῷν ἀ̣ρχιερατεύσ[α]σ̣αν κ̣[αὶ τῶ]ν Ἰώνων, γενομένην̣ [στε]φανηφόρ̣ον, γυμνασίαρχον τῶν νέων, γυμνασίαρχον τῶν πατέρων, γυμνασίαρχον τῶν πολειτῶν, παι̣[δο]νόμον, χορηγὸν πασ[ῶν χορηγι]ῶν, ἀγωνοθ̣έ̣τ̣[ι]ν̣ [Διδυμ]είων τῶν Κ̣[ομμοδείων, ὑδρο]φόρον τῆ̃[ς Ἀρτέμιδο]ς τῆς Πυθίης [—], κώταρχιν, τέλε[ιον λειτουργ]ό̣[ν] | ? |
| [ἀρχιερ]εὺς Ἰωνίας β‘ | *I.Didyma* 301 l. 5 | ? | Miletos | late 2nd/ early 3rd c. AD | [στεφ]α̣[ν]η̣φό̣ρ̣ος … γυμνασίαρχος [πάντων τῶν γυμ]νασίων, κωτάρχ[ης, ἀρχιερ]εὺς Ἰωνίας β‘, [—]ς, πρεσβεύσας [δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Σ]εβαστούς, προστα[τήσας δὲ καὶ τῆς] γ̣ε̣ρ̣ο̣υ̣σ̣ί̣α̣ς | ? |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ἀρχιερέων καὶ β[ασιλέ]ων τῆς τρισκαιδεκ̣[από]λεως Ἰωνίας | *IG* XII 6,1 326 ll. 6–8 | ancestors of a woman | Samos | 3rd c. AD | [..]άρχων καὶ στεφα[νηφόρων κ]αὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ β[ασιλέ]ων τῆς τρισκαιδεκ̣[από]λεως Ἰωνίας | ? |
| ***Hiereus*** | | | | | | |
| ἱερέα τῆς Ἰωνίας | *I.Erythrai* 64 l. 9 | T. Fl. Aur. Alexandros | Erythrai | 3rd c. AD | ἱερέα θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν Διονυσίω[ν] τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν ἱερέα τῆς Ἰωνίας ἀγορανόμον, βουλάρχον, σειτώνην τ(ὸ) β', εἰρήναρχον | Yes |
| ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΩΝΩΝ | *RPC* IX 600 | Cl. Kallistos | Kolophon | AD 251–253 | ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ(ΑΤΗΓΟΥ) ΚΛ(ΑΥΔΙΟΥ) ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΩΝΩΝ | Yes |
| ***Agōnothetēs*** | | | | | | |
| ἀγων[ο]θετησάντων τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰών[ων] καὶ βασιλευσά[ν]των | *I.Didyma* 339 ll. 12–14 | ancestors of Gemella ? Bassa | Miletos | 1st c. AD | προφητευσάντω[ν,] ἑκάστου ἀνὰ δίς, στεφανηφορη[σάν]των, ἀγωνοθετ[η]<σάντων> Διδυμείων κα[ὶ Κα]ισαρείων καὶ Ῥωμ[αί]ων, ἀγωνοθετ[ησ]άντων Νέων Σ̣[ε]βαστῶν, ἀγων[ο]θετησάντων τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰών[ων] καὶ βασιλευσά[ν]των, ἀρχιερατ[ευσάντων, γυμνασι]αρχησάντων Γ̣[..6…]σαν τῶν πρε[σ]βυτῶν, τῶν π̣[ατέρ]ων, π[αιδ]ον[ο]μησάντω̣[ν, πρεσβ]ε̣υσ[άντων?, χο]ρηγησ[άντων —] | ? |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Μεγάλων Πυθίων Πανιωνίων | *I.Didyma* 252 l. 6 | Aur. Archegos? | Miletos | 3rd c . AD | [ἀγωνοθέ]της τῶν Μεγάλων Διδυμ<ί>ων [Κο]μοδίων, [—] ὁ μόνος? προστάτης Διδυμέως Ἀπόλλωνος, κώταρχος τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν Καβίρων, ἀγορανόμος, εἰρήναρχος, βουλαρχήσας ἐνδόξως, σιτώνη[ς], ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Μεγάλων Πυθίων Πανιωνίων, τέλιος λειτουργός, ‖ εἰρήναρχος | Yes |
| [ἀγωνοθετήσας ... τῶν Πυθίω]ν̣ Πανιωνίων | *I.Didyma* 305 ll. 4–6 (restored by Robert 1960, 469–470) | ? | Miletos | late Imperial | [στεφανηφορή]σας?, κωταρχή[σας, ἀγωνοθετήσας τῶν Μεγάλω]ν̣ Διδυμείων Κο[μμοδείων καὶ τῶν Πυθίω]ν̣ Πανιωνίων | ? |

