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**SOCIETY IN LYDIA AND PHRYGIA FROM
THE 1ST TO THE 3RD CENTURY AD**

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**DRUŠTVO U LIDIJI I FRIGIJI OD I DO III
VEKA N.E.**

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Society of Lydia and Phrygia from the 1st to the 3rd century AD

This doctoral thesis examines the social classes in Lydia and Phrygia during the first three centuries AD. The research was equally dedicated to urban and rural population and includes all social strata that have left their mark in the narrative and documentary sources, from senators to the stock of slaves. Given the information provided by the sources the thesis is dealing with the social status and the rise of the richest families in these areas, the legal status of members of the local and immigrant population and the effects of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and granting Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire, professional craftsmen associations, family structure and family life, cult personnel and the role of religion in private and social life, literacy and level of cultural development. The aim of the research was to study in detail a large and significant part of the province of Asia at the time of its greatest economic and cultural prosperity. The regions were compared with each other and at times with other parts of ancient Asia Minor.

One of the main topics of this thesis is social dynamics, intra- and inter-generational mobility. This interaction can include family ties, household, marital ties, and other interactions. In all these ways individuals are linked into classes that create a system of social stratification. Demography of Lydia and Phrygia presented a special challenge. The research method is primarily based on a comprehensive study of historical sources, both documentary and narrative, although epigraphic material largely prevails (there are about 4500 published inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia so far).

Changes emerging at the end of the rule of the Attalid dynasty and the arrival of the Romans in Asia Minor affected the local residents in different ways. New political and economic conditions enabled the creation of a new social organization. Roman power in Asia Minor brought significant changes to the social hierarchy. The prosperous period in the history of the province of Asia, during the 2nd century AD, is marked by the growing number of new senators from the East (*homines novi*). There were several senatorial

families in Lydia and Phrygia, primarily from Sardeis, Thyateira, Tralleis, Akmoneia, Attouda, Aizanoi and Laodikeia on Lykos. Education and origin were the best recommendation for new senators. Most of them build a career long and carefully, like Tiberius Claudius Celsus Polemaeanus from Sardeis and Marcus Gnaeus Licinius Rufinus from Thyateira. All originated from Asia Minor, and most of them married daughters from the families of the same or similar status. Sons usually continued their careers in urban centers such as Ephesos, Pergamon and Rome. Nevertheless, epigraphic evidence clearly shows that the connections with their homeland, cities from which they originated remained strong. Only senators and members of the equestrian order were "Romanized" in the true sense of the word. Apart from the descendants of Roman colonists in the East, something like this could not be said for members of the municipal elite, and even less for the lower social groups.

Asia Minor has produced ample evidence for studying the origin and influence of wealthy families in the Greco-Roman cities, as well as their mutual relationships. Epigraphic monuments, such as honorary inscriptions, dedications and tombstones, yield most information about the prominent families in the areas of Lydia and Phrygia. Abundant information indicates how complex relationships among different families were and how their influence was widespread. Based on the sources we can discern the outlines of the network of dominant families that spawned the ruling elite in the cities, and later the senators and consuls that were building their careers in the eastern provinces in accordance with the existing tradition of the Roman Empire. One gets the impression that prominent families of Lydia and Phrygia inclined toward larger centers, especially coastal, Ionian cities. Generally speaking, families have experienced their rise over three generations, and offices they held in this period are repeated in the history of each of them. The study of prominent families within wider social and economic context and the study of social mobility lead to a better understanding of general historical circumstances. I believe that members of the urban elite were the initiators of social mobility.

Professional associations had an important role in the social life of Phrygia and Lydia. A large number of honorary and funerary inscriptions provide information about the internal organization of these associations and their position in the economic life of the

cities. Slaves certainly form a significant social group, but unfortunately, the ancient sources, especially narrative ones, do not focus on them. Using mainly epigraphic evidence, I have attempted to study their position in households, including the formation of slave families, as well as their role in economic life of Lydia and Phrygia.

Key words:

Lydia, Phrygia, society, inscriptions, senators, equestrians, elite, middle class, slaves

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Društvo Lidije i Frigije od I do III veka n.e.

Tema ove doktorske teze su društveni slojevi u maloazijskim oblastima Lidiji i Frigiji tokom prva tri veka n. e. Istraživanje je podjednako posvećeno gradskom i seoskom stanovništvu i obuhvata sve društvene slojeve koji su ostavili trag u narativnim i dokumentarnim izvorima, od pripadnika senatskog staleža do robova. U skladu sa podacima koje pružaju izvori razmatran je društveni status i uspon najbogatijih porodica u ovim oblastima, pravni status pripadnika domaćeg i pridošlog stanovništva i posledice Karakalinog Edikta o davanju rimskog građanskog prava svim slobodnim stanovnicima Carstva, profesionalna zanatlijska udruženja, porodična struktura i porodični život, zanimanja, kulturni personal i uloga religije u privatnom i društvenom zivotu, pismenost i stepen kulturnog razvoja. Cilj istraživanja je bio da se detaljno prouči društvo jednog velikog i značajnog dela provincije Azije u vreme njegovog najvećeg ekonomskog i kulturnog uspona. Deskripcija nije bila dovoljna, stoga neće biti prezentovani samo opis i analiza situacije u ovim izuzetno važnim oblastima, nego su upoređivane i međusobno, a na nekim mestima i sa ostalim delovima antičke Male Azije.

Jedan od fokusa ove teze je socijalna dinamika, intra- i inter- generacijska mobilnost. Ova interakcija može upućivati i na porodične veze, domaćinstva, bračne i rođачke veze, kao i druge interakcije. Na sve ove načine pojedinci su povezani u slojeve koji stvaraju sistem društvene stratifikacije. Poseban istraživački izazov je pitanje istraživanja demografije u Lidiji i Frigiji. Metod istraživanja se prvenstveno zasniva na sveobuhvatnom proučavanju istorijskih izvora, kako dokumentarnih tako i narativnih, mada najviše na analizi epigrafskog materijala (korpus natpisa u Lidiji i Frigiji ima oko 4500 natpisa).

Promene koje su nastale padom dinastije Atalida i dolaskom Rimljana na prostor Male Azije, uticale su i na stanovnike tamošnjih provincija na različite načine. Novi politički i ekonomski uslovi omogućili su stvaranje nove društvene organizacije. Rimaska vlast u Maloj Aziji je donela mnoge promene, pa i u društvenoj hijerarhiji. Procvat

provincije Azije u drugom veku n. e, ogleda se i u sve većem broju novih senatora sa Istoka (*homines novi*). Bilo je nekoliko senatorskih porodica u Lidiji i Frigiji, prvenstveno u Sardu, Tijateri, Tralu, Akmoneji, Atudi, Aizanoi i Laodikeji na Likosu. Obrazovanje i poreklo su bili najbolja preporuka za nove senatore. Većina ih je dugo i pažljivo gradila karijeru, poput Tiberija Klaudija Celza Polemaeana iz Sarda i Marka Gneja Licinija Rufina iz Tijatere. Svi su poreklom iz Male Azije, a većinom su se ženili ćerkama porodica istog ili sličnog statusa. Sinovi su uglavnom nastavljali karijere u velikim centrima poput Efesa, Pergama i Rima. I pored toga, veze sa oblastima, gradovima iz kojih su potekli su ostale čvrste, što se vidi iz sačuvanih natpisa. Samo su senatori i pripadnici konjičkog staleža bili „romanizovani“ u pravom smislu te reči i samo se među njima može pratiti rasprostranjenost latinskog jezika. Osim potomaka rimskih kolonista na Istoku, ovako nešto ne bi moglo da se kaže ni za pripadnike gradske elite, a još manje za niže društvene grupe.

Mala Azija je oduvek bila pogodno tle za proučavanje porekla i uticaja bogatih porodica u grčko-rimskim gradovima, kao i njihovih međusobnih veza. Epigrafski spomenici, poput počasnih natpisa, dedikacija i nadgrobnih spomenika, donose najviše informacija o istaknutim porodicama u oblastima Lidije i Frigije. Obilje podataka ukazuje na to koliko su bili složeni odnosi među različitim porodicama i koliko je njihov uticaj bio rasprostranjen. Na osnovu izvora mogu se nazreti obrisi mreže dominantnih porodica koje su iznedrile vladajuću elitu u gradovima, a kasnije i senatore i konzule koju su stvarali svoju karijeru u istočnim provincijama u skladu sa postojećom tradicijom Rimskog carstva. Stiče se utisak da su ugledne porodice Lidije i Frigije težile ka većim centrima, pogotovo primorskim, jonskim gradovima. U proseku, porodice su svoj uspon doživljavale tokom tri generacije, a funkcije koje su vršili u tom periodu se ponavljaju u istoriji svake od njih. Proučavanje istaknutih porodica u sklopu šireg društvenog i ekonomskog konteksta i proučavanje društvene mobilnosti vodi ka boljem razumevanju opštih istorijskih prilika. Posebno pitanje u radu je pitanje identifikacije titule i položaja arhijereja Azije i azijarha. Smatram da su pripadnici gradske elite bili pokretači društvene mobilnosti.

Važnu ulogu u društvenom životu Lidije i Frigije imaju i profesionalna udruženja. Veliki broj počasnih i nadgrobnih natpisa pruža nam podatke o unutrašnjoj organizaciji tih udruženja i njihovom položaju u ekonomskom životu gradova.

Robovi svakako čine veliku društvenu grupu, no na žalost, antički izvori se ne fokusiraju na njih. U okviru ove teze, prikazan je njihov položaj kroz ekonomske relacije stanovništva; rad robova u domaćinstvu, zanatstvu, kao i formiranje robovskih porodica.

Ključne reči:

Lidija, Frigija, društvo, natpisi, senatori, konjanici, elite, srednji sloj, robovi

Naučna oblast:

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1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis represents an attempt to provide a historical survey and analysis of the society in Lydia and Phrygia during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire. Society can be broadly described as the collective of people living together in a more or less ordered community. Human societies are characterized by patterns of relationships (social relations) between individuals who share a distinctive culture and institutions. A larger society often reveals stratification and/or dominance patterns in subgroups. Social class refers to a stratification system that divides a society into a hierarchy of social positions. It is a method of social ranking that involves money, power, culture, taste, identity, access, and exclusion.¹ Social classes are demographically formed wherever patterns of mobility, interaction and association tie the occupants of class situations together.

In the beginning of the 20th century Weber introduced three independent factors that form his theory of stratification hierarchy: class, status and power. Class represented a person's economic position in a society; status was seen as a person's prestige, social honor or popularity in the society and power as person's ability to get their way despite the resistance of the others.² This stratification can be applied almost universally. The term social structure denotes a more or less enduring pattern of social arrangements within a particular society, group, or social organization. An early attempt to theorize the notion of social structure was seen in the work of Lévi-Strauss, the French social anthropologist, who

¹ G. Ritzer, J. M. Ryan, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Oxford 2011, 65 s.v. class.

² H. H. Gerth, C. Wright Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, New York 1946, 181-191.

attempted to discover the universal rules that strengthen everyday activities and custom through cultural systems.³

Most ancient historians are likely to deal at some point with the interrelation of political power, social status, material assets and literary tradition. The aim of this research is to study the society of one large and significant part of the province of Asia during its greatest economic and cultural flowering. In this thesis we will attempt to analyze the society and social classes in two provinces of Asia Minor in the Roman period, Lydia and Phrygia. How was the society divided? One analyzes the population by these questions: where did the people live – in towns or in the villages? What were their occupations, divided by gender, age, family relations? What was the basis for all those divisions?

Greek social perception was aware of inequalities and embraced them, so they divided people on free and slaves (by legal and social criteria), or citizens and non-citizens (by political criteria). The presented division on social classes, based on Roman social stratification, is perhaps inadequate or incomplete, but generally accepted. This research will equally involve both town and village population and include all the strata that left some evidence in literary and documentary sources, beginning with the upper classes: senators, equestrians and urban elite, citizens and villagers, foreigners and slaves. One of the main focuses will be on social dynamics, intra- and inter-generational mobility. This interaction might involve links of family and household, bonds of marriage, partnership, parenting, kinship, friendship and similar forms of intimate interaction, such as association membership. In all of these ways individuals may be tied into the larger and more organized structures that are layered on top of each other to form a system of social stratification in which the members of a particular social class share crucial experiences and life chances in common.⁴ Certain parallels on social relations between people can be made, even though they are sometimes not so noticeable in the sources. Making that link is the part of the historical process where we have to construct, show and make something to explain from the sources.

³ C. Lévi-Strauss, *The Scope of Anthropology*, London 1967.

⁴ Cf. J. Scott (ed.), *Sociology. The Key Concepts*, Oxford 2006, 31.

Some of the hypothesis are that professional and cult associations played a significant role in social and economic life of Lydia and Phrygia, that notable population growth contributed to the development of these areas, to recognize where the Romanization was most noticeable, and if the Hellenistic and the older traditions still shaped everyday life.

The differences between Lydia and Phrygia are visible and important. Apart from the common social features shared by the ruling elites of these two regions, which were part of the wider phenomenon, there is hardly any feature that could be described as identical for both of them. Lydia remained a more densely populated and more urbanized area, closely connected to the western parts of Asia Minor and the administrative center of the province. Phrygia, covering a much larger area than its western neighbor, even under Roman rule remained less populated, with much more scattered network of cities and probably significantly larger proportion of the rural population. Differences in their cultural traditions are also still visible during the first centuries of the Roman Empire. The Phrygian ‘doorstones’ are an excellent example of a regionally distinctive artifact-type – found throughout Phrygia and almost nowhere else – which nonetheless shows extreme local variation.⁵ The separate historical experience influenced the ways the societies of these regions managed with realities of the Roman Empire.

Asia Minor was and is one of the most interesting and most dynamic areas. It sits at a critical junction between the continents of Europe and Asia. For this reason, it has often been seen as a land-bridge through which cultural developments were transmitted. Many researchers are interested in Asia Minor because of its geographical diversity, distinctive historical background in different regions and abundance of sources.⁶ The importance of this region in the history of Greco-Roman civilization is immense; it is hard to overestimate it. It could be also seen in the amount of energy and means foreign invaders invested in conquering and expanding in Asia Minor.

⁵ M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, Mainz, 1986; T. Lochman, *Studien zu kaiserzeitlichen Grab- und Votivreliefs aus Phrygien*, Basel 2003, 147–84.

⁶ On physical and historical geography of Asia Minor in antiquity see: M. Cary, *The Geographical Background of Greek and Roman History*, Oxford 1949, 151-164; J.M. Cook, *CAH* III-12, 745-748; Frank, *Asia Minor*, 599-607; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the end of the third century after Christ I*, Princeton 1950, 34-52 (western Anatolia, later Roman province of Asia).

Asia Minor has always served as a principal link between Europe and Asia. It was almost never united except under the pressure of foreign conquerors, as though its political division was a natural result of its geographical incoherence, manifested in a seclusion of midland highlands from the coastal areas in the north and south. Some compensation for the relative infertility of the central Asia Minor was provided by its mineral wealth.⁷ One of the advantages of the mountainous nature of Asia Minor is the availability of a large quantity of minerals and ores, such as obsidian, copper, silver, and gold, many of which were exploited throughout history.

The physical structure of Asia Minor has a clear influence in terms of transport and travel, climate and vegetation and each of the regions had different benefits for their inhabitants from the beginning. The environmental conditions and natural geography of Asia Minor have not changed much: the soil, climate, plants and animals are more or less the same as they were in Roman times.⁸ In the Phrygian plateau the famous Synnadic or Dokimeian marble, a white stone streaked with purple, was quarried and extensively used by the Romans, especially for great columns.⁹ The hinterland of Sardeis contained a volcanic region with parts of very productive soil, known as Katakekaumenē.¹⁰ Lydia was a transitional area between the Ionian coast and the higher lands of Phrygia, so it profited from both. In the Hellenistic and Roman period Laodikeia on the Lycos in Phrygia was known for its soft “raven-black” wool.¹¹ Perhaps the most significant natural resources of western Asia Minor were its communications – roads and rivers.

Lydia contained much natural wealth, and situated on two main routes from the coast to the interior of Anatolia, it was the center of trade and lay open to Greek and Anatolian influences, which are reflected in its civilization, art, and cults. The historical boundaries of Lydia varied, but it was surrounded by Mysia, Caria, Phrygia and coastal

⁷ M. Cary, *The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History*, Oxford 1949, 154-155; also cf. B. S. Düring, *The Prehistory of Asia Minor: from Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies*, Cambridge 2011, 8ff.

⁸ On historical geography also cf. P. Thonemann, *The Meander Valley. A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*, Cambridge 2011, especially 10-20.

⁹ Strabo, 12. 8. 14; on Strabo's Phrygia cf. M. D. Campanile, La Frigia di Strabone, in: A. M. Biraschi, G. Salmeri (eds.), *Strabone e Asia Minore*, Perugia, 2000, 487-507.

¹⁰ In Roman period volcanoes were extinct, nevertheless a great earthquake in 17 AD showed tectonic activity of the area, cf. Tac. Ann. 2. 47.1.

¹¹ Strabo, 12. 8, 16.

Ionia. In Roman times the river Meander was usually regarded as its southern boundary.¹² That is the main reason why I included the inscriptions from Tralleis into this thesis, although Strabo describes this city as part of Caria.¹³ Tralleis lost its status as a *conventus* centre under Tiberius, after the devastating earthquake and became part of the *conventus* in Ephesos.

The region of the Hermus River and its tributaries, the most fertile of all the river-basins of Asia Minor, was dominated by the grand city of Sardeis, the ancient Lydian capital. The city of Sardeis is located at the foot of the Tmolos mountain range, where the Pactolus River runs through the Hermus plain. It has a long history, extending well before the eighth century BC. Its situation on the Royal Road (βασιλική ὁδός), near the junction of roads from Ephesos to Smyrna, made it a great commercial centre. From Sardeis the road leads eastwards through the valley of the Hermus. The city itself was positioned west of the acropolis and built around the temple of Artemis. In the course of time the city extended northward, into the valley.¹⁴ The city finally passed into the hands of the Romans in 133 BC when the Pergamene king Attalus III bequeathed it to them, and thus became a part of the newly formed province of Asia, together with Phrygia and other Attalid domains. In 17 AD city suffered a devastating earthquake. Tiberius gave it generous aid in the form of direct payment of 10 million sesterces and exemption from taxes for five years. The city was soon revived with new Roman buildings and it became part of a strategic network of highways that connected it with all parts of the province of Asia. West of Sardeis, the plain of the lower Hermus was dominated by the strong fortress of Magnesia ad Sipylum.¹⁵ The place was of importance both strategically and commercially. Across the river from Magnesia, the plain widens out far to the north in a valley of great fertility, where the Phrygus and its tributaries flow. Near one of them is the city of Thyateira, as Strabo puts it “a settlement of Macedonians, which by some is called the farthest city of

¹² Diodorus, XIV 36, 2: he puts Tralleis in Ionia.

¹³ Strabo, 14. 1, 42 states that the plain of the Meander River is occupied by Lydians and Carians, and by Ionians; and after Strabo Ruge, RE, sv. *Tralleis* 2, editions of SEG and many others; however, Head in *Historia Numorum* place Tralleis in Lydia.

¹⁴ Magie, *Roman Rule*, 121.

¹⁵ Livy 37. 56, 3; πρὸς Συπόλι in TAM V2 1342.

the Mysians.”¹⁶ In 281 BC, after the battle of Kourupedion it was selected by Seleucus Nicator for a colony of veteran soldiers.¹⁷ The sites of these veteran settlements in the valley were chosen partly because of the fertility of the soil, but also because of the strategic position of the region. Nearby Attaleia stood on a hill overlooking the plain along the upper Lycus, and Apollonis was on the western side of a group of hills above the narrow valley of a tributary of the Phrygius. The most important Attalid foundation was Philadelphia, named after its founder Attalus II Philadelphus. Its position corresponds with the city of Callatebus mentioned by Herodotus.¹⁸ The land around the city was fertile and connections were great, but because of the proximity of the volcanic region of Katakekaumenē it was in constant danger from numerous earthquakes.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it prospered greatly and in Roman times it was a place of great wealth. Tralleis was the city on the border of Lydia and Caria and it occupied a very strong position on the flattened part of the Messogis range looking towards the plain of the Meander. It was famous for commerce and as a seat of the cult of Zeus Larasios. According to a late, Hellenistic, legend, Tralleis was founded by immigrants from Argos and by members of a Thracian tribe named Tralleis.²⁰ Both traditions were fictitious and farfetched. Under the Seleucids, the city was renamed Seleukeia, but under the Attalid kingdom it resumed its previous name and continued to prosper. In the Roman period it was also a centre of wealth and culture, well known for its schools of oratory.

During the Roman imperial period, the cities in which the proconsul held his courts were all either in the western coastal district: Adramyttium, Pergamon, Smyrna, Sardeis, Ephesos, Tralleis, Magnesia on the Maeander, Mylasa, and Alabanda, or on the main road to central Asia Minor: Laodikeia on the Lycus, Apameia, and Synnada. Litigants in eastern Mysia and northern Phrygia were expected to present themselves before the proconsul at Adramyttium and Synnada: the proconsul himself did not visit these remote regions. The *conventus* of Laodikeia, Apameia, and Synnada were for a few years in the mid-1st

¹⁶ Strabo, 13. 4, 4: Θυάτειρα, κατοικία Μακεδόνων, ἦν Μυσῶν ἐσχάτην τινὲς φασίν.

¹⁷ Magie, *Roman Rule* I, 123; *TAM* V2, p. 309; the inscription *TAM* V2 901 is commemorating the occasion; cf. also A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford 1937, 44.

¹⁸ Jones, *Cities*, 54; G. Petzl, *TAM* V3, ix-xi.

¹⁹ For earthquakes see Strabo, 12. 8, 18 and 13. 8, 16.

²⁰ Strabo, 14. 1, 42; cf. Jones, *Cities*, 30.

century BC attached to Cilicia instead of Asia. The reason for this change was that the governor of Cilicia normally came ashore at Ephesos and proceeded by land to his province: if he dealt with the *conventus* on the main road from Ephesos to Iconium while travelling, the governor of Asia was saved the trouble of travelling inland.²¹

Phrygia was a large and ill-defined geographical region that stretched across much of west central Anatolia. It was high up on the central plateau and separated from the western districts by the rough mountainous country. During the Roman period the region extended north to Bithynia, west to the upper valley of the Hermus and Lydia, south to Pisidia and to Lycaonia, and east to the Salt Lake. The river Tembris adjoins the Sangarius near the ancient city of Gordion. Along the course of upper Tembris lay the region of Phrygia Epictetus. The arid plain of Dorylaion, close to the ancient river Tembris, is a different world from the fertile woods and valleys to the north and west. There are no trees, little shade, and for much of its history the plain has been largely dedicated to cattle breeding rather than agriculture.²² The climate is severe throughout this region, with very cold winters and harsh summers: nowhere in upland Phrygia can olives be grown without extreme difficulty, and the relative shortness of the growing season seems to have led the inhabitants of northern and eastern Phrygia to cultivate barley in preference to wheat, due to its faster growth and relative resistance to drought. The Upper Tembris valley was in the Roman Imperial period organized as a combination of senatorial and imperial estates and, just as in the Phrygian Highlands, no real urban centres ever developed in this region. However, the prosperity of the village communities is vividly attested by the hundreds of richly decorated funerary and votive monuments surviving from the district. In Roman times Phrygia was divided between the provinces of Asia and Galatia. The most important town in the valley of the Meander and its main tributary Lycos was Apameia, named by Antiochus I after his mother. It was close to the site of an older settlement, Kelaneia, and served as a gateway to the East. Apameia owed its importance chiefly to its trade. Strabo informs us that it was a great emporium of Asia, second only to Ephesos.²³ Dio Chrysostom

²¹ Jones, *Cities*, 61.

²² Cf. very vivid description of Phrygian geography in P. Thonemann, Phrygia: an anarchist history, 950 BC–AD 100, in: P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia. Culture and Society*, Cambridge 2013, 3-8.

²³ Strabo 12. 8, 15: Ἀπάμεια δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον μέγα τῆς ἰδίας λεγομένης Ἀσίας, δευτερεῦον μετὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον

describes it as the market of Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Cappadocia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia.²⁴ He also congratulated the inhabitants of the city and praised the Meander as “by far the most divine and wisest of all rivers, which, turning through a myriad bends, visits, as it were, the best part of Asia.”²⁵ The city owed much to its position as an administrative center. Northwest from Apameia was Eumeneia, founded by Attalus II and named after his brother Eumenes. Nearby Colossae was once a flourishing city, later rivaled by Laodikeia. Laodikeia was founded by Antiochus II and named in honor of his wife. It was situated on the southern bank of the Lykos and on the road to Pisidia and to the Pamphylian coast. Hierapolis was in the north, Attouda and Trapezopolis in the west, and Herakleia Salbake and Themisonioum in the south. Magie noticed that the textile industries of the latter city brought its great wealth and that it seemed a rich and prosperous place and “so thoroughly Romanized that the citizens enjoyed gladiatorial combats.”²⁶ Nearby Attouda was positioned on a very high cliff and was very well connected with Aphrodisias. As previously said, north of Laodikeia, on the other bank of the Lykos, was the city of Hierapolis. The surroundings of the city, the magnificent cascades of white-lime “pools”, are breathtaking even today. Certain springs had asphyxiating fatal vapour, according to Strabo and only the eunuchs, presumably priests of the Mother of Gods, knew how to survive.²⁷ Nevertheless, the water supply was so abundant that there were natural baths everywhere in the city. The name suggests it grew up around a temple. It owed its importance principally to the wool industry. The associations connected with this industry feature prominently in inscriptions.²⁸

In the northeast part of Phrygia, Aizanoi was a major urban centre in the early Roman Imperial period, situated on a high plateau surrounded by mountains, with cities of Kotyaion and Kadoi close by. It was part of Phrygia Epictetus, an area even Strabo had difficulties defining. This region was mainly agrarian with cereal production and local villages depended on marketing their produce in the cities. Aizanoi grew in Roman times,

²⁴ Dio Chr. Or. 35. 14.

²⁵ Dio Chr. Or. 35.13.

²⁶ Magie, *Roman Rule* I, 127.

²⁷ Strabo, 13. 4, 14.

²⁸ Jones, *Cities*, 73.

and it seems that it had closer links with western and southern than its eastern neighbours and belonged to the district of Sardeis, even though Synnada was physically closer.²⁹ South of Aizanoi, the western and south-western foothills of Mt Dindymos formed the cultural border with Lydia to the west. Communication with Sardeis went through the Hermus valley and the route went from Sardeis, through Kadoi, Aizanoi and Kotyaion, to Dorylaion. The most important town of central Phrygia in antiquity was Akmoneia controlling a crucial point on the main west–east road through central Phrygia, running from Sardeis up the Hermos valley to Temenouthyrai.

The ancient town of Synnada, in its circle of mountains, was the administrative centre of eastern Phrygia in the Roman Imperial period. The *conventus* of Synnada was very large. It stretched right up to the borders of Bithynia on the north and comprised twenty-two communities. Its quarries and marble were known throughout the Empire.³⁰

The question of historical geography of Phrygia is also defined by archaeology. Archaeological work in Roman Phrygia over the past century has concentrated on few of remarkable but highly exceptional urban centers on the outer periphery of the region, in the far south (such as Laodikeia or Hierapolis) and north-west (Aizanoi). But it is important to distinguish that these ‘middle-range’ cities (in the view of entire Roman Empire) were larger in every aspect than the overwhelming majority of *poleis* in Roman Phrygia (Dionysopolis, Eumeneia, Sebaste, Akmoneia, Temenouthyrai, Appia).

²⁹ *MAMA IX*, xx.

³⁰ Jones, *Cities*, 65-67.

Map 1
Map of Lydia and Phrygia



Drawn by the author.

The crucial changes in the region under Roman rule were the new administrative structure, as well as distinctive hierarchization. The province grew even more to be an elaborate system of self-governing cities, each responsible for its own economics, taxes and law in their territory. Under the Principate, the number of cities rose, the size of cities grew and there is modest demographic growth leading to an increase in property and perhaps labour productivity. Commercial and industrial life became dominant in Roman times. The creation of an all-embracing road network, the universal ruler-cult, the founding of cities to act as administrative centers, a permanent military presence, and the creation of far-reaching systems of taxation forged a new society in Asia Minor, which was, as Mitchell stated, “as much Roman as it was Anatolian”.³¹ Diversified system of cities already existed in Asia Minor at the beginning of the imperial period. In that way Roman Asia Minor could be seen as a world of civic communities.³² Sardis had well over 100000 the population during the Roman Empire,³³ while middle range cities like Thyateira, Tralleis or Philadelphia had between 5000 and 15000 inhabitants. Relatively few Roman colonies were founded in western Asia Minor, and none in Lydia and Phrygia, but under Roman rule new cities emerged. Smaller cities inland profited from the growth of the coastal centers as local markets developed. From the time of Vespasian, new roads were made or repaired, partly as a plan to strengthen borders in the East. The progress made in Asia Minor was due to its fertility and agricultural productivity, but not only in the function as a “feeder” of Rome. There is also one opinion that during that “Golden age”, from 1st to 3rd century, Asia Minor was structurally unable to feed its inhabitants implying persistently bleak prospect for the mass of the population,³⁴ although it seems improbable.

³¹ S. Mitchell, OCD³, sv Asia Minor, Classical.

³² C. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, München 2010, 515–516.

³³ G. M. A. Hanfmann (ed.), *Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958-1975*, Cambridge Mass., London 1983, 5.

³⁴ J. Kobes, Fremdes Getreide. Beobachtungen zum Problem der Getreideversorgung in der kaiserzeitlichen Provinz Asia, *Laverna* 10 (1999), 81-98 (non vidi), cited from Chaniotis, A.; Pleket, H.W.; Stroud, R.S.; Strubbe, J.H.M. "Economy. Famine and corn supply in Asia Minor. (49-2413)." *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Current editors: A. T. R.S. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Stroud Tybout. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. Universidad de Salamanca. 21 August 2014 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/economy-famine-and-corn-supply-in-asia-minor-49-2413-a49_2413>

This thesis starts examining social conditions in Lydia and Phrygia from the first century AD, although earlier sources are also considered. The actions of Octavian after the battle of Actium (31 BC) had large consequences on the history of the province of Asia. He ended the period of wars and irregularities in the everyday life of every Roman province. This new political system also changed the method of governing the provinces. As one of the wealthiest Roman provinces, Asia was previously constantly robbed and extorted. The era of economic growth and social stability in Asian cities started with the *Pax Augusta* and was continued under Augustus' successors. The end of the old political system was perhaps challenging for the elite in Rome, but it seems that the inhabitants of *provincia Asia* did not have such a dilemma. For them, the improvement was visible. During the first three centuries the changes were just in nuances, although one can distinguish different periods (Julio-Claudian, Flavian or Antonine). Crucial changes came in the period of Septimius Severus (193-211) and Marcus Aurelius Caracalla (211-217). The Empire's population grew, slowly but consistently, from the Late Republic/early first century AD onwards, until population growth was checked by the onset of the long series of smallpox epidemics known as the Antonine Plague in the 160s AD, after which the population never reached early imperial levels again, despite a modest revival during the fourth century. The demographic reduction led to increased central government intervention in civic and provincial affairs in the late 2nd and 3rd century AD. The sharp reduction in the number of people who could work and pay rents and taxes posed a direct threat to the government revenues and elite incomes. This resulted in the central government's attempts at direct control of local surpluses and increased exploitation of non-elite population.

The civil wars that started in the first half of the 3rd century AD, between the so-called military emperors, endangered the structure of the Roman state as well as the well-being and stability of autonomous cities throughout the Empire. Granting Roman citizenship to all inhabitants (Caracalla's Edict of 212), ignoring civic autonomy by imposing imperial authority, as well as devastation, great losses and depopulation are just some of the consequences of the "crisis of the third century". In most accounts, this crisis is presented as a rather confusing mixture of growing threats along the Empire's borders, a rapid turnover of emperors, civil war, inflation, increasing brigandage, and general, but

rather unspecified, economic decline. Also, with the advent of the third century, the picture concerning our primary sources for this subject changes radically. The total number of surviving inscriptions is drastically reduced, and, if the epigraphic record is any guide, public benefactions by private individuals almost cease, public building comes to a near standstill, and both honorific inscriptions for emperors and members of the imperial family and votive inscriptions become increasingly rare.

The end of the third century AD brought many changes into the Roman Empire. Wars and anarchy eliminated much of the common characteristics of civic life and the emperor Gaius Valerius Diocletian (284-305) merely finished the crucial transformation. A new system was made and the Roman Empire ceased to be a loose federation of city-states and turned into a centralized bureaucratic Empire, so that would be the chronological end of this thesis.

2. SOURCES

2.1 Narrative sources

On this subject we have two different narrative traditions in two different languages, Greek and Latin. As expected in the case of Asia Minor, Greek sources are more numerous and Latin sources are more focused on the relations between central Roman government and some Asian cities, Sardis for example. Abilities and interest differ from author to author and that, of course, reflect on the type, quality, scope and reliability of their information. Generally, ancient authors are much more interested in military or political history than social issues.

Narrative sources in Greek are numerous and diverse. The key geographical description of Asia Minor and, of course, Lydia and Phrygia, can be found in the work *Γεωγραφικά* of the geographer and historian Strabo of Amaseia (63 BC-23 AD). Strabo's family was prominent in the politics of Pontus since before the time of Mithridates VI. He studied grammar under Aristodemus of Nysa and philosophy under Xenarchus of Seleucia. Strabo came to Rome in 29 BC, but he had been there before. Already before the murder of Caesar he had left his native Asia Minor to visit Rome; and for him, as for other Augustan Greek men of letters, Romans were to become the principal patrons. He travelled extensively from the Black Sea to Ethiopia and from Armenia to Etruria; he visited Egypt while his patron Aelius Gallus was *praefectus* there. However, it appears that he did little more than get from one place to another without inspecting much on the way. Strabo was a

scholar at heart, and he worked from books. It is thought he has returned to Amaseia and remained there until his death, sometimes after 21 AD.³⁵

Strabo's first publication was a work of history, the "Historical commentaries" (*Historika hypomnemata*), which are now lost. The commentaries were an unbalanced kind of universal history. They contained forty-seven books, of which all but the first four were concerned with the post-Polybian period. One of Strabo's sources was none other than his own contemporary, Timagenes of Alexandria, who must have just barely completed his own history. It looks as if Strabo was taking advantage of the Augustan peace to write history for the new generation of Greeks. Like Dionysius, Strabo had educated Roman readers in mind as much as Greeks. In the preface to his *Geography* he notes that the new work is based on principles comparable to those of his Commentaries - moral and political usefulness - and addressed to the same class of readers, particularly those in high positions. Strabo calls his *Geography* a κολοσσουργία a 'colossal work' but it is essentially a compilation of details and lacks any noticeable harmony of structure, with abundant citation of literature (especially Homer) polemic (especially against Eratosthenes). Strabo evidently worked on the project over a long stretch of time, perhaps from the middle twenties down to about 2 BC. Then, mysteriously, he stopped work, leaving untouched observations that were no longer true after that date. A group of references to the early years of Tiberius' reign suggests a renewal of writing under the inspiration of the new regime. Substantial ambitions of Strabo's preface slipped away somehow. Although Homer could scarcely be considered a reliable source for geography, Strabo's reliance on him is characteristic of his general predilection for written testimony. This is even the case for regions he had actually seen himself. Such a method is not, however, unusual in antiquity. Strabo's wide reading and his deep interest in history, as well as his glancing allusions to contemporary people and events, make his *Geography* a much more valuable record of Greek culture under the early Principate than might at first be imagined. His reading ranged

³⁵ G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965, 126-134; *Ibid*, The literature of the Empire, in: P. E. Easterling, B. M. W. Knox, *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I: Greek Literature*, Cambridge 2003, 642-643; for more see D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia. A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*, London/New York, 2000; S. Potheary, Strabo the Geographer: His Name and its Meaning, *Mnemosyne* 52 (1999), 691-703; E. Ch. L. van der Vliet, The Romans and Us: Strabo's "Geography" and the Construction of Ethnicity, *Mnemosyne* 56 (2003), 257-272.

far beyond the writings of geographers; he had important friends. Strabo emphasizes the usefulness of geography for statesmen and generals, as he is speaking from and about the center of imperial power. Strabo's *Geography* reflects an entire geographical, historiographical, and ethnographical tradition. His world is a world of cities rather than of peoples.

For this thesis the most useful passages on Lydia are to be found in book 13.4, 3-17 and Phrygia in 12.8, 1-21. His information on the society in these regions is scattered, for example, there is just one mention of asiarchs.³⁶ We are firstly introduced to the problem of ill-defined Phrygian borders: τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ὁμοροῦσι πρὸς νότον, ὡς ἔφην, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον τὸν Μύσιον προσαγορευόμενον Μυσοὶ τε καὶ Φρύγες: ἐκάτερον δὲ τὸ ἔθνος διττόν ἐστι. Φρυγία τε γὰρ ἢ μὲν καλεῖται μεγάλη, ἧς ὁ Μίδας ἐβασίλευσε καὶ ἧς μέρος οἱ Γαλάται κατέσχον, ἢ δὲ μικρὰ ἢ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ ἢ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἢ καὶ Ἐπικτήτος λεγομένη. Μυσία τε ὁμοίως ἢ τε Ὀλυμπηνή συνεχῆς οὕσα τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἐπικτήτῳ, ἣν ἔφη Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀπὸ τῶν πέραν Ἰστρου Μυσῶν ἀπωκίσθαι, καὶ ἢ περὶ τὸν Κάικον καὶ τὴν Περγαμηνὴν μέχρι Τευθρανίας καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ. οὕτω δ' ἐνήλλακται ταῦτα ἐν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς πολλάκις λέγομεν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν περὶ Σίτυλον Φρυγίαν οἱ παλαιοὶ καλοῦσιν, ἄδηλον εἴτε τῆς μεγάλης εἴτε τῆς μικρᾶς μέρος οὕσαν, ἢ καὶ τὸν Τάνταλον Φρύγα καὶ τὸν Πέλοπα καὶ τὴν Νιόβην...³⁷

In a similar way Strabo presented Lydia and its capital Sardeis:

Προϊόντι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ πρὸς ἔω μέρη πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀπολλωνία, μετεώροις ἐπικειμένη τόποις: ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν νότον ὀρεινὴ ράχις ἐστίν, ἣν ὑπερβᾶσι καὶ βαδίζουσιν ἐπὶ Σάρδεων πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Θυάτειρα, κατοικία Μακεδόνων, ἣν Μυσῶν ἐσχάτην τινὲς φασίν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' Ἀπολλωνίς, διέχουσα Περγάμου τριακοσίους σταδίους, τοὺς δὲ ἴσους καὶ τῶν Σάρδεων: ἐπόνυμος δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Κυζικηνῆς Ἀπολλωνίδος:

³⁶ Strabo, 14. 1, 42: συνοικεῖται δὲ καλῶς εἴ τις ἄλλη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὑπὸ εὐπόρων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀεὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰσὶν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὗς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν; ὧν Πυθόδωρός τε ἦν, ἀνὴρ Νυσαεὺς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἐκεῖσε δὲ μεταβηκῶς διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πομπήιον φιλίᾳ διαπρέπων μετ' ὀλίγων.

³⁷ Strabo, 12.8, 1-2.

εἶτ' ἐκδέχεται τὸ Ἑρμοῦ πεδίον καὶ Σάρδεις: τὰ δὲ προσάρκτια τῷ Περγάμῳ τὰ πλεῖστα ὑπὸ Μυσῶν ἔχεται τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν Ἀβαιτῶν λεγομένων, οἷς συνάπτει ἡ Ἐπίκτητος μέχρι Βιθυνίας. αἱ δὲ Σάρδεις πόλις ἐστὶ μεγάλη, νεωτέρα μὲν τῶν Τρωικῶν ἀρχαία δ' ὅμως, ἄκραν ἔχουσα εὐερκῆ: βασιλείον δ' ὑπῆρξε τῶν Λυδῶν, οὗς ὁ ποιητὴς καλεῖ Μήονας οἱ δ' ὕστερον Μαίονας, οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Λυδοῖς οἱ δ' ἑτέρους ἀποφαίνοντες: τοὺς δ' αὐτοὺς ἄμεινόν ἐστι λέγειν. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν Σάρδεων ὁ Τμῶλος, εὐδαιμον ὄρος, ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρεῖα σκοπὴν ἔχον, ἐξέδραν λευκοῦ λίθου, Περσῶν ἔργον, ἀφ' οὗ κατοπτεύεται τὰ κύκλω πεδία καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Καῦστριανόν: περιοικοῦσι δὲ Λυδοὶ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Μακεδόνες. ῥεῖ δ' ὁ Πακτωλὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τμῶλου, καταφέρων τὸ παλαιὸν ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ πολὺ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν Κροίσου λεγόμενον πλοῦτον καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ διονομασθῆναι φασι: νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπε τὸ ψῆγμα, ὡς εἴρηται. καταφέρεται δ' ὁ Πακτωλὸς εἰς τὸν Ἑρμον, εἰς ὃν καὶ ὁ Ὑλλος ἐμβάλλει, Φρύγιος νυνὶ καλούμενος.³⁸

He also gave some interesting remarks about the city of Philadelphia:

Μετὰ δὲ Λυδούς εἰσὶν οἱ Μυσοὶ καὶ πόλις Φιλαδέλφεια σεισμῶν πλήρης. οὐ γὰρ διαλείπουσιν οἱ τοῖχοι διστάμενοι καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλο μέρος τῆς πόλεως κακοπαθοῦν: οἰκοῦσιν οὖν ὀλίγοι διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καταβιοῦσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γεωργοῦντες, ἔχοντες εὐδαίμονα γῆν: ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὀλίγων θαυμάζειν ἔστιν ὅτι οὕτω φιλοχωροῦσιν, ἐπισφαλεῖς τὰς οἰκίσεις ἔχοντες: ἔτι δ' ἂν τις μᾶλλον θαυμάσειε τῶν κτισάντων αὐτήν.³⁹

Strabo included insights on the economy of towns and regions. He made some passing remarks that the rise in number of sheep was important in increased production of textile and that the black wool of Laodikeia on the Lykos was much esteemed: φέρει δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν τόπος προβάτων ἀρετὰς οὐκ εἰς μαλακότητα μόνον τῶν ἐρίων, ἧ καὶ τῶν Μιλησίων διαφέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν κοραξὴν χροάν, ὥστε καὶ προσοδεύονται

³⁸ Strabo 13. 4, 4-5.

³⁹ Strabo 13.4, 10.

λαμπρῶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Κολοσσηνοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμωνύμου χρώματος πλησίον οἰκοῦντες.⁴⁰

Strabo also commented on the area of Hierapolis and the abundance of water that helped irrigation and washing, fulling and dyeing the linen: ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς βαφὴν ἐρίων θαυμαστῶς σύμμετρον τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἱερὰν πόλιν ὕδωρ, ὥστε τὰ ἐκ τῶν ριζῶν βαπτόμενα ἐνάμιλλα εἶναι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς κόκκου καὶ τοῖς ἀλουργέσιν: οὕτω δ' ἐστὶν ἄφθονον τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ὕδατος ὥστε ἡ πόλις μεστὴ τῶν αὐτομάτων βαλανείων ἐστί.⁴¹

Some distinguished rhetors and sophists in the 1st and 2nd century, known throughout the Empire, were originally from Asia Minor. That is the reason why some references to their homeland can be found in their works. One of the most significant personalities was Dio from Prusa in Bithynia, famous orator and moralist.⁴² Dio of Prusa, later called Chrysostom was born around 40/50 AD in wealthy family in Prusa in Bithynia. He began a career as a rhetorician at Rome, but soon started studying under the Stoic philosopher C. Musonius Rufus. Involved in a political intrigue early in the reign of Domitian, in 82 AD, he was exiled from Rome and his native province. The details on this intrigue are not known, we know that an influential friend of his had fallen from grace, perhaps Flavius Sabinus. He spent many years travelling through Greece, the Balkans and Asia Minor. Rehabilitated by Nerva, he became a friend with Trajan. He later retired to his family estates in Bithynia and became notable in the province. He died probably around

⁴⁰ Strabo 12. 8, 16: “The country round Laodiceia produces sheep that are excellent, not only for the softness of wool, in which they surpass even the Milesian wool, but also for its raven-black color, so that the Laodiceians derive splendid revenue from it, as do also the neighboring Colosseni from the color which bears the same name”; translation by H. L. Jones.

⁴¹ Strabo 13. 4, 14.

⁴² More on Dio see H. v. Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa*, Berlin 1898; G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, 110-112; *Ibid*, The literature of the Empire, in: P. E. Easterling, B. M. W. Knox, *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I: Greek Literature*, Cambridge 2003, 669-672; *Dio Chrysostom Discourses I 1-11* trans. J. W. Cohoon, London 2002, ix-xii; A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München 1999³, 932-933; J. L. Moles, The Career and Conversion of Dio Chrysostom, *JHS* 98 (1978), 79-100; E. Berry, Dio Chrysostom the Moral Philosopher, *Greece & Rome* 30-1 (Apr. 1980), 70-72.

120 AD. The last we know about him is a judicial process about a public building contract in 111/112 AD held, before Pliny the Younger.⁴³

Two periods separated by his exile can be distinguished: before the exile, his sophistic career, and after, once his own experience of poverty had taught him the truth of Stoic-Cynic doctrines, his career as a moralizing philosopher and philosophizing politician. He was a man of all-round excellence who defied categorization. Dio's virtuosity impressed his contemporaries and secured transmission of his works, albeit often incomplete, to admirers in late antiquity and Byzantium. Polemo travelled to Bithynia to hear him, Favorinus recognized him as his teacher. Even Trajan saw his distinction and allegedly had him with him in his chariot at his Dacian triumph (probably that of 102 AD).

Some eighty speeches are attributed to him, although at least two are the work of his pupil Favorinus. Many are display-speeches, but others, delivered before the *boule* and *demos* at Prusa deal with real situations. In any case, they differ greatly in subject, theme and length. Usually they are divided on political, ethic and sophistic discourses. His orations contain many useful remarks on the civic life and social history in many Asian cities, including a speech held in Kelainai (Apameia) in Phrygia. (Or. 35). Many other discourses, such as those on slavery (Or. 14 and 15) or municipal elites (Or. 31), reveal the attitudes and culture of the upper classes of the eastern part of the Empire and give a vivid and detailed picture of the life in his times. Dio is the one who provides us with a vibrant impression about everyday life, especially of urban elite: οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι δέονται καὶ στεφάνου καὶ εἰκόνοσ καὶ προεδρίας καὶ τοῦ μνημονεύεσθαι. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἤδη τεθνήκασιν, ὅπως ἀνδριάντος τύχωσι καὶ κηρύγματος ἢ τιμῆς ἑτέρας καὶ τοῖς ἀῶθις καταλίπωσι δόξαν τινὰ ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μνήμην ἑαυτῶν.⁴⁴

Perhaps the most vivid description of urban life of artisans and others is the one in Dio Chrysostom's discourse in Apamea in Phrygia: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἱ δίκαι παρ' ἔτος ἄγονται παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ ξυνάγεται πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἄπειρον δικαζομένων, δικαζόντων, ῥητόρων, ἡγεμόνων, ὑπηρετῶν, οἰκετῶν, μαστροπῶν, ὄρεοκόμων, καπήλων, ἑταιρῶν τε

⁴³ Plin. Ep. X 81-82

⁴⁴ Dio Chr. Or. 31, 16: "But when we come to men, they require crowns, images, the right of precedence, and being kept in remembrance; and many in times have even given up their lives just in order that they might get a statue and have their name announced by the herald or receive some other honor and leave to succeeding generations a fair name and remembrance of themselves"; an English translation by J. W. Cohoon.

καὶ βαναύσων: ὥστε τὰ τε ὄνια τοὺς ἔχοντας πλείστης ἀποδίδοσθαι τιμῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἀργὸν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, μήτε τὰ ζεύγη μήτε τὰς οἰκίας μήτε τὰς γυναῖκας. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ μικρὸν ἔστι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν.⁴⁵

Another great orator of the second century AD was Publius Aelius Aristides (129-189 AD), disciple of Herod Atticus, originally from Hadrianoutheraie in Mysia. He spent most of his life in Smyrna and travelled to Pergamon, Alexandria and Rome.⁴⁶ He was an influential figure and his contemporaries held him and his work in the highest esteem; when Marcus Aurelius visited Smyrna in later years, he came especially to hear Aristides. When Smyrna was levelled by an earthquake shortly thereafter, the emperor helped in rebuilding the city, partly out of kindness to the sophist.

His 55 orations on various subjects are preserved. They include addresses delivered on public and private occasions, declamations on historical themes, polemical essays, prose hymns to various gods and six books on *Sacred discourses*. They are a kind of spiritual autobiography, unparalleled in ancient literature. They recount the inner life of the author during the extended term of his residence at the Pergamene Asclepieum. Nonetheless, information on Lydia and Phrygia in his works is sparse. Some parallels can be found, for example, when he described public expectations of provincial and municipal officers. Aelius Aristides tells of his attempts to avoid the office of high priest of the provincial cult, and to maintain his health with the help of Asclepius. His city of Smyrna proposed him as candidate, but Aristides declined the honor. However, two months later the delegates of Smyrna succeeded in getting him elected, despite his attempts to prevent it. Aristides had to appeal to the governor, which resulted in his exemption from the election on grounds of ill

⁴⁵ Dio Chr. Or. 35, 15: “And what is more, the courts are in the session every other year in Celaenae, and they bring together an unnumbered throng of people – litigants, jurymen, orators, princes, attendants, slaves, pimps, muleteers, hucksters, harlots and artisans. Consequently not only can those who have goods to sell obtain the highest prices, but also nothing in the city is out of work, neither the teams nor the houses nor the women. And this contributes not a little to prosperity; for wherever the greatest throng of people comes together, there necessarily we find money in greatest abundance, and it stands to reason that the place should thrive”; an English translation by J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby.

⁴⁶ G. W. Bowersock, *The literature of the Empire*, in: P. E. Easterling, B. M. W. Knox, *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I: Greek Literature*, Cambridge 2003, 658-662; Ibid, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, ch. 3; A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München 1999³, 934-935; for more see C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, Amsterdam, 1968; R. Merkelbach, *Der Rangstreit der Städte Asiens und die Rede des Aelius Aristides über die Eintracht*, *ZPE* 32 (1978), 287–296.

health. The fact that Aristides had to fight off two more attempts to force him to hold other public offices demonstrates the strength of the public expectation of service for distinguished individuals.⁴⁷

Another important work for our subject is the one by Flavius Philostratus, sophist and rhetor, who lived in Ephesos, Athens and Rome in the reign of the Severi. L. Flavius Philostratus, whose family came from the island of Lemnos, lived during the reign of Severus Alexander and wrote the biographies of principal representatives of the second sophistic. He enjoyed both a distinguished local career and a place at the imperial court. Born around 160 or 170 AD, he was a pupil of Aelius Antpater, who was the tutor of Caracalla and Geta and one of the senators from Phrygia. It seems that the biographer was not the only member of his family to have been active in the literary milieu of the Roman Empire. He wrote the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, and *Lives of the sophists*, and a number of minor pieces. Certainly his *Lives of the sophists* attest to a considerable first-hand knowledge of the society in which his subjects moved. At the end of his work he names three contemporary sophists who were close friends, including one Philostratus of Lemnos (presumably a relative); and from another of his writings we learn that he belonged to the salon of the Syrian empress, Iulia Domna. Although Philostratus' account of the sophists is often inadequate, it is none the less a priceless record of the tastes of the Greek speaking aristocracy under Roman rule. After 217 AD our Philostratus probably went back to Athens and died, according to Suda, during the reign of Phillip the Arab (244-249).⁴⁸

In his "Lives of Sophists" (Βίοι σοφιστῶν) many distinguished sophists are mentioned and one can notice that some of them were members of provincial elite.⁴⁹ In his Lives he dealt not only with classical sophists, but also with several philosophers. This category allowed Philostratus to discuss several classical figures as well as two major figures in the cultural life of the Imperial age, Dio of Prusa and Favorinus. It is obvious that Philostratus' concept of his subject was sadly deficient in theoretical precision; he was

⁴⁷ C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, Amsterdam 1968, 61-86.

⁴⁸ G. W. Bowersock, The literature of the Empire, in: P. E. Easterling, B. M. W. Knox, *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I: Greek Literature*, Cambridge 2003, 655-658; A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München 1999³, 935-937.

⁴⁹ On Philostratus and his views on Second sophistic see G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistics: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*, London-New York 2006, 13-21.

more interested in people and style. But he successfully identified and recorded an important phenomenon in later Greek rhetoric. The structure of the *Lives* is peculiar, to say the least, but it may be explained by Philostratus' judgment of who was significant.

For this thesis it is important that Philostratus is documenting the life of Aelius Antipater, a descendant of a wealthy Hierapolitan family (... Ἱεράπολις, ἐγκαταλεκτέα δὲ αὕτη ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν εὖ πραττούσαις, πατὴρ δὲ Ζευξίδημος τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκείνη)⁵⁰ and a senator from Phrygia (**PhS 1**):

Ὑπάτοις δὲ ἐγγραφεῖς ἤρξε μὲν τοῦ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἔθνους, δόξας δὲ ἐτοιμότερον χρῆσθαι τῷ ξίφει τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελύθη. βίου μὲν δὴ ὀκτώ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτάφη οἴκοι, λέγεται δὲ ἀποθανεῖν καρτερίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ νόσῳ: διδάσκαλος μὲν γὰρ τῶν Σεβήρου παιδῶν ἐνομίσθη καὶ θεῶν διδάσκαλον ἐκαλοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν ἐπ' αἰτία, ὡς τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπιβουλεύει, γράφει πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐπιστολὴν μονωδίαν ἐπέχουσαν καὶ θρηνην, ὡς εἶς μὲν αὐτῷ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐκ δυοῖν, χεὶρ δὲ μία, καὶ οὓς ἐπαίδευσεν ὄπλα ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων αἵρεσθαι, τούτους ἀκούει κατ' ἀλλήλων ἡρμένους. ὑφ' ὧν παροξυνθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἰδιώτην ταῦτα παρώξυνε βουλόμενόν γε τὸ δοκεῖν ἐπιβεβουλευθῆναι μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι.⁵¹

The political history of this period, including the region of Asia Minor, is analyzed in the “Roman history” by Cassius Dio (150-cca 230), relative of Dio of Prusa.⁵² Cassius Dio came from a distinguished Bithynian family that already possessed the Roman citizenship as well as good contacts with the Roman upper class. He entered the senate in the reign of Commodus. He won the esteem of Septimius Severus by the composition of a timely essay on the dreams and omens that foretold the accession of Severus. As Dio set about this gigantic project, he did not abandon his career as a senator. He was *praetor* in

⁵⁰ Philostr. *VS* II, 24.

⁵¹ Philostr. *VS* II, 24.

⁵² G. W. Bowersock, *The literature of the Empire*, in: P. E. Easterling, B. M. W. Knox, *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I: Greek Literature*, Cambridge 2003, 710-713; A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München 1999³, 948-950; for more see F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford, 1964.

194, and *consul suffectus* around 204 AD. From 218 to 228 he was successively curator of Pergamon, Smyrna, proconsul of Africa and legate first of Dalmatia and then of Upper Pannonia. In 229 AD, the date at which his history finally terminated, Dio held the consulate for the second time and afterwards retired in Bithynia. It is obvious that Dio chose to bring his narrative down to the point of his own most important success, the second consulate. Dio was a characteristic product of the eastern aristocracy, a man of letters naturally and easily absorbed into the Roman government. In writing about the history of Rome, he was writing about traditions and government to which he belonged. As a researcher Dio was careful and thorough. By his own account Dio spent ten years in assembling the material for his great history and another twelve in writing it. His work was in 80 books, but only books 36 through 60 are intact (describing the period from 68 BC to 47 AD). His work is focused on political history and imperial court, but he describes the foundation of the province of Asia, mentions all the *procurators* of the province, wars and earthquakes in Asia Minor and briefly discusses the Imperial cult. Cassius Dio also explains the reforms in the Senate during Augustus: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητεύσας σὺν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τέ τινα διώρθωσε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐξήτασε πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἰππῆς πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκτῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐβούλευον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς χιλίους τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς γερουσίας ἀυξηθῆναι.⁵³

Another great Latin writer displayed his views on Lydians and Phrygians. Marcus Tullius Cicero was one of the most important political figures in Rome in the first half of the 1st century BC. He was born in 106 BC in Arpinum in an equestrian family. He had an excellent education in philosophy and oratory in both Rome and Greece. Cicero did military service in 90/89 BC under Pompey's father and afterwards studied law, conducting his first case in 81 (*Pro Quinctio*). From 79 to 77 he studied in Athens and Rhodes and visited Smyrna. On his return to Rome he pursued a public career and was elected *quaestor* for 75, when he served for a year in western Sicily and *praetor* for 66. He was elected

⁵³ Cass. Dio 52. 42, 1: After this he became a censor with Agrippa as his colleague, and as addition to his other reforms, he purged the senate. As a result of the civil wars a large number of knights and even of foot-soldiers were in the Senate without justification in merit, so that the membership of that body had been swollen to a thousand; English translation by E. Cary.

consul for 63, the first *homo novus* with no political background since 94 BC. Cicero's decisive role in the reaction to the conspiracy of Catiline made him believe that he had acted rightly and saved Rome. Further political events eventually led him to exile to Macedonia in 58, but he returned to Rome in 57 BC. Cicero went on to govern Cilicia from summer 51 to summer 50 BC. He was a just governor, but he considered this appointment as a punishment. His position during the Civil Wars led to the end of his political life. He was not among those who participated in the conspiracy to kill Caesar, but he was openly against Mark Anthony. He delivered speech after speech, the *Philippics*, from September 44 to April 43 trying to induce the Senate to declare Anthony a public enemy. After the formation of the Second Triumvirate, Cicero was proscribed and died in 43 BC.⁵⁴

Cicero's opus is vast, but for the subject of this thesis, two works are relevant. The first one are his letters to his friend T. Pomponius Atticus. They were not written for publication, as far as is known. Some of his other letters he did however expect to be read by more than the addressee. The present collection *Ad Atticum* consists of sixteen books. Several letters sent to Atticus were written on his way to Cilicia, from Tralleis, Laodikeia and in the vicinity of Synnada. One particular letter written to Atticus *en route*, between Synnada and Philomelium, on August (?) 14th, 51 BC documents his views on governing this region (Phrygian Apameia, Synnada and Laodikeia were part of his jurisdiction at the time) as well as the position of the inhabitants:

maxima exspectatione in perditam et plane eversam in perpetuum provinciam nos venisse scito pridie Kal. Sextilis, moratos triduum Laodiceae, triduum Apameae, totidem dies Synnade. audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata ἐπικεφάλαια solvere non posse, ὀνάζ omnium venditas, civitatum gemitus, ploratus, monstra quaedam non hominis sed ferae nescio cuius immanis. quid quaeris? taedet omnino eos vitae.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ L. P. Wilkinson, Cicero And The Relationship Of Oratory To Literature, in in E. J. Kenney, W. V. Clausen (eds.), *The Cambridge History Of Classical Literature II: Latin Literature*, Cambridge 1982, 230-268; for more see (among many others) H. van der Blom, *Cicero's Role Models: The Political Strategy of a Newcomer*, Oxford, 2010; I. Gildenhard, *Creative Eloquence: The Construction of Reality in Cicero's Speeches*, Oxford, 2011.

⁵⁵ Cic. *Att.* 5.16, 2.

Another work offers some passing remarks, displaying standard prejudices towards the people of Asia Minor. In his speech, *Pro Flacco* held in 59 BC Cicero remarks: *Vtrum igitur nostrum est an vestrum hoc proverbium, ‘Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem’?*⁵⁶ Here Cicero is making an allusion to a proverb Φρῦξ ἀνὴρ πληγεὶς ἀμείνων καὶ διακονέστερος, that a Phrygian is better and more obedient when beaten. Commenting on Lydians he chooses another common stereotype: *Nam quid ego dicam de Lydia? quis umquam Graecus comoediam scripsit in qua servus primarum partium non Lydus esset?*⁵⁷ All these observations probably reflect the views of elitist Romans towards the population in Asia Minor.

In Roman literature of the late Republic and early Empire ‘Phrygian’ is both a label for the Trojan origins of Rome and a term for the barbarian, pirate or brigand.⁵⁸ Another reference for passing stereotypes was ancient Greek novels. The Greek novel as a genre began in the first century AD and flourished in the first four centuries. Although the plots of the surviving novels appear to be relatively conventional, based around the fulfilled heterosexual desire of a beautiful and usually virtuous young couple, this impression of uniformity and moralism is perhaps a misleading one. Many characters are defined by their social position. They are a part of a social system which appears not to be unlike the social reality of the Roman Empire.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, certain *clichés*, as well as geographical distortions, appear frequently. The only remark on Phrygians is made in Chariton’s *Callirhoe* (mid-1st century AD) where they are portrayed as pirates and brigands.⁶⁰

A Roman equestrian and historian, Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus, 23-79 AD) left us his encyclopaedic work, *History of nature (Naturalis Historia* in 37 books). Pliny served as an equestrian in Germania, along with the future emperor Titus. He was active in legal practice during the reign of Nero and held important offices during the

⁵⁶ Cic. *Pro Flacco* 65.

⁵⁷ Cic. *Pro Flacco* 65.

⁵⁸ P. Hardie, Phrygians In Rome / Romans In Phrygia, in: G. Urso (ed.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Indigeni, Greci e Romani in Asia Minore*, Cividale del Friuli, 28-30 settembre 2006, Pisa 2007, 93-104.

⁵⁹ A. Billault, Characterization In The Ancient Novel, in G. Schmeling (ed.), *The Novel In The Ancient World*, Leiden, 1996, 122; for more see also T. Whitmarsh, *Narrative And Identity In The Ancient Greek Novel. Returning Romance*, Cambridge, 2011.

⁶⁰ Chariton, *Callirhoe* 8.8.

Flavian dynasty. He was in charge of the Misenum fleet at the moment of Vesuvius eruption and died leading a detachment to that area.⁶¹

Pliny is one of the prodigies of Latin literature, boundlessly energetic and terribly indiscriminate; he offers details on everything he encounters. In a busy life, Pliny found time for many intellectual activities. Unfortunately, his historical writings on Roman campaigns against Germanic tribes and a history in thirty-one books continuing Aufidius Bassus are now lost. The Natural history, dedicated (77 or 78 AD) in an extensive preface to the heir apparent Titus, comprises a table of contents (Book 1), cosmology (2), geography (3-6), anthropology (7), zoology (8-11), botany (12-19), botany (20-27) and zoology (28-32) in relation to medicine, and mineralogy (33-37). Digressions, historical references, and elaborate descriptions vary and made his work more interesting. Many passages look like notes made during reading. Pliny lists the sources of each book (an unusual and noteworthy procedure), and often cites them for details. For all his faults of accuracy, selection and arrangement, Pliny achieved a real outline of universal knowledge at the time.

In book 5 of *Naturalis historia* he offers certain remarks on the geography and nature of Lydia and Phrygia:

Lydia autem perfusa flexuosis Maeandri amnis recursibus super Ioniam procedit, Phrygiae ab exortu solis vicina, ad septentrionem Mysiae, meridiana parte Cariam amplectens, Maeonia ante appellata. Celebratur maxime Sardibus in latere Tmoli montis, qui ante Timolus appellabatur, conditis; ex quo profluente Pactolo eodemque Chrysorroa ac fonte Tarni a Maeonis civitas ipsa Hyde vocitata est, clara stagno Gygaeo. Sardiana nunc appellatur ea iurisdictio, conveniuntque in eam extra praedictos Macedones Cadieni, Philadelphini et ipsi in radice Tmoli Cogamo flumini adpositi Maeonii, Tripolitani, iidem et Antoniopolitae - Maeandro adluuntur - , Apollonhieritae, Mysotimolitae et alii ignobiles.⁶²

⁶¹ F. R. D. Goodyear, Technical writings (The age of Augustus), in E. J. Kenney, W. V. Clausen (eds.), *The Cambridge History Of Classical Literature II: Latin Literature*, Cambridge 1982, 670-672.

⁶² Plin. *NH* 5.30: Lydia, bathed by the sinuous and ever-recurring windings of the river Maeander, lies extended above Ionia; it is joined by Phrygia on the east and Mysia on the north, while on the south it runs up to Caria: it formerly had the name of Mæonia. Its place of the greatest celebrity is Sardes, which lies on the side of Mount Tmolus, formerly called Timolus. From this mountain, which is covered with vineyards, flows

and

Phrygia, Troadi superiecta populisque a promunturio Lecto ad flumen Echeleum praedictis, septentrionali sui parte Galatiae contermina, meridiana Lycaoniae, Pisidiae, Mygdoniae, ab oriente Cappadociam attingit. Oppida ibi celeberrima praeter iam dicta Ancyra, Andria, Celaenae, Colossae, Carina, Cotiaion, Ceraine, Conium, Midaium. sunt auctores transisse ex Europa Moesos et Brygos et Thynos, a quibus appellantur Mysi, Phryges, Bithyni.⁶³

His nephew, Pliny the Younger (Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, 62-114 AD), studied rhetoric with Quintilian and Nicetes at Rome. He served a year with a legion in Syria and entered the Senate in the later 80ties. He practised in civil courts, specializing in cases relating to inheritance. He became a *praetor* in 93 and consul in 100 AD and held many imperial administrative offices. Pliny was the governor of Bithynia and Pontus in 113 AD. It seems he died there while in office. He published nine books of literary letters between 99 and 109 AD. Some of them comment on social, domestic, judicial and political events, others offer friends advice.⁶⁴ Among Latin letters those of Pliny stand second only to Cicero's in interest and importance, though they are very different in character. Pliny's view of his times is shaded with complacency; only a few letters reveal that this is not the best of all possible worlds. He readily and unquestioningly adopts the attitudes and conventions of the affluent and leisured class which he belonged to. Social and cultural

the river Pactolus, also called the Chrysorroas, and the sources of the Tarnus: this famous city, which is situate upon the Gygaean Lake, used to be called Hyde by the people of Maeonia. This jurisdiction is now called that of Sardes, and besides the people of the places already mentioned, the following now resort to it—the Macedonian Cadueni, the Loreni, the Philadelpheni, the Maeonii, situate on the river Cogamus at the foot of Mount Tmolus, the Tripolitani, who are also called the Antoniopolitae, situate on the banks of the Maeander, the Apollonihieritae, the Mesotimolitae, and some others of no note; an English translation by J. Bostock, H.T. Riley.

⁶³ Plin. *NH* 5.41: Phrygia lies above Troas, and the peoples already mentioned as extending from the Promontory of Lectum to the river Etheleus. On its northern side it borders upon Galatia, on the south it joins Lyeaonia, Pisidia, and Mygdonia, and, on the east, it touches upon Cappadocia. The more celebrated towns there, besides those already mentioned, are Ancyra, Andria, Celaenae, Colossae, Carina, Cotyaion, Ceraine, Conium, and Midaium. There are authors who say that the Moesi, the Brygi, and the Thyni crossed over from Europe, and that from them are descended the peoples called the Mysi, Phryges, and Bithyni; an English translation by J. Bostock, H.T. Riley.

⁶⁴ F. R. D. Goodyear, *History and biography (The age of Augustus)*, in E. J. Kenney, W. V. Clausen (eds.), *The Cambridge History Of Classical Literature II Latin Literature*, Cambridge 1982, 655-661; for more see A. N. Sherwin-White, *The letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary*, Oxford, 1966.

trivialities occupy him incredibly, and indeed his worst anxiety is that public duties should distract him from the pleasures of friendship and study.

In the tenth book of his Letters (*Epistulae*) there are 121 letters preserved, together with Trajan's answers. He corresponded with the emperor Trajan, his personal friend, and asked him for advice and guidance on many topics concerning civic communities in Bithynia.⁶⁵ Although they are not specifically connected with Lydia and Phrygia, or province of Asia, they are still relevant, as certain close parallels can be drawn with this neighbouring province.⁶⁶ From Trajan's answers one can see the attitude of the Roman emperor toward Greek provincial cities. An interesting example are the letters concerning authorization to form a guild of firemen in Nikomedeia (Bythynia).⁶⁷ If used with caution, these letters could serve as comparative sources for civic life in other provinces of Asia Minor.

One of the greatest historians of the early Empire was Cornelius Tacitus (55-cca 120 AD). He was born in Narbonese or Cisalpine Gaul, but came to Rome no later than 75 AD. His career advanced during the Flavian dynasty, he was *praetor* in 88 and member of the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis*. In 97 AD he was *consul suffectus* and later on he was proconsul of Asia for 112/113. The date of his death is unknown.⁶⁸

In the *Agricola*, his earliest work, published in 98 AD, Tacitus combines biography of his father-in-law and historical monograph. He gives roughly two thirds of the work to Agricola's governorship of Britain (from 77 to 84 AD), and treats the climax of Agricola's

⁶⁵ R. P. Longden, *CAH XI* 218-219.

⁶⁶ Plin, Ep. X 19-121 are mostly about problems regarding the government of Bithynia.

⁶⁷ Plin. Ep. X, 33: C. Plinius Traiano Imperatori. Cum diversam partem provinciae circumirem, Nicomediae vastissimum incendium multas privatorum domos et duo publica opera, quamquam via interiacente, Gerusian et Iseon absumpsit. Est autem latius sparsum, primum violentia venti, deinde inertia hominum quos satis constat otiosos et immobiles tanti mali spectatores perstitisse; et alioqui nullus usquam in publico sipo, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda. Et haec quidem, ut iam praecepi, parabuntur; tu, domine, dispice an instituendum putes collegium fabrorum dumtaxat hominum CL. Ego attendam, ne quis nisi faber recipiatur neve iure concessio in aliud utantur; nec erit difficile custodire tam paucos; and Ep. X, 34: Traianus Plinio. Tibi quidem secundum exempla complurium in mentem venit posse collegium fabrorum apud Nicomedenses constitui. Sed meminimus provinciam istam et praecipue eas civitates eius modi factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcumque nomen ex quacumque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerint, hetaeriae eaeque brevi fient. Satius itaque est comparari ea, quae ad coercendos ignes auxilio esse possint, admonerique dominos praediorum, ut et ipsi inhibeant ac, si res poposcerit, accursu populi ad hoc uti.

⁶⁸ F. R. D. Goodyear, *History and biography (The age of Augustus)*, in E. J. Kenney, W. V. Clausen (eds.), *The Cambridge History Of Classical Literature II Latin Literature*, Cambridge 1982, 642-655; for more see R. Syme, *Tacitus I-II*, Oxford, 1958.

campaigns at length. His hostilities toward Domitian develop throughout the chapters. The same year *Germania* came out. In chapters 1-27 Tacitus deals with the country and people generally, in 28-46 with the individual tribes. The title *De origine et situ Germanorum* is well attested and probably genuine, but he is just as interested in their character and way of life, *mores* and *instituta*. He shows that the Germans retain virtues which Rome once possessed, but does not idealize them or hide their weaknesses. His third book, the *Dialogues* (*Dialogus de oratoribus*) was perhaps written around 101/102 AD. It is a discussion about the causes of the contemporary decline in oratory.

In 98 AD Tacitus planned to write 'a record of former servitude and acknowledgement of present blessings', but the scheme partly aborted. He collected the material by about 105/106. He deferred Nerva and Trajan, a rich but delicate theme, limiting his *Histories* to 69-96 AD. This task occupied him for several years; when he completed this first part of his major work is uncertain, perhaps around 109/110 AD. Whether he proceeded immediately to the second, the Julio-Claudian period, it is not known. When completed *Histories* had twelve or fourteen books, but only four and a quarter books survived. The first three books are dealing with the civil wars of 69 and are predominately military. The *Annales* or *Ab excessu divi Augusti* originally had sixteen or eighteen books, but most of the book 5, all of 7 to 10, the first half of 11 and everything after the middle of 16 is now lost. It seems that the last books were written in the early days of Hadrian's reign. For Tacitus a historian's first task is to collect and evaluate evidence. The obligation to compare and assess earlier writings was commonly recognized. Tacitus drew his material from general and special histories, memoirs, personal enquiry and the official report of senatorial proceedings, *acta senatus*. In his works he certainly shows interest in the influx of newcomers into the Senate, and considers that older and better standards were preserved in provincial Italy and beyond. He is not interested in Asia Minor, or Lydia and Phrygia *per se*, but for the subject of this thesis certain insights on Greek embassies to Tiberius' court and notices on some significant events, such as earthquakes or governors in this region are relevant:

Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo improvisior graviorque pestis fuit. neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur. sedisse inmensos montis, visa in arduo quae plana fuerint, effulsisse inter ruinam ignis memorant. asperrima in Sardianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit: nam centies sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant in quinquennium remisit. Magnetes a Sipylo proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Philadelphenos, Aegeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolium levari idem in tempus tributis mittique ex senatu placuit, qui praesentia spectaret refoveretque. delectus est M. Ateius e praetoriis, ne consulari obtinente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oreretur.⁶⁹

2.2 Documentary sources

This research is mostly founded on analysis of epigraphic material (epigraphic corpus of Lydia and Phrygia comprises around some 4500 of inscriptions). Inscriptions are special and very important group of sources. Funerary, votive and honorary inscriptions are especially important for the analysis of social structure. Funerary inscriptions are the source for all social groups and an essential tool for ancient demography. Honorary inscriptions are the main source for the history of elites in Asia Minor, as it is possible to trace the history of great families, ideology, social titles they had, public functions and expenses they had or could have had.

⁶⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.47: “That same year twelve famous cities of Asia fell by an earthquake in the night, so that the destruction was all the more unforeseen and fearful. Nor were there the means of escape usual in such a disaster, by rushing out into the open country, for there people were swallowed up by the yawning earth. Vast mountains, it is said, collapsed; what had been level ground seemed to be raised aloft, and fires blazed out amid the ruin. The calamity fell most fatally on the inhabitants of Sardis, and it attracted to them the largest share of sympathy. The emperor promised ten million sesterces, and remitted for five years all they paid to the exchequer or to the emperor's purse. Magnesia, under Mount Sipylos, was considered to come next in loss and in need of help. The people of Temnus, Philadelpheia, Aegae, Apollonis, the Mostenians, and Hyrcanian Macedonians, as they were called, with the towns of Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cyme, and Tmolus, were, it was decided, to be exempted from tribute for the same time, and someone was to be sent from the Senate to examine their actual condition and to relieve them. Marcus Aletus, one of the ex-prætors, was chosen, from a fear that, as an ex-consul was governor of Asia, there might be rivalry between men of equal rank, and consequent embarrassment”; an English translation by A. J. Church, W. J. Brodribb and S. Bryant.

These documentary sources are contemporary to the described events and the question of authenticity is hardly an issue. Problems are different, almost all inscriptions are damaged, some of them reduced to fragments, so dating could be difficult and origin dubious. The epigraphic habit was important in Greek civilization, and finding a Greek inscription in certain Anatolian region could indicate some degree of Hellenization. Some settlements give us the opportunity to trace continued adaption to Greek culture and language.⁷⁰

Honorary inscriptions were frequent in the Hellenistic period and during the Roman Empire they were becoming even more significant. Epigraphic practice and the ideology of euergetism were strong indicators of the Hellenization of the society and these honorary texts tell us much about a person's career and therefore introduce us to many institutions and magistracies of a city.

Of all the inscriptions mentioned in this work a vast majority are Greek, with the exception of a few bilingual ones, Greek and Latin. Epigraphic monuments in Anatolian languages are almost non-existent in Roman period with an exception of the Neo-Phrygian ones. During the Hellenistic and the early Roman periods, the Phrygian language was reduced to use within the family, but from the 1st to 3rd century AD it turns up again in a written form, in the Greek alphabet. Today, we have over 100 short New Phrygian inscriptions, most of them consisting of curse formulae for desecrators of graves, but they are not incorporated in this thesis.

Researchers of ancient civilizations are usually confronted with one large problem, lack of sources, especially documentary ones. This is certainly not a case here. Asia Minor is one of the most productive regions of the ancient world, judging by the number of discovered and published inscriptions. Large provinces such as Lydia and Phrygia produced thousands of inscriptions relevant to all issues of social history. So far there are around 4500 published inscriptions from these regions. New discoveries are made every year.

⁷⁰ Annual reports on archeological excavations in Asia Minor from 1955 to 1993 were compiled by M. J. Mellink in *American Journal of Archaeology*. Reports on new discoveries in Anatolia can be found in *Anatolian Studies* published by British Institute in Ankara as well as other publications like SEG, Bulletin épigraphique and Année épigraphique, and some journals; for the Hellenistic period cf. also J. Ma, The Epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor: A Survey of Recent Research (1992-1999), *AJA* 104-1 (2000), 95-99.

These huge corpuses of inscriptions are the foundation of this thesis and will be discussed at length throughout the text.

Most of the individual discoveries are first published in journals such as *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, *Epigraphica Anatolica*, *Chiron*, *Journal of Roman Studies* and *Journal of Hellenic Studies* or *Phoenix*. Large number of epigraphic material (69 volumes until now) is published in the IGSK series (*Inscriptionen griechische Städte aus Kleinasien*) in Bonn, although many of them do not pertain to Lydia or Phrygia. Somewhat different, but essential are *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (especially volumes V1, V2 and V3) and *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (especially volumes IV, VI, IX, X and XI). Some new editions include P. Herrmann, H. Malay, *New Documents from Lydia* (Wien 2007), Malay's *Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (Wien 1994), and *Researches in Lydia, Mysia, and Aiolis* (Wien 1999), T. Drew Bear, Chr. Thomas, M. Yildizturan, *Phrygian Votive Steles* (Ankara 1999). Most recently, new corpora can be found online, like inscriptions of Aphrodisias⁷¹ and MAMA XI.⁷²

Recent discoveries in Greek epigraphy are the main focus of two periodic publications *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* and *Bulletin épigraphique*, both edited by several experts from around the world.

Some of the very old publications are still in use, such as Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (*Syll.*),⁷³ *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (*OGIS*), or Cagnat's *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (*IGR*)⁷⁴ and P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptiones grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure* (*LBW*).⁷⁵

⁷¹ <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/>

⁷² <http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/monuments/index.html>

⁷³ W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, I-IV, Leipzig, 1915-24³.

⁷⁴ R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* I-III, Paris, 1906-27.

⁷⁵ P. Le Bas, W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptiones grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure* I-II, Paris 1870.

2.3 Numismatic material

Coinage is also a very illustrative example telling us about city's institutions and magistrates as well as city's economy. Images and symbols on coins are important sources for studying local civic ideology, tradition and cult.

Cities in the province of Asia continued minting their coins after Octavian's victory and furthermore, economic conditions made their coin issues more stable than in the period of the Late Republic. More than a hundred cities in this province minted their coins during 1st and 2nd century AD, but after 250 AD this practice ceased. Roman central government was responsible for minting golden and silver coins, so Asian cities minted bronze and copper series, intended for local use.

For all the cities, the bronze coinage can be divided into two further groups: those with portraits of the Imperial family on the obverse and those without, so called pseudo-autonomous coins. Portraits of the Imperial family naturally included depictions of the emperor but also heirs and empresses of the ruling house. Coins without portraits carried instead heads and busts of deities and also personifications such as the various civic institutions of the city or the city itself. Legends employed on the coins are also presenting the image of the city. They show which privileges and titles were sought and obtained by the cities and the citizens of Lydia and Phrygia. For example, the display of neocorate status and Roman nomenclature demonstrates, on a civic and individual level, how the cities and their citizens adapted to the Imperial order. The personification of the senate also shows the ways in which cities could emphasize their links with Roman institutions. The use of this particular type demonstrates that cities in Asia, viewed themselves as part of a "senatorial" province.

Coin series are informative as they give us the name of the city (often abbreviated), and often there was also a name of the official in charge of coin issues. Sometimes he had to cover the expenses of minting. Nevertheless, the information contained on coins is very limited and has to be used with caution. Certain images symbolically depict the city, its

sanctuaries, mythological or historic founders or some important event of the city's history.⁷⁶

Sardeis, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Lydia was also the birthplace of coinage. The early electrum, gold, and silver coinage of the Lydian kings were issued from this mint. The autonomous bronze coins from Imperial period are numerous. Among the predominant types are heads of Apollo, bearded Herakles, Dionysos, and Artemis; Zeus Laodikeus standing; Apollo standing; horned Lion with spear in mouth; Pallas standing, Roma seated. ΣΑΡΔΙΣ, bust of City, head of Mount Tmolus, bust of Lydian Zeus, bust of Men, Silenos standing with infant Dionysos on his arm in the attitude of the Hermes of Praxiteles.⁷⁷ Inscriptions document Roman officials, as well as local magistrates, *grammateus*, archon, strategos, archiereus megas, and asiarch. Municipal titles *neokoros*, *metropolis* and ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ are also documented, as well as games ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ, ΚΟΡΑΙΑ ΑΚΤΙΑ, ΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΕΙΝΑ. Sardeis also minted *homonioia* coins with Ephesos, Pergamon, Hierapolis, Hypaipa, Side and Smyrna.

Philadelphia, as one of the most important cities of Lydia, had autonomous bronze coins since the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. On one side the bust of Artemis was represented, on the other Apollo seated or standing with lyre. The inscription is usually ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ, often with addition of ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, with or without names of archon or strategos; and in one instance of ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘ[ΕΝΤΩΝ] on a coin from the time of Vespasian. The attested types in Philadelphia are ZEYC ΚΟΡΥΦΑΙΟC; a Fountain nymph; coiled serpent on the back of a horse; Herakles and the Hydra; Amazon standing, holding image of Artemis; Isis standing or seated with infant Harpokrates on her arm; Hermes carrying infant Dionysos; Hermes dragging a ram; Aphrodite naked in temple, arranging her hair and holding a mirror before her and Agonistic table with urns.⁷⁸ They also minted *homonioia* coins with Ephesos, Smyrna, and Oresteium.⁷⁹

The earliest coins of Thyateira appear to be the *cistophori* of the usual types with an inscription ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΑ. In the Imperial period the inscriptions documented Roman

⁷⁶ Head, *Historia Numorum*, 546-555 (Lydia) and 556-579 (Phrygia).

⁷⁷ Ibid, 553.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 552.

⁷⁹ This town is otherwise not known: ΟΡΕΣΤΕΙΝΩΝ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦ ... ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ; cf. Ibid, 552.

officials as well as local magistrates, such as *strategos*. Principal images on coins were the river Lykos; Selene holding two torches; Apollo; bust of Serapis, Serpent Agathodaemon; young male divinity naked, holding bipennis and branch; Hephaestos forging helmet, Pallas standing before him; Demeter standing, holding long torch, poppy, and corn; head of Artemis.⁸⁰ *Homonoia* coins were minted with Smyrna.

Tralleis was one of the chief mints of the *cistophori* in western Asia Minor. In Imperial times local magistrates, *grammateus* and *strategos*, are attested. One of the main types of coins is referring to the cult of Zeus Larasios, the principal divinity of Tralleis. Other types include a bust of Helios, figures of the Pythian or Lydian Apollo; Dionysos and Ariadne, or Dionysos and Apollo playing lyre, Eros playing the double flute; Helios in a *quadriga*; rape of Persephone, infant Zeus sleeping on Mount Ida, above, an eagle with wings outspread.⁸¹ The city also minted *homonoia* coins with Pergamon, Ephesos, Laodikeia on the Lykos, Smyrna, Side and Synnada.

Akmoneia minted autonomous bronze during the 1st century BC with an inscription AKMONEΩN, with an eagle on fulmen, wings spread, between two stars. In the Imperial period we find inscriptions IEΠOΣ ΔΗΜOΣ, IEΠA BOYΛH with the name AKMONEΩN. Local magistrates are attested: archon, *neokoros*, *grammateus*. The prevailing types refer to the cult of Hermes, who is represented standing, holding purse and *caduceus*, with ram beside him; also Artemis as huntress, with stag and sometimes small figure of Nike, beside her; Zeus seated, with owl beside him. There is also a River-god, probably the Maeander; Kybele seated; Asklepios and Hygieia; Zeus seated, facing, with two giants before him.⁸²

The *cistophori* of Apameia are of the usual types, but distinguished by the letters AΠA, a magistrate's name, and the double flute of Marsyas as a symbol. Roman, as well as local magistrates are documented; *agonothetes*, *panegyriarch*, *archiereus*, *grammateus*. Some types show the bust of Kelainos, probably the mythical *oikistes* of the city, whose old name was Kelainai. Other types include the river Maeander, into which the Marsyas flowed

⁸⁰ Ibid, 554.

⁸¹ Ibid, 554-55.

⁸² Ibid, 556.

in the suburbs of the city; Aphrodite naked facing; goddess, resembling Artemis Ephesia, surrounded by four river-gods.⁸³ Apameia also minted *homonoia* coins with Ephesos.

In the Imperial period, the coinage of Hierapolis bore the name IEPAΠIOΛEITΩN , with or without NEΩKOPΩN , rarely IEPOΠIOΛEITΩN . Local magistrates' names are attested, without titles, or with those of archon and strategos, sometimes that of asiarch. Usual representation include Helios ΛAIPBHNOΣ ; Apollo Kitharoedos; Dionysos; Asklepios; Hades- Serapis with Kerberos; Nemesis; Men standing; Rape of Persephone; Zeus Laodikeus, with eagle and scepter; Asiatic Artemis with her stags, and many others.⁸⁴ *Homonoia* coins were minted with Aphrodisias, Ceretapa, Kibyra, Ephesos, Laodikeia, Sardeis, Smyrna, and Synnada.

Earliest coins Laodikeia on the Lykos, are *cistophori*, dating from the first half of the 2nd century BC. During Imperial times Roman magistrates (proconsul of the province) as well as municipal are represented: *grammateus*, *strategos*, *asiarch*, *iereus*, *nomothetes*. The most common designs on the coins of Laodikeia are the boar and the wolf which are either depicted sitting alone or together back to back. These animals represented the Caprus and Lykos rivers which were important waterways to the city. One of the most interesting issues is the "OMHPOΣ" issue produced by Laodikeia during the reign of Nero. This shows how the city portrayed itself as an equal to Smyrna, one of the oldest cities of Asia. The issue highlights Laodikeia's concern with its own status and how it presented itself to other cities in the province. Other principal legends and types were heads of City, ΛAOΔIKEIA and *demos* and *boule*; also of ZEYΣ ΛAOΔIKEYΣ ; bust of Men; Aphrodite; Serapis; Cornucopiae, on the side of which is infant Dionysos or Plutos; Hades-Serapis with Kerberos; Hypnos winged, in sleeping attitude, with reversed torch; Aphrodite naked, lifting in either hand a long tress of her hair, standing between Eros and a dolphin.⁸⁵ Many of the coins of Laodikeia are of large size, and are commonly called medallions. The city also minted *homonoia* coins with Adramytteum, Antiochia Cariae, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Nicomedia, Pergamon, Perinthos, Smyrna, Tralleis, and Tripolis.

⁸³ Ibid, 556.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 564-565.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 565-566.

Synnada, as a wealthy commercial city in Roman Phrygia, minted coins with heads of emperors as well as *demos* and *boule*. Municipal magistrates were documented, *prytanis*, *logistes*, *archon*, *agonothetes* and *archiereus*. Usual types of coinage representation included Amaltheia carrying infant Zeus, with a goat at her feet; Zeus Pandemos seated; Athena; Persephone; Artemis Ephesia; Kybele; Men; Nemesis and others.⁸⁶ They also minted *homonoia* coins with Hierapolis.

Major editions dealing with the regions of Lydia and Phrygia, such as *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*,⁸⁷ Imhoof-Blumer's *Kleinasiatische Münzen* in two volumes,⁸⁸ *British Museum Catalogue*,⁸⁹ collection *Waddington*⁹⁰ and *Winterthur*⁹¹ as well as the study of B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*⁹² were used in this research.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 569.

⁸⁷ *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Sammlung Hans Von Aulock* I-IV, Berlin, 1957-68.

⁸⁸ F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* I-II, Vienna, 1901-2.

⁸⁹ *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1873-; individual volumes identified by region, so *BMC Phrygia*.

⁹⁰ E. Babelon, *Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington*. Paris, 1898.

⁹¹ H. Bloesch, *Griechische Münzen in Winterthur* II, Winterthur 1997.

⁹² B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum. A manual of Greek numismatics*, Oxford, 1911.

3. HISTORIOGRAPHY

Up to now the society of Roman Lydia and Phrygia has not been studied and presented in the form of a monograph, although some aspects of the topic were studied in various monographs and articles by numerous researches. A still relevant synthesis dealing with the social and economic history of the Roman period is M. Rostovtzeff's *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 1926.⁹³ Although still considered controversial in some conclusions, nevertheless it is the starting point for any serious study of Roman history. The issue of social structure was briefly mentioned in general studies such as D. Magie, *Roman rule in Asia Minor to the end of the third century after Christ I-II*, Princeton, 1950, S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, Oxford, 1993, M. Sartre, *L'Asie mineure et l'Anatolie d'Alexander à Dioclétien*, Paris 1995 and most recently C. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, München, 2010. A vast number of studies of varied scope and importance emerged after the Second World War and they cannot all be mentioned in a short review. For nearly half of a century, Jeanne and Louis Robert discovered monuments in Asia Minor from the Hellenistic and Roman period, and published numerous papers on all the topics of life in the eastern cities, which are partly collected in the *Hellenica* and reprinted in *Opera Minora Selecta*. Many issues on geography, history, society, language or culture are discussed in the on-going series of *Asia Minor Studien*, published by Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster since 1990.⁹⁴

⁹³ There are revised edition in German 1931, and further revised edition in Italian 1933; second English edition, revised by P.M. Fraser, was published in Oxford, 1957.

⁹⁴ So far seventy-five volumes are published, the complete list can be found on http://www.uni-muenster.de/AsiaMinor/asia_minor_studien/titelliste/index.html (last accessed March 2015).

One of the first articles on the subject of eastern senators was C. S. Walden's in *The Journal of Roman Studies* in 1929.⁹⁵ Halfmann's studies on Roman senators from the East later became the starting point in researching the Imperial élite.⁹⁶ The meticulously collected prosopographical data can thus be further analysed and discussed. Another important study briefly dealing with Eastern senators is Zsuzsanna Várhelyi's *The Religion of Senators in the Roman Empire*.⁹⁷ Prosopographical data on senatorial women are given in several studies and papers by M-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (I^{er}-II^e s.)*, I-II, Louvain, 1987 and *Les activités publiques des femmes sénatoriels et équestres*, in W. Eck, M. Heil (Hg.), *Senatores populi Romani. Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht*, Stuttgart 2005. No serious research on senators in the Roman Empire would be complete without the works of Werner Eck and Geza Alföldy.⁹⁸

Major studies on the status of the equestrians and their roles during the Roman Empire are the ones of H. - G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain; Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres; Supplément aux carrières procuratoriennes équestres*⁹⁹ and Devijver's colossal project *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* (abbreviated as *PME*).¹⁰⁰ Another detailed prosopographical study is by S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens*¹⁰¹ and her synthesis, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*.¹⁰² There is

⁹⁵ C. S. Walton, *Oriental Senators in the Service of Rome: A Study of Imperial Policy down to the Death of Marcus Aurelius*, *JRS* 19 (1929), 38-66.

⁹⁶ H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Göttingen, 1979; Idem, *Die Senatoren aus den kleinasiatischen Provinzen des römischen Reiches vom 1. - 3. Jahrhundert*, in: *Atti del colloquio intern. su 'Epigrafia e ordine senatorio'*, Band II, Roma 1982, 603-649.

⁹⁷ Z. Várhelyi, *The Religion of Senators in the Roman Empire. Power and the Beyond*, Cambridge, 2010.

⁹⁸ E. g. W. Eck, *Emperor, Senate and Magistrates*, *CAH* XI (2000), 214-238; Idem, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, München, 1970; G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen: prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht*, Bonn 1977; Idem, *Örtliche Schwerpunkte der medialen Repräsentation römischer Senatoren*, in: W. Eck, M. Heil (Hg.), *Senatores populi Romani. Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht*, Stuttgart 2005, 53-71.

⁹⁹ H. -G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris, 1950; Idem, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres*, Paris, 1960-1; Idem, *Supplément aux carrières procuratoriennes équestres*, Paris, 1982.

¹⁰⁰ H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, Louvain, 1976-1993.

¹⁰¹ S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens*, Rome, 1992.

also S. Demougin, H. Devijver, M. T. Raepsaet-Charlier (edd.): *L'Ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (IIe siècle av. J.-C.–IIIe siècle ap. J.-C., Rome, 1999.* Certain issues concerning equestrians are presented in papers of Werner Eck, Geza Alföldy and Richard Duncan-Jones.¹⁰³ We should note that, as far as I know, there are no new studies on equestrians from the eastern provinces of the Empire.

One of the controversial questions about the members of the equestrian order in the province of Asia is the role of archiereus Asias and asiarchs. The question of the role and function of archiereus Asias and asiarchs was much debated since 1870-ies¹⁰⁴ and D. Magie, L. Robert and J. Deininger all gave their opinion on the matter. It was the main subject of several papers and studies,¹⁰⁵ but in recent years this debate has become especially polarized.¹⁰⁶

The subject of municipal élite was treated in many previous general monographs on Asia Minor, but is specifically studied in A. Zuiderhoek's book *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor*.¹⁰⁷ Other studies giving valuable insight into provincial and municipal privileged class is Price's *Rituals and*

¹⁰² S. Demougin, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*, Rome, 1988.

¹⁰³ E. g. R. Duncan-Jones, Equestrian Rank in the Cities of the African Provinces under the Principate: An Epigraphic Survey, *PBSR* 35 (1969), 147-186; W. Eck, The growth of administrative posts, *CAH* XI (2000), 238-265; G. Alföldy, Die Ritter in der Führungsschicht des Imperium Romanum, *Chiron* 11 (1981), 169-215.

¹⁰⁴ J. Marquardt, *EE* 1 (1872), 210ff; W. H. Waddington, *LBW* III, 244-246 no. 885; W. M. Ramsey, The Province of Asia, *Classical Review* Vol. 3, No 4 (1889), 175: "The Asiarch who presided at the games also bore the title of Ἀρχιερέως Ἀσίας. This once disputed point is now probably universally accepted".

¹⁰⁵ M. Rossner, Asiarchen und Archiereis Asias, *Studi Classice* 16 (1974) 101-142; S. J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros. Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*, Leiden, 1993; M. D. Campanile, *I sacerdoti del Koinon d'Asia*, Pisa, 1994. M. D. Campanile, Asiarchi e archiereis d'Asia : titolatura, condizione giuridica e posizione sociale dei supremi dignitari del culto imperiale, dans G. Labarre (éd.), *Les cultes locaux dans les mondes grec et romain*, Actes du colloque de Lyon, 7-8 juin 2001, Lyon, 2004, diffusion de Boccard (Collection Archéologie et Histoire de l'Antiquité, 7), 67-79; M. D. Campanile, Sommi sacerdoti, asiarchi e culto imperiale : un aggiornamento, *Studi Ellenistici* 19 (2006), 523-584; cf. also G. Frija, *Les Prêtres des empereurs. Le culte impérial civique dans la province romaine d'Asie*, Rennes, 2012 (non vidi) and her website <http://www.pretres-civiques.org/> (last accessed September 2014).

¹⁰⁶ Especially, S. Friesen, Asiarchs, *ZPE* 126 (1999) 275-290; S. J. Friesen, Highpriests of Asia and Asiarchs: Farewell to the Identification Theory, in P. Scherrer, H. Taeuber, H. Thür (Hrsgb.), *Stein und Wege: Festschrift für D. Knibbe* (Vienna 1999) 303-307; H. Engelmann, Asiarchs, *ZPE* 132 (2000), 173-175; P. Weiß, Asiarchen sind Archiereis Asias: Eine Antwort auf S. J. Friesen, in: N. Ehrhardt and L. M. Günther (Hrsgb.), *Widerstand-Anpassung-Integration: die griechischen Staatenwelt in Rom: Festschrift für Jürgen Deininger* (Stuttgart 2002) 241-254; M. Carter, Archiereis and Asiarchs: A Gladiatorial Perspective, *GRBS* 44 (2004), 41-68.

¹⁰⁷ A. Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 2009.

*Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*¹⁰⁸ and S. Cramme, *Die Bedeutung des Euergetismus für die Finanzierung städtischer Aufgaben in der Provinz Asia*¹⁰⁹ among others. Internal organization, institutions and governance in Asia Minor cities is the subject of S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*,¹¹⁰ especially useful and detailed for the Roman period. The list of eponymous officials in Asia Minor is provided in the articles by R. K. Sherk, *The eponymous officials of Greek cities*.¹¹¹

The world of traders and craftsmen in the Roman Empire including Asia Minor (and therefore Lydia and Phrygia), was presented in four volumes by J. P. Waltzing at the end of the 19th century.¹¹² Guilds and associations, both professional and religious, were especially prominent in Lydia and feature frequently in the works of D. Magie, A. H. M. Jones, L. Robert and others. Following the growing interest for the social and economic history of Asia Minor as well as new epigraphic discoveries in Saittai,¹¹³ several new and important studies emerged (with different approaches): O. van Nijf's *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*,¹¹⁴ I. Dittmann-Schöne's *Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*,¹¹⁵ and C. Zimmermann's *Handwerkervereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum*.¹¹⁶ One should also mention a publication concerning textile industry in the Mediterranean and the contribution of G. Labarre and M. – Th. Le Dinahet on Asia Minor¹¹⁷ as well as several articles of Ilias Arnaoutoglou.¹¹⁸ The University of Copenhagen conducts a large project, *The Copenhagen Associations Project* (CAP), aiming to investigate the private associations of the Classical, Hellenistic and

¹⁰⁸ S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1984.

¹⁰⁹ S. Cramme, *Die Bedeutung des Euergetismus für die Finanzierung städtischer Aufgaben in der Provinz Asia* (Inaugural Dissertation), Köln, 2001.

¹¹⁰ S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford, 2005.

¹¹¹ R. K. Sherk, The eponymous officials of Greek cities III, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 225–260 and The eponymous officials of Greek cities IV, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 223–272.

¹¹² J. P. Waltzing, *Étude Historique sur les Corporations Professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Chute de l'Empire d'Occident I-IV*, Liège, 1895-1900.

¹¹³ S. Bakır-Barthel, H. Müller, Inschriften aus der Umgebung von Saittai II, *ZPE* 36 (1979), 163-194.

¹¹⁴ O. van Nijf, *The civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*, Amsterdam, 1997.

¹¹⁵ I. Dittmann-Schöne, *Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Regensburg, 2001.

¹¹⁶ C. Zimmermann, *Handwerkervereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum*, Mainz, 2002.

¹¹⁷ G. Labarre, M. – Th. Le Dinahet, Les métiers du textile en Asie Mineure de l'époque hellénistique à l'époque imperial, in: *Aspects de l'artisanat du textile dans le monde méditerranéen* (Égypte, Grèce, Monde Romain), Lyon 1996, 49-117.

¹¹⁸ I. Arnaoutoglou, Craftsmen associations in Roman Lydia – A Tale of Two Cities?, *Ancient Society* 41 (2011), 257-290.; I. N. Arnaoutoglou, Roman law and collegia in Asia Minor, *RIDA* 49 (2002), 27-49.

Roman worlds (c. 500 BC to c. 300 AD).¹¹⁹ At its completion, the CAP Inventory will become available in the form of an electronic database.¹²⁰

The question of ancient family and demography was discussed in several studies and articles. Works of W. Scheidel, D. Engels and B. D. Shaw are the most prominent; unfortunately all these papers are dealing with antiquity in general or Roman Empire as a whole. Only the article of Pierre Brulé deals with Asia Minor, but in the Hellenistic period.¹²¹ There is also, never published, but often cited master thesis of Marjorie R. Flood, *Epigraphic evidence for family structures and customs in Asia Minor during the early Roman Empire* presented at the Macquarie University in 1978. Most recent analysis on family and household in Phrygia was by Destephan¹²² and Thonemann.¹²³ The important question about $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\iota$ was discussed in several articles by Marijana Ricl.¹²⁴

Religion played a major part in the life of ancient people and although the issue of religion and beliefs is not separately examined in this thesis, several important studies and articles were mentioned starting by Mária Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften*,¹²⁵ Drew-Bear and Naour's contribution on divinities in Phrygia in *ANRW*¹²⁶, Petzl's¹²⁷ and Ricl's¹²⁸ respective articles in *Forschungen in Lydien* and

¹¹⁹ <http://copenhagenassociations.saxo.ku.dk/> (last accessed August 2014).

¹²⁰ <http://copenhagenassociations.saxo.ku.dk/capinventory/> (last accessed August 2014).

¹²¹ P. Brulé, Enquête démographique sur la famille grecque antique. Étude de listes de politographie d'Asie mineure d'époque hellénistique (Milet et Ilion), *REA* 92 3-4 (1990), 233-258.

¹²² S. Destephan, Familles d'Anatolie au miroir des *MAMA*, *EA* 43 (2010), 135-148.

¹²³ P. Thonemann, Households and families in Roman Phrygia, in: P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, Cambridge 2013, 124-142.

¹²⁴ M. Ricl, Legal and social status of $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\iota$ and related categories in the Greek world: the case of Phrygia in the Roman period, in: M. Jovanović, *Neohelensko nasleđe kod Srba I*, Beograd 2005, 145-165; M. Ricl, Legal and social status of $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\iota$ and related categories in the Greek world: the case of Lydia in the Roman period, in: *Sobria ebrietas. У спомен на Мирона Флашара, Зборник Филозофског факултета серија А: историјске науке*, књ. 20 (2006), 293-321; *Idem*, Legal and social status of *threptoí* and related categories in narrative and documentary sources, in: H. M. Cotton, R. G. Hoyland, J. J. Price, D. J. Wasserstein (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, Cambridge 2009, 93-146.

¹²⁵ M. Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften*, Bonn, 1999.

¹²⁶ T. Drew-Bear, C. Naour, Divinités de Phrygie, *ANRW* II 18.3 (1990), 1908-2781.

¹²⁷ G. Petzl, Ländliche Religiosität in Lydien, in: E. Schwertheim (Hrsgb.), *Forschungen in Lydien* (Asia Minor Studien 17), Bonn 1995, 37-48; *Idem*, Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens, *EA* 22 (1994), 1-174.

¹²⁸ M. Ricl, The appeal to divine justice in the Lydian confession-inscriptions, in: E. Schwertheim (Hrsgb.), *Forschungen in Lydien* (Asia Minor Studien 17), Bonn 1995, 67-76; cf. also M. Ricl, Society and Economy of rural sanctuaries in Roman Lydia and Phrygia, *EA* 35 (2003), 77-101; *Idem*, *Svest o grehu u maloazijskim kutovima rimskog doba (La conscience du péché dans les cultes anatoliens à l'époque romaine)*, Beograd, 1995.

Epigraphica Anatolica, Dignas' *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*,¹²⁹ Chaniotis' *Under the watchful eyes of the gods: divine justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*¹³⁰ and J. H. M. Strubbe's *Cursed be he that moves my bones*¹³¹ to name just a few.

Although Christian communities appear in Lydia early in this period and Phrygia had a strong rural Christian community and was a base for Montanists, this thesis does not deal with these issues. Of the vast bibliography on this subject, only a collection of papers dealing with voluntary and all religious associations, including the relationship between pagans, Jews and Christians was used.¹³²

There are many studies on slavery in the Roman Empire such as *The Cambridge World history of Slavery Vol. 1 The Ancient MediterraneanWorld*,¹³³ general overviews for the ancient world in Bradley's¹³⁴ and Garnsey's¹³⁵ studies, and new study on manumissions in Greek world.¹³⁶ However, many issues on slavery in Asia Minor were and are discussed in various articles. A distinctive subject of sacred manumissions and so-called *katagraphe* inscriptions is especially relevant for Phrygia.¹³⁷ Unfortunately, one Italian study on economy and demography of slavery in Asia Minor, a revised and published PhD thesis, was not available to me.¹³⁸

¹²⁹ B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford, 2002.

¹³⁰ A. Chaniotis, *Under the watchful eyes of the gods: divine justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, in S. Colvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East. Politics, Culture, Society* (Yale Classical Studies 31), Cambridge 2004, 1-43.

¹³¹ J. H. M. Strubbe, "Cursed be he that moves my bones", in C. A. Faraone, D. Obbink (eds.) *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek magic and Religion*, Oxford 1997, 33-52.

¹³² R. S. Ascough (ed.), *Religious Rivalries and Struggle for Success in Sardis and Smyrna*, Ontario 2005.

¹³³ K. Bradley, P. Cartledge (eds.), *The Cambridge World history of Slavery Vol. 1: The Ancient MediterraneanWorld*, Cambridge, 2011.

¹³⁴ K. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*, Cambridge, 1994.

¹³⁵ P. Garnsey, *Ideas of slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*, Cambridge, 1996.

¹³⁶ R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free. The Concept Of Manumission And The Status Of Manumitted Slaves In The Ancient Greek World*, Leiden-Boston, 2005.

¹³⁷ M. Riel, *Les KATAΓΡΑΦΑΙ du sanctuaire d'Apollon Lairbenos*, *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 3 (1995), 167-195; T. Ritti, C. Şimşek, H. Yıldız, *Dediche e katagrafai del santuario frigio di Apollon Lairbenos*, *EA* 32 (2000), 1-88; more recently E. Akıncı Öztürk, C. Tanrıver, *New Katagraphai and Dedications from the Sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos*, *EA* 41 (2008) 91-104; E. Akıncı Öztürk, C. Tanrıver, *Some New Finds From The Sanctuary Of Apollon Lairbenos*, *EA* 42 (2009) 89-96; E. Akıncı Öztürk, C. Tanrıver, *New Inscriptions From The Sanctuary Of Apollon Lairbenos*, *EA* 43 (2010) 43-49; M. Riel, *Donations Of Slaves And Freeborn Children to Deities in Roman Macedonia and Phrygia: A Reconsideration*, *Tyche* 16 (2001), 127-160.

¹³⁸ S. Bussi, *Economia e demografia della schiavitù in Asia Minore ellenistico-romana*, Milano, 2001.

New studies, journals and articles on many issues in Asia Minor are being published continuously.

4. SENATORIAL ORDER

When the rule of the Attalids was replaced by that of Rome, the change affected the inhabitants of the new province in various ways. These changes developed only gradually and over a long period of time; the integration of the communities in Asia Minor into the Roman Empire was a lengthy process, not a single event. The process was not finished at time of the formation of Augustan empire. The pace of integration was not even in different parts of the province. In Lydia, and especially in the continental and somewhat isolated Phrygia, this process lasted longer than in the coastal areas. The new political and economic conditions in Anatolian provinces enabled the forming of a new social organization. A sure sign of definitive integration into the Roman world was the appearance of the members of the senatorial elite of local origin. These men left their epigraphic traces in the area much wider than their homeland.

Abundant sources for the members of the senatorial order came from coastal areas, especially Ionia, Lycia and Pamphylia, but several senators and their families are attested in Lydia and Phrygia as well. Honorific inscriptions, dedications and funerary inscriptions offer us the most abundant information on senatorial families. Subjects which can be well explored are the possibilities and conditions for provincial families to reach senatorial status, their place within the *ordo*, as well as local and chronological particularities.

Most of the wealth in the Roman Empire was controlled by a small elite of senators, equestrians and municipal elites.¹³⁹ During the first integration process in the provinces, if one wished to enter the senatorial order he had to have a prominent role in the province, as well as *merita* for Rome, acquire the Roman citizenship and enter the *ordo equestris*. If all the criteria were met, becoming a senator was imminent.¹⁴⁰ Formally, from the reign of Augustus the minimal census required for entry to the Senate was 250 000 denarii (one million sestericii),¹⁴¹ but the contemporary sources sometimes indicate the sum of HS 8 million as an appropriate capital for a senator.¹⁴² Senatorial fortunes often exceeded the wildest dreams of even the wealthy local landowners. During the second century there is a significant increase in the number of eastern *homines novi* in the Senate and this clearly points to a significant rise in prosperity among eastern urban elites in that period. The population of the Empire was constantly on the rise during the first two centuries AD, grinding to a halt only with the onset of the Antonine plague from the 170s onwards. The number of urban settlements also rises in that period and if population grows, then the land becomes inadequate relative to the available labor force. Owners of large estates, as were most members of urban elites in the Roman Empire, became better off because rents started to rise. Means of enrichment varied, but most Roman magnates of high social standing drew their wealth from landed estates.

The rise of provincial aristocracy of Asia Minor into the senatorial aristocracy took place in three distinct phases dependent of the origin of the individual. Under the Julio-Claudians the descendants of Italian settlers (veterans and merchants) prevailed, they usually came from the colonies of strongly Romanized areas such as Pamphylia. In the Flavian-Trajanic period it was the descendants of the native royal houses, especially from the old royal residences such as Pergamum and Ancyra. By the end of the second and in the

¹³⁹ The formal structure of civilian wealth qualifications represented ratios of 1:2:4:12. The juryman must have double the wealth of the town-councilor, the knight twice the wealth of a jury man, and the senator three times the wealth of the knight, R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1977², 3-4.

¹⁴⁰ H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Göttingen 1979, p. 27.

¹⁴¹ Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of Roman Empire*, 3-4; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 41.1 and Cassius Dio 55.13.6 against Cassius Dio 54.17.3; an entry to the Senate, equestrian order, the judiciary, and the town council was in each case controlled by a property qualification cf. statement in census *CIL I 593: eorumque nomina, praenomina, patres aut patronos, tribus, cognomina, et quot annos quisque eorum habet et rationes pecuniae.*

¹⁴² Tacitus *Ann.* 13.34; Suet, *Nero* 10; *Vesp.* 17 cf. Cass. Dio. 60.29.2, Pliny *NH* 29.7.

third century native upper classes of the cities, usually attested for many generations as provincial priests and equestrians, obtained senatorial rank.

After the civil wars, Augustus, as a censor with Agrippa as his colleague, reformed the Senate, the reason being, as Cassius Dio explains: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητεύσας σὺν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τέ τινα διώρθωσε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐξήτασε πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἱππῆς πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκτῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐβούλευον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς χιλίουσιν τὸ πλῆρωμα τῆς γερουσίας.¹⁴³ Among other measures, he helped financially impoverished young men of senatorial or equestrian rank and provided them with the required census amount.¹⁴⁴ The revision of the Senate membership was not based exclusively or even primarily on the census; considerations of political nature or opinions on personal morality usually prevailed. Tacitus wrote that during his reign Tiberius bestowed honors (and included new members in the Senate) with regard to noble ancestry, military renown, or brilliant accomplishments as a civilian.¹⁴⁵ We can assume that this policy was followed by later emperors as well and judging by their careers, it seems that senators from the eastern provinces displayed more *inlustres domi artes* than *claritudo militiae*. Just few of the senators from Lydia and Phrygia had a military career, such as Tiberius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (**LS9**) or his descendants, Ti. Claudius Iulianus (**LS1**) and his homonymous son (**LS2**) as well as Claudius Apollinaris (**PhS9**) and Claudius Stratonicus (**PhS10**) from Aizanoi. The composition of the Roman Senate from the death of Nero in AD 68 to that of Alexander Severus in AD 235 changed with respect to both the social classes and the geographical areas from which the new members were drawn.¹⁴⁶ After the reign of Septimius Severus, senators whose rank went back more than one or two generations were rare.

