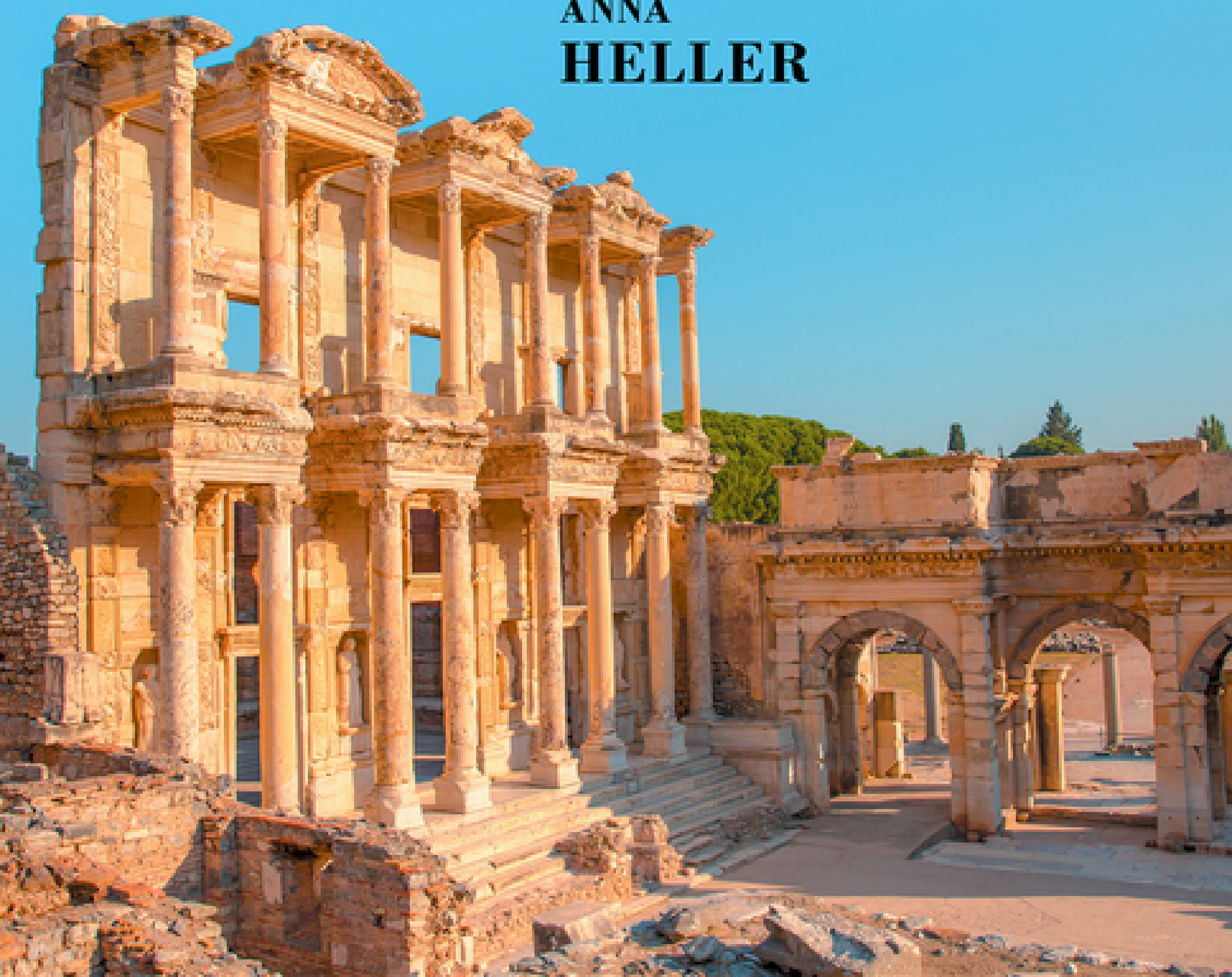
EDITED BY

MARTIN HALLMANNSECKER

ANNA HELLER



# The Oxford Handbook *of* GREEK CITIES IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

# GREEK CITIES IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

# GREEK CITIES IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

*Edited by*
MARTIN HALLMANNSECKER
*and*
ANNA HELLER

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2024

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number is on file at the Library of Congress

ISBN 978–0–19–287093–3

DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780192870933.001.0001

Printed in the UK by
Bell & Bain Ltd., Glasgow

# Contents

*Acknowledgements* ix
*Abbreviations and Conventions* xi
*List of Figures* xiii
*Biographies* xvii