# Appendix 2

**Omphale and Heracles on the coins of the Koinon of the 13 Cities**

Of the coins of the Koinon of the 13 Cities based in Sardis discussed in Chapter 2.3, two slightly differing reverse types require detailed analysis: *RPC* IV.2 955 (Fig. A.1) and 1019 (Fig. A.2). On the right, they show both a seated Heracles, clearly identified by the club and lion skin, leaning on his left arm and reaching out to a female figure with his right. She is half-naked, her breasts are exposed and her genitals are only just hidden by her dress. On *RPC* IV.2 955 they stand closer together, Heracles touches her on her right shoulder and her right hand is raised towards her head in a gesture that might indicate coquetry or rejection, possibly trying half-heartedly to free herself from his grasp.[952] On *RPC* IV.2 1019, there is some distance between them and Heracles holds her by the wrist. In both cases she faces him directly and her left foot is slightly cocked in a gracious lady-like way.



Fig. A.1: *RPC* IV.2 955.2 rev.



Fig. A.2: *RPC* IV.2 1019.1 rev.

[952] Very similar to Venus in a wall painting from the House of Mars and Venus in Pompeii, c. AD 50–60; *LIMC* s.v. Ares/Mars n. 376, where the raised hand is interpreted as draping her veil.

Following Raoul-Rochette, Lacroix was the first to make a strong case for interpreting the female figure as Auge, and most modern scholarship has accepted this identification uncritically.[953] He bases his theory on mostly much earlier iconographic evidence from the 5th–3rd c. BC, largely displaying the violent seizure of Auge by Heracles, who in most instances is standing, although none of these is similar to the Antonine coin types;[954] the similarities in layout and composition that he finds may also be accounted for as stereotypical features found in other mythological sexual constellations as well.[955] Aware himself of this discrepancy, he tries to explain it by postulating an 'image idéalisée du couple formé par le héros et sa compagne' (22) for the coins, for which he is unable to give any iconographic or even literary parallels.

As the figure of Auge has very strong connections with the founding myths of Pergamon, Lacroix uses as his crucial supporting evidence one of the specimens of *RPC* IV.2 1019, the reverse inscription of which mentions Pergamon and Ephesos. This has however been shown to have been tooled in the early modern period, and can no longer be used as evidence.[956] There remain three coin types of assured Pergamene origin showing imagery similar to *RPC* IV.2 955;[957] with the tooled specimen dismissed, however, and given that these Pergamene coins were struck under Lucius Verus and thus after the coins of the Koinon of the 13 Cities, they should no longer be used as the main argument for identifying the female figure as Auge.[958] What is more, there is one iconographic detail that has been

[953] Raoul-Rochette 1842, 291 with fn. 3; Lacroix 1956.
[954] Lacroix 1956, 17–19.
[955] Lacroix 1956, 22 fn. 1.
[956] *RPC* IV.2 1019.3 = *P* 1111 (85) = Gillespie 1956, n. 12: ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΩΝ (sic!) ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ; Heuchert 2014, 301–304.
[957] *RPC* IV.2 3099, 3217, and Mionnet 1830, 444 n. 1023.
[958] Lacroix 1956, 30 himself stated that 'le motif qui orne les médallions du Koinon n'est pas exactement identique à celui qui figure sur la monnaie de Pergame'. In addition to this, identifying the female figure as Auge on the sole basis that the coins are Pergamene is not sustainable and different solutions have indeed been offered: Aphrodite (Mazzoleni 1740, pl. XXIV 3; Mionnet 1830, 444 n. 1023; Babelon 1898, n. 7039); a nymph (Fritze 1910, 70; Ohlemutz 1940, 243); Artemis (Voegtli 1977, 74).

neglected in the discussion so far:[959] on most of the coins, prominently on *RPC* IV.2 1019.1 and 1019.3, there is a quiver (with bow) left of the female figure, which creates a compositional counterweight to Heracles' club on the right. None of the parallel evidence provided by Lacroix features Auge in connection with either a bow or quiver, and there are no instances in the mythical tradition associating this weapon with her.[960]

Dismissing a Pergamene connection and searching instead for a link between the Heracles coins and the other *koinon* coins, it seems reasonable to try to locate them as well within a Sardian iconographic context.[961] The most famous and obvious link between Heracles and Sardis is of course the Lydian queen Omphale for whom the hero is said to have laboured as a slave.[962] Besides the popular comical depictions of the couple changing clothes – Heracles in female dress and often holding a spindle, Omphale wearing the lion skin and yielding the hero's club –[963] there exists also a more dignified tradition portraying them as the ancestors of the ancient Lydian-Sardian ruling dynasties. One strand presents them as parents of Agelaos, the ancestor of the most famous Lydian king Kroisos,[964] while according to another Sardis was ruled by the descendants of Heracles and a slave of Iardanos, that is to say Omphale, before the Mermnads, the dynasty of which Kroisos was the last king, assumed power.[965] Still further in Strabo we find them as the forefathers of Lydos, the eponym of the Lydians.[966] In a late 2nd c. AD inscription from the famous oracular sanctuary of Apollo in Klaros, a *thespōdēs* proudly highlights his descent from the Heraclid-Mermnad