During the third century the Senate came to contain almost exclusively men raised from the equestrian rank or the sons of such men, and for the most part these persons were

¹⁴³ Cass. Dio 52. 42, 1: as a result of the civil wars a large number of knights and even of foot-soldiers were in the Senate without justification in merit, so that the membership of that body had been swollen to a thousand; English translation by E. Cary.

¹⁴⁴ Cass. Dio 55. 13, 6.

¹⁴⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 4, 6: mandabatque honores, nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiae, inlustre domi artes spectando.

¹⁴⁶ V. M. Hammond, Composition of the Senate, A.D. 68-235, *JRS* 47 (1957), 74-81.

of provincial origin. Under Trajan there is a marked rise in the percentage of provincials and this may be attributed to a conscious policy, since Trajan alone, according to the surviving evidence, admitted more provincials than he inherited from his predecessors. It was Trajan, not Hadrian, who first gave prominence to eastern senators. Though the percentage of westerners drops by 10 per cent under the latter emperor, that of the easterners does not rise correspondingly and the difference is made up by an increase of “Africans”. Hadrian, in fact, added fewer easterners, so far as can be judged, than he inherited. Septimius Severus simply continued the policy begun by Commodus, of decreasing the Antonine emphasis on westerners and Africans in favor of the easterners. The constant need to create new members of nobility and the vanishing of old senatorial families of long standing shows not that they were especially liable to be victims of tyrannical emperors but that they failed to reproduce themselves. The replacement of Italians by provincials was a gradual process and not due to the prejudice of any given emperor, not even Septimius.¹⁴⁷

During the early Empire *homines novi* from Lydia and Phrygia appear less frequently in the Senate. One of them, contemporary of Nero, was L. Serenius Cornutus (**PhS17**) from Akmonia.¹⁴⁸ A new phase started with Vespasian’s reign. The emperor perhaps understood the needs of provincial elite and found the way to use this manpower and their abilities. During this period the Senate was gradually “provincialized”. The influx of a considerable number of ambitious provincials is visible, but they still constituted only a minority. From the approximately 20 equestrian *adlecti* to the senatorial order during Vespasian, only 4 came from the East.¹⁴⁹ One of those senators, *adlectus inter aedilicios*, was Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaenus (**LS9**) from Sardeis. He was previously *tribunus militum legionis III Cyrenaicae* stationed in Alexandria and probably involved in the acclamation of Vespasian by the troops in Alexandria on July 1st 69.¹⁵⁰ Under Domitian, the sons of the first *homines novi* became senators in greater numbers.

¹⁴⁷ Hammond, *op.cit.*, 79.

¹⁴⁸ W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, München 1970, 115ff.

¹⁴⁹ C. Caristanius Fronto from Antiocheia ad Pisidiam, Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (**L9**) from Sardeis, C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus from Perge and C. Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus from Pergamon; cf. G. Houston, Vespasian's Adlection of Men in Senatum, *AJPh* 98.1 (1977), 53-55.

¹⁵⁰ W. Eck, Emperor, Senate and Magistrates, *CAH XI* (2000), 219; Houston, *op. cit.*, 60.

We already said that it was Trajan who really opened the doors of the Senate to the new senators. Pliny described Trajan as “one of us”.¹⁵¹ Friendship with an emperor and illustrious education were crucial factors of social advancement in imperial period.¹⁵² Equestrians and senators who could bridge the gap between the Greek and Roman culture, were well positioned to move into stations of influence as the emperors themselves came to represent this fusion of east and west. An excellent education was prerequisite for all the upper classes, not only for eastern senators. A *homo novus* from the Greek East continued the classical tradition in education and literature.¹⁵³ The Antonines gradually welcomed even more newcomers in the Senate, especially Marcus Aurelius who introduced 20 to 25 *homines novi*. One of the reasons could be the loss of manpower due to the plague and wars and the genuine need for fresh blood in the Senate. The prime motive seems to have been the wish to have enough trustworthy or otherwise suitable men directly available for the responsible official duties. The tendency was to reward individual equestrians and army officers as well as to satisfy the social ambition of municipal elites. The collected data shows that roughly 75% of the new members enrolled in the Senate during the 2nd century AD came from the eastern provinces, as opposed to only 24% in the 1st.¹⁵⁴

Perhaps an indication of inclusion of entire families (wives and children included) in *ordo senatorius* during the early Empire could be seen in one passage in Suetonius’ Caligula,¹⁵⁵ and for some¹⁵⁶ the term senatorial order clearly designated the senators as well as their families. It is probably safe to assume that the Senate membership alone would have raised the status of a whole family for generations.¹⁵⁷ The consulship and the prestigious offices which it could bring represented the pinnacle of aristocratic achievement. But the costs were high (an impressive house at Rome, a huge number of

¹⁵¹ Pliny, *Pan.* 2.4: unus ex nobis.

¹⁵² Sophist Aelius Antipater (**PhS1**) from Hierapolis in Phrygia is a good example. He was *ab epistulis Graecis* of Septimius Severus, friend of Severus and tutor to Caracalla and Geta, *adlectos inter consulares* by Severus and legate of Bithynia. After the murder of Geta, he starved himself to death at the age of sixty eight; cf. *PIR*² A 137; Philostr. *VS* II, 24; 25, 4.

¹⁵³ Halfmann, *op. cit.*, 50.

¹⁵⁴ Halfmann, *op. cit.*, 71-81, especially table chart on pp. 78-81; cf. A. Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 2009, 58-59.

¹⁵⁵ Suet, *Cal.* 17, 3: totiens abundantissimum epulum senatui equestrique ordini, etiam coniugibus ac liberis utrorumque.

¹⁵⁶ C. Nicolet, Le Cens Senatorial sous la République et sous Auguste, *JRS* 66 (1976), 35 n. 57.

¹⁵⁷ K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, Cambridge 1983, xii.

slaves, the presentation of elaborate games, suburban villas) and the financial rewards were uncertain. The rise in status could often drain a family's resources.

We can notice that of our 30 senators in Lydia and Phrygia, the most frequent nomen (thus giving us a hint when the family obtained Roman citizenship) is Flavius (6 occurrences, equally divided to both regions), then Iulius (4 times, only in Lydia) and Claudius (also 4 times, twice in each province), Antonius (3 times in Phrygia) and just one Aurelius (in Phrygia). It is interesting that Tralleis had two senatorial families in the 3rd century, Iulii Philipi and Flavii Clithosteni.

Looking at the hereditary nature of senatorial position we should ask how all of this reflects on senators from Lydia and Phrygia. There is one case where the father, son and grandsons (or great-grandson, following Halfmann)¹⁵⁸ were senators, the family of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaenus (**LS9**), but although they originated from Sardeis, they actually lived in Ephesus and were strongly attached to that metropolis judging by their grand benefactions. There is also one possible case in Phrygia, a family of M. Antonius Zeno (**PhS3**) from Laodikeia on the Lykos, consul suffectus in 148, his homonymous son (**PhS4**) being consul suffectus in 168/170 and grandson (or less likely, younger son) M. Antonius Antius Lupus (**PhS2**) reaching the praetorship. The father-son group is attested 4 times: T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (**PhS8**) and his son M. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Livianus (**PhS12**) (originated from Attouda in Phrygia, lived in Aphrodisias), M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus (**LS4**) and Cn. Licinius Rufinus (**LS3**) from Thyateira, C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus (**PhS6**) and C. Asinius Nicomachus Iulianus (**PhS5**) (perhaps from Blaundos, with possible ties to Sardeis and Ephesus) and T. Flavius Clitosthenes (**LS6**) and T. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes (**LS7**) from Tralleis.

¹⁵⁸ Halfmann, op. cit., 147 no. 57 and 174 no. 94; contra *PIR*² C 902.

4.1 Origin of the senators

Italian veterans, ancestors of the first senators from the East, usually became more prominent during the first or the second generation.¹⁵⁹ Some senators were descendants of earlier royal houses: the father of L. Servenius Cornutus (**PhS17**) from Akmonia, L. Servenius Capito,¹⁶⁰ married Iulia Severa,¹⁶¹ a descendant of the Galatian and Attalid royal houses. L. Servenius Capito was most probably of Italian descent, as his nomen is very rare¹⁶² and unlikely to have been obtained from any governor or Roman official in the East. Perhaps his ancestor emigrated from central Italy during the Republican period.¹⁶³ Both of Cornutus' parents served as ἀρχιερεύς/ἀρχιέρεια of the imperial cult.¹⁶⁴ One senator, P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelianus¹⁶⁵ from Ankyra, married Servenia Cornuta, possibly a daughter (or perhaps a granddaughter)¹⁶⁶ of the aforementioned L. Servenius Cornutus. Tiberius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (**LS9**)¹⁶⁷ came from a long line of priests of Roma in Sardis.¹⁶⁸ He was the father of Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus (**LS8**)¹⁶⁹, consul suffectus in 110, and Iulia Quintilia Isaurica, whose son, Ti. Claudius Iulianus (**LS1**), possibly served as a consul suffectus in 129/130. As they probably had the same financial and political goals, it is perhaps expected that some regional groups were formed in the Senate, so marriage connections among these families were not unusual as can be seen from the example of

¹⁵⁹ Halfmann, op. cit., 29.

¹⁶⁰ *PIR*² S 565; *RPC* I 3170-3177; for a slight possibility that L. Servenius Gallus, *praetor urbanus* in 62 AD in Rome mentioned in an inscription from Herculaneum, *AE* 1996, 407 was the son of L. Servenius Capito and (older?) brother of the senator L. Servenius Cornutus see *PIR*² S 567 and G. Camodeca, Nuovi dati dalla riedizione delle Tabulae Ceratae della Campania in: *Atti XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina I*, Roma 1999, 527-529.

¹⁶¹ *PIR*² I 701; *MAMA* VI 263-265, *IGR* IV 656; cf. Halfmann, op. cit., 102.

¹⁶² It is attested several times in the western part of Mediterranean i. e. *CIL* III 3190 (Dalmatia), *CIL* VI 1056 (Roma), *CIL* IX 1698 (Beneventum), *CIL* XI 5338 (Hispellum); W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin 1966², 230-231; cf. *OPEL* IV, 73.

¹⁶³ B. Levick, *Roman colonies in southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, 106.

¹⁶⁴ *MAMA* VI 263.

¹⁶⁵ *PIR*² C 304-305.

¹⁶⁶ For Servenia Cornuta v. *PIR*² S 568; for the possibility that Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia (?) Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna married to an Ancyran senator in *IGR* III 192 is not her, but her daughter v. *PIR*² S 569.

¹⁶⁷ *PIR*² I 260.

¹⁶⁸ *I. Sardis* 22, 91, 92, 109, 116.

¹⁶⁹ *PIR*² I 168.

Aphrodisias (Caria) and Attouda:¹⁷⁰ a daughter of a senator from Aphrodisias Sallustius Rufus, Sallustia Frontina, married a *procurator Augusti* T. Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras Agathus and they had two sons styled as συγκλητικοί, T. Flavius Athenagoras and T. Sallustius Sanctus Athenagoras, and a daughter Flavia Appia, ἀρχιτέρεια Ἀσίας married to M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus¹⁷¹ (son of ἀρχιερέυς and an ἀρχιερέυς himself) from Attouda, their son being T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (**PhS8**),¹⁷² *proconsul provinciae Lyciae et Pamphiliae et Isauriae*¹⁷³ and a consul suffectus under Commodus.¹⁷⁴ Carminii from Attouda gained Roman citizenship by the end of the first century AD from Sex. Carminius Vetus, the *proconsul Asiae*.¹⁷⁵

Less than a century later T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus was already a senator. The family of Iulii Phillipi from Tralleis had imperial gentilicium and perhaps some 200 years after receiving Roman citizenship (assuming they had had Roman citizenship already in the time of Augustus) this family had a *consul suffectus* in Rome. The family of M. Antonius Zeno (**PhS3**), a senator from Laodikeia on the Lykos, was descended from the royal houses of Pontus and Thrace.¹⁷⁶ One question imposes itself immediately: are these senators of Italian descent or natives of Asia Minor? All the senators from Lydia and Phrygia originated from Asia Minor (with perhaps the exception of the father of L. Servenius Cornutus), as there were no large Roman colonies or military posts in these provinces. More significantly, there was a surge in local elite wealth during the second century AD and local influence, esteem and fortune were essential prerequisite for all high statuses of public life under the Principate. The Roman state was firmly oligarchic and timocratic. Asia Minor progressively created its new elites and we can trace the rise of certain families through generations. For some men, being the first generation of senators was a significant fact, important enough to be acknowledged in the inscription.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰ *MAMA* VIII 517 a-b.

¹⁷¹ *LPh*2007 12.1111, *CIG* 2783; *PIR*² C 433.

¹⁷² *PIR*² C 429.

¹⁷³ *MAMA* IV 74-75.

¹⁷⁴ *CIG* 2783.

¹⁷⁵ W. Eck, *Senatoren*, 148; cf. *PIR*² C 436.

¹⁷⁶ Halfmann, *op. cit.*, 44ff.

¹⁷⁷ For example, *TAM* II 282 (Xantos, Lycia) ll. 2-5: τὰς ἐν ἰπικῇ [τάξει ἀρχὰς πάσας / διελθ]ῶν μέχρι ἐπιτροπικ[ῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ / γένει] πρῶτος συνκλητικὸς [γεγενημένος τοῦ / [δ]ήμου Ῥωμαίων...

Roman senators and equestrians were usually recruited among the members of urban elites, especially in provincial capitals.¹⁷⁸ Greek families received Roman citizenship, started naturalization and entered the system of privileged classes. Senatorial families are much more frequently attested in western Asia Minor, in large towns and Roman colonies than in the central highlands (such as Phrygia), due to the distribution of epigraphic material, among other things. Nevertheless, we have 12 possible senators from Lydia and, perhaps surprisingly, 18 from Phrygia.¹⁷⁹ Most of them are attested in the 3rd century, as could be expected, with only one senator during the first century from Lydia and Phrygia respectively. The origins of the senators are usually distinctively described. The family of C. Iulius Severus from Ankyra was styled as γνώριμοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν Φρυγίας.¹⁸⁰ Halfmann argues that the *origo* of Quadrati, the family that gave one of the first consuls from Asia Minor, C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus¹⁸¹ from Pergamon, was in the area west of Akmoneia on the Lydo-Phrygian border.¹⁸² Alternatively, one could suppose it was only one of Quadratus' many estates. Other members of this family are attested in various places in Lydia. Among others, we find them in Koloe (south of the river Hermos),¹⁸³ and Thermai Theseos (between Saittai and Koloe).¹⁸⁴

Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaenus (**LS9**) came from the ancient Lydian royal capital, Sardeis. His son, Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus (**LS8**), who dedicated the grand library in Ephesus to his father, had relatives in Ankyra, the aforementioned Iulius Severus.¹⁸⁵ *Origo*

¹⁷⁸ Halfmann, *op. cit.*, 51.

¹⁷⁹ One anonymous senator (**LS12?**) attested in the inscriptions from Hierokaisareia (*SEG* XLI 1032) and Thyateira (*TAM* V2 923) perhaps did not originate from Lydia; one senator from Phrygia, Claudius Apollinaris (**PhS8**) is attested in *IGR* IV 570 (Aizanoi) only as στρατηγός β' but his probable legateship of *legio I Minervia* in Germania inferior is probably confirmed in fragmentary *CIL* XIII 7946 (Iversheim), Halfmann included him in his lists of Eastern senators, cf. Halfmann, *op.cit.*, 199 nr. 132 and *ibid.*, *Die Senatoren aus den kleinasiatischen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*, *Tituli* 5 (1982), 634.

¹⁸⁰ Arist., *Or.* L p.428; cf. Halfmann, *op. cit.*, 56.

¹⁸¹ *PIR*² I 507; *cos. suff.* 94 AD.

¹⁸² Halfmann, *op. cit.*, 56; *MAMA* I 24 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene, eastern Phrygia): l. 8 *praedia Quadratiana*; note also *IGR* IV 387 (Pergamon): [A.Ιούλιον Αὔλου] <υ>ιὸ<υ> Κουαδρᾶτον δις ὑπατον ἠ πατρίς; that Pergamon was understood to be the homeland of Quadrati see Arist., *Or.* XXX p. 203f; cf. G. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, 19.

¹⁸³ *Sitz. Ber. Wien* 265 (1969), 57 nr. 13.

¹⁸⁴ *TAM* V1 71.

¹⁸⁵ Notice all the relatives, *IGR* III 173:

of the family is not always easy to establish. For example, Halfmann supposes that another senatorial family originated from Sardeis, father C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus (**PhS6**) and son C. Asinius Nicomachus Iulianus (**PhS5**). His assumption is based on the attestation of the name C. Asinius Nicomachus as *archontes* on coins in Sardeis during the reign of Severus Alexander.¹⁸⁶ There is another Nikomachus attested in an inscription from Sardeis as one of the στρατηγοί in 1 BC.¹⁸⁷ In the inscription listing the fountains in Sardeis from the period of Marcus Aurelius, Halfmann also suggests the restoration of line 21 by inserting the name of Asinius Nicomachus Iulianus.¹⁸⁸ C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus was attested together with his brother C. Asinius Rufus in an inscription from the island of Amorgos. It is a dedication to the emperor Antoninus Pius, where the emperor is referred to as the “savior and benefactor” of the brothers who are styled as οἱ κράτιστοι ἀδελφοί.¹⁸⁹ The same senator is also honored in Ephesos by the *boule* as benefactor of the city.¹⁹⁰ His son, C. Asinius Nicomachus Iulianus, *consul suffectus* and *proconsul provinciae Asiae*, is honored by *boule* and *demos* of the community of Blaundos as a benefactor and founder of the city.¹⁹¹ An inscription from Drepanon in Sicily testifies that C. Asinius Nicomachus Iulianus had an estate on the island and that it was probably his domicile as a Roman senator. These inscriptions offer at least two possibilities for *origo* of this senatorial family, Sardeis and Blaundos. Although, I consider the latter more probable, there is no definitive epigraphic evidence that would settle the matter.

During the second and third century AD several senators came from Attouda (two),¹⁹² Aizanoi (two),¹⁹³ Thyateira (two),¹⁹⁴ Laodikeia on the Lykos (three)¹⁹⁵ and

[Γ. Ἰούλιον Σεουήρον, / [ἀπόγονον βασιλέως / [Δ]ηιοτάρου καὶ Ἀμύντου / τοῦ Βριγάτου καὶ Ἀμύντου / τοῦ Δυριαλοῦ τετραρχῶν / καὶ βασιλέως Ἀσίας Ἀττάλου, / ἀνεψιὸν ὑπατικῶν Ἰουλίου / τε Κοδράτου καὶ βασιλέως / Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ / Ἰουλίου Ἀκύλου καὶ Κλ(αυδίου) Σεουήρου καὶ / συγγενῆ συγκλητικῶν πλείστων, ἀδελφὸν Ἰουλίου Ἀμυντιανοῦ...

¹⁸⁶ Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus den kleinasiatischen Provinzen*, 631; cf. *SNG v. Aulock* 8260.

¹⁸⁷ *I. Sardis* 8, l. 120.

¹⁸⁸ In *I. Sardis* 17 ll. 21-22 the name was published as Ἀσίννιος Μ[— —c.15— —] / -νος and Halfmann proposes to restore it as Ἀσίννιος Ν[εϊκόμαχος Ἰουλιανός].

¹⁸⁹ *IGR IV* 1013.

¹⁹⁰ *IEph* 3040: [ἡ φιλοσέβαστος Ἐφεσίων] / βουλῆ / Γ(άιον) Ἀσίννιον Πρότειμον / Κοδράτον / τὸν λαμπρότατον / ὑπατικόν, / τὸν ἑαυτῆς / καὶ τῆς πατρίδος / εὐεργέτην / βουλαρχοῦντος / Ἰουλ(ίου) Φαύστου νε(ωτέρου) / γραμματέως / Ἀσίας.

¹⁹¹ *IGR IV* 717.

¹⁹² T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (**PhS8**), cf. *PIR²* C 429 and his son M. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Livianus (**PhS12**), cf. *PIR²* C 430.

Tralleis (three).¹⁹⁶ But by far the greatest number of senators during all three centuries is attested in Akmonia, five.¹⁹⁷ The family of T. Flavius Clitosthenes (**LS6**) from Tralleis originated from the island of Thera.¹⁹⁸ The majority of senatorial families from the eastern provinces came from the province of Asia, more than 120. Of them around 30 came from Lydia and Phrygia, approximating to one fourth of all the known families.¹⁹⁹

Geographical distribution of the above mentioned places of origin in both Lydia and Phrygia does not display any easily recognizable pattern. Senators originated from all parts of Lydia. Some Phrygian senators claim descent from southern Phrygia or from Lydian and Phrygian borderlands, but others came from places like Akmonia and Aizanoi that are much further to the north and east. The same goes for of the comparative size and importance of these cities. That the large and prosperous capital of Lydia was home of several senators is no surprise, but many of the mentioned places are towns of rather modest importance. There is no obvious explanation why Akmonia, a comparatively small city, situated deep within the central Phrygia, was the homeland of so many senators. A similar question can be asked regarding Blaundos, Attouda, Aizanoi and many other places. A very large city and a major commercial center of Roman Asia, such as Apameia Kibotos (Kelainai), famed for its general abundance and its large number of wealthy residents, so far, gave no senators. As far as we can tell from the preserved evidence, there is no direct and simple correlation between the wealth and importance of a particular city and the number of senators originating from it.

¹⁹³ Claudius Apollinaris (**PhS9**), cf. *PIR*² C 1033; Claudius Stratonikus (**PhS10**), cf. *PIR*² C 1033.

¹⁹⁴ M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus (**LS4**), cf. *PIR*² L 236 and his son Cn. Licinius Rufinus (**L3**), cf. *PIR*² L 236-237.

¹⁹⁵ M. Antonius Zeno (**PhS3**) and his homonymous son (**PhS4**), cf. *PIR*² A 883 and grandson and son M. Antonius Antius Lupus (**PhS2**), cf. *PIR*² A 812.

¹⁹⁴ T. Flavius Clitosthenes (**LS6**), *PIR*² F 243 and his son T. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes (**L7**) *PIR*² F 370; C. Iulius Phillipus (**LS11**) *PIR*² I 458-460.

¹⁹⁷ L. Servenius Cornutus (**PhS17**) (1st century), T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus (**PhS15**) (middle of the 3rd century), T. Flavius Lartidius (**PhS14**) and T. [] Diogenianus (**PhS11**) (3rd century) and one anonymous senator (**PhS18**).

¹⁹⁸ *IG* XII 3, 325 ll. 14-15 where Thera is referred to as γλοκυτότη πατρίς

¹⁹⁹ Halfmann, op. cit., 58.

4.2 Careers

On the way to becoming a senator one had to follow the usual *cursus honorum*, performing various duties in the provinces and Rome itself, gradually climbing towards the consulate. Some of the senators pursued military careers²⁰⁰ and most of them performed high administrative duties in various provinces.

The first attested senator from Phrygia, so far as we know, from the period of Nero's reign, is L. Servenius Cornutus (**PhS17**) from Akmoneia.²⁰¹ At first he was a member of the collegium of ten members of the court (*Xvir stiltibus iudicandis*). From the time of Augustus the *Xviri stilitibus iudicandis* acted as presiding officers in the several sections of the centumviral court²⁰² and they settled cases on the civil status of the citizens. Subsequently, Cornutus was nominated quaestor of the province of Cyprus, *aedilis*, praetor and the legate of the province of Asia (*legatus pro praetore provinciae Asiae*).²⁰³

One of the best known senators from Sardeis, Tiberius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (**LS9**) was first a military tribune (*tribunus militum angusticlavum*) of the legion *III Cyrenaica*, stationed in Alexandria at that time and probably was involved in the acclamation of Vespasian in July 69 AD. Afterwards, in 73-74 AD he was *adlectus inter aedilicios*²⁰⁴ and his career advanced further. From 77 to 79 AD he was *legatus (iuridicus) Augusti provinciae Cappadociae, Galatae, Ponti, Pisidiae, Lycaoniae, Paphlagoniae, Armeniae minoris* under the governor of Cappadocia, Galatia and Armenia minor M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa.²⁰⁵ He was in charge of the legal matters for these provinces.²⁰⁶ Afterwards, in 79-82 AD he was *legatus Augusti* of the legion *IV Scythica* stationed in the East (probably Syria), in 84/85 AD he was proconsul of the province Bithynia and Pontus and from 85/86 till 88/89 AD he was *praefectus aerarii militaris*. In

²⁰⁰ Cf. Claudius Apollinaris and Claudius Stratonicus were both, at some period, *legati Augusti legio I Minerviae*: *CIL* XIII 7946; *PIR*² C 1033.

²⁰¹ *PIR*² S 566.

²⁰² Suet. *Aug.* 36.

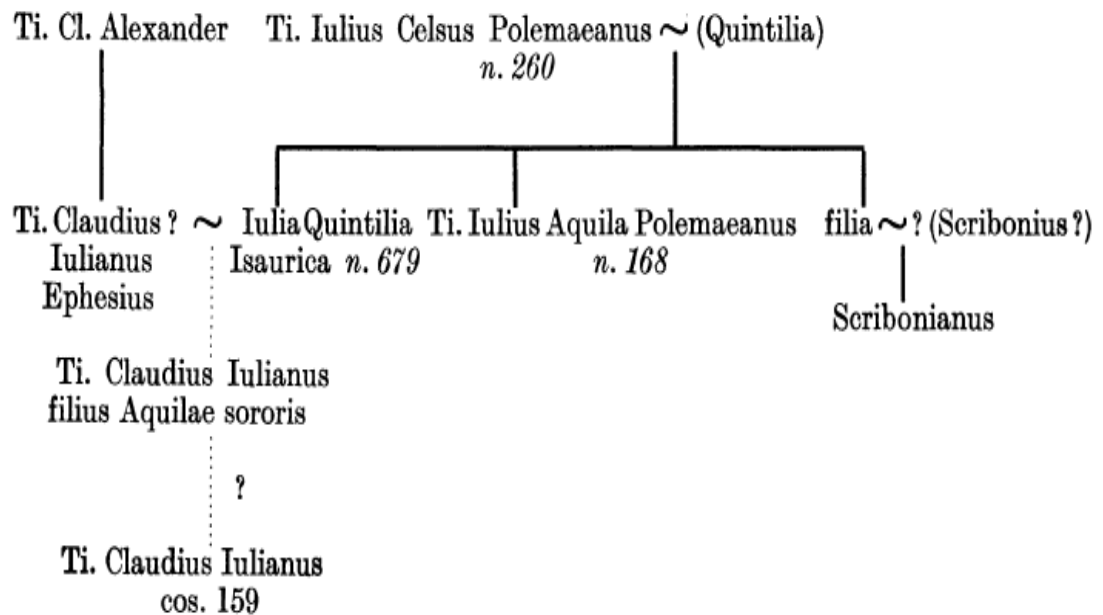
²⁰³ *MAMA* VI 254, 262.

²⁰⁴ *IEph* 5102; cf. W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, München 1970, 98 n. 22.

²⁰⁵ B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidium* I, Goeteborg 1984, 265.

²⁰⁶ *RE* XII/1, s.v. *legatus*, 1149; cf. G. P. Burton, *Proconsuls, Assizes and the Administration of Justice under the Empire*, *JRS* 65 (1975), 94-95.

the period from 88/89 till 91/92 AD he was *legatus pro praetore provinciae Ciliciae* and *consul suffectus* in 92 AD.²⁰⁷ He ended his prosperous career as a *proconsul provinciae Asiae* in 105/106 AD. His son Tiberius Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus (**LS8**) was *consul suffectus* in 110 AD.²⁰⁸ A grandson of the former, nephew of the latter, Tiberius Claudius Iulianus (**LS1**) was a military tribune of the legion *IV Scythica* in the East. Afterwards, he was at first the quaestor of the province Achaia and later the legate of this same province, *legatus pro praetore provinciae Achaiae*.²⁰⁹ His homonymous son (**LS2**) was first *legatus Augusti* of the legion *XI Claudia* stationed at the time in the province of Moesia inferior²¹⁰ and later the governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) of the province Germania inferior.²¹¹ He was one of the suffect consuls between 154 and 156 AD as attested in a military diploma from Dacia.²¹²



Family stemma of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus

²⁰⁷ Degrassi, *Fasti*, 28.

²⁰⁸ Degrassi, *Fasti*, 33.

²⁰⁹ *IEph* 5106, cf. *PIR*² C 902.

²¹⁰ *CIL* III 7474 (Durostorum).

²¹¹ *CIL* XIII 8036 (Bonna).

²¹² *CIL* XVI 110.

(taken from *PIR*² IV, p. 297)

A senator from Laodikeia on the Lykos M. Antonius Zeno (**PhS3**) was *legatus pro praetore provinciae Thraciae* in the period from 141 until 144 AD as attested on several inscriptions from Thrace (Kabyle and Serdica) as well as on coin issues.²¹³ He was *consul suffectus* in 148 AD as attested in *fasti* and one military diploma from Pannonia superior.²¹⁴ His homonymous son (**PhS4**) was *consul suffectus* in 168/170 AD²¹⁵ and was *proconsul provinciae Africae* in 183/185 AD, responsible, among other things, for building the aqueduct near Thugga:

[Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arcus) Aurelii Commodi Antonini Aug(usti)]
Pii Sarm[atici Ge]rmanici Max[i]mi Britannici p(atris) p(atriciae) civitas Aurelia Thugga
[a]quam con[ductam e fonte M]occol[i]tano a milliario septimo [sua] pecunia induxi[t et]
lacum fecit M(arcus) Antonius Zeno proc[onsul Africae] dedic(avit) cur(atore) L(ucio)
Terentio Romano ²¹⁶

The career of a well-known jurist, whose *Regulae* are quoted several times in the *Digestae*, and senator M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus (**LS4**) from Thyateira (3rd century) is a very good example.²¹⁷ Thyateira had connections with Rome back at the beginning of the province of Asia, and its resident Romans, organized in a *conventus* are attested in numerous inscriptions.²¹⁸ After several equestrian offices, *consiliarius Augusti*, *ab epistulis Graecis*, *a studis Augusti*, *a rationibus*, Rufinus was adlected into the Senate by Alexander Severus and became *praetor*, *legatus* of Noricum, *consul suffectus*, *amicus Caesaris* and finally a member of *vigintiviri* set up in a crisis of 238.²¹⁹ At some stage of his career he

²¹³ *AE* 1974, 580; *IGR* I 683 = *IGR* I 1454; see also for example Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Gr.* 44 nr. 31 (Perinthos), *BMC Thracia* 161 nr. 4 (Philippopolis), Imhoof-Blumer, *Ant. Munz. Nordgriech.* I 1, 349f, nr. 1255ff (Nicopolis).

²¹⁴ Degrassi, *Fasti*, 42; diploma: *CIL* XVI 96.

²¹⁵ G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, 197.

²¹⁶ *IL Tun* 1408.

²¹⁷ *TAM* V2, 984-988; P. Hermann, Die Karriere eines prominenten Juristen aus Thyateira, *Tyche* 12 (1997), 111-123 (= *SEG* XLVII 1656).

²¹⁸ Cf. *TAM* V2, p. 306-315.

²¹⁹ Cf. especially F. Millar, The Greek East and the Roman Law: The Dossier of M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus, *JRS* 89 (1999), 80-108.

represented the province of Macedonia, evidently successfully in a case concerning the contribution of the Thessalians and he is praised as most experienced in laws.²²⁰ By the end of the 1st or in the 2nd century Thessaly had been detached from the province of Achaia, and attached to Macedonia. *Synteleia* has a variety of meanings, but the most likely point at issue here was surely the question of the financial contribution which the cities of Thessaly would be required to make to the *koinon* of the province in which they now found themselves. It is very likely, though it cannot be certain, that the dispute between the Thessalians and the *koinon* of Macedonia had also been heard by an emperor.

T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus (**PhS15**) attested in *MAMA* XI 104 from Akmoneia also followed a successful senatorial career, culminating in the consulship. He is no doubt descended from an older T. Flavius Montanus of Akmoneia, high-priest of Asia during the reign of Trajan, attested both at Akmoneia and in several inscriptions from Ephesos.²²¹ Maximianus' career seems to have followed a standard pattern:

quaestor (urbanus)

quaestor provinciae Africae

aedilis Cerialis

praetor

curator

legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Thraciae

consul

In the inscription the terms *κυαίστωρ* and *ταμίας* both denote the Latin *quaestor*. Maximianus has evidently held office as *quaestor* twice, once in Rome, and once in the province of Africa. The double *quaestorship* is well-paralleled; it is usually assumed that the second appointment arose in cases when one of the provincial *quaestors* died during the period between election and the start of the proconsular year.²²² It should be noted that although in Latin the term *quaestor* is regularly used for both the urban and provincial

²²⁰ *EKM I Beroia* 101: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. / <κατὰ τὸ δόξαν τῶ> / <λαμπροτάτῳ συνε>/ δρίῳ Λικίνιον / Ρουφείνον, τὸν ὑπατικόν, συναγο/ρεύσαντα τῆ ἐπαρ/χείᾳ περὶ τῆς συντε/λείας τῶν Θετταλῶν, / Δομίτιος Εὐρύδικος / ὁ μακεδονιάρχης / ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

²²¹ *IGR* IV 643 = *IGR* IV1696; *I Eph* 498, 698, 854, 1130, 2037, 2061-3

²²² T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, Leipzig 1877, 259.

quaestorships in Greek the two posts are consistently distinguished, as in this inscription (the transliteration $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega\rho$ for the urban quaestorship, the Greek translation $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ for the provincial quaestorship). After his second quaestorship, Maximianus held office as *aedilis Cerialis*. The use of the mixed Graeco-Latin phrase $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ to represent *aedilis Cerialis* seems to be unparalleled.²²³

Following his praetorship, Maximianus held an unknown number of praetorian offices, beginning with a curatorship of some kind (*curator viarum, reipublicae*, etc.), and concluding with the governorship of Thrace. Maximianus' consulship is the latest office to be mentioned in the inscription. However, in *IEph* 698 ll. 1-4, an honorific inscription for a proconsul of Asia, dated to the third century AD stands $\Phi\lambda.$ $\text{Μον}[\tau\alpha\nu\acute{o}\nu]\|\text{Μαξίμιλ}[\lambda\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}\nu]\|\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\acute{o}[\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta]\|\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$. As suggested in *MAMA* XI the proconsul of *IEph* 698 could also be restored as $\Phi\lambda.$ $\text{Μον}[\tau\alpha\nu\acute{o}\nu]\|\text{Μαξίμια}[\nu\acute{o}\nu]$, identifying him with the *consularis* T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus from Akmoneia.²²⁴ A possible evidence for the date of T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus' proconsulship of Asia comes from the *Codex Iustinianus*, a rescript of the emperor Philip the Arab to a certain Montanus, likely to be a provincial governor.²²⁵ The presence of Philip (II) as Caesar in the imperial titlature sets the date of the rescript between July/August 244 and July/August 247. We are fairly certain that the proconsul of Asia for the year 244/5 was L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus.²²⁶ In order for the governor Montanus of the *Codex Iustinianus* to be identical with the proconsul T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus, the only possible dates for his tenure of office are AD 245/6 and AD 246/7. Assuming an interval of fifteen years between consulship and the proconsulship of Asia, as seems to have been normal from the reign of Hadrian onwards²²⁷ Maximianus' suffect consulship could possibly be dated *c.* AD 231.

The *cursus honorum* of the anonymous senator from 3rd century attested in Lydia (**LS12?** - we are not actually certain that he originated from Lydia as well) shows the usual

²²³ In *SEG* VI 555 (Pisidian Antioch) the Latin title is simply transliterated, $\alpha\iota[\delta\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\nu]$ $\kappa\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$.

²²⁴ For other possibilities cf. the proconsul [- -] $\omicron\varsigma$ $\text{Μαξίμ}[\iota]\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}[\varsigma]$ of *TAM* V 3, 1422 (Maionia), also in *PIR*² M 390.

²²⁵ *Codex Iustinianus* 7.45.5: Imp. Philippus A(ugustus) et Philippus C(aesar) Montano.

²²⁶ Cf. M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear, M. Taşlıalan, Lucius Egnatius Victor Lollianus, proconsul d'Asie, *Eski Anadolu* 11 (2003), 343-59.

²²⁷ G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen: prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht*, Bonn 1977, 110-24.

way for entering the consular rank: he was a *vir viarum curandarum*, *questor urbanus*, provincial questor, a plebeian tribune, praetor, *curator rei publicae* in Alexandria Troas, *legatus iuridicus Apuliae, Calabriae, Lucaniae*, *legatus iuridicus Hispaniae dioeceseos Taraconensis*, *legatus provinciae Asiae* and consul.²²⁸

For *homines novi* there were two possibilities, to be awarded the *latus clavus* from an emperor or be promoted to the Senate by *adlectio* introduced by Claudius and Vespasian and made permanent by Domitian. It was an opportunity for a young person barely within reach of the proper age for an office, or for an elderly equestrian to be awarded the senatorial rank.²²⁹ It has been noted that between 96 and 192 AD of 157 *homines novi* 122 (22 from the East) were awarded the *latus clavus* and 35 (9 or 10 from eastern provinces) the *adlectio*.²³⁰

Unfortunately, for some senators we do not have much information besides their name and/or status. T. Flavius Claudianus Ponticus (**PhS13**) is only attested in a fragment of an architrave block from Dorylaion, probably from the middle of the 3rd century. In this dedication of the monument (perhaps a *heroon*) we can only see that at some point of his career he was *tribunus laticlavus*.²³¹ Aurelius Sanctus (**PhS7**) and his wife Plotia Agrippina from Prymnessos erected a dedication to Caracalla, probably in the spring of 198 AD; they are both simply styled *συνκλητικοί*.²³² Nothing more could be said for very fragmentary and heavily restored joint dedication by two 3rd century senators, T. Flavius Lartidius (**PhS14**) and T. [] Diogenianus (**PhS11**) from Akmoneia.

The careers of these senators with military careers show us that in the early period the provincial commands of Greek and oriental officials were confined to the East. It seems they were more useful in the part of the Empire they knew best and more apt to govern provinces whose language and customs they were familiar with. There was ambitious competition among senators for the imperial appointments and for the higher sacerdotal

²²⁸ *IGR* IV 1307; *SEG* XLI 1034; *TAM* V2 923.

²²⁹ For differences in the procedures see A. Chastagnol, "Latus clavus" et "Adlectio". L'accès des hommes nouveaux au Sénat romain sous le Haut-Empire, *RD* 53 (1975), 375-394.

²³⁰ Halfmann, *op. cit.*, 83.

²³¹ *SEG* XXVI 1373; *SEG* XXXVI 1193.

²³² *MAMA* IV 11; for possible other attestation of Aurelius Sanctus v. A. Körte, *Kleinasiatischen Studien*, *MDAI* (A) 22 (1897), 30.

offices. Such efforts could be primarily seen as a careerist, individualistic attempts, in which the priesthood itself has little distinctly religious meaning.²³³ Nevertheless, only three senators had their priestly functions mentioned in the inscriptions. T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (**LS9**) was *XV vir sacris faciundis*, M. Antonius Antius Lupus (**PhS2**) was augur and *sodalis Titii* and T. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes (**LS7**) from Tralleis was priest of Zeus Larasios and *agonothetes* on all competitions during the first Pythian Games in his hometown. Concerning practicing religion, at some point (our oldest surviving evidence is from the late second century) senators and their families begin to offer inscriptions to healing dieties. It was on a military tour that one particular dedication was made to German “matronae” by the wife of Severan senator Claudius Stratonicus (**PhS10**) (*consul suffectus* in 190) from Aizanoi. Another example of a dedication for one’s well-being is the one erected in Lydia Katakekaumene in the 2nd or 3rd century on behalf of Curtia Flavia Archelais Valentilla, ὑπατική.²³⁴

Some senators originating from Phrygia had a number of dramatic changes in their careers. An interesting example is M. Antonius Antius Lupus (**PhS2**),²³⁵ son and grandson of senators, descendant of the famous rhetor Zenon and of the Pontic royal family, member of a prominent family from Laodikeia on the Lykos. During his career in Rome, he was *praefectus feriarum Latinarum*, *Xvir stlitibus iudicandis*, *tribunus militum legionis II adiutricis Piae fidelis* stationed in Aquincum, *quaestor*, *praetor*, *sodalis Titius* and *augur*. He was married to Claudia Regilla from Athens, probably the daughter of of Ti. Claudius Appius Atilius Bradua Regillus, *consul suffectus* in 185 AD.²³⁶ They had a daughter, named after her paternal grandmother, Antia Marcellina. He was put to death by Commodus in 191 AD with so many others.²³⁷ He was later given a large funerary monument, 6 meters high, on the Via Ostiense, erected by his relatives, the pontifex M. Valerius Bradua Mauricus (himself a consul in 191) and his wife, as well as two further *amici*, the *praetor urbanus* T.

²³³ cf. Z. Várhely, *The Religion of Senators in Roman Empire*, Cambridge 2010, 58.

²³⁴ *SEG* XLVI 1496; probably a daughter of senator T. Flavius Archelaos Claudianus and Curtia Iulia Valentilla (herself daughter of senator C. Iulius Crispus) from Philadelphia.

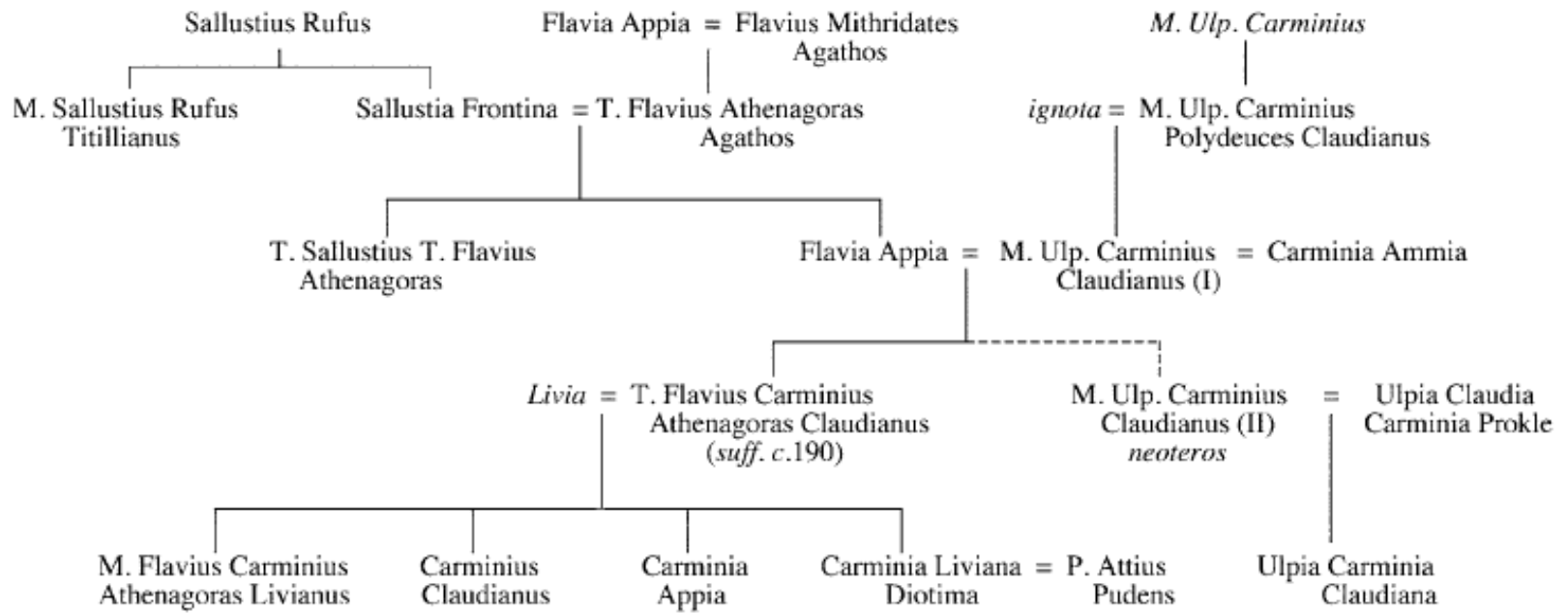
²³⁵ *PIR*² A812.

²³⁶ *CIL* VI 1343; Rémy, 176

²³⁷ *Vita Comm.* 7,5.

Annaeus Placidus and Q. Fabius Honoratus. The inscription directly states that Antonius' fate was unfair and finally resulted in restitution of title and *memoria*: "of whom, being oppressed by force, the *memoria* has been restored to honor, according to the *senatus consultum* of the most powerful order".²³⁸

²³⁸ *CIL* VI 1343: D(is) M(anibus) / M(arci) Antonii Antii Lupi pr(aetoris) / patricii auguris quaest(or)is / sodal(is) Titii trib(uni) / mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Adiutr(icis) Piae Fidel(is) Xvir(i) stl(itibus) iud(icandis) / praef(ecti) fer(iar) Lat(inarum) cuius memoria per vim oppressi in / integrum secundum amplissimi ordinis / consultum restituta est sepulc(h)rum ab eo coeptum / Claudiae Regillae uxori et Antiae Marcellinae fil(iae) / pietatis suae erga eum testificandae gratia et / nominis eius in perpetuum celebrandi perfecerunt atfines / M(arcus) Valerius Bradua Mauricus pontif(ex) et Antonia Vitellia / amici / Q(uintus) Fabius Honoratus T(itus) Annaeus Placidus accomodata gerunt [- - -] / praetextas stamina serum [- - -] / aedificata tholis [- - -]



The Carminii of Atouda

(the family *stemma* taken from P. Thonemann, *A Meander Valley. A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*, Cambridge 2011, 231)

The career of T. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Claudianus (**PhS8**) from Attouda in Phrygia was meteoric.²³⁹ He relocated to Rome, married one Livia, had four children, entered the Senate and had brilliant career in public life. Under Commodus, he attained the proconsulate of Lycia-Pamphilyia-Isauria²⁴⁰ and was *consul suffectus* in or around 190.²⁴¹ After the violent and premature end of Antonine dynasty and by the summer of 193, Septimius Severus was installed in Rome, while the East had supported Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria. Niger was defeated at Issus less than a year later and the senatorial supporters of Niger, eastern governors, legates and others suffered misfortune and eclipse. In the *Digest*, one of these victims, named Flavius Athenagoras, had seen his estate confiscated and his daughter left without a dowry, until Septimius intervened in her favor.²⁴² It is very likely that this unfortunate father is none other than T. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Claudianus. His youngest daughter Carminia Liviana Diotima²⁴³ married well, to P. Attius Pudens,²⁴⁴ thus joining an eminent Ephesian family, and this could have been the marriage that required imperial support. Although one of his sons was also *consul suffectus* (**PhS12**)²⁴⁵ it seems the family faded into insignificance although one T. Flavius Athenagoras Cornelianus is attested as a student of medicine in Rome²⁴⁶ and it is a plausible suggestion that some members of the family stayed in Rome in reduced circumstances.

The sophist Aelius Antipater (**PhS1**)²⁴⁷ from Hierapolis in Phrygia is another good example. His father Zeuxidemus was described as one of the most distinguished men in the flourishing city of Hierapolis.²⁴⁸ Antipater was *ab epistulis Graecis* of Septimius Severus,

²³⁹ Cf. family stemma on the previous page.

²⁴⁰ *MAMA* VI 74-75.

²⁴¹ *InsAph2007* 12.1081.

²⁴² Papinianus, *Dig.* XXII 1, 6: Imperator quoque noster Severus filiae Flavii Athenagorae, cuius bona fuerant publicata, de fisco ideo numerari decies centena dotis nomine iussit, quod ea patrem praestitisse dotis usuras allegasset.

²⁴³ *PIR*² C 442.

²⁴⁴ *PIR*² A 1362.

²⁴⁵ *PIR*² C 430.

²⁴⁶ *IGUR* 608.

²⁴⁷ *PIR*² A 137.

²⁴⁸ Philostr. *VS* II, 24: ... Ἱεράπολις, ἐγκαταλεκτέα δὲ αὐτῆ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν εὖ πραπτούσαις, πατὴρ δὲ Ζευξίδημος τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκείνη; P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Aristus Zeno was *advocatus fisci* in Phrygia cf. *IGR* IV 819; *PIR*² A 281.

friend of Severus and tutor to Caracalla and Geta, *adlectus inter consulares* by Severus and legate of Bithynia. Caracalla's letter to Ephesians mentions his teacher: ... Αἴλιος Ἀντίπατρος ὁ φίλος καὶ διδάσκαλος κ[αὶ τὴν τά]ξιν τῶν Ἑλλη[νικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπιτετραμμένος...²⁴⁹

Philostratus has given a brief description of Antipater's position and downfall:

Ἵπάτοις δὲ ἐγγραφεῖς ἤρξε μὲν τοῦ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἔθνους, δόξας δὲ ἐτοιμότερον χρῆσθαι τῷ ξίφει τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελύθη.²⁵⁰ βίου μὲν δὴ ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη τῷ Ἀντιπάλῳ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτάφη οἴκοι, λέγεται δὲ ἀποθανεῖν καρτερία μᾶλλον ἢ νόσῳ: διδάσκαλος μὲν γὰρ τῶν Σεβήρου παιδῶν ἐνομίσθη καὶ θεῶν διδάσκαλον ἐκαλοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν ἐπ' αἰτία, ὡς τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπιβουλεύοι, γράφει πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐπιστολὴν μονωδίαν ἐπέχουσαν καὶ θρηῆνον, ὡς εἶς μὲν αὐτῷ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐκ δυοῖν, χεὶρ δὲ μία, καὶ οὕς ἐπαίδευσεν ὄπλα ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων αἵρεσθαι, τούτους ἀκούοι κατ' ἀλλήλων ἡρμένους. ὑφ' ὧν παροξυνθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἰδιώτην ταῦτα παρῶξυνε βουλόμενόν γε τὸ δοκεῖν ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι.²⁵¹

He also mentioned an episode concerning the private life of this sophist, showing a possible pattern of conduct among elite provincial men, although the entire episode sounds somewhat anecdotal. Philostratus says that, after Antipater became imperial secretary he wanted to arrange a marriage between his daughter, said to be very unattractive in appearance and a young sophist, Hermocrates of Phocaea.²⁵² Hermocrates tried to avoid this replying that he could never become the slave of a large dowry and a father-in-law's

²⁴⁹ *I Eph* 2026 ll. 18-19.

²⁵⁰ The statement that “he showed himself too ready with the sword” and that “he was relieved of the office” almost certainly implies the use of excessive force during his mandate. It was highly unusual for a governor to be replaced during his mandate and it was probably the result of numerous complaints of provincial population to the Senate and the Emperor.

²⁵¹ Philostr. *VS* II, 24.

²⁵² His maternal grandfather was Attalus, son of the sophist Polemo and his father Rufinianus of Phocaea was man of consular rank, cf. Philostr. *VS* II, 25.

pomp. Only when the Emperor intervened, Hermocrates married the girl, but the marriage was soon dissolved.²⁵³

The social status of ancestors was one of the most important criteria for one's individual position in the Roman society. We usually find ancestors of senators performing various high administrative and priestly duties. It could be argued that the father's (or ancestor's) position in the local imperial cult indeed played a positive role in helping a new provincial senator-to-be reach the order. Several of our senators had ancestors involved in the Imperial cult:

- L. Servenius Cornutus (**PhS17**), whose parents were archiereis of imperial cult
- T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (**LS9**), whose family was of priestly origin in Sardis: ἱερεὺς τῆς Ῥώμης
- M. Antonius Zeno (**PhS3**), whose more distant forefathers of the first century were involved in imperial cult in Asia and Phrygia
- T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (**PhS8**), whose father was an asiarch
- Aelius Antipater (**PhS1**), whose grandfather P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Cassianus was asiarch in Hierapolis, Phrygia
- C. Iulius Philippus (**LS11**), whose grandfather was an asiarch and archiereus Asias in Tralleis
- T. Flavius Clitosthenes (**LS6**), whose father was asiarch in Ephesus
- C. Asinnius Nicomachus Iulianus (**PhS5**), whose father was ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσιᾶς in 176 AD

Transformed religious ideas and rituals shaped how senators perceived their own roles and also how they tried to shape that of the emperor. The social category of the senate, their political powers, though restricted, and practiced religion were closely intertwined in the early empire. As we have seen senators from Lydia and Phrygia took part in religious activities in municipal cults as well as imperial ones.

²⁵³ Philostr. *VS* II, 25, 4.

4.3 Family ties

The research of B. Rémy on the marriages in Anatolian senatorial families shows that Lydian and Phrygian senators usually married women from similar senatorial families or descendants of earlier royal houses and local aristocracy, and all but one²⁵⁴ of these ladies came from Asia Minor.²⁵⁵ Most of them already had some connections with the *clarissimi*. Senators, of course, tended to marry their daughters into other senatorial families, as shown by the examples of L. Servenius Cornutus (**PhS17**) from Akmoneia,²⁵⁶ Celsus Polemaeanus (**LS9**) from Sardeis,²⁵⁷ T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (**PhS8**) from Attouda,²⁵⁸ (Curtius Iulius ?) Crispus (**LS10**) from Lydia (probably Philadelphia)²⁵⁹ and C. Asinius Nicomachus Iulianus (**PhS5**) perhaps from Blaundos.²⁶⁰

Most of the mentioned senatorial families were connected and related, as for example, C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus from Pergamon. A part of his name could probably derive from a member of the known Ephesian family of prytaneis and councilors, C. Antius Rufus.²⁶¹ Quadratus' sister,²⁶² Iulia Polla was prytanis in Ephesus²⁶³ and married T. Flavius Apellas from Hypaipa (Lydia), agonothete in Ephesus.²⁶⁴ The mother of Iulia Polla (and probably of the aforementioned senator C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus from Pergamon) was Iulia Tyche. She was attested in an inscription from Pergamon styled as *prytanis* and the priestess for life of Demeter and Kore, honored for her piety.²⁶⁵ There is also an inscription

²⁵⁴ Claudia Regilla, the wife of M. Antonius Antius Lupus (**PhS2**) from Laodikea on the Lykos, son of M. Antonius Zeno (**PhS4**), was from Athens. She was perhaps a daughter of Ti. Cl. Appius Atilius Bradua Regillus, *cos. suff.* 185 AD (*CIL* VI 1343; Rémy, 176).

²⁵⁵ B. Rémy, Les alliances matrimoniales des sénateurs anatoliens au Haut-empire, *Eski Anadolu* 2 (1993), 171-191, especially tab. 174-177.

²⁵⁶ Servenia Cornuta (or her daughter) married P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelianus cf. *IGR* III 192 (Ancyra).

²⁵⁷ Iulia Quintilia Isaurica married Ti. Claudius Iulianus from Ephesos (*IEph* 5016-5017).

²⁵⁸ Carminia Liviana Diotima married P. Attius Pudens, a senator from Ephesos (*CIL* XV 7424a).

²⁵⁹ *PIR*² C 1596; Two daughters: *IGR* IV 1623, *TAM* V1 273; *TAM* V3 1466.

²⁶⁰ Daughter (Asinia?) married to Sex. Cocceius Anicius Faustus Paulinus from Uzapa in Africa *procos*; after the name of many Anicii, notably M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus and Annius Anicius Iulianus, (*PLRE*, Paulinus, no. 17 and Iulianus, no.23), cf. Rémy, 188, n. 11.

²⁶¹ *IEph* 1013.

²⁶² Relationship attested in *IEph* 3034.

²⁶³ *IEph* 989a.

²⁶⁴ *IEph* 1122.

²⁶⁵ *MDAI* (A) 37 (1912), 298 nr. 24: [οἱ θεσμοθ]έται ἐτίμησαν Ἰουλίαν Τύχην [πρύ]τανιν καὶ διὰ βίου ἰέρειαν τῶν θε[σμο]φόρων θεῶν.

from Koloe mentioning one Iulia Tyche.²⁶⁶ Assuming this is the same person, this could also mean the family had more elaborate connections in Lydia. A possible descendant of this illustrious Pergamene family was C. Iulius Quadratus, whose estate and slaves are indicated in Thermai Theseos in the 2nd century AD.²⁶⁷

As one of the earliest attested senators L. Servenius Cornutus (**PhS17**) is also named in one inscription from Apollonia, we could perhaps link him to another Apollonian family of Cornuti.²⁶⁸ Other Cornuti, perhaps his relatives, were prominent at Apollonia in the first and second centuries AD. A small issue of bronze coinage was minted under Tiberius in the name of Κορνοῦτος εὐεργέτης.²⁶⁹ There is also an inscription of the first century AD honoring a certain C. Iulius Patruinus Cornutus φιλόπατρις²⁷⁰ and two fragments of an architrave block inscribed in both Greek and Latin²⁷¹ recording the name of another Iulius Cornutus, identified by Mitchell as a prominent member of the local elite at Perge under Nero.²⁷² In the second and third centuries AD the people of Apollonia celebrated games called the Αἰλεία Κορνουτεία, probably instituted under Hadrian.²⁷³

²⁶⁶ Cf. Halfmann, *op. cit.*, 114; *Sitz. Ber. Wien* 265 (1969), 57 nr. 13.

²⁶⁷ *TAM* VI 71 (140/141 AD, Thermai Theseos).

²⁶⁸ Cf. *MAMA* XI 5.

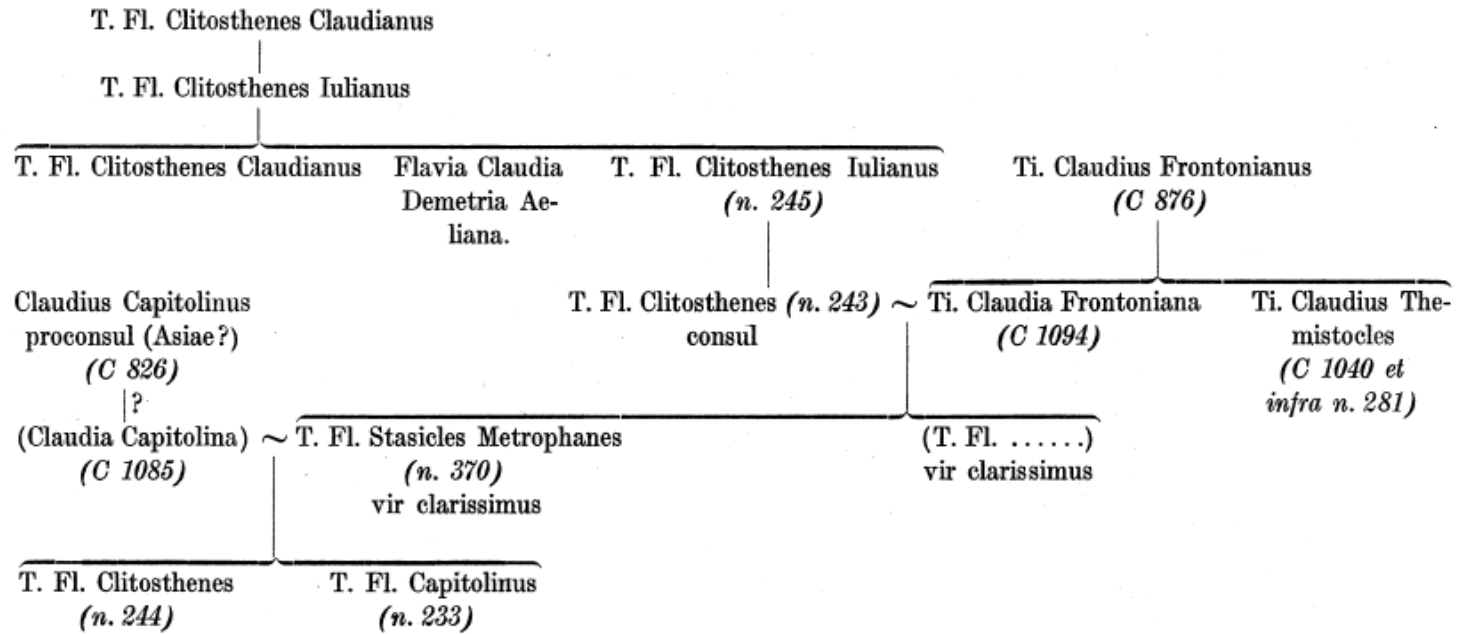
²⁶⁹ *RPC* I 3528.

²⁷⁰ *MAMA* IV 163.

²⁷¹ *AE* 1975, 812.

²⁷² S. Mitchell, The Plancii in Asia Minor, *JRS* 64 (1974), 37-8 especially the supposed family connections between Apollonia, Perge and Ancyra; cf. *I.Perge* 36-41.

²⁷³ *MAMA* IV 154.



The Flavii Clitosthenes from Tralleis
(the family *stemma* taken from *PIR*² III, p. 144)

Another prominent family of Roman Lydia are Flavii Clitosthenes.²⁷⁴ Of the two earliest attested members of the family, almost nothing is known. They are T. Flavius Clitosthenes Claudianus and his son Clitosthenes Iulianus, both of them attested in a building inscription from Thera.²⁷⁵ This family exemplifies upward social mobility among the provincial elites of the Roman Empire. While the first two members were merely representatives of the municipal elite that relocated from one province to another, the grandson of the first Flavius Clitosthenes, T. Flavius Clitosthenes Iulianus²⁷⁶ was in the first ranks of the provincial elite in Asia as an asiarch and the priest of Zeus Larasios in Tralleis, and his son T. Flavius Clitosthenes (**LS6**) was already a member of the Senate and a *consul suffectus* around 220/230 AD.²⁷⁷ The latter married Ti. Claudia Frontoniana,²⁷⁸ a daughter of an ἀρχιερέυς Ἀσίας Ti. Claudius Frontonianus from Ephesos. Their two sons were both senators, as seen from IK Tralles 141 where their grandfather is styled πατρός ὑπατικοῦ κα[ὶ] πάππου συνκλητικῶν. One of them, Ti. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes (**L7**) was probably married to Claudia Capitolina,²⁷⁹ daughter of the consul and possible governor of the province of Asia, Claudius Bassus Capitolinus.²⁸⁰ Their sons, T. Flavius Cleitosthenes and T. Flavius Capitolinus are styled as οἱ κράτιστοι παῖδες.²⁸¹

One of the daughters of the Ephesian sophist Flavius Damianus was married to senator C. Iulius Philippus (**L11**) from Tralleis.²⁸² Ephesus presented itself as a leading city of Asia and a cultural center and acted as a magnet for all the influential people from neighboring regions as well as the other provinces. The proximity of Aphrodisias and

²⁷⁴ V. family stemma on previous page.

²⁷⁵ IG XII, 3 325 (149 AD).

²⁷⁶ PIR² F 245; IK Tralleis 141.

²⁷⁷ PIR² F 243; IEph 635b; IK Tralleis 82;

²⁷⁸ PIR² C 1094; IEph 635b.

²⁷⁹ PIR² C 1085; IK Tralles 72; note also one Claudia Capitolina in Rome attested in a funerary inscription for her *threpte* Aemilia Hermione; generally on *threpto*i see M. Riel, Legal and social status of ΘΡΕΠΤΟΙ and related categories in the Greek world: the case of Lydia in the Roman period, in: *Sobria ebrietas*. У спомен на Мирона Флашара, Зборник Филозофског факултета серија А: историјске науке, књ. 20 (2006), 293-321 and *Idem*, Legal and social status of *threpto*i and related categories in narrative and documentary sources, in H. M. Cotton, R. G. Hoyland, J. J. Price, D. J. Wasserstein (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, Cambridge 2009, 93-146.

²⁸⁰ PIR² C 826, but also check PIR² C 814; IK Tralles 72; for possible governorship of the province of Arabia see ILS 9258 (Philadelphia, Arabia) and AE 1929, 171 (Philadelphia, Arabia).

²⁸¹ IK Tralles 72.

²⁸² CIG 2392; cf. PIR² I 458.

Attouda, just 20 km apart, brought the families of T. Flavius Athenagoras and M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus together, creating thus a group of kinsmen in the Roman Senate. Whether their shared provenance led to some form of group identity or if there is a specific career pattern in forming alliances, it is difficult to say. A more detailed prosopographic study based on inscriptions and literary sources is desirable and may serve to complete the picture.

From the time of Trajan all the senators had to have a legal domicile in Italy²⁸³ and to transfer 1/3 of their fortune to Italy and invest in landed property. Epigraphic evidence shows us that they usually had households near Rome or in southern Latium, Calabria or Sicily. It is known that Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaenus (**LS9**)²⁸⁴ and T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (**PhS8**)²⁸⁵ were domiciled in Rome, L. Antonius Albus (from Ephesus?) in Tusculum,²⁸⁶ M. Cassius Apronianus from Nikaia in Ostia²⁸⁷ and C. Asinius Nicomachus Iulianus (**PhS5**) in Drepanon on Sicily.²⁸⁸ Although their Roman domicile was not supposed to be merely a temporary lodging,²⁸⁹ many senators remained connected to their towns of origin in various ways, including serious financial interests there.²⁹⁰ As a rule, the ties with their native country were much stronger than those with Roman Italy as documented by inscriptions and can be seen from the numerous benefactions bestowed by senators on their hometowns.²⁹¹

²⁸³ *Dig.*, I, 9, 11.

²⁸⁴ *IG XIV 1966 = IGR I 338.*

²⁸⁵ For possible descendants in Rome cf. P. Thonemann, F. Ertuğrul, The Carminii of Attouda, *EA* 38 (2005), 81 n. 24.

²⁸⁶ *EE IX 686.*

²⁸⁷ *CIL XIV 4089, 26 = XV 2164.*

²⁸⁸ *IG XIV 283-284.*

²⁸⁹ Pliny, *Ep.* VI 19.1ff; on houses of senators in Rome generally see H. von Hesberg, Die Häuser der Senatoren in Rom: gesellschaftliche und politische Funktion, in: W. Eck, M. Heil (Hg.), *Senatores populi Romani. Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht*, Stuttgart 2005, 19-52.

²⁹⁰ W. Eck, Emperor, Senate and Magistrates, *CAH XI* (2000), 223.

²⁹¹ H. Halfmann, Die Senatoren aus den kleinasiatischen Provinzen, 603-650.

4.4 Senatorial women

As women were excluded from *patria potestas*, barred from the highest magistracies, and because they were not capable of acting under the Roman law, they eventually occupied roles that were not the most prominent ones. About this matter Ulpian wrote: *feminae ab omnibus officiis civilibus vel publicis remotae sunt*.²⁹² Women had no independent claim to rank; they derived their social rank from that of their nearest male relatives, from their father at birth or from their husband at marriage. Nevertheless, in Lydia and Phrygia they did hold certain public positions and always with a sense of performing worthy and socially desirable acts on the behalf of the community.

One of the first known eminent women and a mother of the earliest attested senator L. Servenius Cornutus (**PhS17**) was Iulia Severa from Akmoneia.²⁹³ She was a descendant of Galatian and Attalid royal houses. Iulia Severa is attested in multiple inscriptions from Akmoneia and Apollonia. She was honored by the *gerousia* of Akmoneia as a priestess and *agonothetes* of the imperial house, ἀρχιέρειαν κα[ι] ἀγωνοθέτιν τοῦ σύνπαντος τῶν [θ]εῶν Σεβαστῶν [οἴ]κου, on account of her virtues and her benefactions.²⁹⁴ Furthermore, she is attested as a benefactor of a local synagogue, together with Turronius Cladus and Lucius, son of Lucius, both of them ἀρχισυνάγωγοι.²⁹⁵ Finally, Iulia Severa is attested as an eponymous magistrate, together with Turronius Rapo (there seems to be no particular connection between Iulia Severa and him).²⁹⁶ Her husband, L. Servenius Capito, is attested on local coin issues as ἀρχιερεύς. As previously said, Servenia Cornuta, most probably the daughter of L. Servenius Cornutus, was probably married to a senator, P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelianus²⁹⁷ from Ankyra as attested in *IGR* III 192. Some scholars mention the possibility that there are two women with the name Servenia Cornuta in Akmoneia, Apollonia and Ancyra.²⁹⁸ In that case, the one married to the Ancyran senator would be the

²⁹² Ulpian, *Dig.*, L 17, 2.

²⁹³ *PIR*² I 701.

²⁹⁴ *MAMA* VI 263.

²⁹⁵ *MAMA* VI 264.

²⁹⁶ *MAMA* VI 265.

²⁹⁷ *PIR*² C 304-305.

²⁹⁸ *PIR*² S 569.

daughter, Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia (?) Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna. Regardless, Servenia Cornuta is mentioned in two fragmentary inscriptions, one engraved on the epistyle of a portico or colonnade in Apollonia, another on a great tomb in Akmoneia.²⁹⁹ As other family members are also named, one could presume that the building started in the time of Iulia Severa, and continued under her son and granddaughter. However, the editors of *MAMA XI* are inclined to think that the reconstruction of the architrave proposed in *MAMA IV 139* cannot be correct. According to previous editions, Iulia Severa and Servenius Cornutus dedicated a public building in Apollonia to another member of their own family. They argue that this would be highly unlikely: “public buildings could be dedicated to deities, to members of the imperial family, to the local demos or other civic bodies (*boule, gerousia*), or to all three; the dedication of a public building to a private individual would be without parallel,” so far.³⁰⁰ Following their argumentation, there is no need to introduce Servenia Cornuta in this inscription and they believe that Cornutus dedicated the monument ‘along with’ (σύν) his mother Iulia Severa and restore the text as:

Θε[οῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Λ. Σερουήνιος Κ]ορνο[ῦτος ταμίας δήμου
 Ῥωμαίων ἐ]παρχε[ίας Κύπρου σὺν Ἰουλίαι Σε]ουήρα[ι τῆι μητρὶ αὐτο]ῦ καὶ ἐν[γόνῃ
 βασιλέως Ἀττά]λου καὶ ἀρ[χιε]ρείαι τῶ[ν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγω]νοθ[έτιδι τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὰς
 ἐ]ξέδρα[ς] παρ’ α[ὐτῶν ἀνέθηκαν]

Even if we agree with the proposed restoration and the resulting conclusion, it remains undeniable that Servenia Cornuta did exist and was an important member of senatorial families in Akmoneia and Ancyra.

Some of the senatorial women are not necessarily mentioned in connection with the male members of their families. Flavia Politta,³⁰¹ attested in several inscriptions from Lydia and Rome and, according to one opinion, even in the early Christian literature, seem to be a benefactor and estate owner in her own right. Evidence concerning her position poses

²⁹⁹ *MAMA IV 139* (Apollonia); *MAMA VI 254* (Akmoneia).

³⁰⁰ <http://MAMA.csad.ox.ac.uk/monuments/MAMA-XI-005.html> (last accessed October 2014).

³⁰¹ *PIR*² F 434.

several problems that will be discussed briefly. The first known attestation of Flavia Politta is from Rome (discovered in 1891) in a fragment of the acta of the Secular Games of 204 AD (list of women supplicants from the senatorial order) as *mātronae Fl. Pollitta Manili*.³⁰² At the time it seemed reasonable to assume that she was the wife of Manilius Fuscus, mentioned in the same inscription as *magister* of the *quindecimviri* in the year 203. There are also some possible attestations of their children.³⁰³

Next epigraphic attestation of Flavia Politta comes from funerary inscription in Apollonis (discovered in 1959 by P. Hermann) of one *doulos pragmateutes*, Eutyichianus.³⁰⁴ Apparently, Eutyichianus was her estate manager. There is no mention of her husband and son; she seems to be the sole proprietor of this estate. In this inscription she is styled as ὑπατική.

The third attestation of Flavia Politta is from the bath-gymnasium complex in Sardeis. She is mentioned as one of the benefactors, together with another woman of consular rank, Antonia Sabina.³⁰⁵

[Θεο]ῖς πατρίοις καὶ Αὐ[τοκ]ράτορι Καίσα/ρι Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβε[ῖ] Σεβαστῶ καὶ / Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Πο. Σε[[πιμίῳ Γέτῳ]] / Σεβαστῶ καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῆ μητρὶ κ[άστρων καὶ τῶν / [αὐτο]κρατόρων καὶ παντὶ τῶ οἴκῳ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἱε/[ρ]ᾶ συγκλήτῳ καὶ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς / Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν κατὰ τὰ δό/γματα τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου φίλη καὶ σύμμαχος / [Ῥωμαίων] καὶ οἰκεία τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκ[ρατόρ]ων Σαρδια/νῶν πό/[λ]ις · τὸ ἀλειπήριον ἐκ θεμελίων σὺν παντὶ τῶ [λιθίνῳ κόσμῳ] / κατεσκεύασεν ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Τ. [[- -ca. 11-12- -]], ἐπιτροπεύοντος τῆς Ἀσ[ία]ς Δι/ονυσίου τ[οῦ] κρατί[στου], λογιστεύ[ο]ντος τῆς πόλεως [- - -ca. 13- - - / τοῦ] κρατ[ίσ]του ἀνθυπάτου Ἑλλάδος / Ἐχρυσώθη δὲ τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ

³⁰² *CIL* VI 32329.

³⁰³ Manilia Lucana, presumably their daughter, is also mentioned in *CIL* VI 32329 as one of the singers; cf. *PIR*² M 144. Their son Manilius Fuscus was accompanying his father while he was legate in the province of Syria Phoenice, *AE* 1947, 178: Μανείλιον Φούσκον / Μανειλίου Φούσκου / ὑπατικοῦ υἱὸν / Ἡρώδης Σοραίχου; cf. also *PIR*² M 136-137; Eck supposes that the son could have died in the province, *RE* Suppl. XIV, 273 nr. 24a: Manilius Fuscus.

³⁰⁴ *TAM* V2 1213.

³⁰⁵ *SEG* XXXVI 1094; see also the edition of P. Hermann, *Inscripfen von Sardeis*, *Chiron* 23 (1993), 233-248, and especially 235 n. 8.

Ἀντωνί/ας Σαβείνης ὑπατικῆς καὶ Φλαβίας Πολλίττης ὑ[πατικῆς / λο]γιστεύοντος Ι. Ἀντ.
Κοδράτου Ἀττάλου τοῦ κρατίστου

The inscription is dedicated to Caracalla, Geta and Iulia Domna and thus dated in 211 AD. We see that both women are credited for lavish decoration of the building and they are both styled ὑπατική.

In his monograph, *Pagans and Christians*, Robin Lane Fox made an intriguing suggestion that this Flavia Politta is also attested in early Christian literature.³⁰⁶ In *Martyrdom of Pionius (Passio Pionii)*, a work set in the middle of the 3rd century Smyrna, we read about a certain woman, a “lawless Politta”³⁰⁷ living on the estate somewhere in the hills beyond Smyrna. This Politta abused her Christian slave Sabina with intention of forcing her to renounce her faith. The girl ran away and was temporarily saved by local Christians. About this Lane Fox writes:

“Politta is a name with a new and intriguing history. Up in the valleys northeast of Smyrna lies the lesser village (!) of Apollonis, a former colony of Macedonian soldiers who had been settled near modern Palamut. Recently, it threw up the inscription of a certain Eutygianus, business agent of a Flavia Politta. As the wife of a Roman citizen, she had come by an estate near Apollonis. This Flavia Politta, a Roman matron, is not unknown. She married Manilius Fuscus, a future governor of Asia, who may well have bought this estate while serving in the province, probably around the year 210. His origins have been traced tentatively to Spain, and he is known as a senator with strong views.”³⁰⁸

Lane Fox was convinced in the identification between our Flavia Politta from Lydia and this “lawless Politta” on following grounds: name Politta is supposedly very rare, location of the estate seemed fitting, and time of the event is within Politta’s lifetime. This is, undoubtedly, an attractive, if bold, theory but one with numerous difficulties. An especially convincing critique of Lane Fox’ conclusion is given by C. P. Jones. He pointed out that, in fact, none of the arguments brought forward in favor of the identification theory

³⁰⁶ R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, Oxford 1986, 463-465.

³⁰⁷ M. Pion 9, 3: ἄνομος.

³⁰⁸ Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 463.

are very compelling.³⁰⁹ First of all, the argument based on the name frequency is a false one. It is a diminutive form of the very frequent Polla, but even if we consider the diminutive as a separate name it is not actually rare. The estate near Apollonis may seem to be close to Smyrna when viewed from a modern map. In reality, there is no direct line of access between Smyrna and Apollonis (a full *polis* community at this time, certainly not a “lesser village”), the ancient route ran around Mount Sipylus. In fact, Apollonis is better connected with Pergamon and Sardeis than Smyrna. Finally, there are chronological difficulties. In the beginning of the 3rd century Flavia Politta probably had a grown daughter in Rome involved in a procession during Secular games. If she was really identical with the “lawless” Politta she would be very old indeed in 250 AD. As we have previously seen, a senator C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus of Pergamum, consul for the second time in 105 AD had a sister Iulia Polla, so perhaps this Politta might be in some way connected with the illustrious Pergamene family, especially as Apollonis was historically and geographically linked to Pergamon. Until some new evidence in support of it eventually emerges, this will remain an unproven assumption.

There is also a question of Politta’s husband career and official position in the province of Asia. Beyond any doubt, Manilius Fuscus was one of the most successful members of the senatorial order of the era. He was *legatus legionis XIII geminae* in Dacia in 191 AD,³¹⁰ *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Syriae Phoeniciae*, and consul in 195/196.³¹¹ Much of the modern literature dealing with Severan senators claims him also to be the governor of Asia. This claim is almost certainly false. It originated with W. M. Ramsey in 1935 in his discussion on the previously published text of *MAMA* IV 27 from Prymnessos.³¹² Ramsey’s mistaken assumption was uncritically followed by many other authors and ultimately by works of reference such as the second edition of *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*³¹³ and *Paulys Realencyclopädie*³¹⁴ from which it was disseminated even

³⁰⁹ C. P. Jones, Flavia Politta and Manilius Fuscus, *Classical Philology*, 84- 2 (1989), 129-136, especially on 133-136.

³¹⁰ *CIL* III 1172

³¹¹ *IGLSyr* VI 2776: Manil[io] / Fusco leg(ato) Aug(usti) / pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Phoe/nices, co(n)s(uli) leg(ato) / Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae).

³¹² W. M. Ramsey, Le thema Leontokomeôs et le Kaystropedion de Xenophon, *CRAI* 1935, 131.

³¹³ *PIR* M 137.

further.³¹⁵ In most of these publications the text quoted by Ramsey is treated as identical to *MAMA* IV 27, although there is actually no mention of Manilius Fuscus in it.³¹⁶

Politta's friend and other benefactor of the Sardian bath and gymnasium complex was Antonia Sabina. Her tomb inscription on a lavish sarcophagus from Sardeis is also preserved: Κλ(αυδίας) Αντ(ωνίας) Σαβείνης ύπατικῆς.³¹⁷

Although the husband of Flavia Politta, Manilius Fuscus was a prominent figure in Rome during the reign of the Severan dynasty, and Claudia Antonia Sabina could have belonged to the distinguished family of M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Sabinus from Ephesos, it seems safe to assume that these women owned some wealth and estates in their own right.

Another eminent woman from Lydia is Curtia Iulia Valentilla.³¹⁸ She was the daughter of the senator (Curtius Iulius) Crispus (**LS10**)³¹⁹ and his wife Haruspicia Demo.³²⁰ Later on, she was highly likely married to the Philadelphian senator and *legatus Augusti Asturiae et Callaedicae*, T. Flavius Archelaos Claudianus (**L5**).³²¹ Philadelphia seemed to be her hometown as attested in a fragmentary inscription: ... καὶ τῇ [γλυκυτ]άτῃ πατρίδι [. . .] Ἰουλίᾳ Οὐαλέντιλλα.³²² Her siblings are also attested in the same town, her sister Priscilla³²³ and possible brothers, Aelius Verissimus and Aelius Maximus.³²⁴

³¹⁴ *RE* Suppl. XIV, 273 nr. 25: Ti. Manilius Fuscus.

³¹⁵ For example, Lane Fox, loc.cit. and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, Epouses et familles de magistrats dans le province romaines, *Historia* 31-1 (1982), 66 nr. 365.

³¹⁶ *MAMA* IV 27: Αὐρήλιος Εἰρηναῖος Ἀριστῶ / νόμου ἐπεσκεύασεν τὸ προ/γο[νικὸν] μνημεῖον ζῶν ἕαυ/τῶ [καὶ γ]ονεῦσι καὶ Αὐρηλία / Α[μια τ]ῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικί / [καὶ τέκ]νοις Αὐρηλίῳ Πα/μ[ένει] καὶ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἄμια/νῶ· τίς ἂν δὲ τούτῳ τῶ / μνημείῳ κακὸν προσπ[οι]ή/σει ἢ ἕτερον πτώμα [ἐπισκομί]/σει ἢ τῆς δο[ύλης μου Κοσμίας] / ἀποτεί[σει τῶ ἱερωτάτῳ τα]/μείῳ δη[νάρια δισχίλια πεντα]/κόσια [καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστω τέκνων / τέκνοις ὑποκα]τάρατ[ος· {τούτου} / τούτου τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ] / ἀρχεῖα Ἀνεικίῳ Φ[αύστ]ῳ ἀνθυπά[τ]ῳ.

³¹⁷ *I. Sardis* 151.

³¹⁸ *PIR*² C 1622.

³¹⁹ *TAM* V1 273b: Κουρ<τ>ί<α>ν Ἰουλίαν / Οὐαλεντίλλαν ὑπ[ατι]/κίην, [θη]γατ<έ>ρα Κρίσπ[ου] / καὶ Δ<ημ>οῦς ὑπατικ[ῶν] / συν[. . . .]ΛΛΟΥ; cf. *PIR*² C 1596.

³²⁰ *TAM* V3 1465: Ἀρουσπικία / Δημῶ / ὑπατικῆ.

³²¹ Honored by *boule* in Philadelphia, *TAM* V3 1461; cf. *PIR*² F 215.

³²² *TAM* V3 1645.

³²³ *TAM* V3 1466: Πρεῖσκιλλα ὑπατική, θυγάτηρ Δημοῦς.

³²⁴ *TAM* V3 1467: Cur(tia) Valent[illa et] / Ael. Verissi[mus] / et Ael. Maxim[us] / [s]peculator I[eg(ionis)?] / [fr]atres Icon[io (?)] / karissimae et [] / h(onoris) c(ausa)

She is attested in two inscriptions from another Lydian region. The first one is from Thermai Theseos.³²⁵

Μητέρος ἀθανάτων Φρύγιον θάλος ἀγλαὸν Ἄττην / ἄντροφ ἐνὶ ζαθέω, γείτονα Ναϊάδων / εἶδρυσεν κλείουσα Οὐαλέντιλλ' εὐπατέρεια / [ἀ]ζομένη μακάρων αἴδιον γένεσιν

It is a dedication by Valentilla to Attis in a sacred cave of Cybele. Here she is styled as εὐπατέρεια, a daughter of a nobleman.

The other inscription is from the nearby Tabala.³²⁶

[Κουρ]τίαν Ἰουλίαν / [Οὐαλ]έντιλλαν ὑπα/[τικῆ]ν τὴν κυρίαν / [ἐ]νχειρίσασαν / [τ]ῆν ἐπιμέλειαν / [τῆς] κατασκευῆς / [τοῦ] βαλανείου καὶ / [τῶ]ν περὶ τὸν τόπο[ν] / [οἰκο]δομημάτων.

Her marriage with T. Flavius Archelaos Claudianus (**LS5**) is possibly confirmed by an inscription from Katakekaumene mentioning their daughter Curtia Flavia Archelais Valentilla.³²⁷

Ἵπὲρ υἰείας / καὶ σωτηρίας / τῆς κυρίας Κουρ/τίας Φλαουίας / Ἀρχελαΐδος Οὐαλλεντίλλη/ς ὑπατικῆς

The daughter is here addressed as ὑπατική and κυρία just as her mother in the inscription from Tabala. Since the text from Tabala is very likely erected by a subordinate from the honorand's estate, it is tempting to assume that this latter text comes from the same estate or from another in the same area, especially as Valentilla in *TAM* V1 73 could also be the daughter, Curtia Flavia Archelais Valentilla. There is also one more inscription that could be mentioning our Valentilla, kept in the Museo Maffeiano di Verona, of uncertain provenance and previously dated to the end 3rd or 4th century AD: [- - -]ε

³²⁵ *TAM* V1 73.

³²⁶ *TAM* V1 209.

³²⁷ *SEG* XLVI 1496.

Οὐαλέντιλλα θέτο λούτρῳ | [- - -]ς ἀγλαίη τε φάους.³²⁸ With representation of two spring goddesses and the name Valentilla it could come from the same area of Lydia.

Some senatorial women followed their husbands during their provincial careers: so Flavia Tiberina, most probably the wife of Claudius Stratonicus (**PhS10**)³²⁹ went to Germania Inferior with her husband,³³⁰ and Quintilia, the wife of Celsus Polemaeanus (**LS9**), probably followed her husband to Galatia. Flavia Tiberina, while her husband was on duty in Germania inferior as an imperial legate, made an offering to the *Matronae Aufaniae pro salute sua*.³³¹

4.5 Wealth and benefactions

The status of senatorial class was defined as a legal category, but their most recognizable trait, at least as far the outside observer is concerned, was their wealth. It is hardly a coincidence that the families which attained a position of social and official prominence included men of great wealth. The tradition, ideology and social status all required of senators to be landowners. Thus, the origin of wealth for most Anatolian senatorial family was probably primarily agrarian too. Nevertheless, we know that there were significant exceptions and that some members of the senatorial families engaged in other professions. For example, M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus (**LS4**) and Aelius Antipater (**PhS1**) were rhetors. Not surprisingly, the origin and extent of their wealth is not explicitly mentioned in the inscriptions. As we have seen, senatorial families had many estates in different parts of the province. The Pergamene family of Quadrati had estates in Phrygia and Lydia.³³² Severi from Ancyra had estates in Phrygia and Pamphylia.

³²⁸ *SEG* XXXI 1658; also in R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, Stuttgart 1998, 451 no. 04/15/02 (non vidi).

³²⁹ *leg. Aug. leg. I Minerviae*.

³³⁰ M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, Epouses et familles de magistrats dans le province romaines, *Historia* 31-1 (1982), 66 nr. 370; Flavia Politta is also on this list (nr. 365) accompanying her husband while in Asia, although, as we have seen, there is no explicit evidence for his governorship of this province.

³³¹ AE 1930, 30 (184–6 AD, Bonna): *Matronis | Aufaniabus | pro salute sua | Fla(via) Tiberina | Cl(audii) Stratonici | [I]legati [Au]gu[sti] | [I]leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) P(iae) F(idelis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

³³² *MAMA* I 24 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene); Sitz. Ber. Wien 265 (1969), 57 nr. 13 (Koloe); *TAM* V1 71 (Thermai Theseos).

There are just three inscriptions mentioning slaves of senatorial families in Lydia and Phrygia. There is one Leontas, a slave of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaenus (**LS9**) in Rome³³³ and Dadouchos, *doulos pragmateutes* of C. Iulius Philippus (**LS11**) in Tralleis.³³⁴ Another *doulos pragmateutes*, Eutychedon, is mentioned as a slave of Flavia Politta in an inscription from Apollonis.³³⁵

A number of inscriptions honored the senators for benefactions either to their hometown or the one close to their family history.

Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus (**LS8**) may have dedicated the well-known library in Ephesos to his father Celsus Polemaeanus but also made a new cultural center for everyone in the city.³³⁶ The most important information about this benefaction is given in the foundation of the library inscription.³³⁷

[Τιβ(ερίω) Ἰουλίω Κέλσω] Πολεμειανῶ ὑπάτω / [ἀνθυπάτω τῆς Ἀσί]ας Τιβ(έριος) Ἰούλιος Ἀκύλας / [Πολεμ]αιανός, ὑπατος, ὁ υἱὸς τὴν Κελσι/[αν]ῆν βιβλιοθήκην κατ[ε]σκεύασεν ἐκ τῶν / [ιδίων] σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσ[μ]ῳ καὶ ἀναθήμασι / [καὶ βυβλ]ίοις· κατέλιπε δὲ κ[αὶ] εἰς ἐπισκευὴν αὐτῆς / [καὶ ὠνῆ]ν βυβλίων * μ[υρι]άδας δύο ἡμισυ· ἐξ ὧν ὑφη/[ρέθη] ,β ἐπιε[τῆ], ὥστ[ε] μενόντων τῶν ἀρχαίων * δισμυρίων ,γ / [ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' ἔτος γιγνομένων] τῶν ἐπισκευ/[άξεσθαι τὴν βιβλιοθήκην κ]αὶ τοὺς προσμένον/[τας αὐτῆ] λαμβάνειν * —' ἃ αὐτοῖς χορηγη[θ]ήσεται ἐπὶ / [τῆ] γενεθλίῳ τοῦ Κέλσου ἡμέρα εἰς αἰ· κ[αὶ ὁμοίως] / κατὰ δια[θήκην] τοῦ Ἀκύλα κατ' ἔτος ἀγορ[ά]ξ[εσθαι νέα] / βιβλία· ὁμοίως καὶ στεφανοῦσθ[αι τοὺς ἀνδριάντας / αὐ]τοῦ τρις [τ]οῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· ὁμοίω[ς] κοσμεῖσθαι τὰς / ἄλλ]ας εἰκόνας κατ' ἔ[τος] ἐν τῇ ἐο[ρτῇ] τοῦ Κέλσου? / ἐπιτελεσθείσης ἀπὸ τῶν * ,β, ἄ] ὑφηρέθ[η], ὑπ' α]ὐτῶν τῶν / [κληρονόμων τῆς λοιπῆς ἐπισκευῆς καθιερώθη] ἢ βιβλιο/θήκη τῆ τοῦ Κέλσο[υ ἐορτῆ], ὥστε μηνὸς —ῶνο]ς ἑπτα/καιδεκάτη τῶν χρη[μάτων] . . . σ[. . . c.12 . . . τῶ]ν ἐνγεγραμμένων / κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν τῆς διαθήκης μή[τε γραφὰς? μήτε] κατ[α]ρήσ[εις? μήτε] / ἀναλώματα ἐπιγενήσεσθαι αὐ[τοῖς], ἐντελὲς] ἀπαρτισάντων

³³³ *IGUR* II 913.

³³⁴ *IK Tralles* 194.

³³⁵ *TAM* V2 1213.

³³⁶ *IEph* 5101, 5113.

³³⁷ *IEph* 5113.

τῶν / τοῦ Ἀκύλα κληρονόμων τὸ ἔργον, ἐπιμεληθέντος κατὰ διαθήκην / Τιβερίου
Κλαυδίου Ἀριστίωνος, τρις [ἀσιάρ]χου.

As we can see from the inscription, the family bestowed 25.000 denarii for the library. From that sum, 2000 denarii were spent during one year and the yearly income based on the remaining 23.000 should be used for the maintenance of the library. New books ought to be bought every year. Also Celsus' statues should be decorated three times a year and all other statues should be decorated every year on the birthday of Celsus.

Construction of the library began in 117 and was completed in 120 AD. Judging by the ceramics in the aisles behind the southern book closets, the building seems to have been destroyed in the second half of the 3rd century AD. Either the well-known earthquake of 262 AD had made it unusable, or the Goths who plundered the defenseless city of Ephesos shortly afterwards had set fire to the library. Only the facade survived. About 400 AD, the library was transformed into a Nymphaeum. The facade was completely destroyed by a later earthquake, likely in the late Byzantine period.

The style of the library, with its ornate, balanced, well-planned facade, reflects the Greek influence on Roman architecture. The library's marble facade rises with nine steps to 17 m height, with a width of 21 m, leading up to three front entrances. The center entrance is larger than the two flanking ones, and all are adorned with windows above them. Before the entrance wall, there are four pairs of columns on pedestals with composite capitals. The middle one of the three portals is wider and higher, and has a richly decorated frame like the other two. Above them are windows: a small one above the middle entrance, a larger one above each of the lower side entrances. The Corinthian upper floor columns are lower and thinner than those downstairs, they also stand further apart. There is only a hall of about 14.50 m by 9.50 behind this colossal facade, and there are no adjoining rooms except for an apse in the middle of the back wall. The building's other sides are irrelevant architecturally because the library was flanked by buildings. The inside of the building, not fully restored, was a single rectangular room (measuring 17x11 m) with a central apse framed by a large arch at the far wall. Celsus' tomb lay directly below in a vaulted chamber, in the main entrance which is both a crypt containing his sarcophagus and a

sepulchral monument to him. It was unusual to be buried within a library or even within city limits, so this was a special honor for Celsus.

Since no traces of stairs are to be found, the library attendants can only have reached the podium by mobile wooden steps and from this arrived on the next gallery level by ladders and through hatches. In any case we have thirty wall cabinets which housed *rotuli*, perhaps also already codices or other documents. It is pointless to speculate how many book rolls the library might have held at its best time. Since we do not know how high the upper cabinets were, how many wooden shelves they contained, and whether the rolls had to be kept in rows or heaps, the theoretically calculated number of 12.000 cannot be confirmed. It is also unclear whether the cabinets have ever been full.

Four pedestals, which were preserved and put up again on the upper floor, bore bronze statues that are also lost. According to the detailed inscriptions, they were three honorary statues of Celsus and one of Aquila. Two of them were donated by Celsus's daughter Iulia Quintilia Isaurica,³³⁸ two by her son, Celsus's grandson, Tiberius Claudius Iulianus,³³⁹ who had already become a *praetor*. Celsus Polemaeanus is honored both as a Greek and a Roman; the library itself may have had a similar dual character, recalling twin libraries of Trajan in Rome.³⁴⁰

We unfortunately do not know the annual salary of the (two or three?) librarians, or the budget for the acquisition of new books. Their annual salary must have been about 400 denarii. As the library was important, and if there was not enough money in the foundation fund, the city of Ephesos must have contributed books or money.

Another elaborate and illustrative example is the following inscription from Aphrodisias (Caria) honoring Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus³⁴¹ from Attouda, the father of the senator T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (**PhS8**).³⁴²

³³⁸ *I Eph* 5104 and 5105.

³³⁹ *I Eph* 5106.

³⁴⁰ C. P. Jones, Culture in the Careers of Eastern Senators, in: W. Eck, M. Heil (Hg.), *Senatores populi Romani. Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht*, Stuttgart 2005, 267.

³⁴¹ Zuiderhoek presumes he was an equestrian cf. Zuiderhoek, 8.

³⁴² *I Aph* 2007 12.1111.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀφροδισιέων καὶ ἡ γεροῦσία / Μᾶρ(κον) Οὐλ(πιον) Καρ(μίνιον) Κλαυδιανὸν ὑὸν Καρ(μινίου) Κλαυδιανοῦ / Ἀσίας ἀρχιερέως πάππου καὶ προπάππου συν-/ κλητικῶν τειμηθέντα ἐν πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἄνδρα Φλ(αβίας) Ἀπφίας ἀρχιερείας /⁵ Ἀσίας μητρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῆς καὶ μάμμης συνκλη/τικῶν φιλοπάτριδος θυγατρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ / Φλ(αβίου) Ἀθηναγόρου ἐπιτρόπου Σεβαστοῦ πατρὸς καὶ / πάππου καὶ προπάππου συνκλητικῶν αὐτὸν ἀρχι/ερέως τῆς Ἀσίας ὑὸν πατέρα Καρ(μινίου) Ἀθηναγόρου συν/κλητικοῦ πάππον Καρμινίων Ἀθηναγόρου καὶ / Κλαυδιανοῦ καὶ Ἀπφίας καὶ Λειβιανῆς συνκλη/τικῶν ἀργυροταμίαν τῆς Ἀσίας λογιστὴν μετὰ /¹⁰ ὑπατικούς δοθέντα τῆς Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως / ἀρχιερέα ταμίαν ἀρχινεοποιὸν ἱερέα διὰ βίου / θεᾶς Ἀφροδίτης ἣ ἀνέθηκεν χρήματα εἰς ἀρχιερ<έ>/ων ἀναθημάτων κατασκευᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἱερατι[κὸν] / χρύσειον στέφανον καὶ τῇ πόλει δὲ μυριάδας δέκα [ἦ]/¹⁵μισυ ἀναθέντα εἰς αἰώνιων ἔργων κατασκευᾶς ἀπὸ / ὧν ἤδη δέδοται εἰς μὲν τὰ θεωρητήρια τοῦ θεάτρου / (δηνάρια) μύρια καὶ τὸ ἔργον δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τῆς πλατείας ἐ/ξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μέρων ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους / ἐκ θεμελίων μέχρι γείσους εὐτυχῶς γέγονε καὶ γε/νήσεται καὶ ἐν τῷ Διογενιανῷ δὲ γυμνασίῳ ἀπὸ ἐ/²⁰τέρων ἰδίων χρημάτων τὸ ἀλιπτῆριον καὶ τὸν ἐμβασι/λικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους μετὰ τῆς / γυναικὸς Ἀπφίας σκουτλώσαντα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα πάν/τα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας οἴκοθεν / κατεσκευακότα καὶ τὰς λευκολίθους παραστά[δ]ας /²⁵ καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν εἶλημα μετὰ τῆς γλυφῆς αὐτῶν καὶ / τοὺς κείονας μετὰ τῶν βωμοσπειρῶν καὶ κεφαλῶν / κατασκευακότα καὶ τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ δὲ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἱε/ρωτάτῃ γεροῦσίᾳ ἀνατεθεικότα χρήματα εἰς αἰώνιων / κλήρων διανομᾶς καὶ ἄλλας δὲ πολλὰς πολλάκις /³⁰ διανομᾶς δεδωκότα τοῖς τε τὴν πόλιν κατοικοῦσιν / πολεΐταις καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐτέρας δὲ διανο/μᾶς δεδωκότα πολλάκις τῇ τε βουλῇ πάση καὶ τῇ γε/ροῦσίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιδόσεις πολλάκις ἐν πάντι καιρῷ πε/ποιημένον κατὰ τὴν τῆς πόλεως γνώμην πολεΐταις / τε καὶ ξένοις καὶ ἔλαια δρακτοῖς πολλάκις τεθεικότα /³⁵ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τοῦ Τιμέλου ποταμοῦ εἰσαγωγῆς / καὶ πρεσβείας δὲ πολλάκις εὐτυχῶς ἐκτετελεκότα / καὶ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ εὐεργέτην καὶ φιλόπατριν / [ἐ]ν ἰδίῳ ἔργοις ἀνέστησεν προσανατεθεικότα δὲ / [πρ]όσφατον καὶ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ ἔργον (δηνάρια) ,ε πρὸς τὸ εἶναι /⁴⁰ ἀ[ρ]χαίας μύ(ρια) ια'

He is praised as a distinguished member of an illustrious family, who donated around 110 000 denarii to Aphrodisias, his wife's hometown. He established an endowment to provide the priestly crown and votive offerings in perpetuity, gave money to the city for the seats in the theatre and a reconstruction of a street; with personal funds he built a room in the gymnasium of Diogenes, supplied sculptures and statues at his own expense as well as white-marble pillars, established an endowment for the distribution of *honoraria* to the *boule* and *gerousia*, often made donations to city inhabitants and to those living in the countryside and made other gifts on various occasions. He also carried out embassies and in the end is called εὐεργέτης and φιλόπατρις. Thanks to an inscription honoring M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus we have a detailed insight in the nature of grand benefactions.

As we have seen from these examples, the grandest benefactions were in the largest centers in the area, Ephesos and Aphrodisias. Among the evidence on private benefactions in Lydia and Phrygia, most inscriptions speak in rather vague terms mentioning benefactors but not their specific deeds. L. Servenius Cornutus (**PhS17**) is honored as εὐεργέτης in Akmoneia,³⁴³ and in Sardeis Celsus Polemaeanus (**LS9**) is styled εὐεργέτης and σωτήρ.³⁴⁴ C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus (**PhS6**) was εὐεργέτης in Ephesos³⁴⁵ and his son C. Asinius Nicomachus Iulianus (**PhS5**) εὐεργέτης and κτίστης of Blaundos.³⁴⁶ As far as I know there is only one lavish building benefaction in Lydia explicitly named in an inscription, namely, the part of the bath-gymnasium complex in Sardeis, a benefaction by Flavia Politta and Antonia Sabina.³⁴⁷ M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus (**L4**) was honored by the tanners (οἱ βυρσεῖς) and gardeners (οἱ κηπουροί) in Thyateira for his many deeds and buildings, as well as for leading many embassies to the imperial court.³⁴⁸ Perhaps he also provided

³⁴³ *MAMA* VI 262.

³⁴⁴ *I. Sardis* 45.

³⁴⁵ *IEph* 3040.

³⁴⁶ *CIG* 3866 = *IGR* IV 717.

³⁴⁷ *SEG* XXXVI 1094.

³⁴⁸ *SEG* XLVII 1656 ll.11-18: πρεσβεύσαντα πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς / αὐτοκράτορας καὶ πάντα τὰ δίκαια / τῆι πατρίδι κατορθώσαντα τὸν / λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν διὰ τε / ἀφθονίαν τροφῶν καὶ ἔργων πολ/λῶν καὶ μεγάλων κατασκευὰς κοι/νῆ τε καὶ κατὰ ἕνα εὐεργέτην / οἱ κηπουροί.

financial help to those guilds and industry. He is styled κτίστης and εὐεργέτης of his homeland by the tanners.³⁴⁹

Many other inscriptions give us an idea of the size and nature of benefactions by wealthy individuals, so we can presume that the senators acted in the same fashion. Most of them donated various religious structures, stoas, baths or gymnasia or gave contributions for festivals and money distributions to city officials and citizens.³⁵⁰ Their relatives served as civic magistrates as did their ancestors and in that way the senatorial families had an impact on everyday life in their native communities. In their native provinces senators and their families were always present through their monuments; they were praised as good patriots, and financial *euergetai*.³⁵¹ New senators also had relations with their homeland, at least during the first generation. It is interesting to note the close relations of local dignitaries of the Greek East in the Senate but further connections were severed during the second generation.³⁵²

An interest in one's place of origin as a final resting place is attested for both the Western and Eastern provinces of the empire. Most of these provincial burials, while giving due representation of the particular rank achieved by the member of the *ordo senatorius*, seem either to have followed local religious habits or, more often, to have pushed potential grand-scale self-representation to the limit. Thus the funerary monuments suggest not only that new senators did keep up strong ties with their original provinces and the religion practiced there (contrary to the restrictions about their obliged residence and landownership in Italy), but also that senators may have sought out those connections because the potential for display was greater there. Rather remarkably, some of the commemorations also share important characteristics with euergetism. The best example is the particular combination of the commemorative and euergetic aspects in the Celsus library in Ephesus, as the *heroon* dedicated in memory of the elder Polemaeanus by his son, Ti. Iulius Aquila

³⁴⁹ TAM V2 986: Μ. Γναῖον Λικίνιον / Ρουφῖνον τὸν λαμπρότατον / ὑπατικόν, φίλον τοῦ / Σεβαστοῦ, κτίστην / κ(αί) εὐεργέτην τῆς / πατρίδος / οἱ βυρσεῖς.

³⁵⁰ Zuiderhoek, op. cit., 71-112.

³⁵¹ Cf. also G. Alföldy, Örtliche Schwerpunkte der medialen Repräsentation römischer Senatoren, in: W. Eck, M. Heil (Hg.), *Senatores populi Romani. Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht*, Stuttgart 2005, 53-71

³⁵² S. Demougin, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*, Rome 1988, 644 n. 228.

Polemaeanus (**LS8**): the sarcophagus of T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (*cos.suff.* in 92) from Sardeis stood in the middle, flanked by two equestrian statues, one with a Greek commemorative inscription, the other with a Latin one, while his four main philosophical virtues, as statues, decorated the façade of the library. He selected four main virtues, σοφία,³⁵³ ἀρετή,³⁵⁴ εὐνοια³⁵⁵ and ἐπιστήμη,³⁵⁶ offering an example of the elite use of philosophical virtue language in a clearly religious perspective. Two other senators buried in their places of origin were L. Servenius Cornutus (**PhS17**) buried in a *heroon* in Akmoneia and T. Flavius Claudianus Ponticus (**PhS13**) (senator from the period of Commodus or Severi), buried in Dorylaion in Phrygia, probably also in *heroon*.³⁵⁷

4.6 Conclusion

The senatorial families living in Lydia and Phrygia were not numerous. The senators were usually away due to their military and political career and their immediate family followed. Nevertheless, their influence was evident, their connections important; relatives mention illustrious kinsmen in the inscriptions,³⁵⁸ citizens praise them and it seems they remained associated with their homeland. Ones who had gained admittance to the elite of the empire maintained their ties with their own cities and acquired ties with others who wished to have them as patrons.

The very appearance of the senatorial families in Lydia and Phrygia had a wider social significance. In a way, this feature can be seen as the definitive indication of the successful process of Romanization: a distant and comparatively isolated provincial community provides members of the Senate. From this point on, as far the ruling elite are concerned, Lydia and Phrygia were successfully and fully integrated in the Roman world.

³⁵³ *I Eph* 5108: σοφία Κέλσου.

³⁵⁴ *I Eph* 5109: ἀρετή Κέλσου.

³⁵⁵ *I Eph* 5110: εὐνοια Κέλσου.

³⁵⁶ *I Eph* 5111: ἐπιστήμη Κέλσου.

³⁵⁷ *SEG* XXVI 1373; cf. also *SEG* XXXVI 1193.

³⁵⁸ *I. Sardis 77*: ἔγγο[μ]ο]ν Ἀρουν[τί]ο]ν Ματέ[ρ]νο]ν ἀσ<ι>ἀρχ[ο]υ, υἱὸ<ν> [Ἀρουντ]ίου {μ} Ἀ[ντων]εῖνο<υ> ἱππικοῦ, πολλοῖ[σιν] συνκλητικῶν συνγενεῖ; *TAM* V2 957: Φλ. Πρεισκίλλης β' ἀρχιερείας γένους συγκλητικῶν; *SEG* XLI 1017 (Kışla, May 227 AD): ὑπ[ατικῶ]ν καὶ συνκλητ[ικῶν] συνγενεῖ.

The earliest senator, attested in Phrygia during Nero's reign, L. Servenius Cornutus, was descendant of the Galatian and Attalid royal houses on his mother's side and most probably of the Italian descent on his father's side. Although both parents were wealthy and influential (both were involved in the imperial cult) and royal ancestry was hugely important, it was the Italian descent that made Cornutus acceptable in the Senate during this early period. It seems that unions between wealthy Italian colonists or merchants and royal descendants from Asia Minor compensated what each side lacked in the first place. All senators from Lydia and Phrygia originated from Asia Minor. Marriages were an indicator and important factor of social mobility in their class. Our senators married among other illustrious senatorial families from the region. Only one attested senatorial spouse is not from Asia Minor, Claudia Regilla, probably from Athens, was the wife of M. Antonius Antius Lupus. The geographically close marriages were not uncommon among elite families as we have seen from the research of Rémy and Raepsaet-Charlier. It seems that almost 77% of attested senatorial marriages were concluded locally or regionally.³⁵⁹

What were the factors of elevation of local families into the senatorial ranks? As far as the evidence from Lydia and Phrygia is concerned, there seems to be a complex dynamics of causes at work. Ambition of the wealthy local families is one very obvious aspect but insufficient in itself. The material requirements for fulfilling the political and social role of a senator were tremendously high even by the standards of the wealthy local landowners. Only a handful of the richest families in both Lydia and Phrygia were prosperous enough to even consider the possibility of such grand social advancement. But aspirations, possessions and abilities of the local notables is only one side of the process. Far more important element is the imperial policy itself. The emperors were in the position to choose whoever they preferred from a vast pool of possible candidates from all corners of the Empire. This factor alone is enough to explain considerable fluctuations regarding the origin of the new senators. For a long time during the Early Empire, senators originating from the province of Asia, and eastern senators generally were only a minority among the *homines novi* in the Senate. This changed significantly in the later 2nd century when imperial policy began to favor the easterners. This was not only due to the personal

³⁵⁹ Rémy, op. cit, 180, especially n. 30.

desires and impulses of a particular emperor, but was largely dictated by the current circumstances and the genuine need to obtain both capable and loyal personal to fulfill the requirements of military leadership and administration.

How significant was the number of senators from Lydia and Phrygia and how does it compare to the other regions of Asia, and to the other provinces of the Empire? Judging by the Halfmann's studies there were roughly 200 senators from the eastern provinces during the first three centuries AD. Most of them originated from the province of Asia, more than 120 of them. This is not surprising considering the well known facts about the population, wealth and level of development of this province. The greatest majority of them came from great cities in the western part of the province. Only a quarter of these are from Lydia and Phrygia, 12 and 18 respectively. It was not only a sign of the level of integration of particular region into the Roman Empire, but also an indication of its comparative importance in it. However, we have to bear in mind the fragmentary nature of our evidence. Epigraphic monuments that mention senators are only a fraction of once existing inscriptions. We really cannot make any definitive assumptions about the total number of senatorial families in Lydia and Phrygia. Also, since our epigraphic sample is purely coincidental, any comparison with other areas as well as any form of statistical analysis is of only relative value. Any conclusion based on it would be necessarily hypothetical by nature.

Leaving that aside, comparison between the number of senators in Lydia and Phrygia with that of the known senators from the other eastern provinces leads to some intriguing and, perhaps, surprising conclusions. Simply, numbers that seem modest when compared with multitude of senators from province of Asia, when measured against the other eastern provinces, suddenly appear exceptionally high. For example, the Greece proper (province of Achaëa) was the homeland of 21 senators in total, significantly more than Lydia but only slightly more than Phrygia. A province of major strategic and economic importance such as Syria provided only 16 senators by the 3rd century AD, still less than the larger of the two Anatolian regions. Egypt and Cyrenaica were homelands of only 8, which is less even than what is know for Lydia. Of course, these numbers can easily lead us astray, even if assume that they represent the actual historical situation accurately.

Conjectures of the relative importance of certain regions or provinces, based on these figures, will almost certainly be wrong, even if assume that importance is assessed only from purely Roman perspective. Lydia and Phrygia were certainly not more important than, for example, Syria or Greece (as they combined numbers would suggest), no more then the province of Asia was more important for Romans then all the other eastern provinces taken together. Eastern senators themselves were only a small minority in the imperial Senate and their number does not do justice to actual significance of the eastern provinces. That said, it is still significant that these two Anatolian regions were places of origin of so many of them. If anything, we can well conclude that these regions were fully integrated into Roman Empire, with various personal connections that linked them to the capital.