Introduction 1
Martin Hallmannsecker and Anna Heller

## 1. SOURCES AND METHODS

1.1. The Epigraphic Culture of the Greek Cities in the Roman East 9
Angelos Chaniotis

1.2. Civic Coinage 26
Antony Hostein

1.3. Literary Sources for Greek Cities of the Roman Empire 46
Ewen Bowie

1.4. Archaeological Sources and Civic Life 63
Ursula Quatember

1.5. Onomastics and Prosopography 83
Aitor Blanco-Pérez

1.6. The Greek City of the Roman Empire: Questions of Identity 96
Emma Dench

## 2. CIVIC INSTITUTIONS

2.1. The Legal Status of the Greek *Poleis* in the Roman Empire 115
Giovanna D. Merola

2.2. Greek and Roman Citizenships 130
Lina Girdvainyte

2.3. Age Groups and Civic Subdivisions 145
NIGEL KENNELL

2.4. The Deliberative Institutions: The Council and Assembly 159
CHRISTINA T. KUHN

2.5. Magistracies and Liturgies 172
NIKOS GIANNAKOPOULOS

## 3. LOCAL POLITICS

3.1. Euergetism 189
MARCUS CHIN

3.2. Civic Honours under Roman Rule 203
ANNA HELLER

3.3. Constructing Public Space: Political and Pragmatic Considerations 217
CHRISTOPHER DICKENSON

3.4. The Urban Economy 233
PAUL ERDKAMP

3.5. Security, Military Culture, and Public Order 248
CHRISTOPHER J. FUHRMANN

3.6. Crises and Conflicts 264
ARJAN ZUIDERHOEK

3.7. Diplomacy and External Relations 278
MARTIN HALLMANNSECKER

3.8. Cities and *Koina* 293
BABETT EDELMANN-SINGER

## 4. CIVIC SOCIETIES

4.1. Civic Hierarchies 311
SOPHIA ZOUMBAKI

4.2. Civic Countryside and Rural Life 327
STEPHEN MITCHELL†

4.3. Women in Civic Societies 341
Eftychia Stavrianopoulou

4.4. Clubs and Associations 357
Benedikt Eckhardt

4.5. Gymnasia and Baths 370
Julie Bernini

4.6. Necropoleis and Civic Funerary Culture 386
Karin Wiedergut

4.7. Slavery and the *Polis* 403
Alberto Dalla Rosa

## 5. RELIGION AND CULTURE

5.1. The 'Religious Realm' (*ta theia*) in the Eastern Mediterranean Cities 419
Nicole Belayche

5.2. Oracles and the City 435
Manfred Lesgourgues

5.3. The Imperial Cults in the Greek Provinces 449
Gabrielle Frija

5.4. Festivals and Civic Culture 463
Naomi Carless Unwin

5.5. Intellectual Education and the City 477
Krystyna Stebnicka

## 6. CITIES AND REGIONS

6.1. Athens 493
Elena Muñiz-Grijalvo

6.2. Sparta and the Peloponnese 510
Jean-Sébastien Balzat

6.3. The Cities of Boeotia 524
Christel Müller

6.4. The Cyclades 539
ENORA LE QUÉRÉ

6.5. Thasos 556
JULIEN FOURNIER

6.6. The Cities of Bithynia 573
HENRI FERNOUX

6.7. Ephesos 587
FRANÇOIS KIRBIHLER

6.8. The Cities of Caria 607
FABRICE DELRIEUX

6.9. The Cities of Lycia 622
OLIVER HÜLDEN

6.10. The Cities of Lydia 637
SENCAN ALTINOLUK

6.11. The Cities of the Lykos Valley 651
ALISTER FILIPPINI

6.12. The Greek Cities in Roman Syria 670
MAURICE SARTRE

6.13. The Greek Cities of Sicily 685
LORENZO CAMPAGNA

6.14. The Greek Cities of the Black Sea 703
MADALINA DANA

6.15. Cyrene and the Cities of Cyrenaica 718
FRANÇOIS CHEVROLLIER

6.16. The Cities of Egypt 736
PETER VAN MINNEN

Epilogue: The End of *Polis* Culture? 751
ANNE-VALÉRIE PONT

*Index* 767

# Acknowledgements

The editors would like to thank Peter Thonemann for his support and advice during the genesis of this project. Together with the contributors, we are furthermore very grateful to the following scholars who have given their time and expertise to proofread and/or comment on individual chapters: Philippa Adrych, Olga Boubounelle, Richard Catling, Angelos Chaniotis, Marcus Chin, John K. Davies, Aneurin Ellis-Evans, Benjamin Gray, Frédéric Hurlet, Leah Lazar, Stephen Mitchell †, Zahra Newby, Anthony M. Snodgrass, and Antony Spawforth. Pascal Chareille kindly redrew the map in Ch. 6.12.

Thanks are also due to Charlotte Loveridge and Jamie Mortimer from OUP for the efficient handling of the whole project, to Purva Santhya Pottin and Santhiya Rajarathinam from Newgen for facilitating the production process, and to Ben Harris for his thorough copy-editing.

Finally, we would like to thank all our contributors for this very congenial collaborative experience. The untimely death of Stephen Mitchell in January 2024 was a great shock and is an enormous loss for all of us. We dedicate this volume to his memory.

# Abbreviations and Conventions

In general, we have used the Greek spelling of ancient personal names and toponyms, and the Latinized version only in cases in which the latter is more common.

Regarding the abbreviations of ancient authors and their works as well as modern scholarly publications such as journals, we follow Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., and Eidinow, E. eds. 2012. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th ed.). Oxford.

The abbreviations of Greek epigraphic corpora and editions follow the exhaustive list at https://www.aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html.

# Figures


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1.1.1 | The grave relief of Onesimos, a steward, and his family, late 2nd/early 3rd century AD | 14 |
| 1.1.2 | Inscription imitating the layout of a papyrus scroll, arranged in columns and with a decoration on the left | 18 |
| 1.1.3 | The grave relief of the slave-merchant Aulus Caprilius Timotheos. Amphipolis, c. AD 100 | 20 |
| 1.1.4 | Sarcophagus from Aphrodisias with representation of a workshop of glass production, c. AD 200 | 21 |
| 1.2.1 | Smyrna, Augustus, Aphrodite Stratonikis | 42 |
| 1.2.2 | Athens, bust of Athena under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, Themistocles on a galley | 42 |
| 1.2.3 | Gabala, Caligula, eagle | 42 |
| 1.2.4 | *koinon* of Cyprus, Diva Faustina, Galerius Antoninus | 42 |
| 1.2.5 | Skepsis, Septimius Severus, The Judgement of Paris | 42 |
| 1.2.6 | Corinth, Domitian, Isthmos and Ino holding Melikertes | 42 |
| 1.2.7 | Parion, Trajan, Victory | 42 |
| 1.2.8 | Kyme, Antinous under Hadrian, Athena Promachos | 43 |
| 1.2.9 | Hierapolis, proconsul Fabius Maximus under Augustus, double axe | 43 |
| 1.2.10 | Laodikeia on the Lykos, Julia Domna under Caracalla, Hygieia and Asclepius | 43 |
| 1.2.11 | Blaundos, bust of *Dēmos* under Trebonianus Gallus, river-god Hippourios | 43 |
| 1.2.12 | Thessalonika, Gallienus, *Tyche* holding cult statue of Kabeiros | 43 |
| 1.2.13 | Daldis, bust of Senate under Septimius Severus, reverse with Asclepius | 43 |
| 1.2.14 | Berytos, Trajan, foundation scene of a *colonia* with a veiled magistrate ploughing | 43 |
| 1.2.15 | Tyre, Gordian III, the foundation of Carthage by Dido | 44 |
| 1.2.16 | Phokaia, Lucilla, Athena | 44 |
| 1.2.17 | Sagalassos, Philip I, *Tyche* and hero Lakedaimon | 44 |
| 1.2.18 | Halikarnassos, Trajan, bust of Herodotus | 44 |
| 1.2.19 | Pautalia, Caracalla, view of the sacred mountain of Pautalia, with temples, altars, a cave, and trees | 44 |
| 1.2.20 | Madaba, Elagabalus, temple of Dusares enclosing sacred baetyl | 44 |

1.2.21 Nicaea, Macrianus, bird's eye view of the town of Nicaea with its gates, towers, and walls 44
1.2.22 Ilion, Crispina, sacrifice of a cow suspended from tree, in front of the cult statue of Athena Ilias 44
1.2.23 Tarsos, Caracalla, agonistic table between two athletes, with vase below the table 45
1.2.24 Synnada, Gallienus, hunt scene (*venatio*) in the amphitheatre 45
1.2.25 Perinthos (*homonoia* with Kyzikos), Gordian III, *korē* of Kyzikos and *Tyche* of Perinthos sacrificing over a lighted altar 45
1.2.26 Pergamon, Caracalla, *adventus* scene with Caracalla on horseback saluting the people of Pergamon 45
1.2.27 Gargara, Septimius Severus, Asclepius 45
1.4.1 Miletos, city centre, during the Roman Imperial period 66
1.4.2 Miletos, Nymphaeum 67
1.4.3 Corinth, reconstructed city grid of the Caesarian *colonia*, with the restored buildings of the forum c. AD 150 in the centre, and the stadium and the amphitheatre at the northern edge 67
1.4.4 Limyra, arch of Ornimythos, stone-by-stone reconstruction 70
1.4.5 Aphrodisias, statue of L. Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes on its base, c. AD 200 (photomontage) 72
1.4.6 Aphrodisias, statue of a young man in a toga, early to mid-2nd century AD 72
1.4.7 Nysa, relief from the front of podium 2 in the stage building of the theatre 74
1.4.8 Hispanic amphora with ink inscription from Ephesos, attesting the import of fish sauce (*garum*) 76
1.4.9 Chart on the collaboration of different disciplines in the project on the transformation of the Pergamon micro-region between the Hellenistic and the Roman Imperial periods 77
1.5.1 Stemma of Marcus Ulpius Ariston 87
3.3.1 The 'Plateia' at Sagalassos 220
3.3.2 The 'South Agora' at Aphrodisias 223
3.3.3 The *bēma* at Messene 225
3.5.1 2nd- or 3rd-century AD relief found near Ephesos, depicting a mounted *paraphylax* with three light-armed associates on foot, possibly *diōgmitai* 252
3.5.2 Grave stele of a mounted *paraphylax* with three subordinates (*diōgmitai*?) on foot carrying long shields, mid-2nd century AD, from the territory of Prusa 253
4.3.1 3D visualization of the courtyard between the towers of the Hellenistic city gate of Perge and the arch of Plancia Magna at its southern end 345
4.3.2 3D visualization of the south end of the *cardo maximus* of Perge with the triple arch of Plancia Magna and the Hellenistic city gate 346
4.5.1 Restored plan of the Vedius Gymnasium of Ephesos 373