[959] The only one to remark upon it is Voegtli 1977, 74, taken up by Lindner 1994, 148.
[960] E.g. in *LIMC* or *Roscher* s.v. Auge.
[961] Lindner 1994, 146: 'Zu all diesen Rückseitentypen mit sardisch-lydischen Themen paßt nur das Paar „Herakles und Auge" nicht'.
[962] *RE* s.v. Omphale; Pedley 1972, 6–7 collected all the references in literary works.
[963] *LIMC* s.v. Omphale, nn. 14–42.
[964] Apollod. 2.7.8.
[965] Hdt. 1.7; Dion Chrys. *or*. XV 5; cf. Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007, 79; Iardanos is traditionally the father of Omphale, e.g. Apollod. 2.6.3; Diod. 4.31.5.
[966] Strab. 5.2.2.

dynasty, thus attesting to the survival and vitality of this Sardian-Lydian mythological tradition.[967] That Omphale was still an important mythical figure in Roman Lydia is attested through a number of coins from Sardis and Maionia from the 2nd c. AD.[968] One strand of the mythical tradition depicts their love affair as a mutually shared and passionate relationship, whereby the mighty hero's surrender to his feelings is symbolised by her stripping him of his weapons.[969] It is precisely this strand which I suggest is represented by the iconography of the coins under discussion.[970] Supporting evidence for identifying the female figure as the Lydian Omphale comes from a contemporary marble relief from Naples[971] where the queen, identified by an inscription, stands half-naked next to Heracles, her dress very similarly covering only her genitals, and below her sit the hero's quiver and bow.[972] That these two weapons, next to his ubiquitous club and lion skin, were seen as Heraclean symbols in Sardis and elsewhere in the province of Asia in the 2nd c. AD is securely attested through a number of coins, the popularity and wide circulation of which is demonstrated by the high number of surviving specimens.[973] Furthermore, Ovid in his narration of the Omphale episode relates that she took the hero's lion skin, his club, as well as his darts blackened with Lernaean venom.[974]

[967] *SEG* 15-715 ll. 2–3: θεσπιῳδοῦντος Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Ἄρδυος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄρδυος |Ἡρακλείδῶν πατρογενίδου.
[968] *RPC* III 2411, 2419–2421; IV.2 1325–1327, 9330.
[969] Diod. 4.31; Palaiphatos *Peri apistōn* 44; in some instances, the figure of a little winged Eros is added to the pair (*LIMC* nn. 30–31; very similar also on the Pergamene coin Mazzoleni 1740, pl. XXIV 3), and in *LIMC* nn. 27–29 several Erotes take away Heracles' armour and play with it.
[970] The only scholars who briefly considered this identification are Lindner 1994, 148 and Heuchert 2014, 303.
[971] Heracles and Omphale are mythologically linked to the Italian peninsula as the grandparents of Tyrrhenos, the forefathers of the Etruscans/Tyrrhenoi, Strab. 5.2.2; Tac. *ann*. 4.55.
[972] *LIMC* n. 10; there are of course also clear differences in the composition (Heracles is standing, she is touching him with her left on his right shoulder, there is a spindle and *kalathos* below him), but the depiction of Omphale is still very close to the one on the coins and she is unmistakably associated with quiver and bow.
[973] E.g. *RPC* III 2027 (Hypaipa, 6 specimens); III 2412 (Sardis, 6 specimens); III 2428 (Maionia/*conventus* of Sardis, 14 specimens); IV.2 349 (Smyrna, 43 specimens); IV.2 1848 (Keretapa Diokaisareia/Phrygia, 10 specimens); IV.2 1401 (Saitta/*conventus* of Sardis, 2 specimens).
[974] Ov. *epist*. 9.111–118; 115: *femina tela tulit Lernaeis atra venenis*.

Accepting the identification of the female figure on the *koinon* coins as Omphale leaves us with the question how to explain the similarity with the Pergamene coins under Lucius Verus. I would like to argue that the latter depict not Auge, but Omphale as well and might thus have been modelled on the *koinon* coins or derived from the same (sculptural?) model.[975] The bow behind the female figure, which has no iconographic connection with Auge, is actually discernible on most of the Pergamene coins as well. Furthermore, as stated above, traditional depictions of Auge focus more on her violent seizure, and less on a moment of gentle intimacy. We should also note that the Omphale motif was not alien at all to 2nd c. AD Mysia, as attested by two coin types from Lampsakos depicting another rather intimate scene between Heracles and the Lydian queen.[976]

[975] Heuchert 2014, 303 fn. 43.
[976] *RPC* IV.2 10150 and 2924; a similar composition might also be seen on a Pergamene clay relief mug from the 1st c. BC/AD, *LIMC* s.v. Omphale n. 35.

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