As we have seen the number of known senators from Phrygia is, so far, significantly larger than those from Lydia. This, perhaps surprising disparity can be explained using the third factor we singled out earlier. Most of the Phrygian senators are attested in the 2nd century, during the reign of one particular emperor, Commodus. Thus, the policy of Commodus led to creation of several new senatorial families in Phrygia. Nevertheless, he was also responsible for the downfall and death of one Phrygian senator, M. Antonius Antius Lupus. It is significant to notice that Antius Lupus was from the illustrious family from Laodikeia on the Lykos that provided senators from two prior generations (his grandfather and father). This case confirms the reputation of Commodus as hostile towards old senatorial families.

A person entering the Senate was expected to permanently change the status of his family. The family of Antius Lupus was hardly the only one with senatorial membership encompassing several generations. As we can see from tables 1 and 2, this, so called “father-son” group, is attested 4 times in Lydia and Phrygia, mostly in the 3rd century AD: T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (**PhS8**) and his son M. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Livianus (**PhS12**) (originated from Attouda), M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus (**LS4**) and Cn. Licinius Rufinus (**LS3**) from Thyateira, C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus (**PhS6**) and C. Asinius Nicomahus Iulianus (**PhS5**) (perhaps from Blaundos) and T. Flavius Clitosthenes (**LS6**) and T. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes (**LS7**) from Tralleis. And we

could also add the family of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaenus (**LS9**), of Lydian origin, who gave 4 senators.

These are some clear examples of hereditary principle regarding senatorial families from Lydia and Phrygia. Such, in fact, was the prestige attached to the senators that kinship with them became a source of great pride, and the laudatory inscriptions of members of their families include such honors a "father of a senator" or "a consular," "mother and grandmother" or "grandfather and great-grandfather of senators," "cousin and uncle of senators and consulars." Hereditary nature of senatorial positions is a feature common to elites throughout the Empire. This point was made in an important article by Alföldy: "As to the descendants of consuls, the following rather surprising statement may be made, as far as I know not yet stated explicitly for the imperial period: the consulate was, as in the Republic, hereditary; that means, the son of a consular, in the event that he reached the requisite age, could in principle automatically count on the consulship".³⁶⁰ Afterwards, according to the most studies, the Roman senatorial order became and for a long time remained a hereditary aristocracy. The son (or sons) of a senator had not only the right, but also the obligation to follow in his father's footsteps into the Senate, provided he had at least the legally prescribed wealth. The exalted social status of the father resulted not only in the son's promotion to the office, but also in the speed with which he rose. It seems that the sons of suffect consuls achieved the office approximately five to ten years later than the sons of ordinarii.³⁶¹

A question why there weren't more provincial senatorial families that lasted more than two or three generations still remains. Hopkins argued that politically successful fathers may have been unable to launch their son or sons into politics and in that way success might not secure succession. But one could also argue that the reduction of social inheritance among consular families to the father-son relationship causes a serious misrepresentation of the social realities. Some authors consider that Hopkins' suggestion that particularly the sons of consuls who came from provincial families will have

³⁶⁰ G. Alföldy, Consuls and consulars under the Antonines, *Ancient Society* 7 (1976), 288-9.

³⁶¹ J. Hahn, P. M. M. Leunissen, Statistical Method and Inheritance of the Consulate under the Early Roman Empire, *Phoenix* 44-1 (1990), 68.

withdrawn from political life is especially implausible.³⁶² It is possible that the expectations of their fellow hometown citizens would have fallen heavily on their shoulders - to remain at Rome, to build up and also try to use their political connections in the service of their *patriae* as *patroni*. It is hardly imaginable that the political ambitions of newly prominent provincial families would have been satisfied after the success of just one generation. One should have in mind that the generations of fathers and grandfathers of the old senatorial families from Italy can be traced back through considerably better attested chronological data. The situation was probably somewhat different for newly risen families of provincial origin. The possible family histories in Rome of those who only recently became consulars, as regards statistics, still reside in prosopographic obscurity.

Surviving evidence allows for some conclusions about the significance of their ancestral towns and regions for these families. It is beyond doubt that initial wealth of Lydian and Phrygian senators was entirely local, most probably (although direct evidence for the most cases is lacking) in form of the large estates. Few examples that we have, testify that their political and social influence developed gradually and naturally from within very local boundaries to the wider provincial level and then, for those who were fortunate enough, to the level of entire Empire. Did their place of origin preserve any significance for these men, after they entered the ranks of senatorial elite? It needs to be remembered that careers in imperial service invariably led them not only to Rome and Italy but also to every other corner of the Empire. It was also expected of senators (and, from the time of Trajan, obligatory for them) to settle in Italy and thus to transfer a significant part of their assets to Rome or Italy.

In spite of these reservations, the answer to this question seems to be overwhelmingly positive. The connections between senators and their Anatolian homeland remained important both for senators and the local communities, as we can see from the continual benefactions and honors offered in return. The reasons for preservation of these connections are not explicitly stated anywhere in existing sources, but it can be assumed with reasonable degree of certainty. Firstly, most of them must have remained in possession

³⁶² J. Hahn, P. M. M. Leunissen, *Statistical Method and Inheritance*, 79-80; cf. K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, Cambridge 1983, 196.

of substantial possessions and sources of income in their places of origin, even if they invested heavily in Italian land. Secondly, even as senators, they drew a significant power from the very fact that they still had a measure of public and political influence in the province and the regions from whence they came. As third point we ought to mention sheer public prestige, never an insignificant factor for the ruling aristocracies in the Graeco-Roman world. Finally, one should not rule out more human, emotional factors such as the sentimental connection these people might have felt towards the places where they were born and raised.

But connections with their *origo* are commonplace for the most provincial senators. Are there any features that would single out senators of Anatolian origin among their peers? Based on the available evidence the answer would be a confident “no”. It is almost striking how typical and unremarkable their careers were, without so much a trace of any particular “Lydian” or “Phrygian” characteristic. They followed the usual *cursus honorum*, sought imperial patronage and support and, once enrolled in Senate, performed any duty required of them. Their family members fit dutifully into the same Roman mold, diligently supporting their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons in their role of the elite members of Roman society. At least in their outward, public aspect these people became Romans to a degree unconvicted of by their fellow-countrymen. However, it would be a mistake to assume that the picture presented by the evidence we have (i.e. public inscriptions) is the whole truth. Through media of public inscriptions we perceive the members of senatorial elite *exactly as they wanted to be perceived*, but hardly as they truly were. Above all, they wanted to be seen as rightful and typical members of the senatorial order. In this respect, too much emphasis on their distinctiveness and local tradition and features was undesirable and was to be avoided in official Roman context. Once again, the nature (as well as quantity) of preserved sources set limits to what we can actually learn.

Still, if any inhabitants of the imperial Lydian and Phrygia can be described as fully “romanized” they are the members of senatorial and equestrian families. Even during the Antonine Empire, when aptitude for all things Greek flourished, accepting a number of distinctly Roman features was a requisite for the highest members of ruling class in the eastern provinces. Once taken to be the indisputable aspect of the Roman culture and

imperial policy, romanization is nowadays treated as a highly problematic concept and debates about its validity and proper usage are frequent. But, setting this endless debate aside, and accepting a more focused and manageable definition of “romanization”, for example the one which treats this phenomenon simply as a degree of successful integration into the Roman Empire, we can still speak of “romanization” of, at least, the upper stratum of society in Roman Lydian and Phrygia. Indeed, by any criteria or aspect we choose to judge, the romanization fades as we descend down the social ladder. Only senators and equestrians were romanized in any real sense and only among them we may assume any widespread usage of Latin language. Apart from the descendants of the Roman colonists in the East, this cannot be inferred even for the members of municipal elite, let alone for the social groups of a more humble status.

5. PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL ELITE

Only a very small fraction of elite families in Roman Anatolia achieved senatorial rank. But even the smallest community with the status of *polis* had a number of families who were separated from the rest of population by their wealth, their social status and their role in public affairs. Although there is no evidence that ordinary citizens were formally banned from occupying higher public offices or, indeed, being member of the local councils, only the members of wealthiest families are actually recorded doing so in the first three centuries AD. For every intent and purpose, the urban communities of imperial Lydia and Phrygia were governed by these narrow elites.

Fabulously rich by the standards of the mass of urban population, most of these families could not realistically hope ever to obtain senatorial rank. This is not to say that the majority of them were satisfied with strictly local ambitions. As the following pages will show, they too made considerable efforts to be seen and accepted as a part of larger Roman world. By the 2nd century AD most of these families acquired Roman citizenship. They sought and built connections on the local, provincial and, if possible, imperial level. They acted as emissaries of their cities in the provincial bodies, and as envoys before representatives of Rome (and sometimes before the emperor himself). And, while senatorial rank always remained the ultimate goal of personal aspirations, many could satisfy their ambition by entering imperial service and, in time, becoming members of equestrian order.

5.1 Equestrian order

When the equestrian order is mentioned in an inscription, it is usually an indication of a rank bestowed by the Emperor. The equestrian order never constituted one united political formation, and its political interventions are rarely unanimous, but it was one of the fundamental structures in civil, social and political hierarchy. There should be a clear distinction between the equestrians in a proper military sense during the Roman Republic (and later) and *ordo* as a social structure, the individuals who had enough money to qualify for that status in the Roman Empire. Since the time of Augustus the equestrian order seems to be of heterogenic structure with internal stratification and contrasts, but it was also the factor for dynamic rejuvenation of elites, thus reinforcing its place in the social system.³⁶³ It was argued that there were many knights who, although lacking the *equus publicus*,³⁶⁴ nevertheless had a legitimate claim to equestrian title on the simple grounds that they possessed the equestrian census and were of citizen status and descent.³⁶⁵ That would mean that *homines equestri censu* were given an official position of honor and a measure of political influence but probably not the right to a public horse.³⁶⁶

The majority of equestrian promotions seem to have been honorific and brought an enlargement of the privileged classes where future administrators might be recruited as both senators and equestrians could transform their official position into social prestige and pass this on to their successors.³⁶⁷

For the military equestrians Devijver presented the pyramid of *militiae equestres*, which was the rule in the middle of the second century³⁶⁸:

³⁶³ S. Demougin, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*, Rome, 1988, 857.

³⁶⁴ The term *equus publicus* or in Greek, ἵππος δημόσιος, is not frequently attested in Asia Minor: *IEph* 3048 (Ephesos, 123/148 AD), *IK Prusias ad Hypium* 54, Bosch, *Quellen Ankara* no. 158 (Ankyra, 155 AD), *IGR* III 778 (Attaleia, 138 AD), *SEG* XVII 584 (Attaleia, 2nd century AD) and only once in Phrygia, in Aizanoi *SEG* LII 1251: ἵππικός Ῥωμαίων ἵππῳ δημοσίῳ.

³⁶⁵ R. Duncan-Jones, Equestrian Rank in the Cities of the African Provinces under the Principate: An Epigraphic Survey, *PBSR* 35 (1969), 149.

³⁶⁶ Cf. T. P. Wiseman, The Definition of "Equus Romanus" in the Late Republic and Early Empire, *Historia* 19-1 (1970), 67-83; cf. also M. I. Henderson, The Establishment of the Equester Ordo, *JRS* 53 (1963), 61-72.

³⁶⁷ W. Eck, The growth of administrative posts, *CAH* XI (2000), 264.

³⁶⁸ H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Stuttgart 1992, 67.

Militia I: praefectus cohortis quingenariae/tribunus cohortis voluntariorum – about 300 posts.

Militia II: tribunus militum legionis augusticlavius/tribunus cohortis milliariae – about 190 posts.

Militia III: praefectus alae quingenariae – about 90 posts.

Militia IV: praefectus alae milliariae – about 9 posts.

We can say that only few equestrians could be promoted in the four *militiae* system. Proportion of *procuratores* originated from Asia Minor rose in the period of Vespasian and Trajan for 12%, and that trend continued from Hadrian to Commodus.³⁶⁹ On the other hand, Hadrian also created a possibility of the civil (non-military) equestrian career by introducing the office of *advocatus fisci* to many. As we can see in tables 3 and 4,³⁷⁰ most (more than a half) of attested equestrians from Lydia and Phrygia are from the 3rd century, with only three equestrians being securely from the 1st century AD.

Discussing an equestrian from Sagalossos in Pisidia, H. Devijver outlined three preconditions for the membership in the new aristocracy: wealth (*facultates*); education in the Greek liberal arts (*paideia*); and munificence within the framework of the *polis* (*euergesia*). As previously said, the minimum requirement was 400000 sesterces for the equestrian order– with all applications to be registered in Rome and subject at all time to review by the emperor. The second condition, that one had to be Hellenized before becoming Romanized, implies a far deeper cultural significance than the possession of mere wealth. Nevertheless it was the wealth that best assured the privilege of a good education and best predispositions. But, it was *paideia*, with the sense of identity that made possible belief in and loyalty to the empire.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ E. Frézouls, La mobilité sociale dans l'Asie Mineure romain, in E. Frézouls (ed.), *La mobilité sociale dans le monde romain*, Strasbourg 1992, 242.

³⁷⁰ Although I have to stress that tables 3 and 4 consist only of those whose position, title and equestrian status are specifically stated in the inscriptions. We have to note that a very limited number of the known provincial high-priests of Asia are known to have belonged to the equestrian order, cf. S. Demougin, L'ordre équestre en Asie Mineure, 579-612. On the other hand, if we consider Zuiderhoek's assumption that almost all *asiarchs* and *archereis Asias* are of the equestrian status we should also take table 5 and 6 into the account.

³⁷¹ H. Devijver, Local elite, equestrians and senators: a social history of Roman Sagalossos, *Ancient Society* 27 (1996), 105-162, esp. 105-107.

The earliest attested equestrian is from Phrygia, L. Antonius Zeno (**PhE 6** and **PhAA 7**) from Laodikeia on the Lykos. He was a member of a Laodikeian elite family to which also the famous sophist M. Antonius Polemon (first half of the 2nd century AD) belonged. The family descended from the rhetor Zenon, probably the great-grandfather of the honorand.³⁷² As Strabo inform us, when the Parthian army in 40 BC, led by the rebel Roman general Labienus attacked Laodikeia, the defence was organized by Zenon and his son Polemo.³⁷³ As a reward for his courageous deeds,³⁷⁴ the following year Polemo was established as tetrarch in parts of Lycaonia and Rough Cilicia; in 37 or 36 BC he was transferred to the kingship of Pontus. The family also received Roman citizenship from Marcus Antonius.

L. Antonius Zeno is attested in two inscriptions from Phrygia. In one from Antonia Salbake he is designated as a military tribune of *legio XII Fulminata* in Syria awarded the “royal purple” (βασιλική πορφυραφορία), an unprecedented symbolic honor awarded by Augustus, either because of his kinship with Pontic dynasty or in his capacity of a provincial high-priest of the emperor cult:³⁷⁵

Λούκιον Ἀντώνιον Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Πολέμωνος υἱὸν Ζήνωνα μ[έ]γαν ἀριστῆ,
 χιλιαρχήσαντα λεγιῶ[ν]ος ἰβ΄ Κεραυνοφόρου, τετειμ[η]μένον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν
 ἐνφαν[ε]σ[τάτου] Σεβαστοῦ βασιλικῆ δια τῆς / οἰκουμένης πορφυραφορία καὶ /
 ἀρχιερατεύσαντα Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἐν / τῇ Ἀσίᾳ / τὴν ἀνάστασιν
 ποιησαμέν[ων] / Ἀττάλου καὶ Τατασ τῶν Ἑρμι[ο]γένους τέκνων ἐκ διαθήκης Ἑρμογένους
 Ἀττάλου / πατρὸς ἰδίου διὰ τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἑαυτοῦς εὐεργεσία[ς]

He subsequently returned to Asia, became *archiereus Asias* during Tiberius’ reign and is attested as eponymous priest of Laodikeia on the coins from the period of Claudius-

³⁷² cf. family stemma on the next page.

³⁷³ Strabo 14.2.24: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι μεθ’ ὀπλων ἐπιόντι καὶ Παρθικῆς συμμαχίας, ἤδη τῶν Παρθυαίων τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐχόντων, εἶξαν ἅτε ἄοπλοι καὶ εἰρηνικοί: Ζήνων δ’ ὁ Λαοδικεὺς καὶ Ὑβρέας οὐκ εἶξαν, ἀμφοτέρω ῥήτορες, ἀλλὰ ἀπέστησαν τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις.

³⁷⁴ Strabo 12.8.16: Ζήνων δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ ὕστερον καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Πολέμων, ὃς καὶ βασιλείας ἠξιώθη διὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου μὲν πρότερον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δὲ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα.

³⁷⁵ SEG XXXVII 855 (Apollonia Salbake).

Nero.³⁷⁶ He was the first with this characteristic career pattern: single equestrian *militia*, followed by provincial high priesthood and various civic duties. He was, undoubtedly, a very influential person with family connections all over Asia Minor. According to two fragmentary inscriptions and possible reconstructions, L. Antonius Zenon (**PhE 6** and **PhAA 7**) was also honored in the Pontic city of Amisus³⁷⁷ and even beyond Bosphorus, at Pontic Apollonia. It was probably the same individual who made a dedication for the health and safety of his cousin Pythodoris and her husband king Rhoemetalces.³⁷⁸

One other possible attestation of our L. Antonius Zenon could be a fragmentary honorary inscription for Antonia (**PhAA 6**), from Laodikeia on the Lykos.³⁷⁹

— — — / [Αν]τωνίαν Λ. Αγ[τωνίου / Ζή]νωνος μεγ[ίστου ἀρχ/ιερ]έως μὲν τῆς [Ἀσίας, ἱερ/έως] δὲ τῆς Πόλε[ως — — — / γυ]μνασιάρχου — — — γυναι(?)κα] ἀρίστην, νε[ωκόρον καὶ / ἀρ]χιέρειαν τῆ[ς Ἀσίας καὶ / ἰέ]ρειαν τῆ[ς — — — / —]. γυμν[ασιαρχ—
— — / — — —

As Corsten pointed out, the father of Antonia, highpriestess of Asia, is named as L. Antonius Zenon (**PhAA 7**), *archierus Asias* himself and the name of her husband is lost. He could very well be our first documented equestrian. However, another L. Antonius Zenon is attested as *prophetes* in Laodikeia and Klaros in 141/142 AD.³⁸⁰ He could have later assumed the position of *archiereus* of Asia and may also be the father of aforementioned Antonia.

His younger contemporary from Eumeneia, C. Iulius Cleon (**PhE 15** and **PhAA 28**) had a similar path. He was a descendant of an old family from Eumeneia; his father and mother, Epigonos as *philopatris* and Castoris as *soteira*, struck a small series of coins

³⁷⁶ *MAMA* VI 104 (Herakleia Salbake); *RPC* I 2912-2916; *RPC* I 2928;

³⁷⁷ *IGR* III 1436 as restored in С. Ю. Сапрыкин, Из истории Понтийского царства Полемонидов, *ВДИ* 1993/2, 25-6.

³⁷⁸ *IGBulg* I² 399 supplemented by Сапрыкин, 33: [Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Ἱητρ[ῶι / ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς Ῥοιμ[η/ταλκου] βασι[λέ]ως Κοτ[υ]νος κα[ὶ / βασιλ]έως Ῥο[ι/μητα]λκου υἱ[ω/νοῦ κα]ὶ Πυθο[ιδω/ρίδος β]ασιλέω[ς / Ῥοιμητ]αλκου / βασιλέ[ω]ς Πολ[έ]μωνος δ]ὲ θυγατ[ρι/δῆς ὑγ]ίας καὶ σ[ω/τηρία]ς εὐξάμ[ε/νος Λ]οῦκιος Ἄ[ντ]ώ/νιος Ζ]ήνων.

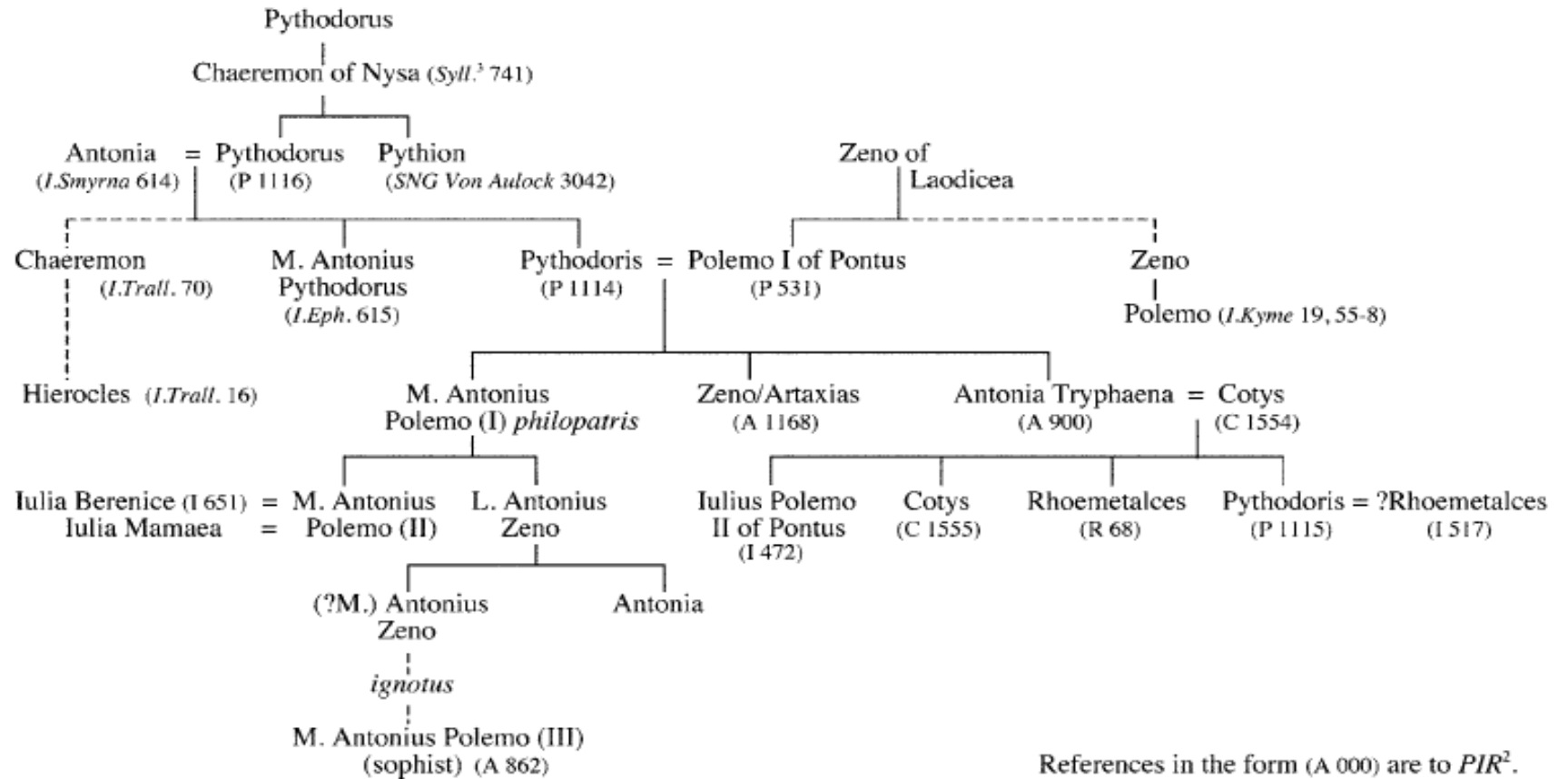
³⁷⁹ *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 53.

³⁸⁰ *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 67 and L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos*, 300 no. 8.

during the reign of Augustus.³⁸¹ Cleon was a military tribune of *legio VI Ferrata*, also in Syria, and held the high-priesthood of Asia along with his wife in the early years of Nero's reign. A bronze coin series at Eumeneia was struck, once more in the names of both husband and wife, commemorating the event.³⁸²

³⁸¹ *RPC* I 3142 (Epigonos) and *RPC* I 3143 (Castoris), cf. also honorific inscription at Eumeneia for Epigonos in *IGR* IV 741 (Ramsay, *Cities and bishoprics* 377, no. 199): ὁ δῆμος / Ἐπίγονον Μενεκράτους / Φιλόπατρι, τὸν ἱερέα τῆς / Ῥώμης, σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην / διὰ προγόνων.

³⁸² Iulius Cleon (*RPC* I 3149–50) and Bassa daughter of Cleon (*RPC* I 3151–2); his full name is known from *IEph* 688: Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Ἐπιγόνου υἱὸν Φαβία / Κλέωνα τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ἀσίας / χειλίαρχον λεγιῶνος ζ΄ σιδηρᾶς / Ἀλέξανδρος Μενάνδρου Εὐμενεὺς ὁ καὶ Ἐφέσιος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον; cf. also *SEG* XXVI 1244, after H. Engelmann, C. Iulius Kleon aus Eumeneia, *ZPE* 20 (1976), 86 who made the connection between the inscription and the coinage.



The Antonii from Laodikeia on the Lykos
 (the family *stemma* taken from P. Thonemann, *A Meander Valley. A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*,
 Cambridge 2011, 207)

The majority of equestrian families came to wealth through agricultural property (almost normality among this *ordo*) but most of our evidence comes from literary examples, since epigraphic evidence is generally unhelpful in this matter. On the other hand, epigraphic evidences for local euergetism, in inscriptions both by and in honor of the benefactors (most, but not all, involved in local public life) are abundant, and they enable a discussion on the possible reasons for their readiness to undertake this form of public generosity. Some members of equestrian families were honored by professional associations allowing thus for the possibility that some of them were engaged in the city's production industry through their representatives. The elite members of a Roman city were inevitably resident in the towns for at least a part of the year. A variety of social ties involved them in contact with the commercially active population.

Numerous relations of equestrians with local aristocracy are frequently attested, as they were part of the same social circle. They created the social circle of municipal aristocracy and the lower echelons of equestrians. Not all local aristocrats were admitted into *equites*. Municipal equestrians (*equites municipales*) formed a compact group. They had very active connections with their homeland, looking after their regional interests. They were close to their compatriots and defended their interests; the affections towards the cities took diverse forms: personal benefactions to their fellow citizens, performance of civil duties as magistrates, euergetism, and patronage.³⁸³

The usual equestrian designation in the inscriptions is *ἵππικός*,³⁸⁴ or *ἵππικός ῥωμαῖος*,³⁸⁵ probably stating only the social status of the individual. From the mid-second century AD onwards *ὁ κρᾶτιστος* or *vir egregius* in the inscriptions became a standard term for middle ranking equestrian officials.³⁸⁶ Eck implies that this title was given only to those who had taken on equestrian duties after service as an officer in the army and not to

³⁸³ Demougin, *L'ordre équestre*, 685.

³⁸⁴ *TAM* V2 915, 950-954, 957, 985; 1181 (Thyateira); *SEG* XLVII 1656 (Thyateira); *I. Sardis* 76; 77; *IGR* IV 615 (Temenothyrai, Phrygia), 883 (around Themisonium, Phrygia); *MAMA* VI 378 (Synnada).

³⁸⁵ *MAMA* IX P246 (Tiberiopolis, Phrygia); *IK Tralleis* 51.

³⁸⁶ F. Millar, *The Greek East and the Roman Law: The Dossier of M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus*, *JRS* 89 (1999), 94.

all those who belonged to the *ordo equester*.³⁸⁷ The term appears several times³⁸⁸ in our provinces and on six occasions³⁸⁹ the inscriptions mention imperial procurators, T. Ant. Cl. Alfenus Arignotus,³⁹⁰ Tib. Claudius Zoilos,³⁹¹ Aurelius Faustinus,³⁹² Aelius Aglaos (*procurator provinciae agens vice proconsulis*) and Aurelius Marcianus (*procurator Augustorum officii*) in a petition to the Emperors³⁹³ and M. Aurelius Artemon from Philadelphia, once the *advocatus fisci Alexandreae et totius Aegypti et Libyae Marmaricae*.³⁹⁴ This expression also appears in the inscriptions about three equestrians and future senators, M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus from Thyateira³⁹⁵ and C. Iulius Philippus³⁹⁶ and T. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes³⁹⁷ from Tralleis. An asiarch from mid-3rd century, Domitius Rufus (**LAA 34**) from Philadelphia, son of an asiarch, was also styled a *vir egregius*.³⁹⁸ Nevertheless, two inscriptions from Phrygia³⁹⁹ cite this title for both men and women (married couples, Statilius Critonianus (**PhE 21**) and Aelia Larcina (**PhE 1**) and Aurelius Elpidephoros (**PhE 9**) and Claudia Septimia Nikarete (**PhE 11**)) without mentioning any official duty. Of course, we should not expect every inscription to provide the complete overview of a public career. Limitations of physical monument, type of document, context or other considerations we might not be aware of, may pose restrictions on what can be said in an inscription. In other words, the fact that no official title is mentioned in those particular inscriptions has no special significance.

³⁸⁷ W. Eck, *CAH XI* (2000), 262; G. Alföldy, Die Ritter in der Führungsschicht des Imperium Romanum, *Chiron* 11 (1981), 190-191; cf. A. Arjava, Zum Gebrauch der griechischen Rangprädikate des Senatorenstandes in den Papyri und Inschriften, *Tyche* 6 (1991), 31-34.

³⁸⁸ *TAM V2* 935 (Thyateira); *TAM V 3* 1418, 1422, 1498-1499 (Philadelphia); *I. Sardis* 60; *IK Tralleis* 54, 82; *IK Tralleis* 141; *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 51; *MAMA IV* 65 (Synnada), *MAMA VI* 378 (Synnada).

³⁸⁹ *TAM V2* 935, *TAM V 3* 1418, 1498-1499, *I. Sardis* 60.

³⁹⁰ *PME A* 132.

³⁹¹ *PIR² C* 1056.

³⁹² *MAMA VI* 378.

³⁹³ *TAM V 3* 1418.

³⁹⁴ *TAM V 3* 1498-1499.

³⁹⁵ *IG X 2*(1), 142 (Thessalonica).

³⁹⁶ *IK Tralleis* 54.

³⁹⁷ *IK Tralleis* 82.

³⁹⁸ *TAM V 3* 1422.

³⁹⁹ *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 51: Αἰλ(ίαν) Λαρκίαν Δ[— — —] / τὴν κρατίστη[ν γυναῖκα] / τοῦ κρατίστου Στα[υλίου] / Κριτωνιανοῦ, Γ(άιος) Ἰούλι[ος] / Πατέρκλος βουλευ[τῆς] / ἱερονεΐκης παράδο[ξος] / τὴν εὐεργέτιν τῆς [πα.]τρίδος;

MAMA IV 65 (Synnada): ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / τὴν κρατίστην / Κλ. Σεπτιμίαν / Νικαρέτην / γυναῖκα Αὐρ. / Ἐλπιδηφόρου / τοῦ κρατίστου / Αὐρ. Εὐάγρου / Εὐάγρου / πρῶτος ἄρχων / τὸ δεῦτερον / ἀρετῆς καὶ / σωφοσύνης / ἔνεκα.

5.2 Military careers

Several equestrians mentioned in Lydia and Phrygia were military equestrians in the proper sense. Some of them were connected with their homeland and some were detached and served throughout the Empire.

T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus (**LE 2**) from Thyateira performed priestly duties for Apollo Tyrimnos in his hometown, and he was also *praefectus cohortis II Flaviae Numidarum* in Dacia, *praepositus cohortis II Flaviae Bessorum* in Dacia Inferior, *tribunus cohortis I Cilicum* and *praepositus cohortis I Gaetulorum* in Moesia Inferior, *praefectus alae II Flaviae Agrippianae* in Syria and νεωκόρος τῆς λαμπροτάτης Κυζικηνῶν μητροπόλεως,⁴⁰⁰ *procurator Augusti arcae Livianae* and νεωκόρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.⁴⁰¹ In the honorific inscription erected by the dyers of Thyateira, Arignotus is styled as a relative of senators, son and grandson of ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀσίας and a nephew of Alfenus Apollinaris, a *censibus Augusti*. It was previously suggested that Alfenus Apollinaris was also the prefect of Egypt in 199/200 AD, but that suggestion was later refuted.⁴⁰² Nevertheless, it seems that he is attested in a graffiti inscription from a tomb in Thebes, Egypt, together with his brother, (Alfenus) Modestus: Ἀπολλί/ναρις Ἀλφί/νος Θυ/αθειρη/νὸς ἐμν(ήσθη) / Μόδεστος / ἀδελφός.⁴⁰³ There is a possibility that this Modestos was Alfinus Modestos, *strategos* in Kyzikos and father of our Arignotus, himself designated in TAM V2 935 as νεωκόρος τῆς λαμπροτάτης Κυζικηνῶν μητροπόλεως.⁴⁰⁴

L. Egnatius L. f. Quartus (**PhE 14**) from Akmoneia was *praefectus cohortis II Claudiae* and *curator alae Augustae Geminae* in Cappadocia, *tribunus militum legionis VIII Augustae* in Germania Superior and *praefectus equitum alae Augustae* (in Britannia or Syria). According to Halfmann, he could have been of Italian origin, a descendant of

⁴⁰⁰ TAM V2 935.

⁴⁰¹ TAM V2 913.

⁴⁰² H. –G. Pflaum, *Carrières I*, 576 no. 218 bis; *contra* P. A. Brunt, *The Administrators of Roman Egypt*, *JRS* 65 (1975), 142 and G. Bastianini, *Lista dei prefetti d’Egitto del 30^a al 299^p*, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 304.

⁴⁰³ *IGSyringes* 1544.

⁴⁰⁴ L. Robert, *Etudes Anatoliennes*, 125-127.

Roman *negotiatores* in Akmoneia.⁴⁰⁵ His *cursus honorum* is the same in all three honorific inscriptions, one from Akmoneia and two from Temenothyrai.⁴⁰⁶ Nevertheless, we should note the suggestion of editors of *MAMA* VI that these two inscriptions have to be from Akmoneia as well.⁴⁰⁷ In Akmoneia he was honored by the *boule* and *demos*. In Temenothyrai (or Akmoneia) he was honored by the whole body of the city:⁴⁰⁸

ἀγαθῆ τύχη / κατὰ ψήψισμα⁴⁰⁹ πάνδη/μον ἢ βουλῆ καὶ δῆ/μος καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ / φ[υλὴ Ἄρτε]μεισιάς ἐτεί/μ[ησαν Λού]κιον Ἐγνάτι/ο[ν Λ. υἱ]ὸν Τηρητεῖνα Κού/αρ[τον ἔ]παρχον σπείρης / β´ [Κλ(αυδίας) Γορ]διανῆς ἐπιμε/λη[τήν] εἰλῆς Σεβαστῆς / Διδύμου, χειλίαρχον λε/γιῶνος ἡ´ Ἀύγούστης, ἔπ/αρχον εἰλῆς [Ἀύγού]στης / κτίστην καὶ εὐεργέτην / τῆς π[ατρίδος].

He was also honored as εὐεργέτης by the association of fullers in the same town.⁴¹⁰

In his funerary inscription⁴¹¹ Ser. Calpurnius Iulianus (**LE 10**) is described as *tribunus militum*, *stephanephoros*, *strategos*, and *agoranomos* and has discharged all the other services and offices in his native city of Magnesia on the Sipylon (?):⁴¹²

Σέρ(βιος) Καλπούρνιος Ἰουλιανός, / δις χειλίαρχος, στεφανηφό/ρος, στρατηγ[ό]ς, ἀγορανόμος, / ἐ<πι>τετελεκῶς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς / λειτουργίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας πά/σας τῆ πατρίδι ...

M. Aurelius Bassus (**LE 6**) from Thyateira was a ἵππικός ἀπὸ χειλιαρχιῶν,⁴¹³ more precisely, a military tribune of *legio II Italica*. This legion was established during the

⁴⁰⁵ H. Halfmann, Ursprünge bei Rittern und Senatoren aus Kleinasien, in: G. Urso (ed.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Indigeni, Greci e Romani in Asia Minore*, Cividale del Friuli, 28-30 settembre 2006, Pisa 2007, 177.

⁴⁰⁶ *SEG* LVI 1492 (Akmoneia); *SEG* VI 167 and *IGR* IV 642 (*SEG* VI 174; both Temenothyrai in *SEG*); cf. also *PME* E 3.

⁴⁰⁷ *MAMA* VI List p. 149, n. after nos. 166 and 167.

⁴⁰⁸ *IGR* IV 642 (*MAMA* VI List p. 149, no. 166).

⁴⁰⁹ Α ψήψισμα, probably a misspelled word, is published in *IGR* IV 642 and every edition since, without any further commentary.

⁴¹⁰ *SEG* VI 167.

⁴¹¹ *TAM* V2 1409 (Moschakome, Lydia).

⁴¹² Cf. *PME* C 57.

⁴¹³ *TAM* V2 985.

reign of Marcus Aurelius in the wake of Marcomanic wars and was stationed in Lauriacum in Noricum from the reign of Commodus.⁴¹⁴ Bassus was also a Θυατειρηνῶν βουλευτής.⁴¹⁵ He dedicated one inscription to a more famous Thyateiran, jurist and senator M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus, honoring him as his personal benefactor.⁴¹⁶ It is interesting to note that at one time Licinius Rufinus was a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Noricum and, as such, in command of *legio II Italica* where Bassus was a *tribunus militum*.

An interesting bilingual funerary inscription (2nd century AD) from the area of Aizanoi in Phrygia present another equestrian, L. Mamius Fabius Largus (**PhE 20**), *equus Romanus equo publico* (ἵππικός Ῥωμαῖον ἵππῳ δημοσίῳ), performing the duties of a *scriba quaestoris*. Since the name of deceased is unprecedented in Aizanoi it is possible that he may have only passed by on an official business and died suddenly there.⁴¹⁷

Some military equestrians, such as Aelius Stratonikos (**PhE 3**) from Dorylaion (second half of the 2nd century), was designated as ἀπὸ ἵππικῶν στρατειῶν (*militiae*). He was ἀρχιερέυς Ἀσίας in Pergamon, *epistates* in his hometown and stephanephoros:⁴¹⁸

ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ / Αἴλιον Στρατόνε[ι]/κον, ἀπὸ ἵππικῶν / στρατειῶν, καὶ ἀρχιε/ρέα Ἀσίας ναῶν
τῶν / ἐν Περγάμῳ, ἐπιστά/την τῆς πόλεως κα[ι] / στεφανηφόρον / φύλη Σεραπιᾶς /
ἐκδικουῶντος Κορν[η]/λίου Ἀθηναίου, γραμμα/τεύοντος Αὐρ. Ζωτικοῦ Ἀπᾶ

⁴¹⁴ Ritterling, *RE* XII col. 1468-1470.

⁴¹⁵ *TAM* V2 1181 = *Ieph* 243.

⁴¹⁶ *TAM* V2 985: Μ. Γν. Λικίνι[ον Ῥο]υφεῖ/νον, τὸν λαμπρότα/τον ὑπατικόν, Μ. Αὐρ. / Βάσσοις ἵππικός ἀπὸ / χειλιαρχιῶν τὸν ἕαν/τοῦ εὐεργέτην.

⁴¹⁷ C. Lehmler, M. Wörrle, Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi III: Aizanitica Minora I, *Chiron* 32 (2002), 573 no. 2 = *SEG* LII 1251.

⁴¹⁸ *MAMA* V Lists I, 181, no. 33 (= *IGR* IV 525).

5.3 Archiereus Asias / Asiarchs

One way to observe equestrians is as a part of the provincial elite. And one of the distinguished features of this elite is the high-priesthood of the imperial cult in the province of Asia. Many aspects of the Imperial cult have been thoroughly studied in the past few years.⁴¹⁹ The social and religious significance of this imperial cult for the populace can easily be underestimated partially as the result of the imposition of modern viewpoints and assumptions onto ancient evidence. But modern distinctions between politics and religion do not fit the ancient context, where the social, religious, economic and political spheres were intricately inter-connected and often inseparable.

The question regarding the role and function of *archiereus Asias* and asiarchs was much debated since the second half of the 19th century⁴²⁰ and it seems that in some points there is still no definitive answer. As far as we know the *archiereus Asias* performed the duties of high priest of the Emperor's cult in the province of Asia.⁴²¹ Should we identify asiarch with this title? Some scholars argue that these two titles designated two different offices: two titles for two distinct positions. Others assume that they were virtually synonymous and referred to the same office: two titles for one position. Magie, for example, reports on earlier studies stating that most contemporary scholars believe this term was either an alternative designation, used less formally, for the *archiereus Asias* ("the

⁴¹⁹ B. Burrell, *Neokoroi. Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*, Leiden-Boston 2004, 275-330; S. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*, Leiden 1993, 7-28; A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration*, London 1993, 180-185; Magie, *Roman Rule I*, 446-450, 500-501, 594-595; S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1987, 53-132; id., *Gods and Emperors: Greek Language of Roman Imperial Cult*, *JHS* 104 (1984), 79-95.

⁴²⁰ J. Marquardt, *EE* 1 (1872), 210ff; *LBW* III, 244-246 no. 885; W. M. Ramsey, *The Province of Asia, Classical Review* Vol. 3, No 4 (1889), 175: "The Asiarch who presided at the games also bore the title of Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας. This once disputed point is now probably universally accepted".

⁴²¹ J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Munich, 1965; M. Rossner, *Asiarchen und Archiereis Asias*, *Studia Classica* 16 (1974) 101-142; S. J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros. Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*, Leiden, 1993; M. D. Campanile, *I sacerdoti del Koinon d'Asia*, Pisa, 1994. (non vidi); M. D. Campanile, *Asiarchi a archiereis d'Asia : titolatura, condizione giuridica a posizione sociale dei supremi dignitari del culto imperiale*, dans G. Labarre (éd.), *Les cultes locaux dans les mondes grec et romain*, Actes du colloque de Lyon, 7-8 juin 2001, Lyon, 2004, 67-79; M. D. Campanile, *Sommi sacerdoti, asiarchi e culto imperiale : un aggiornamento*, *Studi Ellenistici* 19 (2006), 523-584; cf. also G. Frija, *Les Prêtres des empereurs. Le culte impérial civique dans la province romaine d'Asie*, Rennes, 2012 (non vidi) and her web-site <http://www.pretres-civiques.org/> (last accessed September 2014).

Chief Priest of the province”) or a distinct title held by the official who presided over and bore the cost of the provincial festival, and gave his opinion based on the sources that these two offices were not identical.⁴²² Robert discusses *archiereis* and *asiarchs* only as being in charge of gladiatorial games and does not make any difference between these terms.⁴²³ In his study on the provincial *koina* in the Roman Empire Deininger elaborately argued his opinion on the identification of the offices.⁴²⁴ It seemed that after so many years of discussion the identification theory was accepted as a fact.⁴²⁵ However, the debate has become especially intensive in recent years. In the last decade of the 20th century S. Friesen presented arguments against such views and vigorously started another debate.⁴²⁶ His opinion was strongly criticized by other scholars.⁴²⁷ Even studies on other topics, such as building benefactions, have discourses about *archiereus Asias* and *asiarchs*.⁴²⁸ Differences arise interpreting the same epigraphic and literary evidence. Almost every aspect of the nature of these titles was examined and discussed. It seems that, for the time being, arguments are in favor of the identification theory.

Archiereus (or *archiereia*) *Asias* was a title held by both men and women performing duties of high priest/priestess of the Imperial cult, usually connected to one of the great temples in Ephesos, Smyrna and Pergamon. From the reign of Augustus the title was ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ,⁴²⁹ changing into simple ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας / ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας in mid I century AD.

⁴²² Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* I, 449; cf. II, 1298-1301 n. 61.

⁴²³ L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Amsterdam 1971², 270-272.

⁴²⁴ J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage*, 36-60.

⁴²⁵ Bowersock, *Augustus*, 117; R. Merkelbach, Der Rangstreit der Städte Asiens und die Rede des Aelius Aristides über die Eintracht, *ZPE* 32 (1978), 287-296; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (31 BC-AD 337), Ithaca 1977, 387; F. Quaß, Zur politischen Tätigkeit der municipalen Aristokratie des griechischen Ostens in der Kaiserzeit, *Historia* 31-2 (1982), 193 (esp. nn. 55-56), 201, 210. An exception being R. A. Kearsley, A Leading Family of Cibyra and Some Asiarchs of the First Century, *AS* 38 (1988), 46-51.

⁴²⁶ S. Friesen, *Asiarchs*, *ZPE* 126 (1999) 275-290; S. J. Friesen, Highpriests of Asia and Asiachs: Farewell to the Identification Theory, in P. Scherrer, H. Taeuber, H. Thür (Hrsgb.), *Stein und Wege: Festschrift für D. Knibbe* (Vienna 1999) 303-307.

⁴²⁷ H. Engelmann, *Asiarchs*, *ZPE* 132 (2000), 173-175; P. Weiß, Asiarchen sind Archiereis Asias: Eine Antwort auf S. J. Friesen, in: N. Ehrhardt and L. M. Günther (Hrsgb.), *Widerstand-Anpassung-Integration: die griechischen Staatenwelt in Rom: Festschrift für Jürgen Deininger* (Stuttgart 2002) 241-254; M. Carter, Archiereis and Asiarchs: A Gladiatorial Perspective, *GRBS* 44 (2004), 41-68.

⁴²⁸ S. Cramme, *Die Bedeutung des Euergetismus für die Finanzierung städtischer Aufgaben in der Provinz Asia* (Inaugural Dissertation), Köln 2001, 279-280.

⁴²⁹ *I. Sardis* 8.

Other provinces also had provincial *koina* and high-priests of Imperial cult, the so-called lykiarchs, macedoniarchs, bythiniarchs or pontarchs, and certain parallels are possible even though *archiereus Asias* and asiarchs are more numerous. The common thing is that they were presiding officers of their respective *koina* and high-priests of the Imperial cult, also in charge of provincial festivals.⁴³⁰ One should note that the documents of these high-priests and their respective *koina* in other provinces are far less documented than those in province of Asia and that conclusions about asiarch and archiereus Asias are used as an argument in the discussion about these lesser known offices. Obviously, there is a danger of so-called circular argument: dominant but unproven opinion on asiarchs is used as a proof in debate on macedoniarchs or lykiarchs. Conclusion reached in this way returns in asiarch-debate as a fresh argument.

It is a question whether or not there was a sole archiereus of Asia or several equal ranking ones, but it is accepted that only one archiereus of Asia held office in any single temple at a time.⁴³¹ Provincial temples proliferated in Asia beginning with 26 AD, and a provincial high priest was appointed for each temple. Deininger also argued that the high priests of Asia were not arranged in a hierarchy but were of equal status.⁴³² What started as an office whose title emphasized the objects of pious activity became one of several offices entrusted with the task of expressing the province's reverence for imperial authority.⁴³³ Chief priesthood of the *koinon* was considered the summit of a provincial career.⁴³⁴ Chief priests were generally not just Roman citizens but knights or sometimes even of senatorial family, and frequently they were friends of prominent Romans in power. The office was very costly, and could involve massive expenses not only to add special magnificence to the *koinon* festivals (for which the cities also made contributions), but for such things as gladiatorial games and feasts, special building projects or even the payment of taxes for the entire province. Because of this, and especially when presiding over the contests they gave,

⁴³⁰ For a different view see M. F. Petracchia Luceroni, *Il Macedoniarca: funzionario o sacerdote?*, *AIV* 142 (1983-1984), 365-379.

⁴³¹ Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage*, 38.

⁴³² Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage*, 37-41.

⁴³³ S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, 57-59, 245-48.

⁴³⁴ Burrell, 346; cf. also F. Quass, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Osten*, Stuttgart 1993, 50-151, 216-218, 307-308 (non vidi).

the chief priest or chief priestess was often allowed the right to dress in purple, to wear a crown set with busts of the Augusti, and to walk at the head of the ritual procession of the *koinon*.⁴³⁵

To hold the office of high priest, and to do so lavishly, was expected of members of the elite. The extent of the pressures may be judged by those exceptional cases in which people tried to evade their responsibilities of office. The diaries of Aelius Aristides reveal his lengthy attempts to avoid the office of high priest of the provincial cult, and to maintain his health, with the help of Asclepius. His city of Smyrna proposed him as candidate, but Aristides declined the honor. However, two months later the delegates of Smyrna succeeded in getting him elected, despite his attempts to prevent it. Aristides had to appeal to the governor, which resulted in his exemption from the election on grounds of ill health. The fact that Aristides had to fight off two more attempts to force him to hold other public offices demonstrates the strength of the public expectation of service.⁴³⁶ The sophist Favorinus also tried to avoid being elected to the imperial priesthood by his native city by referring to the fact that this would not be in accordance with his position as a philosopher. In support of his position, he appealed to the law which exempted philosophers from public service.⁴³⁷

There is also a question whether women served as high priestesses on their own right or only in connection with a male family member. Nearly all the studies on this topic have concluded that some or all of the known high priestesses from Asia received the title as an honorific designation on the basis of their husband's high priesthood. Magie stated that "the Chief Priest's wife enjoyed the privilege of being called Chief Priestess."⁴³⁸ Deininger, for example, does not ask what the nature of the office of high priestess was, but

⁴³⁵ Burrell, 346.

⁴³⁶ C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, Amsterdam 1968, 61-86; cf. also *I Aph2007* 8.33 (Aphrodisias) for civic pressure in performing an office: αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς Σμυρναίοις· οὐδένα βούλομαι ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων ἀνανκάζεσθαι εἰς ὑμετέραν λειτουργίαν καὶ μάλιστα ἐξ Ἀφροδισιάδος ἐξηρημένης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας ν. ὥστε μήτε εἰς τὰς κοινὰς τῆς Ἀσίας μήτε εἰς ἑτέρας λειτουργίας ὑπάγεσθαι Τιβέριον Ἰουλιανὸν Ἄτταλον ἀπολύω τοῦ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ναοῦ καὶ μάλιστα μαρτυρούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος, ἔγραψα δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Βάλβῳ τῷ φίλῳ μου καὶ ἀνθυπάτῳ.

⁴³⁷ Philostr. *VS I* 8; Cass. Dio, 69. 3, 4-6.

⁴³⁸ D. Magie, *The Roman Rule in Asia Minor I*, 449.

rather whether high priestesses were married to high priests.⁴³⁹ Kearsley questioned previous opinions and she cited differences between the titles of husbands and wives, women listed with no references to husbands or fathers, and high priestesses whose husbands were known not to have held high priesthoods.⁴⁴⁰ Friesen adopted this approach with further commentary.⁴⁴¹ As there are no high priestesses in the first half of the first century it has been suggested that chief responsibility of archiereia Asia was the cult of the Augustae; in Asia Tiberius' mother shared his cult in the provincial temple in Smyrna from 26 AD.⁴⁴² Livia's deification in 41 AD probably contributed to the spreading the office throughout the province. So far, there are no women asiarchs attested, although there are many high-priestesses of Asia. Only one woman's name, Marcia Claudia Iuliana, is associated with the asiarchy from any city in Asia and she appears to have held the office twice together with a man M. Aur. Zenon, who may or may not have been her husband.⁴⁴³

Μ(ἄρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) / Ζήνων / κὲ Μ(αρκία) Κλ(αυδία) / Ἰουλιανή, ἀσι/ἀρχαι β' / Ζωτικῶ
/ πραγμα/τευτῆ μνεί/ας χάριν.

One could argue that if archiereus of Asia and asiarch were one and the same, that the title of archiereus was for religious duties of the Imperial cult and asiarch for political ones involving the *koinon* and therefore, archiereia of Asia would be in charge of the cult of Imperial women and there was no need for a female asiarch. Nevertheless, we cannot be certain, especially as possible parallels, lykiarchissa⁴⁴⁴ and makedoniarchissa⁴⁴⁵ are attested. One should note that the high priestess in Beroa inscription⁴⁴⁶ is the wife of a makedoniarches and for Chaniotis this confirms the assumption that the makedoniarches is identical with the high priest of the provincial emperor cult also showing that

⁴³⁹ Deininger, 41; 154.

⁴⁴⁰ R. Kearsley, Asiarchs, *Archiereis*, and the *Archiereiai* of Asia, *GRBS* 27 (1986) 183-92.

⁴⁴¹ Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 81-89.

⁴⁴² P. Herz, Asiarchen und Archiereiai, *Tyche* 7(1992) 93-115; cf. Burrell, 346.

⁴⁴³ *IK Smyrna* I 386.

⁴⁴⁴ An unpublished inscription from Rhodiapolis, cf. D.Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester. Repräsentation der kaiserzeitlichen Elite Lykiens*, Oldenbourg, 2011, 228 no. 93.1: Aureliana Kallippe.

⁴⁴⁵ *IG X 2,1* 153 (Thessaloniki): Flaviane Nepotiane; *EKM* 1 Beroia 94 (Beroia): Flavia Isidora.

⁴⁴⁶ *EKM* 1 Beroia 77.

makedoniarchissa, the wife of a makedoniarches, served as high priestess.⁴⁴⁷ Either way, the office of the high priestess of the provincial emperor cult in Asia Minor was extremely prestigious and contributed to the 'visibility' of elite women in public life.

There are suggestions that the title of asiarch was used by some simply as an honorary one which denoted wealth and social prominence but not any formal position or, at the most, only a person who had formerly been archiereus of Asia and who subsequently bore the title asiarch for life.⁴⁴⁸ Kearsley, on the other hand, suggested that asiarch's sphere of operation was focused on the cities rather than on the imperial cult in the province and often combined with city magistracies.⁴⁴⁹

Strabo mentioned asiarchs in Tralleis stating that they were the men who held chief places in province: συνοικεῖται δὲ καλῶς εἴ τις ἄλλη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὑπὸ εὐπόρων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀεὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰσὶν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὗς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν; ὃν Πυθόδωρός τε ἦν, ἀνὴρ Νυσαεὺς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἐκεῖσε δὲ μεταβεβηκῶς διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πομπήιον φιλία διαπρέπων μετ' ὀλίγων.⁴⁵⁰ Strabo continues to elaborate about the fortunes of Pythodorus' extremely wealthy and influential family. Several points are to be noted. Firstly, asiarchs are identified by their wealth. They are treated more like a distinct social group than as specific officials or priests; in fact, there is no mention of their connection with koinon of Asia or about sacerdotal nature of their office. This point is reinforced by the example of Pythodorus and his family. They are presented as extremely wealthy and socially and politically connected, even Pompey himself was among personal contacts of Pythodorus. Finally, Strabo's account leaves us with an impression that possibly there are several asiarchs at the same time in the same city.

⁴⁴⁷ A. Chaniotis, J. Mylonopoulos, *Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion* 1998, *Kernos* 14 (2001), 185.

⁴⁴⁸ Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage*, 46; Rossner, *Asiarchen und Archiereis Asias*, 106-7.

⁴⁴⁹ R. A. Kearsley, M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurykles of Aezani: Panhellene, Asiarch and Archiereus of Asia, *Antichthon* 21 (1987), 49-56.

⁴⁵⁰ Strabo 14. 1. 42: And it is as well peopled as any other city in Asia by people of means; and always some of its men hold the chief places in the province, being called Asiarchs. Among these was Pythodorus, originally a native of Nysa, but he changed his abode to Tralleis because of its celebrity; and with only few others he stood out conspicuously as a friend of Pompey. English translation by H. L. Jones.

The Acts of Apostles also refer to asiarchs as chiefs of Asia, in reference to Paul's visit to Ephesos.⁴⁵¹ Again one should note the plural in this text, as it could mean that there were several asiarchs appointed in Ephesos at the same time, or, perhaps they were former asiarchs. Herrenius Modestinus (first half of the 3rd century) wrote about asiarchs in *Digestae* and he defines asiarchy as a priestly office on the provincial level.⁴⁵²

As can be seen from tables 5 and 6 there are 23 confirmed archiereis Asias (ten women) in Lydia and 28 in Phrygia (six women). There are 26 asiarchs in Lydia as well, but only 13 in Phrygia.⁴⁵³

One inscription from Thyateira states that one Iulius Dionysios (**LAA 42**) is ἀσιάρχης Περγαμηνῶν and also agonothete, archiereus in his native city and twice stephanephoros.⁴⁵⁴ T. Flavius Clitosthenes (**LAA 36**) from Tralleis was ἀσιάρχης ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσω and ἀσιάρχης δις.⁴⁵⁵ Several asiarch from the 3rd century Lydia have obviously held the office more than once: Menander (**LAA 52**) from Hypaipa twice,⁴⁵⁶ as well as L. (or Aurelius) Annianus (**LAA 3**) from Thyateira,⁴⁵⁷ L. Pescennius Gessius (**LAA 53**) attested in Philadelphia was asiarch three times,⁴⁵⁸ and [L.] Cornelius Vettenianus (**LAA 32**) from Sardeis was styled asiarch four times on the coins.⁴⁵⁹

There are only seven men in our list that held both titles of archiereus Asias and asiarch: M. Ulpius Carminius Polydeukes Claudianus (**PhAA 37**) from Attouda,⁴⁶⁰ P.

⁴⁵¹ AA 19. 30-31: Παύλου δὲ βουλομένου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον οὐκ εἶον αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεκάλουν μὴ δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον.

⁴⁵² Mod. Dig. XXVII 1, 6, 14: Ἔθνους ἱερωσύνη οἶον Ἀσιαρχία, Βιθυνιαρχία, Καππαδοκαρχία παρέχει ἀλειτουρησίαν ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἕως ἄν ἄρχα.

⁴⁵³ I would like to thank Marijana Riel and Hasan Malay for kindly supplying the information on two more asiarchs, T. Flavius L. f. Hierax (**LAA 37**) in Lydia, already attested as *strategos* on coins in Hypaipa cf. *SEG* XXXVI 1074 and also M. D. Campanile, Sommi sacerdoti, asiarchi e culto imperiale : un aggiornamento, *Studi Ellenistici* 19 (2006), 542 and Valerius [- -]tos (**LAA 57**) from Hierokaisaia in H. Malay, M. Riel, A Roman Senator 'redivivus' and a new Asiarch: Two New Inscriptions from Thyateira and Hierokaisaia, *Festschrift Sencer Şahin*, Antalya, 2015 (in press).

⁴⁵⁴ *TAM* V2 969 (reign of Caracalla).

⁴⁵⁵ *IG* XII 3 525; *IK Tralles* 141; *PIR* 2 F 245.

⁴⁵⁶ *Revue Numismatique* 1, 1883, p. 400.

⁴⁵⁷ *TAM* V 2 933.

⁴⁵⁸ ἀσιάρχης in *TAM* V3 1500, but γ' ἀσιάρχης in *SEG* II 652 (Smyrna).

⁴⁵⁹ *BMC* Lydia p. 261, no. 153; *SNG* 3158.

⁴⁶⁰ *Iaph* 2007 12.1111; *SEG* LV 1408-1409; Col. Wadd. 2268 (beginning of the 2nd century).

Aelius Zeuxidemus Cassianus (**PhAA 5**) from Hierapolis,⁴⁶¹ C. Iulius Philippus (**LAA 49**) from Tralleis,⁴⁶² M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurykles (**PhAA 33**) from Aizanoi,⁴⁶³ M. Iulius Aquila (**PhAA 26**) from Amorion,⁴⁶⁴ M. Aurelius Diadochus Tryphosianus (**LE 7** and **LAA 18**) and his father in law, Aurelius Athenaios (**LAA15**), both from Thyateira.⁴⁶⁵ It is important to point out that none of them is named archiereus Asias and asiarch in the same inscription.

M. Ulpius Carminius Polydeukes Claudianus (**PhAA 37**) from Attouda was also styled “the son of demos” (υἱὸς τοῦ δήμου) and “son of polis” (υἱὸς πόλεως),⁴⁶⁶ and he served as stephanephoros⁴⁶⁷ and a priest of Meter Adrastou⁴⁶⁸ and Dionysos Prokathegemon.⁴⁶⁹ His asiarchy is attested only on coins.⁴⁷⁰ He was the first prominent member of Carminii from Attouda, his son being M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus (**PhAA 35**) *archiereus Asias*, stephanephoros for life honored for his benefactions in an inscription from Aphrodisias,⁴⁷¹ grandson T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus a senator⁴⁷² and another grandson M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus neoterus (**PhAA 36**) asiarch and stephanephoros.⁴⁷³ Obviously, this family had very good connections in Asia Minor (especially in Aphrodisias in Caria) as well as in Rome and they were wealthy.

P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Cassianus (**PhAA 5**)⁴⁷⁴ from Hierapolis was also *curator rei publicae* (λογίστης) in Aezanoi and he did some services for the city that earned him gratitude as εὐεργέτης.⁴⁷⁵ His son, P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Ariston Zeno (**PhE 5**) was *advocatus fisci* for both Phrygia and Asia (συνήγορο[ς] τοῦ ἐν Φρυγί[α] ταμείου [καὶ]

⁴⁶¹ *IGR* IV 819; *IGR* IV 828; *MAMA* IX 26 (2nd century).

⁴⁶² *OGIS* 498; *IK Tralleis* 51; 54; 128-130 (Antoninus Pius).

⁴⁶³ *MAMA* IX P18; *OGIS* 508, *Iaph2007* 12.538; *MAMA* VIII, 505; *IGR* IV 573-576 = *MAMA* IX P6-P9; *SEG* XXXV 1365 (Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Commodus); *Col. Wadd.* 5545.

⁴⁶⁴ *SEG* XXXVII 1099bis and *IEph* 686 (second half of the 2nd century).

⁴⁶⁵ *TAM* V2 950, 951, 952, 954 (Severus Alexander).

⁴⁶⁶ Imhoof-Blummer, *KM I* 124-5, nos. 7-11; *SNG Von Aulock* 2500; *Coll. Wadd.* 7048; *SEG* LV 1409.

⁴⁶⁷ *SEG* LV 1409.

⁴⁶⁸ *MAMA* VI 74; cf. also *SEG* LV 1409 (Attouda) for commentary on Meter Adrastou.

⁴⁶⁹ *SEG* XXXIV 1289.

⁴⁷⁰ *Col. Wadd.* 2268.

⁴⁷¹ *Iaph2007* 12.1111.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

⁴⁷³ *MAMA* VI 74; *SNG Von Aulock* 2501; 2505: διὰ Κ[αρμινίου] Κλαυδιανου Ασάρχου Αττουδέων.

⁴⁷⁴ *PIR*² A 282.

⁴⁷⁵ *MAMA* IX 26: ἡ βουλῆ καὶ ὁ / δήμος ἐτεί/μησε[ν] Πόπλι/ον [Αἴλιον] Ζευ/ξ[εῖδημον Κ]ασ/σιανόν, ἀρχ[ι]ε/ρέα Ἀσίας, τὸν / λογίστην, εὐ/εργέτην τῆς / [πόλεως].

τοῦ ἐν Ἀσ[ίᾳ])⁴⁷⁶ and his grandson Aelius Antipater was a sophist, *ab epistulis Graecis* of Septimius Severus, friend of Severus and tutor to Caracalla and Geta, *adlectus inter consulares* by Severus and legate of Bithynia.⁴⁷⁷ After the murder of Geta, he starved himself to death at the age of sixty eight.⁴⁷⁸

C. Iulius Philippus (**LAA 49**)⁴⁷⁹ from Tralleis was also agonothete for life and boularchos in Tralleis,⁴⁸⁰ honored also in Olympia in 149 AD.⁴⁸¹ It is supposed that as asiarch he led the *koinon* festival when the Christian martyr Polycarpus was executed.⁴⁸² His homonymous son (**LE 16**),⁴⁸³ was δικαστής (one of *iudices selecti*) and *procurator* (ἐπίτροπος), as well as a priest of Zeus Larasios.⁴⁸⁴ The youngest C. Iulius Philippus⁴⁸⁵ was a senator during the reign of Septimius Severus and married one of the daughters of a notable Ephesian sophist Flavius Damianus.

M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurykles (**PhAA 33**) was the third known generation of Ulpia Appuleia from Aizanoi⁴⁸⁶ and his career, which spanned through the second half of the second century, is well documented.⁴⁸⁷ The family probably gained Roman citizenship under Trajan.⁴⁸⁸ His grandfather M. Ulpius Appuleius Flavianus (**PhAA 34**) was ἀρχιερέως Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ and his father M. Ulpius Appuleianus Flavianus was the first agonothete of Deia and probably the founder of these games for Zeus.⁴⁸⁹ He was also *eirenarches* twice, boularchos, strategos and priest of Zeus.

⁴⁷⁶ *PIR*² A 281; *IGR* IV 819; 828: ... Π(οπλίου) Αἰλ[ίου] Σευσιδήμου Κασσιανοῦ ἀσιάρχου...

⁴⁷⁷ *Forschung in Ephesos* II, 125, 26 v. 18; *PIR*² A 137

⁴⁷⁸ Philostr. *VS* II, 24; 25, 4.

⁴⁷⁹ *PIR*² I 460.

⁴⁸⁰ *IK Tralleis* 128-130.

⁴⁸¹ *I Olympia* 455.

⁴⁸² *Martyrium S. Polycarpi* 12, 21; cf. M. Rossner, Asiarchen und Archiereis Asias, *Studii Clasice* 16 (1974) 105, n. 22.

⁴⁸³ *PIR*² I 459.

⁴⁸⁴ *IK Tralleis* 51.

⁴⁸⁵ *PIR*² I 458.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. F. Neumann, Ulpia von Aizanoi, *MDAI(A)* 35 (1985), 218-220; R. A. Kearsley, M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurykles of Aezani: Panhellene, Asiarch and Archiereus of Asia, *Antichthon* 21 (1987), 49-56.

⁴⁸⁷ *CIG* 3831-3834 (Aizanoi), *CIG* 3836=*MAMA* IX P18 (Aizanoi), *IGR* IV 573-576 = *MAMA* IX P6-P9 (Aizanoi); *SEG* XXXV 1365 (Aizanoi); *SEG* XLII 1185-1188 (Aizanoi); *IEph* 25 (Ephesos), *IAph*2007 12.538; *MAMA* VIII, 505 (Aphrodisias).

⁴⁸⁸ F. Neumann, Ulpia von Aizanoi, *MDAI(A)* 35 (1985), 219; cf. another citizens of Aizanoi with *gentilicium* Ulpius/Ulpia *MAMA* IX 32; 361; 446; *MAMA* IX P 193 and P247.

⁴⁸⁹ *SEG* XXXV 1365

In his native city Eurykles was, like his father, agonothete of Deia and a priest for life of Dionysos. He was also the city representative in Panhellenion in Athens probably from 152/3 till 156/7 AD. During this period he distinguished himself so much that, when he left Athens for Asia, his fellow Panhellens and Athenians sent four letters of commendation on his behalf: two to Aizanoi and two to the *koinon* of Asia.⁴⁹⁰ Cultivation or *paideia* was the mark of all educated Greeks: as such, it must have been normal among the high officers and councillors of the Panhellenion, drawn as they were from the upper strata of their cities. In first of the letters,⁴⁹¹ Ulpius Eurykles' virtues are described in general terms: he had become conspicuous for his culture (*παιδεία*) and every other excellence (*ἄλλη ἀρετή*) and his fairness (*ἐπιείκεια*). In another letter the virtues of Ulpius Eurykles are again stated in general terms: he has employed fairness (*ἐπιείκεια*) and used every kind of dignity (*πάση αἰδώς*) towards the Panhellenion in his term as Panhellene.⁴⁹² The letter from the Areopagus⁴⁹³ expands the eulogy of Ulpius Eurykles by saying that he had acted with humanity (*ὀμιλῶν παιδεία*) and was distinguished for his zeal in the finest and most holy pursuits (*πᾶσαν ἐνάρετον προαίτεσιν ἀποδεικνύμενος διὰ τῆς περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σεμνότατα σπουδῆς*). The letter bears witness to his dignity, character and love of culture (*τῆς τε κ[ο]σ[μ]ιότη[η]τος εἵνεκεν καὶ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῆς περὶ παιδείαν φιλοτιμίας*). It was also noted that Ulpius Eurykles during his stay in Athens had conducted himself as though he were in his fatherland and that therefore they were honoring him with a statue and an image (*καὶ ἀνδριάντος καὶ εἰκόνοσ*). This honor of allowing Ulpius Eurykles to pick the place in Athens where he wanted his dedication to stand is a high honor. Another letter was sent to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, but only his reply survived.⁴⁹⁴ He was archiereus Asias in 161 when he erected statues in honor of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Aizanoi.⁴⁹⁵ Shortly afterwards, in 162 or 163, he was appointed by the proconsul the logistes of Ephesian gerousia.⁴⁹⁶ Some twenty five years

⁴⁹⁰ *IGR* IV 573, 574, 576 = *MAMA* IX P6, P7, P8.

⁴⁹¹ *IGR* IV 573 = *MAMA* IX P6.

⁴⁹² *IGR* IV 576 = *MAMA* IX P8.

⁴⁹³ *IGR* IV 574 = *MAMA* IX P7.

⁴⁹⁴ *IGR* IV 575 = *MAMA* IX P9.

⁴⁹⁵ *MAMA* IX P18: ...Μ. Οὐλπίου Ἀππουλ[η]ίου Εὐρυκλέους, ἀρχιερέως ἀποδεγμένου Ἀσίας...

⁴⁹⁶ *IKeph* 25.

later he is designated archiereus Asias in temples in Smyrna for the second time and this inscription also suggests that during the 180-ties he was logistes in Aphrodisias as well.⁴⁹⁷ His asiarchy is attested only on coins issued in Aizanoi.⁴⁹⁸ On the same coins he also appears as grammateus. His family relations are furthermore on display in a series of fragmented inscriptions on four gray marble blocks from the Eastern analemma wall of the stadion in Aizanoi.⁴⁹⁹ Each column of *SEG* XLII 1186 was probably dedicated to a prominent member of the family: unidentified person, M.Ulpius Appuleius Eurykles; in his wake his wife and sister are mentioned and at the end the maternal grandfather of Eurykles' mother, Antonius Asklepiades:

a	b	c
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[- -τῶν ἐν τῇ]	καὶ ἀγωνοθέ-	ὄς ἐνεῖκα ἄπτως,
[μητρ]οπ[όλει]	του κοινῶν	ἀνέφεδρος, ἀ-
τῆς Ἀσίας Τ[ρ]α-	Ἀσίας Αὐγουστεί-	μεσολάβητος
ιανείων, ὄς	ων ὑπὸ τὰ αὐτὸν	Ὀλυμπιάδι στη΄,
καὶ τῇ πατρί-	καὶ τῆς πατρίδος	τῆς μητρὸς
δι φιλοτειμεῖ-	ἄρξαντος, ᾧ συν-	τῶν Εὐρυκλέ-
ται	αρχιεῖται τῆς Ἀ-	ους παίδων
	[σ]ίας καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Σε-	μητροπάτωρ
	βηρεῖνα, ἀρχιεῖ-	
	ται δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ	
	ἡ Εὐρυκλέους Ἰου-	
	λία ναῶν τῶν ἐν	
	Περγάμῳ σὺν τῷ ἀν-	
	[δρ]ι Ἀσκληπι[άδ]ῃ	

⁴⁹⁷ *I Aph2007* 12.538: Μᾶρκος Οὐλπιος Ἀπουλήϊος Εὐρυκλῆς ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδει[γ]μένο[ς] ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ...

⁴⁹⁸ Col. Wadd. 5545: ἐπὶ γρ Μ Οὐλ Εὐρυκλέους ἄσι; same type BMC Phrygia 24 no. 8: ἐπὶ γραμ Οὐλ Εὐρυκλέους ἄσι; cf. also BMC Phrygia 39 no. 112.

⁴⁹⁹ *SEG* XLII 1185-1188.

Eurykles' wife was thus identified as Severina, probably the daughter of L. Claudius Severinus attested in *MAMA IX* 10, supplying the funds for an aqueduct.⁵⁰⁰ Her marriage with Eurykles implied a possible connection of the Aizanitan Ulpri and Claudii. The *archineokoros* Ἰου(λιος) Οὐλπι(ος) Σευηρεῖνος, who issued a coin under Gallienus,⁵⁰¹ was probably a descendant of that family. His sister Iulia's husband Asklepiades possibly belonged to the family of Antonius Asklepiades,⁵⁰² perhaps he was the latter's son.

A well-connected family attested both in Amorion in Phrygia and in Ephesos had several members acting as high priests of Asia. In an honorary inscription for Aelia Ammia (**PhAA 2**) from Amorion we learn that she was the daughter of Alexandros, wife of M. Iulius Damianus and mother of M. Iulius Aquila (**PhAA 26**), the asiarch. She was styled *θυγάτηρ τῆς πόλεως* and *archiereia Asias*, honored for all her virtues:⁵⁰³

Ἡ βούλη καὶ ὁ δῆμος / ἐτείμησεν Αἰλίαν Ἀλε/ξάνδρου θυγατέρα Ἀμ/μία, γυναῖκα
Μάρ(κου) Ἰ(ουλίου) Δα/μIANOῦ καὶ μητέρα / Μάρ(κου) Ἰ(ουλίου) Ἀκύλα τοῦ ἀσιάρχου,
θυγατέρα δὲ τῆς πό/λεως, σεμνότητι καὶ ἐπὶ [ει]/κείᾳ τρόπου διαφέρου/σαν πασῶν τῶν ἐν
τῷ ἔ/θνει γυναικῶν, ἢ ὑπερβε/βλήκεν{αι} σωφροσύνη τε / καὶ φιλανδρία · καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς
Ἀ/σίας Ἕλληνες ἀρχιερατεύου/σ[α]ν τῶν μεγίστων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ / ναῶν ἐμαρτύρησαν

On the basis of the names of her husband and son, Aelia Ammia is now also restored as the honorand of a fragmentary inscription from Ephesos; where she has another public function, a joint priesthood of the city-league of Ionians.⁵⁰⁴ Although we know almost nothing about her father, her husband Damianus was highly likely one of the

⁵⁰⁰ Other possible family connections are mentioned on p. 34-35.

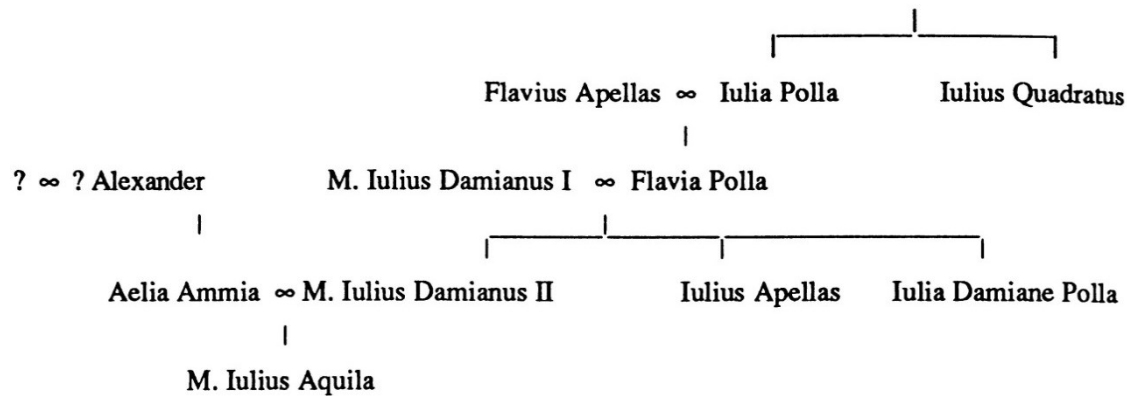
⁵⁰¹ *BMC Phrygia* 28, n. 34f.

⁵⁰² Antonius Asklepiades is mentioned with Eurykles's paternal grandfather in *SEG XLII* 1188 in an inscription within wreaths and diadems commemorating several local dignitaries: Ἀντωνίου Ἀσκληπιάδου νικήσαντος τὰ ἐν Πείσει ἢ Ὀλύμπια παίδων πάλην; in 218th Olympiad (93 AD), he was ca. 15 years old.

⁵⁰³ *SEG XXXVII* 1099bis.

⁵⁰⁴ *I Eph* 689: τῆ[ς] πρ[ώ]της [καὶ μεγί/στης] μητροπόλεως / τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεω/κόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν / Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἢ / βου[λ]ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος / ἐ[τείμ]ησαν Αἰλίαν / Α[κλί]αν γυ[να]ῖκα / Ἰο[υλί]ου ΔαμIANOῦ, / μη[τέ]ρα Μ(άρκου) Ἰο[υλί]ου / Ἀκύλου, συν[ι]ερασα/μένην τῶν Ἰώ[νων] ἐνδό/ξως, / ἐπιμελησαμένου [τῆς] ἀ/ναστάσεως Μ(άρκου) Μεινίου Ερ[—]; the restoration in l. 8 should now be Α[μμί]αν

children of M. Iulius Damianus of Mylasa and Flavia Polla attested in an inscription from Eleusis.⁵⁰⁵ In this Eleusinian inscription Flavia Polla was styled as a daughter of one Flavius Apellas from Hypaipa. T. Flavius Apellas from Hypaipa, agonothete of the Balbillea in Ephesos under Trajan between 97 and 102 AD⁵⁰⁶ was, in turn, married to Iulia Polla, a prytanis in Ephesos⁵⁰⁷ and sister of the famous senator C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus from Pergamon.



The family *stemma* of M. Iulius Aquila from Amorion

(taken from R. Kearsley, *Asiarchs, Archiereis, and the Archiereiai of Asia: New evidence from Amorium in Phrygia*, *EA* 16 (1990), 76)

This is a classic example of a prestigious family with prominent connections throughout the province of Asia, and we could assume the family and ancestors of Aelia Ammia were of similar status.

M. Iulius Damianus and son M. Iulius Aquila are documented on one more inscription from Ephesos:⁵⁰⁸

τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγ[ί]στης μητροπόλεω[ς] / τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεω/κόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν / Ἐφεσίων πόλεω[ς] [ῆ] / βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος / ἐτείμησαν Μᾶρκον / Ἰούλιον Ἀκ[ύ]λαν / υἱὸν

⁵⁰⁵ *IG* II² 2959.

⁵⁰⁶ *IEph* 1122.

⁵⁰⁷ *IEph* 989a.

⁵⁰⁸ *IEph* 686.

[Ἰουλί]ου Δαμια/νοῦ, ἀρχι[ερατεύσαντα] / ἐνδόξω[ς] τῆς Ἀσία[ς] / ναῶ[ν τ]ῶν [ἐν Ἐ]φ[έσῳ] / καὶ ἀγωνοθετή[σα]ν[τ]α / τῶν μεγάλ[ω]ν Βαλβ[ιλ]/λή[ω]ν / ἐπιμελησαμ[ένου τῆς ἀ]ναστάσεως Μ(άρκου) Μεινίου Ερ—]

Unlike the title of asiarch he bears in an honorary inscription for his mother from Amorion, M. Iulius Aquila is here designated as a former *archiereus Asias* in the temple of Ephesos. This inscription could be dated between 132 and 211 AD according to the reference to the second neokorate of Ephesos. Unfortunately, we cannot precisely date the document from Amorion, but these inscriptions were part of the debate if the title of asiarch was perhaps an honorary one for previous holders of highpriesthood of Asia, used for the rest of their life.⁵⁰⁹ Apart from fulfilling his duties of the provincial high-priest, M. Iulius Aquila was also agonothete of the Great Balbillea, like his maternal grandfather, Flavius Apellas, before him.

One extended family from Thyateira had two members who were both *archiereus Asias* and asiarchs. M. Aurelius Diadochus Tryphosianus (LE 7 and LAA 18), designated as ἱππικός, was also boularchos in Thyateira for life⁵¹⁰ and archiereus in the city,⁵¹¹ as well as *archiereus Asias* in Pergamon⁵¹² and asiarch.⁵¹³ Actually, these two inscriptions mentioning his titles could be supporting the identification theory:

ἡ πατρις / Μ. Αὐρ. Διάδοχον ἱππικόν τὸν / ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν / ἐν Περγάμῳ
καὶ ἀρχιερέα κατὰ / τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ διὰ βίου βούλαρχον,
τιμηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θειοτάτου / Αὐτοκράτορος Μ. Αὐρ. Σεουήρου / Ἀλεξάνδρου Σεβαστοῦ
συνάψαι τὰς ἀρχιερεωσύνας τοῖς / ὀξέσιν ἐν ἑκατέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν, φιλοτιμησάμενον /

⁵⁰⁹ See more R. Kearsley, Asiarchs, Archiereis, and the Archiereiai of Asia: New evidence from Amorion in Phrygia, *EA* 16 (1990), 69-80, especially 77ff.

⁵¹⁰ *TAM* V2 950; it is not sure whether there were annual boularchoi in Thyateira, cf. K. Nawotka, Boularchos in Roman Asia Minor, *Epigraphica* 62 (2000), 68 n. 44.

⁵¹¹ *TAM* V2 954.

⁵¹² *TAM* V2 950.

⁵¹³ *TAM* V2 954.

ἐνδόξως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως / ἄνδρα ἐπὶ ἤθεσι καὶ ἐπιεικείαι / καὶ τῆι πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα / εὐνοίαι διαπρέποντα⁵¹⁴

and

ἡ πατρίς / Αὐρηλίαν Ἐρμώνασσαν, τὴν / διὰ βίου ἰέρειαν τῆς Τύχης τῆς / πόλεως καὶ
ἐπτάκι πρύτανιν / μετὰ τοῦ γένους καὶ δις ἀρχιέ/ρειαν τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς πατρί/δος,
θυγατέρα Αὐρ. Αθηναίου / ἀσιάρχου καὶ νεωκόρου καὶ πρυ/τάνεως καὶ ῥήτορος, καὶ Φλα.
Πρεισκίλλης ἀρχιερείας δις τῆς / Ἀσίας καὶ πρυτάνεως γυναῖκα / Αὐρηλίου [Δι]αδόχου
ἰππικοῦ / **ἀσιάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως κατὰ / τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῆς πατρί/δος καὶ διὰ βίου
βουλάρχου** τὴν / σῶφρονα καὶ φίλανδρον καὶ / φιλόπατριν⁵¹⁵

Expression τοῖς ὀξέσι also requires some passing comments. This expression puzzled earlier editors and epigraphists until L. Robert offered a plausible solution.⁵¹⁶ According to him it is an abbreviation of τοῖς ὀξέσι σιδήροις.⁵¹⁷ The expression is believed to refer to the organization and providing for a special type of gladiatorial games. Diadochus Tryphosianus received honors from Alexander Severus: in one person he gathered (συνάψαι) at the same time duties of *archiereus* together with the organization of gladiatorial games.

His title of strategos is also attested on coins.⁵¹⁸ As we have seen, he was a member of a well-established family, his father Aurelius Moschianus was prytanis and his late mother Aurelia Tryphosa was also prytanis: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / ἡ κρατίστη βουλή Μ. / Αὐρ. Διάδοχον Τρυφω/σιανὸν ἰππικὸν υἱὸν / Μ. Αὐρ. Μοσχιανοῦ β' / Ἀλεξάνδρου πρυτάνε/ως καὶ Αὐρ. Τρυφώ/σης ἡρωίδος πρυτάνε/ως, στρατηγήσαντα / ἀγνώς.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁴ TAM V2 950

⁵¹⁵ TAM V2 954.

⁵¹⁶ L. Robert, *OMS* I, 698-699; Idem, *Les Gladiateurs*, 218 no. 266.

⁵¹⁷ This unabbreviated expression is attested only in Sagalassos, *IGR* III 360. Apart from our example from Lydia, similar expressions are attested in Ionia: *MDAI* (I) 35 (1985), 124-130 no. 1 (Miletos), *IK Smyrna* 637 and *IEph* 810. All these are honorary inscriptions for either high-priest of Asia or asiarchs. This also lends some support to the identification theory.

⁵¹⁸ *BMC* p. CXXIV adn. 7; Imhoof-Blumer, *NZ* 48 (1915), 96: ἐπὶ στρ. Μ. Αὐρ. Διαδόχου ἰππικοῦ.

⁵¹⁹ TAM V2 952.

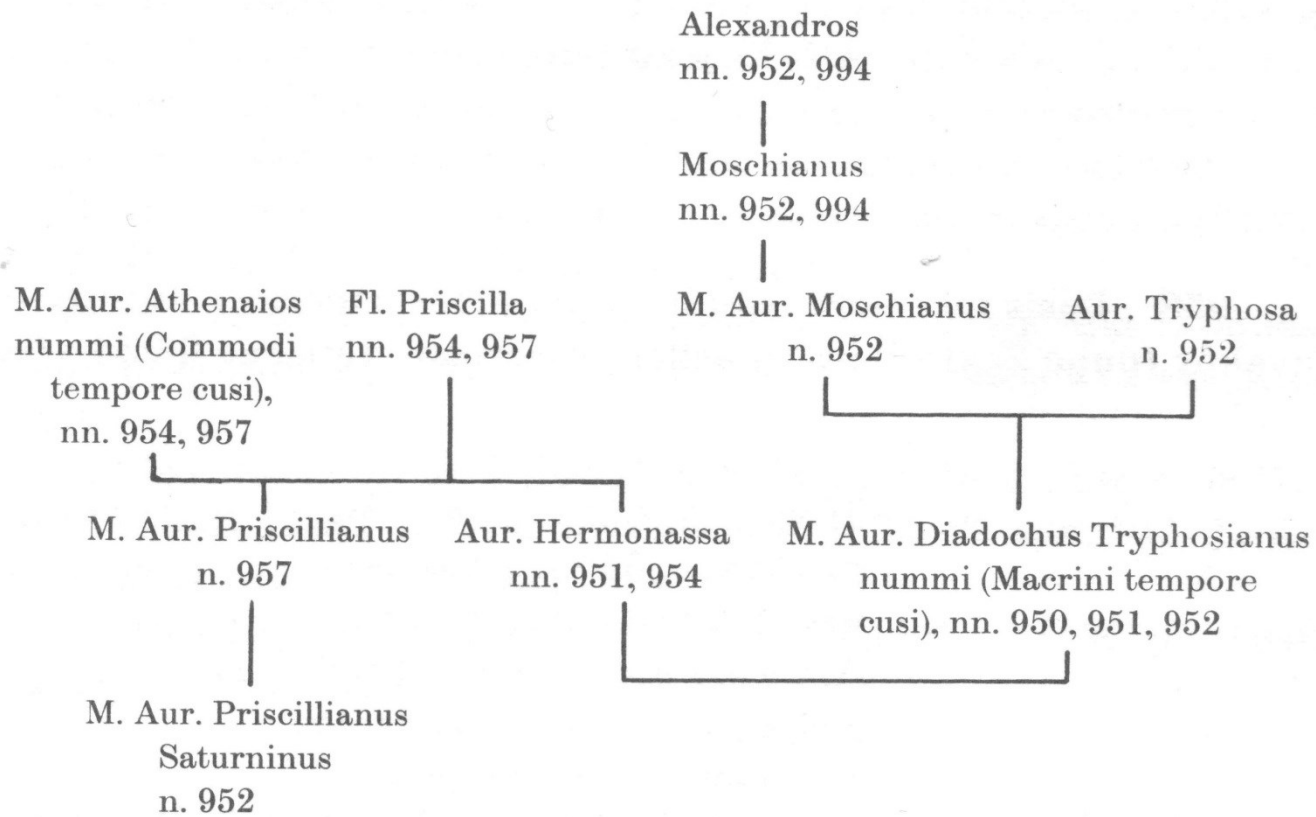
He married Aurelia Hermonassa, priestess in Thyateira and twice ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας,⁵²⁰ daughter of Flavia Priscilla, who was of senatorial origin and performed the duties of ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας twice, and Aurelius Athenaios (**LAA 15**), an asiarch, *neokoros*, *prytanis* and rhetor (ἀσιάρχος καὶ νεωκόρος καὶ πρύτανις καὶ ῥήτωρ).⁵²¹ Aurelius Athenaios is attested also as *archiereus Asias* in one inscription from the agora in Ephesos.⁵²²

Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἀθήναιον ἀρχιερέα / Ἀσίας καὶ νεωκόρον τοῦ / Σεβαστοῦ τὸν ῥήτορα, ἀ/ρετιῆς
ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς περὶ / τὰς συνηγορίας τῆς πατρί/δος ἡμῶν εὐνοίας τε καὶ / προθυμίας· / ἡ
τειμὴ κατεσκευάσθη / ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς βουλῆς / χρημάτων, ἐκ πόρων / βουλαρχίας Πο(πλίου)
Κορ(νηλίου) Ἴταλοῦ / νεωτέρου, υἱοῦ Πο(πλίου) Κορ(νηλίου) Ἴτα/λοῦ φιλοσεβάστου
γραμ/ματέως τοῦ δήμου τῷ / αὐτῷ ἔτει.

⁵²⁰ *TAM* V2 951, 954.

⁵²¹ *TAM* V2 954, 957; cf. stemma on the next page.

⁵²² *IEph* 3057.



The family *stemma* of M. Aurelius Diadochus Tryphosianus from Thyateira
(taken from *TAM* V2 p. 351)

The rise of these families is paradigmatic for the promotion of municipal aristocracy from equestrian status to senatorial order. Their obvious wealth and connections made them ideal for further advanced positions throughout the Empire.

5.4 Family ties

In Lydia and Phrygia we have both equestrian military officers and whole families with equestrian status designation who are well connected and among the most prominent in the cities. Equestrians with military career are commonly descendants of elite city families and they usually became city's officials upon returning from the army. A family of an equestrian was not only deemed honorable, it was admitted among the best. Personal conduct of an individual was very important and they were guided by social conventions, inherited moral code and tradition. They are sometimes related to senatorial families and usually perform highest civic duties in the cities. One of the most notable cases is that of Iulii Philippi from Tralleis.⁵²³ The first C. Iulius Philippus (**LAA 49**) was *archiereus Asias* and asiarch, and his homonymous son, the father of the senator C. Iulius Philippus (**LE 16**) (second half of the II century AD) is called δικαστής (one of *iudices selecti*) and *procurator* (ἐπίτροπος) as well as a life-long priest of Zeus Larasios.⁵²⁴

Γ(άϊον) Ἰούλιον, Γ(αίου) Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου ἀρχιερέως / Ἀσίας υἱόν, Οὐελίνα, Φίλιππον, ἱππέα Ῥω/μαῖον, τῶν ἐκλέκτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικαστῶν / ἐπίτροπον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, πατέρα Ἰουλί(ου) / Φιλίππου συγκλητικοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαί/ων, ἱερέα διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου

In Synnada in Phrygia during the reign of Marcus Aurelius certain Iulius Lycinius (**PhE 16**) was a σύνδικος ταμείου (*advocatus fisci*), as was his maternal grandfather Ulpius Lycinus (**PhE 23**).⁵²⁵ According to the honorific inscription for his mother, Ulpia Saturnina, he continued the family tradition of benefaction (ἐκ προγόνων

⁵²³ *IK Tralleis* 51; 54.

⁵²⁴ *IK Tralleis* 51.

⁵²⁵ *PIR*² I 392.

εὐεργέτου τῆς πατρίδος). His father, Iulius Mochos was a stephanephoros and a descendant of ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀσίας.⁵²⁶

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος / ἐτίμησεν / Οὐλπίαν Σατουρνίναν / Οὐλπ. Λυκίνου
θυγατέρα / ἀνδρὸς ἐκ προγόνων / εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεως / καὶ συνδίκου τοῦ
ἱερωτάτου ταμῆιου / γυναῖκα δὲ Ἰουλίου / Μόσχου στεφανηφόρου / ἐκγόνου
ἀρχιερέων / τῆς Ἀσίας, / μητέρα δὲ Ἰουλίου Λυκείνου ἐκ προγόνων / εὐεργέτου
τῆς πατρίδος / καὶ συνδίκου ταμείου ...

In the same inscription his sister Iulia Marcellina appears as the ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας in Pergamon. Iulius Lycinius is also attested on coins from Synnada as ἱερεὺς.⁵²⁷

As we have seen, another example of a well-connected equestrian family is the following one from Thyateira (end of II and beginning of the III century AD).⁵²⁸ M. Aur. Priscillianus (**LE 9**) is named ἵππικός and *neokoros* of Augustus, his mother Flavia Priscilla was of senatorial descent and performed the duties of ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας twice, and the father, M. Aureilus Athenaios (**LAA 15**), is asiarch and ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας, *neokoros*, *prytanis* and rhetor. His brother in law, M. Aur. Diadochus Tryphosianus (**LE 7** and **LAA 18**), also a member of the equestrian order, is asiarch, ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας in Pergamon,⁵²⁹ and boularch for life, ἀρχιερεὺς in Thyateira and strategos.⁵³⁰

M. Aurelius Popilius Bakhios (**LE 8**) was designated as ἵππικός and he was also agonothete in Sardeis when a certain Aurelius Agathias won the race of the torch-bearers.⁵³¹ C. Arruntius Antonius (**LE 4**), attested in inscriptions from Thyateira and Sardeis in the early 3rd century, was a descendant of Arruntius Maternus, an asiarch from Sardeis related to many senatorial families.⁵³² Arruntius Antonius was styled as ἵππικός, and archon in Thyateira.⁵³³

⁵²⁶ *MAMA* VI 373.

⁵²⁷ *BMC Phrygia* 401, no. 48.

⁵²⁸ *TAM* V2 950 -954; 957; cf. stemma at *TAM* V2 954.

⁵²⁹ *TAM* V2 950.

⁵³⁰ *TAM* V2 954.

⁵³¹ *I. Sardis* 76: [ἐπ]ὶ ἀγων[οθέτου / Μ.] Αὐρ. Ποπιλ[ίου / Βακ]χίου ἵππικοῦ / [Αὐρ.(?)] Ἀγαθίας ὁ [καὶ / Ἐπ]ίκτημος / [πρῶ]τος λαμπα[δηφο]ρία[ς] νεικήσας δρόμον.

⁵³² *TAM* V2 915, *I. Sardis* 77.

⁵³³ *TAM* V2 915.

ἀγαθῆ[ι τύχη] / τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσση[ς καὶ παν]/τὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνοους δ[εσπό]/την
 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα [Μ. Αὐρ.] / Σεουῆρον [[Ἀ[λ]έξα[νδρο]ν] Εὐσ[εβῆ] / Εὐτυχῆ
 Σεβαστὸν ἢ λαμπρ[οτά]/τη καὶ μεγίστη Θυατειρηνῶ[ν] / πόλις ψηφισαμένης τῆς /
 κραι]τίστης βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῶ[ν / περ]ὶ Γάϊον Ἀρουντίον Ἀ[ν/των]ῆνον Φλαβιανὸν
 ἱππ[ι]/κὸν ἀρχόντων.

He was also attested as strategos in Thyateira on coins.⁵³⁴ The other inscription mentioning his name and family ties, is heavily restored *I. Sardis 77*:

[ἀγαθῆ τύχη / τῆς αὐτόχθονος καὶ] / *several lines missing* / [καὶ ἰδίας τοῦ κυ]ρίου /
 [Αὐτοκρά]τορ[ος] Σεου<ή>/[ρου Σα]ρδιανῶν πόλε[ως] / [ἡ β]ου<λή> [καὶ ὁ] δῆμος /
 ἐτίμη[σαν . . . / Ἀρ]ούντι[ον . . .]εῖνον / [Ἀ]<κ>υλλε[ῖνο]ν <Εἰ>ταλ[ικι]α[νόν],
 ἔ[γγο]ν[ο]ν Ἀρουν[τί]ο[υ] Ματέ[ρνο]υ ἀσ<ι>άρ[χ]ου, υἰὸ<ν> [Ἀρουντ]ίου {μ}
 Ἀ[ντω/ν]εῖνο<υ> ἱ[ππικο]ῦ πολ/[λ]ῶ[ν] συνκλητικῶν συν[γε]νῆ, [τ]ῶ[ν π]ρώτων
 ἀ/[γ]ώνων Χρυσανθίνω[ν / ἱερ]ῶ[ν εἰσε]λασ[τρ]ικῶν / [τῶν εἰς τῆ]ν οἰκο[υμέ]νην
 γραμ[ματε]ύσαντα / καὶ ἀγωνοθετή[σαν]τα / καὶ ἀθλοθετή[σαν]τα φι/[λοτε]ίμω<ς>
 ἀ]να<σ>τησά[ν / των τὸν] ἀ[νδρι]ά[ν]τα [τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ / τοῦ δεῖνος]

Unfortunately, the most damaged part of the inscription is the one with Arruntius Antonius' titles and so far, we can suppose that he was secretary, agonothete and giver of prizes in the games of Chrysanthina in Sardeis. This must date soon after the first games instituted under Septimius Severus at the beginning of the 3rd century AD. They were named either after the marigold (χρυσάνθεμον), sacred to Artemis, or more probably after Χρυσανθής, a cult-name of the goddess.⁵³⁵ A new reading of *I. Sardis 77* in *SEG XXXVI 1091* is connecting the family of Arruntii with Stlaccii, in ll. 6-8:⁵³⁶ [Ἀρ]ούντι[ον Ματ]έ(ρ)νον / [Ἀ]νυλλε[ῖνο]ν Στλα[κκι-/α]νόν. The Stlaccii were

⁵³⁴ *BMC* p. CXXV adn. 4, Imhoof – Blumer, *NZ* 48, 1915, 96: ἐπὶ στρ. Γ. Ἄρουν. Ἄντων(ε)ίνου ἱππι(κοῦ).

⁵³⁵ Cf. commentary on *I. Sardis 77*.

⁵³⁶ *SEG XXXVI 1091*; the correction was first made by L. Robert, *OMS* III, 1607.

another prominent family in Lydia mentioned several times in Sardeis,⁵³⁷ Maionia,⁵³⁸ and even Alexandria Troas and Rome.⁵³⁹

In late 2nd century T. Flavius Clitosthenes (Iulianus), the father and grandfather of senators from Tralleis was ὁ κράτιστος and an asiarch twice:⁵⁴⁰

[Μ(ἄρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) — βουλευ]/τῆς καὶ φιλοσέβαστος Μ(ἄρκον) / Αὐρήλιον Σωτήρα
βουλευ/τὴν καὶ φιλοσέβαστον τὸ / υἱόν, ἀδελφὸν Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλί/ου Ἀμμιανοῦ
βουλευτοῦ / καὶ φιλοσεβάστου καὶ / γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου / νικήσαντα / τὸν ἱερὸν
ἀγῶνα τῶν Σπαρ/τιατῶν καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν / ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἑρακλείων / παίδων παγκράτιον /
καὶ ἰσαγωγὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων / ἐπὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου Δι/ὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου Φλαοίου /
Κλειτοσθένους τοῦ κρατί/στου δις ἀσιάρχου, πρώτου / Ἀσίας, πατρὸς ὑπατικοῦ κα[ι] /
πάππου συνκλητικῶν, τῆς / θ' αὐτοῦ πενταετηρίδος

The honorific inscription of Magnios Dionysius (**PhE 19**), ἰππικός from Dorylaion (beginning of the 3rd century) is a clear example of the continuity of political activity of elite families. The honorand was a son of M. Aurelius Dionysius, an archon twice and stephanephoros, and a grandson of M. Aurelius Hermolaios, with the same titles:⁵⁴¹

[ἀγ]αθῆι τύχηι / Μάγνιον Διο/νύσιον, ἰππ/κὸν ἀπὸ στρατει/ῶν, υἱὸν Μ. · Αὐρ. ·
Δι/ονυσίου πρώτου / ἄρχοντος τὸ β' καὶ στε/φανηφόρου, ἔγγο/νον Μ. Αὐρ.
Ἑρμ[ο]/λάου πρώτου ἄρ/χοντος τὸ β' καὶ στ[ε]/φανηφόρου, Μάγν[ι/ο]ς Δ[ι]ονύσιος /
ἀνέστησεν]

A funerary inscription for children from Tiberiopolis in Phrygia mentions M. Ulpius Hermogenianos (**PhE 22**) as ἰππικός Ῥωμαῖος. He was also a *bouleutes* in

⁵³⁷ *I. Sardis* 61 and 43.

⁵³⁸ TAM V 1 542 and 553.

⁵³⁹ For a new member of this family cf. M. Haake, L. Flavius Stlaccius aus Sardis, der 'beste Sophist'. Eine neue Ehreninschrift aus Alexandria Troas für einen bislang unbekanntem Sophisten, E. Schwertheim (Hrsgb.), *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien VII* (Asia Minor Studien 66), Bonn 2011, 147-158; see also *CIL* VI 14190.

⁵⁴⁰ *IK Tralleis* 141; father of T. Flavius Clitosthenes and grandfather of T. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes.

⁵⁴¹ *MAMA V* Lists I, 181 no. 19 (= *IGR* IV 528).

Ancyra and Aizanoi which is both a testimony of his elite status and of the connection between elite groups in various cities:⁵⁴²

Μ. Οὔλπιος / ρος / Λ. . . . τατι/αγ Ἀγκυρα/νὸ[ς] κὲ Αἰζε/ανί[τ]ης /
βο/υλευτής / Μά[ρ](κοίς) Οὔλπ/ίοις Ἑρμο/γενιανῶ / ἰπικῶ Ῥω/μαίων κὲ /
Γρατιλλι/ανῶ τέκ/νοίς γλυκυτά/τοις μνήμης χάριν

Another very interesting inscription from Hierapolis is the commemorative stele from the first half of the 3rd century:⁵⁴³

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη / Ὑπόμνημα φα/μιλίας μονο/μάχων καὶ κυ/νηγεσίων καὶ / ταυροκαθασι/
ων Γναΐου Ἀρ/ρίου Ἀπουληΐ/ου, Αὐρηλιανοῦ / ὑοῦ, χειλιάρ/χου καὶ ἀρ/χιερέως, καὶ /
Αὐρηλιάς Με/λιτίνης Ἀττι/κιανῆς, ἀρχιε/ρείας, τῆς γυ/ναικὸς αὐτοῦ.

The gladiatorial shows were offered by, and the *familia* of gladiators belonged to Gnaeus Arrius Apuleius and his wife Aurelia Melitine Attikiane. Both were highpriests in the imperial cult of the city and both are otherwise unattested in Hierapolis. Arrius was *tribunus militum* (χειλιάρχος) and thereby *eques Romanus*. It was not unusual after mentioning tribuneship to omit any reference of a legion (nor of any of the other *tres militiae*, for that matter).

In Aizanoi there are several inscriptions honoring a certain Ti. Claudius Pardalas (**PhAA 13**), *archiereus Asias* in the temple in Pergamon.⁵⁴⁴ He was also stephanephoros, agonothete (three times?) of the Great Pentaeteric Games, strategos and the priest of Zeus:⁵⁴⁵

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν / Τι.] Κλ. Παρ[δαλᾶν ἀρχιερέα / Ἀσ]ίας ναῶν [τῶν ἐν
Περγάμῳ / σ]τεφανηφορήσαντα καὶ ἀ[γ/ω]νοθετήσαντα τρις τῶν μ[ε/γ]άλων
πενταετηρικῶν [ἀ/γ]ώνων, στρατηγῆσαν[τα . . . (?)] / κ[α]ὶ ἱερατεύσαντα τοῦ Δ[ι]ός].

⁵⁴² *MAMA IX P246 (= IGR IV 631)*.

⁵⁴³ *SEG XLVI 1657*; cf. L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, 56-57 and 170 no. 156 (= *IAPH2007 12.1211*).

⁵⁴⁴ *MAMA IX 18-21*.

⁵⁴⁵ *MAMA IX 19*.

This Ti. Claudius Pardalas could be identified as (or at least related to) one Claudius Pardalas, a strategos and *neokoros* in Pergamon during the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁵⁴⁶ This strategos was also a friend of Aelius Aristides and, from childhood, a friend of influential and very well connected C. Iulius Severus from Ankyra, *consul suffectus* in 139 AD.⁵⁴⁷ Aelius Aristides and Severus both agreed that Pardalas was an expert on oratory and literature.⁵⁴⁸ The *cognomen* Pardalas is also attested several times in Sardeis, but *nomen* of these individuals is Iulius.⁵⁴⁹

Another inscription from the area of Aizanoi records L. Claudius Pardalas, financially responsible for setting up a bomos for a friend, T. Flavius Lepidus.⁵⁵⁰

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ / ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Τ. Φλ. / Λέπιδον, τὸν / εὐεργέτην / τῆς πατρίδος / ἐν
πᾶσιν τὴν τειμὴν / ἀναστήσαν/τος παρ' ἑαυτοῦ Λ. Κλ. Παρ/δαλαῖ τοῦ φίλου / αὐτοῦ.

This same Pardalas appears also on a dedication by the freedman Chrestos on his master's behalf:⁵⁵¹

ὑπὲρ τῆς [τ]οῦ κυρί[ου] / σωτηρίας Λουκίου [Κλαυ]/δίου Παρδαλαῖ Χρηστο[ς] /
ΑΓΕΛΙ[. . Δι]ῖ Ἀβοζηνῶ εὐχ[ήν] / καὶ τοὺς [βω]μοὺς ἀνέστησεν.
C[—3?—] Μηνογένους / [— — —]γένους / [— — —] ΕΡΕ

As editors of *MAMA IX* argued, there is a slight possibility that L. Claudius Pardalas is the man attested in Pergamon, although heavily restored *MAMA IX* 19, together with other inscriptions mentioning Ti. Claudius Pardalas, make the latter a more suitable candidate for such eminent and influential friends, while L. Claudius Pardalas would have perhaps been a less distinguished member of the family.

However, there seems to be another family connection concerning L. Claudius Pardalas. In one honorary inscription, also from Aizanoi, the honorand is a high-priest

⁵⁴⁶ *PIR*² C 951.

⁵⁴⁷ His connections with Phrygia were mentioned in the previous chapter.

⁵⁴⁸ Ael. Arist. *Or.* L (26) 27 (432K) and 87 (447K).

⁵⁴⁹ Iulius Pardalas in *IEph* 3825 in Hypaipa; Tib. Iulius Pardalas from Sardeis on a military diploma *CIL* XVI 7 (22. dec. 68 AD); Socrates Pardalas *I. Sardis* 22; *I. Sardis* 91; *SEG* XXVIII 928.

⁵⁵⁰ *MAMA IX* P46.

⁵⁵¹ *MAMA IX* 54; cf. also possible restoration in *SEG* XL 1226 and *SEG* XLV 1720.

of Asia holding office in Smyrna before that city received its third *neokoria* under Caracalla (ca. 214 AD).⁵⁵²

— — — / [ἐν τῇ πρ]ώ<τη> / [τῆς] Ἀσίας καὶ δι[ς / νε]ωκόρω τῶν / [Σ]εβαστῶν
Σμυρ/ναίων πόλει <ἔ>/[κγον]ον Λουκίου / [] Κλαυδίου / [Σεουηρ]είνου / — — —

Both, Wörrle⁵⁵³ and editors of *SEG*⁵⁵⁴ believe that the honorand in question is L. Claudius Lepidus, attested as *archierus Asias* in the temple of Smyrna on two more inscriptions from Aizanoi:

ἡ Ἡρακλεᾶς φυλῆ / Λ. Κλ. Λέπιδον, τὸν / ἀρχινεωκόρον, ἱε/ρέα τοῦ αὐτοκράτο/ρος διὰ
βίου, ἀρχιερέ/α Ἀσίας ναῶν ἐν / Σμύρνη, στεφανη/φόρον καὶ ἀγωνο/θέτην
ἀποδεδει/γμένον τῆς πατρί/δος τὸν εὐεργέ/την, ἐπιμεληθέν/[τος — — —]⁵⁵⁵

and

ἡ Ἀδρι[ανῆ φυλῆ Λ.] / Κλ. [Λ]έ[πιδον, τὸν] / ἀρχινεώκο[ρον] / καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ
αὐ[το]/κράτορος διὰ β[ίου], / ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας [ναῶν] / τῶν τῆς λαμπ[ροτά]/της
Σμυρν[αίων πόλ]εως, στεφ[ανηφό]/ρον καὶ ἀγ[ωνοθέ]/την ἀπο[δεδειγμέ]/νον τῆς
π[ατρίδος], / τὸν εὐεργέ[την], / ἐπιμεληθέντο[ς] / Φιλίππου Ἀγαθίωνο[ς] / τοῦ
φυλάρχου.⁵⁵⁶

Wörrle suggests that L. Claudius Lepidus is the grandson of L. Claudius Severinus,⁵⁵⁷ also attested in *MAMA* IX 10 as supplying funds for an aqueduct and that L. Claudius Pardalas is the member of the same family. He also argues that Cl(audius) Severinus (identified as previously mentioned L. Claudius Severinus) and Berenike, on record on a sarcophagus found near Aizanoi in 1990 and now in the Museum of

⁵⁵² *MAMA* IX P51 = *IGR* IV 541.

⁵⁵³ M. Wörrle, *Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi I*, *Chiron* 22 (1992), 361-363.

⁵⁵⁴ Commentary on *SEG* XLII 1189.

⁵⁵⁵ *MAMA* IX P55 = *IGR* IV 586.

⁵⁵⁶ *SEG* XXVI 1352.

⁵⁵⁷ For the opinion that L. Claudius Lepidus was the brother of L. Claudius Severinus see M. D. Campanile, *Sommi sacerdoti, asiarchi e culto imperiale: un aggiornamento*, *Studi Ellenistici* 19 (2006), 537.

Kütahya (dating probably from around 150-175 AD) are possibly the parents of Severina, the wife of the famous M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurykles.⁵⁵⁸

One distinguished family originating from Eumeneia was also attested in Ephesos and Hierapolis. The first elite member was (M.) Claudius Valerianus (**PhAA 16**), *archiereus Asias* in the time of Domitian.⁵⁵⁹ His wife, Claudia Terentulla was also *archiereia Asias* attested on Eumenian coins.⁵⁶⁰ Their son M. Claudius Valerianus Tertullianus (**PhAA 17**) is attested in three inscriptions from Eumeneia. He erected an honorary inscription for the people of Eumeneia during the reign of Hadrian, presenting himself as υἱὸς Ἀσίας and ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας.⁵⁶¹ In the second, an honorary inscription for members of the Imperial family, the same man is ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ as well as *agonothetes* and *grammateus* of *boule*.⁵⁶² Finally, he left a grave monument for his loyal freedman Claudius Zosimos.⁵⁶³

An inscription from Ephesos records one Claudia Valeriana, daughter of a Valerianus, a priestess of Artemis.⁵⁶⁴ It is highly likely she was a daughter of (M.) Claudius Valerianus and Claudia Terentulla, especially since in an inscription from Hierapolis we find M. Flavius Valerianus Terentullianus (**PhAA 24**) as *archiereus Asias*.⁵⁶⁵ It is reasonable to assume that from his mother's side he belonged to the family of Claudii Valeriani from Eumeneia, while his father was a Flavius.

Suitable intermarriage between local notables raised the social standing of involved families, brought benefits to the individual families and, indirectly, to their native cities. The growing number of intermarriages between notables of different cities is particularly well attested for sophists' families. In one such case, Flavius Rufinianus, from Phocaea, who lived in the time of Commodus, married (Claudia) Callisto, from a famous family of sophists of Laodikeia. They had a son, the sophist L. Flavius Hermocrates.⁵⁶⁶ Callisto was the daughter of the sophist P. Antonius Claudius Attalos,

⁵⁵⁸ M. Wörrle, Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi I, *Chiron* 22 (1992), 362; more on Eurykles and his family in chapter 5.3

⁵⁵⁹ *RPC* II 1386-1387 (= *BMC Phrygia* 218, no. 47f).