4.5.2 Restored plan of the Faustina Baths of Miletos 374
4.5.3 Restored plan of the upper Gymnasium of Priene during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods 375
4.5.4 Statue of an athlete with a herm with a head of Heracles, found in the Faustina Baths, Miletos, 2nd century AD 376
4.6.1 Sarcophagi in Timiussa 388
4.6.2 Dionysios' heavily damaged chamber tomb at Olympos 389
4.6.3 The garland sarcophagus of Claudius Agathon 397
4.6.4 Pigres' monumental tomb with adjacent and built-in chamber tombs 397
5.2.1 Important oracles in the Greek world 438
6.1.1 Athens during the Hadrianic and early Antonine periods 498
6.1.2 Hadrian's Library at Athens 502
6.1.3 The so-called Traianeum at Italica 503
6.2.1 The cities of the Peloponnese 515
6.3.1 Boeotia under Roman rule 525
6.4.1 Map of the Cyclades 540
6.4.2 Families of Kleitosthenes (Thera) and Tib. Claudius Frontonianus (Melos) 547
6.4.3 Families of Leonides (Thera) and Iason (Minoa, Amorgos) 548
6.5.1 Reconstructed plan of the agora of Thasos in the Imperial period 559
6.5.2 Map of ancient Thasos 562
6.6.1 Bithynia in the Roman period 574
6.7.1 Fragmentary inscription mentioning Markos An[tonios], the God Iulius, and the Greek word for *flamen* 591
6.7.2 Plan of the upper agora ('Staatsmarkt' = State agora) 593
6.7.3 City plan of Ephesos with the Artemision 595
6.7.4 City plan of Ephesos (close up) 596
6.7.5 Statue of Tib. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, Roman senator and governor 598
6.7.6 Text of an ancestral civic law (l. 2 *nomou patriou*) concerning the eponymous *prytanis* 600
6.8.1 Phrygia and Caria, coin of Laodikeia on the Lykos 608
6.8.2 Caria in the Roman Empire 610
6.8.3 Zeus Labraundos, coin of Mylasa 617
6.9.1 Map of Lycia 623
6.10.1 Map of Roman Lydia 638
6.10.2 Sardis, coin from the reign of Caracalla to Gordian with turreted and veiled head of the city goddess on the obverse and the cult statue of Kore in front, ear of grain to the r., poppy to the l. on the reverse 643
6.11.1 The Maeander and the Lykos Valleys 652

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6.11.2 | Hierapolis of Phrygia | 655 |
| 6.11.3 | Laodikeia on the Lykos | 657 |
| 6.11.4 | Tripolis on the Maeander | 659 |
| 6.12.1 | Map of Roman Syria | 672 |
| 6.13.1 | Map of Sicily indicating the location of the places mentioned in the text | 687 |
| 6.13.2 | Soluntum, the stoa of the agora as reconstructed by M. Wolf | 690 |
| 6.13.3 | Plan of Catina in the High Imperial period | 696 |
| 6.14.1 | The Greek cities of the Black Sea in the Roman period | 704 |
| 6.15.1 | Map of ancient Cyrenaica | 719 |
| 6.15.2 | Plan of ancient Cyrene | 722 |
| 6.15.3 | Stemma of the family of Antonia Mego | 731 |
| 6.16.1 | Map of Egypt | 739 |
| 6.16.2 | Report of inspection in an early-3rd-century AD papyrus from Hermopolis (detail) | 741 |

# Biographies

**Sencan Altınoluk** is Professor of Classical Archaeology at the Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Turkey. Her main fields of research are ancient numismatics, Graeco-Roman history and culture. She teaches Greek and Roman numismatics. She is the author of *Hypaipa. A Lydian City During the Roman Imperial Period* (Istanbul 2013). She is also the co-editor of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Turkey* volumes.

**Jean-Sébastien Balzat** has specialized in Roman Greece and more specifically in Roman Sparta. After studying in Louvain-la-Neuve, Nottingham, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he completed his education at the British School at Athens in 2008–2010. He then spent nine years as a researcher at the University of Oxford, developing his expertise in epigraphy and onomastics as editor of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Since October 2019 he has joined the scientific staff of the Royal Museum of Mariemont, where he is currently the editor of the *Cahiers de Mariemont*.

**Nicole Belayche** is Directeure d'études (Pr.) emerita at the Department of Religious Sciences of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (PSL, Paris). Her overall field of research is polytheisms and religious interactions in the Imperial Eastern Mediterranean. She recently co-directed a research programme on ancient mysteries in the Roman world—at the crossing between *polis* religion and individual experiences (e.g. *Les mystères au IIe siècle de notre ère: un tournant*, ed. with F. Massa and P. Hoffmann, Turnhout 2021). With A.-V. Pont she co-edited *Participations civiques des juifs et des chrétiens dans l'Orient romain* (Geneva 2022), further challenging the concept of '*polis* religion'.

**Julie Bernini** is Associate Professor of Ancient History at the University of Lille, specializing in the institutional, social, and urban history of Greek cities in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. She has published several articles on these topics and a monograph based on her dissertation, *'Plaise au peuple'. Pratiques et lieux de la décision démocratique en Ionie et en Carie hellénistiques* (2023). With her expertise in Greek architecture and epigraphy she contributed to the ANR-DFG project *GymnAsia: Gymnases et culture athlétique en Asie Mineure occidentale et méridionale aux époques hellénistique et impériale* (2021–2024).

**Aitor Blanco-Pérez** is Assistant Professor of Classics specializing in the Greek epigraphic and literary sources produced during the Roman Imperial period. After receiving an Honours degree in Classical Philology at the University of Salamanca, he read for an MSt and DPhil at the University of Oxford, where he completed a thesis about 3rd-century AD Asia Minor. Later he was a postdoctoral scholar at the University of Cologne and became a member of the ERC project *Judaism and Rome* at the CNRS. His publications mainly deal with the social and political cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and the interaction of

local communities with the power of Rome, particularly as regards issues of citizenship, onomastics, and epigraphic habits.

**Ewen Bowie**, Emeritus Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was its Praelector in Classics (1965–2007), and successively University Lecturer, Reader, and Professor of Classical Languages and Literature at Oxford University. He has written on early Greek elegiac, iambic, and melic poetry; Aristophanes; Herodotus; Hellenistic poetry; and Greek literature and culture under the Roman Empire. He published a commentary on Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* (Cambridge 2019); edited a collection, *Herodotus. Narrator, Scientist, Historian* (Berlin 2018); and co-edited *Archaic and Classical Choral Song* (Berlin 2011) and *Philostratus* (Cambridge 2009). The first two volumes of his *Essays on Ancient Greek Literature and Culture* (Cambridge) appeared in 2022 and 2023.

**Lorenzo Campagna** is Associate Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Messina, where he teaches Roman Archaeology and History of Art. His main research interests concern ancient urban planning and architecture, especially of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. He works on excavations in Sicily (Taormina, Halaisa), Turkey (Hierapolis of Phrygia), and Greece (Skotoussa, Thessaly). He has been Research Fellow at Merton College, Oxford, and Visiting Professor at the University of Amiens. He is the author of over 80 publications, including two monographs, and has been a speaker at conferences in England, France, Germany, Turkey, Greece, Brazil, and various Italian cities.

**Naomi Carless Unwin** is an ancient historian working on the Greek East, with a particular interest in Anatolia. Her first book was *Caria and Crete in Antiquity: Cultural Interaction between Anatolia and the Aegean* (Cambridge 2017), which explored the social and cultural interactions between south-western Anatolia and the Aegean. Her current research, as part of a Leverhulme-funded project based at the University of Warwick, explores the materiality of festival culture in the Graeco-Roman East. Her work has a strong epigraphic focus, in particular exploring how inscriptions functioned in urban and religious spaces.