⁵⁶⁰ *RPC* II 1388.

⁵⁶¹ *SEG* XXVIII 1115.

⁵⁶² *SEG* XXVIII 1116.

⁵⁶³ *MAMA* IV 336.

⁵⁶⁴ *IEph* 950.

⁵⁶⁵ *SEG* LII 1342 (after 132-161 AD): Μάρκον Φλάουιον / Οὐαλεριανὸν Τερεν/τυλλιανὸν ἀρχιερέ/α Ἀσίας / Πόπλιος Αἰβούτιος / Φλάκκος τὸν ἴδιον / καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς / αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέ/κνων εὐεργέτην.

⁵⁶⁶ *PIR*² F 285; Philostr. VS, p. 265; C. P. Jones, *Epigraphica* IV-V, *ZPE* 124 (2003), 127-130 on Hermocrates and members of his family.

who was probably the *prytanis* and *logistes* known from the coins of Synnada, and the aunt of the sophist M. Antonius Polemo, who served as the *strategos* in the city of Smyrna.⁵⁶⁷ Another good example is a marriage of the descendant of a notable family from Tralleis, senator C. Iulius Philippus⁵⁶⁸ to one of the daughters of the famous sophist T. Flavius Damianus⁵⁶⁹ from Ephesos, either Flavia Phaedrina⁵⁷⁰ or Flavia Lepida.⁵⁷¹ Damianus, on his part, was married into the famous Ephesian Vedii Antonini family.⁵⁷²

Family ties were very important, important enough to be mentioned in almost every inscription honoring elite members. Reference to illustrious ancestors and living relatives is almost obligatory, especially if they are descendants of Hellenistic royal families or Roman citizens of equestrian rank or higher.⁵⁷³

5.5 Municipal elite

Urban elite, civic aristocracy, civic magistrates are just some of the expressions describing a group of community leaders and their families. They are very prominent in the inscriptions from Asia Minor, especially honorific ones, and they influence our concept of city life in antiquity. Those inscriptions, important enough to be carved in stone, give us a certain image of the elite, although their everyday lives were probably more ordinary than we imagine.

Wealthy families are known from epigraphic evidence from Roman Asia Minor, and they represent the cream of the provincial and urban elite. Possessing substantial resources, holding the highest civic, provincial and, frequently, imperial offices, making huge benefactions, they managed to hold on to their top position through a combination

⁵⁶⁷ *PIR*² C 797; *PIR*² A 862; Philostr. VS, p. 227.

⁵⁶⁸ *PIR*² I 458.

⁵⁶⁹ *PIR*² F 253.

⁵⁷⁰ *PIR*² F 433.

⁵⁷¹ *PIR*² F 427.

⁵⁷² Vedii Antonini *PIR* F 392-394.

⁵⁷³ Cf. *SEG* XLI 1017 (area of Tripolis, 227 AD) ll. 2-9: [Φλ. ?] Ἀὐρ. Εἶλον ὑπ[α/τικώ]ν καὶ συνκλιτ[ι/κῶν] συγγενῆ καὶ ἀ[ρ/χειρ]έων τῆς Ἀσίας / [ἔκγ]ονον καὶ ἀπ[ό/γον]ον, μητρὸς ἀ[ρ/χειρ]είας, στρατη/[γῆσ]αντα καὶ στεφ[α/ν]ηφόρησαντα; of course, illustrious ancestors of municipal importance were also mentioned, cf. *SEG* L 1194 (Lydia, 2nd/3rd century AD): Ἡ κρ(ατίστη) βουλή καὶ ὁ σεμ(ν)ότ(ατος) / δῆμος Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀττίαν / Τατιανοῦ Οὐάλεντιλλ[ι]ανοῦ / ἔγγονον καὶ ἀπόγονον ἀρχιε/ρέων, πρυτάνεων, στρατη/γῶν, ἀγωνοθετῶν, στεφ[α/ν]ηφόρων, τὸν πρύτανιν / καὶ ἀγων[οθέτη]ν καὶ στεφ[α/ν]ηφόρον καὶ πρῶτον στρατη/γόν, τὸν Π[- - -]Ν εὖνουν / περὶ τῆ[ν] ἑαυ[τοῦ] πατρίδα / λόγων καὶ ἔργων ἔνεκα.

of fertility and clever strategies of marriage, adoption and succession. Other, lesser, elite families are likely to have tried to follow their counterparts in the highest social stratum in terms of style, attitude and appearance, and therefore also in terms of epigraphic representation. Urban centers flourished in Asia Minor during the first two centuries of Roman Empire. From the time of Augustus, Roman emperors preferred self-governing cities, communities that will fulfill one task: to help Empire run efficiently.⁵⁷⁴ Around the middle of the second century, the Roman Empire experienced a time of relative peace and prosperity and the Greek-speaking elite of the Eastern provinces of the Empire thrived.⁵⁷⁵ Civic administration was responsible for this imperial task and many of city's magistracies were not only honorable but financially burdensome, so wealth played a key role in forming this group. Communal behavior and interrelationships were regulated by the institutions of the polis itself.

The city was characteristically the place of residence of the elite, the center of political, social and cultural life. The great landowners, who formed at least the core of these political elite, lived in and played a dominant role in the organization of the town, although they also owned estates in the countryside. The same urban elite which idealized the ancestral values of the land defined its own elite status by its urbanity. Many inscriptions are commemorating benefactions members of the city elite bestowed on surrounding villages, probably close to their own estates. Nevertheless, both socially and politically, contact with the commercial world of the towns was inevitable for the elite. It could be assumed that the economic dimension was also vital. Both as patrons of freedmen engaged in trade, and as property owners collecting rents, a substantial portion of the urban elite must have derived at least part of their income from trade, even if they did not actually conducted businesses.⁵⁷⁶ As we shall see later, there are indications that some leading families in Roman Lydia (especially in Saittai) and Phrygia had been involved, at least indirectly, in the industrial and trade processes with professional associations.⁵⁷⁷ Many professional associations erected honorific inscriptions for city magistrates or benefactors, either grateful for the help they have

⁵⁷⁴ S. Mitchell, *Anatolia I*, 199; D. Magie, *Roman Rule*, 616; A. H. M. Jones, *Greek City*, 58.

⁵⁷⁵ For the third century crisis cf. L. de Blois, *The Third century Crisis and the Greek Elite in the Roman Empire*, *Historia* 33 (1984), 358-377.

⁵⁷⁶ A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Elites and trade in the Roman town*, in: J. Rich, A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country In The Ancient World*, London 1991, 254.

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. chapter 6.1.

already received or hoping to influence an important individual. Hierapolis and Laodikeia, true export cities under the Roman empire, were other examples whose urban elites built up their wealth not only from land but from their specialized production of luxury goods. As seen before, epigraphic documents rarely give clues to the honorand's wealth.

There is much evidence for the development of the provincial and municipal elite in the first three centuries of Roman rule. Due to hundreds of honorific inscriptions, detailing names and careers, we can assemble extensive family trees, connecting fathers and sons, husbands and wives, all of them graced with many glorious epithets.⁵⁷⁸ Some of these families were discussed in the previous chapters. Certain city magistrates were progenitors of the provincial elite, fathers of equestrians, grandfathers of senators.

Citizenship and the holding of provincial offices allowed local notables to form the provincial elite, which was facilitated by intermarriages and adoptions and by the acquisition of property in different parts of the province.

A very interesting case study of social mobility appears from the inscriptions concerning M. Iulius Dionysius Aquilianus from Thyateira in the second century AD. We first meet him around 140 AD as Dionysius, son of Menelaus, a child agonothete.⁵⁷⁹ Next he is called M. Iulius Dionysius Aquilianus and is *stephanephoros* twice and it also stated he loved fame from childhood.⁵⁸⁰ As Robert suggested, he was probably adopted by his paternal uncle M. Iulius Atticianus, together with his brother, later known as C. Iulius Celsianus.⁵⁸¹ In another inscription honoring Menelaus, son of Apollonius, the two brothers join in with *boule* and *demos* in honoring their deceased biological father.⁵⁸² Unlike other members of his family, Menelaus has no Romanized name, and all the titles listed in this inscription are actually those of the siblings, *stephanephoroi*, *pritaneria* and *agonothetai*. Their paternal uncle (θεῖος), and possible adoptive father is also mentioned as he was the one who covered the expenses for this generosity of two

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. tables 3 - 8.

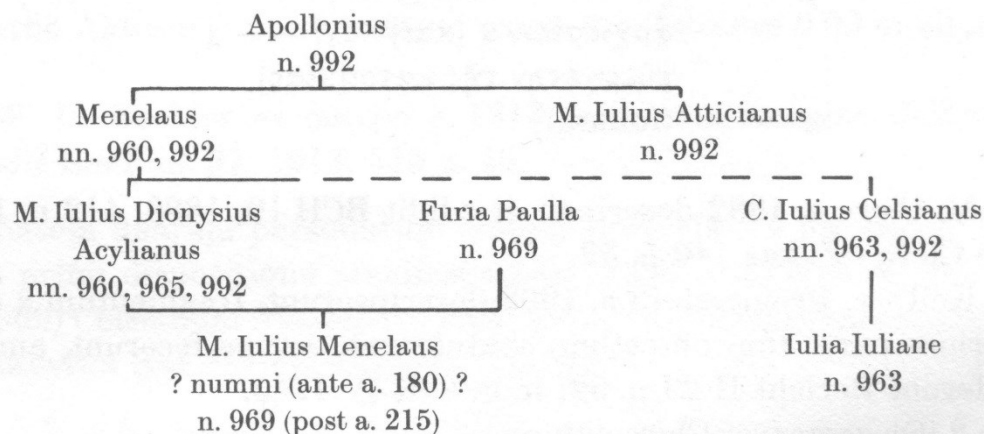
⁵⁷⁹ TAM V2 960.

⁵⁸⁰ TAM V2 965.

⁵⁸¹ L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 73-74, esp. n. 1; v. family *stemma* on the next page.

⁵⁸² TAM V2 992.

brothers.⁵⁸³ The last two inscriptions belong to the second generation. C. Iulius Celsianus had a daughter Iulia Iuliana, a great benefactor, a priestess of the Mother of Gods for life and agonothete and his titles were listed as well: *strategos*, *agoranomos*, *hipparchos*, *dekaprotos* and the distributor of τριτεῖς.⁵⁸⁴ Halfmann also speculates that there can be a connection with the well-known Sardian family of Celsii.⁵⁸⁵ M. Iulius Dionysius Aquilianus had a son, M. Iulius Menelaus, who was *archiereus* and *boularchos* for life and agonothete. In an inscription honoring him,⁵⁸⁶ both his parents are mentioned. By now, around 215 AD, Iulius Dionysius was asiarch in Pergamon, agonothete, *archiereus* and *stephanephoros* twice in his city and his wife Furia Paulla was *prytanis* in Ephesos. It looks like the boy Dionysius came to the top of provincial elite through all honorable civil offices and obviously one cannot dispute his φιλοδοξία.



The family *stemma* of M. Iulius Dionysius Acylianus from Thyateira
(taken from *TAM V2* p. 356)

⁵⁸³ *TAM V2* 992 ll. 10-14: Μάρκου / Ιουλίῳ Ἀττικιανοῦ τοῦ θεῖου αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὰ εἰς / τὰς φιλοδοξίας αὐτῶν ἀναλώματα ποιήσαντος; cf. Robert, *Hellenica VI*, loc. cit.

⁵⁸⁴ *TAM V2* 963: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / ἡ βουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Ἰουλίαν Ἰουλιανήν, θυγατέρα Γ. Ἰουλίῳ Κελσιανοῦ / στρατηγοῦ, ἀγορανόμου, ἱπάρχου, δεκα/πρώτου, τριτευτοῦ, ἱέρειαν τῆς Μη/τρὸς τῶν θεῶν διὰ βίου, ἀγωνοθετήσα/σαν λαμπρῶς καὶ πολυδαπάνως.

⁵⁸⁵ Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil*, 112.

⁵⁸⁶ *TAM V2* 969.

5.6 Benefactions of provincial and municipal elite

Like the members of the senatorial order, equestrians were also benefactors in their hometowns and, as such, received honors attested in the inscriptions. They were usually styled εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος⁵⁸⁷ or εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως.⁵⁸⁸ Aelius Dionysodorus, a Roman ἵππικός, is known only from a single inscription from Synnada. In this document he is mentioned as the first archon in charge of erecting a monument in honor of his fellow citizen, imperial procurator Aurelius Faustinus.⁵⁸⁹

τὸν κράτιστον / ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβ. / Αὐρ. Φαυστειῶν / τὸν εὐεργέτην / καὶ
κτίστην ἢ πατρίς / προνοησαμένων / τῆς ἀναστάσεως / τῶν περὶ Αἴλ. /
Διονυσόδωρον / ἵππικὸν / πρῶτον ἄρχοντα / τὸ β' ἄρχόντων.

In addition to being εὐεργέτης, procurator Aurelius Faustinus in MAMA VI 378 was κτίστης in his native Synnada.

M. Iulius Strenio Antistianus (**PhE 17**) from Synnada was a καθολικός (*rationalis*) in the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. He is honored by the *boule* and *demos* for his “unsurpassed benefactions” (interestingly enough, in spite of this grand claim no specific benefactions were mentioned in the inscription).⁵⁹⁰

Another equestrian benefactor, Aur. Klodios Eutyches, was honored in Temenothyrai. He was honored by the *boule* and the city (probably an alternative designation of *demos*) as a benefactor of his homeland.⁵⁹¹

ἀγαθῆ τύχη ἢ βουλῆ / Αὐρήλιον Κλώδιον / Εὐτύχην, ἵππικόν, καὶ / ἢ λαμπροτάτη
Τημενο/θυρέων πόλις ἢ πα/τρις τὸν εὐεργέτην / ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόρων / ἐτείμησεν
ἐπιμελησα/μένου τῆς ἀναστάσε/ως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος / Αὐρηλίου Σκο[π]ειλιανοῦ /
Ζεύξιδος βουλευτοῦ

⁵⁸⁷ MAMA VI 373 (Iulius Lycinius), MAMA VI 376 (M. Iulius Strenio Antistianus), MAMA VI 378 (Aurelius Faustinus) and IGR IV 615 (Aur. Klodion Eutyches).

⁵⁸⁸ IGR IV 883 (Tiberius Cl. Polemon).

⁵⁸⁹ MAMA VI 378.

⁵⁹⁰ MAMA VI 376: Μ. Ἰούλ. Στρηνίωνα / Ἀντιστιανὸν / τὸν διασημότατον / καθολικὸν / ἢ κρατίστη βουλῆ / καὶ ὁ εὐεγενέστατος / δῆμος <διὰ τὰς> ἀνυπερβλήτους ἐν πᾶσι / [περὶ τὴν <πατρίδα ε>ὐ<εργεσίας>, / τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἀναστάσεως / ποιησαμένου Μ. Αὐρ. Ἐπικτήτου / ἡουοκάτου τῶν Σεβαστῶν; cf. PIR² I 392.

⁵⁹¹ IGR IV 615.

Their donations were probably similar, although perhaps more modest, than those made by senatorial families. Most of the benefactions were made for festivals, public buildings and distributions.⁵⁹² One could argue that *homines equestri censu* had more impact on everyday life and civic society than the frequently absent senators. Except in scale of their achievements (but even this is debatable), the public activity of equestrians is not different than the activity of the other local grandees. It is necessary, therefore, to treat all of the benefactions as manifestations of a single socio-political phenomenon.

Thanks to hundreds of honorific inscriptions (thousands in the terms of entire Asia Minor), we see various social, political and economic aspects of this phenomenon. In spite of it being very important for creating the desired image of the city's wealthiest, there is no single ancient Greek word for it. Euergetism is a modern term (although derived from an ancient Greek word), and is treated as a serious topic among scholars from the beginning of 20th century onwards. It represents a display of private munificence in the community. The word derives from the Greek *euergetes*, or benefactor, an honorific title awarded to generous elite individuals, frequent in inscriptions, and also used in the phrase *euergetein ten polin*, making a benefaction to the city. In ancient Greek, *euergesia* was the term commonly used for a benefaction. Benefactions were the subject of 1976 book by Paul Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, from the socio-economic point of view⁵⁹³ and many other studies discussed this issue.⁵⁹⁴ Most recent monograph on euergetism is one by Arjan Zuiderhoek in 2009.⁵⁹⁵ For Zuiderhoek, euergetism was a form of gift-exchange between a rich citizen and his (occasionally her) city/community of fellow citizens, or groups within the citizenry.⁵⁹⁶ Epigraphic documents from the cities of Asia Minor often testify how rich and powerful individuals bestowed on their fellow citizens new temples, public and utilitarian buildings, and gifts in money, oil wine or food.

⁵⁹² Zuiderhoek, *The Politics*, 76-77.

⁵⁹³ P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque: sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*, Paris, 1976. (non vidi).

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. S. Price, *Rituals and Power*, Cambridge, 1984; S. Cramme, *Die Bedeutung des Euergetismus für die Finanzierung städtischer Aufgaben in der Provinz Asia* (Inaugural Dissertation), Köln, 2001.

⁵⁹⁵ A. Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 2009.

⁵⁹⁶ Zuiderhoek, *The Politics*, 6.

Euergetism was a complex phenomenon, its many aspects still being subjected to heated debate. Although this has been disputed fairly recently,⁵⁹⁷ most of the scholars still maintain the opinion that euergetism was essential addition to revenues of every city. In this way, the financial dependence of the cities on the wealthy assured the power of individuals in those cities. Nevertheless, the key features of euergetism seem to have been of a political and ideological nature; as symbolic affirmation of civic social and political ideals, and the elite's need for affirmation and legitimation of their power and prestige. From the later Hellenistic period the agoras, gymnasiums, various public buildings and theaters of most Greek cities were already filled with a multitude of statues of benefactors or other honorands. Confronted with this multitude of statues inherited from the past, the new benefactors had to somehow distinguish themselves from the ordinary recipients of honors. This escalation resulted in the commissioning of statues that were oversize, equestrian or gilded, separated at first sight from the ordinary dedications. In certain ways benefactors were no longer seen as ordinary citizens. They were perhaps seen, as Stevenson stated, “ as procreative or tutelary figures of singular virtue, resembling the ideal benefactor presented through religion.”⁵⁹⁸ The epithets used in honorific inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia seem to support this. Most simply, a benefactor can be described as a good man, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός,⁵⁹⁹ good father or a son, πατήρ/υἱός καλός καὶ ἀγαθός.⁶⁰⁰ Other virtues might be mentioned in a straightforward manner: the honored is then said to possess qualities such as φιλοτιμία (love of honour),⁶⁰¹ φιλοδοξία (love of fame),⁶⁰² φιλοπατρία⁶⁰³ (love of one's native city), μεγαλοπρέπεια (liberality), μεγαλοφροσύνη⁶⁰⁴ or μεγαλοψυχία⁶⁰⁵ (greatness of mind/spirit, i.e. magnanimity, generosity). Alternatively, the virtuous character of the honored might show from the manner in which he (or, sometimes, she) has performed

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid, 23-36.

⁵⁹⁸ Cf. T. R. Stevenson, Social and Psychological Interpretations of Graeco-Roman Religion: Some Thoughts on the Ideal Benefactor, *Antichthon* 30 (1996), 1-18.

⁵⁹⁹ *I. Sardis* 27; *IK Tralleis* 73; 109, *TAM* V2 937; cf. also ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ φιλόπατρην *IK Tralleis* 80; *CIG* 3831a=*MAMA* IX P41; *Alt.v.Hierapolis* 39; *IGR* IV 1161=Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 84, no. 28.

⁶⁰⁰ *TAM* V3 1488.

⁶⁰¹ *TAM* V2 950; 989; 998; 1003; *TAM* V3 1488; 1489; *IK Tralleis* 81; 90; *MAMA* IX P 6; 7.

⁶⁰² *I. Sardis* 64; *TAM* V2 965; 989; *MAMA* IX 35; P42.

⁶⁰³ *I. Sardis* 47; 61; *TAM* V2 829; 929; 954 (a woman); 989; 994; 1192; 1193; *TAM* V3 1488; *IK Tralleis* 80; *MAMA* IV 296; *MAMA* V 6; *IGR* IV 783=*MAMA* VI List 146, no. 105; *SEG* VI, 167=*MAMA* VI List 149, no. 167; *MAMA* IX P36; 40; 41.

⁶⁰⁴ *TAM* V2 950 ; 960.

⁶⁰⁵ *I. Sardis* 47; *TAM* V2 993; *MAMA* IX 27.

certain duties or taken certain actions. He can then, for instance, be said to have acted σεμνῶς (in an august or stately manner),⁶⁰⁶ ἐνδόξως (honourably),⁶⁰⁷ ἐπιφανῶς (lit. shiningly, i.e. conspicuously, famously),⁶⁰⁸ λαμπρῶς (splendidly, illustriously).⁶⁰⁹ Often, also, one of the virtues mentioned above is used in adverbial form, i.e. someone can be said to have acted φιλοτίμως (ambitiously) or μεγαλοπρεπῶς (liberally, generously).⁶¹⁰ Finally, virtues and qualities of character might be implied by certain honorific titles, such as σωτήρ (saviour),⁶¹¹ κτίστης (founder, mostly in the sense of restorer)⁶¹² or εὐεργέτης (benefactor).⁶¹³ One example of these greatest honors would be the following inscription:⁶¹⁴

ὁ δῆμος / τὸ Ξενώνηον καὶ τὴν ἐντο/[μ]ὴν [κα]θιέρωσεν Γαίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Ἀπο[λ]/[λωνί]δου υἱῷ Ξένωνι ἥρωι εὐερ/γέτη γεγονότι ἀρχιερεῖ τοῦ / [Σ]ε[βαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ θεᾶς Ῥώ/μης καὶ εὖ πεποηκότι πᾶσαν τὴν] / Ἀσίαν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κατὰ πά[ν]/τα σωτήρι καὶ εὐεργέτη καὶ κτ[ί/στη]ι καὶ πατρὶ γεγονότι τῆς πα/[τρί]δος, πρώτῳ Ἑλλήνων. κατ[ε]/σ[κεύα]σαν οἱ <I>ουλιασ[ταί].

C. Julius Xenon of Thyateira, who had bestowed great benefits on the whole of Asia and on his own city, was honored as a hero, as well as the σωτήρ, κτίστης and εὐεργέτης of his native city in the first half of Augustus' reign with a *heroon* named after him, and was commemorated by an association also named after him. Unfortunately the specific architectural form of the Xenoneion cannot be determined, but it is presumed to have incorporated his tomb.⁶¹⁵

All of the moral qualities just mentioned were in fact only aspects of the general ἀρετή (virtuousness) of the καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες (honourable and good men) who

⁶⁰⁶ TAM V2 948; *Alt.v.Hierapolis* 39; TAM V3 1488.

⁶⁰⁷ TAM V2 829; 942; 943; 946; 950; 983; 993; TAM V3 1489; *IK Tralleis* 147b; *SEG* XLI 1017; *MAMA* IV 130; *Alt.v. Hierapolis* 39.

⁶⁰⁸ *I. Sardis* 27; 89; TAM V2 875; 983; 1001; 1105; TAM V3 1489; *IK Tralleis* 112; *SEG* XXXV 1365; *MAMA* IX 33; P 41; P43; *IGR* IV 1161=Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 84, no. 28.

⁶⁰⁹ TAM V2 829; *IGR* IV 1161=Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 84, no. 28.

⁶¹⁰ TAM V2 829; 944; 983; 998.

⁶¹¹ TAM V2 1098; 1194; *IK Tralleis* 74; *IGR* IV 570=*MAMA* P34.

⁶¹² TAM V2 1098; *IK Tralleis* 74; *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 40; *IGR* IV 642; *SEG* VI, 167=*MAMA* VI List 149, no. 167; *MAMA* IX P58.

⁶¹³ TAM V2 829; 1098; 1194; *IGR* IV 642; *IGR* IV 570=*MAMA* IX P34; *IGR* IV 577=*MAMA* IX P40; *MAMA* IX 17; 22; 25; 26; P56=*SEG* XXVI 1352; *IGR* IV 586=*MAMA* IX P55; *SEG* XXXV 1365.

⁶¹⁴ TAM V2 1098.

⁶¹⁵ S. Cormack, *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor*, Wien 2004, 149.

ruled the cities, and who showed their εὐνοια πρὸς τὸν δῆμον (goodwill towards the people) by holding public offices, performing liturgies and making public benefactions.⁶¹⁶ Φιλόπατρις could sometimes be seen as an honorific municipal title similar to φιλοκαῖσαρ and φιλοσέβαστος and is often associated with them.⁶¹⁷ It was also the world of competition and display, which is summed up in the mentioned term φιλοτιμία, love of honor, and it had a darker side, although it could not be seen from the honorific inscriptions. Literary sources provide the necessary information. In his *Precepts of Statecraft* Plutarch makes a passing reference of the civil strife in Sardeis because of the rivalry between two of its citizens. He declares τὴν Παρδαλᾶ πρὸς Τυρρηγνὸν ἔχθραν, ὡς ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἀνελεῖν τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐξ αἰτιῶν μικρῶν καὶ ἰδίων εἰς ἀπόστασιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐμβαλοῦσα.⁶¹⁸ We have to take this statement carefully, as it is quite possible that Plutarch was a bit exaggerating.

Some kind of pattern is discernible. The person's name is mentioned, his/her outstanding character, his/her benefactions which preserve or save those concerned and the praise is elaborated. In time, the inscriptions tend to be more fulsome in praise, specifying a number of virtues which explain person's ἀρετή. Growing number of benefactions has given new and particular emphasis on the unselfishness of the benefactor. A good example of the honors bestowed on the city benefactor and most of the epithets mentioned is an inscription from Thyateira, end of 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century.⁶¹⁹

[ἀγ]αθῆι τύχηι / [ῆ] βουλή/ [— — — Λαιβιανοῦ] τοῦ Καλ[λι]στράτου
ἀγωνοθετήσαν-

[τα] τοῦ πρὸ πόλεως Τυρίμνου ἐν/[δό]ξως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς ἔν τε δια/[νο]μαῖς καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν ταῖς πρὸς / [τῆ]ν βουλήν ἀναστραφέντα φιλο/[τ]είμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ / [τ]ὰς δημοτελεῖς θυσίας καὶ ἐο[ρ/τ]ὰς ἀφθόνως καὶ ἀνυπερβλή/[τ]ως ἐπιτελέσαντα

⁶¹⁶ Zuiderhoek, *The Politics*, 122.

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Buckler-Robinson, Honorific inscriptions from Sardis, *AJA* 17 (1913), 39-40; for a regular epithet cf. *I. Sardis* 47; 61; *TAM* V2 829; 929; 954 (a woman); 989; 994; 1192; 1193; *TAM* V3 1488; *IK Tralleis* 80; *MAMA* IV 296; *MAMA* V 6; *IGR* IV 783=*MAMA* VI List 146, no. 105; *SEG* VI, 167=*MAMA* VI List 149, no. 167; *MAMA* IX P36; 40; 41; cf. φιλόπολις in *SEG* XXXV 1365 (Aizanoi) and φιλογέροντα in *IGR* IV 783=*MAMA* VI List 146, no. 105.

⁶¹⁸ Plut. *Praecepta* 825D: the enmity of Pardalas and Tyrrhenus, which came near to destroying Sardis by involving the State in rebellion and war as the result of petty private matters; English translation by H. N. Fowler.

⁶¹⁹ *TAM* V2 983.

ἐν τῇ πα/νηγύρει, κοσμήσαντα τὴν πατρί/δα ἐν τε τῷ θυμικῷ καὶ γυμν[ι/[κ]ῷ ἀγῶνι
θέμασιν ἄσυνκρίτοις / οἴκοθεν καὶ τειμήμασιν πρὸς πάν/τας τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς κατ’ ἀξίαν
τοῦ / θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς Λαιβιανοῦ, ἀνδρὸ[ς] / ἐν πάσαις ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις / καὶ
ὑπηρεσίαις τῇ πατρίδι· ἐπιμελη/θέντος Ἀντωνίου Βάσσου.

Adverbs ἐνδόξως and ἐπιφανῶς describe Laevianus’ *agonothesia* as praiseworthy and splendidly accomplished. Also, charitable distributions to the boule (δια[νο]μαῖς καὶ ἐπιδόσεις) were described by combined adjectives φιλοτείμως and μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ambitiously and generously done. Laevianus completed public sacrifices and festivities ἀφθόνως καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτως (plentifully and incomparably) with public feasts, as well. He also adorned the fatherland with theatrical and gymnastic games and performed all the *archai*, *leitourgiai* and *hyperesiai* obediently and with love and honor for his country.

There are many other adverbs that are frequently used in inscriptions to single out honorand’s exceptional qualities in performing public tasks, such as συμφερόντως (“profitably”, “beneficially”), ἐπιμελῶς (“with care”) or ἀγνῶς (“purely”, “without any guilt”). In most cases we cannot tell the reality behind the phrase, if an honorand actually carried out his duties in a way that was truly exceptional compared to the other magistrates. Frequency of usage by itself speaks against such a conclusion; it is much more likely that even the less efficient official were praised with the same vocabulary. In the following honorary inscription from Sardis a public-minded citizen’s work is praised using exactly these adverbs:⁶²⁰

Ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν / Τι. Κλαύδιον Θεογέ/νην Λαχανᾶν ἄνδρα / καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν,
ἀ/ γορανομήσαντα λαν/πρῶς καὶ γραμματεῦ/σαντα τοῦ δήμου συν/φερόντως καὶ ἐργε/
πιστατήσαντα ἐπι/μελῶς καὶ ἀγνῶς καὶ / ἐν πᾶσιν δημοφελῶς, / ἀναστραφέντα οὐ
μόνον / ἀναλογούντως ταῖς προ/γονικαῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς / τοῦ γένους εὐπραξίας
τῇ / περὶ τὴν πατρίδα περισπου/δάστῳ διαθέσει κεκοσμηκῶτα.

⁶²⁰ SEG XLVIII 1472 (50 AD).

The phrases μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως (“brilliantly and with distinction”) are frequently combined in describing a benefactor, as in the following inscription from Attaleia in Lydia:⁶²¹

ἡ βουλὴ [καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος / ὁ Ἀτταλεατῶν ἐτείμησαν Διονύσιον Γλύκωνος ἄνδρα
φιλόπα/τρην κ(αὶ) εὐεργέτην, με/τέχοντα κ(αὶ) τῆς προε/δρίας, ἄρξαντα μεγα/λοπρεπῶς
κ(αὶ) ἐνδόξω[ς] / ἐξ οἰκείων δαπανημά/των στρατηγίαν τε κ(αὶ) ἱπ/παρχίαν κ(αὶ)
νομοφυλα/κίαν κ(αὶ) ἀγορανομίαν κ(αὶ) / σειτωνία[ν], καθὰ ἡ πατρι[ς] / ἐψηφίσατο,
κ(αὶ) πρυτανεί/αν τῷ πέ[ρ]υσιν ἔτει τῆ[ν] / λαμπροτάτην ἀρχήν, / ἀνασταθείσης τῆς
τει/μῆς ἐπὶ Μενεκράτους β' / ἄρχ(οντος) α' κ(αὶ) ἱερέως τῶν κυρί/ων αὐτοκρατόρων,
γραμ/ματεύοντος βουλῆς δή/μου Ἀλυπιανοῦ Ἀλύπη/ [του(?)].

Local patriotism and love of one’s fellow citizens is also the motive most frequently encountered in inscriptions recording gifts by generous members of the urban elite. Therefore when elite donors motivate their gifts by saying that they have ‘loved my dearest homeland from my earliest youth’ or wish ‘to requite the native town that bred and loves me’ there is no reason to doubt their sincerity. Roman citizenship, which became increasingly widespread in the east during the second century AD, never managed to replace local citizenship and it was never supposed to; instead, the two statuses simply co-existed. And this is evident from the fact that cities regarded the grant of their citizenship to outsiders who had done them well as one of the highest honors they could bestow, at least on a foreigner. Members of urban elites, however powerful, wealthy or influential in the wider world of the Empire, probably first and foremost felt themselves to be citizens of their native communities, and, most importantly, fellow citizens of their poorer compatriots.⁶²² That was one of the reasons why rich benefactors, members of the city’s elite, wanted to donate public and utilitarian buildings. Benefactions mostly consisted of public buildings or donations of public games and festivals or distribution of money, food and oil. Gifts of games and festivals or, for instance, large distributions of money among all citizens, or of oil for

⁶²¹ TAM V2 829.

⁶²² I.e. *MAMA* XI 45: citizen of Eukarpiā; *MAMA* XI 123: citizen of Eumeneia; *IEph* 3809 (Hypaipa): citizen of Sardeis; *IEph* 3813 (Hypaipa): citizen of Thyateira; Malay, *Researches* no. 59: citizen of Thyateira;

the gymnasia, were sometimes quite expensive. Especially if the gift was made in the form of a foundation or a donation of e.g. a whole building; that was reserved for the richest among urban elite. Small-scale money distributions among select groups of citizens, often the council and/or the *gerousia*, suggests that relatively modest gifts predominated.

When elite generosity was displayed through erecting or adorning buildings the emphasis was clearly on those types of public structures that made a city ‘urban’ in the Greco-Roman sense. Temples, stoas, baths, gymnasia, *bouleuteria*, theatres, public buildings which dominate the cityscape of every true polis, were the most favoured objects of munificence in public building. Temples and sanctuaries were the most popular, as many benefactors were often priests of the city’s cults as well. Stoas came in a close second place. Elite benefactors, eager to transform their cities into magnificent civic landscapes, found in the colonnaded avenue their perfect form. Stoas, colonnaded streets, were civic surroundings par excellence. Next were baths and gymnasia. In Roman Asia Minor, these two were usually combined in one single complex, a synthesis of the Hellenistic gymnasium and the Roman bath building. The gymnasium was a perhaps central institution in the life of the civic community and required the financial support of the members of the local elites.⁶²³ After them come also theatres and agoras. Most agoras combined the functions of a local market, place of worship, venue for social interaction and sociability, center of competitive elite display (in the form of monuments and statues) and stage for general architectural and sculptural splendor. Hence, in a very literal sense, the agora was the center of everyday life. Sardis and Aizanoi are great examples of elaborate civic building benefactions.⁶²⁴ Perhaps this kind of benefactions was one of the reasons to bestow the epithet κτίστης⁶²⁵ or even in one place οἰκιστῆς τῆς πόλεως⁶²⁶ to a benefactor. In doing so,

⁶²³ For the analysis of individual complexes see (among others) F. Yegül, *The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis*, Harvard, 1986; G. Thériault, Culte des évergètes romains et agônes en Asie Mineure, in: K. Konyuk (ed.), *Stephanéphors de l'économie antique à l'Asie Mineure. Hommages à Raymond Descat*, Bordeaux 2012, 377-387; F. K. Yegül, Memory, metaphor and meaning in the cities of Asia Minor, E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations and Failures* (JRA Suppl. 38), Portsmouth 2000, 133-153.

⁶²⁴ Cf. S. Cramme, *Die Bedeutung des Euergetismus für die Finanzierung städtischer Aufgaben in der Provinz Asia* (Inaugural Dissertation), Köln 2001, 248-271.

⁶²⁵ TAM V2 1098; IK Tralleis 74; IK Laodikeia am Lykos 40; IGR IV 642; SEG VI, 167=MAMA VI List 149, no. 167; MAMA IX P58.

⁶²⁶ TAM V2 966; probably the same meaning as κτίστης; cf. also Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 115-118.

the benefactor was equaled with the heroic founders adding a cultic aspect to it.⁶²⁷ An interesting example is C. Voconius Aelius Stratonicus from Dorylaion in Phrygia, who was called Ἀκόμας νέος after the heroic founder Akamantios Dorylaos.⁶²⁸

Games and festivals, therefore, were also a popular form of munificence. In many ways, they precisely fitted the bill of what an oligarchic elite of rich citizens in a Greek city of Roman times needed in order to maintain social harmony. By financing a number of civic institutions which would otherwise have been abandoned or greatly reduced in size, the benefactors performed a great service for their cities. Some offices were costly *leitourgiai*, and their holders were regularly praised for meeting official expenses and making various sorts of benefaction when in office.⁶²⁹ For this reason basic features of these offices were similar to those *leitourgiai* which survived into the imperial period from earlier times. They could be performed more than once as well as “for life” and “in perpetuity” and also simultaneously with other offices. The distinction between *archai* and *leitourgiai* was not always clear.⁶³⁰ “Highest” and “first” *archai* became part of “other *leitourgiai*,” implying that these and similar adjectives designated not so much administratively important offices but those that were primarily socially prestigious.⁶³¹ The coexistence of the two words perhaps points out that their meanings remained distinct in the Roman times, as in this inscription:⁶³²

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία / ἐτείμησαν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Τιβερίου υἱὸν /
Κυρίνα Ἰουλιανὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ / Κλαύδιον Διομήδην ἥρωα, Τιβέριον
Κλαύδιον / Χαιρέα<v> ἥρωα, πατρὸς καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, στρατηγοῦ / δις καὶ
στεφανηφόρου καὶ γυμνασιάρχου, καὶ τὰς / μεγίστας ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λειτουργίας
τῆ

⁶²⁷ J. H. M. Strubbe, Gründer kleinasiatischer Städte: Fiktion und Realität, *Ancient Society* 15-17 (1984-1986), 290.

⁶²⁸ *MAMA V Lists I*, 181, no. 30 (=IGR IV 527): τὸν κτίστην πόλεως / Ἀκαμάντιον ὄς, Δορύλαον, κοῦρον ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους ἢ Ἀκάμαντα νέον / τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔργοις στεφανούμενον, ἀντί νυ πολλῶν / ὧν ἔπορεν πατρί, φυλῆ Ἀκερσεκόμου / ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ἀναστάσεως · Αὐρ. · Στέφανος β’ / ὁ φιλόσοφος; his name is attested in *MAMA V Lists I*, 181, no. 22 (=IGR IV 526) and *MAMA V Lists I*, 181, no. 33 (=IGR IV 525).

⁶²⁹ *TAM V2* 964.

⁶³⁰ I. Lévy, Etudes sur la vie municipale de l’Asie Mineure II, *REG* 12 (1899), 255-256 ; cf. S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2005, 109-140 ; M. Sartre, *Asie Mineure*, 224-225 ; Chr. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, 535.

⁶³¹ *TAM V3* 1488.

⁶³² *TAM V3* 1488; cf. also *TAM V2* 983.

πατρίδι φιλοτίμως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως ἐκτελέσαντος / υἱὸς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, αἰδήμονας / σεμνοὺς / μετρίους, πεπαιδευμένους, φιλοπάτριδας καὶ / φιλοπάτορας.

Tiberius Claudius, son of Tiberius, was praised for having performed the “highest *archai*” and “other *leitourgiai*”. But here too, although *archai* counted as *leitourgiai* (surely because of financial expenditures that their holders had to bear), they were distinguished as a separate group of responsibilities. *Leitourgiai* also started to be described as “the greatest” or “remarkable” and “estimable”. These designations reflected the mounting cost of holding such offices, which raised their social prestige and turned them increasingly into social functions rather than administrative positions. The eponymous officials were still the most honored ones,⁶³³ but the post of secretary, γραμματεὺς, played a significant, political, role as they were the ones who prepared and summoned the council and acted as intermediaries with Roman government. Gymnasiarchs⁶³⁴ and *agonothetai* were prestigious *leitourgiai* that were bringing festivities and glory to the city. Even so, no analogy with Roman *cursus honorum* can be made as there is no regular hierarchy of magistracies in Greek cities of Asia Minor.⁶³⁵

There is a widespread consensus among the scholars that the real power in Graeco-Roman city lay in the *boule*. Many have observed the changes of this administrative body in Roman period.⁶³⁶ Decrees of the Greek cities in the Roman east continue to use the formula “the council (*boule*) and people (*demos*) decide/honour” well into the 3rd century. Nevertheless, Mitchell stated that when the council and people took the commonplace action of voting honors to an individual, the council was invariably named first, no doubt implying that it had initiated the action, and the verb describing the action is frequently inscribed in the singular, ignoring the presence of the people altogether.⁶³⁷ He also noted that in inscriptions of Aizanoi the singular ἐτείμησεν is usual after ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.⁶³⁸ It may be true for Aizanoi⁶³⁹ and few

⁶³³ For the list of eponymous officials in Asia Minor cf. R. K. Sherck, The eponymous officials of Greek cities III, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 225–260 and The eponymous officials of Greek cities IV, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 223–272.

⁶³⁴ There is also a female gymnasiarch in Dorylaion, Phrygia *MAMA* V List I 182, no. 82=IGR IV 522.

⁶³⁵ Cf. Lévy *REG* 12 (1899), 263.

⁶³⁶ Lévy, *REG* 8 (1895), 219–231; M. Sartre, *Asie Mineure*, 223;

⁶³⁷ Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 201.

⁶³⁸ Lemma on *MAMA* IX 27.

other exceptions from the plural ἐτείμησον have been observed in these provinces.⁶⁴⁰ Even if that is a case on quite a number of recorded occasions in cities throughout the Roman east, it is the people (*demos*) on their own who are stated to have made a decision, without any apparent involvement of the council.⁶⁴¹ Since by the 2nd century AD the *boule* was more or less a closed body of the members of the wealthiest families in any given city, it is only reasonable to assume that any elite activities debated and decided primarily there. However, there is a clear connection between benefactors and wider community; the benefactors were reacting to specific public expectations. The closed bodies such as *boule* were not an ideal medium for this type of exchange. Therefore it can be assumed that it was in the assembly, not in the *boule*, that members of the elite wishing to act as public benefactors first made their public promise and negotiated and defended the terms and conditions of their gifts.

Two important groups associated with the *boule* can be differentiated. *Dekaprottoi* were probably leading members of the city council, usually described as “the first ten of the city”.⁶⁴² They are attested in Lydia in Hierokaisareia,⁶⁴³ Thyateira,⁶⁴⁴ Philadelphia,⁶⁴⁵ Tralleis,⁶⁴⁶ Iulia Gordos,⁶⁴⁷ but rarely in Phrygia, only three times.⁶⁴⁸ The *dekaproteia* was a prestigious *leitourgia*, exhibiting further evidence that local pride had its monetary value. These officials in Greek cities are generally considered to have corresponded to the *decemprimi* in the west and they were in charge of collecting of the taxes paid to Rome, for which the civic authorities were responsible.⁶⁴⁹ Until

⁶³⁹ *MAMA* IX 24; 25; 26; 27; 35; P36; P37; P39; P41; P42; P43; P45; P46; SEG XXIX 1380.

⁶⁴⁰ Phrygia: *MAMA* IV 15 (Akroenos); 124; 128; 129; 131; Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics* 759, 696 (Metropolis); 142 (Apollonia); *SEG* XXXVII 1099bis (Amorion); Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics* 613, 519 (Temenothyrai); Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics* 378, 204 (Eumeneia); *SEG* VI 237 (Stektorion); *BCH* 17 (1893), p. 282 no. 84 (Synnada); Lydia: *TAM* V2 835 (Attalia); 946; 960; 964; 992; 1006; 1013 (Thyateira); 1192 (Apollonis); 1323 (Hyrcanis); *I Sardis* 52; 58.

⁶⁴¹ For example: *TAM* V1 604 (Satala); *TAM* V2 934; 1035 (Thyateira); 1194 (Apollonis); 1264 (Hierocaesarea); *MAMA* VI List p. 146 no. 110 (= *IGR* IV 787).

⁶⁴² Jones, *Greek City*, 139.

⁶⁴³ *TAM* V2 1226.

⁶⁴⁴ *TAM* V2 930; 939; 940; 942; 945; 946; 947; 948; 963; 982; 989; 991; 999; 1024.

⁶⁴⁵ *TAM* V3 1459; 1663.

⁶⁴⁶ *IK Tralleis* 60; 77; 90; 120; 145.

⁶⁴⁷ M. Riel, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, *EA* 45 (2012), 73-87.

⁶⁴⁸ *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 47; *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 32; *MAMA* VI List p. 149 n. 171 (= *IGR* IV 657).

⁶⁴⁹ Jones (*loc. cit.*) states: “The relation of the ‘first ten’ to the collectors (of tax) is obscure; both are stated to have exacted the tribute and both were liable to make good deficits from their own property. The ‘first ten’ seem, however, to have been of higher rank than the collectors, who no doubt worked under their orders”; in n. 85 he quotes Ulpian on the responsibility of *dekaprottoi*, *Dig. L, IV, 3*: *decaprotos etiam minors annis XXV fieri, non militantes tamen, pridem placuit; quia patrimonii magis onus videtur esse.*

fairly recently the date of introduction of *dekaprotoi* in the province of Asia was somewhat uncertain. Earlier generations of ancient historians and epigraphists, such as Magie, assumed they were not documented before the early second century in Asia Minor.⁶⁵⁰ However, one inscription from Tralleis mentioning *dekaproteia* was dated to 1st century AD.⁶⁵¹ This inscription, originally published in 1875,⁶⁵² was dated to 1st century AD by Bernhard Laum on the basis of the reconstruction of the line $\text{Iov K\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}\nu}$ as $[\Gamma(\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu)\ \text{I}\acute{o}\upsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\ \text{K\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}\nu}$.⁶⁵³ Assuming the proposed dating was correct this inscription would be the proof that there were indeed *dekaprotoi* in the province of Asia in the 1st century AD. However, some editors have noticed slight traces of the letter T in the beginning of the line in question, making the abovementioned reconstruction impossible. On these grounds most of the recent authors have also maintained that there are no known *dekaprotoi* in Asia Minor until the 2nd century AD.⁶⁵⁴ Recent epigraphical discovery furnished conclusive proof that *dekaprotoi* were present in Asia Minor much earlier. One newly published inscription from Iulia Gordos mentioning $\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ roughly belongs to the middle of the 1st century AD, while the other (the later one) is firmly dated to 69/70 AD. Together they prove that *dekaprotoi* existed in Asia Minor already in the mid first century AD. “The evidence is admittedly scant, but we can now make a suggestion that *dekaprotoi* were introduced at some point in time between 20 and 50 AD, at any rate, before 69/70 AD.”⁶⁵⁵

As a *leitourgia*, the *dekaproteia* could be held for more than a year.⁶⁵⁶ The panel of *dekaprotoi* became the representative body of the leading people in the city. Depending on the size of the city, personal wealth of the councilors, the financial burden, and probably some other considerations as well, either ten or twenty “first men” could be easily selected in time of need.

⁶⁵⁰ Magie, *Roman Rule*, 648.

⁶⁵¹ *IK Tralleis* 145.

⁶⁵² *Mouseion* I (1873-1875), 126, no. 38; M. Pappakonstantinou, J. R. S. Sterrett, *MDAI(A)* 8, 1883, 328-330, no. 10; J. R. S. Sterrett, *Inscriptions of Tralles* no. 10; M. Pappakonstantinou, *Hai Tralleis* no. 36.

⁶⁵³ B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* II, Berlin 1914, 99 no. 95.

⁶⁵⁴ Dmitriev, *City Government*, 197; see also *Der Neue Pauly*, 384 sv. *Dekaprotoi*: “Seit Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. für Gemeinden im Osten des röm. Reiches bezeugt”.

⁶⁵⁵ M. Riel, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, *EA* 45 (2012), 85; see also C. Samitz, Die Einführung der Deakproten und Eikosaproten in den Städten Kleinasiens und Griechenlands, *Chiron* 43 (2013), 1-61.

⁶⁵⁶ *TAM* V 940 (Thyateira): $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\pi\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\ \acute{\iota}$; Malay, *Researches*, 38-39, no. 22 = *SEG* XLIX 1702.

Another group were *boularchoi*. *Boularchos* was perceived as leader of city council, one who called *boule* into session and implemented its decisions.⁶⁵⁷ *Boularchoi* are not attested before the reign of Hadrian and the title is confined to boundaries of *provincia Asia* and again not evenly attested throughout the province. They are attested in both Lydia⁶⁵⁸ and Phrygia.⁶⁵⁹ The number of sources, almost exclusively honorific inscriptions, peaked in the first half of the third century, up to the times of Gordian III, after whom there are almost no record of *boularchoi*, but it could be also attributed to the dramatic decrease of epigraphic sources in that period all together. Usual term of office was a year, but Thyateira was an exception as two *boularchoi* were attested as διὰ βίου.⁶⁶⁰ Also, in Hierocaesarea Aurelius Glykon served as *boularchos* twice.⁶⁶¹ The scarce information we have on the responsibilities of *boularchoi* lead to the conclusion that *boularchia* was an *arche* and there are no evidence for their honorary primacy in the council or its presidency.⁶⁶² On the other hand, one inscription from Thyateira mentions a vice-president of the *boule* that presumably had some ceremonial duties.⁶⁶³ Their position within city's society can also be deduces from the inscriptions. They usually performed other duties in the city administration and were related to other city or provincial officials.

The role of leading citizens was also in serving as bridges to the outside world: frequently direct contact was made between *polis* and ruler by means of embassies, undertaken by leading men of the city, magistrates and/or benefactors, not simply on important occasions, such as a ruler's accession or in moments of crisis, but on a regular basis. Embassies were paid for by the city though increasingly from Early Imperial period onwards we find individual ambassadors paying their own expenses.⁶⁶⁴

The question of accumulation of municipal offices has provoked a debate of some intensity. It is stated in a number of scholarly works that one and the same person

⁶⁵⁷ K. Nawotka, *Boularchos in Roman Asia Minor*, *Epigraphica* 62 (2000), 61-85; for earlier bibliography on the subject see especially 63-65.

⁶⁵⁸ Thyateira: *TAM* V2 950; 954; 969; Hierocaesarea: *TAM* V2 1268; Tralleis: IK Tralleis 66; 73; 145; Philadelphia: *TAM* V3 1461; 1480; 1484; 1495; Nawotka, *Boularchos*, 79 also cites IK Eph. 3803e for a possible *boularch* in Hypaipa but it does not seem plausible.

⁶⁵⁹ Aizanoi: *MAMA* IX 29; P41 (=CIG 3831a⁷); *SEG* XXXV 1365; *SEG* XLII; Akmonia: *MAMA* VI List p. 149 n. 174(=*IGR* IV 658); Kolossai: *IGR* IV 870.

⁶⁶⁰ *TAM* V2 950 and 954 (M. Aur. Diadochus); 969 (M. Iulius Menelaos).

⁶⁶¹ *TAM* V2 1268: Αὐρ. Γλύκωνος β' τοῦ βουλάρχου.

⁶⁶² Nawotka, *Boularchos*, 70.

⁶⁶³ *TAM* V2 991: ἀντάρχοντα βουλῆς δήμου β'.

⁶⁶⁴ i.e. *SEG* XXXIX 1290 (Sardis, 44 BC).

could simultaneously hold several offices and that this practice was widespread. However, the epigraphical evidence in the cities of Lydia and Phrygia does not seem to support these claims. It was certainly possible to occupy more than one priesthood in a city at the same time, but the evidence for similar practice regarding the civic offices is lacking. There is evidence for a single person holding many public offices *during his lifetime*, but there is little to suggest that some of these were occupied simultaneously. Some evidence is offered by a document from Apollonis inscribed at the time when Apollonios, son of Apollonides, was *stephanephoros* and *gymnasiarchos*.⁶⁶⁵ As we have seen in the case of some members of provincial elite, the high priest of the city could simultaneously be the high priest of the province, and it was also possible to occupy more than one priesthood in a city at the same time.⁶⁶⁶ The same person could simultaneously be the secretary or the gymnasiarch for more than one organization, or for the entire city and some of its social organizations.⁶⁶⁷ There is an example where the *grammateia* is documented to have been held simultaneously with the *neokoria*.⁶⁶⁸ Other examples are sometimes used as evidence for accumulation of offices, although correct reading of the text would not support this.⁶⁶⁹ For example, Dmitriev states that “the use of nouns with the connective ‘and’” belongs among “reliable forms of evidence to indicate that offices were held by the same person simultaneously.”⁶⁷⁰ Thus, whenever offices are recorded in the form of nouns, for Dmitriev this is the evidence for the accumulation of titles.

If accumulation of the titles at the same time is rarely attested with certainty, there are plenty of examples where members of municipal elite hold numerous titles

⁶⁶⁵ TAM V2 1204: στεφανηφοροῦντος καὶ γυμνασιαρχοῦντος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ / Ἀπολλωνίδου; perhaps also TAM V2 1206.

⁶⁶⁶ TAM V2 976; cf. 950; 951; IGR IV 585=MAMA IX P40; SEG XLVI 1524 (Sardeis); more than one priesthood in a city, I. Sardis 47: Λεύκιον Ἰούλ. <Λι>β<ω>ν<ι>α<ν>ὸν / ἄνδρα ἐκ προγόνων μέγαν καὶ φιλόπατριν, / ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Λυδία Σαρδιανῶν / καὶ ἱερέα μεγίστου Πολιέος Διὸς δις, ἀρχιερέα / τῶν τριῶν <κ(ἐ) ι'> πόλεων καὶ στεφανηφόρον καὶ ἱερέα / Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ στρατηγὸν πρῶτον δις / καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ <β>ίου· ἐνδείας δὲ γενομένης / κατὰ τὸν δῆμον μεγαλοψυχία χρησάμενος / ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς ἐπικουρισμὸν ἐκάστῳ πολίτῃ / ἐχαρίσατο μῦθον· καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀρχὰς φιλοτίμως / τετελεκότα τῇ πατρίδι.

⁶⁶⁷ TAM V2 829 (Attalea in Lydia): ἐπὶ Μενεκράτους β' / ἄρχ(οντος) α' κ(αὶ) ἱερέως τῶν κυρίων αυτοκρατόρων, γραμ/ματεῦοντος βουλῆς δή/μου Ἀλυπιανοῦ Ἀλύπη/[του(?)]; IK Tralleis 66: Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Σωτηρί/[χ]ου ... βουλῆς δή/μου γερουσίας γραμματέως.; IK Tralleis 67: Μ(ἄρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ὀνήσ[ι]μον / ... / γραμματέα β[ο]υλῆς δήμου / γερουσίας; cf. IK Tralleis 69.

⁶⁶⁸ IGR IV 1608a. ll. 6–9 (Hypaera in Lydia).

⁶⁶⁹ TAM V2 939.

⁶⁷⁰ Dmitriev, *City Government*, 226.

during their lifetime. In fact, sometimes the documents state titles and offices held for several generations, one after another, as in Thyateira:⁶⁷¹

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / ἡ κρατίστη καὶ φιλοσέβαστος τῆς λαμ/προτάτης καὶ διασημοτάτης καὶ
ιερᾶς

τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθίου / Τυριμναίου Ἀπόλλωνος Θυατειρηνῶν / πόλεως
βουλῆ ἐτίμησεν Τιβ. Κλ. Μηνογέ/νην Καικιλιανὸν τὸν ἐκ πατέρων διὰ βίου / ιερέα τοῦ
Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου καὶ ἀρχιε/ρέα τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς πατρίδος κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ / [κ]αὶ
ἀγωνοθέτην υἱὸν Κλ. Σωκράτους Σακερ/[δ]ωτιανοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου καὶ στεφανηφόρου /
[κ]αὶ δις πρυτάνεως καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ιερέως / τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ Ἰουλ. Μηνογενίδος
τῆς ἀνα/θείσης τοὺς ξυστοὺς τῆι πατρίδι ἀγωνοθέτι/δος καὶ στεφανηφόρου καὶ
πρυτάνεως, θυγα/τρὸς τῆς πόλεως, φύσει δὲ Μηνογένους ἀγω/νοθέτου καὶ
στεφανηφόρου καὶ πρυτάνεως / ἔκγονον Κλ. Σωκράτους καὶ Ἀντωνίας Καικιλίας τῶν
ἀρχιερέων τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἀγωνοθε/τῶν καὶ στεφανηφόρων καὶ πρυτάνεων / ἄνδρα
ἤθους ἔνεκα καὶ παιδείας καὶ ἀρετῆς τε / πάσης ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Ἀσίας
καταριθμού/μενον ἔν τε πρεσβείαις καὶ χορηγίαις καὶ / ἔργων κατασκευαῖς καὶ πάσαις
φιλοτιμίαις / καὶ πᾶσι καιροῖς τοῖς ἐπείγουσιν ἐπιδεικνύ/μενον τὴν τε εἰς ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὴν
πατρίδα / εὖνοιαν

Examples from Phrygia are, for the most part not as long or elaborate, but they also show members of local aristocracy with numerous offices during their lifetime.⁶⁷²

ἡ βουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆ/μος ἐτείμησεν / Μηνόφιλον Ἀ/πολλωνίου στρα/τηγήσαντα ἐπι/φανῶς
καὶ γραμ/ματεύσαντα καὶ / πανηγυριαρχή/σαντα καὶ χρεο/φυλακήσαντα / καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις
/ πολλοῖς γενό/μενον χρήσι/μον τῆ πατρίδι.

One way for a benefactor to help his city is to cover all expenses of the office. The gymnasiarch Iollas, son of Iollas, was praised by the city of Sardeis for having performed this office “from his own property.”⁶⁷³ Many other gymnasiarchs and

⁶⁷¹ TAM V2 976.

⁶⁷² MAMA IX P43 (LW 984, Aizanitis).

⁶⁷³ I. Sardis 27; MAMA VI 180 I 6–12 and II 7–9 (Apameia in Phrygia, c. A.D. 160).

agonothetai held these offices “from their own resources.”⁶⁷⁴ In place of, or in addition to, holding office for free, city officials could make benefactions of various sorts when in office, which were sometimes connected with official responsibilities. Some covered various official public expenditures out of their own funds.⁶⁷⁵ Such benefactions tended to become traditional, at least in some places. These activities, in which sacral officials participated as well, were especially helpful to the population in times of bad harvests and high food prices.⁶⁷⁶ Aforementioned Laevianus, son of Callistratus, from Thyateira, spared the money allocated by the city for the purchase of grain as *agoranomos* by covering expenses “brilliantly from his own resources.”⁶⁷⁷ This phrase is usually associated with *agonothesia* as shown in a similar honorific inscription for Iulia Iuliana from Thyateira praised for having performed the *agonothesia* “brilliantly and extravagantly.”⁶⁷⁸ Her compatriot Aurelius Asclepiades was praised by the city for having performed the *sitionia* for his sons in a similarly generous way.⁶⁷⁹

In the Roman period, due to the elevated costs encountered by the official while in office, four months was the term of office of the gymnasiarch in Tralleis or the *nyctostrategos* in Laodikeia by the Lycus⁶⁸⁰ Six months was the term of office for the *agoranomoi* in Thyateira.⁶⁸¹ On the other hand, there were also offices held “for life” in the cities of Lydia and Phrygia as well, including those of the *agonothetes*,⁶⁸² gymnasiarch, *strategos*, *boularchos*,⁶⁸³ *stephanephoros*,⁶⁸⁴ and others. All such offices,

⁶⁷⁴ Gymnasiarchs: *IK Tralleis* 89; 109 (imperial period). Agonothetai: *I Sardis* 27.

⁶⁷⁵ *TAM* V2 942.

⁶⁷⁶ *MAMA* IV 265.

⁶⁷⁷ *TAM* V2 982, ll.11-12: λαμ[πρ]ῶς καὶ πολυδαπάνως

⁶⁷⁸ *TAM* V 963: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Ἰ(ουλίαν) Ἰουλιανήν, θυγατέρα Γ. Ἰουλίου Κελσιανοῦ / στρατηγοῦ, ἀγορανόμου, ἱπάρχου, δεκα/πρώτου, τριτευτοῦ, ἰέρειαν τῆς Μη/τρὸς τῶν θεῶν διὰ βίου, ἀγωνοθετήσα/σαν λανπρῶς καὶ πολυδαπάνως. Also *TAM* V2 972; 980, but note *TAM* V2 946 ll. 6-7: ἐνδ[ό]ξως καὶ [π]ολυδαπάνω[ς].

⁶⁷⁹ *TAM* V2 947: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῆς / λαμπροτάτης καὶ μεγίστης / Θυατειρηῶν πόλεως ἐτίμησεν Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδην / Μάρκου γραμματεῦσαντα / βουλῆς δήμου, δεκαπρωτεύ/σαντα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν υἱῶν σειτω/νήσαντα ἀγνώως καὶ πολυδα/πάνως καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν υἱῶν ἀγο/ρανομήσαντα, ἱπαρχήσαν/τα, στρατηγήσαντα, ἀποδέκτην / τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων / καὶ ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργ/γίας ἐκτελέσαντα τῆι γλυκυ/τάτηι πατρίδι. Cf. also *TAM* V2 949.

⁶⁸⁰ *Gymnasiarch*: *IK Tralleis* 75; *Nyctostrategos*: *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 72 and also L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos*, 262.

⁶⁸¹ *TAM* V2 930; 989; 1002; cf. four months in *TAM* V2 932.

⁶⁸² *IK Tralleis* 126; *TAM* V2 968 (Thyateira).

⁶⁸³ *TAM* V2 950; 954; 969 (Thyateira).

⁶⁸⁴ *TAM* V3 1440; *SEG* 43, 865 (Sardeis); see also Sherk, *Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV*, *ZPE* 93 (1992), 240 for the *stephanephoros* as the eponymous official in Philadelphia. Sherk’s suggestion on p. 244 that the eponymous official in Sardis changed from the *stephanephoros* to the priest of Roma early in the provincial period is perhaps doubtful because some Sardian inscriptions from later times as well are dated only by the *stephanephoros* alone; see 244, no. 66. Archont: *IGR* IV 582=*MAMA* IX P27.

including the eponymous *stephanephoria* in Philadelphia and Sardeis, were costly *leitourgiai* which were sought after by local notables first of all because of their social prestige. The phrases “for life” (διὰ βίου) and “in perpetuity” (δι’ αἰῶνος) were not used side by side, but their meanings were probably close.

Those who did not have political rights in the city, such as children, women, and foreigners, including the Romans, had access to these offices as well. The honor and responsibilities of such officials were separated: titles and distinctions of these officials could be given as honors to various individuals who were not obliged to actually hold offices.

There is also a recent debate if there was kind of Roman *summa honoraria* in the cities of Asia Minor.⁶⁸⁵ Some city councils did establish fixed sums of money for entrance fees and the *gerousiai* also started to require entrance fees.⁶⁸⁶ Few inscriptions distinguish the councilors and members of their families from the rest of the city population, so that this whole group represented a separate social class.⁶⁸⁷ From the second century, imperial legislation referred to the special legal position of the councilors and the members of their families, whereas *gerousiai* became, as Sartre puts it, social clubs.⁶⁸⁸ Special status and honors can also be seen from an inscription from Philadelphia where M. Aurelius Diodorus is said to be ἀνὴρ βουλευτοῦ καὶ γερουσιαστίης.⁶⁸⁹

The social and political world of the cities seems to have been a distinctly hierarchical one, in which some groups of citizens were evidently members of the

⁶⁸⁵ For an overview see Dmitriev, *City Government*, 317; Lévy, *REG* 12 (1899), 259-260; cf. L. Robert et J. Robert, *La Carie II*, Paris 1954, 175; Sartre, *Asie Mineure*, 223; for Robert’s opinion on adjective of φιλοτιμία as munus cf. L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l’Orient grec*, Amsterdam 1971², 276-278 and *Hellenica* III (1946), 125-126; he also gives some circumstantial evidence for *summa honoraria* in *OMS* II, 903-904 citing *IK Tralleis* 145, ll. 14-16: σκουτλώσαντα δὲ καὶ μουσώσαντα καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐξέδραν ἀντ’ οὐδενός· with a comment: „I’euergete a faire divers travaux sans recevoir en retour quelque dignité, pas à titre de *summa honoraria*.”; cf. also lemma on *TAM* V2 1197 v.4sq: Herrmann also states that the phrase τὸ τῶν πρυτανειῶν τίμημα in *TAM* V2 1197 designates *summa honoraria* for that post; for *summa honoraria* for the office of *komarches* in Dideiphyta see also M. Riel, Current archaeological and Epigraphic Research in the Region of Lydia, in: H. Bru, G. Labarre (eds.), *L’Anatolie des peuples, des cites et des cultures* (IIe millénaire av. J.-C. – Ve siècle ap. J.-C.) Colloque international de Besançon - 26-27 novembre 2010, Besançon 2013, 195 and *IEph* 3854-3858.

⁶⁸⁶ *IGR* IV 642; 657 (Akmoneia); 706 (Synnada); 783 (Apameia in Phrygia); 818; 827; 840; 842 (Hierapolis); *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 122; I. Sardis

⁶⁸⁷ Councilors: Drew-Bear, Naour, *NIP*, 96, no. 33.1 (Eumeneia, imperial period); for members of their families, although not in Lydia and Phrygia cf. προγόνων βουλευτῶν *MAMA* VI 119 (Herakleia Salbake); See also *MAMA* I 284 (Laodikeia Combusta): γένους βουλ[ευτικοῦ]

⁶⁸⁸ Sartre, *Asie Mineure*, 223-224.

⁶⁸⁹ *TAM* V3 1495.

higher class than others. In most cities, a very small number of exceptionally wealthy and influential families came to dominate the elite and became the leaders of society. This process of internal oligarchisation of the provincial urban elites seems to be primarily a development of the Roman Principate. The increasing differentiation within the urban elites can also be viewed as part of the broader process of social hierarchization.⁶⁹⁰ Their civic identity also manifested itself in the form of a distinct elite lifestyle which became ever more visible during the high Empire. Gymnasial athletics, literature, rhetoric and public benefactions, were some of the features essential to this lifestyle, and they served to create cultural barriers between middle class and elite in addition to the existing social, economic, and political ones. Hereditary nature of the benefactions of the leading families is noticeable. Local elites began to refer to themselves as the βουλευτικὸν τάγμα (bouleutic order),⁶⁹¹ thus revealing a sense of shared identity as a separate class.⁶⁹² In a way, the councilor title did become hereditary in city's elite families, making a true curial class.⁶⁹³

In the Roman period, family benefactions started to include the holding of prestigious offices by the “first families,” who were distinguished from the rest of the city population by this and other similar designations. The children and women from these families started to occupy not only religious but other city offices as well. The growing evidence for offices held by women and children in the provincial period could be possibly attributed to Roman influence. Those offices occupied by women and children in the cities of Roman Asia were the same costly and administratively insignificant positions that other people who did not have political rights in the city, such as foreign city residents, could hold as well. The rarity of the offices and their character show that children/youths did not institutionally participate as municipal magistrates before they reached the legal age. Nevertheless, there were exceptions. As we have previously seen, Dionysius, son of Menelaus (later M. Iulius Dionysius Aquilianus), attested in the inscriptions from Thyatira, held the office of *agonothetes* as

⁶⁹⁰ Zuiderhoek, *The Politics*, 60.

⁶⁹¹ Related to bouleutic order in *SEG XXXIII 1123* (Hierapolis), ll. 6-9: πατρός καὶ προγόνων τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ τάγματος.

⁶⁹² For the collective identity of the elite see E. Stephen, *Honoration, Griechen, Polisbürger. Kollektive Identitäten innerhalb der Oberschicht des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Göttingen 2002, 72-113.

⁶⁹³ Cf. also Lévy, *REG* 8 (1895), 231; being the first in the city *MAMA V* List I 182, no. 82=*JGR* IV 522 (Dorylaion, Phrygia): τῆς πόλεως πρῶτος.

a child.⁶⁹⁴ Parents held priesthoods and *prytaneiai* jointly with their children.⁶⁹⁵ Parents also performed for their children the *gymnasiarchia*, the *prytaneia*, the *agonothesia*, the *sitionia*, the *agoranomia*, the *hipparchia*, the *strategia* and possibly some other offices.⁶⁹⁶ There is also an instance from Akmoneia (ca. 160 AD) in which a son claims to have held an office and paid all the expenses, while another part of the same inscription declares that a parent undertook all this on his behalf.⁶⁹⁷ However, there was also a practice that a child or a young man promised to hold an office later, as in Philadelphia (2nd century AD) where P. Cornelius Preiskos has promised a liturgy “from an early age”.⁶⁹⁸

The actual performance of the office was separated from the honor pertaining to it, as this honor went to the children of loving parents. The expressions as “in childhood,” “still as a child,” and others were applied not only to officeholders but to benefactors in a general sense. This type of the inscriptions is filled with references to those who “from an early age” displayed their zeal for serving the fatherland.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁴ TAM V2 960 (Thyateira); cf. Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 73.

⁶⁹⁵ TAM V2 828 (Attalea in Lydia); TAM V2 954 (Thyateira).

⁶⁹⁶ *Gymnasiarchia*: Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, 461, no. 295 (Apamea in Phrygia); *Prytaneia*: TAM V2 1197 (Apollonis); *Agonothesia*: IK Tralleis 120; *Sitionia, agoranomia, hipparchia* and *strategia*: TAM V 947.7–10 (Thyateira); There is also one possible, although unprobable, example from Akmoneia (ca. 200-250 AD) of an infant nominally performing a public office before the end of its first year, E. Varinlioğlu, Five inscriptions from Acmonia, *REA* 108 (2006), 355-358; C. Claudius Lucianus, member of elite family who held the *stephanephoria* for three generations, is praised for being *agoranomos* ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς ἡλικίας χρόνοις τετραμήνῳ. Ed. pr. understood these lines as if the honorand performed this duty “when he was four months old. That is, he was initiated into the service of public offices at his own cost, which, of course, the parents paid in his stead.” This would really be a remarkable example of a parent performing duty in the name of his newborn son, but literal translation does not support it. It is far more probable that Lucianus held the office for four months, cf. commentary in *SEG* LVI 1493.

⁶⁹⁷ *MAMA* VI 180; an honorary inscription praises Tib. Claudius Granianos for having acted as *gymnasiarch* during the *conventus iuridicus* out of his money, without taking the sum of 15000 denarii out of the public treasury, col. I ll. 6-12: γυμνασιαρχοῦντα δι’ ἀγοραίας ἐκ τῶν / ἰδίων τῆ σεμνοτάτῃ πατρίδι / δίχα τοῦ πόρου ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδομένου δηναρίων μυρίων πεντακισχελίων. Another part of the inscription declares that a father of Granianos, Tib. Claudius Piso Mithridatianos, has promised the *gymnasiarchy* during the *conventus iuridicus* on behalf of his son out of his own expense and that he has donated the money to the city, the same 15000 denarii, col. II ll. 6-9: ὑποσχόμενον ὑπὲρ Κλαυδίου Γραννιανοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ / γυμνασιαρχίαν δι’ ἀγοραίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ χαρισάμενον / τῇ πόλει τὸν ἐξ ἔθους διδόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τῷ γυμνα/σιαρχοῦντι πόρον δηνάρια μύρια πεντακισχέιλια.

⁶⁹⁸ TAM V3 1474 ll. 2-10: Π. Κορν/ήλιον Πρεῖσκον ἀγορα/νομήσαντα λαμπρῶς / ἅμ[α καὶ] φιλοδόξως ἐν / δυσχρήστῳ καιρῷ τοῖς / ἔτι πρώτοις τῆς ἡλικίας / χρόνοις τελείαν φιλο/δοξίας ἐπαν[γ]ειλάμενο[ν] / λειτουργίαν.

⁶⁹⁹ ἐκ παιδὸς φιλόδοξον in TAM V2 965 or [ἐ]κ παιδὸς ἡλικίας in TAM V2 983; ἐν παιδί in TAM V3 1441; [ἀ]πὸ πα[ι]δὸς ἀρχικόν in TAM V2 998; γυμνασιαρχοῦντος Δαμονίκου τοῦ Δημητρίου, τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ / καὶ ἐφηβεύοντος in TAM V2 1203 (Apollonis); see J. H. M. Strubbe, Young magistrates in the Greek East, *Mnemosyne* 58-1 (2005), 88-111; on πατρόβουλοι see also M. Kleijwegt, *Ancient youth. The*

Another thing was the references to “ancestor benefactors” and members of the elite started to mention their offices, and for the first time one could be seen holding an office “by descent.” There is one expression that actually describes the position of elite descendants, presumably entitled to office “by descent”, πατρόβουλος. It is attested twice in Dorylaion in Phrygia, *MAMA V Lists* p. 182, 44:⁷⁰⁰

τὸν πρῶτον πάτρης / Ἀκαμάντιον / εἰκόνι χαλκῆ / φυλῶν ἢ πρώτη / Μητρῶας / εἰδρυσάμην / ἐπιμεληθέντων Αὐρ. / Κλαυδίου β' βουλευτοῦ κέ / Αὐ. Ἀσκληπιάδου Μακαρέως / πατροβούλου, γραμματεῦντος δ' / Αὐρ. Θεμιστοκλέους Ἀλεξάνδρου / πατροβούλου.

and *MAMA V Lists* p. 182, 59:

[Αὐρ.] Λουκιανὸς Ἥλιος / [γερο]υσιαστῆς σὺν Αὐρ. / [Λουκί]α Δόμνη τῆ συν/[βίω κέ] <Αὐρ.> Λουκία Ἐπι/[κτήσιδι] θυγατρὶ σὺν Αὐρ. / [Λουκία]νῶ Διοδώρω / — — — τη πατροβού/[λω — — —]ομένω αὐτῆ[ς(?)].

Both Lévy and Robert agree that this phrase designates son of a boularch, a kind of designated successor and associated with the *boule* from an early age.⁷⁰¹ It does not mean that one is immediately “hereditary boularch”, but it certainly is a good recommendation for future offices. One can also deduce that they were emphasizing the fact that they were not *homines novi* in city’s elite. There is also a possible evidence for hereditary *stephanephoria* in Philadelphia.⁷⁰²

Being part of the elite did not necessarily meant being in the office. There are, of course, many benefactors who were praised for their virtue and good deeds without detailing all official posts. Their influence was nevertheless high, as seen in *MAMA IX* P49 from Aizanoi, 6 AD:

Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence in Greco-Roman Society, Amsterdam 1991, 221-272 (non vidi).

⁷⁰⁰ See Pleket’s commentary on praetextati in *SEG XXXVII* 1485; cf. also πατρομύστης in *IK Smyrna* 731 (80-83 AD) and πατρογέροντες in *IEph* 26 (180-192 AD).

⁷⁰¹ L. Robert, *Documents de l’Asie Mineure méridionale*, Geneve-Paris 1966, 87-89 citing also I. Lévy, Les πατρόβουλοι dans l’épigraphie grecque et la littérature talmudique, *Revue de Philologie* 15 (1902), 272-278 (non vidi).

⁷⁰² *TAM V3* 1455: ἀνδρὸς στεφανηφόρου ἐκ προγόνων; cf. *TAM V3* 1491.

ἔτους ζλ´ / ἔδοξεν τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις / βουλευταῖς· ἐπειδὴ Μηνογένης Με/νίσκου τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πρ[ώ]/της ἡλικίας εὐτάκτως καὶ ἐπει/κῶς τὸν ἅπαντα τοῦ ζῆν χρόνο[ν] / βεβιωκῶς καὶ διενηνοχῶς τ[ῶν] / ἄλλων ἐν πίστει χρήσιμο[ν] / ἑαυτὸν παρέσχετο τοῖς πολλο[ῖς] / ἔν τε ταῖς πιστευθείσαις ἀρχαῖς / ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθαρ<ε>ίως καὶ φι/λοδόξως ἀξιοζήλωτος ἐφαί/[ν]ετο, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα / [γ]εγονῶς ἔτεσιν μετήλλαξεν, κ[α/λ]ῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν στεφανωθῆναι / [αὐ]τὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι καὶ τοῦ σ[ώ/μα]τος ἐνεχθέντος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν / [αὐτὸν] ταινιωθῆναι καὶ προπεμπθῆ/[ναι] ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ νέων καὶ / [τῶν] ἄλλων μέχρι τοῦ μηνίματος / [Μ]ηνογένη Μενίσκου / χαῖρε.

According to the funeral inscription, Menogenes died in his 70th year after leading a blameless and exemplary life. His body was to be crowned with a golden crown, brought into agora, decorated with a fillet and accompanied in public procession by the ephebes and the youths of the city to his tomb. As Cormack argues, the location of Menogenes' tomb remains uncertain, but he was probably granted the honor of burial within the city walls as this inscription were found within the city, stating that such decrees were usually erected at or near the tomb.⁷⁰³ In this way, Cormack maintains, Menogenes was „inscribed in death physically, literally and metaphorically as a citizen, within the city.“⁷⁰⁴ Nevertheless, we should note that the inscription precisely states that Menogenes will be carried from the agora to his tomb, not necesarrily within city walls and the inscription could have subsequently been moved.

Looking from the other point of view, in a number of honorific inscriptions from these areas, benefactors were praised for benefactions that explicitly included gifts to a variety of non-citizen groups including foreign residents, freedmen, and slaves.

5.7 Elite women

As we have seen before there are records of a number of influential women from Lydia and Phrygia, members of the highest provincial elite. Among them we find Aurelia Hermonassa, priestess in Thyateira and twice ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας, priestess of

⁷⁰³ S. Cormack, *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor*, Wien 2004, 111-112.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

Tyche for life and *prytanis* seven times.⁷⁰⁵ She was the daughter of Flavia Priscilla, who was of senatorial origin⁷⁰⁶ and also performed the duties of ἀρχιτέρεια Ἀσίας twice. Aelia Ammia from Amorion, honored as θυγάτηρ τῆς πόλεως, was *archiereia Asias* and priestess of the Ionian league.⁷⁰⁷ Their feminine virtues such as σόφροσύνη, φιλανδρία and φιλοπατρία are frequently mentioned in their honorific inscriptions.

The social status of women in the cities of Roman Asia changed significantly from what it had been in preceding times. Certain distributions were intended only for women and girls, which was unusual in Hellenistic times. Women could even have their own gymnasiarchs, who also were women, as seen in this example from Dorylaion: Ἄντιοχίς Τεύθραν/[τ]ος σεβαστοφάντις διὰ βίου καὶ ἰέρηρα τῶν προγε/[γρ]αμμένων θεῶν καὶ γυμνασίαρχος τῶν γυναι/[κ]ῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.⁷⁰⁸

References to distinguished mothers and grandmothers began to be used to substantiate claims of noble origin, and mothers were now mentioned alongside fathers of honorands.⁷⁰⁹ It is not surprising that children's names became composites of those of both parents.⁷¹⁰

As already pointed out, some epithets in the inscriptions were especially used for women such as σόφρων (prudent) and φίλανδρος (loving her husband).⁷¹¹ Also, some of them were sometimes designated as Mother or Daughter of the city as part of their honorific titles.⁷¹² An elaborate example of wifely virtues could be seen in an inscription

⁷⁰⁵ TAM V2 951, 954.

⁷⁰⁶ TAM V2 957:

⁷⁰⁷ SEG XXXVII 1099bis and *IEph.* 689.

⁷⁰⁸ MAMA V List I 182, no. 82=IGR IV 522 (Dorylaion, Phrygia); another female gymnasiarch (although belonging to Ephesos), Nonia Tatein, daughter of *neopoios* and a priestess of Artemis, is honored by the inhabitants of local *katoikia* cf. M. Riel, *Current archaeological and Epigraphic Research in the Region of Lydia*, 195.

⁷⁰⁹ For example: TAM V2 944; 952; 966; 976 (Thyateira).

⁷¹⁰ i.e. M. Claudius Valerianus Tertullianus, son of M. Claudius Valerianus and Claudia Tertulla from Eumeneia in SEG XXVIII 1115-1116 and MAMA IV 336.

⁷¹¹ Among many others: Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics* 333, no. 146 (Phrygo-Pisidian border); SEG XXXVII 1099bis (Amorion); TAM V2 954 (Thyateira)

⁷¹² Mother of the city (μήτηρ πόλεως) is not yet attested in Lydia and Phrygia but see MAMA VIII 492b=IAPH2007 12.29ii (Aphrodisias); *IK Selge* 17 (Pisidia); SEG XLIII 954 (Sagalassos, Pisidia); Daughter of the city (θυγάτηρ τῆς πόλεως): TAM V2 976 (Thyateira); Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics* 333, no. 146 (Phrygo-Pisidian border); SEG XXXVII 1099bis (Amorion, 2nd or early 3rd century AD); for similar, Son of the city (υἱός τῆς πόλεως): Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics* 641, no. 533 (Akmoneia); SEG LV 1409 (Attouda); cf. also SEG LVII 2196: F. Canali de Rossi, *Filius publicus*, YIOΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ *e titoli affini in iscrizioni greche di età imperiale*, Roma, 2007 (non vidi).

from Iulia Gordos, *TAM* V1 688.⁷¹³ Stratonike, daughter of Dionysos, wife of Attalos son of Dionysos, has lived a life that was respectable (σεμνῶς) and without reproach (ἀνελέγκτως) in respect to the members of her household (ἴδιοι), and since she has displayed herself most generously and benevolently (φιλανθρωπότατα) towards her daughter and son-in-law, and was much distinguished by virtue (ἀρετῇ) and female modesty (σωφροσύνη γυναικῶν) that in her a new model of good-housewifery (οικοδεσποσύνης) has been found, it has been decided by the *boule*, because of the σωφροσύνην of the deceased and because of her husband Attalos' zeal towards the *demos* (which his ancestors before him also displayed) to honor her with a painted portrait (εἰκὼν γραπτῆ) and a marble *agalma*, which are to be placed where her relatives choose, and which are to be inscribed thus: 'the *demos* honors Stratonike, for her virtue in all things'.⁷¹⁴

Women occupied very few offices in Greek cities, however. One was the *stephanephoria*, usually an eponymous position.⁷¹⁵ Several inscriptions from Thyateira are mentioning women as *prytaneis*.⁷¹⁶ Apart from Flavia Priscilla and her daughter Aurelia Hermonassa from the illustrious equestrian family, Iulia Menogenis, wife of [Ti.] Claudius Socrates Sacerdotianus, also held *prytaneia* as well as *agonothesia* and *stephanephoria*.⁷¹⁷ She also belonged to a renowned family whose other members held prestigious provincial and municipal offices. Also in Thyateira, Iulia Iuliana held the *agonothesia*.⁷¹⁸ In Thyateira, where the names of ten female *agonothetai* are known, five certainly held their title jointly with their husbands and two probably, while three other women held it in their own name. All three, however, were *agonothetai* of one particular festival, in honour of Iulia Augusta, paid for by a fund left by a certain Iulia,

⁷¹³ [εἰ]σαναγλάντων τῶν στρατηγῶν [. . .]/ου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου, Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ / Ἀσκληπιάδου / Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀπολω/νίου καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου Γαίου / Ἰουλ[ί]ου Γα(ίου) υἱοῦ Θεοδότου / ἐπεὶ Στρατονίκη Διονυσίου, γυνὴ Ἀττά/λου τοῦ Διονυσίου, ζήσασα σεμνῶς / καὶ ἀν<ελ>ένκτως πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους φιλαν/θρωπότατα διατεθε[ί]σα πρὸς τε τὴν / θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν γαμβρόν, πολὺ δὲ ἀρε/τῆ διενένκασα καὶ σωφροσύνη γυναι/κῶν, ὥστε κα[ι]νὸν ὑπογραμμὸν εὐρηκέ/ναι αὐτὴν οικοδεσποσύνης, δεδόχθα[ι] / τῆ βουλῆ διὰ τε τὴν τῆς κατοικομένης / σωφροσύνην καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἀττάλου τοῦ ἀν/δρὸς αὐτῆς διὰ γένους εἰς τὸν δῆμον σπο[υ]/δῆ<ν> τιμηθῆναι αὐτὴν εἰκὼν[ι] γραπτῆ καὶ / ἀγάλματι μαρμαρίνω· ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθε[σιν] / γενέσθαι, οὗ ἂν οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτῆς βούλω[νται κ]/αὶ ἐπιγραφὴν γεν[έ]σθαι, ὅτι ὁ δῆ[μ]ος τε/μῆ Στρατ[ονίκη]ν ἀρετῆς ἐνεκ[εν] πάσης].

⁷¹⁴ More on other members of her family in M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, *EA* 45 (2012), 73-86.

⁷¹⁵ *TAM* V2 976; cf. GM Winterthur 3340 (Attouda, Phrygia).

⁷¹⁶ *TAM* V2 952; 954; 976.

⁷¹⁷ *TAM* V2 976, ll. 13-16: Ἰουλ. Μηνογενίδος τῆς ἀνα/θείσης τοὺς ξυστοὺς τῆ πατρίδι ἀγωναθέτι/δος καὶ στεφανηφόρου καὶ πρυτάνεως, θυγα/τρὸς τῆς πόλεως.

⁷¹⁸ *TAM* V2 963.

daughter of Iulia and Spurius. All three women set up a statue of Iulia Augusta during their term of office.⁷¹⁹ Iulia Severa, daughter of Gaius, was the high priestess and *agonothetis* of the whole house of the divine Augusti in Akmoneia.⁷²⁰ In Sebaste in Phrygia, the list of all the members of *gerousia* includes three ladies Iulia Teuthrantis, Claudia Teuthrantis and her daughter Iulia Iuliana, obviously members of the same distinguished family.⁷²¹

Women in Lydian and Phrygian cities usually held the priesthoods⁷²² and high priesthoods.⁷²³ In spite of this seeming prominence, however, there were certain offices which were never held by women, including that of *agoranomos*, *eirenarches*, *boularchos*, *grammateus*, *sitones* and *presbeutes*. Women were also never members of the boule. They never had a direct and formal access to any of the civic bodies or magistracies which entailed (at least in theory) voting, deliberating, decision-making, the supervision of the market place, of buildings, of food provision or the keeping of the public order.⁷²⁴ As MacMullen pointed out, women are rarely found in roles which would require speaking in public: “they are to be seen, but not heard”.⁷²⁵ Many of the public offices open to women were financially burdensome, involving, for example, the provision of oil for the gymnasium or animals for public sacrifice, or the expenditure of often large amounts of money on public building and repairs. The bestowal of civic honors such as statues, public funerals, and prominent tombs constituted yet another opportunity to prominence open to women: the erection of a tomb was a socially acceptable means of remaining in the public eye without exceeding the very real boundaries that existed to keep women in their place.⁷²⁶ As we have seen, terms as *philandria* (which can in this context mean wifely affection) and *sophrosyne* (modesty, reserve) appear frequently in the inscriptions, and allude not only to appropriate wifely

⁷¹⁹ TAM V 2 904-906: ἐκ διαθήκης Ιουλίας τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ Σπορίου θυγατρὸς. Date probably mid 1st cent. AD.

⁷²⁰ MAMA VI 263, ll. 3-9: Ἰουλίαν Γαίου θυγατέρα Σεουήραν, ἀρχιέρειαν κα[ὶ] / ἀγωνοθέτιν τοῦ / σύνπαντος τῶν / [θ]εῶν Σεβαστῶν / [οἴ]κου

⁷²¹ BCH 7 (1883), 452-455 no. II (= Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics*, 602 no. 475): I ll. 47-48 Ἰουλία Τευθρα[ντις] / Πρόκλο[υ] θυγ[άτηρ]; II ll. 21-23 Κλαυδία Τευθραντις / Γ. · Ἰούλιος Προκλὸς υἱὸς / Ἰουλία Ἰουλιάνη θυγάτηρ.

⁷²² i. e. TAM V 963; 972(Thyateira); SNG von Aulock 3988 (Synnada, Phrygia).

⁷²³ i. e. MAMA VI 263 (Akmoneia); TAM V 954; 972 (Thyateira).

⁷²⁴ Van Bremen, *The Limits of participation*, 1996, 56; cf. Ibid, 78-79 for another reading and arguments for removing the notion of female *tamias* from the lines of CIG III 3871b (from Sebaste in Phrygia) and two female *grammateus* from Tralleis.

⁷²⁵ R. MacMullen, *Women in Public in the Roman Empire*, *Historia* 29 (1980), 216.

⁷²⁶ S. Cormack, *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor*, Wien 2004, 134.

behavior in the private realm but also courtesy expected of women who were active in public. As for financial background, from the inscriptions we can see that many elite women, both provincial and municipal, managed estates and property. In Lydia, we have evidence for Flavia Menogenis (113/114 AD) who probably owned a private granary in the area around Kula:⁷²⁷

ἔτους ρϜη´, μη(νός) Δαισίου. Ῥοδία / Φλαουίας Μηνογενίδος / δούλη Μη[τ]ρι Ἀλιανῆ
εὐ-
χὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλαπέντος / ἀργυρίου (δην.) υιβ´ Ἀγάθωνος / τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐκ
ΛΑ/ΝΑΠΙΟΣΤΩΝ ἐκ τοῦ σειτοβο/λείου καὶ εὐρεθέντος παρὰ / Κρήσκεντι τῷ Ἀλκίμου
καὶ Ἐκ/λογῆς θρεπτῶ

Also, a woman Domitia Tata in Laodikeia on the Lycos bestowed land to the *boule* to provide for the annual crowning of a family tomb:⁷²⁸

τούτου τοῦ βωμοῦ κήδετα<i> </i> ἡ βουλῆ, κ[α]/θῶς ἤασε αὐτῆ στεφανωτικὸν Πυθόδω/ρος
Διοτείμου (δην.) ,γ, ἵνα στεφανοῦται ἐκ/κ τῶν τόκων κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὁμοίως καὶ /
Μένανδρος Σωσίμου τοῦ Μενάνδρου / τοῦ Θεμίσωνος ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ὕ/ος καὶ
αὐτὸς καταλείπει στεφανωτικὸν / τῆ τῆς βουλῆς φυλῆ τῆ Ἀπολλωνίδι (δην.) [γ(?)] / ἐν
ῆ σορῶ κηδευθήσεται ὁ Μένανδρος, ἥ ἐσ/τιν σορὸς κατὰ μεσηνβρίαν, μεθ' ὄν οὐδενὶ
ἐ/σέσται κηδευθῆναι ἐτέρῳ τινί· ὁμοίω[ς] / καταλέλοιπεν καὶ Δομετία [Τ]άτα ἡ
πατρ[α/δέλφη(?)] vac. / vacat / [— — —]νων χωρίων τῶν ὄντω[ν] / [ἐν — — —]

In Philadelphia, a woman, Cornelia, donated an estate to provide distribution for the members of the *boule* on her brother's birthday:⁷²⁹

[Ἡ βουλῆ ἐτείμησεν Κορνηλίαν - - - ἐπαινουμέ/νην ἐπὶ ἡθει καὶ] ἀξιῶμα/[τι καὶ
ἀνα]θεῖσαν τῆ κρα(τίστη) / [β]ουλ[ῆ] χ[ω]ρίον πρὸς τὸ νέ/μεσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ /

⁷²⁷ TAM V1 257 (no *oikonomos* was specifically mentioned); J. and L. Robert supposed it was her private granary in BE 1962, no. 294; Flavia Menogenis was also mentioned in TAM V2 274 (113/114 AD?): Φλαυίαν Μηνο/γενίδα, Φλαουί/ου <Θ>ρασυμάχου / καὶ Λαλ. . . .ει/κηρατί[δος θυ]γα/τέρα, ἐ[τείμη]/σαν ITI. . ΛΛΕΙΣ.

⁷²⁸ IK Laodikeia am Lykos 84 (1st or 2nd century AD)

⁷²⁹ TAM V3 1475 (2nd or 3rd century AD).

πρόσοδον τοὺς βουλευ/τάς ἐν μη(νί) Ἄρτεμεισίῳ γί' / τ<ῆ> γενεθλίῳ ἡμέρα τοῦ /
[ἀ]δελφοῦ αὐτῆς πρὸ τῶν ἀνδριάντων, ἀναστησά/σης τὴν τειμὴν παρ' ἑαυ/τῆς τῆς
Κορνηλίας προ/νοία τῶν ἀπελευθέρων.

In an honorary inscription from Aizanoi Marcia Tateis was honored by the *boule* and *demos*.⁷³⁰

Ἡ βουλὴ κ(αὶ) ὁ δῆ/μος ἐτίμησεν / Μαρκίαν Τάτειν / μητέρα Φλ. Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ
Παρδαλαῖ / ἀσιαρχῶν, ἀναστή/σαντος τὴν τιμὴν / Φλ. Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ / ἐγγόνου αὐτῆς.

The honorand, whose husband must have been a Flavius, was the mother of two brothers Flavius Iulianus and Flavius Pardalas, both asiarchs. There was another, roughly contemporary, Flavius Iulianus from Ephesos family on record as asiarch, but he is probably not related to the homonymous man mentioned in this inscription.⁷³¹ Flavius Pardalas may be related to L. Claudius Pardalas, who possessed land near Aizanoi. A statue of one T. Flavius Lepidus, found near Tavşanlı (area of Aizanoi), was financed by L. Claudius Pardalas.⁷³²

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ / ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί/μησεν Τ. Φλ. / Λέπιδον, τὸν / εὐεργέτην / τῆς πατρίδος / ἐν
πᾶσιν, / τὴν τειμὴν / ἀναστήσαν/τος παρ' ἑαυ/τοῦ Λ. Κλ. Παρ/δαλαῖ τοῦ φίλου / αὐτοῦ.

There could be a slight possibility that he may have introduced the cognomen Παρδαλαῖς into the family via his φιλία-connection with Claudius Pardalas.⁷³³ Marcia Tateis was perhaps also the mother of the Φλαβία Τάτεις who erected in Aizanoi an epitaph for her nurse Ὑγία around 150 AD.⁷³⁴ Editors of *MAMA IX* believe that Flavia Tateis was fostered by nurse Hygeia, probably a dependant of the family (also noting that Flavii are not so common in Aizanoi) and in this way repaid the debt to her foster-mother.

⁷³⁰ *SEG* XLV 1712 (c. 150 AD).

⁷³¹ *IEph* 4342; cf. also *IEph* 674 and 712B.

⁷³² *MAMA IX* P46.

⁷³³ Cf. commentary in *SEG* XLV 1712; more on L. Claudius Pardalas and his possible family connections see pp. 131-132.

⁷³⁴ *MAMA IX* 241: Φλαβία Τάτεις Ὑγία τῇ θρεψάσῃ μνήμης / χάριν.

Most of these women were probably influential, wealthy and honored because of their families, but nevertheless sometimes they were able to show their own ambition and independence.⁷³⁵

5.8 Conclusion

With all due allowances, the epigraphical trail left by the provincial and municipal elites of Roman Anatolia is vast in its quantity and rich in its contents. Majority of the preserved public documents are inscribed by the members of the municipal elite for the members of elite. This fact is both significant and problematic. Undoubtedly, a multitude of valid information is gained from inscriptions, and they are basis for any attempt at social history of the Roman Anatolia. But, the very selection of information and their presentation are in a way designed as a deception. Through media of public inscriptions and monuments, elites painted a heavily idealized image of themselves. In some aspects it stands in a striking disparity with actual historical reality behind it.

The elites presented themselves as harmonious groups based on cooperation, groups that shared common goals and ideals. Furthermore, their cities are portrayed as stable and unified communities, devoid of any conflict. This picture is certainly false. Perhaps the city elites, with hereditary familial benefactions that expanded to include the holding of costly and prestigious offices, were really best suited as leaders of the community but their role was not always accepted as indisputable. Occasional allusion by ancient authors justify belief that conflict between elites and the rest of population was not unheard of, while the strong rivalries and, sometimes, open animosity within ruling groups were quite common. Praises for ancestors and constant reminder of their merits as well as merits of the descendants highlighted in the inscriptions were perhaps a way to justify social inequalities and established social order. There also had to be some mirroring of the emperor, or at least local benefactors and emperors often contributed the same sort of things, public buildings and festivals, but it was not the

⁷³⁵ More on these women see van Bremen, *Limits of participation*, esp. Appendix 2.

main driving force.⁷³⁶ Those who were in charge of local administrative and social life were essentially those who controlled ideology, including religious beliefs and official accepted versions of myths and foundation-legends. Perhaps the best contemporary insight and commentary was given by Dio of Prusa: οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι δέονται καὶ στεφάνου καὶ εἰκόνος καὶ προεδρίας καὶ τοῦ μνημονεύεσθαι. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἤδη τεθνήκασιν, ὅπως ἀνδριάντος τύχῳσι καὶ κηρύγματος ἢ τιμῆς ἑτέρας καὶ τοῖς ἀδῆσι καταλίπωσι δόξαν τινὰ ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μνήμην ἑαυτῶν.⁷³⁷ The statement is relevant for the whole of Asia Minor, and probably for the Graeco-Roman world in its entirety.

The political and euergetic activities of the elite were performed with various goals on various social levels. The successful integration in the power structures of the Empire was the fact they were probably most proud of. For a member of the local aristocracy, most cherished success in his social advancement was to obtain the equestrian rank. In many cases this meant abandoning the Anatolian hometown of one's origin and pursuing military or civilian career in other parts of the Empire. The decentralized and mobile nature of the imperial administration enabled Romanized elite to develop ties and advance their careers in a number of different cities in the province. In Asia Minor, including Lydia and Phrygia, we can see following advancement, within the same family: father, provincial high-priest → son, *eques* → grandson, a senator. Although the imperial priesthood is considered a means for raising one's social status, at both local and provincial level, it does not seem to have been, for its holders, a fundamental impulse for a career in Rome. In Phrygia it seems apparent that imperial priesthood was not seen as a prelude to a Roman career, it was in itself one of the most coveted offices for the local notables.⁷³⁸

Exact number of the members of equestrian order in the two Anatolian regions remains uncertain. There are only 40 directly attested cases, which leads to a conclusion that Roman equestrians were only slightly more numerous than senators in these parts.

⁷³⁶ For the formation of a wealthy ruling-class cf. Magie, *Roman Rule*, 640-641; Jones, *Greek city*, 177; H. W. Pleket, *Political Culture and Political Practice in the Cities of Asia Minor in the Roman Empire*, in W. Schuller (ed.), *Politische Theorie und Praxis im Altertum*, Darmstadt 1998, 211

⁷³⁷ D. Chr. Or. 31, 16: But when we come to men, they require crowns, images, the right of precedence, and being kept in remembrance; and many in times have even given up their lives just in order that they might get a statue and have their name announced by the herald or receive some other honor and leave to succeeding generations a fair name and remembrance of themselves; English translation by J. W. Cohoon.

⁷³⁸ M. D. Campanile, *Il culto imperiale in Frigia*, in R. Gusmani, M. Salvini, P. Vannicelli (eds.), *Frigi e Frigio*. Atti del 1° Simposio Internazionale Roma 16-17 ottobre 1995, Roma 1997, 225.

However, many of the distinguished individuals mentioned in various inscriptions could be members of this *ordo*, even if they fail to mention it. Furthermore, there is an opinion that all of the confirmed high-priests of Asia were equestrians. On this basis, there is good reason to believe that there were many more equestrians, although the real number remains beyond estimation. But even so, they were only a small minority within the elite that was only a small minority of the entire population.

We should certainly acknowledge the influence of particular families and their wealth on the historical development of the cities of Roman Asia Minor, including Lydia and Phrygia. Some members of these municipal elite families were fathers of equestrians, grandfathers of senators, driving force of families' social mobility. Others have been involved, through their slaves, freedmen and possible investments, into city's craftsmanship and trade. It seems they invested their energy and funds both ways: encouraging professionalism and trade and honoring their own members as leading citizens. Once again, the image of the society we get from the honorific inscriptions, insisting that virtue and not property were the basis of political power is certainly a distorted one, especially considering underlying social inequalities. Nevertheless, these honorific inscriptions fulfilled their basic aim; we are discussing benefactors and their grand gestures, even today.

6. “MIDDLE CLASS”

After analyzing higher social groups, we can now look at the population in the cities in Lydia and Phrygia, as well as in the estates and villages around them. Who were the citizens? Who were the members of the so-called “middle class”? The usage of this term requires some explanation. “Middle class” is a term I apply for certain social groups in Roman Anatolia in the deficiency of a better one. This is not done without some degree of uneasiness, but the satisfying alternative is simply not there. The very concept of “middle class” is the product of modern social and political thought, it is introduced by the 18th century political philosophy as a convenient way to classify a very large tract of the society.⁷³⁹ Classical or Weberian social theory defines the middle class, quite literally, as a social stratum that holds a middle position between “upper class” (the wealthy) and the “working class” (the poor, people whose livelihood is based on direct physical labor). Thus, a lawyer, a teacher or a clerk would belong to the “middle class” but a blacksmith or a carpenter would not.⁷⁴⁰ Modern social and political theory often uses the term “middle class” more broadly, to include all the people with steady income and stable living conditions, sometimes treating the term “working class” as obsolete. Ideally, a vast majority of inhabitants in a well-governed modern society would belong to the “middle class”.

The term “middle class” is so embedded in the contemporary sociological concepts that there is hardly any attempt at analysis of the modern social, political or economic systems without using it.⁷⁴¹ However, problems are encountered as soon as

⁷³⁹ J. Scott, *Social Theory: Central Issues in Sociology*, London 2006, 13-17.

⁷⁴⁰ W. J. Mommsen, *The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber*, Chicago 1989, 63-65.

⁷⁴¹ B. S. Turner, *Classical Sociology*, London 1999, 218-219.

we attempt to apply these designations to ancient societies. The ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as the provincial inhabitants of their Empire, viewed society through different lenses and lacked any term that could be correctly translated as “middle class”. Thus, a construct that is clearly modern is introduced into analysis of the ancient world.

In ancient history the use of the term was justified by the works of M. I. Rostovtzeff. It is one of the most overused terms in his venerable *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*.⁷⁴² It remains in vogue until present day, unlike other (equally anachronistic) terms Rostovtzeff employs, such as “bourgeoisie” and “proletariat”.⁷⁴³ In spite of many possible objections,⁷⁴⁴ the term “middle class” is used by historians of antiquity.⁷⁴⁵ It ought to be noted, however, that there is much ambiguity and inconsistency about the way the word is used. Different modern authors use this term to refer to different strata of the society. When writing about “middle class”, Rostovtzeff used it as synonymous with “bourgeoisie”, which means both the class of large landowners that are not directly engaged in any physical work (“the upper class of the city bourgeoisie”, i.e. the municipal aristocracy) and the “petty bourgeoisie” that consisted of craftsmen, small merchants, teachers and the like. In a work that was once very relevant for the subject, H. Hill used “middle class” even in the title, but was actually referring to the equestrian order.⁷⁴⁶ This usage was rightly criticized⁷⁴⁷ but was (and still actually is) fairly common.

⁷⁴² M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire I*, Oxford 1957², 190: “The importance of the upper class of the city bourgeoisie cannot be exaggerated. It was this class that gave the Empire its brilliant aspect, and it was this class that practically ruled it... One step below on the social ladder stood the petty bourgeoisie (i.e. the middle class), the shopowners, the retail-traders, the money-changers, the artisans, the representatives of liberal professions, such as teachers, doctors and the like. Of them we know but little. We cannot say how large their numbers were as compared to the municipal aristocracy on the one hand and the city proletariat on the other. The ruins of ancient cities of Italy and the provinces, with their hundreds of smaller and larger shops and hundreds of inscriptions, mentioning individual members of this class and their associations, lead us to believe that they formed the backbone of municipal life.”

⁷⁴³ But see E. Meyer, *The Ancient Middle Classes: Urban Life and Aesthetics in the Roman Empire 100 BCE-250 CE*, Cambridge MA 2012, 223-224, n. 1.

⁷⁴⁴ Most energetic opposition to the notion of the “middle class” in the ancient world came from M. I. Finley and his followers, with their “primitivist” visage of ancient society and economy: M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1974, 48-53 (there is no such thing as ancient “classes”, the word itself is wrong in ancient context, a proper expression is “status”, “an admirably vague word”); cf. *ibid.*, 50: “A vast fictitious edifice, erected on a single false assumption about classes, still passes for Roman history in too many books.”

⁷⁴⁵ E. Meyer, *op. cit.*, 1-8.

⁷⁴⁶ H. Hill, *The Roman Middle Class in the Republican Period*, Oxford 1952.

⁷⁴⁷ Cf. H. H. Scullard, *JRS* 45-1/2 (1955), 181-182: “It may be doubted whether ‘The Middle Class’ is a very happy choice”; and “‘Middle Class’ is most misleading because in general the Equites belonged to the same social class as the senators”.

The Greek term *demos* (δῆμος) partly overlaps but is in no way equivalent to the modern notion of “middle class”. It is usually translated as “people” (but never in the all-encompassing sense of “inhabitants”) or “citizens”, or, if context demands it, as “popular assembly”. *Demos* is based on legal and cultural distinction between citizens of a *polis* and everyone else. It does not signify any particular social group, there are many different social strata within the body of *demos*. Strictly speaking, the *demos* incorporates both the humblest of the free inhabitants (if they possess the citizen status) and the wealthiest elite, although a rich immigrant (even a Roman of a high-status) without the citizenship remains outside of the *demos*. However, it is to be noted that ancient writers often contrast the *demos* with the rich ruling elite. In this particular sense, *demos* signifies all of the non-elite citizens, i.e. moderately wealthy proprietors, small landowners and farmers, craftsmen, minor merchants, as well as mass of paupers whose living depended on the raw physical labor and the generosity of the elite. When used in such a way, the meaning of the word *demos* approaches the modern concept of “middle class”.

6.1 Professional associations in Lydia and Phrygia

Some historical sources are more useful than others when dealing with the middle class of population in the cities of Roman Anatolia. The most informative in this regard are the honorary and funerary inscriptions mentioning various associations. They give us a glimpse of their organization, as well as citizen’s everyday life. In this section I will try to discuss the juridical status and honorific practices of professional associations, their role in ancient festivals, public feasts, parades and processions and distributions, as a new model of society was constructed, based no longer on the equality of citizens, but upon a hierarchy of status groups, effectively and symbolically integrated into an imperial framework. Terminology will be also mentioned (σύνοδος, ἐργασία, τέχνη, κοινόν, πλατεῖα, συνέδριον, φυλή, συμβίωσις), internal organization, membership (as well as status of members, mostly freeborn, some slaves), professions. Social status of craftsmen and traders is not that of the poorest members of society but rather of the *plebs media*. Epigraphic representation was a way the ancient

guilds reflected their place in the social order. Inscriptions give us a testimony to the respectability of associations of craftsmen and traders in urban societies as well as self-respect which craftsmen show in inscriptions erected by or for them. In this respect there is a striking difference between the Lydian and Phrygian cities. Phrygian associations are for the most part mentioned in the third party inscriptions: monuments erected by the associations themselves are very rare. For example, in Hierapolis there are only few such inscriptions.⁷⁴⁸ On the other hand, there is a vast multitude of Lydian inscriptions erected by or on the behalf of associations. Unlike the situation in Phrygia, here we have the direct evidence of how the professional groups wished to be perceived.

According to Debord, professional and other voluntary associations in Lydia continue the pre-Hellenistic tradition in guild organization and activities.⁷⁴⁹ When Lydia is concerned, there are a number of intriguing theories that seek to explain the high level of development and the origin of the professional associations. Some scholars tend to see their origin in (from the perspective of the High Empire) distant past, perhaps in the Achaemenid period or the time of the Lydian kingdom. However, while interesting, these theories have very little bearing on the issues of society in Roman Lydia.

In Lydian Thyateira twelve different professional groups are known (nineteen references, predominantly for οἱ βαφεῖς, the earliest one from the beginning of the first century AD);⁷⁵⁰ at Saittai, there are 52 references to professional associations all dated in the period between the middle of the second century AD and the end of the third century AD, while in the rest of Lydia, there are around 90 epigraphic attestations of *collegia*, spanning the period from first to the third century AD. Inland, in Phrygia there are around forty references to professional associations, dated from the first to the third century.

Inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia give plenty of information on professional associations in these regions. Terms for these groups are diverse as σύνοδος, ἐργασία, τέχνη, πλατεῖα, συνέδριον, φυλή, συμβίωσις and although they have different original meanings they are all used to describe guilds and some of them are also used for cult associations (σύνοδος, συμβίωσις, συντεχνία).

⁷⁴⁸ *IGR* IV 816; 821; 822.

⁷⁴⁹ P. Debord, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine*, Leiden 1982, 15 and 305.

⁷⁵⁰ *TAM* V2 978.

The term σύνοδος is attested twice in Saïttai in the second century AD, for the association of cobblers⁷⁵¹ and association of carpenters.⁷⁵² It also designated a group of *podarii* (ποδάριοι) in Saïttai, perhaps a tempo specialists in theatre or pantomime⁷⁵³ as well as the association of musicians (μουσικοί) in Satala, not attested elsewhere.⁷⁵⁴ The term ἐργασία is much more frequent in Phrygia, designating various associations in Hierapolis, Laodikeia on the Lykos and Tralleis in Lydia. In Hierapolis⁷⁵⁵ the expression was used for groups of βαφεῖς,⁷⁵⁶ θρεμματικοί,⁷⁵⁷ ἐριοπλύται,⁷⁵⁸ πορφυροβαφεῖς,⁷⁵⁹ λινωταί⁷⁶⁰ and κηπουργοί,⁷⁶¹ in Laodikeia on the Lykos for γναφεῖς and ἀπλουργοί⁷⁶² and in Tralleis for βαφεῖς.⁷⁶³ The term deriving from ἐργασία, συνεργασία is very characteristic of Asia Minor and especially Saïttai in Lydia.⁷⁶⁴ There, it has been attested 18 times for the groups of γναφεῖς,⁷⁶⁵ λαναριοί,⁷⁶⁶ λινουργοί,⁷⁶⁷ πιλοποιοί,⁷⁶⁸ ἐριουργοί,⁷⁶⁹ χαλκεῖς,⁷⁷⁰ and σιπιναριοί.⁷⁷¹ The

⁷⁵¹ *SEG* XXIX 1183.

⁷⁵² *SEG* XXIX 1186.

⁷⁵³ *TAM* V1 92; cf. more L. Robert, J. Robert, Bulletin épigraphique, *Revue des études grecques* t. 76, fasc. 359-360 (1963), no. 234.

⁷⁵⁴ *SEG* XLIX 1683 (170/171 AD); cf. commentary of ed. pr. H. Malay, *Recherches*, no. 145; for a deceased buried by the θίασος τῶν μουσικῶν *SEG* LV 1311 (Lydia, 239 AD); for an association of *πυθικοὶ* as an organisation of solo musicians in Saïttai cf. *SEG* XXIX 1200 (Imperial period).

⁷⁵⁵ Full list of associations in Hierapolis is given in *SEG* XLV 1747.

⁷⁵⁶ *CIG* 3924 (1st-2nd century AD); *Altertümer von Hierapolis* 195 (2nd -3rd century AD), but cf. a new edition in *SEG* LIV 1315 where the earlier restoration has been changed to τέχνη τῶν βαφέων.

⁷⁵⁷ *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 227 (second half of the 2nd century).

⁷⁵⁸ F. A. Pennacchietti, Nuove iscrizioni di Hierapolis Frigia, *AAT* 101 (1966-1967), no. 45; *IGR* IV 821 (3rd century AD).