**Angelos Chaniotis** is Professor of Ancient History and Classics at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. He specializes in the history of Hellenism from Alexander to Late Antiquity. He has participated in the excavation of Aphrodisias since 1996, and since 2021 he has co-directed the excavation in Lyktos (Crete). He has been editor of *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* since 1998. His recent books include *Age of Conquests: The Greek World from Alexander to Hadrian* (London 2018), and *Emotionen und Fiktionen: Gefühle in Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur der griechischen Antike* (Darmstadt 2023).

**François Chevrollier** is senior curator for ancient art at the Louvre Abu Dhabi Museum. His PhD addresses the history of the Roman province of Crete and Cyrene and was mainly based on epigraphical and numismatic records. As a member of the French archaeological mission to Libya and of the Research Centre on Ancient Libya (Sorbonne University), he excavated at Apollonia in Cyrenaica. His research interests focus on ancient Cyrenaica, Hellenistic and Roman Crete, history of archaeology, Graeco-Roman art, and museum studies. His more recent publications feature editions of unpublished Greek and Latin inscriptions from Cyrenaica in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities of Libya.

**Marcus Chin** is a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents at the University of Oxford, where he completed his doctorate in 2021, having obtained

undergraduate and graduate degrees at Macquarie University, Sydney. His research interests centre on the entanglements of the local and trans-local in the ancient Mediterranean, across political, economic, and cultural history, which have most recently been studied through the epigraphy of civic euergetism in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor. This was the subject of his doctoral thesis and several articles. As part of an ERC project at Oxford, he is currently working on quantifying and qualifying monetary activity in pre-Roman Anatolia by complementing numismatics with epigraphy and archaeology, and on a long-term history of dynastic rulership over the same period and region.

**Alberto Dalla Rosa** is Professor of Roman History at the University Bordeaux Montaigne. His work has focused on different aspects of the exercise of Roman imperial power, from the relationship between Augustus and the Republican magistrates to matters of augural law and, more recently, to the political use of imperial economic assets and to Roman fiscal history. He is PI of the ERC project PATRIMONIVM, which is preparing the first general survey of imperial properties in the Roman world since the early 1900s. He is the author of the monograph *Cura et tutela: l'origine del potere imperiale sulle province proconsolari* (Stuttgart 2014).

**Madalina Dana** is Professor of Greek History at the University Jean Moulin Lyon 3 and a member of the HiSoMA research centre. She has published a book about the cultural mobility between the Black Sea cities and the Mediterranean centres, *Culture et mobilité dans le Pont-Euxin. Approche régionale de la vie culturelle des cités grecques* (Bordeaux 2011), as well as an epigraphical corpus of private Greek letters, *La correspondance privée sur plomb et sur tesson. Corpus épigraphique et commentaire historique* (Munich 2021). Her research focuses on Black Sea epigraphy, intellectual networks, and regional cultural centres in the Mediterranean, as well as private correspondence and literacy.

**Fabrice Delrieux** is Professor of Ancient History at Savoie Mont Blanc University (France), working on the history of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, particularly in Caria, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. His research focuses not only on the coinage minted in this region but also on the relations between Greeks and Romans at the end of the Republic and in the early empire. Recent articles of his include 'Rome et les monnayages grecs de Carie aux II$^{e}$ et I$^{er}$ s. av. J.-C. De la tutelle rhodienne à l'avènement du Principat', in *Graecia capta? Rome et les monnayages du monde égéen (II$^{e}$–I$^{er}$ siècles av. J.-C.)*, ed. R. H. J. Ashton and N. Badoud, 187–232 (Basel 2021), and 'Les représentations de Zeus sur les monnaies de Mylasa en Carie. Le cas de Zeus *Labraundos*, entre tradition et modernité, de la période classique à l'époque romaine', in *Traditions through Empires. Cities of Asia Minor and their Coin Images, Visual Languages of Ancient Coins*, ed. S. Kerschbaum and H. Vidin, 73–95 (Bonn 2021).

**Emma Dench** is McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History and of the Classics at Harvard University. Her publications include *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman, and Modern Perceptions of Peoples from the Central Apennines* (Oxford 1995), *Romulus' Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (Oxford 2005), and *Empire and Political Cultures in the Roman World* (Cambridge 2018).

**Christopher Dickenson** is Assistant Professor of Cultural Heritage and Identity of the Ancient World at the University of Groningen. His research to date has focused on the political culture of the Hellenistic- and Roman-period *polis*, the use of public space in the Greek

and Roman worlds, and the meaning and reception of ancient statues and other monuments. Key publications have focused on the use and function of the ancient agora with an emphasis on the cities of the Greek mainland, including *On the Agora. The evolution of a public space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece (c. 323 BC–267 AD)* (Leiden 2017). He is currently engaged in a project exploring the religious significance of votive portrait statues in Greek and Roman religion.

**Benedikt Eckhardt** is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Edinburgh. Having received his PhD in Ancient History from the University of Bochum in Germany (2011), he has written extensively on the history of the Southern Levant in the Hellenistic period, on Greek and Roman religion, and on the history of private associations in the ancient world. He is the author of several books, among them *Ethnos und Herrschaft: Politische Figurationen judäischer Identität von Antiochos III. bis Herodes I.* (Berlin 2013), *Romanisierung und Verbrüderung: Das Vereinswesen im Römischen Reich* (Berlin 2021), and *Herod in History: Nicolaus of Damascus and the Augustan Context* (Cambridge 2021, together with Kim Czajkowski). He has edited several books, among them *Private Associations and Jewish Communities in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities* (Leiden 2019).

**Babett Edelmann-Singer** is Professor of Ancient History at the Freie Universität Berlin. From 2018 until 2023 she held a DFG Heisenberg post at the Universities of Munich and Würzburg. During her career she has researched and taught, among others, at the universities of Regensburg, Erlangen-Nuremberg, and Heidelberg, and is a member of DFG research networks. Her research interests include the political and cultural history of the Imperial period, the history of Roman provincial assemblies, ancient religious history, the intertwining of material culture and rule, and Greek and Latin epigraphy. She habilitated with a thesis on the provincial assemblies of the Imperial era (*Koina und Concilia. Genese, Organisation und sozioökonomische Funktion der Provinziallandtage im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart 2015).

**Paul Erdkamp** is Professor of Ancient History at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. He is co-director of the Roman Society Research Centre (Ghent/Brussels) and general editor of the Palgrave Studies in Ancient Economies. He has published on the Roman economy, the Roman army, and Roman Republican historiography. He is the author of *Hunger and the Sword. Warfare and Food Supply in Roman Republican Wars* (Leiden 1998) and *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2005) and the editor of several collected volumes. One of his recent interests is the debate on the impact of climate change on the Roman world.

**Henri Fernoux** is Professor of Greek History at the University of Rennes 2. His work focuses on the institutions and society of Greek cities during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. His thesis, published in 2004, is entitled *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie aux époques hellénistique et romaine (IIIe siècle av. J.-C.–IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Essai d'Histoire sociale*. His latest work, published in collaboration with A. Gangloff and E. Guerber, deals with the city of Rhodes in the Imperial period: *La gloire de Rhodes au Ier siècle de notre ère à partir du Discours aux Rhodiens de Dion de Pruse* (Leuven 2021).

**Alister Filippini** is Senior Research Fellow of Roman History at the University 'G. d'Annunzio' of Chieti-Pescara (Italy) and a member of the Editorial Board of *L'Année épigraphique* (Paris). Since 2012 he has been a member of the Italian and Turkish

archaeological missions of the Lykos Valley (province of Denizli, Turkey): Hierapolis of Phrygia, Laodikeia on the Lykos, and Tripolis on the Maeander, where he works as historian and epigraphist. His research mainly focuses on Roman and Late Antique Asia Minor, in the fields of religious history, administrative history, and prosopography. His publications include *Efeso, Ulpiano e il Senato. La contesa per il primato nella provincia Asia nel III sec. d.C.* (Stuttgart 2019).