⁷⁵⁹ *IGR* IV 822; *IGR* IV 816 (both 3rd century AD).

⁷⁶⁰ *SEG* LVI 1501 (end of the 2nd/first half of the 3rd century AD).

⁷⁶¹ *SEG* LIV 1313 (3rd century AD)

⁷⁶² *IK* Laodikeia am Lykos 50 (3rd century AD), but the actual term ἐργασία is a previous restoration in *IGR* IV 863.

⁷⁶³ *IK* Tralleis 6*.

⁷⁶⁴ for a possible restoration and new ἡ ψιλαγνάφω[ν συνεργασία in Yeşilova, Lydia cf. commentary on *SEG* XLVI 1540.

⁷⁶⁵ *SEG* XXIX 1184 (152/153 AD).

⁷⁶⁶ *SEG* XLIX 1664 (170/171AD).

⁷⁶⁷ *SEG* XXIX 1191 (183/184 AD); *SEG* XLVIII 1460 (183/184 AD); *SEG* XLIX 1667 (183/184 AD); *SEG* XXXII 1234 (192/193 AD); *SEG* XLVIII 1461 (192/193 AD); *SEG* XL 1088 (194/195 AD); *SEG* LV 1299 (196 AD); *SEG* XXXI 1036 (202/203 AD); *TAM* V1 83 (205/206 AD); *SEG* XLIX 1670 (209/210 AD); *TAM* V1 84 (211/212 AD); *SEG* XLIX 1672 (233/234 AD).

⁷⁶⁸ *SEG* XXIX 1195 (194/195 AD).

⁷⁶⁹ *SEG* XXIX 1198 (223/224 AD).

⁷⁷⁰ *SEG* XLIX 1669 (208/209 AD).

⁷⁷¹ *SEG* XLVIII 1464 (208/209 AD).

expression is also present in one inscription from Temenothyrai,⁷⁷² one from Akmonia⁷⁷³ and two inscriptions from Laodikeia on the Lykos.⁷⁷⁴

Another phrase used for associations is τέχνη but in that form it is attested only twice in Hierapolis, once for associations of dyers⁷⁷⁵ and another for purple-dyers.⁷⁷⁶ The derived term τὸ ὁμότεχνον was used rarely and usually in the area of Saittai, although the earliest record is from Iulia Gordos (142/143 AD). It is used during the second century for different kind of textile workers: γναφεῖς,⁷⁷⁷ λανάριοι,⁷⁷⁸ λινουργοί⁷⁷⁹ and ὑφάνται.⁷⁸⁰ A variant was also used in an inscription in Aizanoi for associations of gardeners, ὁμοτεχνία τῶν κηπουρῶν.⁷⁸¹ Unlike τὸ ὁμότεχνον, the designation συντεχνία is not used only for textile workers and is attested in various areas, including Tralleis and Hierapolis. In Tralleis, the association of linen-workers (λινύφοι) honoured an *agoranomos*⁷⁸² and in Hierapolis in two funerary inscriptions there are four associations: nail-smiths (ήλοκόποι), purple-dyers (πορφυροβαφεῖς), coppersmiths (χαλκεῖς)⁷⁸³ and millers (ὕδραλέτοι).⁷⁸⁴

In Thyteira, the noun τό πλῆθος (great number, multitude) was used twice to designate guild or association of βαφεῖς.⁷⁸⁵ Another noun ἡ πλατεῖα (an avenue with colonnade)⁷⁸⁶ had perhaps a broader meaning of guilds or associations, probably implying there were whole streets or quarters of craftsmen existed and organized. It is attested once in Phrygia, in Apamea⁷⁸⁷ and five times in Saittai, constantly related to cobblers (ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν σκυτέων).⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁷² SEG VI 167 (2nd century AD): ἡ γναφέων συνεργασία.

⁷⁷³ IGR IV 643 (2nd century AD): ἡ γναφέων συνεργασία.

⁷⁷⁴ IK Laodikeia am Lykos 32 and 33, for seats in the theatre for associations, both from the imperial period. The first inscription is perhaps for an association of carpet manufacturers.

⁷⁷⁵ SEG XLI 1201 (first half of the 2nd century AD): ἡ τέχνη τῶν βαφέων.

⁷⁷⁶ SEG LVII 1367 (206-209 AD): ἡ τέχνη τῶν πορφυραβάφεων; cf. Labarre, Dinahet no. 65.

⁷⁷⁷ SEG XL 1045 (Iulia Gordos, 142/143 AD); TAM V1 86 (154/155 AD).

⁷⁷⁸ TAM V1 85 (145/146 AD); SEG XLIX 1663 (168/169AD).

⁷⁷⁹ TAM V1 82 (183/184 AD).

⁷⁸⁰ SEG XXXIII 1017 (256/257 AD); previously unattested in Saittai.

⁷⁸¹ MAMA IX 49 (date unknown); for another possible restoration cf. MAMA IX 66.

⁷⁸² IK Tralles 79 (imperial period).

⁷⁸³ Alt. v. Hierapolis 133 (2nd-3rd century AD).

⁷⁸⁴ F. A. Pennacchietti, Nuove iscrizioni di Hierapolis Frigia, AAT 101 (1966-1967), no. 7.

⁷⁸⁵ TAM V2 1029 (2nd-3rd century AD); TAM V2 1081 (3rd century AD).

⁷⁸⁶ L. Robert, Études anatoliennes, Amsterdam 1970², 532-534; OMS I 424, n. 85; "l'expression qui désigne à la fois une rue et une corporation."

⁷⁸⁷ IGR IV 790 (middle of the 2nd century AD): οἱ ἐν τῇ Σκυτικῇ Πλατεῖα τεχνεῖται.

⁷⁸⁸ TAM V1 79 (152/153 AD); TAM V1 80 (153/154 AD); TAM V1 81 (173/174 AD); TAM V1 146 (166/167 AD).

The terms συνέδριον and προεδρία (as term for governing body of the association) are rarely used, twice in Hierapolis.⁷⁸⁹ Hierapolis also has one distinction more. On several inscriptions professional associations of gardeners, purple-dyers and the ones who wash raw flax are described as σεμνότατος, honorable, respected.⁷⁹⁰ This expression of respect was considered as some kind of attribute of the establishment, although it was probably not official nomenclature.⁷⁹¹ It was usually used as an epithet for *gerousia* and is often assigned, but not only, to the purple-dyers. However, it is not the purple-dyers who use the adjective in their documents, but individuals on their tombstones. In practical terms, it could mean that the association of purple-dyers enjoyed the image of a revered organization equal (or almost equal) in social standing to the *gerousia*.

From the Augustan period onwards the textile industry and trade flourished in the cities of Asia Minor. Strabo remarked that the rise in number of sheep was important in increased production of textile and that the black wool of Laodikeia on the Lykos was much esteemed: φέρει δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν τόπος προβάτων ἀρετὰς οὐκ εἰς μαλακότητα μόνον τῶν ἐρίων, ἧ καὶ τῶν Μιλησίων διαφέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν κοραζὴν χροάν, ὥστε καὶ προσοδεύονται λαμπρῶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Κολοσσηνοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμωνύμου χρώματος πλησίον οἰκοῦντες.⁷⁹² Phrygian votive inscriptions and tombstones also give an impression of the importance of this industry as presented in Waelkens' article listing the representation of sheep, shepherds or their tools in these areas.⁷⁹³ Some of this production was of course for domestic use, as we can see on stone representation of wool baskets and distaffs. But many products were manufactured in specialist workshops. In Lydia, most of these were in Saittai and Thyateira, and in Phrygia Hierapolis was the textile center. To be precise, Hierapolis and Laodikeia

⁷⁸⁹ *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 227 (2nd-3rd century AD): τὸ συνέδριον τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυραβάφεων; *SEG XLVI* 1656 (2nd-3rd century AD): τὸ συνέδριον τῶν (ἀ?)καιροδαπιστῶν.

⁷⁹⁰ Pennachiatti, no. 25; *AE* 1994, 1660; *IGR IV* 822; *IGR IV* 816; *IGR IV* 821.

⁷⁹¹ This adjective is also frequently attested in funerary inscriptions; occasionally in honorary inscriptions concerning *euergetes*, for these and other examples (not in Lydia and Phrygia) cf. C. Zimmermann, *Handwerkervereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum*, Mainz 2002, 41-42.

⁷⁹² Strabo 12. 8, 16: "The country round Laodiceia produces sheep that are excellent, not only for the softness of wool, in which they surpass even the Milesian wool, but also for its raven-black color, so that the Laodiceians derive splendid revenue from it, as do also the neighboring Colosseni from the color which bears the same name." translation taken from H. L. Jones (ed.), *The Geography of Strabo*, Cambridge, London, 1924.

⁷⁹³ M. Waelkens, Phrygian Votive and Tombstones as Sources of the Social and Economic Life in Roman Antiquity, *Ancient Society* 8 (1977), 286.

together formed probably the most important centre of textile production in Asia Minor, maybe even the whole eastern Mediterranean. It seems that the civic economy of Hierapolis was entirely based on textiles. In the case of Hierapolis, there is perhaps a connection between the local priesthood and the craftsmen involved in the dying of wool.⁷⁹⁴ It is also important to note that all these textile centers are situated in the river valleys of Hermos and Meandros. Saittai's territory is suited for the cultivation of linen (flax) and for sheep-rearing; the textile-production must have largely contributed to the city's prosperity. The hilly countryside was good for raising sheep and for cultivating flax while abundance of water helped irrigation and washing, fulling and dying the linen.⁷⁹⁵ The spatial proximity of resources necessary for textile industry encouraged an intense concentration of specialized craftsmen activity in this area. The combination of these factors could explain how those middle and small cities developed this production more than others and the success of textile industry allowed craftsmen to climb the social ladder. Textile industry in Lydia and Phrygia functioned on three levels. On the local level they met the needs of the major part of the community and proved to be self-sufficient. Thyateira and Saittai produced textiles of average quality and had surpluses distributed to other towns in the province, especially to Sardeis and Ephesos.⁷⁹⁶ The high quality textile goods and luxury garments were produced in Hierapolis and Laodikeia and then distributed all over the Empire.⁷⁹⁷ Laodicean hooded cloak (and probably any wool garment from that area) was labeled as luxury good in Diocletian's Edict on prices in 301 AD.⁷⁹⁸

The textile professionals mentioned in the inscriptions are⁷⁹⁹

- ἔριοργός or wool worker (in Saittai and Philadelphia),

⁷⁹⁴ T. Ritti, Associazioni di mestiere a Hierapolis di Frigia, in B. M. Giannattasio (ed.), *Viaggi e commerci nell'antichità* (Atti VII giornata archeologica, Genova, 25 novembre 1994), Genova 1995, 68-69.

⁷⁹⁵ Cf. Strabo 13. 4, 14: ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς βαφὴν ἐρίων θαυμαστῶς σύμμετρον τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἱερὰν πόλιν ὕδωρ, ὥστε τὰ ἐκ τῶν ῥιζῶν βαπτόμενα ἐνάμιλλα εἶναι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς κόκκου καὶ τοῖς ἀλουργέσιν: οὕτω δ' ἔστιν ἄφθονον τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ὕδατος ὥστε ἡ πόλις μεστὴ τῶν αὐτομάτων βαλανείων ἐστί.

⁷⁹⁶ Thonemann points out that, although the direct evidence for Philadelphia as a centre of textile production is not as abundant, some association were attested there, and the later Turkish name of the ancient city (Alaşehir or "red city") probably reflects the city's reputation for the fabrication of red textiles in particular, P. Thonemann, *The Meander Valley. A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*, Cambridge 2011, 187.

⁷⁹⁷ Labarre, Le Dinahet, 56.

⁷⁹⁸ Ch. XIX, 26-27: byrrum Laodicen[um ꝛ quattor milibus quingenis]; byrrum Laodicen[um] i[n] similitudinem Nerv[us] ꝛ decem milibus]; βίρρος Λαδικηνός ꝛ ,δφ'; βίρρος Λαδικηνός ἐν ὁμοίότητι Νερβικοῦ ꝛ M; taken from T. Frank, *Rome and Italy of the Empire* V, Baltimore 1940, 374-375; f. CIL III pp. 801-904.

⁷⁹⁹ For detailed information on inscriptions see Tables 9 and 10.

- λανάριος or linen worker (Thyateira and Saittai),
- έριοπλύται, the ones who wash wool (Hierapolis)
- λινουργός linen worker (Saittai)
- λεντίαριος for linen cloth maker (Philadelphia, Eumeneia)
- ύφαντής (weaver in Saittai) and λινύφης (linen weaver in Tralleis)
- γναφεύς or fuller (in Saittai, Iulia Gordos, Akmoneia and Themenothyrai)
- βαφεύς or dyer (in Thyateira, Philadelphia, Laodikeia on the Lykos and Hierapolis) and πορφυροβαφεύς (purple-dyer in Hierapolis)
- άπλουργοί, the ones who make clothes out of one piece of fabric (in Laodikeia on the Lykos)
- πιλοποιός, maker of felt hats (at Saittai)
- ράπτης or tailor (in Aizanoi)
- όθονιοπώλης, linen merchant (Eumeneia)

The inscriptions from all these areas also give testimony for other occupations, artisans and professionals. In Tralleis, we have two characteristic terms; one is a banker, ό τραπεζίτης,⁸⁰⁰ and also an expression for co-workers, συνεργάται.⁸⁰¹ In Philadelphia we have an artisan specialist, a gem cutter, ό δακτυλοκοιολγύφος.⁸⁰² In the Phrygian highlands, stone-masons or sculptors (λατύπος) are very common⁸⁰³ as well as a few architects,⁸⁰⁴ a green-grocer (ό λαχανοπώλης), a knife-maker (ό μαχαιροποιός),⁸⁰⁵ a coiffeur (or perhaps one who plaits reed mats: έμπλέκτης)⁸⁰⁶ and a perfume seller in Hierapolis (ό μυροπώλης).⁸⁰⁷ In the area of Aezanitis there is

⁸⁰⁰ *SEG* XLVI 1436 (Imperial period).

⁸⁰¹ *IK Tralleis* 169.

⁸⁰² *TAM* V3 1901 (2nd century AD).

⁸⁰³ i.e. *MAMA* VI 275 (Akomoneia, imperial period); 321 (Akmoneia, imperial period); *MAMA* IX 61 (Aizanoi, imperial period); 451 (Aizanoi, late 2nd century); *SEG* XL 1236 (Upper Tembrys Valley, 2nd or 3rd century); *SEG* XLI 1171 (Akmoneia, 249 AD); *SEG* XXVIII 1176 (Nakoleia, imperial period).

⁸⁰⁴ *MAMA* X 137 (Appia, 3rd century AD); *IK* Laodikeia am Lykos 58 (imperial period).

⁸⁰⁵ *SEG* XXVIII 1140 (Eumeneia, undated).

⁸⁰⁶ *MAMA* X 428 (Synaus, imperial period); for the possibility of plaiting reed mats, an industry around Simav lake cf. *lemma* in *MAMA* X and L. Robert, Documents d'Asie Mineure, *BCH* 106-1 (1982), 352-359.

⁸⁰⁷ Alt. v. Hierapolis 262(150-200 AD); cf. *SEG* LIV 1302.

ρόπτης attested,⁸⁰⁸ and an association of gardeners (ὄμοτεχνία κηπουρῶν) that dedicated an inscription to Zeus Bennis.⁸⁰⁹ There are also several smiths/blacksmiths (χαλκεύς) attested, not attached to an association.⁸¹⁰

Funerary inscriptions are illustrative on internal organization of the associations.⁸¹¹ They protect their deceased members against those who do not respect the interdiction to reuse the tomb as, for example, in Hierapolis and for any misuse a penalty was to be paid to the association.⁸¹² Sometimes the association had an obligation of crowning the tomb on the anniversary of death, of making feasts or sacrifice. Professional associations are in three cases designated as recipients of fines for tomb desecration together with the treasury,⁸¹³ in two cases they are to use the fine as the capital of an endowment,⁸¹⁴ while in five cases they appear as beneficiaries of a legacy.⁸¹⁵ This role has not only social consequences; it also gives a clue as to the legal treatment of these organizations. As van Nijf strongly argues, we can see from “the inscriptions that mention fines as expressions of how men of middling wealth and status perceived the social hierarchy, and of how they saw the place of *collegia* therein.”⁸¹⁶ Another question concerns the compulsory character of the ritual performance; what would have happened if the association was unable or unwilling to perform the ritual? For this contingency, there is information from three inscriptions; in *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 133 the testator designates three different associations as recipients of 150 denarii to perform the laying of a wreath over his tomb; if the nail-smiths fail, then the coppersmiths will take over, and if they fail, then the purple-dyers are to take over. In *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 227, in case the purple-dyers do not perform the ritual of burning poppies on the tomb of M. Aurelius Diodorus Corescus, the association of cattle breeders will assume the task and the money. The more important question remains,

⁸⁰⁸ *MAMA* IX 157.

⁸⁰⁹ *MAMA* IX 49.

⁸¹⁰ I. e. *I Sultan Dağı* 627; *SEG* LI 1808 (Phrygia, 180-220 AD); *SEG* XXXIII 1155 (Phrygia); *SEG* XXVI 1356 (Akmonia, Phrygia).

⁸¹¹ On rules and regulations in Lydian associations and their perceived ‘well-ordered society’ cf. paper *Rules and regulations of associations in ancient Lydia* by Maria Paz de Hoz delivered at CAP conference in Athens in 2014, abstract on http://copenhagenassociations.saxo.ku.dk/pdf-documents/Abstracts_Athens_Final.pdf (accessed in August 2014); cf. next chapter 6.2.

⁸¹² Pennachietti, *AAT* 101 (1967), 317-319, no. 45; *Ibid.*, 305, no. 23.

⁸¹³ *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 218; *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 133; *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 227.

⁸¹⁴ Pennachietti, *AAT* 101 (1967), 297, no. 7; *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 218.

⁸¹⁵ *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 195; *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 227 Pennachietti, *AAT* 101 (1967), 317-319, no. 45; *SEG* LIV 1313; *SEG* LIV 1315

⁸¹⁶ O. van Nijf, *The civic world of professional associations in the Roman East*, Amsterdam 1997, 59.

why is there such a concentration, especially in Hierapolis, of this particular practice? Maybe it could be considered as a part of the local *euergetism*. Saittai produced the largest number of epitaphs mentioning guilds and thus gave us a lot of new information but also raised more questions. Was there an obligation of the association to provide burial for all their members or only for those without any relatives left? Were all of the deceased members? Could the association afford to erect monuments for all the members? Taking into account the well-known custom in Lydia to erect funerary monuments for a deceased listing all his/her family members, we could perhaps assume that the epitaphs made by associations were meant for those members with no surviving relatives, or simply too poor to afford such a funerary monument.

What about the living members? Epigraphic texts display solidarity, mutual help and celebrations among the artisans of the same association and illustrate their place in the society. Some associations had an *epimeletes*⁸¹⁷ or *epistates*⁸¹⁸ in charge, as in Thyateira and Hierapolis, where we have the *proedria* as a leading group.⁸¹⁹ It seems that associations were modeled on the institutions of the *polis*, thus creating their civic space within the city (showing structural and terminological similarity in constitution (νόμος), offices (ἐπιμελητής, ἐπιστάτης), organisation of assemblies, issuing of decrees and award of honors to distinguished members or benefactors in traditional vocabulary, and perhaps displaying excessive polis imitation included subdivisions of members into φυλαί⁸²⁰ and annually held ἀγῶνες.⁸²¹

The association of textile professionals bestowed honors on illustrious persons and benefactors. They dedicated statues,⁸²² funerary altars⁸²³ and honorific

⁸¹⁷ *TAM* V2 991.

⁸¹⁸ *TAM* V2 945.

⁸¹⁹ *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 227; Pennachietti, *AAT* 101 (1967), p. 305, no. 23; *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 342.

⁸²⁰ As in Philadelphia *TAM* V3 1490; 1491; 1492.

⁸²¹ We can perhaps deduce from two inscriptions from Thyateira, that the association of dyers had a building, ἔργον, or some other place to gather; *TAM* V2 991 (Thyateira) ll. 2-8: [ο]ἱ βαφεῖς ἐτείμησα[ν / Μ]ἄρκον Μενάνδρου, [ἄν]/δρα φιλότιμον καὶ λε[ι]/τουργόν, ἐπιμεληθέν/τα τοῦ τῶν βαφέων ἔργου / πολλάκις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τέ/[κ]νων; 945 (Thyateira) ll. 2-7: οἱ βαφεῖς / Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμά[γο]ρον / Γλύκωνος υἱὸν στρα/τηγὸν ἐτείμησαν ἐπισ/τησάμενον τοῦ ἔργου / βαφέων ; cf. L. Robert, *OMS* IV, 254; nevertheless, the term can also be applied to the association itself.

⁸²² *TAM* V2 989; 991; 972; 978; 1029; 1019; 945; *TAM* V3 1490; *SEG* XLI 1201 (Hierapolis); *IGR* IV 816 (Hierapolis); *SEG* VI 167 (Themenouthyrai, Phrygia).

⁸²³ *IK Tralleis* 6* (Hierapolis).

inscriptions.⁸²⁴ As we can see, the highest number of honorary inscriptions issued by craftsmen comes from Thyateira and the association of dyers is the most active one.⁸²⁵

There is only one inscription made by professional associations honoring an emperor, as the potters from Thyateira honored M. Aur. Severus Antoninus with a statue commissioned and erected at their own expense.⁸²⁶

Guilds were usually bestowing honors on city officials: ambassadors,⁸²⁷ *einarchos*,⁸²⁸ *agoranomos*,⁸²⁹ *strategos*,⁸³⁰ first *strategos*,⁸³¹ *sitones*,⁸³² *gymnasiarches*,⁸³³ *xystarches*,⁸³⁴ *agonothetes*,⁸³⁵ *lampadarches*,⁸³⁶ *dekaprotos*,⁸³⁷ *grammateus* of the boule,⁸³⁸ *stephanephoros*.⁸³⁹

Some of the honorands were involved in the imperial cult. Claudia Ammion, from a distinguished family, honored by dyers in Thyateira was a priestess of the imperial cult, ἀρχιέρεια τῆς πόλεως for life and a generous *agonothetes*.⁸⁴⁰ She is also the only woman being honored by professional associations. Tiberius Claudius Socrates, also honored by dyers in Thyateira, was ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ ἐν Περγάμῳ ναοῦ and *euergetes* who helped with the reconstruction of many buildings, graced the city with new edifices and also endowed his *polis* with a generous exemption from taxes,⁸⁴¹ and T. Flavius Montanus honored by fullers in Akmoneia was ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας and one of the *flamines augustales*.⁸⁴² Tiberius Claudius Zotikos in Hierapolis, honored by both purple-dyers and wool-cleaners, was γραμματεὺς ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ and also *euergetes* of his patria.⁸⁴³

⁸²⁴ TAM V2 965; 933; IK *Laodikeia am Lykos* 50; IGR IV 822 (Hierapolis); IGR IV 821 (Hierapolis).

⁸²⁵ For Zimmermann's view on honorary inscriptions, patronage and "honorary members" cf. *Handwerkervereine*, 105-108.

⁸²⁶ TAM V2 914.

⁸²⁷ TAM V2 966; 1002; 1019; IGR IV 822 (Hierapolis); IGR IV 821 (Hierapolis).

⁸²⁸ TAM V2 989.

⁸²⁹ TAM V2 966; 989; 991; 1002.

⁸³⁰ TAM V2 989; 991; 945.

⁸³¹ IGR IV 822 (Hierapolis); IGR IV 821 (Hierapolis).

⁸³² TAM V2 991.

⁸³³ TAM V2 972; 978.

⁸³⁴ TAM V3 1490.

⁸³⁵ TAM V2 972; 978; IGR IV 822 (Hierapolis); IGR IV 821 (Hierapolis); IGR IV 643.

⁸³⁶ TAM V2 945.

⁸³⁷ TAM V2 989; 991; 945.

⁸³⁸ TAM V2 991.

⁸³⁹ TAM V2 965.

⁸⁴⁰ TAM V2 972.

⁸⁴¹ TAM V2 978, also mentioned in TAM V2 976 and 980.

⁸⁴² IGR IV 643 (= MAMA VI List 164).

⁸⁴³ IGR IV 822; IGR IV 821.

Annianus in Thyateira was *philosebastos*, twice asiarch, priest of the imperial cult, as well as a rhetor and jurist and one of the best men in Asia.⁸⁴⁴ Bakers in Thyateira honored and erected a statue of C. Iulius Iulianus Tatianus, a descendant of asiarches; he himself served his *polis* as *agonothetes*, chief priest for life, *triteutes* and *agoranomos*, as well as an ambassador to the Emperor (at his own expense) and is called οἰκιστής.⁸⁴⁵ In Philadelphia, wool workers honored Aurelius Hermippos as *euergetes*, he was a *xystarches*, a priest of the imperial cult and the priest of Artemis, and helped gladiatorial games and made other numerous money donations.⁸⁴⁶ Another elaborate example is an inscription where the fullers honor a renowned athlete C. Perelius Aurelius Alexander, a well-known person who lived in Thyateira in the 3rd century AD and played a major role in the political life of his town.⁸⁴⁷ The text of this honorific inscription is almost identical to *TAM V2 1018*, except that this time linen workers appear in the last line. He was also honored by the wool-workers in *TAM V2 1019* and his career is documented in *TAM V2 984*, *TAM V2 1017-1020*.

Professional associations honored people who performed almost all official duties in the city and they belonged to the *polis* finest, some of them being even a part of the provincial elite. Bestowing honors on them could have allowed craftsmen to build relations of trust, making a network of influence in the center of local power.

Some honorands had careers in the imperial army, as Alfenus Arignotus, an equestrian, with a distinguished military career who held various administrative posts, from an illustrious family in Thyateira,⁸⁴⁸ L. Egnatius Quartus from Temenothyrai designated as *ktistes*,⁸⁴⁹ T. Flavius Montanus in Akmoneia⁸⁵⁰ and unnamed imperial procurator in Hierapolis.⁸⁵¹ Apart from the Emperor Caracalla, the highest ranking person honored by professional associations was the famous jurist M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus, honored by the

⁸⁴⁴ *TAM V2 933*.

⁸⁴⁵ *TAM V2 966*.

⁸⁴⁶ *TAM V3 1490*.

⁸⁴⁷ *SEG XLIX 1669*.

⁸⁴⁸ *TAM V2 935*, and cf. also 913: *praefectus cohortis II Flaviae Numidarum* (Dacia), *praepositus cohortis II Flaviae Bessorum* (Dacia Inferior), *tribunus cohortis I Cilicum et praepositus cohortis I Gaetulorum* (Moesia Inferior), *praefectus alae II Flaviae Agrippianae* (Syria), *procurator Augusti arcae Livianae*, νεωκόρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, priest of Apollo Tyrimnos.

⁸⁴⁹ *SEG VI 167*, cf. also *IGR IV 64*; *SEG VI 174*; *AE 1977, 802*; *AE 2006, 1425*: *praefectus cohortis II Claudiae*, *curator alae Augustae Geminae* (Cappadocia), *tribunus militum legionis VIII Augustae* (Germania Superior), *praefectus equitum alae Augustae* (Brittania or Syria).

⁸⁵⁰ *IGR IV 643*: *praefectus fabrum* twice.

⁸⁵¹ *IGR IV 816*, *Alt. v. Hierapolis 42*.

tanners,⁸⁵² gardeners⁸⁵³ as well as his home city of Thyateira.⁸⁵⁴ Arnaoutoglou argues, following van Nijf, that by honoring high ranking man professional associations became socially visible and projected their identity in the eyes of their fellow citizens. In that way, they enforced social hierarchy and current system of social value.⁸⁵⁵

Financial interest was presumably the main reason for honoring benefactors as well as large land owners, the ones who owned great herds (important for those in textile industry), the ones who will invest in the trade of the final product, or the ones who can help them with the market or taxes. An interesting example is a 1st century inscription where shop-keepers in the slave market and the προξενηταί of slaves honored and dedicated a statue of Alexandros, son of Alexandros, a slave-dealer (σωματέμπορος), because he acted with integrity during his four-month tenure as *agoranomos* and donated money to celebrate lavishly the festival days of the Emperors.⁸⁵⁶ The honorand was active in the same trade as the group honoring him and probably his duties as *agoranomos* involved him in supervising market practices. Associations could be seen as contenders for economic support (as presumably benefactors' resources were not limitless) and benefactions and for the honor and prestige that such connections with the elites generated.⁸⁵⁷ In fact, participation in monumentalizing was one important means by which associations made claims about their place within society in relation to other groups and institutions. Furthermore, associations were, in a way, competitors for potential supporters and for the allegiances of members.

Most of the people mentioned in these inscriptions seem to be free, as it is also unclear whether craftsmen employed slaves or not. There are attestations of a slave and another possible freedman in Saittai, belonging to the same family⁸⁵⁸ and few other examples, also in Saittai, as three persons Ammianus,⁸⁵⁹ Attalianos⁸⁶⁰ and Iulianus⁸⁶¹ do

⁸⁵² *TAM* V2 986.

⁸⁵³ *SEG* XLVII 1656.

⁸⁵⁴ *TAM* V2 988.

⁸⁵⁵ I. Arnaoutoglou, Craftsmen associations in Roman Lydia – A Tale of Two Cities?, *Ancient Society* 41 (2011), 270.

⁸⁵⁶ *TAM* V2 932.

⁸⁵⁷ For examples of potential rivalry cf. P. A. Harland, Spheres of Contention, Claims of Pre-eminence Rivalries among Associations in Sardis and Smyrna, in: R. S. Ascough (ed.), *Religious Rivalries and Struggle for Success in Sardis and Smyrna*, Ontario 2005, 56-57.

⁸⁵⁸ *TAM* V1 85; *SEG* XXIX 1186; cf. also Zimmermann, *Handwerkervereine*, 93-95.

⁸⁵⁹ *TAM* V1 84: epitaph made by συνεργασία τῶν λινοουργῶν.

⁸⁶⁰ *SEG* XXIX 1195: epitaph made by συνεργασία τῶν πιλοποιοί.

not indicate their patronymic. Based on this we cannot conclusively determine whether or not these persons were slaves, but it could be a solid indication. Part of the textile production was probably in the hands of women, but we have only one inscription, an epitaph in Philadelphia, for a female linen worker named Trophime. She was not part of any association.⁸⁶²

One aspect concerning the ethnic affiliation of members in associations is seen from the tombstone of P. Aelius Glykon Zeuxianos Ailianos in Hierapolis who endows the association of purple-dyers and the assembly of carpet makers with 200 and 150 denarii respectively in order to perform celebrations at two Jewish festivals (Passover and Pentecost) and at the Roman festival of Kalendae.⁸⁶³ While there is a certain amount of evidence about Jews in Hierapolis and their corporate organization, there is no compelling reason to assume that there were exclusively Jewish craftsmen associations.⁸⁶⁴

A question whether craftsmen were considered to belong to a lower class is a complex one, as their world was not homogenous and there were social differences between industries. Judging by the types of the inscription and their information (as seen in Tables 5 and 6), *linourgoi* would be at the lower part of the hierarchy as they have produced mostly simple epitaphs for their members in Saittai, stating only the name and age of the deceased. Dyers are more prominent in the middle-sized Thyateira and their inscriptions are usually honorific: they are dedicating statues, honoring their *epimeletai*⁸⁶⁵ and *epistatai*⁸⁶⁶ who hold numerous official positions in the city and perform (and finance) liturgies. In Hierapolis ἡ τέχνη τῶν βαφέων is dedicating a statue to the *boule*.⁸⁶⁷ On the top were purple-dyers, making them among the notables in the city. At the beginning of the 3rd century ἡ τέχνη τῶν πορφυραβαφέων contributed to the decoration of the first and second levels of the theater skene in Docimean marble, as well as the adjoining part 635 feet long.⁸⁶⁸ It is clear that corporate purple-dyers had access to capital funds that enabled them simultaneously to contribute to the decoration

⁸⁶¹ TAM V1 83: epitaph made by συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν.

⁸⁶² TAM V3 1790.

⁸⁶³ AE 1994, 1660 = *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 342 = *CIJ* II 777.

⁸⁶⁴ Cf. Ph. A. Harland, Acculturation and identity in the Diaspora: A Jewish family and “pagan” guilds at Hierapolis, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 57 (2006), 222-244.

⁸⁶⁵ TAM V2 991.

⁸⁶⁶ TAM V2 945.

⁸⁶⁷ SEG XLI 1201.

⁸⁶⁸ SEG LVII 1367.

of one of Hierapolis' symbols, display their attachment to civic ideology, and raise themselves above the status of the average craftsmen and enter the ranks of local benefactors. Another good example is Marcus Aurelius Alexandros Moschianos from Hierapolis, πορφυροπώλος, who is also *bouleutes*.⁸⁶⁹ The purple dye was not easy to obtain and it was considered luxury good. It is no wonder that funerary inscriptions of these traders in Hierapolis are usually inscribed on lavish sarcophagi and have measures against reusing the tomb as well as donations to the associations.

In Hierapolis there were members of the *proedria* of the association. The term denotes almost consistently the privilege to be seated in the front rows during theater performances, musical or athletic contests, granted to distinguished citizens and foreigners. One inscription in particular could give decisive evidence: "...and if anyone opens (the sarcophagus' lid), either heir or relative, he shall pay to the *proedria* of the purple-dyers or to the yearly *epimeletai* a fine of 400 denari".⁸⁷⁰ *Proedria* does not designate the association as such but most probably the board of the group. In particular, *proedria* is equaled with the annually elected *epimeletai*;⁸⁷¹ the fine for tomb violation will be paid either to the *proedria* of the group or to its annual *epimeletai*. Therefore, *proedria* and *epimeletai* enjoy some sort of equal status, and *proedria* cannot denote something entirely different from *epimeletai* but it should be exercising a similar function. Nevertheless, there was a distinction based on the status enjoyed by those included in the *proedria*. Whether *epimeletai* enjoyed *ex officio* the privilege of *proedria*, remains an unanswered question. The *proedria* of purple-dyers may possibly originate in the honorary places at the theatre allocated to the leading and prominent members of the association, such as the *linourgoi* seats in Saittai or *ergasia kl[---]* in the neighbouring Laodikeia on Lykos. Nevertheless, this could also imply some sort of informal hierarchy among purple-dyers. It might mean that there were the annually selected *epimeletai* and a body of, perhaps previous officials (*ex-epimeletai*) constituting the *proedria*, which could perhaps convene as a separate organ.⁸⁷² It is, therefore, possible to consider *proedria* as some sort of executive committee,

⁸⁶⁹ *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 156.

⁸⁷⁰ *SEG* LIV 1323, 5-8: εἴ τις δὲ ἀποκορακώσει ἢ τε κληρονόμος ἢ τι συγγενὴς θήσει τῇ προεδρίᾳ τῶν πορφυραβάφων ἢ τοῖς κατὰ ἔτος ἐπειμεληταῖς προστείμου (δην) υ'.

⁸⁷¹ Zimmermann argues that these *epimeletai* were responsible for the financial administration; cf. Zimmermann, *Handwerkervereine*, 52-53.

⁸⁷² *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 227: τὸ συνέδριον τῆς προεδρίας.

comprising all the serving magistrates of an association; or *proedria* could be seen as a board of senior, prestigious, wealthy and distinguished members of the group. Some associations had their designated seats in the theatres and stadiums, showing their social position, as attested in Laodikeia on the Lykos.⁸⁷³ There are also seats of the stadium in Saittai mentioning phylai.⁸⁷⁴

It seems needless to say there is no wool-seller or linen-seller whose social status comparable to that of a *boularchos*, and weavers are generally considered were men of limited resources. As we have seen in previous chapters, the elites mostly drew their wealth from land-owning. But there are indications of an involvement of local elite families in financing craftsmen workshops and trade. It seems there is no evidence that wool-sellers depended directly on landlords who owned flocks, but since professional associations had members of both free craftsmen and slaves or freedmen, there is a possibility that landowners had some interest in crafts and trade.⁸⁷⁵ In Saittai a certain Octavius Polykleites is one of the local *lanarioi*.⁸⁷⁶ The Octavii Polliones are known as one of the most prominent families in the city. It seems the person mentioned in the inscription is either their freedman or his son. Incidentally, the same family had a slave Philetairos as a member of the association of *tektones*.⁸⁷⁷ Pleket raised the question, giving an example from Antiochia, that town councillors derived profit from urban shops. Should we assume then that prominent families in Saittai derived profits from the sale of wool and the finished product i, through slaves, freedmen and free workers?⁸⁷⁸ There is still no definitive answer, although there is indirect evidence. In Thyateira, there is an honorary inscription for Aurelius Artemagoras, one of the *dekaprotoi* of the city and also ἐπιστησάμενος τοῦ ἔργου βαφέων ἀπὸ γένους τὸ ἕκτον or hereditary president of the association of dyers, which may imply his involvement in the industry. It seems that either way simple textile workers, most numerous in Lydia and Phrygia, were on a lower level of social hierarchy. The only exemption would be traders of luxury goods and garments originating from Laodikeia and Hierapolis. Another

⁸⁷³ *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 32 and 33 (both from the imperial period); one inscription is perhaps for an association of carpet manufacturers

⁸⁷⁴ *SEG* XL 1063 (second half of the 2nd or 3rd century).

⁸⁷⁵ H. W. Pleket, City elites and economic activities in the Greek part of the Roman Empire: some preliminary remarks, *ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ του Η' διεθνους συνεδριου ελληνικης και λατινικης επιγραφικης, Αθηναι, 3-9 οκτωβριου* 1982, vol. 1, Athens 1984, 139.

⁸⁷⁶ *TAM* V1 85 (145/146 AD).

⁸⁷⁷ *SEG* XXIX1186 (165/166 AD).

⁸⁷⁸ Pleket, City elites, 140.

example showing us, perhaps, how the production process and trade were organized is an epitaph of Flavius Zeuxis, *ergastes*, who sailed 72 times to Italy:⁸⁷⁹

Φλαούϊος Ζεῦξις ἐργαστῆς / πλεύσας ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πλόας ἑβδομήκοντα
δύο κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις Φλα/ουίῳ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ
Φλαουίῳ / Θευδᾷ καὶ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι / συνχωρήσωσιν.

As he has no other honorary titles, we can deduce he was not at first a member of the rich municipal elite, but one merchant who did gruesome work of sailing back and forth and selling some sort of products in Italy. Coming from Hierapolis he probably transported woolen cloth. His lavish tomb was prominently situated next to the city's north gate.

There is a sentiment in modern historiography that Romans did not tolerate any *collegia* or associations, especially in the East. During the early Empire, Augustus indeed reinforced Caesar's regulations and all the new association required the approval of the Senate or the Emperor. Other emperors followed, but closely observed these bans always have a local and temporary focus.⁸⁸⁰ A general ban on associations was never implemented. The nature of our epigraphic sources, consisting, as we have seen, of honorary inscriptions, epitaphs and dedications, does not support these references to public prohibitions, since we have inscriptions mentioning various associations, either professional or religious during the entire imperial period. Trajan's policy on associations is well documented in both epigraphic and literary evidence. His opinion on voluntary associations is well known from the correspondence with Pliny the Younger; he ordered Pliny not to authorize a guild of firemen in Nikomedeia (Bythina).⁸⁸¹

Our sole testimony for Roman intervention in associative life in Asia Minor in the imperial period concerns the bakers of Ephesos as attested in *IEph* 215. From the proconsul's orders we gather that main offenses of the bakers' associations were: holding seditious meetings which had led to riots; reckless disregard of public

⁸⁷⁹ Alt. v. Hierapolis 51.

⁸⁸⁰ On emperors and their bans of associations cf. I. N. Arnaoutoglou, Roman law and *collegia* in Asia Minor, *RIDA* 49 (2002), 31-36.

⁸⁸¹ Plin. Ep. X, 33-34.

regulations; and a “labor strike” which had reduced the bread supply. In order not to aggravate this shortage of bread, the proconsul did not resort to arrests or trials – a leniency which he emphasizes. But he promises to punish any repetition of such acts, and threatens any offender caught in hiding and to anyone who would hide him.⁸⁸² Buckler argues that in the large cities of Asia Minor, during the period from 2nd to 5th century, strikes occurred from time to time, but that their causes and aims remain obscure, although it could have been a fight for higher wages.⁸⁸³ There are some other minor disturbances in Miletus⁸⁸⁴ in the 2nd century, but we have no clear evidence for Lydia and Phrygia. Actually, what we can deduce from our epigraphic sources is that professional associations accepted the dominant set of social values and the existing social hierarchy. Their practice and patterns of bestowing honors testify that they subscribed to the socio-political order. Resorting to or instigating disturbances would irreversibly damage their image and undermine their position in the world of *polis*.⁸⁸⁵ In the late second century, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus re-enacted a law to the effect that it was not lawful to belong to more than one guild.⁸⁸⁶ Regardless of the reasons behind, or success of, such imperial legislation, what is clear from such actions is the commonality of one person belonging to more than one association. In other words, membership in a guild or association was often non-exclusive; belonging to one group did not hinder the possibility of belonging to or affiliating oneself with another. In that way, associations became competitors both for new members and for the allegiances of the members they had.⁸⁸⁷

We have also seen there were other professionals and artisans, not attached to an association. Many of the inscriptions are simple, but there are few that could give us some information about their work. An illustrative example is an epitaph of a young architect from Phrygia:⁸⁸⁸ he had carried out at least one prestigious building commission entrusted to him by a *praefectus*, made influential contacts, been released

⁸⁸² More in W. Buckler, Labor Disputes in the province of Asia, *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsey*, Manchester 1923, 27-50.

⁸⁸³ Buckler, Labor disputes, 45.

⁸⁸⁴ *SEG* IV 439; L. Robert, *OMS* V, 597 n. 4; cf. H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica I*, 34 no. 20.

⁸⁸⁵ Arnaoutoglou, Roman law and collegia, 42.

⁸⁸⁶ Dig. 47.22.1.2: non licet autem amplius quam unum collegium legitimum habere.

⁸⁸⁷ P. A. Harland, Spheres of Contention, Claims of Pre-eminence Rivalries among Associations in Sardis and Smyrna, in: R. S. Ascough (ed.), *Religious Rivalries and Struggle for Success in Sardis and Smyrna*, Ontario 2005, 60.

⁸⁸⁸ *MAMA* X 137 (Appia, 3rd century).

from imperial service and returned to Phrygia, where he died young and unmarried, aged 25, to be buried by his relatives. Another glimpse into everyday life of craftsmen is given by votive dedications some of them made. In *SEG XXXIII* 1155 from Phrygia, for example, a blacksmith Andreas is making a dedication to Zeus Thallo because of his shoulder, probably an occupational disease.⁸⁸⁹ Craftsmen of all kinds (stonemasons, blacksmiths, mint masters, knife makers, etc.) set up high-quality funerary monuments proclaiming, and often visually depicting, their particular skills, and itinerant Docimean stone-masons are a common presence in Phrygian epigraphy. Perhaps even more than words of the inscriptions, visual presentations on tombstones and votive reliefs show the world of lower classes. For example, an anvil, hammer and pair of tongs are presenting us a blacksmith,⁸⁹⁰ two chisels wood carving and a saw for carpenter.⁸⁹¹

Perhaps the most vivid description of an urban life for artisans and others is the one in Dio Chrysostom's discourse in Apamea in Phrygia: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἱ δίκαι παρ' ἔτος ἄγονται παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ ξυνάγεται πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἄπειρον δικαζομένων, δικαζόντων, ῥητόρων, ἡγεμόνων, ὑπηρετῶν, οἰκετῶν, μαστροπῶν, ὀρεοκόμων, καπήλων, ἐταιρῶν τε καὶ βαναύσων: ὥστε τὰ τε ὄνια τοὺς ἔχοντας πλείστης ἀποδίδοσθαι τιμῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἀργὸν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, μήτε τὰ ζεύγη μήτε τὰς οἰκίας μήτε τὰς γυναῖκας. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ μικρὸν ἐστὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν.⁸⁹² As we can deduce from this passage, the presence of the Roman court was an advantage for every city. It can be assumed that these court sessions coincided with various festivities and *agones*, thus emphasizing the economic growth in the city.

⁸⁸⁹ Ἀνδρέας Κοτιαεὺς χαλκεὺς περὶ ὄμου Δ[ι] Θ[α]λλῶ εὐχήν.

⁸⁹⁰ i.e. *MAMA* X 86 (Appia, imperial period); 417 (Synaus, imperial period); *SEG* XLI 1172 (Akmoneia, 150-200 AD); *SEG* XLV 1640 (Saittai, 234/5 or 288/9 AD)

⁸⁹¹ *MAMA* X 162 (Appia).

⁸⁹² Dio Chr. 35, 15: "And what is more, the courts are in the session every other year in Celaenae, and they bring together an unnumbered throng of people – litigants, jurymen, orators, princes, attendants, slaves, pimps, muleteers, hucksters, harlots and artisans. Consequently not only can those who have goods to sell obtain the highest prices, but also nothing in the city is out of work, neither the teams nor the houses nor the women. And this contributes not a little to prosperity; for wherever the greatest throng of people comes together, there necessarily we find money in greatest abundance, and it stands to reason that the place should thrive." An English translation by J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby; for Apameia as a great emporium see also Strabo, 12. 8. 15.

6.2 Other voluntary associations

A common feature in civic society in Lydia and Phrygia were various voluntary associations, small unofficial groups that gathered together for organized social and religious purposes. They were mostly religious or athletic groups. The phrase “voluntary” point to the nature of membership in such organizations, whose activities were primarily social rather than economic or political and which often functioned as extended or "fictive" families for their largely lower-class members, providing an intermediary between family and city. Diverse by nature and organization, we can distinct several terms for describing these groups:⁸⁹³

- *symbiosis*⁸⁹⁴ as “associations amicales”
- *hieros doumos*⁸⁹⁵
- φράτορες / *phratra*⁸⁹⁶
- *thiasos*⁸⁹⁷
- *mystai*⁸⁹⁸

Those are several types of groups drawing their membership from social connections associated with common ethnic or geographic origin, the neighbourhood, and common cultic interests. There are diverse cult activities within these local, unofficial associations, which are often viewed as “private” and represent a variety of social levels among the population. Membership in a private religious association was based primarily on the attraction of the particular deity or deities worshiped. As such,

⁸⁹³ For list of epigraphic evidence and brief overview see M. Riel, Society and Economy of rural sanctuaries in Roman Lydia and Phrygia, *EA* 35 (2003), 92-93.

⁸⁹⁴ *TAM* V1 187 (95/6 AD); *TAM* V1 87 (Saittai, 151/2 AD), *TAM* V1 88 (Saittai, 194/5 AD); *TAM* V1 89 (Saittai, 224/225 AD); *TAM* V1 537 (Saittai, 171/2 AD); *SEG* XXIX 1188 (Saittai, 170/171 AD), *SEG* XXXI 1010 (Saittai 166/167 AD), *SEG* XXXI 1016 (Saittai, 293/4 AD), *SEG* XLVI 1540 (Yeşilova II/III century AD), also in *SEG* XLIX 1777 (Stratonikeia on the Kaikos, Mysia). Also attested in Akmoneia, Phrygia in 215/216 AD: *MAMA* XI 110 (= *SEG* XL 1192).

⁸⁹⁵ *TAM* V1 179 (Saittai, 172/172 AD), 449 (Ayazviran, 223/224 AD), 470a (Ayazviran, 96/7 AD), 483a (Ayazviran), 536 (Maeonia, 171/172 AD); Drew-Bear, Thomas, Yıldızturun, *Phrygian Votive Steles* 137, no. 167.

⁸⁹⁶ *TAM* V1 762; I. Manisa Museum 244 (96/7 AD); *MAMA* IV 230 (Tymandos, 3rd century AD).

⁸⁹⁷ *MAMA* VI 239 (Akmoneia, cult of Dionysos); *SEG* XXXIII 1135 (Hierapolis, 2nd or 3rd century AD), perhaps a *thiasos* of the imperial cult; *TAM* V1 144 (area of Saittai).

⁸⁹⁸ *TAM* V2 1055 (Thyatera); *SEG* XXIV 1232 (Saittai, 190/191 AD); *SEG* XXXII 1236 (Sardeis, 26/25 BC); *MAMA* IV 167 (Apollonia, 1st or 2nd century AD); *MAMA* VI 239 (Akmoneia); *MAMA* V Lists I 183, 153 (Dorylaion); *SEG* XXVIII 1187 (Nakoleia); *SEG* XL 1223 (Sebaste, 2nd or 3rd century AD).

they had a tendency to attract persons from all classes of society, although the elites of society were probably not as numerous in such associations as were the urban poor, slaves, and freedmen. Religious associations were generally admitting both male and female members. From the inscriptions we can deduce that they were organizing gatherings, communal meals and festivities. Belonging to an association often offered opportunities to participate in the organizational structure of the association. We also find, however, a degree of hierarchy in associations in so far as there are levels of leadership and honors to which members may aspire.⁸⁹⁹ Voluntary associations did not have a uniform structure.⁹⁰⁰ In many ways they were structured like the professional associations, taking care of their members in life as in death. They had very good relations with local administrations and municipal elite. Almost all voluntary associations performed some cultic activities: offering sacrifice, make dedications to gods, commission statues of gods and taking care of the sanctuaries. Rituals had the function of bringing together individuals into a collective, thus strengthening group identity and the attachment of individuals to the group and society. Most of the epigraphic evidence for these groups is, in fact for religious associations.

From the first century there is *IGR IV 1348* (Mostene, Lydia) mentioning a cult group of *Καισαριασταί*. They honoured a man for his contributions to the association (*koinon*) in connection with its sacrifices for the *Sebastoi* and accompanying banquets. During Trajan's reign we have an altar in Phrygia dedicated to Zeus *Bennios* and the *bennos*,⁹⁰¹ as well as an honorary inscription for T. Flavius from Sardis issued by *mystai* and *therapeutai* of Zeus.⁹⁰² As we have seen, *συμβιώσεις* were rather popular in Roman Lydia. An ambiguous term on epitaph erected by friends for a friend *οί φίλοι τὸν φίλον* and *φίλος* with the possible meaning "members of association" is attested in

⁸⁹⁹ For regulations of a private cult association see the well-known inscription from Hellenistic Philadelphia *TAM V3 1539* (late 2nd - early 1st century BC) and further commentaries in *SEG XXXI 1002* and *SEG XLIX 1690*; for example, men and free women were prohibited from having sexual intercourse with anyone other than their spouse on penalty of restricted access to the association's meeting place for the men and "evil curses" for the women.

⁹⁰⁰ On internal organization, membership and possible a treasury of the associations cf. C. Zimmermann, 46-66; cf. *πρόσοδοι* in *TAM V3 1521* (2nd or 3rd century AD) probably for the revenues from a foundation; *γραμματεὺς* in *TAM V1 490* (near Thyateira, 159/160 AD); *ναρθηκοφόρος* in *TAM V1 817* (near Thyateira, 165/166 AD), 822 (near Thyateira, 198/199 AD); *ιερεὺς*, *ιεροφάντης*, *σπειράρχης* in *SEG XXVIII 1187* (Nakoleia).

⁹⁰¹ *SEG XL 1229* (Upper Tembris Valley, 102-117 AD).

⁹⁰² *SEG XLVI 1529*.

Lydia several times.⁹⁰³ Also in the inscriptions from Lydia the term *δοῦμος* is attested in *TAM* V1 470a and used for religious associations, translated as “confrérie”.⁹⁰⁴ The *βέννος* is thought to be a Phrygian term for an association, connected to worshippers of Zeus Bennis in Phrygia and comparable to *doumos* in Lydia.⁹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, there is an alternative explanation (“a form of cult statue or cult object”).⁹⁰⁶ The most recent explanation could be found in *SEG* XLIX 1806 in reviewing H.Schwabl, *AAntHung* 39 (1999) 345-354: “the epithet is derived from the Graeco-Phrygian word τὸ βέννος (*bend-nos: ‘Bund, Verband’, especially in the sense of a local cult association)”.⁹⁰⁷

Public religious associations are most often connected to a public sanctuary and fell under the administration of the city. More prevalent religious groups are the ones that explicitly identify themselves with particular patron deities. There were associations in connection with, for example, Attis,⁹⁰⁸ Zeus,⁹⁰⁹ Apollo,⁹¹⁰ Dionysos⁹¹¹ and the emperors.⁹¹² In Lydia we also have worshippers of Herakles.⁹¹³ Some inscriptions refer to “initiates” (*mystai* or *archenbatai*) without designating the deity in question, one of which is also a group of athletes.⁹¹⁴ There are other monuments that vaguely refer to other associations using common terminology, making reference to the *koinon* or

⁹⁰³ *TAM* V1 93 (Saittai, 225/226 AD), *SEG* XXIX 1188 (Saittai, 170/171 AD), *SEG* XXXV 1243 (area of Saittai, 110/111AD), *SEG* XLIX 1735 (Lydia, 174/175 AD).

⁹⁰⁴ cf. O. Masson, Le mot DOUMOS "confrerie" dans les textes et les inscriptions, Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure 41 (1987), 145-152 (non vidi), cited from Pleket, H.W.; Stroud, R.S.. "Vocabulary: ΔΟΥΜΟΣ. (37-1853)." *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Current editors: A. T. R.S. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Stroud Tybout. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. Universidad de Salamanca. 17 July 2014 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/vocabulary-37-1853-a37_1853>

⁹⁰⁵ Drew-Bear, Naour, ANRW II 18.3, 1988-1990; cf. *SEG* XL 1184 and 1229; inscriptions: *SEG* XL 1189 (Aizanoi); *SEG* XL 1229 (Upper Tembris Valley); *SEG* XL 1221 (Nakoleia, homage to Zeus Bronton); *MAMA* V 176 (Nakoleia, Zeus Bronton); *SEG* VI 550 (Pisidia, Zeus Kalagathios).

⁹⁰⁶ *MAMA* X, p. 70-71.

⁹⁰⁷ Chaniotis, A.; Pleket, H.W.; Stroud, R.S.; Strubbe, J.H.M.. "Phrygia. The cult of Ζεὺς Βέννιος. (49-1806)." *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Current editors: A. T. R.S. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Stroud Tybout. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. Universidad de Salamanca. 05 August 2014 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/phrygia-the-cult-of-49-1806-a49_1806>

⁹⁰⁸ I. Sardis 17.

⁹⁰⁹ I. Sardis 22; P. Herrmann, Mystervereine in Sardeis, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 315-341 no. 4

⁹¹⁰ *SEG* XLVI 1520 (Apollo Pleurenos); P. Herrmann, Mystervereine no. 2

⁹¹¹ *SEG* XXVIII 1187 (Nakoleia); *SEG* XL 1223 (Sebaste, 2nd or 3rd century AD); cf. also C. H. E. Haspels, Relics of a Dionysiac Cult in Asia Minor, *AJA* 66 (1962), 285-289, especially inscriptions on pages 285, 1 and 286, 3 (= *MAMA* V Lists I 183, 153).

⁹¹² I. Sardis 62.

⁹¹³ *SEG* XXXV 1264 (Thermai Theseos, 151/152 AD); I Manisa Museum 36 (area of Kula, 123/124 AD).

⁹¹⁴ P. Herrmann, Mystervereine no. 5; cf. also *SEG* XLVI 1532.

mentioning the meeting hall of the *symbiosis*.⁹¹⁵ Another term attested in Lydia is φράτορες designating members of an unspecified association as in *SEG XLVII 1649* (Hyrkanis, Lydia, 2nd century AD).⁹¹⁶ An alternative expression is φράτορες φίλοι also mentioned in Lydia.⁹¹⁷

The question of religious beliefs and overall cult practice in Lydia and Phrygia is a vast subject and will not be discussed in particular in this thesis.⁹¹⁸ Apart from the other deities and related associations, the imperial cult had a special place in the cult practice in Asia Minor. We have already seen the organization of the imperial cult at the provincial and elite level. Certain scholars believed that imperial cult was clearly discerned from social and religious life associated with other deities at the local level, and really not involved in the lives of the non-elites, while others argued that cultic honors for the emperors were, in many respects, well-integrated within religious life in Asia Minor and important to all social levels of the population.⁹¹⁹

Aside from the religious associations, there were also associations of wine lovers attested in both Lydia and Phrygia.⁹²⁰ In Phrygia we have one testimony of φίλοπλοι,⁹²¹ and in both provinces there are several attestations of various athletic groups.⁹²²

Local Jewish communities and Christian groups in Lydia and Phrygia were organized in the same way as voluntary associations, at least judging by their terminology.⁹²³

⁹¹⁵ I. e. Keil-Premmerstein, *Dritte Reise* no.14: τὸ κοινόν; *SEG XL 1192* (Akmonia, 215/216 AD): συμβίωσις; *TAM V1 537* (Maeonia, 171/172 AD): ἱερὰ συμβίωσις.

⁹¹⁶ *TAM V 1 762*; 1148; *TAM V 1 451*: cult association of Asklepios cf. also *TAM V 2 1320* (Büyükbelen; late 2nd or 3rd century AD): dedication of a statue of Ζεὺς Φράτριος on behalf of the Λαμωναίται.

⁹¹⁷ *SEG XXVIII 893* (Ayazviran, Lydia, 96/97 AD); *SEG XLIX 1673* (Saittai, 238/239 AD).

⁹¹⁸ For major analysis on different aspects on religion in Asia Minor see (among others) T. Drew-Bear, C. Naour, *Divinités de Phrygie*, *ANRW II 18.3* (1990), 1908-2781; M. Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften*, Bonn, 1999; G. Petzl, *Ländliche Religiosität in Lydien*, in E. Schwertheim (Hrsgb.), *Forschungen in Lydien* (Asia Minor Studien 17), Bonn 1995, 37-48; M. Riel, *The appeal to divine justice in the Lydian confession-inscriptions*, in E. Schwertheim (Hrsgb.), *Forschungen in Lydien* (Asia Minor Studien 17), Bonn 1995, 67-76; Idem, *Society and Economy of rural sanctuaries in Roman Lydia and Phrygia*, *EA 35* (2003), 77-101; Idem, *Svest o grehu u maloazijskim kutovima rimskog doba*, Beograd, 1995; A. Chaniotis, *Under the watchful eyes of the gods: divine justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, in S. Colvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East. Politics, Culture, Society* (Yale Classical Studies 31), Cambridge 2004, 1-43; B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford, 2002;

⁹¹⁹ For the outline of the debate see P. A. Harland, *Imperial Cults within Local Cultural Life: Associations in Roman Asia*, *Ancient History Bulletin / Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 17 (2003), 85-107.

⁹²⁰ *SEG LV 1291* (Philadelphia, 161/162 AD); *SEG LV 1418* (Kotiaion, 3rd century AD).

⁹²¹ *SEG LVI 1501* (Hierapolis, end of the 2nd, early 3rd century AD).

⁹²² I.e. Φιλονεϊκοί (association of the 'friends of victory') *TAM V3 1521* (= *SEG XLVI 1540*); περιπολιστικαὶ σύνοδοι: *SEG LVII 1221* (Silandos, reign of Severus Alexander);

As we have said before, inclination to belong to some group is part of the human nature. Voluntary associations were the most flexible way of congregating, creating substitute families for their largely lower-class members,⁹²⁴ simulating civic organization and providing an intermediary between family and city. Although we have many evidences regarding associations in Lydia and Phrygia, there are no explicit inscriptions regulating their membership. Nevertheless, there is a lengthy inscription from Philadelphia dated to the 2nd or 1st century BC that contains the norms that Zeus transmitted through a dream to Dionysios, the founder or reformer of an older private association.⁹²⁵ This inscription was subject of many studies, most recently by Maria Paz de Hoz.⁹²⁶ She argues that this particular inscription could easily belong to the first centuries AD. The leader of the association seems to be an educated man with philosophical ambitions who wanted to make his association a model one.⁹²⁷ One of the first prohibitions concerns δόλος, treachery and every kind of harmful action, especially committed in secrecy. These regulations mention harmful magic, abortions and adultery. Clauses on sexual offense are the most explicit and detailed. Another aspect was also highlighted, namely offences were not only forbidden, their planning was a crime as well. Persons joining the association had to make an oath, obliging themselves to follow these regulations. This association was probably similar to other Lydian associations. De Hoz also argues that the members were asked for *eunoia* towards the community like the citizens of a polis and that “Dionysios’ main objective was to contribute to the society creating a well ordered community where respect for the gods and respect for civil law went hand in hand.”⁹²⁸

⁹²³ Cf. P. A. Harland, Honouring the Emperor or Assailing the Beast: Participation in Civic Life among Associations (Jewish, Christian and Other) in Asia Minor and the Apocalypse of John, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 77 (2000), 99-121; *Ibid*, Acculturation and Identity in the Diaspora: A Jewish Family and ‘Pagan’ Guilds at Hierapolis, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 57 (2006), 222-244.

⁹²⁴ Cf. P. A. Harland, Familial dimensions of group identities: “Brothers” (ἀδελφοί) in Associations of the Greek East, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124 (2005), 491-513.

⁹²⁵ TAM V3 1539.

⁹²⁶ M. P. de Hoz, Dionysios’ regulations in Philadelphia. Elevated strict moral code or current civil behavior norms?, in *A World of Well-Ordered Societies? The Rules and Regulations of Ancient Associations*, CAP conference held in The Danish Institute at Athens, 22-23 May 2014 (in press).

⁹²⁷ Pleket remarked that the austerity of these regulations seems rather atypical, *SEG XXXI* 1002.

⁹²⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

6.3 Cult personnel

Saying that religion played a major part in the life of ancient people is probably an understatement. A prominent aspect of social prestige was drawn from piety and fulfilment of the obligations that humans owed to the gods. To be regarded as impious, on the other hand, might lead to prosecution and a loss of social position in any community. Versnel has demonstrated that the background of many curses was the feeling of a person that his or her actions were being carefully observed (and criticized) and that this resulted in a loss of face and dishonor.⁹²⁹ The feeling of personal dependency on the god obtained additional weight amongst the faithful, the call for help and rescue became ever more frequent. Not just individuals but entire communities turned publicly to the sanctuaries requesting divine prosecution of culprits, exactly as they turn to gods to ask for fertility of the fields and the protection of livestock.⁹³⁰ The religion was perhaps also a way to express their other views as in inscription from Sardeis, a dedication to the Lydian mother of the Gods.⁹³¹ Robert pointed out that the Lydian mother of the gods was explicitly distinguished from her Phrygian counter-part, the *meter theoon* par excellence, because of “Lydian nationalism”.⁹³²

The question of religious beliefs and overall cult practice in Lydia and Phrygia is a vast subject and will not be discussed in particular in this thesis.⁹³³ Nevertheless,

⁹²⁹ H. S. Versnel, *Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers*, in: C. A. Faraone, D. Obbink, *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, Oxford 1991, 80-81.

⁹³⁰ A. Chaniotis, *Under the watchful eyes of the gods: divine justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, in S. Colvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East. Politics, Culture, Society* (Yale Classical Studies 31), Cambridge 2004, 21.

⁹³¹ *SEG XXXII 1238* (1st century AD).

⁹³² L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, *BCH* 106 (1982), 359-361: “L'épithète ‘Lydienne’ au lieu de Phrygienne est clairement une revendication du caractère indigène de la déesse contre l'idée d'une importation phrygienne... Cette expression est caractéristique d'un ‘nationalisme lydien’, ayant son centre à Sardes...”

⁹³³ For major analysis on different aspects on religion in Asia Minor see (among others) T. Drew-Bear, C. Naour, *Divinités de Phrygie*, *ANRW* II 18.3 (1990), 1908-2781; M. Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften*, Bonn, 1999; G. Petzl, *Ländliche Religiosität in Lydien*, in E. Schwertheim (Hrsgb.), *Forschungen in Lydien* (Asia Minor Studien 17), Bonn 1995, 37-48; M. Riel, *The appeal to divine justice in the Lydian confession-inscriptions*, in E. Schwertheim (Hrsgb.), *Forschungen in Lydien* (Asia Minor Studien 17), Bonn 1995, 67-76; Idem, *Society and Economy of rural sanctuaries in Roman Lydia and Phrygia*, *EA* 35 (2003), 77-101, esp. n. 3 for a comprehensive list of rural shrines; Idem, *Svest o grehu u maloazijskim kutovima rimskog doba (La conscience du péché dans les cultes anatoliens à l'époque romaine)*, Beograd, 1995; A. Chaniotis, *Under the watchful eyes of the gods: divine justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, in S. Colvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East. Politics, Culture, Society* (Yale Classical Studies 31), Cambridge 2004, 1-43; B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford, 2002; most recently, M. Riel, *Continuity And Change In Anatolian Cults: The Case Of Lydian Confession-Inscriptions*, *Belgrade Historical review* 5 (2014), 7-21.

certain issues, such as cult personnel should be briefly mentioned because of other obvious social significance.

Senior cult personnel were priests and priestesses. As Riel pointed out, priests outnumbered the priestesses, especially in Phrygia.⁹³⁴ Husbands and wives sometimes shared an office, whereas women occurred as single priestesses usually in the cults of goddesses. Hereditary life-long priesthoods were not uncommon.⁹³⁵ Non-hereditary priesthoods lasted a year or longer.⁹³⁶ In the sanctuaries of larger cities, like in Thyateira and Aizanoi, it is not unusual for the members of the municipal elite to be life-long priests.⁹³⁷ According to Dignas, priests who served *διὰ βίου* are likely to have developed more power and to have identified themselves more intensely with their cults.⁹³⁸ Priests had many responsibilities in their sanctuaries. They performed daily rituals, made sacrifices, celebrated festivals; they were involved in setting up altars and statues as well as administrative work concerning sanctuaries' property and people.⁹³⁹

Developed cultic hierarchy is documented in two Lydian funerary inscriptions erected by the members of the same extended family.⁹⁴⁰ Two young deceased relatives were designated as *ὁ εἰερέδς ὁ νεώτερος* and Riel supposes that “this priesthood was probably hereditary in their family, their fathers serving as chief priests.”⁹⁴¹

Other expressions used in the inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia, in both village and urban sanctuaries, are *πρῶτοι ἱερεῖς* or *πρωτοιερεῖς*.⁹⁴² In a dedication to Zeus, Men and the Mother of Men dated after 212 AD from the area of Dorylaion one *ἱερέδς κωμητικός* is attested.⁹⁴³ A distinctive category would be hereditary priests

⁹³⁴ M. Riel, *Society and economy*, 81.

⁹³⁵ E. g. *TAM* V1 432-433 (Kollyda); 449 (Kollyda); 490 (Kollyda); *SEG* XLIV 977A (southwest of Daldis); *SEG* XLIX 1572 (Hierokaisereia, late Hellenistic, early Roman imperial period); *MAMA* IV 265 (Dionysopolis, 1st-2nd century AD); *MAMA* IV 302bis (Dionysopolis, 100-150 AD).

⁹³⁶ E. g. *TAM* V1 484 (*διὰ βίου*); 488 (two years); *TAM* V2 1316 (yearly appointments); *SEG* XXXV 1261 (25 years in service at the time of death, perhaps a life-long priesthood); *MAMA* I 14 (possibly annual priesthood)

⁹³⁷ E. g. *TAM* V2 951; 954; 963; 996; 1025; in Aizanoi *MAMA* IX 34; *SEG* XXXV 1365 (Aizanoi, first half of the 2nd century AD).

⁹³⁸ B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford, 2002, 251.

⁹³⁹ For more see Riel, *Society and Economy*, 84-85.

⁹⁴⁰ *TAM* V1 432 and 433 (Kollyda, 214 and 183 AD, respectively).

⁹⁴¹ M. Riel, *Society and Economy*, 83-84.

⁹⁴² *TAM* V1 449 (Kollyda); *MAMA* V 170 (Dorylaion); *SEG* XLIV 1051 (Dorylaion).

⁹⁴³ *SEG* XLIV 1037; cf. also *SEG* XXXVIII 1307 from the same area.

(*magoi*) with an *archimagos* at their head in the practicing Persian cults in Asia Minor.⁹⁴⁴

Other temple personnel comprised *neokoroi*, *epimeletai* (curators), prophets, treasurers and others. Riehl remarks that “the term *neokoros* is applied both to the modest servant charged with the task of keeping the temple clean and to the respectable administrative head of the lower temple personnel.”⁹⁴⁵ In the Roman period life-long and hereditary *neokoroi* were comparatively common.⁹⁴⁶ In some instances, it looks that this office could be annual, as in case of *neokoros* in Aizanoi who was elected for the tenth time.⁹⁴⁷ However, it seems that from the early Imperial period the office of *neokoros* was transformed into a costly liturgy.⁹⁴⁸

The responsibilities of *neokoroi* were many and varied. Their main obligation was to reside at or near the sanctuary at all times.⁹⁴⁹ According to Riehl their other activities include financial management,⁹⁵⁰ policing activities for the protection of the sacred property and the inviolability of the shrine, administrative and secretarial duties,⁹⁵¹ organization of external manifestation of the cult.⁹⁵² They were probably also responsible for sacrifices. In return for their services, *neokoroi* were granted compensations in both cash and kind and, as all other public officials, they could be held accountable for their actions.⁹⁵³

Neokoroi were people of some influence and had good reputation in their communities. In Phrygia the title of *neokoros*, as well as the municipal honors for them by *boule* and *demos* are frequently attested in Aizanoi:

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. *SEG* LV 1288 (Hypaipa, 2nd century AD); part of the violation of the tomb is to be paid to Persian Artemis in Hypaipa. Anahita's sanctuary in Hypaipa, whose foundation date remains unknown (some time before Alexander), exhibits some blend of Persian, Lydian and Greek cultural influences noticeable in this cult elsewhere in Asia Minor. The cult had hereditary priests (*magoi*) with an *archimagos* at their head, *IEph* 3817A, 3820, 3825; for more see M. Riehl, The Cult of the Iranian goddess Anāhitā in Anatolia before and after Alexander, *ŽA* 52 (2002), 197-210.

⁹⁴⁵ M. Riehl, *Society and Economy*, 86.

⁹⁴⁶ Cf. *MAMA* IX 33 and 88; see also M. Riehl, *Neokoroi* in the Greek World, *BIG* 2 (2011), 13.

⁹⁴⁷ *MAMA* IX 416 (150-175 AD): [ὁ δεῖνα νεοκό]ρος ἰ' τοῦ Διὸς ἑαυτῶ ζῶν καὶ Ἑλένη θυγατρὶ ζώσῃ.

⁹⁴⁸ M. Riehl, *Neokoroi*, 12.

⁹⁴⁹ *TAM* V1 269 (northeast Lydia); also M. Riehl, *Neokoroi*, 14.

⁹⁵⁰ *SEG* XLIX 1676 (Sardeis, 188/189 AD).

⁹⁵¹ *TAM* V1 179 (172/173 AD): *neokoros* sets up a *bomos* out of the funds provided by the *doumos*.

⁹⁵² M. Riehl, *Neokoroi*, 14-15.

⁹⁵³ M. Riehl, *Neokoroi*, 15-16.

Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος] / ἐτείμησεν Ἀὐρ[ήλ]ι[ον Δη]/μήτριον Εὐτύχ[ους νεω]/κόρον τοῦ
Διὸς [vacat]⁹⁵⁴

and

[ἡ] βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος / [ἐτ]είμησεν Ἀρτεμί/[δω]ρον Μηνοφίλου / [νεω]κόρον τοῦ Διὸς
/ [ἄνδ]ρα φιλόπατριν / [καὶ] φιλότειμον / [ἐν στ]ρατηγίαις καὶ / [ἐν κ]ατασκευαῖς/
[πολ]λῆι τῆι πε[ρὶ] / [τὴν πα]τρίδα εὐνοίαι / [χρη]σάμενον.⁹⁵⁵

Another example of *neokoros* in Aizanoi is on dedication to Zeus Anadotes and the Sebastoi Theoi, dated to 53/54 AD:⁹⁵⁶

[Διῖ] Ἀναδότῃ καὶ Σεβαστοῖς Θεοῖς καὶ τῶ / δῆ[μ]ῳ ε[ὐ]χὴν ὑπὲρ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Ξ / Νανῶ υἱοῦ Κυρεῖνα Μηνογένους / φιλοσεβάστου ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς τὸ / δεῦτερον καὶ
Κλαυδίας Ἀφίας τῆς / γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ν καὶ Κλαυδίας Ἀφίας / τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῶν,
καθιερωσάν/των τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ τε Μηνογένους / κ[α]ὶ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Μηνοφίλου
Ξ / τοῦ φιλοπάτριδος καὶ ἀρχινεωκόρου / καὶ νεοποιοῦ Διὸς διὰ βίου καὶ τῶν /
νεωκόρων Διὸς ν Σέλευκος Ἀπολλώνιου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν / ἔτους ηλρ', μηνὸς /
Δαισίου ἰ' ἀπι(όντος)

The dedication Σεβαστοῖς Θεοῖς and the titles φιλοσεβάστος and φιλόπατρις seem to suggest that Tiberius Claudius Menogenes was honored for his contributions to the imperial cult at Aizanoi. Both Menogenes and Menophiles held high positions in the cult of Zeus, Menogenes held a priestly position for the second time and Menophilos was ἀρχινεωκόρος, together with the life-long office of νεοποιός. According to Wörle, this is a new title for Aizanoi so far and possibly a temporary function created for specific building operations.⁹⁵⁷ The college of the νεωκόροι was probably presided over by an ἀρχινεωκόρος who managed the more noteworthy sanctuaries. It seems that this

⁹⁵⁴ SEG XLV 1713 (Severan period); the honorand is also known from the statue base MAMA IX 34: [— —] Ἀὐρῆλιον / [—3-4—]ριον Εὐτυχοῦς νεωκόρον / τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ἱερέα / Διονύσου διὰ βίου.

⁹⁵⁵ MAMA IX P36.

⁹⁵⁶ SEG XLV 1719.

⁹⁵⁷ M. Wörle, Neue Inschriften aus Aizanoi II, *Chiron* 25 (1995), 71.

temple hierarchy led to increasing social prestige of the office during Roman Imperial period.⁹⁵⁸

There are cases that office of *neokoroi* was used to date documents concerning shrines and dedications, as in northeast Lydia, together with the prophet of Apollo Pandenos.⁹⁵⁹

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησαν Πό. Καλβήσιον Ἀγαθόδωρον τοῦ Ἀγαθοδώρου / [π]ροφητεύσαντα Ἀπόλλω/[νος Πανδ]ηνοῦ καὶ ποιήσαν/[τα λαμπρῶ]ς τὰς θυσίας, / [ἄ]ς εὔξατο τελ]έσας τὴν / [προφητείαν, κ]αὶ τὰ εἰς / [τὴν πανήγυρι]ν πάντα ἐκ / [τῶν ἰδίων ἀνα]λώσαντα / [ἐπὶ προφήτ]ου Τ. Φλ. Εὐτυ/[χιαν]οῦ νεωκοροῦντος / Νεικάνδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλω/νίου.

In several instances in Lydia, prominent provincial and municipal elite members also held the position of *neokoros*, usually of the Emperor cult, such as Aurelius Athenaios (**LAA 15**), an asiarch, *neokoros*, *prytanis* and rhetor (ἀσιάρχος καὶ νεωκόρος καὶ πρύτανις καὶ ῥήτωρ)⁹⁶⁰ and his son M. Aur. Priscillianus (**LE9**) is named ἱππικός and *neokoros* of Augustus.⁹⁶¹

As we have seen from the epigraphic material the social position of *neokoroi* is not easily deduced. Those who were active in the emperor's cult were usually members of the provincial and municipal elite, but others seem to be part mostly of the municipal context.

The financial responsibilities concerning the temples were the task of *epimeletai*, curators. They administrated sacred revenues, using them for construction and repairs.⁹⁶²

Μητροφάνης Παπί/ου ἐπιμελητῆς ναοῦ / θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος/ ἀγαθῆ τύχη / μετακατασκευάσαν/τος ἐ βάρων Κοίντου / Λουκκίου Κλαυδιανοῦ / ἐπιμελητοῦ ἐκ τῶν προσόδων τῆς θεοῦ. / ἔτους σϛδ´.

⁹⁵⁸ See also L. Robert, Une nouvelle inscription grecque de Sardes : Règlement de l'autorité perse relatif à un culte de Zeus, *CRAI* 119 (1975), 318; cf. also L. Robert, Recherches épigraphiques, *REA* 62 (1960), 316.

⁹⁵⁹ *TAM* V2 1411.

⁹⁶⁰ *TAM* V2 954, 957.

⁹⁶¹ *TAM* V2 957.

⁹⁶² *TAM* V1 242 (Kula, 209/210 AD).

Male and female prophets are also attested in the cities and sanctuaries of Lydia and Phrygia.⁹⁶³ One dedication from Dorylaion is perhaps documenting a treasurer of the temple's money:⁹⁶⁴

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Θάλλος / Ασκληπιᾶς / αὐτῶ ζῶν / καὶ Δὶ Βρον/τῶντι / ὁ ταμίας.

In a dedication to Apollo and Artemis from Nisyra, dated to 48/47 BC certain σημεαφόροι as bearers of standards with portraits of deities are attested.⁹⁶⁵ In Maionia, there are also συνβολαφόροι indicated.⁹⁶⁶

In the temples and sanctuaries throughout Lydia and Phrygia there were also cult members in the lower hierarchy. According to Riehl, those would be *diakonoi*, *douloi ton theon*, *hierodouloi*, *hieroi*.⁹⁶⁷ Their legal status and activities in the sanctuaries are still not completely understood. Some issues concerning their position will be discussed in the next chapter.⁹⁶⁸

6.4 Soldiers

Distinctive elements of the middle class were soldiers. From the very beginning of the Empire, Asia Minor contributed large numbers of soldiers to the Roman legions. Recruitment was generally confined to mountainous regions (mostly Galatia and Cappadocia), while the urbanized areas of western and northwestern parts of the peninsula usually substituted recruitment with cash payments, as is suggested by an inscription found in Tiris in the province of Asia.⁹⁶⁹ There are just five soldiers attested in Lydia, but many more, around thirty, in Phrygia. Many inscriptions do not document the legions or places where those soldiers served. They are usually designated as

⁹⁶³ E. g. *TAM* V1 185; *SEG* XLIX 1624 (Nisyra, 2nd century AD); *MAMA* IX 60; *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 67 (141/142 AD?); *MAMA* IV 121 (Metropolis, 2nd or 3rd century AD).

⁹⁶⁴ *MAMA* V Lists I(i):182,114; see also M. Riehl, *Society and Economy*, 87.

⁹⁶⁵ *SEG* XLIX 1623.

⁹⁶⁶ *TAM* V1 576.

⁹⁶⁷ M. Riehl, *Society and Economy*, 87.

⁹⁶⁸ See chapter 7.5.

⁹⁶⁹ *IGR* IV 1664; cf. S.Mitchell, Notes on military recruitment from the eastern Roman provinces, in E.Dabrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine army in the East*, Kraków 1994, 145.

στρατιώτης or οὐετρανός. The majority of the inscriptions that mention them are epitaphs where they also mention other family members.⁹⁷⁰

Most of these soldiers from Lydia and Phrygia are mentioned in inscriptions as veterans. Twenty to twenty-five years of service in remote camps perhaps made most veterans forget their native cities, and the great majority of them did not return, but spent their years of retirement in the province where they had served. Nevertheless, some veterans returned to their hometowns and their numbers should not be underestimated. The decision for a soldier whether to return or not has been rightly linked to the prospects of an elevated social status that awaited him at home, as opposed to the opportunities afforded by the newly opened frontier areas. A possible explanation could be that the ones that did return to their hometowns were of a better financial status, with families waiting for them at home. Such an example would be an honorary inscription for the Roman veteran Aurelius Attikos from Sebaste:⁹⁷¹

[Κατ]ὰ τὰ πολλάκις [δόξ]/αντα τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τ[ῶ] / δήμῳ Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἀττικὸν
οὐ/ετρανὸν ληγιῶνος δε/κάτης Γεμίνης ἐκ προγόνων ἀρχι/κὸν καὶ βουλευ/τὴν ἢ πατρὶς
τὸν *vacat* ἑαυτῆς / [εὐε]ργέτην.

Legio X Gemina was based in Vindobona in Pannonia, but some units participated in the Parthian wars of the Severi. Attikos probably held those municipal offices after his discharge from the army.

Another interesting example is from Eumeneia:⁹⁷²

Πατροκλῆς Πατρο/κλέους τοῦ Εὐξένο[υ] / [π]ένπτου Εὐκαρ/πεὺς βουλευτῆς /
κληροῦχος τρε[ι]/ακοντάρχης ἰστρ[α]/τιώτης ἐ[ποίη]σεν / Ἀφία Λ[- c.8-10 -] / [τ]ῆ
συ[νβίω] αὐτοῦ] / καὶ Η[- c.9-11 -] / μνή[μης χάρι]ν / εἰ δ[έ] τις ἐπιχει]/ρήσ[ει - - - - -] /
- - - - -

⁹⁷⁰ E.g. *MAMA* IV 237 (Tymandos); *MAMA* IV 341 (Eumeneia); *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 267; *TAM* VI 297 (Kula); I. Manisa Museum 387.

⁹⁷¹ *SEG* XXX 1489.

⁹⁷² *MAMA* XI 45; for another veteran, *bouleutes* of Eumeneia see *IGR* IV 735.

The main point of interest in the inscription is the list of status-designations in lines 4-7. The titles of councilor (βουλευτής) and soldier (ιστρ[α]τιότης, presumably as an auxiliary in the Roman army) are reasonably common. Far more remarkable are the two status-designations κληροῦχος and τριακοντάρχης. It is very likely that both of these titles go back to the Hellenistic period, and reflect the existence of a Hellenistic military colony, either Seleukid or Attalid, at Eukarpeia. For the editors of *MAMA XI* it seems possible that the τριακοντάρχης was a middle-ranking officer in the colony, with authority over a group of thirty κληροῦχοι, but in the absence of further evidence this is pure speculation.⁹⁷³

Several soldiers from Phrygia were veterans of the *legio VII*. Most probably, this was *legio VII Claudia*, stationed in Viminacium from the mid-1st century AD. One veteran is attested in a funerary inscription in Tymandos,⁹⁷⁴ M. Aurelius Asclepiades from Kotiaion erected a votive dedication on behalf of the village to Zeus Kikidiassenos (Kikidiassos in Hellenized form),⁹⁷⁵ a centurion, Valerius Iulianus, reused a heroon in Apameia for himself and his wife,⁹⁷⁶ and another centurion, L. Varius Fabius Maximus, buried a homonymus son in the same town.⁹⁷⁷

One active soldier of the same legion is attested in Lydia, but he was probably not from the province. In an honorary inscription dated to 11/12 AD a centurion of *legio VII*, C. Aemilius Geminus is honored by the village Nisyra for all of his virtues and with gratitude for everything he did for one of the villagers.⁹⁷⁸

In mid-2nd century Sardeis a veteran of *legio III Gallica* is attested. L. Valerius Teidia was buried there after twenty-four years of service.⁹⁷⁹ In 114-117 AD this legion was part of the army sent against the Parthians and in 132-135 AD it took part in the

⁹⁷³ See the commentary on *MAMA XI* 45.

⁹⁷⁴ *MAMA IV* 237 (Tymandos): Γάϊος Παίνιος / Νουμίσιος ἱπ/πεὺς οὐετρα/νὸς ληγεῶνος / ἐβδόμης ἑαυτῶ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις.

⁹⁷⁵ *SEG XLII* 1196 (183/184 or 237/238 AD); the epithet of Zeus is so far unattested and is of Hittite origin. On continuity in Anatolian cults see M. Riecl, Continuity and change in Anatolian cults: the case of Lydian confession-inscriptions, *BIG* 5 (2014), 7-21.

⁹⁷⁶ *SEG XLII* 1194 (after 170/171 AD).

⁹⁷⁷ *CIL III* 366; for one more fragment of an epitaph mentioning the same legion in Apameia see *AE* 2011, 1336.

⁹⁷⁸ *TAM VI* 425: [ἔτου]ς ζϛ'. / οἱ Ν[ισ]υρέων κά/τοικ[οι] ἐτείμησαν / Γάϊον Αἰμίλιον Γέ/μινον Καίσαρος / Σεβαστοῦ κεντορί/ωνα λεγιῶνος ζ' /ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν πά/σης / καὶ εὐχαριστίας / τῆς ὑπὲρ Μάρκου Ἀν/τωνίου τοῦ αὐτῶν / κατοίκου.

⁹⁷⁹ I. Sardis 141.

suppression of Bar-Kokhba's revolt in Judaea.⁹⁸⁰ The *cognomen* Teidia perhaps indicates north Italian origins.⁹⁸¹ One *frumetarius* acting as *custos armorum* in the legion X Gemina was also buried in Sardeis.⁹⁸² In votive inscriptions for Hosios and Dikaios from Kollyda, Aurelius Papias designates himself only as an equestrian soldier.⁹⁸³ Another equestrian soldier, in the rank of *principalis*, Aurelius Iulianus is attested, together with his wife and children, in an epitaph in Philadelphia.⁹⁸⁴

In Hierapolis we have Aurelius Magnus a veteran of *legio XIV Gemina*.⁹⁸⁵ This legion garrisoned Mogontiacum and Vindobona, but from the reign of Trajan it was stationed in Carnuntum.⁹⁸⁶ His fellow citizen C. Seios Atticus was *optio* in *legio VI*. Most probably, the legion was *legio VI Ferrata*, stationed in the East, in Egypt and Syria. Another, but less probable option would be *legio VI Vitrix* stationed in Germania and Britannia. In an inscription from Akmonia, dated to the end of 2nd century AD, there is a veteran of *legio III Cyrenaica*.⁹⁸⁷ This legion was stationed in Arabia and was also part of the army that crushed Bar-Kokhba's revolt in 132-135 AD. In Temenothyrai, there is a funerary inscription for a child, 55 months old. He was the son of Aquila, a *signifer* in *legio I Italica*.⁹⁸⁸ This legion was founded by Nero and sent to Gaul. It participated in the battle of Bedriacum and followed Vitellius to Rome. Vespasian sent the legion to Novae.⁹⁸⁹

Increased recruiting of provincials for the praetorian cohorts after the reforms of Septimius Severus is attested in an inscription from Kotiaion.⁹⁹⁰ In Aizanoi we have two

⁹⁸⁰ E. Dabrowa, *Legio III Gallica*, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, 309-315.

⁹⁸¹ cf. commentary in *I. Sardis* 141.

⁹⁸² *I. Sardis* 140.

⁹⁸³ *TAM* V1 338; for this and other inscriptions mentioning Hosios and Dikaios see M. Riel, *Hosios kai Dikaios*. Première partie: Catalogue des inscriptions, *EA* 18 (1991), 1-70 and *Idem*, *Hosios kai Dikaios*. Seconde partie: Analyse, *EA* 19 (1992), 71-102.

⁹⁸⁴ *TAM* V3 1807 (2nd-3rd century AD).

⁹⁸⁵ *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 267.

⁹⁸⁶ Th. Franke, *Legio XIV Gemina*, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, 191-202: most of the veterans of this legion settled after their discharge in Savaria, Scrabantia, Siscia and Sirmium.

⁹⁸⁷ *MAMA* VI 283.

⁹⁸⁸ *IGR* IV 616: πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκον/ τα <μόνον> τελέσαντα / πρόωρον / μῆνας Μη/νιανὸν μοῖρα βίου / στέρεσεν· / τοῦτον δ' αὖ/τ' Ἀκύλας σίγνων θε/ράπων λεγιῶνος / Ἰταλικῆς {τε} πρώτης / βωμὸν ἔτευξε τέκνω / Οὐαλερία δ' ἅμα τῶ / μήτηρ δακρύων ἀ/κόρεστος, / ὄφρα / καὶ ἐν ξείνῃ σχῶ/σι παρηγορίαν.

⁹⁸⁹ M. Absil, *Legio I Italica*, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, 227-238.

⁹⁹⁰ *IGR* IV 537: πραιτωρε/ανὸν με στ/ρατιώτην / ἔνθα Φίλη/τον / σωθέ/ντ' ἐκ κα/μαάτων ἡ/δε κόνις / κατέχε[ι]. / ἢ δ' Ἀλκί/μιλλα μελ/λόνομ/φος δυσ/τυχῆς. /

brothers, both praetorians.⁹⁹¹ The boule and demos honor the veteran (παλαιστρατιώτης) Calpurnius Trophimianus. The statue was erected by his brother, the praetorian veteran and *evocatus*, Calpurnius Rufinus. Most probably they were natives of Aizanoi.⁹⁹² *Evocati* were the soldiers in the Roman army who had served their full time and obtained honorable discharge but had voluntarily enlisted again at the invitation of the consul or other commander.⁹⁹³ One *evocatus Augusti*, M. Aurelius Epictetus, is attested in Synnada probably during the reign of Severus and Caracalla.⁹⁹⁴ In Eumeneia in Phrygia there are several inscriptions recording soldiers of *cohors I Raetorum*, confirming it was a garrison town. One Latin inscription explains how the camp was rebuilt in 196 AD after the earthquake:⁹⁹⁵

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Septimi[us Severus] / Pius Pertinax Aug(ustus) A[rabicus
Adi]abenicus tribunici[a potestate] / [IIII] imperator VIII c[onsul II pa]/[ter] patriae
castra [coh(ortis) I Raeto]/rum terrae motu [conlapsa] / restituit / Vitelliano
proc(uratore) A[ugusti]

Two of the soldiers were designated as *custos armorum* or ὄπλοφύλαξ of this unit.⁹⁹⁶ A very fragmentary honorary inscription is most probably shows the *boule* and *demos* honoring P. Aelius Faustianus, *tribunus militum* of both *cohors VI Hispanorum* and *cohors I Raetorum*.⁹⁹⁷

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί]/μη[σ]αν [Π. Αἰλ]ιον Φα[υστια]/νὸν χει[ιλίαρ]χον χῶ[ρτης] /
ἔκτης Ἰσ[πανῶν] / καὶ χειλία[ρχον] / [χ]ῶρτης [πρῶ]/της [Ῥ]αίτω[ν τὸν] / ἑαυτῶν
εὐε[ργέτην].

⁹⁹¹ *MAMA IX P37*.

⁹⁹² L. Robert, *Hellenica II* (1946), 128.

⁹⁹³ For *evocati Augusti* see E. Birley, *Evocati Aug.: a Review*, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 25-29.

⁹⁹⁴ *MAMA VI 376*.

⁹⁹⁵ *CIL III 14192 = MAMA IV 328 = AE 1995, 1511*.

⁹⁹⁶ *IGR IV 733*: Ilus Gemelus / eq(ues), armorum / custos, Eu/taxiae coniu/g(i) merenti fecit. / Ἰλος Γέμελος ἰπ/πεύς, ὄπλοφύλαξ, Εὐταξία συμβίω / μνήμης χάριν / ἐποίησεν; *IGR IV 736*: Ἰούλιος Παπίας ἰππεὺς ὄπλοφύλαξ σπείρης π[ρ]ώτης Ῥαίτων ζῶν ἑαυτῶ κατεσκεύασεν [καὶ] Μενεκρά[τει] τοῦ Γαίου τῶ ἀ[νεψ]ιω μου καὶ οἷς ἂν ὁ Μενεκράτη[ς] βουληθῆ.

⁹⁹⁷ *IGR IV 728*.

It is interesting to note that, so far, there is only one military diploma mentioning *cohors* I Raetorum found in the province of Asia.⁹⁹⁸

In Phrygia there is also evidence of soldiers acting as *beneficarii*, usually protecting the roads. M. Aurelius Athenio is attested on a sarcophagus from Apameia, (end of 2nd or 3rd century), as *ex leg(ione) III Fl(avia) ex b(ene)ff(iciario)*.⁹⁹⁹ The legion was stationed in Singidunum at the time. [M?] Iulius Capito was designated as *beneficiarius Galli praefecti miles* in his epitaph in Dionysopolis.¹⁰⁰⁰ He served either in Galia Narbonensis or in southwest Germania superior.¹⁰⁰¹ The last one, Iulius Theodorus was buried by his mother in Aizanoi: Κλα. Ἰου/λία Ἰου/λίῳ Θε/οδώρῳ / βενεφικι/αρίῳ γλυ/κυτάτῳ / τέκνῳ μν/ήμης χά/ριν.¹⁰⁰² He was still an active soldier at the time of his death. The question remains if he was posted somewhere close to his native city, in his own province, to be brought home for the burial¹⁰⁰³ or was he stationed somewhere else, perhaps in some Danubian legion.¹⁰⁰⁴

All these individual attestations of soldiers in Lydia and Phrygia show where they served and point to their social position and family connections when they returned to their hometowns. However, there was also an organized military presence in Lydia and Phrygia and once in a while it presents us darker side. Local communities were sometimes concerned about the misbehavior of soldiers who were occasionally perceived as a threat. An interesting example is found in the letters of Pertinax and the governor Aemilius Iuncus concerning molestations by Roman soldiers, from Lydian Tabala, dated to 193/194 AD:¹⁰⁰⁵

ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς θεοῦ Πε[ρτίνα]/κος· "ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ στρατιώτας [ἐν] / ὁδῷ πορευομένους ἐ[κτρέ]/πεσθαί φατε ἐκ τῆς λεωφόρο[υ] / καὶ ἀνιέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδε/νὸς ἐτέρου χάριν ἢ τοῦ λαμβά/νειν τὰ σουπλημέντα καλού/μενα, καὶ περὶ τούτου διδαχθεῖς / ὁ κράτιστος τοῦ ἔθνους ἡ/γούμενος ἐπανορθώσεται / τὰ δοκοῦντα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω/τῶν πλημμελεῖσθαι εἰς ὑμᾶς". / Αἰμίλιος Ἰοῦνκος ἀνθύπατος Ταβα/λέων ἄρχουσιν βουλῆ

⁹⁹⁸ RMD 100 (148 AD).

⁹⁹⁹ CIL III 13663; cf. CBFIR 674.

¹⁰⁰⁰ CIL III 7051= IGR IV 757.

¹⁰⁰¹ CBFIR 678.

¹⁰⁰² MAMA IX 152 (2nd century AD).

¹⁰⁰³ See commentary in MAMA IX 152.

¹⁰⁰⁴ CBFIR 679.

¹⁰⁰⁵ SEG XXXVIII 1244.

δήμῳ χαίρειν· *vacat* ἄν τινα στρατιώτην ἐλέγξῃτε εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ἔκτρα/πέντα τῶν
 μὴ πεμφθέντων / εἰς Αἰζανούς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἀργυρίζ[ειν] / πλανώμενον, κολασθ[ήσεται]·
 / οὐ δεῖ δὲ νῦν τὰ τοιαῦ[τα — — —] / ὡς ξένα· διείρητα[ι — — —]/ὠρίσται ὑπὸ
 πά[ντων — — — μὴ] / ἐξεῖναι ἀπὸ [τῆς *vacat* ὁδοῦ] / ἀποχωρεῖν [— — —] / τὸ
 δίκαιο[v — — —]/θαὶ ΚΟΙ[— — —] / ἐρρῶσθ[αι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι. *vacat*] / ἐπρέ[σβευσαν
 — — —] / Λ[— — —] / — — —

There is no doubt that the embassy of the magistrate, council and people of Tabala approached the emperor. It seems that soldiers in transit, on their way to Aizanoi, would sometimes wander off the main road to take the *supplementa*, probably ‘illegal exactions’¹⁰⁰⁶ The specific allowance for soldiers en route to Aizanoi should indicate a regular military presence in the area, but whatever its nature, it has not left epigraphic records. Hauken supposes that the soldiers were perhaps sent to monitor the religious festival and other public gatherings at the famous sanctuary.¹⁰⁰⁷ Seemingly the emperor did not himself write to the proconsul to inform him about his decision. This had to be done by the people of Tabala themselves. The representatives of Tabala would ordinarily have presented the letter to the proconsul during his stay at Sardeis, the center of the local *diocesis*.

Another case of military harassment is documented in a letter of a tribune quoting a governor’s *subscriptio* from Pentapolis.¹⁰⁰⁸ The owner of the estates had sent a *petitio* to the governor of Asia, forwarding complaints against at least two administrative and military units. He received a specific reply (*subscriptio*; ὑπογραφή) directed at two different authorities; these must have been named in the petition. The owner entrusted his estate manager with the task of approaching one of the authorities

¹⁰⁰⁶ R.Gordon, Roman Inscriptions 1986-90, *JRS* 83 (1993) 141; Mitchell believes it does refer to newly recruited reinforcements but in this case probably “a cash payment in their lieu: an illegitimate version of the tax known as συντέλεια τειρώνων”, S.Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 228-229; cf. also *SEG* XLIII 870.

¹⁰⁰⁷ T. Hauken, *Petition and response: an epigraphic study of petitions to Roman Emperors 181-249*, Bergen 1998, 210.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *SEG* XLVIII 1514 = *MAMA* XI 134: [- - - χαίρειν· ἀνέγνων τὸ βιβλίδιον τοῦ /δεῖνος τὸ ἐπιδοθὲν τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀν/θυπά]τρω [Τ(ίτω) Φλ(αουίῳ) Σου]λπικιανῶ ὡς τῶν [χωρί]/ων αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα Ζ[.]μου καὶ Μαδίου ἐνοχλουμένων ὑπὸ / στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὑπογραφὴν τὴν ὑπογ[ε]/γραμμένην ν. ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος Λίγυ[ς] / μὴ ἐπηρεάζεσθαί σου τὰ χωρία κατὰ [μη]/δένα τρόπον φ[ρον]τίσει· τοῦ αὐτοῦ δὲ [καὶ] / ὁ ἀξιολογώτα[τ]ρος χειλιάρχος πρόνο[ιαν] / ποιήσεται· ἂν οὖν τις τῶν ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ τ[ε]/ταγμένων στρατιωτῶν διαπορευόμε[ε]/νος τὰ τοῦ δεσπότη σου χωρία ἦτοι ὀ[δη]/γὸν αἰτῶν ἢ ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο / τοιοῦτο ἐνοχλήσῃ ὅπερ ὁ τε λαμπρότα[τ]ρος ἢ[γεμῶν - - -]

specifically mentioned in the *subscriptio*. He has in turn complied with the proconsul's decision by writing a fairly elaborate letter.¹⁰⁰⁹

In this case private estates were harassed by soldiers and it is directed against the soldiers of a regular military force; all other petitions contain complaints from villages, towns and imperial estates. The activities of soldiers in this area could be possibly connected with the presence of a permanent garrison of an auxiliary cohort in Eumeneia. Hauken pointed out that it is tempting to suggest that the soldiers that are causing trouble belong to two different units.¹⁰¹⁰ We can thus explain why the tribune emphasized that his orders concerned the soldier placed under his command; and it implies that the other commander probably would have to take similar responsibility for the behavior of his soldiers. The position and duties of Ligys are hard to define; there is a possibility he is also attested in Apameia as Ἰούλ. Λίγυς ὁ κράτιστος π(ρειμι)π(ιλάριος).¹⁰¹¹

The complaints against military oppression and extortion are more frequent from the early and middle 3rd century AD. In the area of Saittai a magistrate issued an order to prevent requisition and extortion by *stationarii*, *frumentarii* and *colletiones*.¹⁰¹² The difference between the *frumentarii* and *colletiones* and the auxiliary soldiers, whether stationed at the Eumeneia garrison or detached to procuratorial duty in Ephesos was not one of command, as they both had the proconsul as their supreme commander. The difference was rather one of principal assignment. Hauken believes that the *frumentarii* and *colletiones* had status as *beneficarii* recruited from regular legionary soldiers.¹⁰¹³ A village in Katakekaumene sent a petition to the emperors in 247/8 AD against *frumentarii*, *colletiones* and praetorians, who treated the inhabitants as wartime enemies: προφάσει εἰρήνη[ς — — — — — ἀλλὰ] / πολέμου τρόπῳ.¹⁰¹⁴ The petition started explaining that the so-called *frumentarii* and *praetoriani* generally make no trouble. However, singled out for particular complaint are the notorious *colletiones*. The petitioners accuse them for claiming peaceful intentions, while proved greedy in confiscating the common reserves of the community, by illegal exactions and

¹⁰⁰⁹ Hauken, 192.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid, 194.

¹⁰¹¹ *IGR* IV 786.

¹⁰¹² *TAM* V1 154.

¹⁰¹³ Hauken, 72.

¹⁰¹⁴ *TAM* V1 419.

harassing the villagers. Similar grievances were recorded in Satala¹⁰¹⁵ and the territory of Philadelphia,¹⁰¹⁶ elsewhere in Lydia¹⁰¹⁷ as well as in Phrygia.¹⁰¹⁸

All these petitions should be seen as symptoms of military anarchy and the failure of the state to control the armed forces.¹⁰¹⁹

6.5 Villages on civic territories

Village communities are the essential social units of countryside in Asia Minor. Village is therefore important but understudied. This contradictory sentence, valid for many years, could be retracted after a number of important studies were published in the last decades. The works of Stephen Mitchell, Christof Schuler and A. P. Gregory brought some voice into that “silence of the village”.¹⁰²⁰ In Lydia, and even more in Phrygia we can see the “rural Anatolia *par excellence*”¹⁰²¹ but they were different in the aspect of country life outside the cities. And geography, archaeology and epigraphic habit have much to do with it.

The term *kômê* appears in numerous epigraphic documents, originating in both the cities and the villages and was the standard designation for village settlement, so Gregory claims *kômê* was shorthand for rural or non-urban.¹⁰²² In our inscriptions villages are indeed usually called κῶμαι, sometimes δῆμοι or κατοικία. Although the terminology seems simple, villages across Asia Minor were different in the aspect of size, organization and population.¹⁰²³ Legal status of village dwellers was not the same everywhere nor was the terms of ownership. Landownership in Roman Asia Minor is a

¹⁰¹⁵ TAM V1 611.

¹⁰¹⁶ TAM V3 1417 and 1418.

¹⁰¹⁷ SEG XIX 718 = *I. Manisa Museum* 21 (Güllüköy in Lydia, 3rd century AD ?).

¹⁰¹⁸ MAMA X 114 (Upper Tembris Valley).

¹⁰¹⁹ For many of these petitions see a comprehensive study of T. Hauken, *Petition and response: an epigraphic study of petitions to Roman Emperors 181-249*, Bergen, 1998.

¹⁰²⁰ T. Gnoli, J. Thornton, Σῶξε τὴν κατοικίαν. Società e religione nella Frigia romana. Note introduttive, in: R. Gusmani, M. Salvini, P. Vannicelli (eds.), *Frigi e Frigio*. Atti del 1 Simposio Internazionale Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995, Roma 1997, 153.

¹⁰²¹ Mitchell, *Anatolia I*, 178.

¹⁰²² A. P. Gregory, *Village Society in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Columbia University 1997 (unpublished PhD thesis), 64.

¹⁰²³ For typology of the settlements see Ch. Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien*, München 1998, 17-55, 219-224; for terminology cf. Gregory, *Village Society*, 37-46.

vast subject and will not be presented here; it is sufficient to say that the village status differ according to the land ownership (city lands, private estates in city territory, imperial properties of the Roman period, temple lands and land belonging the villages themselves). Around most cities villages were incorporated in city's administrative territory.¹⁰²⁴

Given the present limited state of archaeological investigation of rural sites in Asia Minor it is somewhat premature to attempt to describe the physical appearance of the village. Until we have further area surveys and some fully excavated rural sites, our knowledge of the appearance of villages, their layout, their component parts, and their relationship to other settlement, will remain largely hypothetical. The presence of an *agora* in a village, epigraphically attested, is a reflection primarily of its commercial function; a periodic market may have been held there, but it was also public space. There are traces of *pyrgoi* in certain villages; most had sanctuaries and some even baths. Bath was effectively a Roman cultural import, though in Asia Minor a distinctly local form of structure evolved, and in time the feature spread to the countryside, but only in limited areas: Lydia and Ionia are the regions where most of the village bath-houses are found.¹⁰²⁵ As far as we know, theaters were non-existent in rural communities. Larger houses were rare, but certain differences and social hierarchy can be seen in these communities as well.¹⁰²⁶ Village magistrates, κώμαρχοι, are widely attested in Lydia and Phrygia.¹⁰²⁷ There are also attestations for the “first villagers”, πρωτοκωμηῆται,¹⁰²⁸ and we cannot treat village population as a homogenous group. The term βραβευτής can also be found in certain inscriptions, although his functions are not clear.¹⁰²⁹ In Lydia there are also λογιστής¹⁰³⁰ in some villages, as well as ἀργυροταμίως.¹⁰³¹

There is no doubt that social life in villages followed the patterns of the neighbouring cities.¹⁰³² Luxurious houses and villas in the countryside were probably owned by local city elites, landowners. Tensions between town and country were

¹⁰²⁴ Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen*, 273-278.

¹⁰²⁵ Gregory, *Village Society*, 60; cf. also Mitchel, *Anatolia I*, 216.

¹⁰²⁶ Gregory, *Village Society*, 46-64.

¹⁰²⁷ i.e. *TAM* V2 868 (Thyateira, Lydia); *IGR* IV 592 (Phrygia); *MAMA* IX 68 (Aizanoi).

¹⁰²⁸ *TAM* V1 822 (Kömürcü, Lydia, 198/199 AD).

¹⁰²⁹ *TAM* V1 234 (Kula); 515 (Maionia); *TAM* V2 903 (Thyateira); 1269 (Hierocaesarea); 1316 (Tyan(n)ollus); *IGR* IV 1348 (Mostena Lydia); 1497 (Lydia); *SEG* XXXVIII 1303 (Dorylaion, 2nd/3rd century AD).

¹⁰³⁰ *TAM* V1 515.

¹⁰³¹ *IGR* IV 1657.

¹⁰³² Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen*, 278-286.

evident, but the picture is much more complex. There is evidence of city residents offering benefactions to villagers; two villages (κῶμαι) near Thyateira jointly honored Tib. Claudius Amphimachus with a statue for “defending their rights and restoring property to villages”.¹⁰³³ Another inscription from Thyateira is showing a *katoikia* honoring an asiarch C. Iulius Iulianus Tatianus, as *euergetes*.¹⁰³⁴ The villagers of Moschakome, on the territory of Magnesia ad Sipylum, honored a man who had been hereditary benefactor of their village.¹⁰³⁵ Numerous inscriptions attest the widespread existence of private estates on or near civic territory. Scattered property holding within the *chōra* was also typical of both large and small landowners. Very revealing is the Lydian inscription recording the will of a certain Epikrates in the 1st century AD.¹⁰³⁶ This man owned land in the territories of both Nakrasos and Thyateira, which included an olive grove, five *plethra* of vines, an unspecified plot near the village of Tibbe, seven *plethra* of uncultivated land (ψειλλῆς χῶρος) in the village itself, and a further six uncultivated *plethra* in the plain around Kormos. He was clearly prosperous and he also had freedman to maintain his tomb.

Most of our knowledge on village life comes from the inscriptions. As we have seen, villages had certain institutions and they seem to mimic the features of the cities. In Phrygia, and probably elsewhere, the men on whose shoulders the entire textile industry ultimately rested were the shepherds, cattle-breeders who are almost invisible, like an obscure stratum of ancient society. Many, but not all, were perhaps slaves. Most of the evidence for the shepherds/herdsmen comes from the Phrygian highlands. Their votive stelai, from the rural sanctuary near Amorium, dedications to Zeus Petarenos and Zeus Alsenos, dating to the 2nd century AD give some information. Their exceptional interest is that they can perhaps demonstrate the literacy of the lowest social classes, perhaps even shepherds and peasants and give us a glimpse into their daily lives and their concerns in the communications with their gods. The importance of the individual not only in the funerary but also in the religious context is remarkable. Even simple farmers and peasants represent themselves publicly before the god as proud and grateful

¹⁰³³ TAM V2 974: ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκδικῆσαι καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι τὰ τῶν κωμῶν.

¹⁰³⁴ TAM V2 967.

¹⁰³⁵ TAM V2 1408 (also SEG XL 1052); cf. also TAM V2 1316-1317 (Tyan(n)ollus, Lydia).

¹⁰³⁶ P. Hermann, K. Z. Polatkan, *Das Testament des Epikrates und andere neue Inschriften aus dem Museum von Manisa* (Sitz. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.Hist. Kl., 265. 1.) Vienna, 1969; cf. L. Robert, J. Robert, *BE* 1970, no. 512, *SEG* XXX 1392 and I. Manisa Museum 20.

dedicants of gifts in the sanctuary. There has been much scholarly discussion about the legal and social status of the rural population. The city or suburban population of most of the Anatolian *poleis* was sufficiently diverse in terms of status, including the *paroikoi*, *metoikoi*, *xenoi*, freedman and slaves. One should neither overlook the informal ways of access to power by suppressed groups. The non-urban and non-citizen population were also designated by the term *πάροικοι*, and it appears in a variety of inscriptions throughout Asia Minor, whether citizens or foreign residents (*metoikoi*).¹⁰³⁷ In this particular case, as seen in votive stelai, there are very few Roman citizens; most of the dedicants are presented cloaked in thick sheepskin capes with pointed hats. This collection of dedications is unique as it offers us a glimpse into this class that is usually not epigraphically attested. It is probably due to availability and cheap Docimean marble in the area. Entire classes of ancient society, mostly silent in other parts of the ancient world, here speak with their own voice: shepherds with their flocks, stewards of the great Imperial estates and ranches, winegrowers and wool-merchants. The religious life of these Phrygian villagers is known to us in extraordinary detail. Another source would be numerous representations of peasants and shepherds that offer valuable information on their mode of dress and family groupings, information that is often hard to come by in literary sources. Men were dressed either in the shepherd's cape with a pointed hood or in a typical himation and chiton and all women were veiled.¹⁰³⁸ The difference in the male dress could represent an occupational distinction between shepherd and peasant and perhaps even a slight social distinction, as men in the shepherds' clothes on the inscriptions are represented with a single name and those in tunics also have patronymics or demotics given. From an onomastic point of view the inscriptions from these Phrygian rural sanctuaries show an intermixture and coexistence of three cultures: Greek, Phrygian and Roman.

¹⁰³⁷ In Asia Minor *paroikoi* were free indigenous inhabitants resident in the territory of the city, but lacking political rights; although we don't have attestations of *paroikoi* in Lydia and Phrygia (but cf. *MAMA* X 114 from Appia in Phrygia 244-247 AD), we could probably assume that there was no major difference between these provinces and the rest of Asia Minor; for the elaborate analysis on *laoi* and *paroikoi* cf. F. Papazoglou, *Laoi et paroikoi. Recherches sur la structure de la société hellénistique*, Beograd, 1997; also A. Sugliano, Cittadini, pareci, stranieri: la categorie giuridiche e sociali nelle città greche d'Asia Minore fra III e I secolo a. C., *Mediterraneo antico* IV-1 (2001), 293-324; L. Gagliardi, I *paroikoi* delle città dell'Asia minore in età ellenistica e nella prima età romana, *Dike* 12/13 (2009/2010), 303-322.