**Julien Fournier** is Professor of Greek History and Epigraphy at the University of Strasbourg and a former member of the French School at Athens. His research focuses on the history of Greek cities in the Roman Empire, drawing on epigraphic, legal, numismatic, and archaeological sources. His publications include *Entre tutelle romaine et autonomie civique. L'administration judiciaire dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain (129 av. J.-C.–235 apr. J.-C.)* (Athens 2010).

**Gabrielle Frija** is Associate Professor in Roman History at the University Gustave Eiffel. She published a monograph entitled *Les prêtres des empereurs. Le culte impérial civique dans la province romaine d'Asie* (Rennes 2012) and several papers on the imperial cult in the Greek provinces of the empire, from a social, religious, and political point of view. Her recent interest lies in the spread of Roman citizenship in the provinces and she edited a collective volume on this topic, *Être citoyen romain dans le monde grec au IIe siècle de notre ère* (Bordeaux 2020).

**Christopher J. Fuhrmann** holds degrees in History and Classical Languages & Literatures from the University of Kentucky (BA, MA, 1999) and an MA and PhD in Ancient History from the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. He is the author of *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration, and Public Order* (Oxford 2012) and taught history and Latin at the University of North Texas.

**Nikos Giannakopoulos** is Associate Professor of Ancient History at the University of Athens. His research focuses on the Greek city in the Roman period (institutions, politics, and society), on Hellenistic and Roman Euboea, and on the reception of Classical Greece in the Roman Imperial period. He has published two books (*The Institution of the Gerousia in the Greek Cities of the Roman Period* (2008 in Greek) and *Institutions and Function of the Cities of Euboea in the Hellenistic and the Imperial Periods* (2012 in Greek)) and several articles on these topics. He has contributed to the compilation of the *Index du bulletin épigraphique, 1987–2001* (2005) and of the online *Inventory of Ancient Associations*.

**Lina Girdvainyte** is Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Edinburgh. Having completed her DPhil at the University of Oxford in 2019, she held postdoctoral research positions at the Université Bordeaux Montaigne in France and the Universität Hamburg in Germany. Her research interests include, but are not limited to, the history of Rome's eastern provinces, (ancient) legal history, the history of citizenship and civic belonging, Greek epigraphy, and interdisciplinary study of ancient documents.

**Martin Hallmannsecker** works as acquisitions and content editor for Classics at C.H.Beck, Munich. After his studies at the universities of Munich and Oxford, he held a position as a post-doctoral researcher and lecturer at the University of Vienna. His DPhil thesis was published as *Roman Ionia: Constructions of Cultural Identity in Western Asia Minor* (Cambridge 2022).

**Anna Heller** is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Tours. Her main interest lies in the social and institutional history of the Greek city under Roman rule, especially in Asia Minor. She is also interested in quantitative methods applied to epigraphic sources. Her recent research focuses on public honours as mirrors of civic societies in the Imperial period: among her latest publications are the collective volume, *The Politics of Honour in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire* (Leiden 2017, co-edited with Onno van Nijf) and the monograph, *L'âge d'or des bienfaiteurs. Titres honorifiques et sociétés civiques dans l'Asie Mineure d'époque romaine (Ier s. av. J.-C.–IIIe s. apr. J.-C.)* (Geneva 2020).

**Antony Hostein** studied Ancient History at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne and at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE), where he completed his doctoral studies and his habilitation. He taught at the University of Paris 1 as Associate Professor before taking up his current post of Directeur d'études at the EPHE. His fields of research are numismatics and Roman history. He is the author of *La cité et l'empereur* (Paris 2012) and *Roman Provincial Coinage* IX (London and Paris 2016, together with J. Mairat; Gilljam Prize 2019 of the Royal Numismatic Society), and has co-edited *Les voyages des empereurs dans l'Orient romain* (Arles 2012) and *Pratiques du grec dans l'épigraphie de l'Occident* (Bordeaux 2022).

**Oliver Hülden** studied Classical Archaeology, Prehistory, and Ancient History in Tübingen and Bochum, achieving his Magister Artium in 1998, his PhD in Classical Archaeology at Tübingen in 2004, and his habilitation in 2016 at LMU München. He held fellowships at Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (Istanbul), the German Archaeological Institute, and the Gerda Henkel Foundation. Since 2016 he has been a senior researcher, and since 2021 deputy head of the department 'Historical Archaeology' of the Austrian Archaeological Institute/Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna. He has led survey projects in Asia Minor (Lycia, Kibyratis) and Greece (Leontion).

**Nigel Kennell** is Honorary Research Member of the Department of Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies at the University of British Columbia. He has held research positions at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, the Collège de France in Paris, All Souls College, Oxford, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Author of *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta* (Chapel Hill 1995), *Ephebeia: A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Berlin 2006), and *Spartans: A New History* (Chichester 2010), he has also published numerous articles on Sparta and the Greek ephebate.

**François Kirbihler** is Associate Professor of Roman History at the Université de Lorraine (Nancy). His main areas of research include social history and the evolution of civic institutions in Greek cities under Roman rule, especially in Ephesos. He published the monograph *Des Grecs et des Italiens à Éphèse. Histoire d'une intégration croisée (133 a.C.–48 p.C.)* (Bordeaux 2016), and numerous articles on the city, its inscriptions, and its families. Other areas of interest include the historical geography of Asia Minor, the provincial government of Asia between Sulla and Augustus, and the entry of elites from Asia Minor into the Roman Senate.

**Christina T. Kuhn** is Associate Professor and Tutorial Fellow of Ancient History at the Faculty of Classics and Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford. Her research focuses on the political, social, and cultural history of the Roman Empire, the civic life of Roman Asia

Minor, Latin and Greek epigraphy, and Roman historiography. She is particularly interested in the history of political institutions and the development of political communication in the Graeco-Roman world. She is the editor of *Politische Kommuniation und öffentliche Meinung in der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart 2012) and *The Julio-Claudian Principate: Tradition and Transition* (Stuttgart 2024).

**Enora Le Quéré** is Professor of Greek History at the University of Rouen-Normandy (France) and a member of the GRHis Research Unit (UR 3831). She has authored a book on the Roman Cyclades and multiple articles on the social and economic aspects of Roman Greece, as well as the history and archaeology of Roman Delos. Additional focal points of her research include the history and archaeology of techniques, workshops, and urban spaces of production. She is also conducting fieldwork in Delos, Melos, and Pompeii.

**Manfred Lesgourgues** is a researcher associated with the ArScAn laboratory of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in France and a collaborator of the chair 'Religion, history and society in the ancient Greek world' at the Collège de France. In his PhD, he studied the practice of divination in the Greek world through the prism of its cult officials during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. He has published several articles on Greek divination, ancient cult officials, and religious epigraphy.

**Giovanna D. Merola** is Professor of Roman History at the Department of Humanities, University of Naples Federico II. Her research focuses in particular on epigraphic sources, in order to understand the institutions and the juridical history of ancient Rome. She is currently working on a project on trade in the Roman Empire. Among her most important publications are *Per la storia del processo provinciale romano. I papiri del Medio Eufrate* (Naples 2012) and *Autonomia locale—governo imperiale. Fiscalità e amministrazione nelle province asiane* (Bari 2001).

**Stephen Mitchell** was Emeritus Professor of Hellenistic Culture, Exeter University, he graduated from Oxford University in 1970 and obtained his doctorate in 1975. He has held academic positions at the universities of Bristol, Swansea, and Exeter. Turkey has been a lifelong focal point for his field work and academic research, and he was Chair of the British Institute at Ankara from 2016 to 2021. He was made a Fellow of the British Academy in 2002 and holds an honorary doctorate from Humboldt Universität, Berlin. His books include *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* (2 vols., Oxford 1993), *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara* (2 vols., Munich 2012 and 2019), *A History of the Later Roman Empire AD 285–700* (3rd ed., Chichester 2023), and *The Christians of Phrygia from Rome to the Turkish Conquest* (Leiden 2023).