¹⁰³⁸ T. Drew-Bear, C. M. Thomas, M. Yildizturan, *Phrygian Votive Steles*, Ankara 1999, 38-39; cf. also 377.

Thonemann argues that even during the Roman Imperial period, when a façade of civic institutions and urbanization, mostly for cultural reasons, was founded in parts of inner Anatolia, Phrygian society remained largely decentralized and ‘underdeveloped’.¹⁰³⁹ At first sight Roman Phrygia may look like a highly urbanized society, with dozens of independent *polis* territories, each with its own civic institutions, monumental urban centers, but one should mention that even the largest and most lavish funerary monuments to survive from this region – doorstones and relief stelai – almost invariably depict the tools and values of agricultural and pastoral labor (farm tools, beasts of burden, sheep, vines, and ploughs) alongside more familiar Romanizing elements (writing paraphernalia, toga and *pallia*). For example, east of Aizanoi agricultural tools occur: the plough¹⁰⁴⁰ and pruning hook.¹⁰⁴¹ But they could appear together with tablets, scrolls and other writing objects.¹⁰⁴² Women’s gravestones display mirror, comb, perfume, jar, wool basket, spindle and distaff.¹⁰⁴³ Could we deduce that the men were literate; the women had time and money for themselves? The answer is most probably affirmative.

There were also shepherds in the cities, or attached to them. In Laodikeia on the Lykos there is an epitaph of Papias Klexos, ὁ ποιμήν, finely decorated tombstone as a stark contrast to North Phrygian votive stelai. Should it also mean that those closer to the cities were of a higher social status? Nevertheless, their world was not the one of civic society, but one of nature and open spaces. They were marginal within city’s society and outside city walls shepherds were antagonist to agriculturalists. As Thonemann argues, in antiquity settled agriculture was seen as the best and most highly civilized mode of production, as opposed to shepherds who were most primitive and barbaric.¹⁰⁴⁴ On the other hand, the settled and the nomadic world were closely knit. Conflicts between neighbouring villages over land, boundaries, grazing rights are an ageless theme of village life, as well as family disputes.¹⁰⁴⁵ The significance of the

¹⁰³⁹ Thonemann, *Phrygia: an anarchist history*, 3.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *MAMA* IX 430.

¹⁰⁴¹ *MAMA* IX 363; 391; 437.

¹⁰⁴² *MAMA* X 5 (Appia, early 3rd century AD); 34 (Appia, early 3rd century AD); 155 (Appia, second half of the 3rd century AD).

¹⁰⁴³ *MAMA* X 2 (Appia, beginning of 3rd century); 148 (Appia, early 3rd century AD); 155 (Appia, second half of the 3rd century AD); 219 (Appia, late 3rd century).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Thonemann, *Meander Valley*, 192.

¹⁰⁴⁵ For example *MAMA* IV 297 and *TAM* VI 317 (area of Kula, Lydia)

passable land and possession of cattle is evident from one funerary imprecation from Lydia:¹⁰⁴⁶

Ὅς ἂν δὲ προσαμαρτῆναι θελήσει καὶ ἀ/νοξαι τὸ μνημίον τὸ Μενάνδρου, μήτε / αὐτῷ γῆ βατή, μὴ θάλασσα πλωτή, μήτε / τέκνων σπορά, μήτε θρεμμάτων ὑπαρξίς

The rivalry in the pastoral economy can also be seen in one inscription from the Hierapolitan area. The main agricultural product in Hierapolis was the wine as rich red soil was well suited to viticulture. This inscription is presumably the decree of Hierapolis trying to protect the vineyard owners against the damage from the grazers and herds:¹⁰⁴⁷

[. . .] ἐξ ἀνπέλων πασῶν, δεσπότες μό[νοις ἐξίνε περικό]/πτιν αὐτάς ἢ προφάσι τῆς σίτου πενί[ας σταφυλοτομίαν]/ τινα ποιεῖν· ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα π[οιήση, ἐξίνε τοῖς] / μὲν δεσπότης τῶν ἀνπέλων κὲ τ[οῦ ἐφεστίου ὄσοις] / ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα διενέκη π[άντα συλλαβοῦσιν]/τὰ ἐν τῆς ἀνπέλοις βοσκήματα ἢ θ[ρέμματα συνα/πά]γειν ἢ κατέχιν πρὸς τὴν βλάβην πάντ[α πραττομένοις / ἐξ α]ὐτῶν ὡς ἂν τις βούλητε· τοὺς δὲ πο[ιμένας κελεύω / τοῦς] μὲν δούλους προσαγγελλομένους [τοῖς κατὰ ἐ]/νιαυτὸν γινομένοις παραφύλαξιν μασ[τιγοῦσθε / ἰ]ς τὸ ἀπέχεσ[χεσ]θε αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιμόνου λ[ηστειας, ἐ]/ξίνε δὲ κὲ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων ἰσπρά[ττεσθε] / κὲ ἐνεχυρασίαν ποιῖσθε παρὰ τῶν δεσποτῶ[ν τῶν θρ]/εμμάτων κὲ ποιμένων τῶν ἐλευθέρων· κὲ τῶν ἐ[πιμελητ]/ῶν τῶν χωρίων τῶν μὴ κωλυσάντων τοὺς ποιμέν[ας τοὺς] / ἰς τὰς ἀνπέλους

¹⁰⁴⁶ SEG XLIX 1690 (Sosandra?, imperial period); for this type of malediction cf. commentary in ed. pr. Malay, *Researches* no. 78; cf. also TAM V1 101 (Saittai, 108/109 AD), TAM V2 1148 (Thyateira), *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 339, *I. Sardis* 152.; on imprecations and “the power of words” see J. H. M. Strubbe, APAT EPITYMBIOI. Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor. A Catalogue, Bonn, 1997; *Ibid*, “Cursed be he that moves my bones”, in: C. A. Faraone, D. Obbink, *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, Oxford 1991, 33-59.

¹⁰⁴⁷ MAMA IV 297 (3rd century): If anyone acts contrary to this, [it is permitted] to the owners of the vineyards, and likewise to [any one of their household] to whom they have entrusted their affairs, [to seize] all of the cattle or sheep in their vineyards, to carry them off and keep them in recompense for the harm, [doing with them] whatever they wish. (The vineyard-owner) may have the shepherds whipped, if they are slaves, once they have been reported to those appointed as paraphylakes for the year, in order that they may refrain from persistent [theft?]. As for the masters of the flocks, and free shepherds, and [headmen?] of the villages who do not prevent shepherds from herding their sheep into vineyards and breaking off vine-branches, (the vineyard owner) is permitted to make exactions from their other property, and to take sureties from them. . . exacting from them. . . [Apollo] archegetes . . . any inhabitant of the place . . . slave or shepherd; translation taken from Thonemann, *Meander Valley*, 194.

ισβάλλοντας θρέμματα κὲ τ[οὺς ἐν αὐ/τ]ῆς περισπῶντας τὰ κλήματα
 [.....c.15.....] / [.....] ἰσπραξομένους αὐτῶ[νc.18.....] /
 [.....τα[.....c.18.....] / [.c.7..] τὸν ἀρχηγέτην [.....c.18.....]
 / [ἐὰν δέ τ]ις ἔποικος τῆς χά[ρα]ςc.15.....] / [.....] δοῦλον ἢ ποιμέν[α
c.20.....]

Village disputes can take on a variety of forms and could originate from a multitude of causes. From modern perspective the details of these disputes are often unclear. This is the case with the argument mentioned in an inscription from the wider area of Kula initiated when three pigs, owned by villagers Demainetos and Papias of Azita, had strayed into the cattle herd of their neighbors, two brothers named as Hermogenes and Apollonios, from the village of Syrou Mandrai. The other details are missing, except the fact that brothers' herd was at the time pastured by a five year old boy, perhaps a slave.¹⁰⁴⁸

Although civic society would like to present shepherds as a different class from sedentary peasants, everyday life was much more complex and intertwined. As various animal products were the dominant element in urban economies, any city needed both shepherds and agriculturalists. In the Phrygian Highlands and on the western fringe of the Axylon some Phrygians proudly describe themselves as 'farmers' (γεωργικός) in their funerary inscriptions.¹⁰⁴⁹ Apart from them, there is also Aurelius Epiktetes, a pig-seller (χοιρενπώρος) from Saittai, attested at Sardeis in the 3rd century AD and we also have a funerary relief from Colossae of around 200 AD, presumably of another pig-seller, decorated with three curly tail pigs.¹⁰⁵⁰ Pastoral economy, unlike agrarian economy, is necessarily characterized by mobility and exchange. Going from pasture to pasture, linking territories of different cities, herdsmen made a kind of pattern of social relations. On the other hand, we could also assume that cult activities served as contact

¹⁰⁴⁸ TAM VI 317 (early 2nd century BC).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia* I 314 no. 41: γεωργός ἀνὴρ; Ibid, 311–12 no. 37: τὸν ἐπιχθονίοισι γεωργόν; SEG I, 459: ἦν δὲ γεωργός. Cf. also Haspels *Highlands of Phrygia* I 360, no. 135, in which Agathon, a δοῦλος γεωργός, erects a votive monument to Zeus Bronton on behalf of his master C. Cornelius Longinus 'and his flocks'.

¹⁰⁵⁰ I Sardis 159; visual representation from Kolossai MAMA VI 50.

between the bucolic and sedentary worlds.¹⁰⁵¹ Either way, mutual help and exchange had to be an essential feature of village life and a way to survive.¹⁰⁵²

It is hard to perceive village life without the comparison to the cities. In his study, Mitchell concluded that city and village lived in different world, with villages bound to the cities but not in partnership with them and cities being essentially parasitic.¹⁰⁵³ He argued that most peasants lost much of their surplus through rents, taxes or extortion and fell outside monetarized economy, as opposed to Levick who believes that a low level of city development in a productive Phrygian highlands does not favor the notion of “parasite” city. On the other hand, Riel also pointed out that “in many parts of Lydia and Phrygia the cities were so ill defined as to be hardly distinguishable from the larger village communities.”¹⁰⁵⁴

We should also assume that the countryside was, at least in part, self-sustainable having higher proportion of what it produced.¹⁰⁵⁵ The village diet is also observed in comparison to the food in the cities, for example, while the townspeople ate *ochra* and beans, country people ate *lathyrari*, a type of pulse.¹⁰⁵⁶ The high quality wheat was mostly taken to the cities leaving only inferior products for the country people. In Dorylaion they grew a crop called *zeopyron*.¹⁰⁵⁷ Yoghurt and cheese were main diet when all cereals were eaten. Radishes were eaten with bread and other herbs and wild vegetables and garlic were frequent.¹⁰⁵⁸ Meat was a rare luxury in villages, while pork was favored in the city. Pigs were raised in the country and driven to the towns; pig-herding was a common profession for the very poor and small children.¹⁰⁵⁹ Green beans and cabbage were often cooked with pork, and in the country they had to make it with

¹⁰⁵¹ For analysis of rural sanctuaries frequented by villagers and their numerous vows see M. Riel, Society and Economy of rural sanctuaries in Roman Lydia and Phrygia, *EA* 35 (2003), 77-101, for epigraphic evidence esp. 78, n. 4.

¹⁰⁵² For a discussion on socio-economic and religious solidarity cf. Gnoli, Thornton, Σὼζε τὴν κατοικίαν, 157.

¹⁰⁵³ Mitchell, *Anatolia I*, 195; cf. also B. Levick, Girdled by Hills: Culture and religion in Phrygia outside the polis, in: H. Elton, G. Roger (eds.), *Regionalism in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. Acts of the Conference in Hartford, Connecticut, August 22-24, 1997, Bordeaux 2007, 107.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Riel, Society and Economy, 79.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Mitchell, *Anatolia I*, 245.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Gal. *De alim. fac.* 1.2.6

¹⁰⁵⁷ Gal. *De alim. fac.* 1.9.10; kind of one-seeded wheat, cf. M. Grant, *Galen on Food and Diet*, London 2000, 92.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Gal. *De alim. fac.* 2.68; cf. M. Grant, *Galen*, 152.

¹⁰⁵⁹ TAM V1 317 (area of Kula, Lydia, 114/115 AD).

goat or mutton.¹⁰⁶⁰ We have to presume most people grew their own vegetables, nuts as well as wheat and fruits. The most useful plant was olive.¹⁰⁶¹

As we have already seen, the Roman peace allowed and encouraged the political, social and economic advancement of the city elites, with the result that spectacular public and private construction was undertaken all over Asia Minor. Mitchell believes that in assessing the nature of Lydian society and settlement in the Roman period it seems more helpful not to insist on the organizational differences between the two types of communities.¹⁰⁶² The gradual transformation of some Lydian κῶμαι and κατοικίαι (mostly villages, not military colonies) into *poleis* was a result of general prosperity, and the urbanization process continued into the 3rd century AD. The cities were composed of an urban core, usually a fortified settlement, with administrative and commercial buildings, and in many cases defined suburbs, and finally a fixed territory; the territory (*chora*) might be further sub-divided. We can study the *polis* firstly as an administrative or civic unit, and its history written in terms of political and social institutions (constitution, offices, citizenship); alternatively the *polis* can be seen as an urban unit, and its development traced in the terms of urbanization, the construction of public and monumental buildings. The city could not be separated from its territory; nor could a village be separated from its cultivated land. As Price argued we must “be dealing with a whole spectrum of communities ranging from the most complex of cities down to the simplest of hamlets. Within this spectrum there are no doubt recognizable contrasts but no simple polarities.”¹⁰⁶³ Language, diet, lifestyle, cults, all seemed to point out that towns and villages were perhaps indeed worlds apart.

6.6 Family

Even the most common modern concepts such as “family” need to be scrutinized if they are to be applied to the ancient world. Our most important sources for collecting data on family and demography are funerary inscriptions, thousands of them in Lydia and Phrygia. These documents do not contain any definition of family, either for so-

¹⁰⁶⁰ Gal. *De alim fac.* 3

¹⁰⁶¹ On natural resources and food cf. also C. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, München 2010, 498-503.

¹⁰⁶² Mitchell, *Anatolia I*, 182; cf. Price, *Rituals and Power*, 78-100.

¹⁰⁶³ Price, *Rituals and Power*, 82.

called 'nuclear' family nor extended family or kinship family and we shouldn't expect one. But there is the Roman legal definition and it is quite precise: "The term 'family' has reference to every collection of persons which are connected by their own rights as individuals, or by the common bond of general relationship. We say that a family is connected by its own rights where several are either by nature or by law subjected to the authority of one; for example, the father of a family, the mother of a family, and a son and a daughter under paternal control, as well as their descendants; for instance, grandsons, granddaughters, and their successors."¹⁰⁶⁴

The legal definition carries its own problems and, apart from that, there is the question of how applicable is the Roman legal thought for defining the kinship communities in Lydia and Phrygia where many regional and cultural distinctions are present. Perhaps the modern social theory can offer a solution? Sociological studies of the family have been dominated by functionalist definitions of what the family is and what "needs" it fulfills in the society. But, what definition of "family" should we use when we look for a "family" in the ancient society? Anthropologists and historians increasingly recognize that "family" and "household" are artificial, theoretical categories.¹⁰⁶⁵ Kinship is also a social creation but it allows the variability and extension.¹⁰⁶⁶ Also, sociological and historical studies of the family have tended to mostly observe the so-called vertical relationships, between parents and children and less attention was paid to the lateral relationships between siblings. There are defining factors that can be used and are equally important: biological kinship (and consciousness of it on the part of the persons involved), common residence, economic cooperation, legally recognized unity etc. But common residence, to single out only one of the variables is also a questionable feature. Some sociologists argue that 'household' is defined by constant activity.¹⁰⁶⁷ Although we may presume that many families lived

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ulpian, *Dig.* 50. 16, 195 (2): *Familiae appellatio refertur et ad corporis cuiusdam significationem, quod aut iure proprio ipsorum aut communi universae cognationis continetur. iure proprio familiam dicimus plures personas, quae sunt sub unius potestate aut natura aut iure subiectae, ut puta patrem familias, matrem familias, filium familias, filiam familias quique deinceps vicem eorum sequuntur, ut puta nepotes et neptes et deinceps*; translation in English from S. P. Scott, *The Civil Law*, XI, Cincinnati, 1932.

¹⁰⁶⁵ I. R. Buchler, H. A. Selby, *Kinship and Social Organization: Method*, New York 1968, 19-21; for the idea of abandoning the "myth of extended family" cf. J. Goody, *The evolution of the family*, in: P. Laslett, R. Wall (eds.), *Household and family in past time*, Cambridge 1972, 103-124.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See also Glossary of anthropological terms in M. R. Flood, *Epigraphic evidence for family structures and customs in Asia Minor during the early Roman Empire*, 1978 (unpublished MA thesis), 160-162.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Buchler, Selby, *Kinship*, 21.

together, including slaves or freedmen, it cannot be the only outlining indication of a family. We could also suppose that many members of upper classes lived in multiple residences with social ties in every place. On the other hand, economic cooperation is a very broad term and it is not specific only to families but to all levels of society. We have already seen the “familial” bonds between members of various associations in Lydia and Phrygia. The terms for relationships used in the inscriptions, our main source for demography, like σύμβιος, ἄνῆρ, γυνή do not necessarily indicate if the couple was legally married or not.

The “nuclear family” is another expression frequently used by the historians of antiquity. It too is a borrowing from the vocabulary of the modern social theory. It could be described as any combination in the relationship between father, mother and child(ren).¹⁰⁶⁸ Its usefulness for study of the families in Roman Lydia and Phrygia is obvious: it seems to fit well with a widespread type of family. The funerary inscriptions from the Roman period display some new characteristics, not so prominent in the classical or Hellenistic period, recording not only the deceased but the ones commemorating him, usually the members of his or hers family.¹⁰⁶⁹ Generally speaking, most of the families we see in these inscriptions are comparatively small, with no more than two sons and one daughter and designation “nuclear family” fits them perfectly. When extended family members are included, it is usually only one and two. Nevertheless, there is also a tendency in the inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia towards inclusiveness of extended members of the family/household.¹⁰⁷⁰ While the “nuclear family” may well be the most typical, inscriptions show a diversity of family types, from single parents to multi-generational households.

In the late 20th century there was a significant scholarly debate on demography and the composition of the ancient family. At first, Saller and Shaw studied tombstones from the Roman West trying to see if the emphasis in the funerary inscription were on

¹⁰⁶⁸ For the shifts in the definitions of a nuclear family see Buchler, Selby, *Kinship*, 23-24.

¹⁰⁶⁹ More on this change in the epigraphic habit cf. E. Meyer, *Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: the Evidence of Epitaphs*, *JRS* 80 (1990), 75.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Elaborate examples in Lydia are *TAM* V1 764 (Iulia Gordos, 171/172 AD) and *TAM* V1 704 (Iulia Gordos, 75/76 AD); in Phrygia *MAMA* VI 353 (Diokleia) and Buckler, Calder, Cox, *Monuments from the Upper Tembris Valley*, *JRS* 18 (1928), 33 no. 249.

the nuclear family or more extended family.¹⁰⁷¹ Their conclusion implies that the nuclear family was the main type of familial organization in the Latin West.¹⁰⁷² More than a decade later D. B. Martin tried the Saller and Shaw method on few examples of funerary inscriptions from Asia Minor.¹⁰⁷³ Criticizing their method Martin argued, analyzing a vast sample of 1161 inscriptions from seven cities in Asia Minor, that families that emerged from his study of Asia Minor do not fit either the nuclear or extended structure well and that they had “nucleated center” surrounded by numerous other familial relations.¹⁰⁷⁴

So far, there is no one comprehensive study of the demographic data from Roman Asia Minor, as the one Bagnall and Frier did for Roman Egypt.¹⁰⁷⁵ We have to acknowledge the fact there are no similar sources in Asia Minor like the Egyptian census returns, at least not enough for statistically significant research. Brulé analyzed some of the data from the list of citizens of Milet and Ilion from the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁷⁶ In 2007 Scheidel summarized the questions and methods of using epigraphy for studying demography.¹⁰⁷⁷ Questions for further research should be how many members are there in a family and how many births, and what is the age expectancy among children? Funerary inscriptions cannot tell us about average life expectancy or age specific mortality samples, but some of them provide valuable information on the seasonal distribution of deaths as well as births.¹⁰⁷⁸ The ancient funerary inscriptions recorded the measurable scope of one’s life in this world, naming the years, months and days, thus perhaps indirectly celebrating life.

¹⁰⁷¹ R. P. Saller, B. D. Shaw, Tombstones and Roman family relations in the Principate: civilians, soldiers and slaves, *JRS* 74 (1984), 124-156; also cf. D. Engels, The Use of Historical Demography in Ancient History, *CQ* 34-2 (1984), 386-393.

¹⁰⁷² Saller, Shaw, Tombstones and Roman family, 137; 145-146.

¹⁰⁷³ D. B. Martin, The Construction of the Ancient Family: Methodological Considerations, *JRS* 86 (1996), 40-60.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Martin, The Construction of Ancient Family, 58.

¹⁰⁷⁵ R. S. Bagnall, B. W. Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge, 1994.

¹⁰⁷⁶ P. Brulé, Enquete démographique sur la famille grecque antique: étude de listes de politographie d’Asie mineure d’époque hellénistique (Milet et Ilion), *REA* 92 (1990), 233-258.

¹⁰⁷⁷ W. Scheidel, Epigraphy and demography: birth, marriage, family and death, Version 1.0, June 2007 Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics, <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/scheidel/060701.pdf>; cf. also Scheidel’s proposal for publishing a study *The Demography of the Greco-Roman World* planned for 2017 at <http://web.stanford.edu/~scheidel/key.htm> (last access September 2014).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Scheidel, Epigraphy and demography, 8; cf. B. D. Shaw, Seasons of Death: Aspects of Mortality in Imperial Rome, *JRS* 86 (1996), 100-138.

The familial vocabulary in both Lydia and Phrygia has more than 60 terms for describing relationship between members of the family, some from the world of poetry: ἀδελφή / ἄδελφος, ἀδελφιδέος / ἀδελφιδῆ, ἄλοχος, ἀνεψιά / ἀνεψιός, ἀνήρ, γάλως, γαμβρός, γαμετή, γενετήρ, γενέτης, γονεύς, γόνος, γυναικαδέλφη / γυναικάδελφος, γυνή, δαήρ, ἔκγονος, ἑκυρά / ἑκυρός, ἐνάτηρ, ἐξάδελφος, θεία / θεῖος, θυγάτηρ, θυγατριδῆ, κασιγνήτη / κασιγνήτος, κούρη, μάμμη, μήτηρ, μητράδελφος, μητριά, μητροπάτωρ, μήτρως, νύμφη, ὄρφανός, παιδίον, παῖς, πάππος, παράκοιτις, πατήρ, πάτρα, πατροποίητος, πάτρως, πενθερά / πενθερός, πενθεριδίσσα / πενθεριδεύς / πενθερίδης, πόσις, πρόγονος, πρόθειος, συγγενής, σύμβιος, σύνκοιτος, συννύμφη, συνόμαιμος, συνομευνίς / συνόμευνος, τέκνον, τεκοῦσα, τοκεύς, υἱός, χήρα

This richness of familial language is quite characteristic for these areas, unlike the rest of the Roman empire. As Flood observed, the terminology was descriptive rather than classificatory.¹⁰⁷⁹ Apart from the usual terms for mother (μήτηρ) and father (πατήρ), parents together (γονεύς,¹⁰⁸⁰ γενετήρ¹⁰⁸¹) or grandparents (μάμμη and πάππος) and siblings (ἀδελφή, ἀδελφός or rarely κασιγνήτη / κασιγνήτος¹⁰⁸²) our inscriptions are displaying nuanced relationship within the extended family. The term πάτρως and μήτρως, designating paternal and maternal uncle respectively, is attested numerous times.¹⁰⁸³ We also have θεία and θεῖος.¹⁰⁸⁴ The term πρόθειος, meaning great-uncle is attested in Laodikeia on the Lykos.¹⁰⁸⁵ First cousins are also indicated¹⁰⁸⁶

¹⁰⁷⁹ Flood, *Epigraphic evidence*, 30.

¹⁰⁸⁰ In Lydia: *TAM* V1 636 (Daldis); *TAM* V1 653 (Daldis); I. Sardis 93a (1st-2nd century AD); in Phrygia more frequent, attested almost 50 times.

¹⁰⁸¹ In Phrygia: *MAMA* IX 552; Ramsey, *CB* 743, no. 682 (Dokimeion); not attested in Lydia.

¹⁰⁸² In Lydia there are only two attestation *SEG* XXIX 1203 (Saittai) and *TAM* V1 208 (Tabala); in Phrygia: *MAMA* IV 83 (Synnada, 1st-2nd century AD); *MAMA* V 29 (Dorylaion); *MAMA* X 12 (Appia, 3rd century AD); *MAMA* X 169 (Appia, 305/315 AD); *MAMA* X 203 (Appia, 225-235 AD); *MAMA* X 540 (Tiberiopolis); *MAMA* IX 73 (Aizanoi, 2nd-3rd century AD); *MAMA* IX 74 (Aizanoi, 2nd-3rd century AD); *SEG* LII 1277 (Aizanoi, 2nd-3rd century AD).

¹⁰⁸³ E. g. πάτρως: *TAM* V1 483a (Iaza); *SEG* LIII 1557 (Upper Tembris valley, 250-260 AD); *SEG* XXXII 1231 (Saittai); *SEG* XXVIII 930 (Sardeis, Roman period); *SEG* LVII 1175 (Iaza, 164/165 AD), in the same inscription attested paternal aunts, πατρειοί; *SEG* XXXIII 1016 (Saittai, 103/104 AD), also paternal aunt πάτρα; *SEG* XXVIII 899 (Iaza); *SEG* XXXV 1160 (Katakekaumene, 214/215 AD); μήτρως: *SEG* LVI 1265 (Northeast Lydia, 93/94 AD); μήτωρ: *SEG* XLVIII 1433 (Northeast Lydia, 246/247 AD); both maternal and paternal uncles *SEG* LVII 1244 (Lydia, 175/176 or 229/230 AD); *SEG* XXXI 990 (Iaza, 217/218 AD); *SEG* XLIX 1620 (Maionia, imperial period); cf. also μητράδελφος *I Sultan Dağı* 612 (Neapolis).

¹⁰⁸⁴ i.e. *MAMA* IV 245 (Tymandos); τηθείς (maternal aunt): *TAM* V1 433 (area of Kula, 183/184 AD); *SEG* XLIX 1732 (Lydia, 167/168 AD); πατρεία (father's sister, aunt): *TAM* V 1 782 (Yayakırılıdik, 120/121 AD); *SEG* XLIX 1660 (Saittai, 150/151 AD).

¹⁰⁸⁵ *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 83 (first half of the 2nd century AD).

as well as generic expression for kinsman/kinswoman (γνωτός).¹⁰⁸⁷ The term ἐξάδελφος is attested only in Phrygia,¹⁰⁸⁸ as well as γυναικάδελφος.¹⁰⁸⁹

In-laws were also important part of the extended family circle, so we have phrases πενθερά/πενθερός and ἐκυρά/ἐκυρός for mother and father-in-law.¹⁰⁹⁰ It seems that the former were originally used by the husband to refer to his wife's parents.¹⁰⁹¹ The latter terms, ἐκυρά/ἐκυρός, was used by wives for their husband's parents. The universal and proverbial image of bad relations between parents and their child's spouse could be perhaps a bit improved with epitaphs such as

Ναννας Ἀμμία πενθερᾷ γλυκυτάτη μνήμης χάριν¹⁰⁹²

or

ἔτους τσι', μη(νός) Λώου δ'. / ἐτελεύτησεν ὀνόματι / Εὐκάρπη· Ἐπίκτητος
κα/τεσκεύασεν τῆ γλυκυτά/τη γυναικί συνβιωσάση / ἔτη πέντε, μνείας χά/ριν καὶ ὁ
ίκερός Τρόφι/μος ἐτίμησεν· / καὶ πᾶσι λέγω χαίριν τοῖς πα/ροδείταις¹⁰⁹³

In Lydia we have evidence of additional terms for in-laws. The term πενθεριδίσσα meaning sister-in-law is attested in Silandos and Northeast Lydia,¹⁰⁹⁴ as well as πενθεριδεύς/ πενθεριδης for brother-in-law (wife's brother).¹⁰⁹⁵

¹⁰⁸⁶ ἀνεπιός: *MAMA* VI 285 (Akmoneia); *MAMA* X 85 (Soa, 2nd or 3rd century AD); *MAMA* X 105 (Soa, beginning of 2nd century AD); *MAMA* XI 137 (Pentapolis, 2nd century AD); *SEG* LVI 1493 (Akmonia, 200-250 AD); *I Sultan Daği* 237 (Hadrianopolis); *I Sultan Daği* 308 (Tyraion); *I Sultan Daği* 514 (Neapolis); interestingly, ἀνεπιά is only recently attested in Lydia, *SEG* XLIX 1660 (Saittai, 150/151 AD).

¹⁰⁸⁷ *CIG* 4137= *MAMA* V Lists I (ii) 183, 1 (Dorylaion).

¹⁰⁸⁸ *MAMA* IX 143 (Aizanoi); *MAMA* VI 324 (Akmoneia); *MAMA* VII 150 (Hadrianopolis); *MAMA* X 221 (Appia, 3rd century AD); Ramsey, *CB* 520, no. 361 (Eumeneia); Waelkens, *Türsteine* 624 (Drya, late Imperial period); *SEG* LIII 1533 (Upper Tembris valley, ca. 170 AD).

¹⁰⁸⁹ *MAMA* IV 24 (Prymnessoss, 1st-3rd century AD); but the restoration is uncertain.

¹⁰⁹⁰ i.e. πενθερά/πενθερός: *TAM* V1 704 (Iulia Gordos, 75/76 AD); *TAM* V1 768 (Iulia Gordos, 78/79 AD); I. Manisa Museum 521 (west of Daldis, 150/151 AD); *SEG* XXVIII 1158 (Eumeneia); *SEG* XL 1244 (Upper Tembris valley, 220-230 AD); *MAMA* XI 201 (Axylon, c. 212 AD); ἐκυρά/ἐκυρός: *TAM* V1 704 (Iulia Gordos, 75/76 AD); *SEG* LVI 1265 (Northeast Lydia, 93/94 AD); *SEG* XXXI 1007 (Saittai, 136.137 AD); Hermann-Malay, New documents no. 95 (Northeast Lydia, imperial period); *SEG* XLIX 1607 (Maionia, imperial period).

¹⁰⁹¹ Flood, *Epigraphic evidence*, 34; cf. one exception, *MAMA* V 22 (Dorylaion, Phrygia) where M. Claudius Polemo Maximus set up an epitaph for Κλαυδία Θεμι[σ]τῶ μητρὶ καὶ Κλαυδία Ἀμ[αρά]νη ἐκυρᾷ.

¹⁰⁹² *MAMA* VIII 81 (Lykaonia); cf. ἐκ]υροῖς καὶ δαέρι γλυ[κυτάτ]οι<ς> in *MAMA* X 272 (Kotiaion).

¹⁰⁹³ *TAM* V1 631.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *TAM* V1 65 (Silandos); Hermann-Malay, New documents no. 94 (Northeast Lydia, imperial period).

Characteristic and rare terms, originating from the Homeric period, documented in both Lydia and Phrygia are δᾶήρ, designating brother-in-law¹⁰⁹⁶ and ἐνάτηρ for either brother's wife or a wife of husband's brother.¹⁰⁹⁷ Usage of these old expressions in the Roman imperial period seems to indicate the importance of these specific familial relations.¹⁰⁹⁸ Another attested phrase for husband's sister or brother's wife is γάλως.¹⁰⁹⁹ An expression designating step-father, πατροπόητος, is very rare,¹¹⁰⁰ as well as stepmother, μητρυνιά.¹¹⁰¹ There is also an interesting and rare expression for a wife, παρακοίτιδα, attested in Phrygia.¹¹⁰² Another term attested twice in Phrygia, but not yet in Lydia, indicating a widow, is χήρα.¹¹⁰³

The nuclear family is usually represented in an inscription on a shared family tomb, father, mother and the children. The number of children may vary, usually three,¹¹⁰⁴ but many inscriptions only refer to τὰ τέκνα. However, few inscriptions from Phrygia are stressing the position of a first-born child, presumably a son, using the term

¹⁰⁹⁵ TAM V1 707 (Iulia Gordos, 70/71 AD); TAM V1 701 (Iulia Gordos, 12/13 AD); TAM V1 625 (Daldis, 167/168 AD); SEG XLIX 1726 (Lydia, 96/97 AD); SEG XLIX 1620 (Maionia, imperial period); I. Manisa Museum 521 (west of Daldis, 150/151 AD); SEG XL 1044 (Iulia Gordos, 69/70 AD).

¹⁰⁹⁶ TAM V1 483a (Iaza); TAM V1 704 (Iulia Gordos, 75/76 AD); TAM V 1 782 (Yayakırıldık, 120/121 AD); SEG XXXII 1223 (Saittai, 79/80 AD); SEG XXXIV 1208 (area of Maionia, 111/112 AD); SEG XXVIII 899 (Iaza); SEG XXXV 1247 (area of Saittai, 61/62 AD); SEG LVI 1265 (Northeast Lydia, 93/94 AD); also in Phrygia SEG XXVIII 1096 (Altıntaş, 3rd century AD); SEG XL 1241 (Upper Tembris valley, ca. 200 AD); MAMA IX 387 (Aizanoi, middle of 2nd century AD)

¹⁰⁹⁷ Mostly in Phrygia: MAMA IX 188 (Aizanoi, early 2nd century); MAMA X 43 (Appia, late 2nd century AD); MAMA X 85 (Soa, 2nd or 3rd century AD); SEG XXVIII 1096 (Altıntaş, 3rd century AD); SEG XL 1241 (Upper Tembris valley, ca. 200 AD); SEG XL 1244 (Upper Tembris valley, 220-230 AD); SEG XLIX 1846 (Phrygia, 180-220 AD); in Lydia ἰαννᾶτῆρα in SEG XLIX 1660 (Saittai, 150/151 AD); TAM V1 682 (Characipolis, 161/162 AD) and 754 (Iulia Gordos).

¹⁰⁹⁸ S. Destephan, Familles d'Anatolie au miroir des MAMA, EA 43 (2010), 144.

¹⁰⁹⁹ TAM V1 775 (Iulia Gordos, 46/45 BC); SEG XXXI 1004 (Saittai, 101/102 AD); SEG LVI 1258 (Northeast Lydia, perhaps Iulia Gordos, 149/150 AD).

¹¹⁰⁰ MAMA VII 58 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene); 330 (Vetissos) and 351 (Vetissos?); SEG LV 1308 (Lydia, 168 AD).

¹¹⁰¹ MAMA IX 446 (Aizanoi, mid-2nd century AD).

¹¹⁰² SEG I 455 (3rd century AD); MAMA X 540 (Tiberiopolis); cf. σύνκοιτος in MAMA I 301 (area of Axylon); see also ἄλοχος in Lydia SEG XL 1037 (northeast Lydia); SEG XL 1065 (Saittai, 198/199 AD) and in Phrygia: MAMA IV 20 (Prymnessos); MAMA IV 133 (Metropolis, 2nd century AD); MAMA V Lists II 183,1 (Dorylaion); MAMA X 76 (Appia, 2nd-3rd century AD); MAMA X App III 191,1 (Appia); SEG XXVIII 1171 (Metropolis, 2nd century AD); Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia*, 312, no. 38 (north Phrygia).

¹¹⁰³ CIG 3827hh (Kotiaion, 2nd-3rd century AD); MAMA IV 20 (Prymnessos) Flood also indicates a possibility that these women could be divorced or simply deserted, *Epigraphic evidence*, 43.

¹¹⁰⁴ In some cases four children are precisely named, cf. TAM V1 705 and 737 (Iulia Gordos) and TAM V2 1076 (Thyateira), five children in Buckler, Calder, Cox, *Monuments from the Upper Tembris Valley*, JRS 18 (1928), 33 no. 249 and MAMA VI 353 (Diokleia); six children in SEG XXVIII 1100 (plain of Altıntaş, 3rd century AD); seven children in SEG XL 1249 (Upper Tembris valley, 3rd century AD) and Buckler, Calder, Cox, *Monuments from the Upper Tembris Valley*, JRS 18 (1928), 25 no. 237; eight children in MAMA X 169 (Upper Tembris valley); ten children in SEG XXVIII 1104 (Appia, first half of the 3rd century). Most of these Phrygian families with many children are Christians.

πρωτόγενος.¹¹⁰⁵ This was probably due to the precedence in the inheritance. From one verse epitaph we can perhaps deduce that male children were valued higher than girls:¹¹⁰⁶

Γεναδίω τῶ πᾶσι ποθήτω / [ν]ήπιος ὀκταέτης ἔθανον / τοὺς δ' ἐλεεινοτάτους / [γ]ονῖς
 μ]ου ἔασα ἐν ΥΛΑΙC[— — —] / [ο]ῖς διὰ τὴν περὶ ἐμοῦ λύπην / ὁ ἥλιος λανπρὸς
 οὐκέτι λάμπει / κλαιόντων κὲ ζητούντων τὸ τέκνον / τὸ ποθητόν. Αὐρ. Δαδης κὲ Ἀφιανῆς
 Γεναδίω κὲ Ρουφίνῃ κὲ Εὐτυχιανῇ / τέκνοις γλυκυτάτοις νηπίοις / κὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἔτι ζῶντες
 μνήμης / χάριν. / Δαδης κὲ Ἐ[λπί]ζων Δαδη πατρὶ κὲ Κυρίλλῃ / μητρὶ κὲ Τ[ρο]φίμω
 ἀ[δ]ελφῶ / κὲ Τύφων[ι ἀ]δελφῶ μ[ν]ήμης χάριν.

Enlarged families typically include grandchildren and daughters-in-law. Thonemann, analyzing the inscriptions from the Upper Tembris valley, argues that this commemorative practice aimed to represent the entire household, “extended multiple-family household”.¹¹⁰⁷ In most inscriptions relatives are distributed by age group, by gender and then by degree of kinship. Another family group could be including siblings and their relation, as in inscription from Tymandos in Phrygia:¹¹⁰⁸

Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Κάνδιος τοῖς ἰδίοις προγόνο<ις> Ἄττα πάπω / [καὶ] Ἄτα θεῖω καὶ
 Ἀπολωνίω θεῖω καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βαβει Ἀρτεμιδώρου / μνήμης χάριν.

Some of these inscriptions perhaps indicate joint households of brothers, possibly through an inheritance, as we have, for example, seen earlier in joint ownership of animal herds.

An inscription from Iulia Gordos is displaying some of the other particular features, such as the words καμβειν (καμβιον/καμβιν, presumably a grandson),¹¹⁰⁹ πάτρα and πάπποι οἱ μεγάλοι, in Lydia.¹¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰⁵ CIG 3827hh (Kotiaion, 2nd-3rd century AD); IGR IV 539 (Kotiaion).

¹¹⁰⁶ *MAMA* X 219 (Appia, late 3rd century AD).

¹¹⁰⁷ P. Thonemann, Households and families in Roman Phrygia, in: P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, Cambridge 2013, 128-129.

¹¹⁰⁸ *MAMA* IV 245.

¹¹⁰⁹ Cf. Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 96-98.

¹¹¹⁰ *TAM* VI 706: ἔτους ρλβ', μη(νὸς) α' θι'. / Μενεκράτης καὶ Τατεις / Εὔξενον τὸν υἱόν, Διο/νύσιος, Μενεκράτης τὸν/ ἀδελφόν, ἡ μάμμη τὸ / καμβειν, ὁ πάτρως καὶ ἡ π/άτρα, Ἐρμῆς, Ὀρβανά, Ζω/ῖς τὸν

We have no information from the inscriptions on forms and customs of marriage.¹¹¹¹ There are indications in the inscriptions that girls tend to marry at an early age, in their teens¹¹¹² and men probably around the age of twenty.¹¹¹³ So far, there is no epigraphic evidence for a divorce in these provinces. We also do not know whether a woman after the divorce or a widow returned to her family. One could presume that a widow with children stayed in the husband's house.¹¹¹⁴ Remarriage was common for men as well as for women, although to a lesser extent.¹¹¹⁵ One of the wife's virtues was obviously fertility, explicitly displayed in an inscription from Akmonia:¹¹¹⁶

Λούκιος γυν[αι]κὶ ἰδίᾳ σεμνο/τάτη, γεννηθείση ἔτους ρζα' / ζήσασα γνησίως, υἱοὺς ὑπὲρ γῆς / ἀπολιποῦσα] τέσσαρας καὶ θυγατέρα, / ἐτελεύτησεν ἔτους ρη'

The cross-cousin and parallel cousin marriages are attested in Asia Minor;¹¹¹⁷ most likely as means to control economic resources and estate.¹¹¹⁸ It is interesting to note that most inscriptions documenting numerable terms for familial relations display no evidence of endogamous marriages.¹¹¹⁹

One different aspect of the household relationships is contained in the group called *θεπτοί*, foster children who were raised by other individuals than their biological parents. The question of their origin and status, similar to Latin *alumni* was discussed in the literature, most recently by Marijana Ricl.¹¹²⁰ In Lydia and Phrygia

[σύ]ντ<ρ>οφον, Ἐρμῆ/ς πάτρως, Διονύσιος ὁ / μήτρως καὶ Πρεῖμα ἢ πάτ/ρα καὶ πάπποι οἱ μεγάλοι / καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς Εὐξέ/νον. / χερε

¹¹¹¹ Cf. Ramsay's stance on marriage in Asia Minor and his opinion on prevailing Roman customs, W. M. Ramsay, *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor*, Amsterdam 1967, 57-58.

¹¹¹² I. e. *MAMA* VI 205 (Apameia): died at the age of 18 after less than three years of marriage; *MAMA* IV 319: died aged 16, married only five months; *MAMA* V KB.3 (Dorylaion): died aged 16 at childbirth; *MAMA* I 301 (area of Axylon): died aged fifteen and a half at childbirth.

¹¹¹³ Thonemann, *Households*, 135.

¹¹¹⁴ Most probably attested in *SEG* XXVIII 1206 (Soa, early 4th century); *MAMA* X 272 (Kotiaion).

¹¹¹⁵ Second marriage for women, for example *MAMA* V 66 and 67 (Dorylaion); *MAMA* IV 339 (Eumeneia); bilingual inscription I. Manisa Museum 231 (= *SEG* XLIV 963; Philadelphia, Augustan period); *SEG* XXXV 1167 (together with *SEG* XLVIII 1453; Maionia, 242/243 AD); cf. *MAMA* IV 221 (Apollonia): a second wife help to erect an epitaph for her husband and 'his first wife' (τῆ γυνεκὶ αὐτοῦ τῆ πρώτῃ); possible separation *SEG* LVI 1501 (Hierapolis, end of the 2nd/first half of the 3rd century AD).

¹¹¹⁶ *MAMA* VI Lists 193* (= Ramsay, *Cities and bishoprics*, 656 no. 590; Akmonia, 114 AD).

¹¹¹⁷ I.e. *MAMA* IV 160 (Apollonia); *MAMA* VI 353 (Diokleia).

¹¹¹⁸ More on this feature see Flood, *Epigraphic evidence*, 43-48.

¹¹¹⁹ Possible exception is *MAMA* VI 353 (Diokleia).

¹¹²⁰ M. Ricl, Legal and social status of ΘΡΕΠΤΟΙ and related categories in the Greek world: the case of Lydia in the Roman period, in: *Sobria ebrietas. У спомен на Мирона Флашара*, Зборник Филозофског

there are more than 400 inscriptions, mostly epitaphs, mentioning these persons. The important question about *θρεπτοί* is their legal status. Ricl's research shows that more than quarter of all attested *θρεπτοί* were slaves beyond any doubt. There is also a group of 25 inscriptions from Phrygia (dated from 140 to 257 AD) documenting *θρεπτοί* in the process of being manumitted and/or consecrated to gods.¹¹²¹ On the other hand, in Lydia and Phrygia there are complete slave families integrated into their masters' homes. Slave *θρεπτοί* with their own families are mostly attested in northeast Lydia. Ricl pointed out that Lydian *θρεπτοί* were well integrated into their foster-families and "treated as humble members of their masters' extended families."¹¹²² Duty and affection kept them close to their nurturers even after manumission and some slave *θρεπτοί* were especially praised for their virtues.¹¹²³ However, it is to be noted that not all of *θρεπτοί* followed the moral norms of respect and dutifulness to their nurturers.¹¹²⁴ Another group of *θρεπτοί* were freed slaves and natural children, foundlings and perhaps adopted freeborn orphans.¹¹²⁵ In the case of one Phrygian family, both Aurelius Nouna and Matrona were free and refer to themselves as father and mother of a child described as *τρεπτὸς γλυκύτατος*.¹¹²⁶

In some Lydian inscriptions a large number of *θρεπτοί* reared by individuals or married couples could perhaps indicate educational purposes or the position of apprenticeship.¹¹²⁷ Most of the inscriptions documenting free *θρεπτοί* are epitaphs set up for them by their patrons, nurturers, adoptive or step-parents, or grants for the admission to the family tomb.¹¹²⁸ These inscriptions are also very indicative of the affections and bonds between them.¹¹²⁹ Some of these *θρεπτοί* are mentioned together

факультета серија А: историјске науке, књ. 20 (2006), 293-321; *Idem*, Legal and social status of *threptoi* and related categories in narrative and documentary sources, in H. M. Cotton, R. G. Hoyland, J. J. Price, D. J. Wasserstein (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, Cambridge 2009, 93-146.

¹¹²¹ Ricl, Legal and social status, 96.

¹¹²² Ricl, Legal and social status Lydia, 306 and esp. 309-310.

¹¹²³ *SEG XXXV* 1167 (Maionia, 242/243 AD) ll. 2-7: Αὐρ. Προκόπτοντα / καλῶς ζήσοντα καὶ ὑπηρε/τήσ<a>ντα Τατιανῶ τῶ συντρό/φῳ, ὃς μνημονεύσας ἦν ἔσχεν / εἰς ἐ<a>υτὸν εὖνοϊαν τελευτῶν / κατέλιπε αὐτὸν ἐλεύθερον.

¹¹²⁴ *TAM V1* 492 (near Kollyda, 124/125 or 224/225 AD); *SEG XXXIV* 1218 (Saittai, 209/210 AD); cf. Ricl, Legal and social status Lydia, 309.

¹¹²⁵ Ricl, Legal and social status, 103.

¹¹²⁶ *RECAM II*, 250: Αὐρ. Νουνα πατήρ καὶ μήτηρ / Ματρῶνα Αὐρ[.]ιω τρε/πτῶ γλυκιτάτῳ ἀνέσ/τησαν μ<v>ήμης / χάριν; cf. Ricl, Legal and social status, 103.

¹¹²⁷ *TAM V1* 764 (Iulia Gordos, 171/172 AD); 782 (northeast Lydia); 786 (northeast Lydia).

¹¹²⁸ Ricl, Legal and social status, 105.

¹¹²⁹ Cf. an epithet φιλότρεψ in *TAM V1* 815 (near Thyateira, 149/150 AD).

with their own families.¹¹³⁰ As Ricl pointed out it is important to note that “the position of *θεραπετοί* and *σύντροφοι* within a family was officially recognized”,¹¹³¹ evident from two census records from Lydian Hypaipa, dated between 293 and 305 AD.¹¹³² Thonemann also remarked that these children were reared by families of both higher and lower status than their natural parents, without difference in terminology.¹¹³³ Lydia also has another distinct feature; it is the only region where the term *σύνθερπετος* designating *θεραπετοί* raised in the same household.¹¹³⁴ In Lydia are also attested *θεραπετοί* who later brought up other people.¹¹³⁵

Different group of inscriptions are the ones documenting nurturers and foster parents (*οἱ θρέψαντες* and *τροφεῖς*).¹¹³⁶ In northeast Lydia, there are several inscriptions mentioning seven,¹¹³⁷ eight¹¹³⁸ or in one case even 34 people¹¹³⁹ reared by the same couple or individual.¹¹⁴⁰ A couple in Tomara who nurtured eight *θεραπετοί* were slaves of one Antistius Priscus.¹¹⁴¹ Ricl suggests the possibility that there were couples and individuals specialized in bringing up and training other people’s slaves or exposed and rescued children.¹¹⁴² This possibility is sustained by the attestation of two Phrygian male educators designated as *ἄππας*.¹¹⁴³

There are also inscriptions documenting children, both free and slave, who were consecrated and reared in sanctuaries. In Phrygia there are cases of slaves and freeborn children vowed to gods in their early infancy or in illness.¹¹⁴⁴

¹¹³⁰ Parents: *TAM* V1 150 (Saittai, 204/205 AD); *MAMA* X 35 (Appia, 220-225 AD); brothers and sisters: *TAM* V1 167a (Saittai, 98/99 AD), 711 (Iulia Gordos, 108/109 AD); spouse and children: *TAM* V1 167a (Saittai, 98/99 AD), 473b (Kollyda, 193/194 AD), 475 (Kollyda, 232/233 AD), 629 (Daldis, 248/249 AD), 753 (Iulia Gordos); *MAMA* I 44 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene); *MAMA* IX 272 (Aizanoi, cca 135-140 AD); brothers in law: *TAM* V1 711 (Iulia Gordos, 108/109 AD), 804 (area of Tomara); nephews: *TAM* V1 804 (area of Tomara).

¹¹³¹ Ricl, *Legal and social status*, 106.

¹¹³² *Ieph* 3804-3805.

¹¹³³ Thonemann, *Households*, 140.

¹¹³⁴ *TAM* V1 753 (Iulia Gordos).

¹¹³⁵ *TAM* V1 167a (Saittai, 98/99 AD), 753 (Iulia Gordos).

¹¹³⁶ Cf. also *ἄνθρωποι θεραπετικοί* in *SEG* LV 1288 (Hypaipa, 2nd century AD).

¹¹³⁷ *SEG* XLIX 1620 (Maionia, imperial period).

¹¹³⁸ *TAM* V1 764 (Iulia Gordos), 782 (Tomara, 120/121 AD); *SEG* XL 1093 (Lydia, 175/176 AD).

¹¹³⁹ *TAM* V1 786 (Tomara).

¹¹⁴⁰ Ricl, *Legal and social status*, 108.

¹¹⁴¹ *TAM* V1 782 (Tomara, 120/121 AD).

¹¹⁴² Ricl, *Legal and social status*, 108.

¹¹⁴³ *MAMA* VII 170 (Hadrianopolis); *MAMA* VIII 357 (Killanion Plain).

¹¹⁴⁴ More see M. Ricl, *Donations of Slaves and Freeborn Children to Deities in Roman Macedonia and Phrygia: A Reconsideration*, *Tyche* 16 (2001), 127-160.

In our inscriptions the boundaries between the ‘nuclear’ and extended family members are evident but flexible. The relationship within immediate family was both ideologically and emotionally important, but not necessarily dominant in the society’s structure. Nevertheless, it seems that family is the one social structure that is best documented in the inscriptions. Are some of these inscriptions perhaps evidence that all these people, family members, mentioned in one epitaph are from the same household? It is much more likely that they were only jointly erecting an inscription and contributed to the cost of setting up a tomb, not necessarily living together. As Flood argued: “what joined the group in an inscription was common interest rather than common residence; nevertheless, the relationship was recognized.”¹¹⁴⁵ Analyzing this material and comparing other information, for example testimonies of family feuds,¹¹⁴⁶ we can deduce that familial social interaction has not changed much from the studied period.

Some of the questions still cannot be answered; indications of age at death, necessary for the analysis of age expectancy, are sporadic. In Phrygia the age at death is precisely attested on less than 30 inscriptions, definitely not enough for demographic statistics. One interesting peculiarity of this region would be that almost 50% of these epitaphs with indications of age at death are erected for children or youths, those under 20 years of age. Another is that the number of years in inscriptions in Phrygia is often written out, as opposed to Lydia where the years are mostly represented with numerals. In Lydia there are many more inscriptions, a little less than 200, with explicitly indicated age at death. Most of these inscriptions are from the northeastern region of Lydia. The average life expectancy of this demographic sample was 48,58 years, considerably higher than what is generally accepted as the average in the Roman Empire. Around 25% of these epitaphs were commemorating children and youth, those under twenty years of age. Many epitaphs show a widespread tendency to round off ages. It has been suggested that age-rounding is frequent and popular among the

¹¹⁴⁵ Flood, *Epigraphic evidence*, 38.

¹¹⁴⁶ Most information on family feuds come from the confession inscriptions, for example *SEG* LVII 1158 (Hamidiye, 102/103 AD): sister-in-law has taken the money from her husband’s brother; further commentary in ed. pr. Hermann - Malay, *New Documents from Lydia*, no. 51; *TAM* VI 318 (area of Kula, 156/157 AD): mother-in-law (falsely?) accused of poisoning her son-in-law; *SEG* LVII 1186 (Kollyda, 205/206 AD): two brothers maltreated their father cf. lemma and commentary on other instances of disrespectful acts toward family elders in ed. pr. Hermann-Malay, *New Documents from Lydia*, no. 85.

illiterate and lower-class people.¹¹⁴⁷ There are also two extreme cases in this region, a woman called Theodora lived 98 years and was buried by her husband¹¹⁴⁸ and a man Aurelius Alexandros who lived 90 years.¹¹⁴⁹ Another feature are the epitaphs not showing age at death, but years of marriage.¹¹⁵⁰

We also need to balance our understanding of the real and significant family relations and the epigraphic habit of the area and local burial customs. One has to agree with Thonemann who said that “the reconstruction of Phrygian families and households is an art, not a science.”¹¹⁵¹ For now, we have to collect all the information possible even without counting the differences. Most of the epigraphically documented familial ties still await detailed examination and comparative analysis and will certainly contribute to a better understanding of regional history and culture.

6.7 Education

What proportion of the inhabitants of the Roman Lydia and Phrygia had the ability to read and write? As these areas were more rural than urban, and most of the population lived outside the cities, the opportunities of attending some kind of school were slight. The other, highly likely possibility is that reading and writing were commonly taught by parents. We should make an attempt to determine what levels of literacy and literary education these inscriptions reflect. The surviving inscriptions give the impression that more attention was given to the higher levels of education in the cities than to elementary instructions. For municipal elites παιδεία was a social requirement, a pathway to certain kind of career, including political ones. In that way *gymnasion* was not only one of the city’s symbols, but also helped to maintain the distinction between upper and lower parts of society.¹¹⁵²

¹¹⁴⁷ R.Duncan-Jones, Age-rounding, Illiteracy and Social Differentiation in the Roman Empire, *Chiron* 7, (1977), 333-353.

¹¹⁴⁸ *SEG* LVII 1246 (northeast Lydia, 186/187 or 240/241 AD): Ἔτους σοα´, μη(νός) Λώου ζ´· Ἐρ/μοκράτης Θεοδώραν τήν / ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκαν ἐτείμησεν ζήσασαν / ἔτη qη´, σεμνῶς ἀνα/στραφεῖσαν περὶ τὸν / βίον.

¹¹⁴⁹ *SEG* XLIX 1741 (area of Kula?, 309/310 AD): Ἐτ(ους) τ<α>? δ´, μη(νός) Πα/νημ ου δ´· Ἀρ. / Ἰουλιανός / Ἀλεξάνδρου Λοξια/νός ἐτείμησεν τὸν / πατέρα Αὐρ. Ἀλεξάν/δρον Γαίου / ζή(σαντα) ἔτ(η) q´.

¹¹⁵⁰ I.e. *TAM* V1 631 (Daldis, 231/232 or 285/286 AD); *MAMA* V Lists I 182, 86 (Dorylaion, end of 2nd or beginning of 3rd century AD); *MAMA* V Lists I 182, 94 (Dorylaion).

¹¹⁵¹ Thonemann, Households, 141.

¹¹⁵² For more see W. V. Harris, Literacy and Epigraphy, *ZPE* 52 (1983), 87-111.

Greek language of inscriptions in Lydia and Phrygia, as the rest of Asia Minor, show that municipal epigraphy uses the language of high culture perhaps demonstrating cultural sophistication of the city elites. On the other hand, in rural areas Greek language was pronounced differently, with certain assimilation of cases and tenses. It is highly likely also an indication that Greek was not the native language of the majority of inhabitants of rural Anatolia.

As Maria Paz de Hoz pointed out, the abundant evidence of cultural interest in Anatolia could lead to the conclusion that many of the people erecting confession inscriptions wrote the texts themselves.¹¹⁵³ That does not necessarily mean they have received formal school education. Mitchell suggested that the “barbaric” Greek of rural Anatolia was not perceived as such because of the contamination of Greek by native languages but rather because it was not learned and assimilated through schools.¹¹⁵⁴

Many inhabitants of the cities and villages in Lydia and Phrygia erected verse epitaphs in memory of their loved ones. Phrygia seems to offer the most informative examples from the rural areas.¹¹⁵⁵ As shown by Thonemann in his recent article, the farmers used the vocabulary and diction of the Homeric epics in their commemoration.¹¹⁵⁶ It seems that this rich and expressive language of Homer allowed them to select the virtues and qualities they valued. Such is for example a sentiment of one cobbler from Thyateira who is designated as Σκυτοτόμων ὄχ’ ἄρι[σ]/τος Ἀπολλωνίδης.¹¹⁵⁷ The reminiscence of the Iliad and heroic epithets are shown in the funerary epigram from Laodikeia on the Lykos:¹¹⁵⁸

οὐκ ἄλλου, παροδῖτα, τόδε μνημῆον [έσαθρεῖς], / ἀλλ’ οὗ τὰν ἀρετὰν οὐδ’ ὁ χρόνος
μαρανε[ῖ] / Ἐπιγόνου, πρωτῆα παρὰ ζωοῖσι λιπόντος / σωφροσύνας μορφᾶς θ’ εἵνεκα
θειοτάτα[ς] / οὔτε γὰρ ὁ κτίνας Πριάμου παῖδ’ Ἔκτορ’ Ἀχιλλεύ[ς] / οὔθ’ ὁ τὰ λέκτρα
φυγῶν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰππόλυτος / τοιοῖδ’ οὐκ ἐγένονθ’ οἷο[ς] γένετ’ Ἐπίγονος π[αῖς] /
Ἀνδρέου εὐγενέτα πατ[ρ]ῶς ἴσου βασιλε[ῖ]. / ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Ἐπίγονος μνᾶμα ζωοῖς

¹¹⁵³ M. P. De Hoz, Literacy in Rural Anatolia: the Testimony of the Confession Inscriptions, *ZPE* 155 (2006), 144.

¹¹⁵⁴ Mitchell, *Anatolia I*, 174.

¹¹⁵⁵ Cf. P. Thonemann, Poets of the Axylon, *Chiron* 44 (2014), 191-232; see also lengthy epitaphs MAMA X 77 and 89 from Altıtaş plain and many more in Phrygia.

¹¹⁵⁶ Thonemann, Poets of the Axylon, *Chiron* 44 (2014), 225.

¹¹⁵⁷ SEG 41 1033 (2nd or 3rd century AD).

¹¹⁵⁸ *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 81.

δια[μίμνει]· / οὐδ' Ἀχιλλεύς δ' ἔφυγεν μοῖρ[αν] αἰ Θέτιδος / {vacat ?} ΣΥ[.]Ο[— — —
—]

Another feature showing the practice of perhaps anachronistic language is using the familial expressions such as δαίρ, designating brother-in-law and ἐνάτηρ for either brother's wife or a wife of husband's brother or ἄλοχος for a spouse.¹¹⁵⁹ There are also some examples of other literary influences,¹¹⁶⁰ like the epitaph from the area of Dokimeion: ὁ [φ]θό[νο]ς / ἐστὶ κάκιστος, / ἔχει δ' ἀγαθόν / τι μέγιστον· τήκι / τοὺς φθονερούς / ἐλέγχων τὴν / κακίην.¹¹⁶¹

All these elaborate verse epitaphs, confession inscriptions and oracles implied that there were people who were able to read them. There are examples where the expectation of literacy are documented as εἴστασο δὴ ξῖνε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τοῦ/το γράμμα in Appria¹¹⁶² or παιδείας μέτοχος κὲ ἀνάγνωθι τοῦτο [τ]ὸ σῆμα, / τίνος χάριν μνήμη γράμμασιν ἐν[τε]τύπ[ω]τη in Upper Tembris valley.¹¹⁶³

One reason why some degree and aspects literacy were important in the funerary epigraphy was the idea of immortality and everlasting memory. The letters were sometimes perceived as eternal: γράμμασιν ἀενάους β/λέψον φίλε σῆμα/τι τῶδε¹¹⁶⁴ and sometimes epitaphs were actually represented as last words of the deceased: στήλλη ταῦτα λαλεῖ καὶ λί/θος, οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ.¹¹⁶⁵ In the same manner, a thirteen year old Gaianos from Dorylaion is shown to have written his own epitaph:¹¹⁶⁶

Αἰ(λιος) · Φίλητος σὺν Γαιανῆ / τῆ συνβίῳ Γαιανῶ υἱῶ / γλυκυτάτῳ μνήμης χάριν. / [ἐν]θάδε παῖς ἀταλὸς κε/[ῖται] Γαιανὸς, ὀδεῖτα, / [ὠκ]ύμορος τρί' ἔτη καὶ / [δέ]κα μὴ τελέσας. / [ὅς π]ρὶν τοῦ θανέειν / [θάν]ατον μαντεύσατο γράψας / [κηρ]οδόχοις δέλτοις

¹¹⁵⁹ See previous chapter 6.5.

¹¹⁶⁰ M. P. de Hoz, *Escritura y lectura en la Anatolia interior. Una forma de expresar etnicidad helénica*, in *Est hic varia lectio. La lectura en el mundo antiguo* (Classica Salamantica IV), Salamanca 2008, 92-93.

¹¹⁶¹ Ramsey, *Cities and bishoprics*, 745, 689 ll. 1-7; cf. AP XI 193: ὁ φθόνος ὡς κακὸν ἐστὶν: ἔχει δὲ τι καλὸν ἐν αὐτῷ: τήκει γὰρ φθονερῶν ὄμματα καὶ κραδίην.

¹¹⁶² MAMA X 152 (2nd or 3rd century AD).

¹¹⁶³ SERP 124, 6.

¹¹⁶⁴ MAMA VII 553 (Gdanmaua).

¹¹⁶⁵ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, 386,232(1) (Eumeneia).

¹¹⁶⁶ MAMA V Lists I(i) 182,85.

/ [καί]τοι ἄπαις, μέλεος. / [οὔδ]εν μέ λυπεῖ καὶ θα/[ρρύ]νεν ἐπέρχεται / [ῥτα]ν μάτην
λυποῦν/[ται ἔνθ]α κερδαίνω χρόνον. / [χαῖρε] παροδεῖτα.

Another epitaph from the Phrygian plateau show poetic aspirations:¹¹⁶⁷

ἔνθα γεωργὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ γνήσιος / οὔνομα δ' αὐτοῦ ν Ζωτικὸς ENKO/ΛΙΑ Τερτίου
γόνος ἠὲ πρόοικος / πατρίδα τὴν ἰδίαν γλυκίσις / ἐπέεσσι προτειμῶν ν ἔσχεν / [— —
]γαμετὴν Αφίαν γ[λ]υκύτ[ε]/[κνον— — —] ΗΤΙ[— —] / [— — — — — — — —
— — — — —] / ἔνθ' αὖ Κύπριλλα / θυγάτηρ τούτου / κατακείτη / τίς τοῦτο σῆμα
δυσκόλως ἀτι/[μ]άσει ν κρίσιν πάθοιτο / Πενθέος καὶ Ταντάλου

In Kotiaion we have a very interesting funerary inscription showing an attitude towards life.¹¹⁶⁸

πόλεων μὲν εἰ/μι δύο πολεῖτης, / ἐπιφανῶν / Πρυ/μνησσέων τε καὶ / σοφῶν Κοτια/έων, /
θρεπτὸς / γενόμενος Ζωτι/κοῦ Λεωνίδης, / Ψό/φαξ ὁ κληθεῖς· / ταῦτα τοῖς φίλοις / λέγω·
/ παῖσον, τρύφη/σον, ζῆσον· ἀπο/θανεῖν σε δεῖ. / θεόν <σ>οι, ὄρχησαι / [τε καὶ ~~~].

In the 3rd century Apameia one Menogenes also called Eustathes shared his views on virtuous life and everlasting memory:¹¹⁶⁹

τὸ ζῆν ὁ ζήσας καὶ θανὼν ζῆ τοῖς φίλοις, / ὁ κτώμενος δὲ πολλὰ μὴ τρυφῶν σὺν τοῖς
φίλοις / οὔτος τέθνηκε περιπατῶν καὶ ζῆ νεκρῶν [τρό]π[ον]. / ἐγὼ δὲ ἐτρύφησα
Μηνογένης ὁ κὲ Εὐσταθής, / μετέδωκ[α] ἑμαυτοῦ πάντα τῇ ψυχῇ καλά· / ἀμάχως
ἐβίωσα μετὰ φίλων κὲ συγγενῶν, / μηδέποθ' ὑπούλως ἢ δολίως λαλῶν τι. / οὔτος ὁ
βίος μοι γέγονεν, ὅταν ἔζων ἐγώ· / ἐς πάντα δ' ἠτύχησα, ἑμαυτὸν πιστεύσας θεῶ, / τὸ
δ' ὀ[φ]ειλόμενον ἀπέδωκα τῇ φύσι τέλος. / / Ῥοῦφος ἐπύησα Μηνογένει μου
γλυκυτάτῳ πατρὶ / κὲ Παύλει Μ[η]νογένου φιλάνδρῳ μέχ<ρ>ι τέλους.

¹¹⁶⁷ Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia*, 314, 14.

¹¹⁶⁸ *CIG* 3827s (1st or 2nd century AD).

¹¹⁶⁹ *MAMA* VI List 147, 122.

There are a few attested teachers from Roman Lydia and Phrygia: a διδάσκαλος Aurelius Trophimus,¹¹⁷⁰ a καθηγητής,¹¹⁷¹ and a few παιδευταί.¹¹⁷² A monument from Iulia Gordos is showing *paideutai* together with *demos*, *neoi*, *epheboi*, children and horsemen.¹¹⁷³

In Hierapolis we have a paidagogos Heiliodoros, whose epitaph was set up by his colleagues, οἱ παιδευταί.¹¹⁷⁴

Ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος Ἡλιοδώρου παιδαγωγοῦ, / ἐν ἧ κηδευθήσεται αὐτός, ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεις / μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δέ τις τολμήσῃ ὑπεναντίον, δώσει προστίμου τῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) φ' · / ὧν προνοήσονται οἱ παιδευταὶ καὶ οἱ κηδόμενοι τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου· ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς / ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα· / [εἶ] τις δὲ παραλείψ[ας - -]εραν τῆς / ἀναπτώσεως προσ[. . .]οι, θήσει / τοῖς ἀγοραίοις (δηνάρια) σ' καὶ δηλατόρι (δηνάρια) ν'

In Thyateira there is a bilingual inscription documenting a teacher of Latin:¹¹⁷⁵

Ξένωνι ἐτ(ῶν) [. . .]' / καὶ Πρεῖμῳ ἐτ(ῶν) ε' / τοῖς τέκνοις / καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ Οὐα/λερίου γραμματικῷ / Ῥωμαϊκῷ ἐτ(ῶν) κγ'. / vota supervacua fletusque et numina divum / naturae leges fatorumque ar<g>uit ordo. / sprevisti patrem matremque, miserrime nate, / Elysios campos habitans et prata veatum.

The social position of teachers was not a favorable one, as having a schoolmaster or a tutor for a father was compared to having a mother who was a hired servant or a grape-picker or a wet-nurse.¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁷⁰ SEG VI 137 (Phrygia).

¹¹⁷¹ MAMA VII 358 (Vetissos?).

¹¹⁷² MAMA IX 445 (Aizanoi, 150-175 AD): Ἐρμοκράτης Ἀγαθοπόδι παιδευτῆ; MAMA IX 477 (Aizanoi, Antonine period): Δαμόξενος παιδευτῆς ἐαυτῶι ζῶν; I. Sardis 150 (end of 2nd or 3rd century AD): [Σκ]ε[ο]ύα [Τ/ρ]ύφωνος π/αιδευτοῦ. / ζῆ.

¹¹⁷³ TAM VI 700: ὁ δῆμος. / οἱ παῖδες. / οἱ νέοι. / οἱ παιδευταί. / οἱ ἔφηβοι. / οἱ ὑπὸ Θεόδοτον / ἱππεῖς. / ; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 89-91 no. 33.

¹¹⁷⁴ SEG LIV 1338.

¹¹⁷⁵ TAM V2 1119.

¹¹⁷⁶ Dio Chr. 7, 114: μηδὲν φροντίζοντας τῶν ἄλλως τὰ τοιαῦτα προφερόντων, οἷον εἰώθασιν λοιδοροῦμενοι προφέρειν πολλακίς οὐ μόνον τὰς αὐτῶν ἐργασίας, αἷς οὐδὲν ἄτοπον πρόσεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γονέων, ἂν τινος ἔριθος ἢ μήτηρ ἢ ἢ τρυγήτρια ἐξεληθούσα ἄ ποτε ἢ μισθοῦ τιθεύσῃ παῖδα τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἢ πλουσίων ἢ ὁ πατὴρ διδάξῃ γράμματα ἢ παιδαγωγῆσῃ.

Another indication of literacy are sculptural representations on the inscriptions. Although, as already mentioned, doorstones and relief stelai almost invariably depict the tools and values of agricultural and pastoral labor (farm tools, beasts of burden, sheep, vines, and ploughs) there are some cultural elements (writing paraphernalia, toga and *pallia*). For example, east of Aizanoi agricultural tools occur: the plough¹¹⁷⁷ and pruning hook.¹¹⁷⁸ But they could appear together with tablets, scrolls and other writing objects.¹¹⁷⁹ On doorstones in Aizanoi there are representations of stylus and/or diptych.¹¹⁸⁰ Representations of stylus and wax tablets are frequently found on the monuments in other parts of Phrygia as well.¹¹⁸¹ It seems that in Phrygia literacy was a way to show principal values of the society.

The rural people who produced some of these epitaphs could have been literate people with a remarkable interest in and pride on *paideia* and intellectual qualities. In her article de Hoz suggests that many inhabitants of rural Anatolia were literate and had some kind of education, so they could at least compose basic texts and funeral epigrams and in that way they demonstrated their identity and Greek education, necessary for social mobility.¹¹⁸² That was the purpose of philosophical and poetic allusions, mentioning of the Muses and iconography of monuments. Nevertheless, they speak of wisdom and intelligence but have poor writing and orthography. We should perhaps consider the possibility that the Hellenization of rural areas in Lydia and especially Phrygia was superficial and slight.

¹¹⁷⁷ *MAMA* IX 430.

¹¹⁷⁸ *MAMA* IX 363; 391; 437.

¹¹⁷⁹ *MAMA* X 5 (Appia, early 3rd century AD); 34 (Appia, early 3rd century AD); 155 (Appia, second half of the 3rd century AD).

¹¹⁸⁰ E. g. *MAMA* IX 477.

¹¹⁸¹ E. g. *SEG* XXVIII 1082 (Akmoneia, 296/297 AD); *SEG* XXVIII 1088 (Altıtaş plain, 232/233 AD); *SEG* XXVIII 1089 (Altıtaş plain, 239/240 AD); *SEG* XXVIII 1106 and 1107 (Appia, 3rd century AD); *SEG* XL 1245 (Upper Tembris valley, ca. 220-230 AD); *SEG* XXXVIII 1096 (Altıtaş plain, 3rd century AD); *SEG* XXVIII 1092 (Altıtaş plain, 3rd century AD); *SEG* XXXVIII 1099 (Altıtaş plain, 3rd century AD); *MAMA* VI 288, 289, 300, 309 (Akmoneia); *MAMA* V 40 and 41 (Dorylaion).

¹¹⁸² M. P. de Hoz, *Escritura y lectura en la Anatolia interior*, 103-104.

6.8 Conclusion

As we descend down the social ladder, the cultural uniformity seen among the member of the elite almost evaporates. The demand to be Roman, to conform to the standards and expectations of the imperial elite that is so noticeable when examining the senatorial and equestrian families and even the local grandees, is much harder to trace among the middle ranks of society. For the most of the middle class people the scope was much narrower, local or regional at best (and, for the members of village communities, downright parochial). The fact that their means were much more modest when compared to municipal aristocracy accounts for them being much less represented in the epigraphic record. Apart from the numerous epitaphs, the epigraphical trail of the most individual members of the middle class is meagre at best. In the increasingly hierarchical and oligarchical society an individual without wealth and connections did not count for much. But, if the efforts of a single man were insufficient to make any public impression there was another path: the cooperation. And this, the linking of the various individuals in the groups organized according to professional or other criteria, is perhaps the most conspicuous aspect of the activities of the middle class in the Roman Anatolia.

Best documented non-elite organizations are the professional associations. Members of these groups show great social diversity. While many of them belong to what could be described with confidence as the “middle class”, members of the humbler occupations were closer to the modern notion of “lower class”. Difference was probably derived from the social standing and the profitability of their respective occupations. It is hard to doubt that the professional associations were factors of some weight in the economic and political life of the city. This is clearly shown by the connections some of them had with the distinguished members of the local elite. This is particularly true of Lydia where professional associations left a deep mark. From what evidence we have, it is evident that these groups had a very developed internal organization and were capable of protecting their interests and the interests of their members. Perhaps Roman mistrust towards these and other forms of citizen associations can be partly explained by their potential to disturb the established social order. Other types of associations seem to be close to guilds in their internal organization.

A special set of questions are raised by the rural inhabitants of the city territory. Especially in Phrygia, the territory of individual cities could be vast, encompassing many rural settlements. The current tendency in historiography is to emphasize the difference and separation between the classical city and the Anatolian rural communities. While certainly based on solid evidence, it is nevertheless reasonable to ask whether this tendency went too far, imposing imaginary boundaries where none existed. The rural communities in Roman Lydia and Phrygia display striking diversity in terms of size, level of organization, economic strength, material culture and the standard of living (and, probably, of ethnicity and language) that any simple generalization seems out of place. However, there is a clear proclivity for rural communities to redefine themselves according to standards of the developed cities. The Graeco-Roman urban culture was the dominant model of life in the Roman Empire and most village communities seem eager enough to follow it. Some of these villages advanced enough in the period under consideration to actually obtain the civic status. It is to be noted, however, that unspecified (but probably significant) part of population lived outside of any nucleated settlements in many scattered rural estates and farmsteads.

The conclusions drawn from the research of the families and the private life are both very rewarding and uncomfortably disappointing. The most usable and, for the most part, the only available sources for studying the Anatolian families are epitaphs. Apart from some Neo-Phrygian finds, almost all of them are in Greek. Again, modern terminology is not always readily applicable on the ancient conditions. Average family doesn't seem to particularly large and it is best described using the modern notion of the "nuclear family" i.e. the family that consist only of the parents and their children. It is tempting to collect the numerical evidence available, such as the age of death on the numerous epitaphs, to apply the methods of statistical analysis and to make some definitive conclusions on this basis. A historian of any more recent period would do so without hesitation. However, once again it must be stressed that any such conclusion is flimsy at best, being based on an accidental and, in some aspects, highly unreliable samples. For example, the average life expectancy gained from such analysis seems too high when compared with what we know from other sources and the other regions of

the Empire. Evidently, a person could live close to a hundred years in Roman Phrygia but whether this was typical or, more likely, astonishingly unusual, we cannot say.

There are few common aspect that can be satisfactorily applied to the entire free population of Anatolian communities in the Roman Empire. For the most part, they shared the common legal status and little else beside. The members of the most respected trades and crafts, organized into influential professional associations, had little in common with the shepherds in the far-off rural settlements. There are considerable fluctuations in regard of the actual mode of living, wealth and, probably, life expectancy. We should also assume that there were significant regional various and the factors such as the geographical position and the general agricultural abundance of the immediate surroundings (or lack thereof) had much more direct impact on the well-being of the middle and lower classes. Once we leave the higher stratum of the society, the diversity in every respect is the only norm.

7. SLAVES AND FREEDMEN

Slaves were at the bottom of the social hierarchy in the ancient world and its least visible element. In a society where inequalities were widely spread and commonly accepted they were the *stratum* with the least amount of freedom (in fact none at all, at least in theory) and with the heaviest burden of physical work and social humiliation. This is probably the reason why the ancient sources were not interested in recording their numbers or offering information on their roles in everyday life and production. Most of the ancient writers, theoreticians and philosophers were at best mildly interested in the question of slavery. Even the ideological defense of slavery is rarely encountered; it is also a conspicuously undeveloped section of ancient philosophy and apparently one of little importance.¹¹⁸³ Inhabitants of Greco-Roman world felt little need either to explain or to defend this institution. For them slavery was not good or bad, natural or artificial, it merely was there.

Apart from the bare fact that slaves existed in Lydia and Phrygia between 1st and 3rd century AD, everything else is pretty uncertain. How many slaves were there? What were the sources used to maintain and to replenish the slave population? What was their role in the agriculture, industry or domestic life? Was there a slave education? What were the specifics or their everyday relations with their masters? For the most part, a modern historian must be content with only partial or approximate answers.

Phrygians and Lydians are commonly encountered in the works of Greek and Roman writers. References to persons of Anatolian descent as slaves or proper “slave material” are comparatively frequent but they rarely represented the contemporary

¹¹⁸³ G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient World*, Ithaca-New York 1998, 416-425. In fact, Aristotle’s theory of “natural slavery” is the only clear candidate for a philosophical explanation and justification of slavery. This is probably the most unsophisticated and logically most problematic part of the entire Aristotle’s system.

reality. These references can convey the impression that Asia Minor was one of the main sources of slaves in the Roman Empire but this might actually just be a common *topos* of the Classical literature. Since the 5th century BC (and probably even earlier), Lydians and Phrygians made their way into the Greek literature as archetypical slaves and servants (together with Thracians, Scythians and the like). Cicero observed that every Greek comedy had a part for a Lydian slave.¹¹⁸⁴ In ancient novels Phrygians were portrayed as pirates who abduct people and sell them into slavery.¹¹⁸⁵ In one of his discourses, Dio Chrysostom is reproaching free Rhodians and their servility towards powerful Romans by comparing them unfavorably with the slaves of inner Phrygia, Egypt and Libya.¹¹⁸⁶ For this reason we cannot take just any literary reference to Phrygian or Lydian slaves as being strictly true and useful.

Much of the recent interest for the history of the world slavery and ancient slavery as well, was driven by the North American and British scholars who are apparently influenced by the early modern institution of slavery, especially that of colonial America and the antebellum American South. In many recently published papers this influence is acknowledged openly and many scholars do not shrink from drawing direct parallels between ancient Roman slavery and its 19th century counterpart, indeed sometimes this is treated as the most commendable approach. The actual influence of this mode of analysis can be traced in works of many other scholars, even those who are ostensibly opposed to direct historical analogies.¹¹⁸⁷ In this section I intend to ignore this and other historical analogies altogether. From the standpoint of the proper historical methodology it is entirely unacceptable to equate two institutions (ancient and modern slavery) that are so different and so remote in space and time.

However, a theoretical view point seems necessary if we are to make any sense of dispersed and not so informative sources on ancient slavery and, more particularlry,

¹¹⁸⁴ Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 65: Nam quid ego dicam de Lydia? Quis umquam Graecus comoediam scripsit in qua servus primarum partium non Lydus esset?

¹¹⁸⁵ Chariton, *Callirhoe* 8,8.

¹¹⁸⁶ Dio Chr, 31. 113-114: καὶ ἔγωγε φαίην ἄν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀκούσεσθε, κρεῖττον ὑμῶν ἀπαλλάττειν τοὺς ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μέση δουλεύοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ.

¹¹⁸⁷ Works of M. I. Finley, which are certainly among the most influential on the subject of the ancient slavery in 20th century, are saturated with numerous examples and comparisons from colonial era. In the absence of the direct personal testimonies on life in slavery in ancient Rome K. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*, Cambridge 1994, 92-94 uses those of Afro-American slaves on the plantations of the Old South. Even, a Marxist such as G. E. M. de Ste Croix, op. cit. does not hesitate to cite examples from 19th century American history whenever they seem to offer an analogy to the ancient Greek system of slavery (for an especially striking instance, see p. 142). Similar examples could be multiplied without end.

the slavery in Roman Anatolia. The opinion of F. Papazoglou on the debate on the subject of slavery in the Hellenistic Egypt, can well be applied to Roman Anatolia or any other part of the ancient world. Papazoglu made an observation that the results of a research depend not only on the sources that are being examined but also on the method applied and general assumptions, theoretical standpoints with which a scholar approaches his research. A scholar needs to be able to ask the proper question and separate the important facts from the rest. According to her opinion, the choice of a theoretical approach to any scholarly problem is of the highest importance, and that approach itself is often the result of some very complicated circumstances, not only the objective ones but subjective as well.¹¹⁸⁸ The initial assumptions on the importance of slavery and the role of slaves in society and production will, inevitably, influence any interpretation and conclusion. This is apparent in works of almost all the scholars involved in the question of ancient slavery.

Generally speaking, slaves are mostly mentioned on epitaphs and usually they are home, domestic slaves, servants facilitating the lives of the elite. There were also slaves who served as personal secretaries, physicians, assistants or agents. It is generally agreed that slaves in the *familia urbana*, and especially those whose occupation brought them close to their owners, stood a better chance of being manumitted or, if they died as slaves, being commemorated; those working in crafts or business had the opportunity to build up their *peculium* in order to purchase their freedom or a tombstone. One specific way in which a slave-owner could have promoted a sense of community among his or her slave household was to allow certain slaves to start some kind of marital unions.

As previously said, most of the slaves were domestic slaves, owned by the richest citizens, although even people of lower financial status could have kept a slave. It seems that owning a slave was more the feature of social status and respect, than economic necessity. The everyday life of the slaves is hard to reconstruct from the epigraphic sources. The slave who worked as an agent for a member of the elite, or the slave who worked as a confidential secretary, a doctor or a tutor, was both an insider and an outsider in the Roman society; a trusted member of the *familia*, with privileged access to its wealth and connections, but regarded in law and ideology as completely

¹¹⁸⁸ Ф. Папазоглу, *Историја хеленизма*, Београд 2010, 294-295.

dependent, inferior and powerless.¹¹⁸⁹ Slaves also played a significant role in establishing the social identity of their *familia* within the community and in structuring kin relations within the family. In this way they could have also been seen as representatives of the family in the public sphere.

Anthropologists distinguish between the open and the closed models of slavery. Open slavery is a system in which slaves can be freed and accepted fully into general society; closed slavery is a system in which slaves are a separate group so that they are not accepted into general society even if occasionally freed. Roman society was an example of the open model, Classical Greek and Hellenistic societies were not. In case of Anatolia from 1st to 3rd century AD we have an intersection of both Greek and Roman system of slavery. While manumissions are attested often enough in the Greek world, the rights given by a manumission were seriously circumscribed. A liberated slave in the Classical Greek society was not a citizen with equal privileges, nor were his posterity, even after several generations. The social and legal difference between freedmen and citizens was carefully observed and, while it was possible for a freedman to eventually become a citizen, his position in this regard was similar to that of resident aliens. Most of the Greek freedmen could never hope to obtain full citizenship and they carried the everlasting stigma of their slave origin. In this respect, the Roman society was much less rigid. Manumission in Rome was considered as sociably acceptable, even desirable, a positive moral act, although such a decision rested solely with the slave owner. Once freed, slaves were accepted into society far more completely than the freedmen in a Greek *polis*. The promise of manumission was probably most probable for urban, skilled, literate slaves, but it was apparent throughout the Roman society. The motivation effect of possible manumission could be seen as a way to make slaves into members of a unified labor force in the early Roman Empire.

Except perhaps in some aspect of the institution of sacred slavery, there is no trace of any specifically indigenous type of slavery in Lydia and Phrygia. Our knowledge of the specifics of slavery in the pre-Hellenistic (and even more so in the pre-Persian) Lydia and Phrygia is very slim, but whatever the particularities of the Anatolian slavery originally were, they must have been assimilated to the Greek model of slavery long before the rise of the Roman Empire.

¹¹⁸⁹ N. Morley, Slavery under the Principate, in: K. Bradley, P. Cartledge (eds.), *The Cambridge world history of slaves I: The Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge 2011, 278.

7.1 Terminology and onomastics

The most reliable way to recognize a slave in an inscription is through the specific terminology. Interestingly enough, ancient Greeks had only one term (ἐλεύθερος) to identify free people but a whole array of different expressions to designate slaves. This says something about the social perception of slaves and slavery as marginal and ambivalent and thus hard to define precisely.¹¹⁹⁰ By far the most common and the most frequent term for a slave in Greek is δοῦλος. In fact, it is the only word in ancient Greek used exclusively for slaves or bondmen.¹¹⁹¹ It is an expression with a long history in both Greek literature and documentary sources that has been used throughout Antiquity, a variant of it being attested in the Mycenaean tablets.¹¹⁹² As expected, it is one of the most frequent designations for slaves on inscriptions from Roman Anatolia and it is especially regular in Phrygia.

Another frequent expression for a slave is σῶμα, a “body”.¹¹⁹³ It is a very characteristic way to describe slaves; similar terms are encountered in other slave-owning cultures and in different times. At times, the multiple meanings of this word can be a source of confusion, because σῶμα is also used in its literal sense and even to designate apparently free people and persons or human beings in general. Compared to δοῦλος, it is not very frequently used in Phrygian and Lydian inscriptions to describe slaves but there are a number of instances.¹¹⁹⁴

Using abusive and belittling expressions such as “boy” or “child” to refer to adult slave persons is common throughout the history of world slavery. Slaves had no legal power of their own and, not unlike children, they were wards of persons who did. Such usage is thus particularly demonstrative for the perception of the slave as endlessly immature. However, some such expressions did preserve a trace of meaning that points to a young age, even when dealing with slaves. The term παῖς and its derivatives have a flexible meaning and may indicate descent, age and condition. It could be used for a boy or a girl, but it could also be used for a slave of any age. In Greek inscriptions from

¹¹⁹⁰ R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free. The Concept Of Manumission And The Status Of Manumitted Slaves In The Ancient Greek World*, Leiden-Boston 2005, 27.

¹¹⁹¹ *LSJ* sv. δοῦλος.

¹¹⁹² M. Ventris, J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1973², 123-124.

¹¹⁹³ *LSJ* sv. σῶμα.

¹¹⁹⁴ *TAM* V1 360 (Kollyda, 33/34 AD); *ASAtene* 1963/64, 380 (Hierapolis).

Lydia and Phrygia these words are παῖς (a “boy”, “child”, but “in relation to legal condition, *slave, servant, man or maid* (of all ages)), παιδίον (a “little or young child”, or “young slave, male or female”), παιδάριον (“little boy”, or “young slave”), παιδίσκος (“young boy or son”), παιδίσκη (“young girl, maiden”, but also “young female maid, bondmaid... generally, maidservant”),¹¹⁹⁵ κοράσιον (“little girl, maiden”).¹¹⁹⁶ The term κοράσιον is attested in Lydia, in an inscription from Hierokaisareia of the slaves donated to a temple.¹¹⁹⁷

Alternative expression to designate a slave is τὸ ἀνδράποδον, “one taken in war and sold as a slave, whether originally slave or free, captive” and also (quite typically) “low fellow, base creature”. The word is in some way analogous with such expressions as τετράπους or τετραπόδης, four-legged livestock.¹¹⁹⁸ It is usually used in both literature and in inscriptions; there are numerous examples in Attica and Ionia, but in Lydian and Phrygian inscriptions it is rarely attested.

Another term occasionally observed in the inscriptions from Phrygia is οὐέρνας,¹¹⁹⁹ from the Latin *verna* meaning “a slave born in his master’s house, a homeborn slave”.¹²⁰⁰ It is perhaps an example of appropriation of a technical Latin term used to describe the position for which the precise enough Greek word was lacking.

Another expression frequently associated with slaves is θρεπτός (fem. θρεπτή, pl. θρεπτοί). This term and its meanings are discussed separately in this thesis but it must be said that it can also be used for a freeborn person, nurtured by someone other than his/her biological parents. Nevertheless, it was often used for slaves, usually for slaves born outside the master’s home. One should not automatically assume that they were treated better or differently than the other slaves in the household.¹²⁰¹

Sometimes, some technical terms designated for household positions were used for slaves. The expression, οἰκονόμος meaning household manager or house steward, was used.¹²⁰² The same can be said for πραγματευτής as an estate manager.¹²⁰³

¹¹⁹⁵ E. g. *SEG* XXXVIII 1237; *CMRDM* I no. 90 (= *Ricl, Svest o grehu* no. 25).

¹¹⁹⁶ *LSJ* sv. παῖς, παιδίον, παιδάριον, παιδίσκος, παιδίσκη, κοράσιον.

¹¹⁹⁷ *TAM* V2 1252.

¹¹⁹⁸ *LSJ* sv. ἀνδράποδον.

¹¹⁹⁹ *MAMA* V Lists I (i), 182, 123 (Dorylaion); *MAMA* VII 135 (Hadrianapolis).

¹²⁰⁰ C. T. Levis, C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, sv. *verna* (cf. *vernaculus*).

¹²⁰¹ *Ricl*, Legal and social status, 99.

¹²⁰² *TAM* V3 1845 (243/244 AD); Waelkens, *Türsteine* 462 (Blaundos, 3rd century AD).

¹²⁰³ *IK Tralleis* 194 (2nd century AD); *TAM* V2 1213 (Apollonis).

A distinct category are public slaves, designated as δημόσιοι, or public slaves, owned by the community (a *polis*, in all recorded instances).¹²⁰⁴ There are, however, four inscriptions from Thyateira recording δημόσιοι with patronymic and indicating perhaps freeborn people.¹²⁰⁵ One example from Hierapolis documents one Theophilus who is δημόσιος, but also agonistic *epimeletes*.¹²⁰⁶ As Pleket suggested occasionally free men were prepared to fulfill functions which normally were occupied by slaves.¹²⁰⁷

Slave status of a person sometimes can be uncovered only indirectly. Individuals mentioned without a patronymic, in the context where we would not expect this, or together with others who have their fathers regularly recorded, are most probably unfree. Allusions to masters and owners are another indication as well as the evidence of slave-specific occupations and duties. Sometimes the recognition is aided by specific attributes such as “public” (δημόσιος, in sense of “in public possession”) or “private” (ἴδιος).

Slave names are a separate issue. There are number of names which appear to have been associated specifically, though perhaps not exclusively, with slaves. In his study on slave names in Rome, Solin deduced that in the inscriptions most Greek slave names had a mythological background.¹²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, these names were also used for freeborn persons. In his study from 1907, Lambertz listed all then attested Greek slave names and explained that they usually bear local geographical names, as well as heroic and theophoric names.¹²⁰⁹ Another large group would be names constructed from abstract concepts and wishes (Wunschnamen).¹²¹⁰ This type of names was probably drawing upon personal characteristic and reflects the perception of slave owners. In his recent article Marek showed that among the names derived from precious and semi-

¹²⁰⁴ E. g. *SEG* LI 1783 (Hierapolis, reign of Hadrian);

¹²⁰⁵ *TAM* V2 1075 (heavily restored); 1084 (also restored); 1142; 1152 (heavily restored); cf. *SEG* LIV 1907.

¹²⁰⁶ *SEG* XXIX 1404 (reign of Augustus): Σεβαστῶι Καίσαρι καὶ τῶι / Δήμωι Θεόφιλος Φιλαδέλφου δημό/σιος ὁ καθεσταμένος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιμε/λήας τῶν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀγόνων τὸ / ἀνάθεμα καὶ τὸν βωμὸν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.

¹²⁰⁷ H. W. Pleket, A free ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΣ, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 167-170.

¹²⁰⁸ H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen: ein Namenbuch*. I-III (I: Lateinische Namen; II: Griechische Namen; III: Barbarische Namen), Stuttgart, 1996.

¹²⁰⁹ M. Lambertz, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen*, Wien, 1907, 10-30.

¹²¹⁰ *Ibid*, 40.

precious stones and aromatics there were no predominately slave or freedmen names.¹²¹¹

The most common “Sklavennamen” in Rome according to Solin’s list are: Felix (attested 461 times), Eros (346), and Hermes (328), followed by Hilarus, Prima, Antiochus, Alexander, Onesimos, Faustus, and Primus.¹²¹² The Greek equivalent to Felix, Eutyches,¹²¹³ is also one of the most frequent names for slaves in Lydia and Phrygia, together with Onesimos (“Useful”, the well-known runaway slave in Colossians 4.9 bears the same name).¹²¹⁴ Apart from one slave in Silandos in 92/93 AD named Agrippa,¹²¹⁵ one Loukios in Dorylaion¹²¹⁶ and one Commodus in eastern Phrygia¹²¹⁷ there are no Roman names used for slaves. One of the most common female names for a slave was Trophime, probably associated also with rearing and *θηρετοί*, as well as the male equivalent Trophimos. Another regularly attested group was so called *Lallnamen*, many of them also indigenous, such as Ammia, Apphia, Papias or Tatias. The wife of aforementioned slave Commodus, attested in eastern Phrygia, was called Mikka.¹²¹⁸ Although it was presumed that this name had Lycaonian or Phrygian origin, Robert showed that it was a Greek name, frequent in Asia Minor as in the rest of the Greek world.¹²¹⁹

Male names Agathon¹²²⁰ and Agathopous¹²²¹ are also attested as slave names several times, but both are quite common for free individuals.

¹²¹¹ C. Marek, *Imperial Asia Minor: Economic Prosperity and Names*, in: R. Parker (ed.), *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia*, Oxford 2013, 190 and esp. n. 74; L. Robert (in L. Robert and N. Firlatlı, *Les Steles funéraires de Byzance*, Paris 1964, 179): “Une fois de plus, on constate que la notion de “nom d’esclave” presque autant que celle de “nom de courtisane” ne correspond pas à une réalité stable; c’est plus ou moins tôt, suivant les régions, que noms d’esclaves et noms de citoyens puisent dans une même fonds.”

¹²¹² H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen*, 680.

¹²¹³ Together with a variant Eutychianos in *TAM* V2 1213; for Greek names with Latin suffix *-ianos* see T. Corsten, *Names in -άνος in Asia Minor. A Preliminary Study*, in R. W. V. Catling, F. Marchand, *Onomatologos: Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews*, Oxford 2010, 456-462.

¹²¹⁴ In Solin’s *Namenbuch* Eutyches and Onesimos are frequently used as names for slaves in Rome, H. Solin, *Die Griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, Berlin 1982, 796-801 (Eutyches) and 913-919 (Onesimos).

¹²¹⁵ *TAM* V1 57.

¹²¹⁶ *MAMA* V Lists I(i) 182, 123.

¹²¹⁷ *MAMA* I 41.

¹²¹⁸ *MAMA* I 41 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene).

¹²¹⁹ L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie Mineure Gréco-Romaine*, Paris 1963, 56-57 and 256; it is attested once in *LGPN* I, once in *LGPN* IIIa and *LGPN* IV, five times in *LGPN* IIIb (four times in Beotia and once in Thessaly and twice in *LGPN* Vb).

¹²²⁰ *TAM* V1 257 (Kula); Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia* 360, 135.

¹²²¹ *I Sultan Dağı* 608; *MAMA* V Lists I(i) 182, 122.

In Magnesia ad Sipylum two interesting names are attested, the freedman Korymbos and his former master Mithres.¹²²² According to Robert, the name Κόρυμβος was a Greek name associated with hair.¹²²³ It is mostly attested in Attica, but it is also documented seven times in Asia Minor, namely in Ionia, Caria, Lycia and Phrygia.¹²²⁴ The name of the master, Mithres is Persian and as stated by Robert reflects the persistent influence of Persian diaspora, which went on to exist and thrive in Asia Minor until well into the Christian era.¹²²⁵ Name Mithres is frequently attested in all parts of the Greek world, especially in the island of Thera and coastal Asia Minor.¹²²⁶

There are also several rare slaves names attested in Lydia and Phrygia. It seems they are used as a kind of pseudo-utilitarian names (similar to Onesimos), describing slaves as good workers or defining their type of work. One such case is, previously unattested, the name Ἀξιουμένη (“deemed worthy”).¹²²⁷ On Pisido-Phrygian border, there is a slave named Auxilia.¹²²⁸ Another distinctive name is Sakkos, perhaps a kind of “sack carrier.”¹²²⁹ One slave in Philadelphia is named Skeptikos.¹²³⁰

7.2 Sources of Slaves. Slave Demography in Lydia and Phrygia

Two obvious questions must be answered before any attempt to ascertain the social and economic importance of slavery can be attempted: how many slaves were there in Roman Lydia and Phrygia (ideally, but impossibly, in absolute figures or, at least, in proportion to the whole population) and what the origin of these slaves was? A partial or complete failure to provide meaningful answers would necessarily have serious bearing on the overall conclusions of this chapter. Of course, these two issues

¹²²² TAM V2 1379: [K]όρυμβος / [M]ιθρήους / [ἀ]πελεύθε/[ρ]ος χαῖρε.

¹²²³ L. Robert, *Noms indigenes*, 268 and esp. n. 2 citing J. G. Milne, *Num. Chron.* (1924), 317: “Korymbas, possibly from κόρυμβος in the sense of a knot of hair.”

¹²²⁴ Attested once in LGPN I, twelve times in LGPN IIa, four times in LGPN IIIa and three times in LGPN Va and Vb respectively; in Phrygia in a fragmentary inscription from Aizanoi MAMA IX P220.

¹²²⁵ L. Robert, *Malédiction funéraires grecques*, CRAI 122-2 (1978), 284-285.

¹²²⁶ Attested ten times in LGPN I, three times in LGPN IIa, once in LGPN IIIa and thirty three times in LGPN Va and five times in LGPN Vb; in Lydia it is also attested in TAM V2 1250 and *I Sardis* 6; 132 and 224; *SEG XXXII* 1236; in Phrygia it is attested in *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 6; MAMA IX 112; MAMA IX P266.

¹²²⁷ E. Akinci Öztürk, C. Tanriver, *New Inscriptions From The Sanctuary Of Apollon Lairbenos*, EA 43 (2010), 47-48 no. 7

¹²²⁸ MAMA VIII 379 = *I Sultan Dağı* 608.

¹²²⁹ *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 48; cf. editor’s commentary; also *LSJ*: ὀ σάκκος, coarse cloth of hair, esp. of goats’ hair and anything made of this cloth.

¹²³⁰ TAM V3 1911; cf. attested once in LGPN IV and once in LGPN Va.

cannot be really separated: size and composition of the slave population will have been influenced by whatever means of slave supply are available. The availability of new slaves will have serious impact on the way the owners treat their existing slaves. First, I will make an attempt to address the second question.

There were five primary sources of slaves in the Roman Empire: 1) persons forcefully enslaved in wars or by pirates or brigands; 2) persons imported from beyond the frontiers of the Empire; 3) “self-enslaved” persons; 4) infants abandoned by their parents, and 5) children born to slave-mothers within the Empire.¹²³¹ A commonplace of ancient history is that the war and piracy are the primary sources of the new slaves. For various reasons, however, this will not have been the case with the Roman Empire from the 1st to 3rd century AD. True, the wars were frequent enough during the Early and the High Empire, but most of the conflicts after Augustus were border wars (often with Romans on the defense) with limited gains in slaves or other loot.¹²³² Trajan’s conquest of Dacia flooded the market with perhaps as much as tens of thousands new slaves but this was the single outstanding conquest of the 2nd century AD.¹²³³ It cannot be said that piracy or brigandage were eliminated in the Roman Empire because they remain to be recorded and thus a potential source of new slaves. However, they decreased drastically in intensity and could have been of only minimal importance in this regard. In fact, there is solid evidence that the number of slaves provided by wars and piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean already receded greatly during the 1st century BC.¹²³⁴ This is probably true for the Roman world at large. Even if we assume very low percentage of slaves in the population of the Empire, extensive foreign conquest would have to occur *each year* to provide sufficient supply.¹²³⁵

¹²³¹ W. V. Harris, *Geography and the Sources of Roman Slaves*, *JRS* 89 (1999), 62, in slightly different order; C. R. Whittaker, *Circe’s Pigs: From Slavery to Serfdom in the Later Roman World*, in: M. I. Finley (ed.), *Classical Slavery*, Oxford 1997, 122-123.

¹²³² W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Philadelphia 1955, 84-85.

¹²³³ The claim of Byzantine antiquarian John Lydus, *De Magist.* 2.28 that Trajan returned from the last Dacian war with over half a million slaves is quoted again and again, in spite of it being quite impossible: even with an excessive estimate, this figure approaches the entire population of early 2nd century Dacia. This “fact” is often adduced as the proof of the continual importance of war as the source of slaves during the Early Empire, e.g. C. R. Whittaker, *op. cit.*, 122-123.

¹²³⁴ W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems*, 31-33.

¹²³⁵ According to W. Scheidel, *Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire*, *JRS* 87 (1997), 164-165, if we assume moderate levels of fertility of slave population and moderate supply of abandoned infants, it would still take ca. 25000 imported slave *yearly* to maintain the slave population of 10 million (Scheidel is purposely using the higher estimate than he believes is warranted); if low estimates are taken then the minimal necessary foreign import of slaves would have to be around 40000.

The magnitude and importance of foreign commerce in slaves is hard to establish. Varro, quite succinctly, claims that slave-owners in Rome obtained their slaves from one place - Ephesos.¹²³⁶ This probably means that Ephesos (and other large ports of Asia Minor and Eastern Mediterranean) held intermediate position in slave trade with inland Asia and perhaps the region around the Black Sea as well. However, this reflects the situation in the 1st century BC that might not remain the same after Augustus.

Considering the prevalence of manumissions in the Roman Empire, even much more extensive conquest and warfare would not suffice to maintain the size of the slave population. Likewise the assumed scale of the foreign slave import would have to be huge to make any difference. In a paper dedicated to this question, Walter Scheidel concludes that it is impossible to assess the size of trade in foreign slaves in the Roman Empire but that it probably was not very significant for the maintaining of the Empire's slave population.¹²³⁷ Therefore, we are left with the sources of slaves available within the Empire. The "self-enslavement" is the most elusive and probably the least significant of sources. By the process of elimination, the most important source of new slaves in Roman Phrygia and Lydia would have been the offspring of slave mothers and the abandoned infants of any origin. For the existing population of slaves to be maintained, we would either have to assume its high reproduction rate or many thousands of infants abandoned by parents each year. Although there is no certain way of proving it, the first assumption is more likely and more in accordance with the epigraphic record. In fact, there are indications that some slave owners purposely encouraged reproduction among slaves to obtain young slaves for training and selling.

¹²³⁶ Varro, *De ling. lat.* 8.21.

¹²³⁷ W. Scheidel, Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire, *JRS* 87 (1997), 159: "As to the third variable, estimates of the size of the pool of 'enslavables' both within and outside the Empire inevitably rest on guesswork. The number of potential suppliers of slaves, mainly via child exposure and sale, within the Empire might be put at forty million or about three-quarters of the non-slave population which should seem a generous estimate. Populations beyond but within reach of the borders were limited in size: one would think in the first instance of the peoples of Ireland, Scotland, Germania, South Russia, the Caucasus, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Sudan (broadly defined). While Mesopotamia and Iran could have been another source, demand for slaves within the Parthian Empire has to be taken into account as well. Needless to say, the inhabitants of most or all the other areas listed above would also make use of slaves themselves which must have limited the scope of export." Cf. W. V. Harris Demography, Geography and the Sources of Roman Slaves, *JRS* 89 (1999), 72-73 who agrees with overall conclusion.

Judging from the Roman literature, trading in slaves was widespread activity and was considered important yet, at the same time, somehow less than dignifying and, on the whole, not an acceptable occupation for men of high social status. This might partly be assigned to the general resentment toward mercantile pursuits, characteristic of the Roman landholding elite, but it does not explain the attitude entirely. Available evidence suggests that the members of the elite (even the highest, senatorial elite) were more frequently involved in direct slave trade than they cared to admit, sometimes driven by the sheer necessity.¹²³⁸ It is also implied that it was highly profitable but in a way degrading activity. That the slave trade is considered very important but that the direct participation in it is shameful (at least to some degree) for slave owners is a curious paradox but one that is encountered in other times and in other slave-holding societies.¹²³⁹

Local elite in Roman Anatolia seems to be less concerned about the low social status of the slave trade. There is a honorary inscriptions for a slave trader Alexandros in Thyateira who was also an *agoranomos* - a fairly high civic office.¹²⁴⁰ There is a specialized slave owner in Hierapolis (*παιδαριστροφός*), apparently engaged in rearing of the young boys.¹²⁴¹ Existence of a regular slave market is attested in Akmoneia,¹²⁴² Thyateira¹²⁴³ and Sardeis,¹²⁴⁴ and can be inferred in Apameia.¹²⁴⁵

As we have seen, most of the new slaves would have been the children of existing slaves or the exposed children. The ongoing importance of the slave trade in inner Anatolia is proven by the previously mentioned inscription of the 1st century AD from Thyateira where shop-keepers in the slave market and the slave-brokers honored and dedicated a statue of Alexandros, son of Alexandros, a slave-dealer (*σωματέμπορος*), because he acted with integrity during his four-month tenure as

¹²³⁸ Even T. Flavius Vespasianus, the future emperor himself, seem to be engaged in the slave-trade ca. 62 AD when his fortune was almost exhausted: Suet. *Vesp.* 4.3; cf. A. B. Bosworth, Vespasian and the Slave Trade, *CQ* 52-1 (2002), 350-357.

¹²³⁹ M. Finley, *Aspects of Antiquity: Discoveries and Controversies*, Harmondsworth 1977, 154.

¹²⁴⁰ *TAM* V2 932.

¹²⁴¹ *Alt. v. Hierapolis* 270.

¹²⁴² *MAMA* VI 260: [Ἀκμονέων τῆι βουλῆι] / καὶ τῶι δ[ήμωι] / Γάϊος Σωρνά[τιος Γαίου(?)] / υἱὸς Οὐελίνα Β[.c.6..τὸ] / στατάριον καὶ τὸν βωμὸν / ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκεύασεν.

¹²⁴³ *TAM* V2 932.

¹²⁴⁴ *SEG* XLVI 1524.

¹²⁴⁵ Dio Chr. *Or.* 35.14.

agoranomos and donated money to celebrate lavishly the festival days of the Emperors:¹²⁴⁶

οἱ τοῦ σταταρίου ἐργασταὶ / καὶ προξενηταὶ σωμάτων / ἐτείμησαν καὶ ἀνέθηκαν / Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀλεξάνδρου / σωματέμπορον ἀγορανομήσαντα τετράμηνον ἀγνῶς / καὶ ἐπιδόντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῇ πόλει / πολυτελῶς ἐν ταῖς ἑορτασίμοις τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἡμέραις.

The above mentioned inscriptions from Hierapolis mentions a παιδαριотρόφος, a master who kept young slaves.¹²⁴⁷

ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος ὁ π[ε]ρὶ αὐτὴν Εὐπλο<ο>ς λογισμοῦ Ἀχιλλέως· ἐν ἧ̄ σορῶ / κηδευθήσεται ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ [ἐ]ξέσται κηδεῦσαι· / εἰ δὲ [μῆ], ἔνοχος ἔσται ἱεροσυλία καὶ πρ[ο]σαποτείσει τῷ ἱεροτάτῳ / φύσκῳ δηνάρια χεῖλια. τούτου ἀντίγραφον / ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα. / ἡ σορὸς Ἀχιλλέως πραγματευτοῦ Ἀφροδεισι[έ]ως. ἡ κτῆσις(?) παρ]/εδόθη ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦ Εὐπλοος Ζήνων(ος) τοῖς γραμμα[τ]εῖσιν [τῆς πό]/[λε]ω[ς . . .]δει Ἀλκίμ[ο]υ Μενάνδρ[ο]υ Δ[ι]ογένους καὶ Τι(βερίῳ) · Κλ(αυδίῳ) · Τι(βερίου) · Νωνι[ανῶ]. / [ἔτι δὲ(?)] ἔδωκα [τῷ παι]δαριο[τρό]φῳ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος [δην]ά[ρι]α [— — —] / [πρὸς τὸ δίδοσθαι τοῖς παισὶν π]ᾶσιν ἐλθοῦσιν (δην.) β' τοῖς [στεφα]/[νώ]σασι τὴν σορόν(?)].

If the restorations in this inscription are correct this would be an interesting example of a paid obligation taken by the specific type of a slave-owner. But even more interesting is the actual occupation of this slave owner. What is the meaning of the term παιδαριотρόφος in this context? He was perhaps a local slave nurturer who bought slave infants or collected abandoned ones, raised them and sold them at what was still a very young age. This conclusion is in accordance with the above mentioned assumption of prevalence of slave rearing as the source of new slaves. However, as the text is heavily restored other possibilities also exist. Perhaps the term can designate a kind of

¹²⁴⁶ TAM V2 932.

¹²⁴⁷ Alt. v. Hierapolis 270.

orphanage. Perhaps the owner himself was a slave *pragmateutes* and as he had no family, boys from that orphanage came every year to put a wreath on his tomb.

Since the slave was considered a piece of property which could be bought, sold, and transferred, slave-holding and slave sales were taxed like any other kind of merchandise or property.¹²⁴⁸ Epigraphic evidence on taxes on slave trade from Asia Minor goes back to the late Archaic age and it is plausible to assume that it is as old as the monetary economy itself.¹²⁴⁹ For the Roman province of Asia there is the so-called Ephesian Customs Law (or The Customs Law of Asia). It is actually a series of legal acts and provisions compiled over almost two centuries. It contains various regulations on trade and taxing in the province, including provisions on the import, export, and sale of slaves, for which actions a tax (*telos*) was to be collected. The stone on which this *Lex portorii* is inscribed was discovered only in 1976 and was neglected for a long time. The monument (dimensions: height 2.82 m, width 1.44 m, thickness 0.3 m, original monument would have been over 3 m high) is a stone slab, made of white crystalline marble with blue-gray shading and some traces of quartz. It suffered extensive damage as it was used as secondary building material for the construction of the Church of St. John in the 6th century AD. Around 155 lines of the text are visible, which is probably not more than three quarters of the original document. Today it is conserved in the Ephesus Archaeological Museum and rightfully regarded as one of the most important epigraphic monuments preserved anywhere in Asia Minor.¹²⁵⁰

For the discussion of the slave trade, more important parts of the Customs Law are ll. 12, 74-76, 98, 117-122.

In the first provision on slave trade (early 1st century BC) we read: “[ὕπρ σωμαίων ἀνδρείων ἢ θηλείων ἐκτὸς σωμαίων] παιδαρίων κορασίων μὴ τι πλείον τέλους ἐκάστης κεφαλῆς δηναρίων πέντε διδόναι ὀφειλέτω[ι]. *vac.* [seruorum seruorum, nisi] puerorum puellarum, plus quam denarios quinque pro capite portorii causa dare ne debeto.”¹²⁵¹ If the tax on child slaves was not more than five *denarii*, this

¹²⁴⁸ R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Taxing Freedom in Thessalian Manumission Inscriptions*, Leiden-Boston 2013, 22.