**Christel Müller** is Professor of Greek History at Paris Nanterre University and a senior member of the Institut Universitaire de France. She has published extensively on the Greek cities of the Hellenistic and Roman period, notably in Boeotia and the Black Sea region, and recently co-edited *Identité ethnique et culture matérielle dans le monde grec* (Besançon 2014), *Statuts personnels et espaces sociaux* (Paris 2018), Philorhômaios kai philhellèn. *Hommages à Jean-Louis Ferrary* (Geneva 2019), *La Béotie de l'archaïsme à l'époque romaine: frontières, territoires, paysages* (Paris 2019), and *De Mithridate VI à Arrien de Nicomédie: changements et continuités dans le bassin de la mer Noire entre le Ier s. a.C. et le Ier s. p.C.* (Bordeaux 2022).

**Elena Muñiz-Grijalvo** is Professor of Ancient History at the Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville. She works on different aspects of religion in Roman times. Her publications include *Himnos a Isis* (Madrid 2006), *Ruling the Greek World* (Stuttgart 2015), *Empire and Religion* (Leiden 2017), and *Processions and the Construction of Communities in Antiquity* (London 2023).

**Anne-Valérie Pont** is Associate Professor in Roman History at Sorbonne Université and a member of the research department Orient & Méditerranée. Her last monograph was *La fin de la cité grecque. Métamorphoses et disparition d'un modèle politique et institutionnel local en Asie Mineure, de Dèce à Constantin* (Geneva 2020), and she recently co-edited with Nicole Belayche the volume *Participations civiques des juifs et des chrétiens dans l'Orient romain (Ier-IVe siècles)* (Geneva 2022). Her research interests currently focus on the impact of Roman politics and laws on civic life in the East and on the economic interests of local elites in civic government. She is the PI of the ERC project "PECVNIA. Private interests in public functions", which investigates material and economic opportunities in civic life during the High Empire.

**Ursula Quatember** studied Classical Archaeology and Egyptology at the University of Vienna and has specialized in architectural research with a focus on Asia Minor. She has conducted fieldwork in Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Limyra, Pergamon, and Sardis, among others. Her publications include two monographs in the series 'Forschungen in Ephesos', numerous articles, and several edited volumes, among them proceedings from a conference on architecture in Asia Minor during the transitional period from the Hellenistic Period to the Roman Empire, published in the 'Byzas'-series by the German Archaeological Institute. Currently, she is Interim Professor for the History of Architecture and Urbanism at the Technical Universtity Berlin.

**Maurice Sartre** was Professor of Ancient History. As a specialist of the Hellenistic and Roman Near East, he has written several syntheses on the topic: *L'Orient romain* (Paris 1991), *D'Alexandre à Zénobie* (Paris 2003; Engl. transl. *The Middle East under Rome*, Cambridge, MA, 2005), *L'Anatolie hellénistique* (Paris 2003), but also more varied studies, most recently *Cléopâtre, un rêve de puissance* (Paris 2018) and *Le bateau de Palmyre* (Paris 2021). He has published alone and with Annie Sartre-Fauriat *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* from southern Syria (nine volumes published, three forthcoming), and with the same co-author, *Zénobie, de Palmyre à Rome* (Paris 2014).

**Eftychia Stavrianopoulou** is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Heidelberg and senior editor of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Her main research interests include the social, cultural, and religious history of the Hellenistic period. Her publications include *'Gruppenbild mit Dame': Untersuchungen zur rechtlichen und sozialen Stellung der Frau auf den Kykladen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 2006) and *Agir et subir: femmes et familles face aux mutations de l'époque hellénistique* (Paris 2024).

**Krystyna Stebnicka** is Associate Professor at the Faculty of History, University of Warsaw. Her interests encompass the Jewish diaspora during the Roman period, intellectual life in Greek cities under Roman rule, and the beginnings of the so-called crisis of the 3rd century AD. She is the author of the book *Identity of the Diaspora: Jews in Asia Minor in the Imperial Period* (Warsaw 2015), and the co-author of the books *Prosopography of Greek Rhetors and*

*Sophists of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 2015) and *Women and the Polis. Public Honorific Inscriptions for Women in the Greek Cities from the Late Classical to the Roman Period* (Leiden 2021).

**Peter van Minnen** is Professor of Classics at the University of Cincinnati. He completed his PhD at Leuven University in 1997 and has held fellowships from Leuven University, the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences, Dumbarton Oaks, and the Loeb Classical Library Foundation and was Whitehead Professor at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. He has published widely on Graeco-Roman Egypt and its papyri and was editor of the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* from 2006 to 2023. In 2020 he launched a website with English translations of documents from Alexandria (https://classics.uc.edu/users/vanminnen/ancient_alexandria/index.html). He is currently finishing the edition of the family archive of Theognostos from Hermopolis.

**Karin Wiedergut** is a post-doctoral researcher at Vienna University. She obtained her PhD in Vienna in 2020 and was subsequently awarded a Petra-Kappert fellowship at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (Hamburg) and a Hertha Firnberg fellowship based in Vienna. Her research focuses on funerary law and customs, public archives and notaries, and urban social stratification in Imperial Asia Minor.

**Sophia Zoumbaki** is Director of Research at the National Hellenic Research Foundation (NHRF) at the Institute of Historical Research (IHR), Section of Greek and Roman Antiquity (KERA). Her research interests focus on the Hellenistic and Roman history of Greece and the eastern Mediterranean, and include epigraphy, prosopography and onomastics, economy and society in the Greek *poleis*, mobility, migration, and intercultural relations. She is the author of *Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit. Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Athens 2001) and *Prosopographie der Eleer bis zum 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (Athens 2005) as well as co-author of several volumes on Roman names in the Greek world, and co-edited the collective volume *Social Dynamics under Roman Rule. Mobility and Status Change in the Provinces of Achaia and Macedonia* (Athens 2017).

**Arjan Zuiderhoek** is Professor of Ancient History at the Department of History of Ghent University. He has published widely on the social, political, and economic history of Imperial Greek cities, and on ancient urbanism more generally. He is the author of *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 2009) and *The Ancient City* (Cambridge 2017). Recent publications include *Benefactors and the Polis: The Public Gift in the Greek Cities from the Homeric World to Late Antiquity* (co-edited with M. Domingo Gygax, Cambridge 2020).

# INTRODUCTION

MARTIN HALLMANNSECKER AND ANNA HELLER

## Aims, rationale, and scope

The Greek cities in the Roman Empire are among the best-documented political entities of all antiquity: the impressive archaeological remains from, for example, Ephesos, Aphrodisias, Hierapolis, Palmyra, or Cyrene date mostly to the Roman Imperial period. More *poleis* than ever before minted their own civic coins, and numberless Greek cities continued or even began to inscribe civic documents on stone under Roman rule. In older scholarship, however, the study of the Greek cities in the Roman Empire has been somewhat neglected due to a strong focus on the Archaic and Classical periods of Greek history, on the one hand, and on Roman institutions and (military) history, on the other. But the post-Classical Greek cities have not been completely absent from previous scholarship. A first major shift took place when the Hellenistic period became the focus of greater attention and developed into a thriving area of research. The works of Christian Habicht and Philippe Gauthier from the 1970s onward can be mentioned as influential representatives of the study of the Hellenistic *polis*. Older treatments of the Imperial *poleis* exist as well: among the most important can be named A. H. M. Jones' *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937/1971) and *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (1940), or David Magie's *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (1950). But most of these works still subscribed to a Classical-centred and Romanocentric view of the *polis* model, treating its Imperial phase as a degenerated annex and period of decline and decadence.

In the last decades, however, the *poleis* under Roman rule have received the scholarly attention they deserve and are now studied in their own right. One of the pioneering figures here was the French erudite Louis Robert whose voluminous oeuvre remains a crucial point of reference today. The vitality of the Greek civic model in the Roman Empire has now been fully acknowledged and our understanding of local societies, identities, as well as political and cultural life has been put on an entirely new footing, making proper use of the continuously growing body of archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic source material. This is not only reflected in the highly dynamic field of international scholarship on the Imperial *poleis*, but also by the increasing integration of this topic into the academic curricula. This handbook is designed to be a first point of entry for students and scholars alike, providing a

consolidated overview of the current state of research in an easily accessible way. It reflects not only the great diversity of international scholarly traditions, but also brings together specialists of different types of ancient evidence (inscriptions, coins, archaeological finds, literary sources).

The Greek cities of the Roman Empire are studied here both as urban forms, with their specific organization of space and public buildings, and as sociopolitical entities, with their specific institutions, identities, ideologies, and social hierarchies. Geographically speaking, the volume covers all parts of the Roman Empire where the *polis* was the dominant form of organization. This was first and foremost the eastern part of the empire with mainland Greece, the Aegean Islands, Asia Minor, Syria, and the Black Sea region. But the Greek cities of Sicily and Egypt, as well as more isolated Greek settlements such as the ones of Cyrenaica in North Africa, are also considered. The chronological scope stretches from a community's integration into the Roman Empire (a starting point which varies depending on the region) until the 3rd century AD, when the epigraphic documentation becomes less prolific and some important changes mark the transition to Late Antiquity.

## Chapter overview

This handbook is organized in six main sections, the first of which ('Sources and Methods') provides an overview of the most important categories of sources and methodological approaches with which the Greek cities in the Roman Empire have been and are being studied. The chapters dedicated to inscriptions (1.1. by Angelos Chaniotis), coins (1.2. by Antony Hostein), and archaeology (1.4. by Ursula Quatember) locate the study of the ancient source material in the broader picture of their respective subdisciplines and give numerous illustrative examples as case studies for specific issues and trends. Ewen Bowie (1.3.) takes us on a tour de force through the most important literary works of the Imperial period, giving an overview of the passages relevant for the study of the Greek cities under Rome. The section is rounded off by two methodology-oriented chapters, one on the often underestimated fields of onomastics and prosopography and their relevance for the understanding of status and feelings of belonging in the Roman Empire (1.5. by Aitor Blanco-Pérez), and one focusing on the complex issue of the multilayered identities of the inhabitants of the Imperial *poleis*, including in-depth analyses of previous scholarship on the topic (1.6. by Emma Dench).

In the chapters of the second section ('Civic Institutions'), the main institutional constituents of the Greek cities are presented, with special attention to the issue of continuity and change with the Classical and Hellenistic periods. First, Giovanna D. Merola (2.1.) analyses the different statuses and privileges *poleis* could attain in the Imperial period as well as their administrative and fiscal role within the empire. Next, Lina Girdvainyte (2.2.) highlights the intricacies of Greek and Roman citizenships, pointing out that the first remained a highly relevant marker of belonging for the Greek inhabitants of the Roman Empire. The following three chapters also showcase the high degree of continuity of the traditional *polis* institutions: age groups and civic subdivisions remained crucial bodies of societal organization (2.3. by Nigel Kennell); the council and the popular assembly underwent changes towards a stronger concentration of power in the hands of the elite, but continued to play an important role in the official decision-making processes of the *poleis* (2.4. by

Christina T. Kuhn); and civic magistracies and liturgies remained firmly rooted in local traditions of self-administration (2.5. by Nikos Giannakopoulos).

In the third section of the handbook ('Local Politics'), the focus lies on the *poleis* as collective agents and self-governing bodies. The different chapters study the main aspects of local political life during the Roman period. The first two are dedicated to the phenomenon of euergetism (3.1. by Marcus Chin) and the related system of civic honours (3.2. by Anna Heller), both very crucial for the construction of *polis* identity and ideology, but now also including Roman authorities and especially the emperor. Christopher Dickenson (3.3.) then shows that the monumentalization of public space and buildings—the agoras in particular—in the Imperial *poleis* needs to be seen not as a symptom of decline, but as an important sign for the lively interactions within the different subgroups of the urban population. In his chapter on the urban economy (3.4.), Paul Erdkamp discusses the most important economic aspects of the *poleis* (distribution of wealth, markets and food supply, crafts), and also gives an overview of influential theoretical models (consumer city, New Institutional Economics). The following two chapters deal with the maintenance and absence of public order: Christopher J. Fuhrmann (3.5.) analyses the Greek civic offices in charge of security and order, which continued to exist despite Roman efforts in this area including the presence of Roman soldiers; and Arjan Zuiderhoek (3.6.) highlights the *poleis*' resilience in the face of external threats such as epidemics, food shortages, and natural disasters, but also their vulnerability when it came to internal strife among citizens. The section is concluded by two chapters widening the scope beyond the borders of the cities themselves: Martin Hallmannsecker (3.7.) analyses the *poleis*' continuing diplomatic activities and external affairs, and Babett Edelmann-Singer (3.8.) puts the cities in the larger framework of regional and supra-regional *koina*—especially the provincial assemblies—which provided new arenas of competition and identity construction for *polis* citizens.

The fourth section ('Civic Societies') addresses the cities as living communities, with their juridical, social, economic, and gendered hierarchies. While Sophia Zoumbaki (4.1.) focuses on the social hierarchies within the urban population and their projections in public space and ceremonies, Eftychia Stavrianopoulou (4.3.) studies the role of women within civic societies, and Alberto Dalla Rosa (4.7.) traces the roles and social profiles of slaves in the Imperial *poleis*. The multilayered nature of civic societies comes to the fore especially in the contributions of Benedikt Eckhardt (4.4.), studying clubs and associations as important players in the economic, religious, and political life of the cities, and Julie Bernini (4.5.), who traces the evolution of the traditional Greek gymnasia by taking into account both the archaeological remains and the epigraphic testimonies. The extra-urban spaces around the cities are the centre of attention in the chapters of Stephen Mitchell † (4.2.), who analyses the rural life in villages and small settlements in the civic countryside using archaeological survey data, and Karin Wiedergut (4.6.), who provides an exhaustive overview of necropoleis as spaces not only of commemoration but also of self-representation.

'Religion and Culture' are the focus of the handbook's fifth section. The first three chapters are dedicated to the sphere of religion, starting with a general overview of the cultic life of the cities with particular emphasis on phenomena which are characteristic of the Imperial period (5.1. by Nicole Belayche), followed by a study of the important oracular sanctuaries and their role in civic life (5.2. by Manfred Lesgourgues) and an analysis of the cultic veneration of emperors and their families which were firmly rooted in and integrated into local religious traditions (5.3. by Gabrielle Frija). Naomi Carless Unwin (5.4.) studies civic festivals

as important opportunities to foster social cohesion and civic identity, but also interstate interaction, highlighting again the crucial role of benefactors in the Greek cities under Roman rule. And Krystyna Stebnicka (5.5.) provides an exhaustive overview of the *poleis*' educational system which continued to be organized primarily in private schools.