¹²⁴⁹ *Syll.*³ 4 (Kyzikos, ca. 520 BC).

¹²⁵⁰ M. Cottier, M. H. Crawford, C. V. Crowther, J.-L. Ferrary, B. M. Levick, O. Salomies, M. Wörrle, *The Customs Law of Asia*, Oxford, 2008, 16.

¹²⁵¹ *Customs Law*, ll. 12.

implies a maximum market value of 200 *denarii*. This taxation reveals the ambiguous conception of slavery.¹²⁵²

Privileges of *publicani* extend to the realm of the slave trade. A *publicanus* is, among other things, excused from paying *telos* (that is, *portorium*) on any slave he imports or exports (ordnance from 75 BC).¹²⁵³ Since *publicani* or their agents in the province held much of the actual slave trade, one cannot but wonder at the possible implications of such a privilege. As their role in economic life of the province was gradually diminished from Augustus onward, trade in slaves was taken over by local dealers to whom, to the best of our knowledge, similar privilege was not extended. Is it possible that this led to an increase of average prices of imported slaves and consequently, to the reduction in sales and overall importance of this source of new slaves?

The next provision (from the year 17 BC) treats the question of tax on import and export of slaves when rented to a *publicanus*: οἱ αὐτοὶ προσέθηκαν· ὑπὲρ σωμάτων ἐκάστης κεφαλῆς πλεῖον τοῦ ἐν τῷ τειμευτητικῷ νόμῳ μενοῦ ἠσφαλισμένου εισαγωγῆς μὲν δηνάρια δύο ἡμισυ ἐξαγωγῆς δὲ δηνάριον ἐν ὁ δημοσιῶνης λαμβανέτω.¹²⁵⁴ This limits the extra profit *publicani* could take on every individual slave to two and a half *denarii* for import and one *denarius* for *export*. Clearly, the leasing of the taxes on slaves was a lucrative pursuit if such a legislative limitation was necessary. Disparity in maximum taxes implies greater commercial value of imported slaves.

The ordinance from the year 5 AD imposes obligatory registration of all imported slaves. Whoever imports slaves of both sexes from outside the province need to apply for registration in the customs office (to *publicanus* or to a *procurator*). If there are no custom offices or suitable officials (presumably at the point of entrance in the province), then the person who imports slaves will register them with the highest local official in the nearest city.¹²⁵⁵ The same ordinance affirms that the taxation on import of

¹²⁵² Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 257.

¹²⁵³ *Customs Law*, II. 74-76: οὗς / [...c.9... δη]μοσιῶνης ἐξ Ἀσίας εἰς Ἀσίαν εἰσαγάγη ἢ ἐξαγάγη, οὗ τέλος Λούκιος Ὀκτάουιος, Γάιος Αὐρήλιος ὕπατοι ἐξεμίσθωσαν, ὑπὲρ τούτου τέλος μὴ / [...c.9... ὕ]πὲρ πλοίου καὶ τῶν τοῦ πλοίου σκευῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ δούλων καὶ ὧν ἀπάντων, οὗς ἂν ἢ ἄς ἂν οἴκοθεν ἄγωσιν ἢ παραπέμψωσιν, ὑπὲρ βυβλίων.

¹²⁵⁴ *Customs Law*, II. 98.

¹²⁵⁵ *Customs Law*, II. 117: οἱ αὐτοὶ προσέθηκαν· ὅς ἂν νοουίκιον δοῦλον ἢ δούλην εἰς ἐπαρχίαν Ἀσίαν εἰσάγη ἢ ἐξάγη, πρ[ὸς / ...c.17....]ροπον αὐτοῦ ἀπογραφέσθω παρὰ τούτῳ, ὅς ἂν φανερῶς ἐν τῷ

slaves is identical regardless of whether the slaves are brought overland or by sea and that duties are paid only once, at the point where slaves entered the province: [μήτε δημοσιώνης μήτε ἐπί]τροπος ὑπάρχη τότε ἐν τῇ ἔγγιστα πόλει, ὅς ἂν τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἔχη, παρὰ τούτῳ ἀπογραφέσθω.¹²⁵⁶ While there is a dominant picture of province of Asia as the area of large maritime cities, inland trade across Anatolia was certainly of great importance. This piece of legislation would be especially significant for inhabitants of Phrygia with its long borders adjoining regions outside of the province. The slaves were certainly imported from other provinces in Asia Minor and client kingdoms but perhaps from further away as well. The fact of obligatory registrations of all imported slaves clearly shows the level of organization and the state supervision regarding the slave trade. It also gives some credence to the assumption that each community had a precise index of its slave population; perhaps there was even a province-wide register. If even a fraction of such documents were preserved, which is not the case, we would have a clearer picture of the size of the slave trade and perhaps of the total size of the slave population in Asia.

The question about the number of slaves in any province of the Roman Empire is not easily answered. No ancient author makes any explicit statement in this regard. Perhaps parity with the total number of slaves in the province of Asia, the whole of Asia Minor or even the whole of the Empire could be made? But these numbers, as well as the population totals are equally absent and any demographic figure found in the modern literature is an educated guess at best and a pure fiction at worst.¹²⁵⁷ In spite of our inability to provide exact figures the question remains important. The impression we

τελωνίῳ ἢ προγεγραμμένῳ, ἐν οἷς ἂν τόποις δημο/[.....c.18.....]λωνίας ὑπάρχη καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο τῆ τῶν κοινωνῶν σφραγιᾷ σφραγισθὲν ἐξαγέτω καὶ εισαγέτω ἐὰν ἐν τῷ τελῷ/[.....c.20.....]..τροπος ὑπάρχη τότε ἐν τῇ ἔγγιστα πόλει, ὅς ἂν τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἔχη, παρὰ τούτῳ ἀπογραφέσθω. οἱ / [.....c.20.....]...κιον δοῦλον ἢ δούλην κατὰ θάλασσαν εἰσαγάγη καὶ ἐξαγάγη, ἐπ' ἴσης ἔστω ὡσανεὶ κατὰ γῆν εἰσήγαγεν/ [.....c.23.....] ἅπαξ τὸ εἰσαγωγίον δῶ. *Idem addiderunt: qui seruum seruum nouicium nouicium in prouin/ciam Asiam importabit, exportabit, eum eam apud [publicanum pro/curatorem] eius in tabulas referto, apud eum qui in teloneo ita uti de / plano recte legi possit (?) propositus erit, quibus locis publicanus [aedifi/cium] portorii exigendi [causa] habebit, eumque seruum sociorum stig/mate inscriptum exportato importato; si [neque publicanus neque] / procurator in teloneo erit, tum quae urbs propius erit, qui ibi maximam / potestatem habebit, apud eum in tabulas referto.*

¹²⁵⁶ *Customs Law*, II. 120.

¹²⁵⁷ Frequently cited estimation according to which up to 35% of the population of the late Republican Italy were slaves (e.g. N. Morley, *Slavery under the Principate*, in: K. Bradley, P. Cartledge (eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Slaves I: The Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge 2011, 265) belongs to the latter group. These and other “estimates” that assume slave participation in the total population as roughly one third are based on the analogies with the known slave populations in early modern slave societies, especially the antebellum American South, cf. W. Scheidel, *Human Mobility in Roman Italy, II: The Slave Population*, *JRS* 95 (2005), 65-66.

get from the ancient authors is that slaves were indispensable and slavery omnipresent. If this impression actually reflects the reality of the Greco-Roman world, then there must be a comparatively high percent of slave participation in total population.

Egypt is the one province of the Roman Empire where we occasionally have more precise population data, although geographically and chronologically fragmented. But even there the total population is subject of debate with both ancient authors and modern scholars in disagreement.¹²⁵⁸ The Egyptian figures, such as they are, indicate that slaves were approximately one tenth of the whole population with some regional and social variations (the percentage is higher in urban areas, lower in villages), and that about one fifth to one sixth of the recorded households own slaves (again, slightly more in cities and towns, slightly less in villages).¹²⁵⁹ Is this percentage valid for the whole of the Empire (and by implication, Roman Anatolia), at least as the order of magnitude? Many scholars agree that it is but there are others who object sharply. These ratios would imply that basically rich families owned slaves while a minority of middle class households could own a slave or two. They also imply that almost all slaves are household slaves and personal servants, leaving very little slave workforce for manufacture or agriculture.

Scheidel relies on “simple demographic models” and methodology of statistical approximation to establish the general order of magnitude for the slave population of the Roman Empire. He begins with the widespread assumption that the Roman Empire had roughly 60 million inhabitants in the 2nd century AD and accepts the percentage (ca. 10%) obtained from Egyptian census returns.¹²⁶⁰ Thus, he supposes that slaves were

¹²⁵⁸ R. S. Bagnall, B. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge 1994, 53-56.

¹²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 70-71: “Slaves constitute about 11 percent of census population (118 of 1084). In census returns with complete or nearly complete principal families, slightly under sixth of household register slaves (26 of 167, or 16 percent)... However, once again villages differ from metropoleis. For complete or nearly complete households, the overall incidence of slaveholding is a good deal higher in metropoleis (15 of 72 households, or 21 percent) than in villages (11 of 95, or 12 percent); there are about four chances in five that this difference is significant. 72 But in villages, 15 percent of complex households register slaves (6 of 41), as against 11 percent of simple households (6 of 54); since complex village households were probably wealthier than simple ones, the difference may be important, although the numbers are far too small for confidence.” Cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, 208-209.

¹²⁶⁰ For the entire population of the Empire see: B. W. Frier, *Demography*, in: *CAH X* ², 811-816. According to this careful but still somewhat hypothetical estimate, the Empire had approximately 45 million inhabitants in 14 AD and around 60 million in AD 164 (on the eve of the plague) - population apex not reached again until 16th century. The outstanding 19th century work on ancient population, C. J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, Leipzig 1886, 507 estimates the population of the Empire at the time of Augustus at 54 million (28 of which in the East) and this figure has a large following even today, unlike Beloch's later attempts to revise it upwards.

“six million in a population of sixty million”, on the eve of the Antonine plague.¹²⁶¹ Harris rejected Scheidels conclusions as being “without much in the way of justification. We are offered a second-hand guess about Italy - two to three million slaves - and for the rest of the provinces an extrapolation from Egypt, where, it has been agreed for some time, the likely proportion of slaves in the chora was about 10 per cent (at Alexandria things may have been different)”¹²⁶² On the other hand, for provinces like Asia, Harris proposes that the actual percentage of slaves in the entire population fell within the range 16.6 to 20%.¹²⁶³

But how big was the entire population of the province of Asia? Most of the historians engaged in demographic studies of antiquity are reluctant even to hazard a guess. Beloch in his venerable work on ancient demography made a serious attempt: 19 million for Anatolia and Syria combined in AD 14, probably around 11 million for the whole of Anatolia and between 5 and 6 million for province of Asia.¹²⁶⁴ Broughton’s estimate was only slightly lower, between 4 to 5 million for the province, roughly 600.000 for Lydia and about twice as much for Phrygia.¹²⁶⁵ These figures are now recognized as being too high, especially for the early 1st century AD. Frierr’s estimate (based largely on the methodology advocated by McEvedy and Jones)¹²⁶⁶ is 8,2 million for entire Anatolia and around 3,5 million for province of Asia in 14 AD (including client kingdoms annexed after this date).¹²⁶⁷ Frierr’s figures for 164 AD are 9,2 and 4 million respectively.¹²⁶⁸ The population of Lydia is under half a million and that of Phrygia around 800000. If correct, these population heights were not attained again before the late 19th century. If we choose to follow Scheidel, there would be 40000 slaves in 2nd century Lydia and 80000 in contemporary Phrygia. If, on the other hand, Harris’ assumption is accepted as valid, respective numbers would be 66-80000 and 132-160000 slaves, which seems a bit too elevated. But, whether one sees these figures as surprisingly high or disappointingly low is a matter of perspective.

¹²⁶¹ W. Scheidel, Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire, *JRS* 87 (1997), 158; see also I. Biezunska-Malowist, *L’Esclavage dans l’Egypte greco-romaine* II (1977), 156-158.

¹²⁶² W. V. Harris, Demography, Geography and the Sources of Roman Slaves, *JRS* 89 (1999), 64.

¹²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹²⁶⁴ Beloch, *op. cit.*, 514.

¹²⁶⁵ T. R. S. Broughton, *Asia Minor under the Empire 27 BC - 337 AD*, in: T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome IV-2*, Baltimore 1938, 812 - 816.

¹²⁶⁶ C. McEvedy, R. Jones, *Atlas of World Population History*, New York 1978.

¹²⁶⁷ B. W. Frierr, *op. cit.*, 812.

¹²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 814.

The only seemingly precise figure on slave population for any of the cities in Asia is provided by Galenus. He claims that there were 40000 slaves in Pergamon (together with 120000 citizens of both sex and any age and an unspecified number of non-citizen free inhabitants).¹²⁶⁹ If we estimate the total of the city's population at around 180000, 40000 slaves would be 22% of the population, or just above one fifth, which is considerably higher than the comparative Egyptian example adopted by Scheidel but, incidentally, very close to Harris' estimates. There is no easy solution to this riddle. Perhaps Galenus was simply wrong or exaggerating or was merely guessing. If his figure is at least roughly correct how does it help the discussion on the slave population in neighbouring Lydia, for example? Should we assume that at least the larger cities of the region had the same percentage of slave population? A standard estimation of the population of the Sardeis in 2nd century AD fluctuates between 60 and 80000. Thus, if we take the highest estimation, we are dealing with either 17600 (if we take Galenus figure as basis) or 10000 slaves (if the Egyptian parallel is accepted as valid) in the city.

Also, we could only make an educated guess, for statistical reasons, that the average "social life expectancy" of slaves (the amount of time spent in slavery, allowing for periods of freedom before and/or after enslavement) must have been relatively close to twenty years regardless of the sources of slavery. If slaves were to be released and if the promise of release was commonly used as incitement to work better, it is reasonable to assume that owners used them at the period of life when they were the most productive.

At first sight, judging from the inscriptions, it seems that there are more male slaves than female. It is traditionally assumed that any reference to slave in ancient sources means male slave unless explicitly stated otherwise. In recent decades historians came to believe that the truth is very different, even directly opposite to this assumption and females were probably predominant in numbers within slave population.¹²⁷⁰ The main reason for this was that infant exposure and sale into slavery often discriminated against daughters and in favor of sons.¹²⁷¹ Exposure of children was common in many

¹²⁶⁹ Gal. *De prop.* 5.49.

¹²⁷⁰ This demographical observation is also based on data obtained from census records of Roman Egypt; cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Missing Females in Roman Egypt*, *SCI* 16 (1997), 127-133.

¹²⁷¹ On this see A. Cameron, *The exposure of children and Greek ethics*, *Classical Review* 46 (1932), 105-114; I. Biezunska-Malowist, *Die Expositio von Kindern als Quelle der Sklavenbeschaffung im*

parts of the Roman Empire and it had considerable demographic, economic and psychological effects. The position of girls in this situation seems obvious at least from the preserved (and much discussed) fragment of Posidippus' *Hermaphroditos* as we read:¹²⁷²

υἶὸν τρέφει πᾶς κἄν πένης τις ὧν τύχη
θυγατέρα δ' ἐκτίθησι κἄν ἦ πλούσιος.

This fragment has reached us without any discernible context, but perhaps comic overstatement rests on a degree of perceived reality. Among other ancient authors, Polybius also remarks that contemporary Greeks (mid-2nd century BC) refused to bring up more than a few of their children.¹²⁷³ Presumably, most foundlings, if not all, became slaves.

We should also note that slave women were relatively rarely manumitted during the period of prime fertility.¹²⁷⁴ Even though, studying Egyptian census returns, Bagnall and Frier have found that the average fertility of slave women was similar to that of all women¹²⁷⁵ female slaves were presumably used as a reproductive tool for obtaining new slaves.

The example of precisely documented gender and age of slaves is attested in an inscription from Hierokaisareia of donation of slaves to the temple:¹²⁷⁶

[ἐπὶ Α]ὐτοκράτορος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου / [Καίς]αρος Γερμανικοῦ · ἀνθυπάτου
δ[ἐ] / [Ποπ]λίου Κορνηλίου Σκειπίωνος, / [ἱερο]νομούντων Κρητίνου τοῦ

griechisch-römisch Ägypten, *JWG Teil I* (1971), 129-133; D. Engels, The Problem of Female Infanticide in the Greco-Roman World, *Classical Philology* 75 (1980), 111-120; W. Harris, The theoretical possibility of extensive infanticide in the Greco-Roman world, *CQ* 32 (1982), 114-116; *Idem*, Child-exposure in the Roman Empire, *JRS* 84 (1994), 1-22.

¹²⁷² Posidippus, *Hermaphroditos* fr. 11.

¹²⁷³ Polyb. 36.17: ἐπέσχευεν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἀπαιδία καὶ συλλήβδην ὀλιγανθρωπία, δι' ἣν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐξηρημώθησαν καὶ ἀφορίαν εἶναι συνέβαινε, καίπερ οὔτε πολέμων συνεχῶν ἐσχηκότων ἡμᾶς οὔτε λοιμικῶν περιστάσεων. εἴ τις οὖν περὶ τούτου συνεβούλευσεν εἰς θεοὺς πέμπειν ἐρησομένους τί ποτ' ἂν ἢ λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες πλείονες γινοίμεθα καὶ κάλλιον οἰκοίημεν τὰς πόλεις, ἄρ' οὐ μάταιος ἂν ἐφαίνετο, τῆς αἰτίας προφανοῦς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τῆς διορθώσεως ἐν ἡμῖν κειμένης; τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ φιλοχρημοσύνην, ἔτι δὲ ῥαθυμίαν ἐκτετραμμένων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων μήτε γαμεῖν μήτ', ἐὰν γήμωσι, τὰ γινόμενα τέκνα τρέφειν, ἀλλὰ μόλις ἐν τῶν πλείστων ἢ δύο χάριτι τοῦ πλουσίου τούτους καταλιπεῖν καὶ σπαταλῶντας θρέψαι, ταχέως ἔλαθε τὸ κακὸν αὐξηθέν.

¹²⁷⁴ W. Scheidel, Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire, *JRS* 87 (1997), 167.

¹²⁷⁵ R. S. Bagnall, B. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge 1994, 158.

¹²⁷⁶ TAM V2 1252 (41/41 or 43/44 – 51/52 AD).

Ἄρτεμιδώ[ρ]ο[υ], / [Βίτ]ωνος τοῦ Ρουστίου · τὰ ἀνατεθέντα / [τῆι] θεῶι σώματα ἱερά ·
 ὑπὸ Ἄφια τ[ῆ]ς / [Ἀγ]αθίωνος Ὀλυμπιάς ἐτῶν · ιδ', / [ύ]πὸ Τερεντίας Γαίου θυγατρὸς /
 [Σ]ωσίλλης κοράσι<ο>ν Πρέπουσα ἐτ[ῶ]ν η', / ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Παπιοῦ
 παιδάρι[ον] / Ἀπολλώνιος ἐτῶν · ιβ', ὑπὸ Ποπλικί[α]ς / Σατούρνας Συντύχη ἐτῶν ·
 μ[. '(?)], / ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίας Λευκίου θυγατρὸς / Οὐενούστας Συνέτη · ἐτῶν · ιγ', /
 κοράσιον Κυκλὰς · ἐτῶν · ι[. '(?)].

We can only speculate on how many slaves there were in an average household. If we accept the supposition of slave population as only about one tenth of total, then most of the slaves will have to belong to upper class families, while only better off middle class families will have a slave or two. Presumably, if the higher estimate is accepted, a wider slave ownership among the middle class becomes a real possibility. In such a scenario an average middle class family could have two or three slaves in the household, and even families of more humble means could afford some. Members of the elite certainly sustained whole households of slaves as seen in at Thermai Theseos, a village of Mokkalene in Lydia, part of an estate belonging to the wealthy C. Iulius Quadratus, where we find an association (κολλήγιον) formed by the (slave) household (φομιλία). These slaves too were probably largely domestic and not a part of the rural workforce.

7.3 Family ties

According to the Roman law, there was no such thing as a slave family. Most of the Roman jurists are quite clear on this point. Greek attitude was similar, any union among slaves or between slaves and free was legally invalid. Children born from such union were slaves that belonged to owner of their parent(s) and could become free only through the act of manumission.

But, even though from a legal standpoint slaves were not supposed to have a family, the inscriptions show a different picture. Examples of union between citizens and slaves exist even in Rome.¹²⁷⁷ As a component of Anatolian society, the slave

¹²⁷⁷ B. Rawson, *Family Life among the Lower Classes at Rome in the First Two Centuries of the Empire*, *CPh* 61-2 (1966), 71-83.

families certainly existed in large numbers, even if they were unrecognized by the jurists. Thus, the documents recording existence of such families are very important for obtaining the complete image of the society. It seems slaves were actually encouraged to form some kind of marital relationship.¹²⁷⁸ One of the reasons was probably economic, breeding slave children either for domestic work or sale. It was also in the master's interest that the slaves have stable family life that made them content and the number of slaves was increased.¹²⁷⁹

An interesting example is a funerary monument for a slave Dadouchos and his family, *doulos pragmateutes* of the senator C. Iulius Philippus (LS 11):¹²⁸⁰

ἡ σορὸς καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐ[τ]ῆν καμάρρα καὶ ὁ παρα/κείμενος βωμὸς καὶ / ἡ παρεστῶσα
στήλη / λευκόλιθος Δαδοῦ/χου, Γ(αίου) Ἰου(λίου) Φιλίππου / συγκλητικοῦ / δούλου
πραγμα/τευτοῦ, καὶ γυν[αι]/κὸς καὶ τέκνω[ν] / καὶ ἐγγόνω[ν καὶ] / [θ]ρεμμάτ[ων
αὐ]/τοῦ.

Another *doulos pragmateutes*, Eutyichianos, from the estate of Flavia Politta in Apollonis, also erected an inscription for his kind-hearted daughter in law Prepousa, himself, his wife, children and grandchildren.¹²⁸¹

On Pisido-Phrygian border one Auxilia, a slave of Telemachos, made a funerary inscription for her sons, Agathopous and Germanos, out of her own funds.¹²⁸²

A homeborn slave (probably of the Imperial house) Loukios from Dorylaion made the inscription for himself and his wife (σύνβιος) Aurelia Themisto.¹²⁸³ She was probably a freedwoman from the same household, but because the inscription cannot be precisely dated there is a slight possibility she was a freeborn who received her imperial

¹²⁷⁸ Ricl, Legal and social status, 99.

¹²⁷⁹ K. Bradley, Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control, Brussels 1984, 47-51.

¹²⁸⁰ *IK Tralleis* 194 (2nd century AD).

¹²⁸¹ *TAM* V2 1213: Εὐτυχιανὸς Φλ(αβίας) Πωλλίτιης ὑπατικῆς δ(οῦλος) πραγματευτῆς / Πρεπούση υἱοῦ / γυναικὶ ψυχῆ ἀγαθῆ μνείας χάριν καὶ ἑαυ/τῶ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ἐγγόνις.

¹²⁸² I Sultan Dağ 608: [Α]ὐξιλ[ί]α δούλη Τηλεμάχου / [Αγ]αθόποδι κ[α]ὶ Γερμανῶ ὑέσι / ἐ[κ] τοῦ / πεκο[υ]λίω[υ].

¹²⁸³ *MAMA* 5 Lists I(i),182,123: Λούκιος δούλος / οὐέρνας τοῦ κυρίου / Αὐρηλία Θεμιστῶ γλυ/κυτάτη συνβίω / μνήμης χάριν / κ(ἐ) ἑαυτῶ ζῶν.

gentilicium after 212 AD. In eastern Phrygia, Commodus, a slave of one L. Calpurnius (?) Proculus erected a funerary *bomos* for his son Zotikos, wife Mikka and himself.¹²⁸⁴

A possible family of slaves is also attested in a funerary inscription from Philadelphia. It was set up by the *oikonomos* Agathephoros and his wife Iuliane.¹²⁸⁵

[Ἔ]τους σοδ', μη(νός) Ξαν/δικοῦ δ' [ί]σ. Ἀγαθη/φόρος [οικ]ονόμο[ς] / Ἰουλιανὴν τὴν γλυ/κυτάτην σύνβιον / ἀκατάγνωστο[ν] / μνείας χάριν ἐ[τ]ε[ί]μησεν.

In one inscription from Saittai, a freedman of Lonkhas named Antheros was perhaps a biological son of the father of Ti. Claudius Lonkhas and a slave.¹²⁸⁶

A rare example is found in the plains of Axylon where a free woman named Pardalas had a son with her slave Epaphroditos and they were all buried together in the same tomb.¹²⁸⁷ The possible shame on unions between slaves and freed was not nearly as strong for freedmen as it was for the freeborn. Slaves and freedmen associated freely, especially members of the same *familia*.

There are examples of slaves and freedmen who were an important part of master's *familia* and sometimes buried in the shared tomb.¹²⁸⁸

In the area close to Thyateira a master named Antoninos erected a funerary inscription for his slave Dionysios, together with the slave's parents and brothers and his own *syntrophos* Eutyichion.¹²⁸⁹

ἔτους σξξ', μη(νός) Πα/νήμου ἰ' ἀ(πιόντος). / Διονύσιον ἐτείμησαν Ἀντωνεῖ/νος ὁ κύριος κ(αὶ) οἱ / γονεῖς κ(αὶ) οἱ ἀδελ/φοὶ κ(αὶ) Εὐτυχίων / τὸν σύντροφον. / χαῖρε παροδεῖτα.

¹²⁸⁴ *MAMA* I 41 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene): Κόμοδος / Λ. Κ. Πρόκλου Η . / δοῦλος Ζωτικ[ῶ] / [υ]ίῳ / λυκυτάτῳ / καὶ Μικκα γυναικί / καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν / μνήμης χάριν / ζήσαντι ἔτη αἰ', μ(ῆνας) *vacat*

¹²⁸⁵ *TAM* V3 1845 (243/244 AD); cf. the editor's commentary.

¹²⁸⁶ *SEG* XXXI 1018: [-----] / Τι Κλαύδιος [-ca.8-] / Λονχᾶς ἐτείμησεν Ἄνθη/ρον Λονχᾶ τὸν πατρικὸν αὐ/τοῦ ἀπελεύθερον καὶ ἴδιον / θρέψαντα Τι Κλαύδιος Ἄν/θηρος ὁ υἱός[ς] αὐτοῦ καὶ Κλαυ/δία Χαρίτιον ἢ σύνβιος αὐ/τοῦ ἐτείμησαν· Ἀμμια καὶ Μόσχιον καὶ Ἀψια τὸν ἐα[υ]τῶν πατέρα ἐτείμησαν / Ἄνθηρε ἦρω χαῖρε.

¹²⁸⁷ *MAMA* I 295: Αἰπαφρόδει/τος Παρδαλᾶ/δος δοῦλος / Φωσπόρω ὑ/ῶ μνήμης / χάριν καὶ ἑαυ/τοῖς ζῶντες.

¹²⁸⁸ I. e. *TAM* V2 1050 (Thyateira); *TAM* V3 1911 (Philadelphia); *TAM* V3 1829 (Philadelphia); Hermann, Malay, *New documents* no. 4 (near Thyateira, imperial period); *MAMA* V 89 (Dorylaion); *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 85; *IGR* IV 720 (Blaundos).

¹²⁸⁹ *TAM* V1 818 (181/182 AD).

In Thyateira, one Stratonikos, son of Eunomos, also allowed members of his immediate family, wife, children, grandchildren as well as foster-children and freedmen to be interred in his tomb:¹²⁹⁰

ζῶν / Στρατόνεικος Εὐνό/μου κατεσκεύασεν τὸ / μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ / γυναικὶ καὶ
τέκνοις
καὶ ἐγγόνιοις αὐτῶν καὶ / θρέμμασιν καὶ ἀπελευ/θέροις. ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπαλ/λοτριώσῃ τὸ
μνημεῖον / ἢ τῶν κειμένων τινὰ ἔξω / βάλῃ ἢ ἐκκόψῃ τὴν ἐπι/γραφὴν, ὑποκείσεται τῇ /
Θυατειρηῶν πόλει (δην.) ,βφ´. / τῆσδε ἐπιγραφῆς ἀπε[τι(?)]/θέμην τάντίγραφον / εἰς τὸ
ἀρχεῖον.

In another similar example, a Roman official whose name cannot be restored and who spent some time with the legions V Macedonica, VII Claudia pia fidelis, IV Scythica and I Italica, also allowed his family and freedmen to be buried in the same tomb:¹²⁹¹

ζῶν / [.]ιος Γ. υἱὸς Σε<ρ>γ(ία) Σεκου[νδ— — / πρ]αγματευόμενος ἐν ἐπαρχείᾳ
Γαλα/τί(?)α παραχειμαστικοῖς λεγ[ιώνων ε´ Μα/κε]δονικῆς καὶ ζ´ Κλ(αυδίας) Πιστῆς
Ε[ὕσεβοῦς / κ]αὶ δ´ Σκυθικῆς καὶ α´ Ἰταλικῆς [τὸ μνημεῖ]/ον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ
ἐγγό[νοις καὶ] / γυναιξίν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέ[ροις καὶ] / Δαίμοσιν Ἑλληνίας Ποπλίου
θυ[γατρὸς] / Φλαουίας τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ Λ. Φω[.c.6..] / Ποπληνοῦ τοῦ τέκνου
κατεσκ[εῦασεν].

In Akmoneia a wealthy Roman citizen Titus Flavius Praxias, built a tomb for himself and his family and posterity. His freedmen are also allowed to be buried in the same tomb.¹²⁹² The inscription includes the usual clauses prohibiting anyone else from being buried there. Praxias' freedmen were apparently considered as members of the (extended) family:

¹²⁹⁰ TAM V2 1129 ll. 1-12.

¹²⁹¹ TAM V2 1143 (Thyateira).

¹²⁹² MAMA VI 272 .

Τί. Φλάουιος Πραξίου υἱὸς Κυρεῖνα Πραξίας Πραξία υἱῶ καὶ Τατια Ἀγαθοκλέους τῆ μητρὶ καὶ ζῶσι[ν] / ἑαυτῶ τε καὶ Φλαουίους Ἀσκληπιάδη καὶ Θεοδότῳ / τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἐγγόνοις καὶ ἀπελευθέρ[οις] / ἰδίους ἐποίησεν, ἀρὰν καὶ νόμον θέμενος ὅπως μ[η]/δενὶ ἐξέσται μή[τε πωλῆσαι] μήτε ἀγοράσαι μήτ[ε] / τὸ μνημεῖον μή[τε τι τῶν αὐ]τοῦ οἰκοδομημάτων[ν] / ἢ φυτειῶν, προν[οήσαντος] ἑαυτοῦ.

Likewise, in Eumeneia, an Aurelius and his wife allowed many members of his household to be buried in his *heroon*, including his household intendant Charis, freedwoman Eutychia, his foster-child Hippodamia, his nurse (?) Symphoris, Symphoros, Symphoris and Zotikos:¹²⁹³

Αὐρήλιος [— — — — —] / τετράκις τοῦ Ἀυ[τ]ῶ[ν]ί/ου, Αὐρηλία Μ[έ]λλισα / δις Ἀτταλικῶ κατε[σ]/κευάσαμεν τὸ ἡρῶ[ον]. / Χαρίτιν ἢ πρόικως {²⁶πρόοικος}²⁶ [τῆ ἀ]/πελευθέρᾳ Εὐτυχι[ά], / Ἴπποδαμία τῆ τε/θρεμμήνη ἡμῶν, / Συμφορίδι τῆ ἀμμῆ / ἡμῶν, Συμφώρ[ω, Συμ]/φορίδι, Ζωτικῶ· [κατε]/σκευάσαμε[ν τοῖς] / προγεγραμμ[ένους] / τεθῆναι ἀόρ[οις].

The expression in l. 6 πρόοικος was probably a household manager or “intendante”.¹²⁹⁴

The relationship between masters and their slaves and freedmen was at times quite close and words of affection could occasionally be seen on the epitaphs. One such example from Philomelion in Phrygia is an epitaph made by Aurelius Leukis for his slave Basilike.¹²⁹⁵ She is praised for her σπουδή and εὐνοία. A freedman, named Chares used kind words for his relations with his former master.¹²⁹⁶ In a verse funerary inscription from Philadelphia, a freedman named Skeptikos praised his benevolent master for allowing him to be buried in front of his tomb:¹²⁹⁷

Σκέπτικος Ἄρχελάου ἀπε/λεύθερος ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι / δεσπότηεω χρηστοῦ / λαϊνέων πρὸ τάφων.

¹²⁹³ SEG XXVIII 1154.

¹²⁹⁴ J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1979, no. 520.

¹²⁹⁵ *MAMA* VII 200a = *I Sultan Daği* 11.

¹²⁹⁶ *TAM* V1 18 (Lyendos).

¹²⁹⁷ *TAM* V3 1919.

In the case of some *θηρεπτοί* in Lydia and Phrygia, more epithets are attested, such as *χρηστός* (worthy, good),¹²⁹⁸ *προσφιλής* (beloved),¹²⁹⁹ *ποθεινότητος* (strongly missed),¹³⁰⁰ or *πιστός* (trustworthy).¹³⁰¹

This is a proper place to consider one widespread assumption on the treatment of slaves in the Roman Empire. Namely, that the quality of their life improved significantly during the Early Empire. It is also stated that slaves were respected far more than before and that more progressive owners finally began to treat them as human beings.¹³⁰² The support for these claims is usually found in a number of Greek and Latin authors of the 1st and 2nd century AD. In his speech on slavery Dio Chrysostom said: οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι μάλιστα πάντων, καὶ φασὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν αἴσχιστον καὶ δυστυχέστατον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἢ ὅ τι τὸ δουλείειν, οὐκ ἴσασι.¹³⁰³ In various other discourses, Dio affirms that slaves are human beings and that they ought to be treated as such. He treats the misuse of slaves as shameful and possible source of moral corruption for the slave owners. Cassius Dio treats killing of slaves as a crime.¹³⁰⁴ Similar ideas can be found among the Roman writers. Seneca the Younger clearly states that slaves are human too and he disapproves of brutal physical punishment of slaves.¹³⁰⁵ To abandon old or sick slave is a crime for Suetonius.¹³⁰⁶ Younger Pliny even shows understanding for some slaves that went so far as to kill their brutal and abusive master.¹³⁰⁷

Does all this, together with the epigraphic evidence discussed, prove that living conditions of slaves improved in the 1st century AD? Most probably not. As some of the supporters of this idea are well aware, most of the “signs” of this improvement are

¹²⁹⁸ *TAM* V1 188 (Saittai, 169/170 AD).

¹²⁹⁹ *MAMA* X 194 (Appia, late 2nd or early 3rd century AD).

¹³⁰⁰ Waelkens, *Türsteine* 615 (Vetissos).

¹³⁰¹ *MAMA* IX P191 (Aizanoi).

¹³⁰² W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems*, 102-109.

¹³⁰³ Dio Chr., 14.1, 4: “Men desire, more than anything else, to be free, and they say that freedom is the greatest of blessings, while the slavery is the most shameful and wretched of states; and yet they have no knowledge of the essential nature of this freedom and this slavery of which they speak”; English translation by J. W. Cohoon.

¹³⁰⁴ Cass. Dio LX 29.

¹³⁰⁵ Sen. *Ep.* V 47; *Ira* III 24, 40.

¹³⁰⁶ Suet. *Cl.* 25.

¹³⁰⁷ Pl. *Ep.* III 14.

present already in the Hellenistic age, if not earlier.¹³⁰⁸ The alleged improvement of lives of slaves is usually explained as the sign of decrease in their numbers: they were harder to come by than previously, more expensive and valuable and thus better taken care of. But we have already seen that this supposed decline in number of slaves during the Early Empire is probably a modern fiction. Closer personal connections between slaves and free are also attested in epigraphic monuments in the Hellenistic world. Strong statements about slaves as living tools, objects or property are particular of the legal perspective on the question of slavery. The above mentioned statements by various writers and philosophers are actually in harmony with the age-old views. Even the philosophy of Epictetus approaches the questions of slavery and freedom from a conservative stoic point of view. The quoted sentence of Dio belongs to the same realm of philosophy. Stoics differentiated between real and superficial freedom and slavery. “Really” free is the philosopher, a person confident in his knowledge and in control of his wishes and passions. Whether or not this person wears shackles or a crown is irrelevant. The person is free if he or she is free on internal plane, everything outside is of less importance. Such a position achieved little in the way of analysis of the real slavery and certainly offered no solace to those actually in shackles.

7.4 Occupations

Inscriptions commemorating slaves and freedmen are known from every province of the empire; they are almost all found in urban contexts, which of course reflects the general pattern of epigraphic habit. Where the occupation is indicated, it is almost always urban; the majority of slaves whose role is recorded were employed as personal servants, to officials, soldiers or local notables, with a few involved in the imperial administration and a few employed in crafts and trade. There were obviously many slaves in Lydia and Phrygia. Slaves originating from Anatolia are frequently mentioned in the literary tradition: Phrygian slaves in particular had long become a standard motif, while Lydia, Caria and Cappadocia also gathered attention.¹³⁰⁹

¹³⁰⁸ Cf. W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems*, 102.

¹³⁰⁹ W. Scheidel, *The Roman Slave Supply*, in: K. Bradley, P. Cartledge (eds.), *The Cambridge world history of slaves I: The Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge 2011, 304.

Slaves' main occupation continued to be domestic and personal service, in the broadest sense, from doctors, secretaries and tutors to cooks, dressers and masseurs. Generally speaking, females mostly worked around the house, while male slaves were also secretaries, *paedagogi*, or business agents. On Pisido-Phrygian border one female estate manager is attested.¹³¹⁰

Εἰρήνη Λονγίλλιανου καὶ / Σεουήρου οἰκονόμισσα Στά/χυι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ σεμνοτάτῳ / μνείας χάριν.

Although there was an opinion that Eirene was the wife of an *oikonomos* named Stachys, Robert later argued that she was in the service of Longillianus and Severus as a slave and that Stachys was only named as her husband.¹³¹¹ Nothing in the inscription points to her servile status, but we are probably entitled to assume it.

In Hierapolis an epitaph of the *paidagogos* Heliodoros is preserved:¹³¹²

Ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος Ἡλιοδώρου παιδαγωγοῦ, / ἐν ἧ κηδευθήσεται αὐτός, ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς / μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δέ τις τολμήσῃ ὑ/πεναντίον, δώσει προστίμου τῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) φ' · / ὧν προνοήσονται οἱ παιδευταὶ καὶ οἱ κηδό/μενοι τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου· ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς / ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα·

Judging by the fact that the tomb was going to be looked after by παιδευταί, Heliodoros' professional colleagues, we could perhaps deduce that he was a slave without relatives.

Many slaves participated in nurturing and rearing their masters' children as well as other children in and outside the household. In a recently published inscription from Hypaipa previously unattested expression ἄνθρωποι θρεπτικοί is documented and the editors believe it could be an equivalent to θρέψαντες, τροφεῖς and *nutritores*.¹³¹³

¹³¹⁰ MAMA VIII 399 = I Sultan Dağı 567.

¹³¹¹ L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 106-107 esp. n. 4: "elle aussi était intendante et elle était esclave."

¹³¹² SEG LIV 1338 A ll. 1-7.

¹³¹³ M. Riel, H. Malay, ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΘΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΙ in a new inscription from Hypaipa, *EA* 38 (2005), 50 = SEG LV 1288 (2nd century AD).

[Ἔτους . . . , μη(νός)] Ἀπελλαίου κ' / [.]αυλου καὶ Ἐλπίς / [.
 Ὑπα]ιτηναὶ ἠγόρασαν / [τὸν οἶκον ἐπ]ικείμενον ἐπὶ καμά/[ρα σὺν καὶ τῆ] καμάρα καὶ
 μνημεῖ/[ον παρακείμ]ενον πρὸς τὸ εἰς τὸ μνη/[μεῖον τεθῆν]αι ἑαυτάς τε καὶ Τρόφι/[μον
 καὶ Ἐπ]ικράτην τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐ/[τῶν καὶ τὰ] τέκνα καὶ τὰ ἔγγονα αὐ/[τῶν, μηδ]ενὸς
 ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν / [ἐνθάδε] τεθ<ῆ>νε · εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτά / [τι ποιή]σει, ἀποδώσει εἰς
 τὸν κυ/[ρίου] Καίσαρος φύσκον * ,βφ' καὶ εἰς / [τὴν] ἐν Ὑπαίποις Ἄρτεμιν * ,αφ' /
 [ἄν τι]νι δὲ βουληθῶ<σ>ιν συνχωρῆσαι / [Τρό]φιμος ἢ Ἐπικράτης οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμῶν /
 [ἐπι]τεθῆναι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῶον, ἐξου/[σίαν] ἐξουσιν ἔτι τεκέων τρέφουσιν / [ῆ ἐν]τὸς
 ἀνθρώπων θρεπτικῶν εἴ τιν' / [ἀπελε]υθερώσει τις αὐτῶν · ὁμοίως ἐξουσί/[αν ὁ
 ἀπ]ελευθερωθεὶς τοῦ τεθῆνε ἐνθάδε / [τὰ τέκ]να αὐτοῦ.

Two women, Elpis and her friend or relative purchased the funerary complex intended for their large families. Unlike them, their husbands have neither patronymic nor ethnics and this could be seen as a sign of their low status. They seem to be in a subordinate position as it was the wives who bought the funerary complex themselves.¹³¹⁴ The future freedmen of the house who were at the time in charge of nurturing their masters' children will have the right to be interred in the *heroon*.¹³¹⁵ It seems that thanks to the slaves' close relations to Elpis and the rest of the family, the ones who nurtured their masters' children could expect an early manumission and the privilege of being buried in the family tomb.¹³¹⁶

In northeast Lydia, there are several inscriptions mentioning seven,¹³¹⁷ eight¹³¹⁸ or in one case even 34 people¹³¹⁹ reared by the same couple or individual.¹³²⁰ A couple in Tomara who nurtured eight *θρεπτοί* were slaves of one Antistius Priscus:¹³²¹

¹³¹⁴ M. Riel, H. Malay, *ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΘΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΙ*, 47.

¹³¹⁵ M. Riel, H. Malay, *ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΘΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΙ*, 48.

¹³¹⁶ M. Riel, H. Malay, *ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΘΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΙ*, 50.

¹³¹⁷ *SEG XLIX* 1620 (Maionia, imperial period).

¹³¹⁸ *TAM V1* 764 (Iulia Gordos), 782 (Tomara, 120/121 AD); *SEG XL* 1093 (Lydia, 175/176 AD); Hermann, Malay, *New documents* no. 37 (west of Daldis, Roman Imperial period).

¹³¹⁹ *TAM V1* 786 (Tomara): Εὐξενος τὸν πατέρα, Ε[ὔ]ξεν[ος] / τὸν ἀδελφόν, Αθηναίς, Στρατον/εἰκη τὸν / πατρῶν, Ἡρακλείδης, / Ἄφειν τὸν πάτρως, Αριστογένη / ..ΝΕ..ΔΩΣ[Α Φ]οιν[ικί]ς, Ἰουλία τὸν / [.]ΛΙΑΡΙΟΝ, Τρόφιμο[ς ὁ τε]θραμμέν[ος], / Καλλενεῖκη τὸν θρέψαντα, Σ---Ε-- / ΡΟΣ, Φοῖβος, Ὀνήσιμος, ΕΛΛΑ... / ΙΣΣ..Σ, Τροφιμίον, Τελεσφο/ρίων, Φιλάργυρος, Πολύειδος, Ἐρμῆς, / Φίλητος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Απολλωνία, / Τελεσφορία, Γλυκωνίς, Τερτία, / Ἀμπελίς, ΚΑΘΕ..ΑΙΣ, Φοῖβη, Ὀνησίμη, Τροφίμη, Κάρπος, Ξάνθος(?), / Σωτηρίς, Μοῦσα, Ἐλπίς, Πρέπου/[σα, ...], Εἰρήνη, Ναίς, Εὐτυχίς, / [Β]ασιλία, Τρόφιμος, Εὔρετος, / [.....], Ἐλπίς τὸν θρέψαντα / [] οἱ συγγενεῖς καὶ ὕδεις καὶ / [π]άντες ἐτείμη[σαν.] / [] —]Ε.ΟΥ[— / χαῖρε]· καὶ σύ.

¹³²⁰ Riel, *Legal and social status*, 108.

ἔτους σε', μη(νός) Αὐδν/αίου θί'. / ἐτείμησεν Ἴσθμ/ος Ἀν{τνδ}τιστίου Πρ/είσκου Ἀρμονίαν τ/ήν γυναῖκα, Κόσμος, Ἐ/τοιμίων, Ἡδέα τὴν μητ/έρας, Θάλαμος, Νεικηφό/ρος, Ἀντιωχᾶ<ς> οἱ δαέρες, Ἐ/πίκτητος, Μελιτίν<η>, Εὔκαρ/πος, Νεικηφόρος, Ζώσιμος, Χ/ρυσέρωσ, Τύχη, Ἡδιστος τὴν / θρέψασαν, Φιλήτη τὴν ἐνάτε/ρα, Αντις, Ἀλικωνίς τὴν πατρ/εῖ<α>ν, Ἀντιωχᾶς τὴν πατρε/ίαν καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς πᾶ/ντε

As Riel suggested, there is a possibility that there were couples and individuals specialized in bringing up and training other people's slaves or exposed and rescued children.¹³²² This possibility is sustained by the attestation of two Phrygian male educators designated as ἄππας.¹³²³

There are just a few epigraphic attestations of slaves active in agriculture¹³²⁴ and Broughton argued that agricultural slavery was of little importance.¹³²⁵ This assumption has a large following. In the Phrygian inscription slaves are used as cattle shepherds, in the area of Kula, there was a five year old boy, probably a slave who was also a shepherd. In Thermai Theseos there is a whole family of slaves on the estate of a possible descendant of illustrious Pergamene family, one C. Iulius Quadratus:

ἔτους σκε', μη(νός) ια' πρ(οτέρῳ). κολλήγιον φαμλί/ας Γ. Ἰ(ουλίου) Κουαδράτου τ[ὸ] ὄν ἐν Θερμαῖς / Θησέως κόμη τῆς Μοκαδδηνῆς ἐ/τείμησεν Ἐπιτυγχάνοντα ἥρωα ἐ/τῶν ἠ', προνοησαμένων Ἐπιτυν[χά]/νοντος πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς Σωτηρίδος.

Slavery in industry was equally conspicuous by its absence. As we have seen there are several indications that there were slaves working in the textile or wood industries in Saittai. There are two possible attestations of slaves in Saittai, belonging to the same family¹³²⁶ and few other examples, also in Saittai, as three persons

¹³²¹ TAM V1 782 (Tomara, 120/121 AD).

¹³²² Riel, Legal and social status, 108.

¹³²³ MAMA VII 170 (Hadrianopolis); MAMA VIII 357 (Killanion Plain).

¹³²⁴ TAM V1 71 (Thermai Theseos, 140/141 AD); TAM V1 317 (are of Kula, early 2nd century AD); MAMA IV 297 (Dionysopolis, 3rd century AD).

¹³²⁵ Broughton, Asia Minor under the Empire 27BC – 337 AD, 690-692; see also W. Westermann, *The Slave Systems*, 120.

¹³²⁶ TAM V1 85; SEG XXIX 1186; cf. also Zimermann, *Handwerkervereine*, 93-95.

Ammianus,¹³²⁷ Attalios¹³²⁸ and Iulianus¹³²⁹ do not have their patronymic indicated in the inscriptions, a possible indicator of their servile status. As we have seen in Saittai a certain Octavius Polykleites is one of the local *lanarioi*.¹³³⁰ The Octavii Polliones are known as one of the most prominent families in the city. Perhaps the person mentioned in the inscription is either their freedman or his son. Incidentally, the same family had a slave Philetairos as a member of the association of *tektones*.¹³³¹ In an epitaph from Philadelphia, a female linen worker named Trophime is attested.¹³³² As she has no patronymic we could perhaps suppose her servile status.

A special category of slaves were gladiators. One is attested in Saittai as a member of the first team of gladiators and probably had won some victories in the arena.¹³³³

Μάτερος δοῦ[λος / πά]λ(ος) α', [νι(κῶν)...].

Another possible, although not explicit example is a new funerary inscription for a gladiator from Tralleis: Σπεῖκλος Στράτωνι μνείας χάριν.¹³³⁴ Apart from inscription, this monument contains a relief depicting gladiator within a rectangular recess. We see a typical representation of a gladiator resting on his right foot. In his hands he carries a small square shield and a short curved sword. The gladiator's face is completely covered by the helmet and the shield. His name Σπῖκλος probably derived from Latin *spīculus*, “sharp, pointed”. It is another kind of utilitarian slave-name, appropriate for a highly distinct profession.

7.5 Hierodouloi

The sacred manumission is a curious social and religious institution that existed in many parts of the Greek speaking world. It is encountered in Delphi and elsewhere in

¹³²⁷ TAM V1 84: epitaph made by συνεργασία τῶν λινοουργῶν.

¹³²⁸ SEG XXIX 1195: epitaph made by συνεργασία τῶν πιλοποιοί.

¹³²⁹ TAM V1 83: epitaph made by συνεργασία τῶν λινοουργῶν.

¹³³⁰ TAM V1 85 (145/146 AD).

¹³³¹ SEG XXIX 1186 (165/166 AD).

¹³³² TAM V3 1790.

¹³³³ TAM V1 140; cf. L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, 161 no. 136 and p. 286.

¹³³⁴ A. Saraçoğlu, M. Çekilmez, A Gladiator Stele From Tralleis, *EA* 43 (2010), 57–58.

Central Greece, in Macedonia, Asia Minor and Syria. The very geographical and chronological disparity gave rise to doubts if we are actually dealing with a single phenomenon. The nature of this institution too caused a fair amount of puzzlement for scholars, as well as the issue of the actual status of these sacred slaves (*hierodouloi*). Their position regarding the sanctuary, the deity and their former masters needs some clarification as well as the issue of their actual freedom or bondage. Are these “sacred slaves” slaves at all?

Westermann made an attempt to solve these questions by claiming that the “sacred manumission” was, actually, a full and complete manumission. In his opinion, once the transaction (either dedication or sale) was done, the person in question was really free by the very nature of the act itself. He could, of course, remain in the sanctuary as *hierodoulos* but this had little in common with the “secular” slavery. Westermann believed that slavery was a secular institution foreign to the Greek religion and that Greek gods, at least formally, could never own slaves.¹³³⁵ Sokolowski praised the overall value of Westermann’s attempt and some of his insights but rejected the general conclusion. He pointed out to a well documented fact (one that Westermann was well aware of, but tried to downplay its significance) that Greek sanctuaries could purchase and sell slaves like any other public institutions or private persons. Sokolowski criticized several distinguished scholars for their half-hearted attempts to solve a complex and important question. “I think therefore that the real meaning of the sacral manumission is not clear, the terms ‘trust sale,’ ‘fiduciary sale,’ and ‘apparent sale’ are too nebulous.”¹³³⁶

Most of the difficulties in understanding the sacred manumission lay in explaining the precise meaning of *paramone* (i.e. “waiting period”, “*obligation to continue in service*, of a slave whose manumission is deferred”)¹³³⁷ clause in this type of inscriptions. Why obligation and delay, if a slave is freed by being dedicated to a deity? It seems that by this transaction a slave acquired a special status that insured the protection against any future attempts at seizure but also included certain obligations, at least during a trial period. This important assumption needs to be examined in the light

¹³³⁵ W. L. Westermann, Slavery and the Elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece, *Quarterly Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences* 2 (1943), 1-14.

¹³³⁶ F. Sokolowski, The Real Meaning of Sacral Manumission, *Harvard Theological Review* 47-3 (1954), 174.

¹³³⁷ LSJ sv. παραμονή.

of an important inscription from Phrygia were the sacred manumission seems to be thwarted. There are also profound differences between the obligations of a *hierodoulos* and those of an ordinary slave. “The transfer of the slave to the god could be carried out in two ways: by the master or by the slave himself. The dedication by the master with or without the condition of liberty is attested by numerous documents from all periods of Greek history. Other scholars were closer to the opinion that *hierodouloi* initially were real slaves but their status evolved over time and the ownership of the “sacred slave” became a special position based on a trust and acceptance rather than the actual physical possession. This is in agreement with Riehl who suggested that “people of the sanctuary were perhaps originally completely slave and parts of the patrimony (*hieroi douloi*); then they slowly developed into various statuses (*hieroi*, *hierodouloi* and sim.), remaining tied to the sanctuary in a kind of symbiosis.”¹³³⁸

As we have seen earlier, in Roman Imperial period private persons had the customs of donating their slaves to local sanctuaries.¹³³⁹ There are several explicit attestations of *hierodouloi* in Lydia. One is attributed to the area of Hierokaisareia from the mid-2nd century BC.¹³⁴⁰ There are also three from the Roman period, two undated from Iaza¹³⁴¹ and one more from the 3rd century AD Maionia.¹³⁴²

ἔτους τελέ, μη(νός) [Αὐ]/γναίου ἰβ'. Τρό[φι]/μος Νεικία ἱε[ρό]/δουλος ἐπιζ[ητή]/σαντος Διὸς Σ[αβ]/αζίου διὰ τὸ κ[. . .]/σεσθε αὐτὸν [ἔγρα]/ψα καὶ ἀνέσστ[ησα] / στηλλη[ν].

Of the three *hierodouloi* mentioned in these inscriptions, two have patronymics and one of them is mentioned as a *synierodoulos* of a priest.¹³⁴³ More commonly used is the expression *hieroi*, attested several times in Lydia¹³⁴⁴ and frequently used in

¹³³⁸ M. Riehl, The Cult of the Iranian goddess Anāhitā in Anatolia before and after Alexander, *ŽA* 52 (2002), 208.

¹³³⁹ *TAM* V2 1252.

¹³⁴⁰ *TAM* V2 1253 (155/154 BC): βασι<ιλ>εύον<τ>ος Ἀττάλου / ἔτους ε', μηνός <Π>εριτ<ί>ου. / οἱ ἐγ Δοαρρήνης / ἱερόδουλο[ι] / Ἀρτέμιδι ὑπὲρ Μενάνδρου ΠΙΕΡΤ / ἱερονόμου καλοκαγαθίας / ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆ[ς] / εἰς αὐτοῦς.

¹³⁴¹ *TAM* V1 459: ἱερόδουλον Τρόφιμο[ν Μη]/τρὸς Ἴπτα καὶ Διὸς Σαβαζίου / ποιήσας συρῆναι ὑπὸ ἔξου/σίας κολασθῆς ἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλ/μοὺς ἀνέστησα τὴν στηλῆν; *TAM* V1 483a ll. 15-17: καὶ Γλύκων [ὁ ἱε]/ρεὺς τὸν συνιερόδουλον ἐτείμη/σεν χροισῶ στεφάνῳ; cf. also *SEG* LVII 1185 (Kollyda, 197/198 AD).

¹³⁴² *TAM* V1 593 (250/251 AD).

¹³⁴³ Riehl, *Society and Economy of Rural Sanctuaries*, p. 88.

¹³⁴⁴ *TAM* V1 182 (area of Saittai); 423 (Kollyda); 681 (Characipolis); *TAM* V2 1348 (Magnesia ad Sipyllum); *SEG* XXXIV 1219 (Saittai); Petzl, *Beichtinschriften* no. 5; I Manisa Museum 234.

katagraphe inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos near Hierapolis. In Lydian inscriptions *hieroi* appear to be a group active in a sanctuary, not as individuals. Ricl appropriately pointed out that “it is difficult to say whether the terms δοῦλος τῶν θεῶν, ἱερόδουλος and ἱερός found in the Lydian inscriptions define a status or an office (or both).”¹³⁴⁵

In Phrygian *katagraphe* inscriptions consecrated slaves became ἱεροὶ καὶ ἐλεύθεροι, while consecrated freeborn children were ἱεροί. There are no precise information on the duties of *hierodouloi* and *hieroi* in and around sanctuary. They could have participated in cult ceremonies, but also had some work on temple estates or workshops. In Aizanoi one *hieros* by the name of Hermas is attested; he took care of δημόσια γράμματα.¹³⁴⁶ The legal and social status of slaves of gods varied according with local traditions and periods. So far, no freedmen of gods are attested either in Lydia or in Phrygia.¹³⁴⁷

An unusually intriguing and difficult confession inscription from the same sanctuary is also documenting what seems to be a failed sacred manumission.¹³⁴⁸ A former slave whose name is only partly preserved (Neik...) confesses his many sins to Helios Apollo. Among them is a sacred manumission of one of the family slaves. This was done without the consent of the master who demanded the manumission be cancelled; this, however, was a breach of promise given to sanctuary: καὶ παραγγ[εῖλ]/[α]ντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ δίδιν / [τῆ]ν ἐλευθερίαν τῷ κυρίῳ μου / [πε]ριδιωκόμενος ἔδωκα.¹³⁴⁹

The confessor even mentions a dream in which the deity came to claim the promised slave: ἐκολ/άσθην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλὰ / [κ]αὶ ὄνειροις μοι παρεστάθη καὶ / ἐπενποδὼν <π>ρολαβὼν ἐμὸ[ν] / δοῦλον καὶ ἂν πύλας ἰζόμεν[ον] / καὶ κεῖθεν ἀνάξι.¹³⁵⁰

This document provides an interesting example of unrealized sacred manumission. At first glance, the problem is the one of manumission initiated by a

¹³⁴⁵ Ricl, *Society and Economy of Rural Sanctuaries*, p. 89.

¹³⁴⁶ *MAMA IX P28*.

¹³⁴⁷ More on this see Ricl, *Society and Economy of Rural Sanctuaries*, 90.

¹³⁴⁸ *MAMA IV 279* (2nd or 3rd century AD); cf. Ricl, *Svest o grehu*, 239-240 no. 124.

¹³⁴⁹ *MAMA IV 279 II. 7-10*.

¹³⁵⁰ *MAMA IV 279 II. 10-15*.

person lacking the legal power. It seems that the official position of the sanctuary was that the manumission was valid and that it should be carried through.

7.6 Imperial slaves and freedmen

Imperial slaves and freedmen are not so frequently attested in Lydia and Phrygia compared to some other parts of the Roman Empire. They belonged to a distinct category which was not affected by the usual problems of slave labor. Their social position and financial status was noticeably different than the average slave population.

One very interesting inscription from Hadrianopolis in Phrygia is documenting one imperial homeborn slave as *eirenarch*:¹³⁵¹

Κοσμίῳ κυρίου Καίσα/ρος οὐέρνας εἰρη/νάρχης Διὶ Μεγίστῳ εὐ/χίην.

It is unusual to find an imperial *verna* holding the *eirenarchia*.¹³⁵² He was perhaps a kind of police officer but connected with an Imperial estate and not a municipal magistrate.¹³⁵³ One imperial freedman, known from the dedications to Zeus Bennios from the Upper Tembris Valley, was, after manumission, an εἰρηνοφύλαξ τῆς ἐπαρχείας, a kind of police officer of the *eparcheia*, equivalent of the municipal *eirenarchai*:¹³⁵⁴

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Καίσα/ρος τὸ θ' καὶ Τίτου Καίσαρος τὸ ζ', Τί/τος Φλάβιος Ἥλιος Οὐεσπασια/νοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρως εἰρηνο/φύλαξ τῆς ἐπαρχείας, υἱὸς δὲ Γλύκωνος Τειμαίου Ἀγροστεα/νοῦ, ὑπὲρ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ / ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ Σεξιτιλίας Ποπλίου / θυγατρὸς Ἡδονῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς / καὶ ὑπὲρ Τίτου Φλαβίου Σεξιτιλιανοῦ Ἥλιου υἱοῦ ἰδίου Διὶ Βεννίῳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρί/δος Ἀγροστεων καὶ Ζβουρηας καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν.

¹³⁵¹ *MAMA* VII 135 = I Sultan Dağı 396.

¹³⁵² See also ed. pr. J. G. C. Anderson, A summer in Phrygia II, *JHS* 18 (1898), 123.

¹³⁵³ On this particular inscription see also Schultess in *RE Suppl.* III s. v. εἰρηνάρχαι, p. 420: “nicht städtischer E. gewesen sein, sondern bloß über die kaiserliche Domäne”; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1514 n. 46: “his duties may have been limited to an imperial domain”.

¹³⁵⁴ *SEG* XL 1232 (79 AD); also *SEG* XL 1233.

It seems that Helios, Glykon and Teimaios worked as slaves on the imperial estate on which also the marble quarries near Soa were situated. After manumission and enfranchisement, apart from the new office and new name, T. Flavius Helios married the free-born woman Sextilia Hedone. From this one, as well the other dedication to the same deity, we can see they had a son, T. Flavius Sextilianus Helios. Another possibility could be that he was freeborn, but sold himself into slavery, perhaps for easier advancement in the administration.

One imperial freedman was honored as *euergetes* in the inscription from Stektorion.¹³⁵⁵

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος / ἐτείμησεν Μ. Αὐρ. / Σεβαστῶν ἀπελεύθερον Κρήσκεντα, ἐπίτροπον Λυγδοῦ/νου Γαλλίας καὶ ἐπίτροπον Φρυγίας καὶ ἐπίτροπον καστρηῆσιν, ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εὐεργετήσαντα / τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν· τοῦ ἀν/[δ]ριάντος τὴν ἀνάστασιν / ποιησαμένου Αὐρ. Σεβαστῶν ἀπελευθέρου / Ζωσίμου.

Another example, found in Tyriaion, is an honorary inscription by the *boule* and *demos* honoring a freedman Publius.¹³⁵⁶ An imperial freedman Maximus was honored in Attaleia as a benefactor of the *kofineion neoterion*.¹³⁵⁷

One epitaph to a child of five suggests that the father was residing at Nakoleia at the time. As he was a slave of an emperor, he was probably attached to the nearby imperial estates:¹³⁵⁸

[. Καίσαρος] / [Γε]ρμανικοῦ τὸ [β'] / ὑπάτου δοῦ[λος] / Φίλωνι υἱῷ ζή[σαν]/τι ἔτη ε' μῆνας δ' [ἡμέ]ρας κε'.

Another funerary inscription, from Laodikeia on the Lykos, documents an imperial freedman with his family, slaves and freedmen.¹³⁵⁹

¹³⁵⁵ Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics*, 704, 641.

¹³⁵⁶ *I Sultan Dağı* 365: Ἀδριανοπολιτῶν ἡ [β]ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐ[τείμησαν Πούπλιον] [- - - -] δού ἔντεινον [- - - -] ἀπελευθε[- - - - -] κτι[- - - - -].

¹³⁵⁷ *TAM* V2 845: [Μ]αξιμῷ Σεβα[στοῦ] / ἀπελευθέρω κο[ινεῖ(?)]/ον τὸ νεώτερον τ[ῶ] / ιδίῳ εὐεργέτη.

¹³⁵⁸ *MAMA* V 201 (18/19 AD).

¹³⁵⁹ *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 85.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡλιοδωρος Σεβαστῶν ἀπελευθερος / ἐπεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρῶον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ
 θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλία Ἡλιοδώρα τῇ καὶ Πολυχρονία / καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλία
 Φλαβία καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐ/τοῦ ἀπελευθέροις·

The position and possible wealth of some imperial slaves and freedmen is documented by one inscription from Dionysopolis, where a slave of Domitia Augusta, wife of the emperor Domitian, donated some roof tiles and money for the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos:¹³⁶⁰

[Δ]όκιμος Δομιτί/[α]ς Σεβαστῆς δοῦ[λ]ος Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρ/μηνῶ ἀνέθηκεν /
 [κ]εραμεῖδας δέ/[κ]α καὶ εἰς τὴν χρύ/σωσιν τοῦ παθνω/ματικοῦ (δην.) ἰβ´.

Another example would be Eutyches, an imperial slave in north Phrygia who erected statue of Apollo in the sanctuary of Apollo, celebrating his master's victory:¹³⁶¹

[χαῖρ]ε δῆμε Μαληνῶν / ἀγαθῇ τύχηι / ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κυ/ρίων αὐτοκρατό/ρων νείκης
 Εὐτυχῆς δοῦλος τῶν / Σεβ(αστῶν) τὸν ἀρχηγέ/την Ἀπόλλωνα σὺν / τῷ βωμῷ εἴλεφ
 ἀ/νέστησεν ἐκ τῶν / ἰδίων δῆμῳ Μαλη/νῶν.

In Tralleis, Chresimos, freedman of emperor Nerva, helped the building of *thermae* in the *gymnasion*:¹³⁶²

[Imp(eratori)] Nerva[e Caes(ari) Aug(usto)] / p(atri) p(atriae) / [Chr]esimus [Aug(usti)
 l(ibertus) proc(urator) lapi]/[cidin]arum σε[λλam?] / [cal]dariam γ[ymnasii] /
 [Tral]lianoru[m marmoribus / exo]rnatam ad[ie]ctis —/— d[uo]bus [dedicavit.] /
 [Αὐ]τοκράτορι Νέρ[ουα Σεβαστῶ] / πατρὶ πατρίδ<ο>[ς] / Χρήσιμος ἀπε[λεύθερος ἐπί]-
 τροπος λατομε[ιῶν τὸ θερμὸν] / τοῦ γυμνασίου [παρὰ Τραλ]/λانوῖς τῇ πο[ικιλίαι] /
 λίθων κοσμήσ[ας δύο —] / οὐς ἐν αὐτῷ [προσθεῖς] / καθιέρωσ[εν.]

¹³⁶⁰ *MAMA* IV 293 (ca 90 AD).

¹³⁶¹ Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia* 318,51.

¹³⁶² *IK Tralleis* 148 (96/98 AD).

In Tyriaion there is also a dedication by an imperial freedman, (M. Aurelius) Eukleides, to an emperor. The emperor, probably Commodus, was hailed as νέος ἥλιος.¹³⁶³

A prayer for Trajan's well-being and victory erected by an imperial slave in 104 AD, one year before the final conflict with Decebalus in Dacia, is probably found in Sebaste:¹³⁶⁴

ὑπὲρ τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος / Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ / Δακικοῦ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τε καὶ νείκης / Εὐφραστος Καίσαρος / δοῦλος ἔτους / ρηί, μη(νός) θ'.

In Dorylaion one Karikos, together with his wife and children, erected a *bomos* to Agathopous, an imperial slave, a horseman in Synnada.¹³⁶⁵

7.7 Manumissions

The institutionalized release from slavery was very common in Greco-Roman world. The frequency and general simplicity of manumission set ancient slavery apart from its medieval and modern counterparts. The manumission is probably the most neglected aspect of slavery in the modern historiography. The reason is probably that most of the students of ancient slavery consider manumission as the virtual end of slavery which is not true, strictly speaking.¹³⁶⁶ At least in some variants of Greek manumissions, freed slaves retained a number of obligations toward their former masters. Although in strictly legal terms the rights attained by a freedman were equal to that of a resident foreigner, their social position was not the same. Once again, this is the area where Roman practice was more flexible and open.

Fortunately enough, in Greek and Roman society slaves could anticipate freedom if they worked hard and demonstrated skill. Legal manumission was the key.

¹³⁶³ *MAMA* VII 107 = *I Sultan Dağı* 343: [ὑπὲρ νείκης Αὐτο]/κράτορος νέου Ἡλίου [Κομ]όδου Μάρκο[ς / Α]ῦρ[ήλιος Ε]ὐκλείδη[ς / ἀπελ(εὐθερος) Καίσα]ρος Αὐτο/[κράτορος Δι Με]γίστω / [ε]ὐ[χίην].

¹³⁶⁴ *SEG* XXXI 1124

¹³⁶⁵ *MAMA* V Lists I(i) 182,122: Καρικὸς Ἀγαθόπο/δι δούλω τοῦ κυρί/ου Αὐτοκράτορος, / ἰππεῖ τῶν ἐν Συννά/δοις, σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ Δό/μνη καὶ τέκνοις αὐ/τοῦ μνίας χάριν ἀνέ/θηκαν τὸν βωμόν.

¹³⁶⁶ R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free*, 5.

Nevertheless, close bonds between former slaves and masters remain and are sometimes commemorated in the inscriptions.

Following Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz's study, taxonomy for Greek types of manumission may be schematized as follows, based primarily on the parties or entities involved: the public or private identity of the manumittor (the polis or a private citizen); the presence of a deity (sacral manumission); the involvement of political institutions; and the degree to which the action is publicized. All of these types involved witnesses such as family or friends – similar to Roman *manumissio inter amicos* – but whose presence served only for purpose of evidence in court, should it be needed. Because of the informal nature of these manumissions, little evidence survives. Two non-Roman manumission processes most common in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire are well-attested: sacral and secular.¹³⁶⁷

Slaves were manumitted with great frequency, and freedmen were accepted into Roman society. For centuries Romans had a tax of five percent on manumissions (*vicesima manumissionum/libertatis*).¹³⁶⁸ In Lydia, Thyateira, we have a reference to an embassy trying to negotiate relief from the burden of 5% tax on manumission on behalf of the whole province of Asia.¹³⁶⁹ We can deduce that the tax was a burden, probably due to the frequency of manumissions. We should also bear in mind, as Scheidel observed, that high rates of manumission can make a biologically reproducing slave population socially non-reproductive.¹³⁷⁰

The most prominent ex-slave that ever came from Phrygia was the stoic philosopher Epictetus. He was born in the mid-1st century Phrygia, probably in Hierapolis as a child of slave parents.¹³⁷¹ The name he was given at birth is unknown as well as the names of his parents. In his young age he became a slave of Nero's freedman

¹³⁶⁷ R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free*, 69-79.

¹³⁶⁸ The tax was introduced in 357 BC by the consul Manlius; the tax was filed under the agricultural category, and the duty and sum of the tax collection could be auctioned off to *publicani* who would go out and collect it, for more see K. Bradley, *The vicesima libertatis: Its History and Significance*, *Klio* 66 (1984), 175-182.

¹³⁶⁹ *TAM* V2 973.

¹³⁷⁰ W. Scheidel, *Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire*, *JRS* 87 (1997), 157.

¹³⁷¹ In Asia some importance seems to be invested in the fact that he was of the local origin. There is a stoic diatribe preserved in an inscription from Pisidia (dated 150-200 AD), mentioning Epictetus as a slave, *SEG* XLVII 1757 ll. 15-19: ὦ ξ[έ]νε, Ἐπ[ί]κτατος δούλας ἀπὸ ματρὸς ἐτέχθη, / αἰέ[ν] ὄν] ἀνθρώπων σοφία ἐπι κύδαν' <ἐ>μὰ φρήν, / ὄν <τι> χρή με λέγειν· θ<ε>ῖος γένετ'· αἴθε δὲ καὶ νῦν / τοιοῦτός τις ἀνήρ ὄφελος μέγα καὶ μέγα χάριμα / πάντων εὐξαμένων δούλας ἀπὸ ματρὸς ἐτέχθη.

and secretary (*a libelis*) Epaphroditus in Rome.¹³⁷² That gave him an opportunity to circulate among the Roman elite and study with the eminent Musonius Rufus. When Domitian in the early nineties expelled philosophers from the city, Epictetus went to Nicopolis in Epirus and attracted a large audience, including the historian Arrian and perhaps even, Hadrian. It should also be noted that there is no evidence as to whether Epictetus had previously been manumitted by Epaphroditus, or as to what his status was later on.¹³⁷³ The long journey from Hierapolis to Rome was typical of the compulsory mobility to which Roman slaves from the Eastern provinces were normally subjected. One could say that it was because of slavery that Epictetus became a philosopher, as slavery seems to have brought him certain opportunities.¹³⁷⁴ A striking feature of Epictetus' teaching is a preoccupation with freedom; this preoccupation could be explained by the notion that a philosopher who had once been slave might well have had a far keener appreciation of liberty than one who had not.

Explicit mentions of manumissions in Lydia and Phrygia are comparatively rare. Two characteristic examples, one from each province, will be discussed. In Lyendos, one freedman, Chares, son of Chares erected a grave monument for his former mistress.¹³⁷⁵ Their relation is described in a very positive manner.

Another category would be sacred manumissions. In this type of manumission a slave owner dedicated or sold a slave to a deity. A common feature of the sacral manumission was a *paramone* clause (from παραμένειν, “to remain, stay, or continue”), which stipulated that despite paying for the manumission (presumably the slave's self-purchase) newly freed person had to continue serving the master for a certain period. The slave's ostensible purchase of freedom presupposed a social and economic dislocation from the slave owner. Thus, the purpose of the *paramone* was to insure continued service after the slave was manumitted. A classic example of this type of manumission is attested in Pisidia:¹³⁷⁶

¹³⁷² *PIR*² E 74.

¹³⁷³ For more see F. G. B. Millar, Epictetus and the Imperial Court, *JRS* 55 (1965), 141-148.

¹³⁷⁴ K. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*, Cambridge 1994, 174-175.

¹³⁷⁵ *TAM* VI 18 ll. 4-10: Χάρης Χάρητος ἐ[ποίησα(?)] / τὰς ταφ]ὰς τῆς κυρίας μου [— — — / — — —]ας, ἧς / μνήμαις ἰς πέν[θος δά/κρυα] χύνω, καλὰς ἐντολὰς ὑ[πὲρ / ἐμ]οῦ καταλιπούσης ἰς ἐλευ[θερί/α]ν, ἃς ὁ / <σ>ύντροφός μου τετήρηκε / καὶ ὁ θρένας.

¹³⁷⁶ *SEG* 47 1777 (after 212 AD) ll. 14-30; edd. pr. G. H. R. Horsley, R. A. Kearsley, A Paramone Text on a Family Funerary Bomos at Burdur Museuem, *AS* 47 (1997), 51-55; but cf. also M. Riel, A New *Paramone*-inscription from the Burdur Museum, *EA* 29 (1997), 31-34.

Ὀλυμπιάς *vacat* / εἰς παραμονήν *vacat* ἵνα / [[μεί/νη]] καὶ / μηδε/νὶ / ἐ/ξέσ/ται /
κα/τα/δου/λῶσαι αὐτήν, / ἀλλὰ εἶναι / αὐτήν ἐλευ/θέραν *vacat*

Olympias was manumitted on the condition that she would stay, presumably with Aur. Marcia for the duration of the latter's lifetime, but as a free woman in respect to everyone else. The inscription was engraved when Marcia was still alive, and μείνη was erased after her death, probably on Olympias' initiative, since the latter's *paramone*-obligation ended at that moment.¹³⁷⁷

The same sanctuary also yielded an example of conditional manumission. The θρεπτὴ Ammia was manumitted by her owner Aurelia Ammia under the condition that she remains in the service of her former mistress.¹³⁷⁸ This particular example is paralleled by many similar sacred manumissions from the sanctuary at Delphi.¹³⁷⁹

It seems that slave-owners wished to re-capitalise the value of old or dispensable slaves, yet retain their services. The *polis* was probably interested in keeping the social distinctions by sanctioning the former masters' rights to their freed slaves' services; and since manumitted slaves were treated as other non-citizens and engaged in those kinds of work that were considered fit for slaves, manumission was to the advantage of the economic life in the polis.¹³⁸⁰

Another category of inscriptions concerning manumissions are so called *katagraphe* inscriptions, especially from the same sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos. They are so called because of the repeated verb καταγράφω meaning to convey, transfer by deed, register under one's name. As Riel pointed out only the complete phrase ἐξε[χώρ]ησε καὶ παρεχώρησεν [καὶ κατέ]γραψεν¹³⁸¹ is showing the whole procedure: "the master had first relinquished all his rights over the slave, than handed him over to the God and finally had him registered under the God's name."¹³⁸²

¹³⁷⁷ Riel, A New *Paramone*-inscription, 33.

¹³⁷⁸ *MAMA* IV 278 (239/240 AD).

¹³⁷⁹ Cf. commentary of *MAMA* IV 278.

¹³⁸⁰ R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free*, 336.

¹³⁸¹ *SEG* L 1269 ll. 3-4 (237 AD).

¹³⁸² M. Riel, Donations Of Slaves And Freeborn Children to Deities in Roman Macedonia and Phrygia: A Reconsideration, *Tyche* 16 (2001), 156.

In the last decade many new inscriptions of this type were published.¹³⁸³ In most of them the persons consecrated to Apollo are *θεραπετοί*, but as Riel proposed we should perhaps consider all *θεραπετοί* from this sanctuary as slaves.¹³⁸⁴ There are two interesting examples documenting not only consecration of slaves but the conveyance of workshops, houses and tools, as well as incomes and expenditures to the donated slaves:

Ἔτους σης', μη(νός) α', ζι' Ἡλίω Απόλλωνι Λαιρμηνηῶ Ἀπολλώνιος Μηνο[κ]ρίτου
καταγρά/[ω] Ζήγωνα τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ τεθραμμένον· εἰ δέ τις ἐπενκαλέσσει, θήσει εἰς τὸν
θεὸν προσ/[τειμου * ,β]φ' καταγρ(ά)φω δὲ τῶ Ζήγωνι ἐργαστήριον κὲ τὸ δίστεγον κὲ
ἄρμεν[α - - - -]α σὺν εἰσόδοις κὲ ἐξόδοις / -----
- - - -¹³⁸⁵

and

Ἔτους τγ', μη(νός) - Ἡλίω / Ἀπόλλωνι Λε[ρβηνῶ Ἀγα]/θήμερος Ἀγα[θημέρου καὶ] /
ἡ γυνή μου Λη[- - - -]/ οἱ καταγράφο[μεν τὸν] / ἑαυτῶν τετρ[αμμένον - - -] / ΤΟΕΙΔΗΝ
εἰερό[ν· καταγρά]/φω δὲ αὐτῶ τ[ὸ ἐργαστή]/ριον καὶ τὸ δίσ[τεγον καὶ τ]/ῆν εἰσοδον
ἔσω? [- - - - -] / καὶ τὰ ἄρμενα π[άντα? - - -] / γικά· εἰ δέ τις ἐπ[ενκαλέσει], / θήσι εἰς
τὸν θε[ὸν * -] / καὶ εἰς τὸν φύσκ[ον * -].¹³⁸⁶

Both of these slaves were probably experts in their trade, had adjoining living quarters and were probably obliged to render services to the temple, but also provided for livelihood for a successful life of a free person.

Another *katagraphe* inscription provides more information on the age and origin of the slave:¹³⁸⁷

¹³⁸³ M. Riel, Les ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΑΙ du sanctuaire d'Apollo Lairbenos, *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 3 (1995), 167-195; T. Ritti, C. Şimşek, H. Yıldız, Dediche e katagrafai del santuario frigio di Apollo Lairbenos, *EA* 32 (2000), 1-88; more recently E. Akıncı Öztürk, C. Tanrıver, New Katagrafai and Dedications from the Sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos, *EA* 41 (2008) 91-104 nos. 1-3, 5-11, and 13-18; E. Akıncı Öztürk, C. Tanrıver, Some New Finds From The Sanctuary Of Apollon Lairbenos, *EA* 42 (2009) 89-96 nos. 5-23; E. Akıncı Öztürk, C. Tanrıver, New Inscriptions From The Sanctuary Of Apollon Lairbenos, *EA* 43 (2010) 43-49 nos. 4-7.

¹³⁸⁴ M. Riel, Donations Of Slaves, 158.

¹³⁸⁵ *SEG* LVIII 1522 (212/213 AD).

¹³⁸⁶ *SEG* LVIII 1524 (218/219 AD).

¹³⁸⁷ *SEG* LVIII 1529 (imperial period); cf. Τίτος Φλόβις Ἀχιλλεώς in *SEG* LVIII 1527.

[- - - - -]ΦΛΔ?ΒΘΣ Ἀχιλεὺς Ἱεραπολεί[της κα]ταγράφω *vacat* / Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλωνι Λερμηνῶν κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλόν μου ὀ[νό]ματι Νείκωνα ὡς ἐτ/ῶν τρεῖς ἀκοντα, ὄν ὠνησάμην παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀντιόχου β' Μοτεληνοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀπὸ [σ]ήμερον ἔστ{θ}ω / ἱερός τοῦ θεοῦ μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἐνκαλέσει· εἰ δέ τις ἐπε[ν]καλέσει, θήσει εἰς / τὸν θεὸν προστείμου * ,βφ' καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερώτ(α)τον ταμίον ἄλλα * ,βφ' *vacat*

The slave Neikon was around thirty years old and even the name of his previous owner is documented. It is also important to notice that this *katagraphe* was effective immediately: he becomes *hieros*, not answering to anyone but the God.¹³⁸⁸

The procedure of official manumission through public archive and subsequent consecration of the slave to Apollo is attested in another document from the same sanctuary.¹³⁸⁹ Achilles freed the slave officially, submitting the papers of manumission to the city archives, and then assigned him to the god. Achilles still refers to Epiktetos as ‘my slave’ in line 3, so editors believe that Epiktetos was perhaps still bound to him by *paramone*.

One other clause is attested several times in this type of documents; that consecrated and manumitted slave cannot be enslaved again.¹³⁹⁰ The conveyed slave was almost an equal member of the community.¹³⁹¹

Manumitted slaves were legally free and, according to the Roman perception of this group, they instantly received most of the privileges of the free population, while in time they could expect full integration into society. There are instances of Roman freedmen achieving high social status, beside imperial freedmen who were often part of the wealthy elite at the very moment of their manumission. Traditional Greek understanding of manumission was at odds with this. In Greek social terms manumitted

¹³⁸⁸ See the commentary on *SEG* LVIII 1529.

¹³⁸⁹ *SEG* LVIII 1527 (229/230 AD): Τίτος Φλάβιος Ἀχιλλεὺς καταγράφω / τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ δοῦλον / ὀνόματι Ἐπίκτητον Ἡλίου Λαρμηνῶν, ὄν κὲ ἐπύη/σα ἐλεύθερον / διὰ τῶν ἐν Μο/τελλοῖς ἀρχαίων / ἔτους τιδ', μη(νός) η', σ' ἀπιοῦσα· εἰ τις δὲ ἐπενκαλέσει, θή{ο}σι / προστείμου ἰς τὸν / θεὸν ἀργυρίου * ,βφ' / κὲ ἰς τὸ ταμίον / *vacat* * ,βφ' *vacat*.

¹³⁹⁰ E.g. *SEG* XLV 1729 (Ricl, *Les ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΑΙ*, 181 no. 32) ll. 6-11: μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἀντείπειν τῇ γραφῇ ταύτῃ ἢ / ἐφάψασθαι ὡς δούλης; *SEG* LVIII 58 1520 (Öztürk, Tanrıver, *New Katagraphai* 2008, 102 no. 14) ll. 7-9: εἰ / τις δὲ ἐπενκαλέσει τοῦ Ζωσί/μου ὡς εἰς δουλίαν ἀνθρώπου.

¹³⁹¹ M. Ricl, *Donation of Slaves*, 156.

slaves' actual position was semi-slavery, or midway between slavery and freedom, at least during the first generation.¹³⁹² The possible confusion in this regard was overcome during time, the Greek concept of manumission gradually retreated. After AD 212 and the Edict of Caracalla, any manumitted slave automatically became Roman citizen. The conflict was resolved by triumph of the Roman concept of freedman.¹³⁹³

7.8 Conclusion

Slavery was a common feature of life in Roman Anatolia. So far as we can see, it was equally well established in both Lydia and Phrygia. There is also good evidence for slavery in urban and rural context. Urban slaves are encountered more often in the epigraphic documents but this is to be expected and it need not be in relation to the actual spread of the institution, although the Egyptian parallel would suggest that slaves were somewhat less common in villages than in towns and cities.

In Asia Minor, the trade in slaves was a natural part of the commercial relations in the eastern Mediterranean; Ephesos, in particular, together with Sardeis, became an important slave market. Large inland commercial centers most certainly had one as well. It seems that the scale of foreign trade in slaves declined from the time of Augustus. Wars of conquest and piracy were certainly much less important in the 1st and the 2nd centuries AD than before. But this does not automatically mean that the total number of slaves declined as well, although this was often assumed by scholars. There are certainly no clear indications in our source material that numbers of slaves diminished: slaves seem to be present as ever before. The answer lies probably in the growth of the relative importance of the local sources of slavery: offspring of slaves and the abandoned infants. The former source was probably the more important one. Natural reproduction of the existing slave population was undoubtedly encouraged by the slave owners and some of them seem to have purposely raised slave to offer them on the market. Almost all of the slaves we have direct evidence about seem to have been born as slaves. This is perhaps facilitated by the rise in prices of average slaves, but we lack direct confirmation.

¹³⁹² R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free*, 339.

¹³⁹³ K. Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World AD 275 – 425*, Cambridge 2011, 368-369.

Slave names are an interesting topic although its relevance for understanding the nature of slavery is rather limited. Thousands of slaves attested in Rome originated from Asia Minor. Nevertheless, the possession of a Greek name by a slave is not in itself proof of Greek or eastern origin. A majority of the slaves attested in Lydian or Phrygian inscription bear Greek names. The choice of names mostly reflects culture and preferences of the slave owners. There is a number of peculiar names as well as some typical “slave-names”. Many slaves also had typical names, prominent among free population, such as Chares and Agathon.

It is sometimes assumed that the Roman presence in Asia Minor brought about an increase in the number of slaves both as managers and as workers, but this claim is hard to substantiate. Slaves were involved in all kinds of activities from personal service to crafts and business, to education, and in all regions and all levels of society from the depths of the countryside to the houses of the urban elite. Their role was vital for sustaining the lifestyles and ambitions of many elite members, including personal services and dominant position in the process of education. However, the inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia do not provide as much information on slaves as we would like.

Perhaps the most intensively debated question concerning ancient slavery is the role of slaves in the production. The 19th century scholars took it for granted that the Greco-Roman society was slave-holding in a very literal sense: slaves were thought to be the ancient working class that did all or most of the physically demanding and humiliating tasks. Nowadays this is the view of only a small minority of historians (mostly those that follow the concepts of M. I. Finley on ancient economy). It is clear that any kind of physical or administrative task in antiquity could be entrusted to slaves. But the question is were the slaves of Lydia and Phrygia dominant or at least a major part of working population?

The simple fact is that epigraphic sources provide no basis for any similar conclusions. There are only a small number of references to slaves as craftsmen and slightly more of those that mention slaves as agricultural workers. Not even all of these examples are beyond doubt. Numerous quarries and mines could well have been worked by slaves but evidence on this is absent. Most of the slaves mentioned in inscriptions are household slaves, doing domestic and menial work. Of course, it was expected of the members of the higher classes to be attended by host of personal slaves, but even

humbler individuals and families could probably afford a slave or two. Does this mean that the importance of slavery in Roman Lydia and Phrygia was not very high? Far from it, the importance of this institution goes well beyond direct economic participation, although one could argue that providing workforce for numerous households constitutes a serious economic role as well.

The above mentioned problem would be easier to solve if only we had solid evidence regarding the number of slaves or their participation in the total population. This is, regrettably, not the case and percentages and population estimates used in this chapter are only reasonable but unproven (and, perhaps, unprovable) assumptions, even if they are taken from some of the best contemporary experts on ancient demography. Of the estimates considered, existing evidence seems to be more in the line with the lower one. It might well be true that slaves were around 10% of population (according to accepted estimate this would be 120000 slaves for the two Anatolian regions) but this is impossible to prove.

Sometimes close bonds and affections between masters and slaves can be observed, displaying perhaps a brighter image in those difficult circumstances. The evidence for closer attachments is surprisingly frequent, given the general scarcity of documents that mention slaves at all. But, once again, this is actually surprising only to those who take the large scale slavery of early modern societies as the norm. In a society where slaves were, for the most part, members of a household and where few, apart from the small number of the wealthiest families, were in possession of more than three slaves, it is only natural that master-slave relations were less formal and rigid, sometimes approaching regular family relations. And sometimes these relations were taken even further. There is also an example of free woman living openly in a marriage-like community with her slave. Certain social distinctions and boundaries that are taken for granted to be absolute among the members of the higher classes seem to lose strength in the lower *strata* of society.

As a social group and a legal category, the slaves were present everywhere but we could only guess their proportion in the general population and their full significance in the production. Their importance in real life of Lydian and Phrygian communities was certainly not negligible, at least that is the impression we get from the epigraphic sources. A number of hugely important questions, as well as most of the smaller ones

simply cannot be solved with the existing evidence. But such issues are typical of the ancient history as a whole, and not specific for the western Anatolia.

8. CONCLUSION

Roman rule in Asia Minor is the single longest period of continuous and complete rule over this region in Antiquity. Most of Asia Minor was incorporated in the Roman Empire already at the time of the Actium and the rest was there by the first half of the 1st century AD. It remained firmly in Roman and Byzantine possession until the Persian and Arab advance in the 7th century AD. No other ancient power, foreign or domestic, held sway over it for any comparable length of time, and few actually ruled the entirety of the peninsula. This alone justifies the opinion that effects of the Roman rule on the Anatolian society were profound and long-lasting. However, a careful examination of all of the available sources concerning various social groups leads to a somewhat different conclusion. While Roman presence undoubtedly left the mark that was neither insignificant nor transient, the social and cultural legacy of the previous, pre-Roman phases of historical development is actually more visible, at least as far as the period under consideration (1st to 3rd centuries AD) is concerned. The changes brought on by the Late Antiquity (4th to 7th centuries) probably amount to one of the biggest transformations in history of Anatolia, but they are the result of a complex interaction of factors, which cannot be simply labeled as the “Roman” influence and they exceed the scope of the present thesis.

The differences between Lydia and Phrygia, singled out in the introduction, remain visible and important throughout this research. Apart from the common social traits shared by the ruling elites of the two Anatolian regions, which were part of the Empire-wide phenomenon, there is hardly any feature that could be described as identical for both of them. Lydia remained a more densely populated and more urbanized area, closely connected to the western seaboard and the administrative center of the province.

Phrygia, covering a much larger area than its western neighbor, even under Roman rule remained less populated, with much more scattered network of cities and probably significantly larger proportion of the rural population (although any kind of precise statistic to support the claim is, of course, lacking). Differences in their cultural traditions are also still visible during the first centuries of the Roman dominion. The separate historical experience influenced the ways the societies of these regions coped with realities of the Roman Empire.

One of the major catalysts of social and economic changes in the Roman Empire is conspicuously absent from either Lydia or Phrygia: the significant role of the Roman army. The military factor that, to a large degree, quickened the pace of the Romanization and molded the shape of the local societies in provinces along the Rhine and Danube is barely noticeable in the Anatolian interior. The reason is easy to establish: Asia was a senatorial province far removed from the borders of the Empire and thus without a significant military presence. Although inland regions, Lydia and Phrygia were on the course of important military roads that offered direct land routes to the eastern theatre of war. But even as there are clear records (mostly by ancient authors) of major military movements across the interior of Asia Minor to (or from) Euphrates *limes*, these seem to have little more than momentary effect on the lives of the local population. From the end of the 2nd century AD the presence of larger military formations is recorded more often, sometimes in connection with the mistreatment of the local population by the soldiers.

Epigraphic record of the military presence in Lydia and Phrygia is slight and does not even begin to compare to the abundance of documents left behind the Roman army along the borders of the Empire. Rare as they are, the attestations of soldiers are much more frequent in Phrygia (over thirty compared to mere five in Lydia). Elsewhere in the Empire more recruits came from rural areas than from civic centers. Although specific numbers are absent, it is probably safe to assume that Asia Minor contributed a large number of recruits to the imperial army (most soldiers mentioned in Phrygian inscriptions are veterans) but this had only limited effect on their home region, because most of them did not return. This is hardly surprising, considering that these men spent up to twenty five years in the military service far away from their place of origin, gradually severing any connection they had with it. Those that did return fit broadly in

the social category of the middle class, although occasionally some of them seem to have had wealth of some size and higher social aspirations. In the case of some active soldiers that are attested in epigraphic record, it is not always certain whether they are actually locals or recorded in Anatolia by accident while on duty.

The protection offered by Roman military power and the comparative stability of the Empire in the first two centuries AD had an important and lasting effect on the populace of the two Anatolian regions. The noticeable prosperity is inconceivable without a necessary level of safety. Situated in the western part of Anatolian interior, Lydia and Phrygia were far removed from any kind of outside threat. Until the very end of the 2nd century AD none of the internal uprisings or civil wars was fought on their soil. Brigandage as a social phenomenon was never quite absent in the ancient world but, since the complaints about it rise only after the Severan period, it seems that prior to it, cases of brigandage were rather rare and the local authorities were able to cope with them efficiently. Conditions were less safe and stable in the 3rd century but even then these regions were rarely directly threatened.

If the epigraphic practice is taken as a measure, we can conclude that the fortunes of urban communities in Lydia and Phrygia were on the steady rise from the Augustan times onward, reaching their peak around the middle of the 2nd century AD. The epigraphic harvest is more plentiful in the 1st century AD than in the 1st century BC and experiences a sudden rise in the 2nd century. There is only a gradual decline during the early 3rd century, but the number of epigraphic finds drops sharply after the middle of the century, which is to be expected, considering the general degradation of safety, frequent civil wars and the debasement of coinage that went on at this time.

There are other indications that social development during the Early and the High Empire should be envisioned against the background of general growth and prosperity. It should be stated, however, that most evidence for this comes from the urban context, although there is no reason to doubt that rural Anatolia experienced the growth of population, if nothing else. Archaeological excavations were conducted more thoroughly on the sites in Lydia than those in Phrygia, but the overall impression is the same: the general size of the cities and the number of large scale building projects reaches an apex around the 150 AD. Sardeis, undisputedly the largest urban center of Lydia (and, probably, larger than any city in Phrygia, with the possible exception of

Apameia) reaches its maximum surface area at this time and the same is true of the smaller centers such as Philadelphia, Tralleis, Magnesia ad Sipylum and the others. This was so in spite of the frequent earthquakes. Even the famine and the plague of the mid-2nd century AD do not seem to have put any permanent obstacle to the development of these cities. There is also direct literary evidence for the size and wealth of Apameia in the early 2nd century AD. Coinage of the individual cities, more widespread and diverse at this time than ever before or later, also bears witness to this. It became unfashionable in the recent historiography to speak of any positive effects of the Roman rule, but the material conditions of the Lydian and Phrygian cities certainly did improve during the period under consideration, and this was in great part due to the stable environment provided by the Roman state.

There is a high degree of continuity between the Hellenistic and Imperial periods in the Roman Asia Minor. The two most obvious aspects displaying that continuity are the public language in use and the shape of civic institutions. While there is some evidence for Greek language even in late Archaic Lydia (but hardly any in Phrygia), the widespread usage and serious epigraphic habit in Greek began only after Alexander's conquest. The Greek becomes the standard language of writing and public discourse in the Hellenistic Lydia and Phrygia (although, once again, the development in Phrygia was much slower and more gradual). This remains so during the Early and High Empire and, in fact, in contrast to the provinces such as Egypt or Syria, it will remain to be the case throughout the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Of course, the predominance of Greek in the public usage does not imply the actual disappearance of the native spoken languages. While the last preserved records of Lydian language are hardly later than the early 3rd century BC, it is safe to assume that it was spoken for a considerable longer length of time. Phrygian, however, is recorded as a written (and, presumably, spoken) language even in the 3rd centuries AD (the so-called Neo-Phrygian inscriptions).

As was the case during the Hellenistic age, the great majority of all inscriptions are recorded in standard *koine* Greek. The intrusion of Latin is very limited. We have no basis to estimate the size of the population that used Latin as the language of the everyday communication; it was probably not very large and confined to the families of western immigrants. It is unlikely that even the senators and equestrians of local origin

used Latin as their first language. While a number of Roman military colonies was established in these parts of Anatolia, they do not seem to have kept their Latin character for more than a generation or two, with a possible exception of Antiochia in or near Pisidia (actually in the borderland between Phrygia and Pisidia). On the other hand, Latin is at times encountered in the official Roman inscriptions (these are sometimes bilingual). Thus, even if not spread widely, it could easily display its importance as the language of the ruling power.

The local civic institutions underwent only minor changes when compared to the last three centuries BC. The basic model of the urban life in Roman Anatolia was still very similar to the typical Hellenistic *polis*, with its local citizenship and laws, and recognizable civic institutions (the civic council, the popular assembly, elected magistrates, courts and public services etc.). Even the new cities were organized along these lines. These cities had to suffer a degree of adjustment to reconcile their institutions with the realities of life under the Empire. Interference of various representatives of the Roman state and the special and distinct status of the Roman citizens were just the two most obvious aspects.

Societies of Roman Lydia and Phrygia are in many respects similar to their Hellenistic predecessors. However, there are a number of important differences that must be acknowledged and commented upon. Some of these are the result of direct Roman intervention or influence; others are outcomes of the local development. The general hierarchization of society is the most visible characteristic of all. It too has some precursors in the social development of the Hellenistic *polis*, but on the whole it is a typical phenomenon of the Imperial era.

The social mobility was hindered by various factors. The main feature of higher social advancement was material wealth, but even that was only a necessary starting condition, and not even the highest fortune was a guarantee in itself. Senators were a closed order, equestrians only slightly less so and even the local municipal elites evolved over time into closed circles that preferred to keep the outsiders out. Hierarchy was the order of the day and this development was certainly favored by the Romans and perhaps in fact actively supported by them. The urban societies where this development took place still had the outward appearance of constitutional democracy and still officially clung to the Classical Greek ideals of freedom, autonomy and equality. Local

citizenship still retained some degree of importance and popular assemblies were still held (at least until the 3rd century AD) and voted on issues of local importance. But behind this pseudo-democratic facade, the new social hierarchy of wealth, political power and social influence was the actual reality. Those on the top made all the important decisions: we can hardly point out to any example of a higher civic official in Imperial Lydia or Phrygia who was not the member of the elite and this fact speaks volumes in itself. For the most part, the rest of the society seemed content to let the elites govern their cities and their lives. But this might be just another illusion created by the nature of the preserved evidence.

The greatest social changes brought on by the Roman rule were those on the very top of the social hierarchy: actually, the two highest orders were the creation of the Imperial rule and have no parallel in the pre-Roman development or indeed in the provincial society of the 1st century BC. Prior to the rise of Augustan empire, there were no local senators or equestrians.

Senators of local origin were never numerous: about thirty cases (12 from Lydia, 18 from Phrygia) are so far attested during the first three centuries of the Empire. Difficulties in the way of a provincial intending to enter the Senate were substantial. It took extraordinary wealth, far greater than the usual possessions and income of the local rich families, Roman citizenship (held for several generations), an accomplished Roman public career (with the complete *cursus honorum*), good Roman connections (preferably with the Emperor himself) and sheer luck. This was simply too demanding for all but a few most fortunate and ambitious. We have no means to explain the total number of attested senators from the two Anatolian regions or its proportion to other parts of the province or to the other Eastern provinces. Why are there significantly more senators from Phrygia (larger, but further removed from the centers of the province, more sparsely populated and less urbanized) than in Lydia? Perhaps this can be explained as being the result of the policy of a single emperor - Commodus, who introduced several new Phrygian families into the Senate. But important questions do not stop there. Why do only a quarter of the senators in the province of Asia come from these two regions? Is this in direct proportion to their relative population (the size of which we can only guess) or are there other factors in play? Similar questions can be raised when we compare these figures to those from the other Eastern provinces.

A significant point can be made about the relationship of these senators with their hometowns. Once a person entered the Senate he became a member of the highest Imperial elite and it was expected of him to transfer his place of residence to Italy and to excel in the service of the Roman state. From a strictly Roman point of view, there was no inclination to maintain any connection with his place of origin. A career in the imperial service could (and usually did) take an individual to most diverse parts of the Empire. And yet, there is a strong and deliberate tendency on the part of the senators to maintain close connections and a significant presence in their homeland. They, or their family members, continue to be prominent in local social and political life. The significance they attached to their places of origin is explainable from several different angles, some of which could be less than rational. There was, of course, importance of local influence they held and were intent on keeping, the income they drew from local sources, but probably also some more personal and sentimental reasons. That said, we shouldn't lose sight of the fact just how untypical and scarce these senatorial families were. Most of the average sized and smaller cities in Lydia and Phrygia (as well as some of the largest centers) had no senators in all three centuries under discussion. The senators were the very summit of the social hierarchy, elite of the elites.

The introduction of a new member into the Senate also meant the creation of a new senatorial family. There are several examples of families from Lydia and Phrygia sending members to the Senate over several generations. It was expected of a son of a senator to follow the career path of his father. In this light, it is interesting to note that we have no attested case of a senatorial family in these regions lasting more than three generations. The most likely explanation lies in practical difficulties of maintaining this exceedingly desirable but also exceptionally demanding status.

The imperial elite was made up of senators and equestrians. Although not praised as highly as senatorial rank, it was a major social and political success to achieve the equestrian status. Compared to senators, the equestrian *ordo* was much more heterogeneous with much greater internal diversity of wealth, origin, career and actual political power and influence. It was also easier (but by no means easy or straightforward) to obtain this status. Thus, there are comparably more equestrians than senators in Lydia and Phrygia, and they are encountered much earlier (the first one attested is L. Antonius Zeno, a contemporary of Augustus). Their number is even greater

if we accept the assumption that every single attested asiarch is a member of this *ordo*. Only few of them were proper military equestrians; they are encountered serving in various posts throughout the Empire, sometimes seemingly completely detached from their homelands. The majority of equestrians owe their status to honorary promotion and they served the Empire in numerous administrative roles.

Compared to the members of local elites, equestrian families had more wealth and connections, both provincial and imperial. In some cases, their wealth was very close to that required for a senator, as is proven by examples where in one and the same family the gap between orders is surmounted in a single generation: the father is an equestrian and the son is already a senator. As is to be expected, equestrians originating from Lydia or Phrygia are encountered all over the province of Asia. Engaged in local politics and social life, as well as the provincial administration and various official duties all over the Empire, most of these men are best described as the real provincial elite.

If the members of the senatorial order remained in close contact with their hometowns and regions, the equestrians cherished these connections even more. They are encountered as large-scale benefactors throughout the province of Asia, as patrons, donors and protectors of their cities of origin. In this respect, their behavior is not very different to that of the municipal aristocracy from the ranks of which they came, except maybe in scale. They show various connections with local social life and cult and sometimes they sustain closer ties with local associations for reasons that could be political, honorific but also economic.

The full integration of these two regions into the Empire is proven by the existence and the obvious importance of the two highest orders of the Roman society. But they remained, by their own choice, the integral part of the local societies, albeit the most romanized segment of it. They accepted many recognizably Roman social and cultural traits as means of fusion with the larger imperial elite. By the nature of their duties, they had to have the active knowledge of Latin language (which is not always the case even with local Roman citizens). In fact, senators and equestrians could be the only part of the population in Lydia and Phrygia - immigrants from Italy aside - that might have actually used Latin as their language of everyday communication. But even this is open to debate and it will be of some interest to contrast their degree of Romanization with the overall Roman influence on the society in the final section of this conclusion.

Compared to the relatively abundant evidence left by the local elites, even the number of equestrian inscriptions seems small. Clearly, for the most local municipal aristocrats even the equestrian rank was unattainable. They had to satisfy themselves with all the manner of local honors and duties, with significant but geographically limited political and social influence and with the publicly expressed gratitude and respect of their fellow-citizens. Honorary inscriptions and epitaphs mentioned various distinguished individuals, offices they held and public services they performed. The border between the normal performance of one's official duty and the exercise of the public benefactions is often vague. In Roman times, at least as far Lydia and Phrygia are concerned, these benefactions reached unprecedented proportions.

Euergetism is the single best attested phenomenon of the public life in Roman Anatolia. No other public practice is mentioned as often nor is it described in equally laudatory terms. This is yet another aspect of Hellenization that not only survived the Roman conquest, but actually thrived under Roman rule. The analysis of this phenomenon, however, shows that there is little to it specific for either Lydia or Phrygia. Public benefactions reach the zenith of their frequency and size in the period between Trajan and Septimius Severus. New buildings, public, utilitarian or sacred, were constructed and older ones repaired at the private (but tirelessly publicized) expense, public spaces were rearranged and maintained in the same way. Wealthy individuals are frequently recorded as organizers or financiers of public events, sometimes directly distributing money or food to the citizenry. There is no way to tell how much of the build-up of the cities and their general well-being were due to this kind of public activity, but it is reasonable to assume that it constituted a significant portion. In fact, it is possible that much of the general prosperity that we can observe in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD is actually the prosperity of the wealthiest class of the population. Preserved honorary inscriptions convey a superficial impression that the municipal elites invested much resources and energy in the public spending and all this because of their personal virtue and patriotism. This is a widespread ideological construct but that does not make it more credible. In fact, there are good reasons to attribute this socially desirable practice entirely to selfish motives. These are, of course, nowhere stated openly. By investing in causes that were viewed favorable by the public, or even by giving money directly to the citizens, a member of the local elite would purchase

popular approval and social standing (a sort of symbolic capital) that could translate in the actual political power and influence - at least at the local level. This was never a solitary effort because by improving personal reputation, one would always improve the reputations of his families. The importance of families is amply attested in various inscriptions. If a honorand had illustrious relatives or ancestors they are likely to be mentioned in the same inscription. A more successful member of the family could use his or hers reputation or position to favor one of his relatives and especially children. Persons attested as benefactors or public officers at a very young age (sometimes in the early infancy) are clear examples of this tendency. Women of higher social status seem to be much more prominent than in the preceding times and that is probably another attestation of the same phenomenon. I believe that the municipal elite was the initiator of social mobility in Lydia and Phrygia. As we have seen, in many cases descendants of municipal magistrates entered the equestrian *ordo* and started their more ambitious careers in the province and in the Empire. On the other end, that same municipal elite mainly financed the industries and crafts in the cities, employing members of the so-called “middle class”, thus improving overall economic conditions.

Nevertheless, epigraphic material is often flawed and problematic due to epigraphic habits and chance findings. For example, in Saittai there are many attestations of professional associations and craftsmen, but very little inscriptions concerning municipal elite. Similar example is Phrygian Dorylaion, where one senator, three equestrians and asiarchs, respectively, are attested, but only a handful of municipal officials.

Finally, another explanation for the excessive amplitude of euergetism could be the safeguarding of the existing social order. In a society that was still very much influenced by the age old ideals of equality, but was in reality increasingly hierarchical and elite-centered, there was a real necessity to keep this imbalance less apparent and therefore less threatening. This could be achieved by allowing the members of middle and lower classes to have some degree of participation in the general wealth through public festivals, distributions and expenses on the public space.

Most of the epigraphic evidence from Roman Lydia and Phrygia is made by or made for the highest echelons of society. The source material available for study of the middle classes is much more modest, while the lowest class of free population and

slaves are recorded only irregularly. Behind the highly problematic but unavoidable term “middle-class” there is a combination of various social and professional groups. The majority of the population of any Lydian or Phrygian city probably belongs to this extensive category. It seems that general tendency towards hierarchization is apparent even within the middle class, where some groups and professions take much more prominent place than the others.

Much of the preserved evidence on the middle classes actually testifies about only one aspect of their lives: professional and other associations. This fact resulted in great emphasis on professional associations in modern scholarship, especially when the cities of Lydia are concerned. Perhaps this has led scholars to exaggerate the actual importance of these associations: citizens or non-citizens of humble means are more likely to express themselves in an expensive medium such as an inscription when they act as an organized group. But associations are much more visible than in the Hellenistic age and their relative importance seems to have grown. They are very diverse in scope and activity, but it appears that they had a highly sophisticated internal organization and some connections with the prominent members of the local aristocracy. Their role in the economic life of the cities can only be guessed, but it would be wrong to assume that it wasn't significant. In this respect it seems that there are considerable differences between these two regions: the professional associations are more diverse and more frequently attested in Lydia than in Phrygia.

Details of the everyday life of the common people are even less available if we move from urban centers and into the rural hinterland. Pre-Roman and even pre-Hellenistic Anatolian rural society seems to be much better preserved in the Phrygian inland than in Lydia. There is little that can be said with certainty about the organization, social structure or even the physical appearance of the most of these villages. When a village community begins to express itself more often through inscriptions it is usually the sign of some degree of urbanization and the imitation of the urban features. If we take the degree of urbanization and influence of the Greco-Roman civilization as the criteria, Phrygia certainly appears as a more conservative and less developed of the two regions; its rural population seems to be more resilient to outside influences. Differences in historical experience between Lydia and Phrygia, but also the sheer size of Phrygia, its climate and the remoteness from the centers of the province are

the most likely explanations for this disparity. Both Lydian and Phrygian societies were dominated by small villages where people probably lived in close contact with one another. Therefore, a position in society would to a large extent depend on other people's evaluation of one's conduct, as in most rural and traditional societies, past and present.

It is difficult to say whether cities and their rural surroundings were indeed "two different worlds". Even cultural differences can be exaggerated and we do not know enough about economic relations between the cities and the villages to readily accept the notion of the "parasitic cities" that is borrowed from the medieval and modern European history. Many inhabitants of the villages were citizens and in many smaller cities a large part of the urban population could have in fact be engaged in agriculture. In the case of many smaller settlements the line between village and town is not always clear.

As in any other part of the ancient world, the slaves are the least apparent part of the society. They are rarely mentioned in inscriptions, while even less often comments in ancient literature tend to revolve around the few classical tropes about Lydians and Phrygians as typical slaves. As a social group and a legal category the slaves were present everywhere, but we cannot even guess neither their proportion in the general population nor their significance in the production process. Most of the slaves mentioned in inscriptions are household slaves. Of course, it was expected of the members of the higher classes to be attended by a host of personal slaves, but even more humble individuals and families could afford a slave or two. Again, it seems that this picture does not differ drastically from pre-Roman times.

At the beginning of this research, one of my main interests was in demography. In Lydian funerary inscriptions month of someone's death is frequently documented and I hoped to collect and analyze as much information as possible. However, the demographic sample proved too small at this point. Thus, I was not able to fulfill the initial intention.

The established social hierarchy was the reality of these parts of Asia Minor under Roman rule. In observance of this important fact, this thesis (and this conclusion) was arranged according to the social ladder: from the top to the very bottom. Such a rigid division of this society was the Roman contribution to the history of Lydia and Phrygia.

Another was the introduction of the imperial ruling class. Both of these changes were not simple events but results of a prolonged development. It cannot be truly said that the latter was accomplished before the 2nd century AD, the former took even longer to fully succeed. Neither of these developments constitutes a social revolution: the society was only gradually altered but not drastically changed by the establishment of the Empire. In fact, the very social hierarchy established during the Roman rule can be taken as an instrument to measure the degree of Roman influence. The top of the social ladder (senators and equestrians) is the most romanized of all; as we descend downwards toward local elites and, beyond, into the middle class, the degree of Romanization becomes first smaller, than almost negligible. As if in a kind of a time machine, pre-Roman i.e. Hellenistic elements begin to predominate. This parallel can be taken even further, because at the lowest point, and especially in rural Phrygia, even the Hellenistic elements begin to fade and the old Anatolian rural society predominates in the picture. If we consider ethnicity, experienced in terms of kinship, language, dress, behavior, and symbolic expressions including common ritual activities and what may be summarized as 'shared experiences' then inhabitants of Roman Lydia and Phrygia would undoubtedly be surprised by modern doubts about their identity. Lydians / Phrygians or Greeks? They were probably a bit of both.

Compared to major social changes that Roman conquest and rule brought to some of the European provinces, their achievements in inland parts of the province of Asia seem slight. But the Romans were seldom inclined to force the unnecessary alterations if the existing foundations could support the imperial structure. This was the case in the most of the Greek-speaking provinces and it was certainly the case in Lydia and Phrygia where modest modifications were mixed with the fair degree of continuity. Major developments after the 300 AD will eventually shatter this image, but they lie beyond the scope and the goals of this thesis.

APPENDIX 1

TABLES

Table 1

Senators in Lydia

	Senator	Origin	Offices	Family	Reign of	Sources
1.	Ti. Claudius Iulianus	Sardeis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trib. mil. leg. IV Scythicae • Quaestor prov. Achaiae • Trib. Plebis • Leg. pr. pr. prov. Achaiae • praetor 	Grandson of no. 9 , nephew of no. 8 , mother Iulia Quintilia Isaurica	Hadrian	<i>IEph</i> 5106, cf. <i>PIR</i> ² C 902
2.	Ti. Claudius Iulianus	Sardeis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leg. Aug. leg. XI Claudiae • Cos. suff. in September between 154 and 156 • Leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Germaniae inferioris 	Son of no. 1	Antoninus Pius	<i>CIL</i> III 7474 = <i>ILS</i> 2475, <i>CIL</i> XIII 8036 = <i>ILS</i> 2907, <i>CIL</i> XVI 110 ; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² C 902
3.	Cn. Licinius Rufinus	Thyateira	Consul suffectus	Son of no. 4	Elagabalus	<i>TAM</i> V2 987-988a; <i>TAM</i> V2 987; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² L 237
4.	M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus	Thyateira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Praetor • Leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Norici • Cos. suff. 	Father of no. 3	Severi	<i>TAM</i> V2 984-987; <i>SEG</i> XLVII 1656; <i>IG</i> X 2(1), 142; <i>AE</i> 1949,

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • XXvir 			341; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² L 236
5.	T. Flavius Archelaos Claudianus	Philadelphia	legatus Aug. Asturiae et Callaedicae	wife Curtia Iulia Valentilla; son-in-law of no. 10	end of 2 nd – beginning of 3 rd century	<i>TAM</i> V3 1461; <i>CIL</i> II 2408; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² F 215
6.	T. Flavius Clitosthenes	Tralleis	Cos. suff. ca. 220-230	Wife Ti. Claudia Frontoniana	Elagabalus or Severus Alexander	<i>IEph</i> 635; <i>IK Tralles</i> 72; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² F 243
7.	T. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes	Tralleis	Cos. suff.	Son of no. 6, wife Claudia Capitolina		<i>IK Tralles</i> 72, 82, 83; <i>IEph</i> 635b; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² F 370
8.	Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus	Sardeis	Cos. suff. 01. 04. – 30.06. 110	Son of no. 9	Trajan	<i>IEph</i> 5101, 5102, 5113; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² I 168
9.	Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus	Sardeis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trib. mil. leg. III Cyrenaicae • Adlectus inter aedilicios <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Praetor • Leg. Aug. prov. Cappadociae, Galatiae, Ponti, Pisidiae, Lycaoniae, Paphlagoniae, Armeniae min. • leg. Aug. leg. IV Scythicae • proconsul prov. Ponti 	Wife Quintilia, son no. 8, daughter Iulia Quintilia Isaurica, grandson no. 1 and great-grandson no. 2	Vespasian	<i>IEph</i> 5101, 5102, 5104, 5105, 5106, 5112, 5113; <i>I. Sardes</i> 45, <i>IEph</i> 5106, <i>IGR</i> I 338; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² I 260

			<p>et Bithyniae</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • praefectus aerarii militaris • leg. pr.pr. prov. Ciliciae • cos. suff. 1.05 – 31.08. 92 • curator aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicor • proconsul prov. Asiae 105/106 • XVvir sacris faciundis 			
10.	(Curtius Iulius?) Crispus	Philadelphia?	Cos. suff.	Wife Haruspicia Demo	Septimius Severus	<i>TAM</i> V1 273b, <i>TAM</i> V3 1465, 1466; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² C 1596
11.	C. Iulius Philippus	Tralleis	Cos. suff.	wife Flavia Phaedrina or Flavia Lepida	Septimius Severus	<i>IK Tralles</i> 51, 54, 143; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² I 458
12. (?)	Anonymus	Hierocaesarea/Thyateira	vir viarum curandarum, questor urbanus, provincial questor, a plebeian tribune, strategos, curator rei publicae in Alexandria Troas, legatus iuridicus Apuliae, Calabriae, Lucaniae,			<i>TAM</i> V2 923; <i>SEG</i> 41 1032

			legatus iuridicus Hispaniae dioeceseos Tarraconensis, legatus provinciae Asiae consul			
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Table 2

Senators in Phrygia

	Senator	Origin	Offices	Family	Reign of	Sources
1.	Aelius Antipater	Hierapolis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ab epistulis Graecis • Legatus Aug. pr. pr. prov. Bithyniae 		Severi	<i>IEph</i> 2026; <i>Philostr. VS</i> ; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² A 137
2.	M. Antonius Antius Lupus	Laodikeia on the Lykos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Praefectus feriarum Latinarum • Xvir stlitibus iudicandis • Trib. mil. leg. II adiutrcis Piae fidelis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quaestor • Praetor • augur 	Son of no. 3 or (more probably) no. 4 ; wife Claudia Regilla	Commodus	<i>Vita Comm.</i> 7,5; <i>CIL</i> VI 1343; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² A 812
3.	M. Antonius Zeno	Laodikeia on the Lykos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Thraciae • Cos. suff. 1. 10.- 31. 12. 148 		Antoninus Pius	<i>AE</i> 1974, 580, <i>IGR</i> I 683 = <i>IGR</i> I 1454
4.	M. Antonius Zeno	Laodikeia on the Lykos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cos. suff. 168/170 • Proconsul prov. Africae 	Son of no. 3 , wife Antia Marcellina	Commodus	<i>IL Tun</i> 1408, <i>CIL</i> VI 36848; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² A 883
5.	C. Asinius Nicomachus Iulianus	Blaundos?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cos. suff. Procos. Asiae 	Son of no. 6	Severus Alexander	<i>IGR</i> I, 502; <i>IGR</i> IV 717; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² A 1237
6.	C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus	Blaundos?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cos. suff. 	Father of no. 5	Severi	<i>IEph</i> 3040, <i>IGR</i> IV 1013; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² A 1244

7.	Aurelius Sanctus	Prymnessos	both he and his wife (?) styled as sunklhtko...	wife Plotia Agripina (?)	Caracalla	<i>MAMA</i> IV 11
8.	T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus	Attouda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Procos. prov. Lyciae et Pamphyliae et Isauriae • Cos. suff. 	Father of no. 13	Commodus	<i>MAMA</i> VI 74, 75 ; <i>Iaph</i> 2007 12.1111; <i>Iaph</i> 2007 12.1018; <i>AE</i> 1999, 1606c ; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² C 429
9.	Claudius Apollinaris	Aizanoi	Leg. Aug. leg. I Minerviae 187-189		Commodus	<i>CIL</i> XIII 7946, <i>IGR</i> IV 570 ; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² C 1033
10.	Claudius Stratonicus	Aizanoi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leg. Aug. leg. I Minerviae 184-186 • Cos. suff. 	Wife Flavia Tiberina	Commodus	<i>IGR</i> IV 570, <i>AE</i> 1930, 30; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² C 1033
11.	T. [] Diogenianus	Akmoneia	consul		3 rd century	<i>MAMA</i> VI 308
12.	M. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Livianus	Attouda	Consul suffectus	Son of no. 8	Septimius Severus	<i>Iaph</i> 2007 12.1111; <i>Iaph</i> 2007 12.1018; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² C 430
13.	T. Flavius Claudianus Ponticus	Dorylaion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tribunus laticlavus 		Commodus – middle of the 3 rd century	<i>SEG</i> XXVI 1371 ; <i>SEG</i> XXXVI 1196
14.	T. Flavius Lartidius	Akmoneia	consul		3 rd century	<i>MAMA</i> VI 308

15.	T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus	Akmoneia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • quaestor urbanus • quaestor provinciae Africae • aedilis cerialis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • praetor • curator • legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Thraciae <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consul 	Probably descendant of T. Flavius Montanus, archiereus of Asia	Middle of the 3 rd century	<i>MAMA XI 104</i>
16.	Hermolaus	Tripolis	Ῥώμης ... βουλῆ	possible descendant of asiarch Hermolaus from Hypaipa (πατὴρ συγκλητικῶν καὶ ὑπατικῶν) in IEph 3802	Middle of the 3 rd century	<i>MAMA VI 55</i>
17.	L. Servenius Cornutus	Akmoneia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xvir stlitibus iudicandis • Quaestor prov. Cypri <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aedilis • Praetor • Leg. pr. pr. prov. Asiae 	Mother Iulia Severa, daughter Servenia Cornuta	Nero	<i>MAMA VI 254, 262; MAMA XI 5</i>
18.	Anonymus	Akmoneia	Sevir (equitum Romanorum) turmae II, tribunus laticlavus...			<i>MAMA XI 105</i>

Table 3

Equestrians in Roman Lydia¹³⁹⁴

	Name	Origin	Titles	Period	Sources
1.	Aur. Aelius Phoibus	Iulia Gordos	ἵππικός	Valerian and Gallien	<i>BMC Lydia</i> , p. LV sq; Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Lyd. Stadtm.</i> 87; <i>TAM V1</i> 758
2.	T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus	Thyateira	priest of Apollo Tyrimnos <i>praefectus cohortis II Flaviae Numidarum</i> , <i>praepositus cohortis II Flaviae Bessorum</i> in Dacia Inferior, <i>tribunus cohortis I Cilicum</i> and		<i>TAM V2</i> 913; 935

¹³⁹⁴

Legend:

Provincial offices (P)
Municipal offices (M)

			<i>praepositus cohortis I Gaetulorum, praefectus alae II Flaviae Agrippianae</i> νεωκόρος τῆς λαμπροτάτης Κυζικηνῶν μητροπόλεως, <i>procurator Augusti arcae Livianae</i> , νεωκόρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ		
3.	Cn. Arrius Apuleius	Hierapolis	χειλίαρχος ἀρχιερεὺς M / P	200-250 AD	SEG XLVI 1657
4.	C. Arruntius Antoninus	Thyateira/Sardeis	ἵππικός ἄρχων M ἀγνοθέτης M	Severus Alexander	<i>I. Sardis 77 ; TAM V 2 915 ; SEG XXXVI 1091</i>
5.	M. Aurelius Artemon	Philadelphia	ὁ κράτιστος = <i>vir egregius</i> Advocatus fisci Alexandriae et totius Aegypti et Lybiae Marmaricae P	Middle of 3 rd century	<i>TAM V 3 1498, 1499</i>
6.	M. Aur. Bassus	Thyateira	ἵππικός, trib. mil. leg. II Italicae P Θυατειρηνῶν βουλευτής M	3 rd century	<i>TAM V 2 985, 1181=IEph 243; PME A 216</i>

7.	M. Aur. Diadochus Tryphosianus	Thyateira	ίππικός	Severus Alexander	TAM V 2 950, 951, 952, 954 ; BMC p. CXXIV adn. 7 ; Imhoof-Blumer, NZ 48 (1915), 96
			ἀρχιερέυς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ P		
			ἀσιάρχης P		
			ἀρχιερέυς τῆς πατρίδος M		
			διὰ βίου βουλάρχος M		
			στρατηγός M		
8.	M. Aur. Popilius Bakhius	Sardeis	ίππικός		I. Sardis 76
			ἀγρονοθέτης M		
9.	M. Aur. Priscillianus	Thyateira	ίππικός	Severus Alexander	TAM V 2 957
			νεωκόρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ M		
10.	Ser. Calpurnius Iulianus	Magnesia on the Sipylos (?)	δὶς χειλίαςρχος P	2 nd – 3 rd century	TAM V2 1409; PME C 57
			στεφανηφόρος, στρατηγός, ἀγορανόμος M		
11.	Tib. Cl. Zoilos	Sardeis	ὁ κράτιστος = vir egregius	around 200 AD	I. Sardis 60; PIR ² C 1056
			ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν P		
12.	Domitius Rufus	Philadephia/Sardeis	ὁ κράτιστος = vir egregius	253-254 AD	TAM V1 230 =TAM V 3 1422 ; SEG XXXII 1220 ; Münsterberg, Beamtennamen, 149 ;
			ἀσιάρχης P		

			ἄρχων M		<i>SNG</i> von Aulock n. 8262
13.	T. Flavius Clitosthenes (Iulianus)	Tralleis	ὁ κράτιστος = <i>vir egregius</i> ἄσιάρχης P	Middle of 2 nd century	<i>IG</i> XII 3, 525; <i>IK</i> <i>Tralleis</i> 141; <i>PIR</i> ² F 245
14.	Herrenius Atticus	Philadelphia	πραΐφεκτος P	Antoninus Pius	<i>TAM</i> V 3 1473; <i>PME</i> H 12
15.	Herrenius Niger	Philadelphia	πραΐφεκτος P	Antoninus Pius	<i>TAM</i> V 3 1473; <i>PME</i> H 17
16.	C. Iulius Philippus	Tralleis	ὁ κράτιστος = <i>vir egregius</i> δικαστής, P ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν P ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου M	2 nd century	<i>IK Tralleis</i> 50, 54; <i>PIR</i> ² I 459
17.	Iulius Poseidonius	Philadelphia	χειλίαρχος Αὐγύστου P	1 st century	<i>TAM</i> V 3 1443; <i>PIR</i> ² I 479 ; <i>PME</i> I 98

Table 4

Equestrians in Roman Phrygia¹³⁹⁵

	Name	Origin	Titles	Period	Sources
1.	Aelia Larcia	Laodikeia on the Lykos	ἡ κρατίστη γυνή = femina egregia	Middle or second half of 2 nd century	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos</i> 51
2.	Ael. Dionysodorus	Synnada	ἵππικός		<i>MAMA</i> VI 378
			πρῶτος ἄρχων M		
3.	Aelius Stratonikos	Dorylaion	ἀπὸ ἵππικῶν στρατειῶν	second half of the 2 nd century	<i>MAMA</i> V Lists I, 181, no. 33 (=IGR IV 525)
			ἀρχιερέυς Ἀσίας P		
			ἐπιστάτης στεφανηφόρος M		
4.	T. Ael. V[aleri]anus	Synnada	χειλίαρχος	Middle of 2 nd century	<i>MAMA</i> IV 64; PME A 69
5.	P. Aelius Zeuxidemus	Hierapolis	Advocatus fisci =	Second half of 2 nd	<i>IGR</i> IV 819; PIR ² A

¹³⁹⁵Legend:

Provincial offices (P)
Municipal offices (M)

	Ariston Zeno		συνήγορος τοῦ ἐν Φρυγία ταμείου καὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀσ[ία] P	century	281
6.	L. Antonius Zeno	Laodikeia on the Lykos	Tribunus militum legio XII Fulminata	Augustus/Claudius	<i>SEG XXXVII 855;</i> <i>MAMA VI 104; RPC I</i> <i>2912; RPC I 2928</i>
			ἀρχιερεὺς Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀσία P		
			ιερεὺς M		
7.	Cn. Arrius Apuleius	Hierapolis	χειλίαρχος	200-250 AD	<i>SEG XLVI 1657</i>
			ἀρχιερεὺς M		
8.	Aurelius Clodius Eutyclus	Temenothyris	ἵππικός		<i>IGR IV 615</i>
9.	Aur. Elpidephorus	Synnada	ὁ κράτιστος = vir egregius	First half of 3 rd century	<i>MAMA IV 65</i>
10.	Aur. Faustinus	Synnada	ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν P		<i>MAMA VI 378</i>
11.	Cl. Septimia Nikarete	Synnada	ἡ κρατίστη γυνή = femina egregia	First half of 3 rd century	<i>MAMA IV 65</i>

12.	[.] Claudius M. f. [Pa]p(iria) Asiaticus	Synnada	Trib(unus) mil(itum)	1 st or 2 nd century	<i>MAMA</i> IV 61= <i>CIL</i> III 7044; <i>PME</i> C 120
13.	Tib. Claudius Polemon	Themisonium, family ties in Cibyra (Caria)	ἵππικός	Second half of 2 nd century	IGR IV 883; (Cibyra: <i>IGR</i> IV 906-912)
			ἀσιάρχης P		
14.	L. Egnatius L. f. Teretina Quartus	Akmoneia	Praefectus cohortis II Claudiae Curator alae Augusta Geminae (Cappadocia) Tribunus militum legionis VIII Augustae (Germania Superior) Praefectus equitum alae Augustae (Brittania or Syria)	2 nd century ?	<i>IGR</i> IV 642 ; <i>SEG</i> VI 167, 174 ; <i>AE</i> 1977, 802 ; <i>SEG</i> LVI 1492 ; <i>PME</i> E 3
15.	C. Iulius Cleon	Eumeneia	Tribunus militum legionis VI Ferratae	Tiberius/Nero	<i>IEph</i> 688; <i>RPC</i> I 3149– 50
			ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας P		
16.	Iulius Lycinius	Synnada	συνδίκος ταμείου P	Marcus Aurelius	<i>MAMA</i> VI 373; <i>PIR</i> ² I 392
17.	M. Iulius Strenio Antistianus	Synnada	καθολικός = procurator a rationalibus P	Septimius Severus/Caracalla	<i>MAMA</i> VI 376; <i>PIR</i> ² I 392

18.	L. Macedo	Kolossai	χειλίαρχος	Hadrian	<i>IGR IV 869; PME M 78</i>
19.	Magnius Dionysius	Dorylaion	ίππικός	3 rd century	<i>IGR IV 528; PME M 11</i>
20.	L. Mamius Fabius Largus	Buried in the area of Aizanoi	eques Romanus equo publico / ίππικός Ὶρωμαίος ίππῶ δημοσίῳ	2 nd century	<i>SEG LII 1251</i>
			scriba quaestoris / σκρείβα κουέστωρις		
21.	Statilius Critonianus	Laodikeia on the Lykos	ὁ κρᾶτιστος = vir egregius	Middle or second half of 2 nd century	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos</i> 51
22.	M. Ulpus Hermogenianus	Tiberiopolis	ίππικός Ὶρωμαίος		<i>IGR IV 631=MAMA IX</i> <i>P246=MAMA X App I</i> 186, 44
23.	Ulpus Lycinius	Synnada	συνδίκος τοῦ ἱεροτάτου ταμείου P	Hadrian?	<i>MAMA VI 373</i>
24.	M. Ulpus Zenonis filius Quirina Trypho Megas Antonianus	Themisonium	Miles et praefectus cohortis I Ulpiae Galatarum	2 nd century ?	<i>IGR IV 882; PME U 18</i>
			ἀρχιερεὺς Ὶσσίας P		

25.	C. Voc(onius) Aelius Stratonikos	Dorylaion	ἀπὸ ἵππικῶν στρατειῶν	Second half of 2 nd century	<i>IGR</i> IV 525 = <i>MAMA</i> V List 181, 33 ; <i>PME</i> A 64 = <i>PME</i> V 122bis
			ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας νοῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ P		
			ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως M		
			στεφανηφόρος M		

Table 5
Archiereus Asias and Asiarchs in Lydia

	Name	Origin	Titles	Family	Period	Sources
1.	P. Aelius Paullus	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας	Wife Ulpia Marcella (no. 55)	Hadrian or Severi?	<i>TAM</i> V2 931
2.	Publius Aeilius Euandros	Palaiapolis	ἀσιάρχης		2 nd century	Hermann, Malay no. 100
3.	L. (or Aurelius) Annianus	Thyateira	ἀσιάρχη<ς> δί<ς>		Severi	<i>TAM</i> V2 933
4.	Antonia Caecilia	Thyateira	ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας	Wife of <i>archiereus Asias</i> Tib. Claudius Quir. Socrates (no. 30), grandmother of <i>archiereus Asias</i> Tib. Claudius Menogenes Caecilianus (no. 28)	End of 1 st , beginning of 2 nd century	<i>TAM</i> V2 976
5.	M. Antonius Alexandros Appianos	Iulia Gordos	ἀσιάρχης		Marcus Aurelius, Commodus	<i>TAM</i> V1 693
6.	Claudius Antonius Lepidus	Sardeis	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας		Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus	<i>SEG</i> XXXVI 1093
7.	M. Antonius Lepidus	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου τῶν μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν Καισαρῶν θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ		Augustus	<i>I. Sardis</i> 8, X

			Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ			
8.	C. Arruntius Maternus	Sardeis	ἀσιάρχης		Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Commodus	<i>I. Sardis 77 ; SNG 4004</i>
9.	C. Assinia Iulina	Sardeis	ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας	Related to C. Assinius Nicomachus Frugianus	after 176 AD	<i>SEG XLIII 865; SEG XLVI 1526</i>
10.	C. Assinia Frugilla	Sardeis	ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας	Related to C. Assinius Nicomachus Frugianus	after 176 AD	<i>SEG XLIII 865; SEG XLVI 1526</i>
11.	Asinnius Frugi	Sardeis	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας	Related to C. Assinius Nicomachus Frugianus	after 176 AD	<i>SEG XLIII 865; SEG XLVI 1526</i>
12.	Aurelia Hermonassa	Thyateira	δὶς ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας	Wife of <i>archereus Asias</i> and asiarch M. Aurelius Diadochus (no. 18), daughter of asiarch and <i>archereus Asias</i> Aurelius Athenaus and <i>archiereia Asias</i> Flavia Priscilla (nos. 15 and 35)	Severus Alexander	<i>TAM V2 951; 954</i>
13.	Aurelia Tatia	Thyateira	ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας	Wife of <i>archiereus Asias</i> L. Aurelius Aristomenos (no. 17; possibly related to the	Severi	<i>TAM V2 944</i>

				family of asiarch C. Iulius Iulianus Tatianus (no. 43) or asiarch Tib. Cl. Tatianus Iulianus from Ephesos		
14.	Aurelius Aelius Attalians	Saittai	ἄσιάρχης		Gordianus III	<i>BMC</i> Lydia p.223, no. 58; p. 216, no. 22; p. 224, no. 62
15.	Aurelius Athenaios	Thyateira	ἄσιάρχης, ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας	Husband of Flavia Priscilla (no. 35), father of Aurelia Hermonassa (no. 12), father-in-law of M. Aurelius Diadochus (no. 18)	End of 2 nd , early 3 rd century	<i>TAM</i> V2 954, 957; <i>I Eph</i> 3057
16.	[Aurelius] Attalus	Hypaipa	ἄσιάρχης		Caracalla (after 212 AD)	<i>I Eph</i> 3809-3810
17.	L. Aurelius Aristomenes	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας	Husband of Aurelia Tatia (no. 13)	Severi	<i>TAM</i> V2 944
18.	M. Aurelius Diadochus Tryphosianus	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ ἄσιάρχης	Husband of Aurelia Hermonassa (no. 12), son-in-law of asiarch Aurelius Athenaus and archiereia Asias Flavia Priscilla (nos. 15 and 35)	Severus Alexander	<i>TAM</i> V2 950; 951; 952; 954
19.	Aurelius Hermolaus	Saittai	ἄσιάρχης		Phillip the Arab	<i>BMC</i> Lydia p. 225, no. 65
20.	M. Aurelius	Philadelphia	ἄσιάρχης	Son of no. 21	Marcus Aurelius	<i>TAM</i> V3 1494, 1495

	Manilius Alexandros					
21.	M. Aurelius Manilius Hermippus	Philadelphia	ἀσιάρχης	Father of no. 20	Marcus Aurelius	<i>TAM V3 1494</i>
22.	[M. Aurelius] Tychicus	Tralleis	ἀσιάρχης στεφανηφόρος	Father of no. 23	Severus Alexander	<i>IK Tralles 69</i>
23.	M. Aurelius Zosimus	Tralleis	ἀσιάρχης	Son of no. 22	Severus Alexander	<i>IK Tralles 69</i>
24.	Claudia Ammion	Hierokaisareia	ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας	wife of Poplius Gavius Capito (no. 54)	Claudius/Nero	<i>IEph 681</i>
25.	Tib. Claudius Lupus	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς		Caracalla?	<i>TAM V2 973</i>
26.	Tib. Claudius Meiletos	Sardeis	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Σμύρνῃ		Between Claudius and Hadrian	<i>I. Sardis 44</i>
27.	P. Claudius Menippus Centauriani f.	Tralleis	ἀσιάρχης		Valerianus and Gallienus	<i>IK Tralles 67</i>
28.	Tib. Claudius Menogenes Caecilianus	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας	Grandson of <i>archieis Asias</i> Antonia Caecilia (no. 4) and Tib. Claudius Quir. Socrates (no. 30)	First half of the 2 nd century	<i>TAM V2 976</i>
29.	M. Claudius Niceratus Cerealius	Tralleis	ἀσιάρχης			<i>IK Tralles 73</i>
30.	Tib. Claudius	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς	Husband of Antonia	End of 1 st ,	<i>TAM V2 976, 978,</i>

	Socratis f. Quir. Socrates		Ἀσίας τοῦ ἐν Περγάμῳ ναοῦ	Caecilia (no. 4) and grandfather of Tib. Claudius Menogenes Caecilianus (no. 28)	beginning of 2 nd century	980
31.	Cornelia Secunda	Thyateira	ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας	Wife of. <i>archiereus</i> <i>Asias</i> C. Iulius Hippianus (no. 432), mother of asiarch C. Iulius Iulianus Tatianus (no. 44)	Severi	<i>TAM</i> V2 966
32.	[L.] Cornelius Vettenianus	Sardeis	ἀσιάρχης δ΄		Septimius Severus/Caracalla	<i>BMC</i> Lydia p. 261, no. 153; <i>SNG</i> 3158
33.	Demetrios Heraclidae f.	Mastaura	ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ		Augustus	<i>I. Sardis</i> 8, VIII
34.	Domitius Rufus	Philadephia/Sard eis	ὁ κράτιστος = vir egregius ἀσιάρχης		253-254 AD	<i>TAM</i> V3 1422; <i>TAM</i> V1 230 ; <i>BMC</i> Lydia p. 273f, no. 206f; <i>SNG</i> 3164
35.	Flavia Priscilla	Thyateira	ἀρχιέρεια δις τῆς Ἀσίας	Wife of asiarch Aurelius Athenaios (no. 15), mother of Aurelia Hermonassa (no. 12), mother-in- law of (M.) Aurelius Diadochus (no. 18)	End of 2 nd , beginning of the 3 rd century	<i>TAM</i> V2 954, 957
36.	T. Flavius	Tralleis	ὁ κράτιστος = vir	Father of senator T.	Middle of 2 nd	<i>IG</i> XII 3 525; <i>IK</i>

	Clitosthenes (Iulianus)		egregius ἀσιάρχης ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀσιάρχης δις	Flavius Clitosthenes, grandfather of senator T. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes	century	<i>Tralles</i> 141; <i>PIR</i> ² F 245
37.	T. Flavius Hierax	Hypaipa	ἀσιάρχης			<i>SEG XXXVI</i> 1074; Campanile, <i>Studi Ellenistici</i> 19 (2006), 542
38.	[Fro?]nto	Sardeis	ἀσιάρχης		Antoninus Pius	Coll. Wadd. 5254
39.	Glyco	Hypaipa	ἀσιάρχης		Septimius Severus	<i>Revue Numismatique</i> 1, 1883, p. 399
40.	Hermolaus	Hypaipa	ἀσιάρχης		3 rd century	<i>I Eph</i> 3802
41.	Iulius Calpurnius	Philadelphia	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ		End of 2 nd , beginning of the 3 rd century	<i>TAM V3</i> 1483
42.	M. Iulius Dionysios Aquilianus	Thyateira	ἀσιάρχης Περγαμηνῶν		Caracalla	<i>TAM V2</i> 969
43.	C. Iulius Hippianus	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας	Husband of Cornelia Secunda (no. 31), father of asiarch C. Iulius Iulianus Tatianus (no. 44)	Severi	<i>TAM V2</i> 966
44.	C. Iulius Iulianus Tatianus	Thyateira	ἀσιάρχης	Son of C. Iulius Hippianus and Cornelia Secunda (nos. 43 and 31); related to Aurelia Tatia (no. 13) and Tib. Claudius	Severi	<i>TAM V2</i> 966, 967

				Tatianus Iulianus from Ephesos		
45.	C. Iulius Lepidus	Sardeis	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας		Domitian ?	<i>I. Sardis 46</i>
46.	C. Iulius M. f. Lepidus	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας	Cf. no. 45		<i>TAM V2 968</i>
47.	L. Iulius Libonianus	Sardeis	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Λυδία Σαρδιανῶν		Albinus?	<i>I. Sardis 47</i>
48.	C. Iulius Pardalas	Sardeis	ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ διὰ βίου ἀγωνοθέτης θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ		Augustus	<i>IEph 3825 (Hypaipa)</i>
49.	C. Iulius Philippus	Tralleis	ἀσιάρχης ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀγωνοθετοῦ διὰ βιοῦ	Grandfather of senator C. Iulius Philippus	Antoninus Pius	<i>OGIS 498; IK Tralles 51; 54; 128-130; Martyrium S. Polycarpi 12, 21; PIR² I 460</i>
50.	C. Iulius Python	Tralleis	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας			<i>IK Tralles 85</i>
51.	Kydoros	Tralleis	ἀσιάρχης		Imperial period	<i>SEG LVIII 1295</i>
52.	Menander	Hypaipa	β' ἀσιάρχης		Septimius Severus/Caracalla	<i>Revue Numismatique 1, 1883, p. 400</i>

53.	L. Pescennius Gessius	Philadelphia	ἀσιάρχης γ' ἀσιάρχης curator rei publicae		Middle of 3 rd century	<i>SEG</i> II 652; <i>TAM</i> V3 1500; <i>IK Smyrna</i> 635
54.	Poplius Gavius Capito	Hierokaisareia	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας	wife Claudia Ammion (no. 24)	Claudius/Nero	<i>I. Manisa Museum</i> 532; <i>IEph</i> 681; <i>BMC Lydia</i> , p.58f
55.	Ulpia Marcella	Thyateira	ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ	Wife of <i>archiereus</i> <i>Asias</i> P. Aelius Paullus (no. 1); daughter of M. Ulpus Damas from Ephesos	Hadrian or Severi?	<i>TAM</i> V2 931, 996; <i>TAM</i> V2 997
56.	Ulpia Stratonike	Nakrasa (or Akrasos), Lydia	ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας γυμνασιάρχης	Wife of <i>archiereus</i> Phesinus from Theos	1 st or 2 nd century	<i>IGR</i> IV 1571; <i>I. Manisa Museum</i> 52
57.	Valerius [---]tos	Hierokaisareia	ἀσιάρχης			H. Malay, M. Riel, <i>Festschrift Sencer Şahin</i> , Antalya, 2015 (in press)
58.	Anonymi	Area of Tripolis	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας	ancestors of Fl.Aurelius Eilos	around second half of the 2 nd century	<i>SEG</i> XLI 1017
59.	Anonymi	Thyateira	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας	Father and grandfather of T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus Qurinia, <i>equites</i>	Septimius Severus	<i>TAM</i> V2 935

Table 6

Archiereus Asias and Asiarchs in Phrygia

	Name	Origin	Titles	Family	Period	Sources
1.	P. Aebutius Flaccus	Hierapolis	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Κυζίκῳ		2 nd century	SEG LII 1342; IGR IV 153
2.	Aelia Ammia	Amorion	ἀρχιτέρεια Ἀσίας	Son M. Iulius Aquila (no. 26)	2 nd century	SEG XXXVII 1099bis
3.	Aeliana Regina	Apameia	Ἀσίας ἀρχιτέρεια	Wife of <i>archiereus</i> <i>Asias</i> Proclianus Trypho (no. 29); possibly related to asiarch (P.) Aelius Trypho (no. 4)	Valerianus and Gallienus	IGR IV 784
4.	(P.) Aelius Trypho	Apameia	ἀσιάρχης ἀσιάρχης τρίς	Possibly related to <i>archereis Asias</i> Proclianus Trypho and Aeliana Regina (nos. 29 and 3)	Severus Alexander and Phillip the Arab	BMC Phrygia p. 101, no. 179f; p. 89, no. 118; SNG 3506, 3507; MAMA VI 222
5.	P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Cassianus	Hierapolis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας • ἀσιάρχης • curator rei publicae 	Grandfather of senator Aelius Antipater	2 nd century?	IGR IV 819; IGR IV 828 ; MAMA IX 26 ; PIR ² A 282
6.	Antonia	Laodikeia on	ἀρχιτέρεια τῆς	Daughter of no. 8	1 st or 2 nd	IK Laodikeia am

		the Lykos	Ἰασίας γυμνασιάρχης		century	<i>Lykos 53</i>
7.	L. Antonius Zeno	Laodikeia on the Lykos	ἀρχιερεὺς Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰασίᾳ	possibly the same as no. 8?	Augustus/Clau- dius	<i>SEG XXXVII 855;</i> <i>MAMA VI 104;</i> <i>RPC I 2912-2916;</i> <i>RPC I 2928</i>
8.	L. Antonius Zenon	Laodikeia on the Lykos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἰασίας • ἱερεὺς τῆς πόλεως • γυμνασιάρχος 	Father of no. 6; cf. no. 7	1 st or 2 nd century	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 53</i>
9.	M. Aurelius Severus	Aizanoi	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰασίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ		Severus Alexander	<i>IGR IV 577=MAMA IX P40; SNG Phrygia 105; Coll. Wadd. 5585</i>
10.	Claudia (or Claudiane) ?	Dorylaion	ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἰασίας	Wife of <i>archiereus Asias</i> C. Iulius A... Saturninus (no. 27)		<i>Echos d'Orient 10 (1907), p. 77, no. 2 = MAMA V Lists I 183, 154-2</i>
11.	Claudia Lorentia	Synnada	ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἰασίας			<i>IGR IV 706</i>
12.	L. Claudius Lepidus	Aizanoi	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰασίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ		Hadrian ?	<i>MAMA IX 22; IGR IV 586=MAMA IX P55 ; MAMA IX P56=SEG XXVI 1352</i>
13.	Tib. Claudius Pardalas	Aizanoi	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰασίας ναῶν [τῶν ἐν		First half of the 2 nd century	<i>MAMA IX 18-21</i>

			Περγάμω]			
14.	[Tib. Claudius] Piso Tertullinus	Synnada	ἀσιάρχης		Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius	<i>MAMA</i> VI 374
15.	Q. Claudius Pollio	Hierapolis, Akmoneia	ἀσιάρχης		Marcus Aurelius	<i>MAMA</i> XI 100; <i>SNG von Aulock</i> 8386; <i>BMC</i> Phrygia 265 no. 1 and 4; 267 no. 14; 268 no. 15; Coll. Wadd. 6186;6187;6189
16.	M. Claudius Valerianus	Eumeneia	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας		Domitian	<i>BMC</i> Phrygia p. 218, no. 47f.
17.	(M.) Claudius Valerianus Tertullianus	Eumeneia	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ	son of M. Claudius Valerianus (no. 16)	Hadrian	<i>MAMA</i> IV 336; <i>SEG</i> XXVIII 1115; 1116
18.	Demetrios	Synnada	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας		First half of the 3 rd century	<i>MAMA</i> IV 66
19.	Euethios	Laodikeia on the Lykos	ἀσιάρχης		Imperial period	<i>SEG</i> XLVII 1743
20.	Flavius Iulianus	Aizanoi	ἀσιάρχης	Brother of no. 22	ca 150 AD	<i>SEG</i> XLV 1712
21.	T. Flavius Hieronis f. Quir. Montanus	Akmoneia	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας		102-116 AD	<i>MAMA</i> VI List 164
22.	Flavius Pardalas	Aizanoi	ἀσιάρχης	Brother of no. 20	ca 150 AD	<i>SEG</i> XLV 1712
23.	Flavius Priscus	Akmoneia	ἀσιάρχης		Septimius Severus	Mionnet IV p. 201, no. 31; Imhoof- Blumer p. 391, no.

						50; <i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 13, no. 62
24.	M. Flavius Valerianus Terentullianus	Hierapolis	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας	Possible grandson of M. Claudius Valerianus (no. 16) and nephew of (M.) Claudius Valerianus Tertullianus (no. 17)	2 nd century	<i>SEG</i> LII 1342
25.	Iulia Marcellina	Synnada	ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ		Marcus Aurelius	<i>MAMA</i> VI 373
26.	M. Iulius Aquila	Amorion	ἀσιάρχης, ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ		Second half of 2 nd century	<i>SEG</i> XXXVII 1099bis; <i>IEph</i> 686
27.	C. Iulius A... Saturninus	Dorylaion	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας	Husband of Claudia/Claudiane (no. 10)		<i>Echos d'Orient</i> 10 (1907), p. 77, no. 2 = <i>MAMA</i> V Lists I 183, 154-2
28.	C. Iulius Cleon	Eumeneia	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας		Tiberius/Nero	<i>IEph</i> 688; <i>RPC</i> I 3149-50
29.	Proclianus Trypho	Apameia	Ἀσίας ἀρχιερεὺς	Husband of archiereia Aeliana Regina (no. 3); possibly related to asiarch (P.) Aelius Trypho (no. 4)	Valerianus and Gallienus	<i>IGR</i> IV 784
30.	M. Sestullios Severus Flavianus	Appia	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας		200-225 AD	<i>MAMA</i> X, 70, 193
31.	Ulpia Carminia	Attouda	ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας	Daughter of M.	Early 3 rd	<i>IAph</i> 2007 8.81;

	Claudiana		στεφανηφόρος	Ulpus Carminius Claudianus neoterus and Ulpia Carminia Claudiana Procle (nos. 36 and 32)	century	van Bremen 1996, p. 352, no. 19; GM Winterthur 3340
32.	Ulpia Claudia Carminia Procle	Attouda	ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας	Wife of M. Ulpus Carminius Claudianus neoterus (no. 36), mother of <i>archieireia Asias</i> Ulpia Carminia Claudiana (no. 31)	Second half of 2 nd century	van Bremen 1996, p. 352, no. 22
33.	M. Ulpus Appuleius Eurykles	Aizanoi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ἀσιάρχης • ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποδεδιγμένος Ἀσίας • ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποδεδιγμένος Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ τὸ β΄ 	Grandson of <i>archieireus Asias</i> M. Ulpus Appuleius Flavianus (no. 34)	Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Commodus	<i>MAMA IX P18;</i> <i>OGIS 508,</i> <i>I Aph2007 12.538;</i> <i>MAMA VIII 505;</i> <i>IGR IV 573-576 =</i> <i>MAMA IX P6-P9;</i> <i>SEG XXXV 1365;</i> <i>SEG XLII 1185-</i> <i>1188</i>
34.	M. Ulpus Apulleius Flavianus	Aizanoi	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ	Grandfather of M. Ulpus Appuleius Eurykles (no. 33)	Hadrian ?	<i>SEG XXXV 1365</i>
35.	M. Ulpus Carminius Claudianus	Attouda	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας	Son of M. Ulpus Carminius Polydeukes Claudianus (no. 37, husband of	First half of the 2 nd century	<i>I Aph2007 12.1111;</i> <i>MAMA VI 74-75</i>

				<i>archiereia Asias</i> Flavia Appia from Aphrodisias, father of senator T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus and asiarch M. Ulpus Carminius Claudianus neoterus (no. 36)		
36.	M. Ulpus Carminius Claudianus neoterus	Attouda	ἀσιάρχης, στεφανηφόρος	Son of <i>archiereus</i> <i>Asias</i> M. Ulpus Carminius Claudianus (no. 35), husband of <i>archiereia Asias</i> Ulpia Claudia Carminia Procle (no. 32), father of <i>archiereia Asias</i> Ulpia Carminia Claudiana (no. 31)	Second half of 2 nd century	<i>MAMA</i> VI 74; <i>SNG Von Aulock</i> 2501, 2505
37.	M. Ulpus Carminius Polydeukes Claudianus	Attouda	ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀσιάρχης	Father of <i>archiereus</i> <i>Asias</i> M. Ulpus Carminius Claudianus (no. 33)	Beginning of the 2 nd century	<i>Iaph</i> 2007 12.1111; <i>SEG</i> LV 1408- 1409; Col. Wadd. 2268
38.	M. Ulpis Zenonis f. Quir. Trypho Megas Antonianus	Themisonium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • praefectus cohortis I Ulpiae Galatarum 		2 nd century ?	<i>IGR</i> IV 882; <i>PME</i> U 18

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας 			
39.	C. Voc(onius) Aelius Stratonikos	Dorylaion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ἀπὸ ἰπικῶν στρατειῶν, • ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ, • ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως, • στεφανηφόρος 		Second half of 2 nd century	<i>IGR IV 525 = MAMA V List 181, 33 ; PME A 64 = PME V 122bis</i>
40.	Anonymi	Synnada	ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀσίας	Ancestors of archiereia Asias Iulia Marcellina (no. 25)	Beginning of the 2 nd century	<i>MAMA VI 373</i>
41.	Anonymi	Aizanoi	Ἀσίας ἀρχιερεῖς	Ancestors or grandparents of Tib. Claudius Campanus Aurelianus	Second half of the 2 nd century	<i>IGR IV 578=MAMA IX P48</i>
42.	Anonymi	Akmoneia	ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀσίας	Ancestors of C. Claudius Egnatius Vigellius Valerius Ulpus Antonius Pollio Terentullianus	Second half of the 2 nd century	<i>MAMA XI 101</i>
43.	Anonymi	Temenothyrai	ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀσίας	Ancestors or grandparents of [T.] Aruntius Nicomachus	End of the 2 nd century	<i>IGR IV 617</i>
44.	Anonymus	Akmoneia	ἀσιάρχης	Father of Flavius Priscus (perhaps identical with asiarch	Septimius Severus	<i>SNG Phrygia 34, 37</i>

				Flavius Priscus no. 23)		
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Table 7

City officials in the cities of Roman Lydia

Name	Office	Period	Relatives	Type of inscription	Source
Sardeis					
Apoll[...]	ἀγοωνοθέτης		Descendant of the consular family	Honorary inscription	<i>I. Sardis 78</i>
Aruntius –inus Aquilinus Italicianus	γραμματεὺς ἀγοωνοθέτης	Severus Alexander	Great-grandson of asiarch Aruntius Maternus (LAA 8) and son of equestrian Aruntius Antoninus (LE 4)	Honorary inscription	<i>I. Sardis 77</i>
Aurelius Chryseros	ἀγορανόμος	200-250 AD		Dedication of images of Eros	<i>I. Sardis 99</i>
Aurelius Sokrates Philippianus	ἄρχων	Around 200 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>I. Sardis 60</i>
Celsus	ἀγορανόμος	1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	Possibly an ancestor of senator Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaenus	Honorary inscription	<i>I. Sardis 31</i>
Claudius Menogenes	ἱερεὺς στρατηγός στεφανήφορος	26-130 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>I. Sardis 44</i>
Tib. Claudius Silanius	στεφανήφορος	1 st –early 2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>I. Sardis 43</i>
Ti. Claudius Theogenes Lachanas	ἀγορανόμος γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου	ca 50 AD	mother/daughter Claudia, ἱέρεια Δήμητρος	Honorary inscription	<i>SEG XLVIII 1472</i>

			Καρποφόρου		
Flavius Eisigonos	γυμνασιάρχης στρατηγός γραμματεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων	ca 96 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>I. Sardis 46</i>
Anonymus	ἀγοωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>I. Sardis 64</i>
Anonymus	ἀλυτάρχης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>I. Sardis 64</i>
Magnesia ad Sipylum					
P. Aelius Apollonius	στεφανήφορος	ca 150 AD		Foundation of an eternal <i>stephanephoria</i>	<i>TAM V2 1345</i>
Apolonios, son of Apolonios	ἄρχων	Septimius Severus		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1362</i>
Ti. Cl. Iolas Restitutus	πρῶτος στρατηγός	Septimius Severus		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1362</i>
Dikaphenes, son of Dikaphenes	στεφανήφορος ἱερεὺς γυμνασιάρχης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1367</i>
Hermogenes, son of Karikos	πρῶτος ἄρχων	Septimius Severus		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1361</i>
Preimos Hosios	ἄρχων	Septimius Severus		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1362</i>
Seios Optatos Kleomachos	πρῶτος ἄρχων	Septimius Severus		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1363</i>
Tatianos Teimotheos	ἄρχων	Septimius Severus		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1362</i>
Hierokaisareia					
Antigenes, son of	ἱερονόμος	Not specified		Building	<i>TAM V2 1246; SEG</i>

Apollonios				inscription	XXXV 1156; <i>I Manisa Museum 13</i>
Apellas, son of Apellas	ιερονόμος δεκάπρωτος στρατηγός γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου ἐπιστάτης ἔργων	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1266</i>
Artemidoros	ιερεύς Διός Σαβαζίου	Early imperial period		Dedication to Zeus Sabazios	Malay, <i>Researches</i> no. 55
Artemidoros, son of Diogenes	ἄρχων	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>SEG LVII 1164</i> (Herrmann, Malay <i>New Documents</i> no. 14)
Artemidoros, son of Dionysios	ιερονόμος	Not specified		Building inscription	<i>TAM V2 1246; SEG</i> <i>XXXV 1156; I</i> <i>Manisa Museum 13</i>
Artemidoros, son of Polybios	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1276</i>
Aurelius Attalos	ἀγοωνοθέτης	3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1270</i>
Aurelius Diogenes	στεφανήφορος	3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1267</i>
Aurelius Dionysios	ἀγωνοθέτης	3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1271; 1274</i>
Aurelius Diophanes	ἀγωνοθέτης	3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V1272</i>
Aurelius Glykon	βούλαρχος	not specified			<i>TAM V2 1268</i>
Biton, son of Roustios	ιερονόμος	Reign of Claudius		Dedication to the goddess of	<i>TAM V2 1252; SEG</i> <i>XXXV 1155</i>

				the city	
Gaius, son of Gaius	ἄρχων	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>SEG</i> LVII 1164 (Herrmann, <i>Malay New Documents</i> no. 14)
Hermocrates Aischrionos	στρατηγός	Reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus		Nummi	Imhoof-Blumer no. 311
Iulius Iulianus	στρατηγός	Reign of Antonius Pius		Nummi	<i>BMC</i> Lydia no. 25
Kretinos, son of Artemidoros	ιερονόμος	Reign of Claudius		Dedication to the goddess of the city	<i>TAM</i> V2 1252; <i>SEG</i> XXXV 1155
Menandros, son of Menandros	ἄρχων β΄	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>SEG</i> LVII 1164 (Herrmann, <i>Malay New Documents</i> no. 14)
Menodoros	στρατηγός	Reign of Marcus Aurelius		Nummi	Mionnet IV no. 257
Philippos	ἀρχιερεὺς	Reign of Commodus and Septimius Severus		Nummi	Imhoof-Blumer no. 40
Stratoneike, daughter of Apollonides	ιερεῖα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	Malay, <i>Researches</i> no. 51
Thyateira					
Aelius Glykon	πρύτανις ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM</i> V2 929
Publius Aelius Menogenes Pyrichos	στρατηγός ἀγορανόμος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM</i> V2 930

Marcianus	γραμματεὺς βουλῆς δήμου ἐφήβαρχος τριευτής δεκάπρωτος				
Antonius Bassus	ἐπιμελητής	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 983</i>
Apollodotos, son of Menodotos	στρατηγός ἐργεπιστάτης	Not specified		Dedication to the emperors	<i>TAM V2 861</i>
Ariston, son of Ploutiados	γυμνασιάρχης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 937</i>
Artemidoros, son of Artemidoros	γραμματεὺς	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 968</i>
Artemidoros, son of Meth[- -]	πρύτανις στρατηγός γραμματεὺς δεκάπρωτος τριευτής βουλευτής	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 939</i>
Asklepiades, son of Tryphon	πρύτανις ἱερεὺς τῆς Ῥώμης στρατηγός σειτώνης τριευτής γραμματεὺς βουλῆς δήμου δεκάπρωτος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 940</i>
Aurelius Abaskantos	δεκάπρωτος ἐργεπιστάτης στρατηγός γραμματεὺς δήμου	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 942</i>

	σειτώνης ἀγορανόμος				
L. Aurelius Aristomenos	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified	Son of L. Aurelius Aristomenos and Aurelia Tatia, <i>archiereis Asias</i>	Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 944</i>
Aurelius Artemidoros, son of Artemidoros	ἀγωνοθέτης δεκάπρωτος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 946</i>
Aurelius Artemagoros, son of Glykonos	στρατηγός ἐπιστάτης ἔργων δεκάπρωτος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 945</i>
Aurelius Asklepiades, son of Marcus	γραμματεὺς βουλῆς δήμου δεκάπρωτος σειτώνης ἀγορανόμος ἵππαρχος στρατηγός (in the name of his sons)	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 947</i>
Aurelius Asklepiades Diogenes, son of Aurelius Diogenes	ἀγωνοθέτης δεκάπρωτος σειτώνης στρατηγός	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 948</i>
Aur. Polythallos Frontonos	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 956</i>
Claudia Ammia	ἰέρα τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀρχιέρα τῆς πόλεως διὰ βίου ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified	Husband Tiberius Claudius Antillos, possibly niece of C. Iulius Lepidus	Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 972</i>

Tiberius Claudius Antyllus	γυμνασιάρχης τρις	Not specified	Wife Claudia Ammia	Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 972</i>
Tiberius Claudius Glykonos	γυμνασιάρχης πρύτανης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 973</i>
Tiberius Claudius Kyrinos Antyllos	γυμνασιάρχης δις	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 975</i>
Tiberius Claudius Socrates	ἀγωνοθέτης γυμνασιάρχης	Not specified	Father of Ti. Claudius Socrates Sacerdotianus	Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 978</i>
Ti. Claudius Socrates Sacerdotianus	στεφανήφορος πρύτανης δις ἀγωνοθέτης ἀρχιερέυς τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ βίου ἱερέυς τοῦ Διονύσου	Not specified	Son of Tiberius Claudius Socrates	Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 976; 979; 980</i>
Cornelia At[...]	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 928</i>
T. Flavius Alexander	ἀγορανόμος κουρατορ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κονβέντος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1002; 1003</i>
L.Flavius Marcius Polianus	ἐφήβαρχος στεφανήφορος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1004</i>
Hephestion, son of Apollodoros	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Inscribed gem	<i>TAM V2 1176</i>
Iulia Iuliana	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified	Daughter of C. Iulius Celsius	Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 963</i>
Iulianus Solonos, son of Iulianus Germanus	εἰρηνάρχης δεκάπρωτος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 964</i>
C. Iulius Celsius	στρατηγός ἀγορανόμος	Not specified	Father of Iulia Iuliana	Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 963</i>

	ἵππαρχος δεκάπρωτος τριευτής				
M. Iulius Dionysios Aqulianus	ἀσιάρχης Περγαμηνῶν ἀγωνοθέτης στεφανήφορος δις		his son was M. Iulius Menelaos	Honorary inscriptions	<i>TAM V</i> 960; 965; 969; 992
C. Iulius Lepidus	ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου γυμνασιάρχης ε΄	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2</i> 968
M. Iulius Menelaos	ἀρχιερεύς βούλαρχος διὰ βίου ἀγωνοθέτης	reign of Caracalla	his mother Furia Paula was πρότανις in Ephesos, his father was M. Iulius Dionysios Acylianus	Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2</i> 969
L. Iulius Nikomachos	δεκάπρωτος πανηγυριάρχης γυμνασιάρχης γραμματεὺς ἐργεπιστάτης σειτώνης ἵππαρχος στρατηγός ἀγορανόμος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2</i> 968; 970
Laibianos, son of Kalistratos	τριευτής σειτώνης ἀγορανόμος δεκάπρωτος ἐργεπιστάτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2</i> 982
Makedonos	εἰρηνάρχης ἀγορανόμος στρατηγός	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2</i> 989

	δεκάπρωτος				
Marcus, son of Menandros	στρατηγός ἀγορανόμος σειτώνης γραμματεὺς βουλῆς δήμου γραμματοφύλαξ δεκάπρωτος ἐργεπιστάτης (all in the name of his children)	Not specified		Honorary inscription	TAM V2 991
L. Marcius Pollianus	πρῶτος στρατηγός ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	TAM V2 990
Metrodoros, son of Metrodoros	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	TAM V2 993
M. Plautus Erechtheos	γραμματεὺς	Not specified		Honorary inscription	TAM V2 975
Polios Euboulos	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	TAM V2 1017
C. Sallustius	στεφανήφορος στρατηγός	Not specified	Father of C. Sallustius Aristophanus	Honorary inscription	TAM V2 998
C. Sallustius Aristophanus	δεκάπρωτος ἀγωνοθέτης σειτώνης	Not specified	Son of C. Sallustius	Honorary inscription	TAM V2 998
Secundus (?), son of Aurelius (?)	στρατηγός σειτώνης δεκάπρωτος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	TAM V2 999
Tryphosianos	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	TAM V2 1000
Anonymus	δεκάπρωτος	Not specified		Honorary	TAM V2 1024

	ἐφήβαρχος			inscription	
Anonymus	γυμνασιάρχης	Not specified		Fragment of honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1035</i>
Apollonis					
Apollonios, son of Apollonios	γυμνασιάρχης στεφανήφορος ἐφήβαρχος	Not specified		Ephobic list	<i>TAM V2 1204</i>
Aristoboulos, son of Aristoboulos	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Dedication to Artemis	<i>TAM V2 1184</i>
Aur. Attikos	στρατηγός	241-244 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1191</i>
Aur. Auxanontos Hermos	πρῶτος στρατηγός	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1192</i>
Damonikos, son of Demetrios	γυμνασιάρχης	Not specified		Ephobic list	<i>TAM V2 1203</i>
Triphon (?)	γυμνασιάρχης ἐφήβαρχος	Not specified		Ephobic list	<i>TAM V2 1205; 1208</i>
Anonyma	στεφανήφορος	Not specified		Ephobic list	<i>TAM V2 1208</i>
Anonymus	στρατηγός σειτώνης ?	Not specified		Fragment of honorary inscription	<i>TAM V2 1200</i>
Anonymus	γυμνασιάρχης τρις στεφανήφορος	Not specified		Ephobic list	<i>TAM V2 1206</i>
Daldis					
Menecrates, son of Polyeidios	λογιστής στρατηγός γυμνασιάρχης πρῦτανις ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V1 650</i>

Pyrros	ἀγωνοθέτης στεφανήφορος ἱερεὺς	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>SEG XXIX 1157</i>
Iulia Gordos					
Alexandros, son of Alexandros	στεφανήφορος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V1 698</i>
Apollonios, son of Artemidoros	στρατηγός	First quarter of the 1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA 45 (2012),</i> <i>73-87.</i>
Artemidoros, son of Asklepiades	στρατηγός	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V1 688</i>
Asklepides, son of Hephaiston	στρατηγός	First quarter of the 1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA 45 (2012),</i> <i>73-87.</i>
Athenodoros, son of Athenodoros	στρατηγός	75/76 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V1 687</i>
Attalos, son of Menandros	δεκάπρωτος ἀγορανόμος στρατηγός στεφανήφορος	First quarter of the 1 st century AD	Brother of Kleon, possibly related to Menandros, son of Demetrios	Honorary inscription	M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA 45 (2012),</i> <i>73-87.</i>
Tib. Claudius Kyrenios	δεκάπρωτος λαμπάδαρχης	Not specified	Son of Tib. Claudius Stratoneikianos	Honorary inscription	<i>SEG LVII 1177</i>
Tib. Claudius Stratoneikianos	δεκάπρωτος	Not specified	Father of Tib. Claudius Kyrenios and Tib. Claudius	Honorary inscription	<i>SEG LVII 1177</i>

			Stratonikos		
Tib. Claudius Stratonikos	δεκάπρωτος λαμπάδαρχης	Not specified	Son of Tib. Claudius Stratoneikianos	Honorary inscription	<i>SEG</i> LVII 1177
Demainetos, son of Kleon	στρατηγός	First quarter of the 1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA</i> 45 (2012), 73-87
Gaius Iulius Theodotos	γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM</i> V1 688
Heraklides, son of Apolonios	στρατηγός	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM</i> V1 688
Iulianus Florus	πρῶτος ἄρχων	Reign of M. Aurelius and L. Commodus		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM</i> V1 693; <i>SNG von Aulock</i> 2983
Kleon, son of Menandros	δεκάπρωτος	First quarter of the 1 st century AD	Brother of Attalos, possibly related to Menandros, son of Demetrios	Honorary inscription	M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA</i> 45 (2012), 73-87.
Lucius Antonius [Eu]phron	στρατηγός	First quarter of the 1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA</i> 45 (2012), 73-87.
Menandros, son of Demetrios	γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου στρατηγός	75/76 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM</i> V1 687; M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA</i> 45 (2012), 73-87

Menandros, son of Menandros	στρατηγός	75/76 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V1 687</i>
Metrophanes, son of Neon	γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου	First quarter of the 1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA 45 (2012)</i> , 73-87
Papios, son of Apollonios	στρατηγός	First quarter of the 1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA 45 (2012)</i> , 73-87
Platon, son of Agemachos	γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου	First quarter of the 1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	M. Ricl, H. Malay, Two New Decrees from Iulia Gordos and Lora, <i>EA 45 (2012)</i> , 73-87
Thyneitos, son of Dionysios	στρατηγός	75/76 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V1 687</i>
[...], son of Asklepiades	στρατηγός	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V1 688</i>
Saittai					
Andronikos	εἰρηνάρχης	Not specified		Fragment	<i>TAM V1 180</i>
Fl. Herklanos	ἄρχων	Marcus Aurelius		Nummi	<i>SNG von Aulock 3093</i>
Glykonos	στεφανήφορος	100/101 AD		Dedication	<i>TAM V1 193</i>
Okta. Kinbros	ἄρχων	Not specified		Nummi	Imhoff-Blumer 523
Sos. Charikles	ἄρχων α΄	Iulia Domna and Caracalla		Nummi	Imhoff-Blumer, 129; cf. <i>TAM I 109</i>
Titianos	ἄρχων α΄	Marcus Aurelius		Nummi	<i>BMC Lydia</i> p. 218 no. 34

[...], son of Andronikos	στρατηγός	Not specified		Fragment	<i>TAM V1 184</i>
Philadelphia					
Titus Aelius Glykon Papias	ἀρχιερεύς λογιστής (τῆς ἱερᾶς βουλῆς)	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1462</i>
Aulus Hostius Hieron	βούλαρχος	2 nd or 3 rd century			<i>TAM V3 1480; 1481</i>
L. Antonius Agathopus	κουρατορ δεκάπρωτος πανηγυριάρχης	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1476</i>
Lucius Antonius Polianos	σειτοδότης στεφανήφορος	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1463</i>
[- - -] Aurelius [- - -]	βουλευτής	2 nd or 3 rd century		Funerary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1836</i>
M. Aurelius Diodorus	βουλευτής γερυσιαστής ἀγορανόμος τάμιας ἐφήβαρχος βουλάρχος	229/230 AD	kinsman of asiarch M. Aurelius Manilius Alexander		<i>TAM V3 1495</i>
Aurelius Dionysius Quintus	πανηγυριάρχης	3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1488</i>
Aurelius Hephaiston Paitianos	πρῶτος στρατηγός	Around 220 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1491</i>
Aurelius Hermippos	ξυστάρχης ἱερεύς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος	After 212 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1490</i>
Aurelius Lollianos Menandros	πρῶτος στρατηγός	3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1493</i>
Aurelius Niketes, son of Diadumenos	ἀργυροταμίας τῆς γερουσίας	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1470</i>
M. Aurelius Pius, son	(Δαλδιανός)	253-260 AD		Agonistic	<i>TAM V3 1511</i>

of Socrates	βουλευτής			inscription	
Claudius Basileides	δεκάπρωτος	209-211 AD		Inscribed stamp	TAM V3 1663
Tiberius Claudius Iulianos	στρατηγός δις στεφανήφορος γυμνασιάρχης	Early imperial period ?		Honorary inscription	TAM V3 1448
Publius Cornelius Priscus	ἀγορανόμος	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	TAM V3 1474
Cornelius Zelotos	δεκάπρωτος κουρατορ πανηγυριάρχης	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	TAM V3 1474
Crispus Nikanor, son of Crispus	βουλάρχος	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscriptions	TAM V3 1460
Titus ? Flavius Artemidoros	ξυστάρχης διὰ βίου	Probably Flavian period		Honorary inscription	TAM V3 1505
Titus Flavius Athenodoros	στεφανήφορος δεκάπρωτος τάμιας	1 st or 2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	TAM V3 1455
Titus Flavius Praxeas, son of Hermogenes	πρώτος ἄρχων	Between 88 and 92 AD		Honorary inscription	TAM V3 1453
Glykon Papias	βούλαρχος	2 nd century			TAM V3 1461
Heliodoros, son of Heliodoros	βουλάρχος στρατηγός ἀγορανόμος ἵππαρχος σειτώνης πανηγυριάρχης νομοφύλαξ ἀρχιερεὺς	2 nd or 3 rd century			TAM V3 1484
Hermocrates, son of	γραμματεὺς τήν	2 nd or 3 rd		Building	TAM V3 1522

Hermocrates	ἀγορὰν ἐκ τῆς κόμης	century		inscription	
Hermogenes Maximus	στεφανήφορος διὰ βίου	Probably imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1440</i>
C. Iulius Makedon Aurelianus	χρεοφύλαξ κουρατορ τάμιας πανηγυριάρχης σειτώνης	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1442</i>
Lucius, son of Corbulo	ἵππαρχος ἐφήβαρχος τάμιας στρατηγός γυμνασιάρχης	3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1489</i>
Marcellus	βουλοφύλαξ	132 AD or earlier		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1456a</i>
Marcellus	βουλευτής (Φιλαδελφείας)	Not specified		Epitaph on sarcophagus	<i>TAM V3 1755</i>
Nikanor, son of Nikanor	ἀγορανόμος στρατηγός δεκάπρωτος γυμνασιάρχης γραμματεὺς γερουσίας χρεοφύλαξ	Imperial period		Honorary inscriptions	<i>TAM V3 1459</i>
Pardala, son of Ulpius Pardala	γυμνασιάρχης	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscriptions	<i>TAM V3 1457</i>
[- - -], son of Hermippos	ἐφήβαρχος (ἐν παιδὶ γενόμενον)	Early imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1441</i>
[- - -], son of Neoptolemos	ἐφήβαρχος	1 st century AD?		Honorary inscription	<i>TAM V3 1446</i>

[- - -] Polykrates	ξυστάρχης διὰ βίου βουλευτής	Reign of Severi		Agonistic inscription	<i>TAM V3 1506</i>
Anonymus	ξυστάρχης διὰ βίου	3 rd century AD		Agonistic inscription	<i>TAM V3 1508</i>
Tralleis					
M. Aurelius Euarestos	βούλαρχος ἀγορανόμος εἰρηνάρχης στρατηγός δεκάπρωτος σειτώνης τάμιας	second half of the 2 nd / first half of the 3 rd century			<i>IK Tralleis 66</i>
M. Aurelius Soterichos	γραμματεὺς	second half of the 2 nd / first half of the 3 rd century			<i>IK Tralleis 66</i>
[M. Claudius ?] Berenicianus	χρυσόφορος γραμματεὺς ἀγορανόμος εἰρηνάρχης βούλαρχος σειτώνης		son of asiarch M. Claudius Niceratus Cerealius		<i>IK Tralleis 73</i>
Ti. Iulius Claudianus	στεφανήφορος γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου βούλαρχος εἰρηνάρχης ἀγορανόμος σειτώνης χρυσόφορος παραφύλαξ	1 st or 2 nd century			<i>IK Tralleis 145</i>

	ἀργυροταμίας δεκαπρωτος γραμματεὺς τῆς γερουσίας				
Sextus Bassus	βουλευτής	1 st or 2 nd century			<i>IK Tralleis 145</i>
Hypaipa					
Alexandros, son of Apollonides	γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου νεωκόρος	First half of the 1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>IEph 3801 I</i>
Apollonios Tatianos	ἀγωνοθέτης	3 rd century AD			<i>SEG XXVII 787; IEph 3812 a</i>
Aur. Croesus, son of Dionysios	ἀγορανόμος	Not specified	Father of ἀγορανόμος and χρεοφύλαξ		<i>IEph 3854</i>
Aur. Alexandros, son of Hermogenes	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified			<i>IEph 3813</i>
Aur. Attalos Tatianos	στρατηγὸς πρῶτος	Not specified		Nummi	Cf. <i>SEG XXXVI 1074</i>
Aur. Moschionos	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified	Son of an asiarch Attalos	Honorary inscription	<i>IEph 3809; 3810</i>
T. Flavius Lucius Hierax	στρατηγός	Not specified		Nummi	Cf. <i>SEG XXXVI 1074; cf. TAM V2 1385</i>
Gouras	στρατηγὸς τὸ β' πρῶτος	Not specified		Nummi	Cf. <i>SEG XXXVI 1074</i>
Anonymus	βούλαρχος	301 AD			<i>IEph 3803 e</i>
Anonymus	ἀγορανόμος χρεοφύλαξ	Not specified	Son of Aur. Croesus		<i>IEph 3854</i>
Unknown provenance					
M. Aur. Attinas Tatianus Valentillianus	πρύτανης ἀγωνοθέτης στεφανήφορος	2 nd /3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>SEG L 1194</i>

	πρῶτος στρατηγός				
Anonymi	ἀρχιερεῖς πρυτάνεις στρατηγοὶ ἀγωνοθέται στεφανηφόροι	2 nd /3 rd century AD	ancestors of M. Aur. Attinas Tatianus Valentillianus	Honorary inscription	SEG L 1194

Table 8

City officials in the cities of Roman Phrygia

Name	Office	Period	Relatives	Type of inscription	Source
Laodikeia on the Lykos					
Antonia	γυμνασιάρχης	1 st or 2 nd century		Honorary inscription	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 53</i>
Aurelius Apphianus Philetianos	ἀγορανόμος	After 212 AD		Dedication	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 71</i>
Aurelius Zosimus	στρατηγός τῆς διὰ νυκτὸς	254/255 AD		Dedication	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 72</i>
C. Claudius Sostratos	στρατηγός	Last third of the 2 nd century		Dedication	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 70</i>
Diokles, son of Metrophilos	ἀρχιερεύς στεφανήφορος	1 st century AD		Inscription for gladiators	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 73</i>
[- - -] Glaucianus	στρατηγός	Reign of Commodus		Honorary inscription	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 45</i>
C. Iulius Paterc(u)lus	βουλευτής	Middle of the 2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 51</i>
Longinus, son of Longinus	πρύτανις τῆς φυλῆς	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 49</i>
Neikomachos	γυμνασιάρχης σειτώνης δεκάπρωτος ἐπιμελητής	Imperial period		Fragment of Honorary inscription	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 47</i>

Q. Pomponius Flaccus	στρατηγός τῆς πόλεως ἀγορανόμος νομοφύλαξ στρατηγός διὰ νυκτὸς πρεσβευτῆς	1 st or 2 nd century		Honorary inscription (posthumous)	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 82</i>
Lucius Sedatius Theophilus	νομοφύλαξ	Second half of the 2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 44</i>
Anonymus	βουλευτής	Reign of Commodus		Honorary inscription	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 45</i>
Anonymus	βουλευτής	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 49</i>
Anonymus	στρατηγός τῆς διὰ νυκτὸς	Last third of the 2 nd century		Dedication	<i>IK Laodikeia am Lykos 70</i>
Hierapolis					
Aelianos	στρατηγός	2 nd -3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>Alt. v. Hierapolis 4</i>
P. Aelius Zenon Iulianus	ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου	180-192 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>SEG XXXIII 1133</i>
C. Ageleios Apollonides	βουλευτής στρατηγός ἀγορανόμος δεκάπρωτος κονβενταρχήσας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐργεπιστάτης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>Alt. v. Hierapolis 32</i>
P. Antonius Vitellianus	χρεωφύλαξ ἀγορανόμος βουλάρχος	not specified			<i>Alt. v. Hierapolis 39</i>
Tib. Claudius Epa[...]tos	στεφανήφορος γυμνασιάρχης	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>SEG LVII 1364</i>

Tib. Claudius Zotikos Boa	στρατηγός ἀγωνοθέτης γραμματεὺς ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πρεσβευτῆς ἀρχιερεὺς	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>Alt. v. Hierapolis</i> 40; 41
Dekmos Iounius Pompeianos	στεφανήφορος ἀγορανόμος	Not specified		Dedication	<i>ASatene</i> 1963/1964, 415
Demetrios	στρατηγός	2 nd -3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>Alt. v. Hierapolis</i> 4
Diphilos, son of Diphilos	ἄρχων β'	Beginning of the 1 st century AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 245 no. 104
Dryas	γραμματεὺς	Beginning of the 1 st century AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 246 no. 108
Iollas, son of Iollas	γραμματεὺς	Beginning of the 1 st century AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 246 no. 107
Ioulia Tryphose	στεφανήφορος	221/2 or 270/1 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>Alt. v. Hierapolis</i> 55b
Zeuxidos, son of Menestratos	ἀγορανόμος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>Alt. v. Hierapolis</i> 26
Anonymus	ἀγορανόμος	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>SEG LVII</i> 1365
Blaundos					
Fl. Aurelius Eilos	στρατηγός στεφανήφορος	May 227 AD	Relatives of senatorial and equestrian status, ancestors ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀσίας	Honorary inscription	<i>SEG XLI</i> 1017
Sebaste					
Valerius Rufus	ἀγορανόμος	2 nd / 3 rd century		Funerary	<i>MAMA XI</i> 74

	στρατηγός ειρηνάρχης δεκάπρωτος			doorstones	
Akmoneia					
Alexandros, also known as Acholis	βουλευτής ἀγορανόμος σειτώνης πανηγυριάρχης στρατηγός	2 nd / 3 rd century		Funerary <i>bomos</i>	<i>MAMA XI 120</i>
Aur. Frougianos	ἀγορανόμος σειτώνης στρατηγός παραφυλακή	248/249 AD		Funerary inscription	<i>MAMA VI 335a</i>
L. Claudius Capito	στεφανήφορος	cca 200 AD	father of C. Claudius Lucianus	Honorary inscription	<i>SEG LVI 1493</i>
L. Claudius Capitonus	στεφανήφορος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA VI Lists</i> p. 149 no. 165
Gaius Claudius Egnatius Vigellius Valerius Ulpus Antonius Pollio Terentullianus	ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου θεοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Ἀσκληπειῶν	150-200 AD	Descendant of <i>Archereis Asias</i>		<i>MAMA XI 101</i>
L. Claudius Iulianus	ἀγορανόμος σειτώνης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA VI Lists</i> p. 149 no. 165
C. Claudius Lucianus	στεφανήφορος ἀγορανόμος ἀργυροταμίας γραμματεὺς εἰρηνάρχης (τὸ δεύτερον)	200-250 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>SEG LVI 1493</i>

Claudius Menecleus	στεφανήφορος	cca 180 AD	grandfather of C. Claudius Lucianus	Honorary inscription	<i>SEG</i> LVI 1493
C. Claudius Severus	στεφανήφορος	cca 200 AD	uncle of C. Claudius Lucianus	Honorary inscription	<i>SEG</i> LVI 1493
T. Flavius Alexander	εἰρηνάρχης βουλάρχος ἀγορανόμος στρατηγός σειτώνης	244 AD			<i>IGR</i> IV 658 = <i>MAMA</i> VI Lists p. 149 n. 174
T. Flavius Aponianus	ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς πόλεως	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI Lists p. 149 no. 163
Larkios Silonos	στεφανήφορος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI Lists p. 149 no. 163
Nikias Loukios, son of Asklepiodoros	ἀγορανόμος ἱερεὺς Σεβαστῆς Εὐβοσίας διὰ βίου στρατηγός γυμνασιάρχης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI 265
C. Pac(onius) Peisoneinos	πρῶτος ἄρχων	c. 215 AD		Statue base for an emperor	<i>MAMA</i> XI 103
Regulianus	βουλευτής	3 rd century AD		Funerary <i>bomos</i>	<i>MAMA</i> XI 123
Anonymus	δεκάπρωτος χρεωφύλαξ ἀργυροταμίας ἀγορανόμος στρατηγός	Middle of the 3 rd century AD		Funerary doorstone	<i>IGR</i> IV 657 = <i>MAMA</i> VI Lists p. 149 n. 171
Traianopolis					
Aelianus Valerius	ἄρχων	197/198 AD		Honorary inscription for	<i>MAMA</i> XI 91

				Septimius Severus	
Artemon, son of Hermogenes	ἄρχων	167 AD		Honorary inscription for the emperors	<i>MAMA XI 90</i>
Dionysios, son of Pythodoros	γραμματεὺς	167 AD		Honorary inscription for the emperors	<i>MAMA XI 90</i>
Fl. Priscus	λογιστής	197/198 AD		Honorary inscription for Septimius Severus	<i>MAMA XI 91</i>
Gaius Onesimos	γραμματεὺς	197/198 AD		Honorary inscription for Septimius Severus	<i>MAMA XI 91</i>
Hierokles, son of Archeteimos	ἄρχων τὸ β΄	167 AD		Honorary inscription for the emperors	<i>MAMA XI 90</i>
Menandros Celer	ἄρχων	197/198 AD		Honorary inscription for Septimius Severus	<i>MAMA XI 91</i>
Philanthos, son of Tryphon	ἄρχων	167 AD		Honorary inscription for the emperors	<i>MAMA XI 90</i>
Philippos Euodos	ἄρχων	197/198 AD		Honorary inscription for Septimius Severus	<i>MAMA XI 91</i>

Kidyessos					
Aur(elius) Glykon, son of Glykon	βουλευτής	3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA XI 160</i>
Aizanoi					
Aeneas, son of Dionysios	ἐπιμελητής	Mid-1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX 28</i>
Artemidoros, son of Menophilos	στρατηγός	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX P36</i>
Artemidoros, son of Trophimos	ἐπιμελητής	2 nd or 3 rd century AD		Dedication	<i>MAMA IX 60</i>
Aurelius Euphemos	πρῶτος ἄρχων βουλάρχος στρατηγός δις	3 rd century			<i>MAMA IX 29</i>
Aur. Philippos	πρῶτος στρατηγός ἐπιμελητής	244-249 or 251-260 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX 17</i>
Aur. Zenon	ἄρχων	260-268 AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia p. 43 no. 138</i>
Claudius Apollinarios	στρατηγός	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX P34</i>
Tib. Claudius Apollinarios	ἐπιμελητής	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX P48</i>
Tib. Claudius Campanus Aurelianus	στρατηγός	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX P48</i>
Cl. Rufinianus	ἄρχων	211-217 AD		Honorary inscription for Caracalla	<i>MAMA IX P20</i>
Cl. Tatianos	ἄρχων α΄	180-192 AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia p. 39 no. 118</i>
Hordeonios, son of Antiochos	νεωκόρος τοῦ Διὸς ἀγορανόμος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX P41</i>

	στρατηγός βουλάρχος χρεωφύλαξ δις				
Ioulianos Tryphonos	νεωκόρος τοῦ Διὸς διὰ βίου εἰρηνάρχης ἀγορανόμος στρατηγός χρεωφύλαξ	Imperial period		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX P39</i>
Metrodoros, son of Menophilos	ἄρχων	First half of the 1 st century AD			<i>MAMA IX 38</i>
Menophilos, son of Apollonios	στρατηγός γραμματεὺς χρεωφύλαξ πανηγυριάρχης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX P43</i>
Philopappos, son of Menogenes	νεωκόρος τοῦ Διὸς διὰ βίου ἀγορανόμος	1 st -2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX 33</i>
Philippos Sotas	γραμματεὺς τῆς γερουσίας	98-102 AD		Milestone	<i>MAMA IX 7</i>
Sulpicius	ἄρχων	Mid-3 rd century AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia p. 42 no. 131</i>
M.Ulpus Appuleianus Flavianus	ἀγωνοθέτης εἰρηνάρχης δις βουλάρχος στρατηγός πρύτανις ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς διὰ βίου	before 156/157 AD	His father was M. Ulpus Apulleius Flavianus, ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ; his son was M. Ulpus Appuleius Eurykles	Honorary inscription	<i>SEG XXXV 1365</i>

M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurykles	ἀγωνοθέτης βουλάρχος πρῶτος ἄρχων ?	169/170 AD	His grandfather was M. Ulpius Apulleius Flavianus, ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ; his father was M. Ulpius Appuleianus Flavianus	Honorary inscriptions	<i>MAMA IX P18; OGIS 508, Iaph 2007 12.538; MAMA VIII 505; IGR IV 573-576 = MAMA IX P6-P9; SEG XXXV 1365; SEG XLII 1185-1188</i>
Anonymus	στεφανήφορος ἀγωνοθέτης	180-192 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IX 22</i>
Dorylaion					
P. Aelius Sabinianos Demosthenes	στεφανήφορος	Not specified		Funerary inscription	<i>MAMA V 6</i>
Antiochis, daughter of Teuthrantos	ἱέρεια γυμνασιάρχης	Not specified	Wife of Asklepiades	Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA V Lists I(i) p. 182 no. 82</i>
Asklepiades, son of Stratonikos	ἱερεὺς ἐπιστάτης τοῦ δημοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως γυμνασιάρχης γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου	Not specified	Husband of Antiochis	Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA V Lists I(i) p. 182 no. 82</i>
M. Aur. Timaion	ἄρχων στεφανήφορος	Mid-3 rd century AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia p. 198 no. 16</i>
Cornelianos, son of Cornelios	ἄρχων β'	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA V Lists I(i) p. 181 no.32</i>
Stratoneikianos Timaios	πρῶτος ἄρχων στεφανήφορος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA V Lists I(i) p. 181 no.32</i>
Nakoleia					
Apollonios, son of Anthos	ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς φυλῆς	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA V 204</i>

Markos Ioulios Ibikos	πρωτάρχον	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> V 204
Synnada					
Alexandros, son of Alexandros	ἄρχων ἀγωνοθέτης ἀρχιερεύς β΄	Gordian III		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 403 no. 56-58; cf. <i>MAMA</i> IV 67
Artemenos	ἀρχιερεύς	Claudius		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 399 no. 37
Fl. Aur. Achileus	πρῶτος ἄρχων	293-305 AD		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> IV 59
Aur. Athenaios Akylios	πρῶτος ἄρχων	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> IV 63
Claudius, son of Attalos	πρύτανις	Antonius Pius		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 395 no. 16
Claudius Attalos	πρύτανις λογιστής	Lucius Verus		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 401 no. 49-50
Euagros	ἀγωνοθέτης	Not specified		Fragment	<i>MAMA</i> IV 68; cf. <i>MAMA</i> IV 65
Poseidonios, son of Artemidoros	στεφανήφορος γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς σειτώνης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>BCH</i> 17 (1893), p. 282 no. 84
Sophrosine	γυμνασιάρχης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>IGR</i> IV 708
Eumeneia					
P. Aelius Pauleinos	Εὐμενεὺς βουλευτής	not specified		Epitaph	<i>SEG</i> XXVIII 1165
[- - -] Ammianus	βουλευτής πρῶτος στρατηγός ἀγορανόμος	2 nd / 3 rd century		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> XI 26

	γραμματεὺς πρύτανις δεκάπρωτος ξυστάρχης διὰ βίου				
Aur. Monimos Zenodotos	λαμπαδάρχης ἱερεὺς στρατηγός χρεωφύλαξ λογιστής ἀγορανόμος εἰρηνάρχης παραφύλαξ γραμματεὺς	2 nd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>IGR</i> IV 739
Patrokles, son of Patrokles	βουλευτής (Εὐκαρπεύς) κληροῦχος τρειακονάρχης	Imperial period			<i>MAMA</i> XI 45
Pentapolis					
Aur(elius) Alexandros, son of Gaius	βουλευτής (Εὐκαρπεύς)	255/256 AD		Funerary doorstone	<i>MAMA</i> XI 139
Aurelius Pa...	βουλευτής	3 rd century AD		Funerary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> XI 149
Apameia					
Artemagoras	ἀγωνοθέτης	Before 211 AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 99 no. 172ff
Artemas	ἀγωνοθέτης	Before 211 AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 98 no. 168
M. Aur. Ariston Euklaionos	στρατηγός ἀγωνοθέτης εἰρηνάρχης	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI List p. 146 no. 115

	ἀργυροταμίας				
M. Aur. Dorotheos	πρώτος ἄρχων	161-167 or 176-180 AD		Honorary inscriptions	<i>MAMA</i> VI 183
Tib. Claudius Peisonos Mithridatianos	γυμνασιάρχης ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου Διὸς Κελαινέως ἐφήβαρχος	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI List p. 146 no. 111
Loukios Mounatios Anthos	ἐπιμελητής	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI List p. 146 no. 111
Markos Attalos	ἀργυροταμίας τῆς πόλεως	Second half of the 1 st century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI 178-179
Mythas, son of Diokleos	γυμνασιάρχης γραμματεὺς δήμου	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI List p. 145 no. 102
Papios Deida Aidouchos	ἐπιμελητής	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI List p. 146 no. 111
Tryphonos Dioga	ἐπιμελητής	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI List p. 146 no. 111
Tyrannos Myta	ἐπιμελητής	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA</i> VI List p. 146 no. 111
Kolossai					
Philopappos	γραμματεὺς	Mid-2 nd century AD		Nummi	<i>BMC Phrygia</i> p. 154 no. 1-2
Anonymus	στρατηγός ἀγορανόμος βουλάρχος γραμματεὺς τάμιας ἐφήβαρχος εἰρηνάρχης νομοφύλαξ				<i>IGR</i> IV 870

	παραφύλαξ ἐπιμελητής εργεπιστάτης ἔκδικος				
Apollonia					
Aur. Hermes	βουλευτής	3 rd century AD		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IV 186</i>
[Klei]nagoreos, son of Aristodemos	ἀγορανόμος παραφύλαξ στρατηγός λογιστής γυμνασιάρχης τῶν γερόντων	Not specified		Honorary inscription	<i>MAMA IV 152</i>

Table 9

Professional associations and occupations in Roman Lydia¹³⁹⁶

Occupation /Association	Type of the inscription	Place	Period	Source / Publication
ὁ ἰατρὸς	Epitaph of Artemas	Sardeis	1 st century BC or AD	I Sardis 142
ὁ λατύπος	Dedication to Zeus Sabazios	Küpüler, Lydia (sanctuary of Zeus Sabazios)	16/17 AD	I. Manisa Museum 66
οἱ βαφεῖς	Honorific inscription for Ti. Cl. Socrates	Thyateira	1 st century	<i>TAM</i> V2 978
χαλκεῖς χαλκοτύποι	Honorific inscription for M. Ant. Galates	Thyateira	50-150 AD	<i>TAM</i> V2 936
οἱ ἐν τῷ σταταρίῳ πραγματευόμενοι	Honorific inscription T[...] Iulius Lepidus	Sardeis	late 1 st – 2 nd century AD	<i>SEG</i> XLVI 1524
ὁ βαφεὺς	Funerary inscription for Papinnia	Philadelphia	117/118 AD	<i>TAM</i> V3 1773
τὸ ὁμότεχνον τῶν	Funerary inscription of	Saittai	145/146 AD	<i>TAM</i> V1 85

¹³⁹⁶ This table should provide general overview of attested occupations.

λαναρίων	Octavius Polycleitus			
ἡ σύνοδος τῆς σκυτικῆς	Funerary inscription of Preimos	Saittai	147/148 AD	SEG XXIX 1183
συνβίωσις	Funerary inscription of Pantagathon	Saittai	151/152 AD	TAM V1 87
ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν σκυτέων	Funerary inscription of Apollonides the younger	Saittai	152/153 AD	TAM V1 79
ἡ συνεργασία τῶν γναφέων	Funerary inscription of Charmides	Saittai	152/153 AD	SEG XXIX 1184
τὸ ὁμότεχνον τῶν γναφέων	Funerary inscription of Artemon	Iulia Gordos	152/153 AD	SEG XL 1045
ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν σκυτέων	Funerary inscription of Artemidoros	Saittai	153/154 AD	TAM V1 80
τὸ ὁμότεχνον τῶν γναφέων	Funerary inscription of Papias	Saittai	154/155 AD	TAM V1 86
τὸ ὁμότεχνον τῶν ὑφαντῶν	Funerary inscription of Diodoros	Saittai	156/157 AD	SEG XXXIII 1017
συμβιώσεις	Funerary inscription	Saittai	156/157 AD	SEG XXIX 1185
ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν λεινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Trophimos	Saittai	162/163 AD	SEG XXXI 1026

ή σύνοδος τῶν τεκτόνων	Funerary inscription of slave Philetairos	Saittai	165/166 AD	<i>SEG XXIX</i> 1186
ὁ λατύπος	Funerary inscription of Ionike	Saittai	165/166 AD	<i>SEG XXIX</i> 1187
ή πλατεία τῶν σκυτέων	Funerary inscription of Philippikos	Saittai	166/167 AD	<i>TAM V</i> 1 146
συνβίωσις	Funerary inscription of Asklepiades	Saittai	166/167 AD	<i>SEG XXXI</i> 1010
συνβίωσις	Funerary inscription of Zenobius	Saittai	167/168 AD	<i>TAM V</i> 1 87a
ποδάριοι	Funerary inscription	Saittai	167/168 AD	<i>TAM V</i> 1 91
τὸ ὁμότεχνον τῶν λαναρίων	Funerary inscription of Alexandros	Saittai	168/169 AD	<i>SEG XLIX</i> 1663
ή σύνοδος τῶν νέων ποδαρίων	Funerary inscription of Deskylos	Saittai	168/169 AD	<i>TAM V</i> 1 92
συνεργασία τῶν λαναρίων	Funerary inscription of Leonas	Saittai	170/171 AD	<i>SEG XLIX</i> 1664
συμβιώσεις	Funerary inscription of Glaphyros	Saittai	170/171 AD	<i>SEG XXIX</i> 1188
ή σύνοδος τῶν	Funerary inscription of	Satala	170/171 AD	<i>SEG XLIX</i> 1683

μουσικῶν	Alypianos			
ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν σκυτέων	Funerary inscription of Neikephoros	Saittai	173/174 AD	<i>TAM</i> V1 81
ὁ χαλκεύς	Religious inscription	Philadelphia	probably cca 176 AD	<i>TAM</i> V3 1656
τὸ ὁμότεχνον τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Trophimas	Saittai	183/184 AD	<i>TAM</i> V1 82
ἡ συνεργασία τῶν λεινοργῶν	Funerary inscription of Herakleides	Saittai	183/184 AD	<i>SEG</i> XXIX 1191
ἡ συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Pantagathos	Saittai	183/184 AD	<i>SEG</i> XLVIII 1460
ἡ συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Stratonikos	area of Saittai	183/184 AD	<i>SEG</i> XLIX 1667
οἱ βαφεῖς	Honorific inscription for M. Iul. Dionysius Aquilianus	Thyateira	before 192 AD	<i>TAM</i> V2 965
ἡ συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Stratokles	area of Saittai	192/193 AD	<i>SEG</i> XXXII 1234
ἡ συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Androneikos	Saittai	192/193 AD	<i>SEG</i> XLVIII 1461
οἱ ἐπιουργοί	Funerary inscription of	Saittai	192/193 AD	<i>SEG</i> XLVIII 1462

	Hygeinos			
ή συνεργασία τών λινουργών	Funerary inscription of Deskylos	area of Saittai	194/195 AD	<i>SEG XL 1088</i>
ή συνεργασία τών πιλοποιών	Funerary inscription of Attalios	Saittai	194/195 AD	<i>SEG XXIX 1195</i>
συνβιώσεις	Funerary inscription of Epictetus	Saittai	194/195 AD	<i>TAM V1 88</i>
ή συνεργασία τών λινουργών	Funerary inscription of Stephanos	Saittai	196 AD	<i>SEG LV 1299</i>
οί βαφείς	Honorific inscription for Claudia Ammion	Thyateira	2 nd century	<i>TAM V2 972</i>
ό δακτυλοκοιλογλύφος	Funerary inscriptiion of Doros from Sardeis	Philadelphia	2 nd century	<i>TAM V3 1901</i>
ό ιατρός	Dedication to Tyche Epekoos	Unknown provenance, Lydia	2 nd century ?	I. Manisa Museum 83
οί άρτοκόποι	Honorific inscription for C. Iulius Iulianus Tatianus	Thyateira	Severan dynasty	<i>TAM V2 966</i>
οί βυρσείς	Honorific inscription for M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus	Thyateira	Severan dynasty	<i>TAM V2 986</i>

οί κεραμειῖς	Honorific inscription for Caracalla	Thyateira	Severan dynasty	<i>TAM V2 914</i>
οί βαφειῖς	Honorific inscription for Aur. Artemagoros	Thyateira	Severan dynasty	<i>TAM V2 945</i>
οί λιουργοί	Honorific inscription for Annianos	Thyateira	Severan dynasty	<i>TAM V2 933</i>
ἡ φυλή λιουργῶν	Inscription of tribes on the seats of the stadium	Saittai	Second half of 2 nd or 3 rd century	<i>SEG XL 1063</i>
ἡ φυλή τῶν σκυτέων	Fragmentary honorary inscription	Philadelphia	Second half of 2 nd or 3 rd century	<i>TAM V3 1492</i>
ἡ λεντιαρία	Funerary inscription of Trophimē	Philadelphia	2 nd or 3 rd century	<i>TAM V3 1790</i>
οί σκυτοτόμοι	Funerary inscription of Apollonides	Thyateira	2 nd /3 rd century AD	<i>SEG XLI 1033</i>
οί ψιλάγναφοι	Building inscription	Philadelphia	2 nd /3 rd century AD	<i>TAM V3 1519b</i>
οί βαφειῖς	Honorific inscription for T. Ant. Cl. Alfenus Arignotus	Thyateira	199/200 AD	<i>TAM V2 935</i>
χαλκεύς	Funerary inscription of Kosmos	Saittai	201/202 AD	<i>SEG XLVIII 1463</i>

ή συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Alexandros	Saittai	202/203 AD	<i>SEG XXXI 1036</i>
ή συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Iulianos	Saittai	205/206 AD	<i>TAM V1 83</i>
ή συνεργασία τῶν χαρκέων	Funerary inscription of Prepon	Saittai	208/209 AD	<i>SEG XLIX 1669</i>
ή συνεργασία τῶν σιπιναρίων	Funerary inscription of Markellos	Saittai	208/209 AD	<i>SEG XLVIII 1464</i>
ή συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Hermosthestos	Saittai	209/210 AD	<i>SEG XLIX 1670</i>
ή συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Ammianos	Saittai	211/212 AD	<i>TAM V1 84</i>
ή φυλή τῶν ἐριοργῶν	Honorary inscription for Aur. Hermippos	Philadelphia	probably after 212 AD	<i>TAM V3 1490</i>
ή φυλή τῶν σκυτέων	Honorary inscription for Fl. Aur. Hephaistion Papianus	Philadelphia	cca 220 AD	<i>TAM V3 1491</i>
οἱ λανάριοι	Honorific inscription for C. Perelius Aurelius Alexander	Thyateira	218-222 AD	<i>TAM V2 1019</i>

οἱ γναφεῖς	Honorific inscription for C. Perelius Aurelius Alexander	Thyateira	218-222 AD	<i>SEG XLIX 1699</i>
ἡ συνεργασία τῶν ἐριοργῶν	Funerary inscription of Antiochos	Saittai	223/224 AD	<i>SEG XXIX 1198</i>
συνβίωσις	Funerary inscription of Iulianus	Saittai	224/225 AD	<i>TAM V1 89</i>
ἡ συνεργασία τῶν λινουργῶν	Funerary inscription of Aur. Hermippos	Saittai	233/234 AD	<i>SEG XLIX 1672</i>
ὁ λινουργός (φράτορες)	Funerary inscription of Alexandros	Saittai	238/239 AD	<i>SEG XLIX 1673</i>
συμβιωταί	Funerary inscription of Andronikos	Saittai	293/294 AD	<i>SEG XXXI 1016</i>
τῷ πλήθει βαφέων?	Funerary inscription of Aur. Pankrates the younger	Thyateira	3 rd century	<i>TAM V2 1081</i>
ὁ σκανδαλάριος	Funerary inscription of Artemidoros	Philadelphia	3 rd century	<i>TAM V3 1852</i>
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαφέων	Fragment of a honorific inscription	Thyateira	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 1029</i>

οἱ βαφεῖς	Honorific inscription for Markos	Thyateira	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 991</i>
οἱ βαφεῖς	Honorific inscription for the son of Makedon	Thyateira	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 989</i>
οἱ σκυτοτόμοι	Honorific inscription for T. Fl. Alexandros	Thyateira	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 1002</i>
οἱ τοῦ σταταρίου ἐργασταί ... προξενηταί σωμάτων Σωματέμπορος	Honorific inscription for Alexandros	Thyateira	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 932</i>
ὁ βαφεὺς	Dedication to Theos Hypsistos	Thyateira	Imperial period	<i>SEG XLIX 1708</i>
οἱ κηπουροί	Funerary (?) fragment	Thyateira	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 1168</i>
οἱ πραγματευόμενοι	Building inscription	Thyateira	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 862</i>
ὁ κηπουρός	Funerary inscription of Alexandros	Philadelphia	Imperial period	<i>TAM V3 1859</i>
ὁ εἰητρός	Dedication (to Asclepius)	Hierocaesarea	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 1254</i>
ὁ κεραμεὺς	Funerary inscription of Menophilos	Magnesia ad Sipylum	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 1381</i>
οἱ κοραλλιοπλάσται	Dedication	Magnesia ad Sipylum	Imperial period	<i>TAM V2 1346</i>

ὁ ἀρτοκόπος	Fragment	area of Saittai	Imperial period	<i>SEG LVII 1214</i>
ἡ συντεχνία τῶν λινύφων	Honorary inscription for <i>agoranomos</i>	Tralleis	Imperial period	<i>IK Tralleis 79</i>
ὁ τραπεζεῖτος	Funerary inscription of Hermes and Tyche	Tralleis	Imperial period	<i>SEG XLVI 1436</i>
λινύφοι ἐριοπῶλαι	Deed of foundation	Hypaipa	301 AD	<i>IEph 3803d</i>
ἀρτοποιοῖ κὲ σιλινάριον	<i>Topos</i> inscription	Sardis	4 th century ?	I. Manisa Museum 431

Table 10
Professional associations and occupations in Roman Phrygia¹³⁹⁷

Occupation / Association	Type of the inscription	Place	Period	Source / Publication
ὁ λατύπος	Dedication to Zeus Olympios Kersoullos	Aizanoi	Early Imperial period	<i>SEG</i> LVI 1463 C
ἡ συνεργασία τῶν γναφῶν	Honorary inscription for T. Flavius Mointanus	Akmoneia	late 1 st century	<i>MAMA</i> VI 275
ἡ σεμνοτάτη ἐργασία τῶν πορφυραβάφων	Honorary inscription for an unknown procurator Augusti	Hierapolis	1-2nd century A.D	<i>IGR</i> IV 816
ὁ λιθουργός	Dedication to Zeus Abozenos	Tavşanlı, Phrygia	140/141 AD	<i>SEG</i> XL 1226
ὁ μυροπώλης	Epitaph of Ammianos Diokles and his wife Prophetilla	Hierapolis	ca. 150-200 AD	Alt. v. Hierapolis 262; <i>SEG</i> LIV 1302
ὁ χαλκεύς	Dedication to Zeus	Phrygia	ca. 180-220 A.D.	<i>SEG</i> LI 1808
ἡ τέχνη τῶν βαφέων	Dedication of a statue? of	Hierapolis	beginning 2 nd century	<i>SEG</i> XLI 1201

¹³⁹⁷ This table should provide general overview of attested occupations, since it is not necessarily fully comprehensive.

	Boule		AD	
ἐργασία τῶν κηπουρῶν	Epitaph for - –eides.	Hierapolis	2 nd century AD ?	Alt. v. Hierapolis 218
ὁ εἰματιοπώλης	Honorary inscription	Laodikeia on the Lycos	2 nd century	IK Laodikeia am Lykos 51
ὁ πορφυροπώλης	Epitaph for M. Aur. Alexandros Moschianos	Hierapolis	second half of the 2 nd century AD	Alt. v. Hierapolis 156
ὁ λατύπος	Epitaph for Hermogenes	Aizanoi	Late second century AD	<i>MAMA</i> IX 451
τὸ συνέδριον τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυραβάφων ... ἐργασία ἢ θρεμματική	Funerary monument of M. Aur. Diodoros	Hierapolis	end 2 nd century AD	Alt. v. Hierapolis 227
ὁ λεντιάριος	Epitaph of Attalos	Akmoneia	end of the 2 nd or 3 rd century	<i>MAMA</i> IV 343
ἡ ἐργασία τῶν ἐριοπλυτῶν	Funerary monument of Aurelia Paconia Pauline	Hierapolis	End 2 nd – 3 rd century AD	<i>AAT</i> 101 (1966-67), 317 no. 45
ἡ ἐργασία τῶν βαφέων	Inscription on a funerary altar	Hierapolis	End 2 nd – 3 rd century AD	Alt. v. Hierapolis 50 IK Tralles 6*
συντεχνία τῶν	Funerary inscription for	Hierapolis	End 2 nd – 3 rd century	Alt. v. Hierapolis 133

ήλοκόπων συντεχνία τῶν χαλκέων πορφυραβάφων	Aur. Zoticos		AD	
ή τέχνη τῶν βαφέων	Funerary monument of P. Ael. Hermogenes	Hierapolis	End 2 nd – 3 rd century AD	SEG LIV 1315
ή ἐργασία τῶν λινωτῶν, φίλοπλοι	Funerary monument of M. Aur. Ammianos	Hierapolis	End 2 nd – 3 rd century AD	SEG LVI 1501
ή σεμνοτάτη ἐργασία τῶν κηπουργῶν	Funerary monument of M. Aur. Appolonios	Hierapolis	end 2 nd - 3 rd century AD	SEG LIV1313
τὸ κοινόν τῶν ἐργαστηριαρχῶν		Hierapolis	end 2 nd - 3 rd century AD	Ritti (2004), 544 <i>ineditum</i> Cf. also SEG XLV 1747
τὸ συνέδριον τῶν κοπιδέρων		Hierapolis	end 2 nd - 3 rd century AD	Ritti (2004), 544 <i>ineditum</i> Cf. also SEG XLV 1747
θρεμματική, ἐργαστηριάρχαι, χαλκεῖς	A μολυβδουργός bequeaths property to a θρεμματική association, an equal amount to an association of	Hierapolis	end 2 nd - 3 rd century AD	Ritti (1995) 70-1 <i>ineditum</i> Cf. SEG XLV 1747

	ἐργαστηριάρχαι, and a lesser sum to an association of χαλκεῖς			
ὁ λαχανοπώλης	Epitaph of Severus Argentius and others	Eumeneia	2 nd or 3 rd century AD	<i>SEG</i> XXVIII 1125
ὁ ὠθόνιοπώλης	Funerary inscription	Eumeneia	2 nd or 3 rd century	<i>MAMA</i> IV 349
ὁ λατύπος	Dedication to Zeus Bronton	Upper Tembris valley	2 nd or 3 rd century AD	<i>SEG</i> XL 1236
ἡ προεδρία τῶν πορφυραβάφων	Epitaph of M.Aurelius Aigillos and family members	Hierapolis	ca.200-250 A.D.	<i>SEG</i> LIV 1323
ἡ τέχνη τῶν πορφυροβάφων	Dedication of the theatre's scene; contribution by the group	Hierapolis	206-209 AD	<i>SEG</i> XXXV 1369 Alt. v. Hierapolis 4
ὁ λατύπος	Epitaph of Kyrilla and her family	Tembris valley	ca. 220 AD	<i>SEG</i> LIII 1547
ὁ λατύπος	Consecration of Telesphoros	Akmoneia	249 AD	<i>SEG</i> XLI 1171
ὁ λατύπος	Dedication to Zeus Ampelites	Kotiaion	early 3 rd century	<i>SEG</i> LV 1419
συντεχνία ὕδραλετῶν	Funerary monument of M. Aur. Apollodotos	Hierapolis	early 3 rd century AD	<i>AAT</i> 101 (1966- 67), 297 no. 7

ἡ σεμνοτάτη ἐργασία τῶν ἐριοπλυτῶν	Honorary inscription for Tib. Cl. Zotikos	Hierapolis	early 3 rd century AD	IGR IV 821
προεδρία τῶν πορφυροβάφων τὸ συνέδριον τῶν ἀκαιροδαπισῶν	Epitaph for P. Ael. Glycon Zeuxianos Ailianos	Hierapolis	early 3 rd century AD	<i>SEG</i> XLVI 1656
ἡ προεδρία τῶν πορφυροβάφων	Sarcophagus of M. Aur. Aigillos, M. Aur. Ailianos, M. Aur. Akindynos	Hierapolis	early 3 rd century AD	<i>SEG</i> LIV 1323
ἡ σεμνοτάτη ἐργασία τῶν πορφυροβάφων	Honorary inscription for Tib. Cl. Zotikos	Hierapolis	early 3 rd century AD	<i>SEG</i> LVI 1499 = IGR IV 822
γναφεῖς βαφεῖς ἀπλουργοί	Fragment of funerary inscription	Laodikeia on the Lycos	3 rd century AD	IK Laodikeia am Lykos 50
ἡ συνεργασία... ἡ συνεργασία ΚΛ[...]	Inscription on theatre seats	Laodikeia on the Lycos	Imperial period	IK Laodikeia am Lykos 32
ἡ συνεργασία	Inscription on theatre seats	Laodikeia on the	Imperial period	IK Laodikeia am Lykos

		Lycos		33
ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων	Fragment of honorary (?) inscription	Laodikeia on the Lycos	Imperial period	IK Laodikeia am Lykos 58
ὁ λατύπος	Doorstone	Akmoneia	Imperial period	<i>MAMA</i> VI 321
ὁ λατύπος	Funerary monument	Akmoneia	Not specified	<i>MAMA</i> VI 275
ὁ ἐργαστής	Epitaph of Flavius Zeuxis	Hierapolis	Not specified	Alt. v. Hierapolis 51
ὁ λατύπος	Dedication of a temple and statue of Homonoia	Nakoleia	Not specified	<i>SEG</i> XXVIII 1176
ἡ ὁμοτεχνία τῶν κηπουρῶν	Dedication	Aizanoi	Not specified	<i>MAMA</i> IX 49
ὁ ῥάπτης	Bomos	Aizanoi	Not specified	<i>MAMA</i> IX 157
ὁ ἐμπλέκτης	Doorstone	Synaus, Upper Tembris valley	Not specified	<i>MAMA</i> X 428
ὁ λατύπος	Dedication to Zeus Andreas	Appia	Not specified	<i>SEG</i> XXVI 1367
οἱ λατύποι	Dedication to Zeus Bennios	Appia	Not specified	<i>SEG</i> XXVI 1369
οἱ λατύποι	Dedications and artists' signature	Dorylaion	Not specified	<i>SEG</i> XXXVIII 1311b
ὁ πορφυροπώλης	Funerary inscription	Hierapolis	Not specified	<i>AAT</i> 101 (1966-1967), 313 no. 37
ἡ ἐργασία τῶν	Epitaph of P. Ael.	Hierapolis	Not specified	Alt. v. Hierapolis 195

βαφέων	Hermogenes Charopinos			
σιλιννειτοπόλης		Hierapolis	Not specified	Ritti (1995), 70-71 Cf. <i>SEG</i> XLV 1747
ὁ μαχαιροποιός	Epitaph of Triphon and Nikopolis	Eumeneia	Not specified	<i>SEG</i> XXVIII 1140
ὁ χαλκεὺς	Dedications to Zeus Thallos	Phrygia	Not specified	<i>SEG</i> XXXIII 1155
ὁ χαλκεὺς	Epitaph	Belçigez (Sultan Dağı)	Not specified	I. Sultan Dağı I 627
ὁ λατύπος	Dedications to Asclepius Soter and Hygeia	Aizanoi	Not specified	<i>MAMA</i> IX 61
ὁ χαλκεὺς	Dedication to Theos Hypsitos	Akmoneia	Not specified	<i>SEG</i> XXVI 1356

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AA* *Archäologischer Anzeiger des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin.
- AAT* *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, Torino.
- AE* *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris.
- AIV* *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti*, Venezia.
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology*, Boston.
- AJPh* *American Journal of Philology*, Baltimore.
- Alt. v.*
- Hierapolis* W. Judeich, *Inschriften, Altertümer von Hierapolis IV*, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft 4 1898, 67-202.
- ANRW* *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, Berlin–New York.
- AS* *Anatolian Studies*, London.
- BCH* *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Paris.
- BE* *Bulletin épigraphique*, Paris.
- BIG* *Beogradski istorijski glasnik*, Beograd.
- BMC Lydia* *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum XXII: Lydia*, London 1902.
- BMC Phrygia* *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum XXV: Phrygia*, London 1906.
- CAH* *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge.
- CBFIR* *Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches. Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I*, ed. E. Schallmayer, K. Eibl, J. Ott, G. Preuss, E. Wittkopf, Stuttgart 1990.
- CIG* *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin 1828-1877.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863-.
- CPh* *Classical Philology*, Chicago.

- CQ* *Classical Quarterly*, Oxford.
- CRAI* *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris.
- EA* *Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens*, Bonn.
- EE* *Ephemeris epigraphica. Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum*, Roma–Berlin.
- EKM* *Epigraphes kato Makedonias (metaxy tou Vermiou orous kai tou Axiou potamou). Teuchos A'. Epigraphes Veroias*, ed. L. Gounaropoulou–M. B. Hatzopoulos, Athens 1998.
- GRBS* *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, Durham.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin.
- IGBulg* G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae I-V*, Sofia 1958-1997.
- IGR* *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes I-IV*, Roma 1964.
- IGSK* *Inschriften griechische Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn 1972-.
- IG Syringes* J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes à Thèbes I-III*, Cairo 1920-1926.
- IGUR* L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae I-IV*, Rome 1968-1990
- IEph* *Die Inschriften von Ephesos I-VIII. Inschriften griechische Städte aus Kleinasien XI-XVII*, Bonn 1979-1984.
- IK Tralleis* F. B. Poljakov, *Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa. Teil 1: Die Inschriften von Tralleis. Inschriften griechische Städte aus Kleinasien XXXVI/1*, Bonn 1988.
- IK Laodikeia*
- am Lykos* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos. Inschriften griechische Städte aus Kleinasien XL*, Bonn 1997.
- IK Perge* S. Sahin, *Die Inschriften von Perge I-II. Inschriften griechische Städte aus Kleinasien LIV, LXI*, Bonn 1999, 2004.
- IK Smyrna* G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna I-II. Inschriften griechische Städte aus Kleinasien XXIII-XXIV*, Bonn 1982-1990.
- InsAph* *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, ed. J. Reynolds–C. Roueché–G. Bodard, <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>.

- I Olympia* W. Dittenberger–K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin 1896.
- I. Sardis* W. H. Buckler–D. M. Robinson, *Sardis VII-1: Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Leiden 1932.
- JRS* *The Journal of Roman Studies*, London.
- JHS* *The Journal of Hellenic studies*, London.
- JWG* *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, München.
- LBW* Ph. le Bas–W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptiones graecae et latinae recueillies en Asie Mineure I-III*, New York 1972.
- LGPN* *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987-
- LSJ* H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996.
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua I-VIII*, London–Manchester–Oxford 1928-1993.
- MDAI (A)* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, Berlin.
- MDAI (I)* *Mitteilungen des Deutsches Archäologisches Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul*, Tübingen.
- NIP* T. Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Zutphen 1978.
- NZ* *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Wien.
- OCD* *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford, 2000.
- OGIS* W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae I-II*, Lipsiae 1903-1905.
- OMS* L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta. Épigraphie et antiquité grecque I-VII*, Amsterdam 1963-1990.
- OPEL* *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum I-IV*.
- PBSR* *Papers of the British School at Rome*, London.
- PIR* *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I, II, III*, Berlin 1897-1898.
- PIR²* *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I, II, III*, Berlin 1933-.
- PLRE* *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I-III*, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, Cambridge 1971-1992.
- PME* H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrum quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum I-VI*, Leuven 1976-2001.

- RD* *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, Paris.
- RE* *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumwissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1894-
- REA* *Revue des études anciennes*, Pessac.
- RECAM* *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor*, 1977-.
- REG* *Revue des études grecques*, Paris.
- RIDA* *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, Bruxelles.
- RMD* *Roman Military Diplomas I-V*, ed. M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, London 1978-2006.
- RPC* *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Oxford 1992-.
- SCI* *Scripta Classica Israelica*, Jerusalem.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden–Amsterdam.
- SERP* M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1957².
- TAM* *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Vienna 1901-1989.
- VDI* *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, Moskva.
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn.

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Biography

Olga Pelcer-Vujačić was born in Belgrade in 1977. She attended schools in Belgrade and was enrolled at the Department of History of Faculty of Philosophy in 1996 and graduated in September 2001. For the BA essay she wrote about papyrology discoveries in Judaeen Desert, mainly Babatha Archive. She presented her MA thesis “Wet-nurses in Roman Egypt” in 2006 under the supervision of prof. dr Marijana Riel.

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From July 2003 till April 2013 Olga Pelcer-Vujačić was a full-time research assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy; till December 2005 on a national project *Society and institutions of central Balkans in antiquity* led by prof. Riel, and from January 2006 on another national project *The process of Hellenization and Romanization in the Balkans and neighbouring provinces in Hellenistic and Roman times*. Since October 2013 she is a senior researcher at Historical Institute of Montenegro. During 2014 and 2015 she was part of the project *Digitalization of ancient inscriptions from Montenegro* funded by Ministry of Culture of Montenegro. From spring 2015 she is also included in the project funded by Ministry of science of Montenegro and European Research Council *Valorisation of Montenegrin katuns as part of sustainable development of agriculture and tourism– KATUN* and bilateral project *Mediterranean cultural heritage: Italy and Montenegro, perception and perspectives* with Istituto di Studi sull Mediterraneo Antico, in Rome.

Olga Pelcer-Vujačić is involved in a regional project publishing Roman inscriptions from Pannonia in *CIL* edition with colleagues from Austria, Croatia, Hungary and Slovenia. She attended several scientific conferences in Serbia and abroad.

Her main research interest is epigraphy, both Greek (especially inscriptions from Asia Minor) and Latin (inscriptions from Balkan provinces). She has published one monograph and several articles in different journals.

She is fluent in English and has good comprehension of French and German.

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