The sixth and last section ('Cities and Regions') offers a representative selection of case studies of Greek cities in the Roman Empire, often framed within their regional contexts and including up-to-date information on archaeological excavations. The sample reflects the broad variety of Greek civic life under Roman rule, with both ancient and more recently Hellenized cities, important economic centres and small isolated communities, from all the regions in which the Greek *polis* was the dominant form of political organization. The first five chapters deal with mainland Greece and the Aegean islands: Athens (6.1. by Elena Muñiz Grijalvo), Sparta and the Peloponnese (6.2. by Jean-Sébastien Balzat), Boeotia (6.3. by Christel Müller), the Cyclades (6.4. by Enora Le Quéré), and Thasos (6.5. by Julien Fournier). The following chapters treat the regions of Asia Minor and their cities: Bithynia (6.6. by Henri Fernoux), Caria (6.8. by Fabrice Delrieux), Lycia (6.9. by Oliver Hülden), Lydia (6.10. by Sencan Altınoluk), and the Lykos Valley (6.11. by Alister Filippini). An individual chapter is dedicated to the history of the important city of Ephesos (6.7. by François Kirbihler). And the last five chapters concentrate on regions which might be seen as more distant from the core area of Greek *polis* culture: Syria (6.12. by Maurice Sartre), Sicily (6.13. by Lorenzo Campagna), the Black Sea region (6.14. by Madalina Dana), Cyrenaica (6.15. by François Chevrollier), and Egypt (6.16. Peter van Minnen).

Providing an outlook beyond the 3rd century AD, the epilogue by Anne-Valérie Pont traces the apparent end of *polis* culture and the implications of the rise of Christianity for the Greek cities.

## Historical Issues and Debates

The handbook thus intends to cover all the important aspects of civic life and to present the ongoing debates over the degree of integration and autonomy, as well as uniformization and diversity of the Greek civic model in the Roman Empire. One of the main guidelines of the volume is the issue of the impact of Roman rule on this long-lasting model of political, social, and spatial organization. Here we only briefly summarize some of the important topics discussed in the various chapters.

As illustrated in the last section of the volume, the wide range of local and regional contexts in which the model of the Greek *polis* is attested in the Roman Empire raises the complex issue of ethnicity and cultural identities (1.6.). On the one hand, even recently Hellenized civic communities claimed to partake in a common Greek identity, and used 'kinship diplomacy' to relate themselves to a prestigious Greek past (3.7.). On the other hand, in many parts of the Roman East, indigenous cultures were still alive and perceptible in the names of deities and individuals, as well as in artefacts and architecture. Lycia, Caria, or Lydia are examples of regions presenting both a dense network of *poleis* and a strong 'autochthonous' identity, displayed in inscriptions and on coins, and sometimes used to boast of their antiquity and thus win their place in the competition for prestige between cities (6.8.; 6.9.; 6.10.). The cities of Syria, which were progressively promoted to *polis* status from the

Hellenistic period on (6.12.), were in many regards a totally different world than Athens, the model of the Greek city in the eyes of most of the Greek and Roman elites (6.1.). However, they were all legally defined as *poleis*, shared common institutions, collective rituals and values, and were affected by similar trends.

They were also all under the direct or indirect rule of Rome, and the question 'How Greek were the Greek *poleis* in the Roman Empire?' can be complemented by the question 'How Roman were they?'. The old concept of Romanization, first used in studies on the western provinces and encompassing a wide range of phenomena, from adoption of the Latin language to elements of material culture or practices associated with Rome, has largely been criticized and even dismissed in recent scholarship. The top-down vision of a unidirectional process leading from 'native' to 'Roman' identity has been definitively abandoned, and even the binary opposition between 'Greek' and 'Roman' has been challenged, as it presupposes two closed systems that could be identified as such in our sources (1.4.; 1.6.). Especially regarding urbanism and architecture, the innovations observed in the cities under the empire, even when clearly imported from Rome or based on Roman techniques, should not necessarily be interpreted as a conscious adoption of elements of Roman culture. For instance, the development of 'Roman-style' baths, using sophisticated heating systems (hypocaust and *tubuli*), can be analysed as expanding previous practices (the 'Greek' experience of hot baths: 4.5.). These new facilities do not seem to have been specifically labelled as 'Roman' in the eyes of their users; they rather represented an appreciated addition to the traditional gymnasia as a key venue for the forging of civic identity. More generally, the increased monumentalization of urban centres, with the construction of porticoes, arches, fountains, etc., probably betrays conceptions about modernity and prestige rather than cultural identities. Furthermore, these shared models of architecture were always adapted to specific contexts. The concept of 'glocalization' has been proposed, among others, to account for these local adaptations of the 'global' imperial culture (1.4.). Similarly, the cults celebrated in honour of the emperors appear both as a unifying element, expressing a shared sense of belonging to the Roman Empire, and as local phenomena fully integrated into each community's religious traditions (5.3.).

Regarding institutional and social evolutions, the old view attributing all of them to the spread of Roman models has also been strongly revised (2.4.; 2.5.; 4.1.). The process of oligarchization experienced by the Greek *poleis* started in the late Hellenistic period, and should be understood as a reaction to changing political conditions rather than as the result of direct Roman influence. The eventual transformation of the councils (*boulai*) into oligarchic bodies, reserved for wealthy citizens enjoying lifelong membership, and the social prestige attached to councillors as a distinct social group within the *polis*, were certainly favoured (and, in some regions like Bithynia, even imposed) by Rome, but these changes were also rooted in an internal process of hierarchization, which should not merely be equated with the Roman system of *ordines*. Civic hierarchies in the Greek *poleis* had their own logic and were constantly re-enacted, with slight variations, in collective events such as processions, banquets, distributions, and spectacles (4.1.; 5.4.). While the social and political domination of a minority was strengthened by the growing concentration of wealth in the hands of great landowners, who also invested in moneylending and commercial activities (3.4.), it did not preclude a certain amount of mobility and flexibility along the different levels of the social ladder, with some middling groups, such as professional associations, gaining increased social visibility (4.4.). Neither did the oligarchic trends shaping civic regimes mean that the

ordinary citizens were totally deprived of political agency. On the contrary, recent scholarship tends to re-evaluate the role of the *dēmos* as a major actor of civic life, in particular in the context of the euergetic exchange between the people and the elite (3.1.; 3.2.).

Finally, writing the history of the Greek cities in the Roman Empire raises the fundamental question of continuity and change. What were the consequences on civic life of the political unification of the Mediterranean world under Roman rule? How did the *poleis* adapt to this new situation, and to what extent did it alter their functioning as autonomous communities? One obvious answer is that they lost the ability to wage war. While each city was still responsible, to a certain degree, for public order and security within the borders of its territory (3.5.), the continuous presence of Roman authorities and Roman soldiers in the provinces marks a real change from the Hellenistic period, as did the provincial administrative framework, which played a new role in the relations of the Greek cities with the Roman power and with each other. However, within this larger context of change, the *poleis* continued to act individually and collectively as political units implementing strategies that were discussed and voted on by their citizens. Regional and provincial *koina*, which partly stemmed from the tradition of Hellenistic leagues, took concerted action to further their interests (3.8.). Civic embassies were regularly sent not only to the emperor or the governor, but also to other cities in order to foster good relations and expand a *polis*' external network (3.7.). Conflicts between neighbouring or rival cities, although often arbitrated by Roman authorities, nonetheless generated abundant peer-to-peer diplomatic activity. Cities were well aware of their integration into an empire ruled by Rome, but still considered themselves as living communities with a grip on their own destiny.

The balance between continuity and change can be assessed differently depending on the viewpoint, the topic, the sources, and (not least) the scholarly tradition. French scholars such as Louis Robert and Philippe Gauthier promoted the distinction between the early and the late Hellenistic periods, underlying the changes brought about by the irruption of the Roman power in the Greek world in the course of the 2nd century BC. A more recent tradition, represented among others by Angelos Chaniotis, Onno van Nijf, or Arjan Zuiderhoek, adopts the concepts of the 'post-Classical *polis*' or a 'long Hellenistic age', which are proxies for a *longue durée* perspective on the history of the Greek cities in the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods. Both approaches have solid foundations and should not be exclusive of one another. Both are illustrated in the chapters of this volume, but the overall and fundamental standpoint is that of the vitality of the civic model and the relevance of the study of Greek *poleis* in the Roman Empire as another chapter of their long and rich history.[1]

[1] John Ma's *Polis. A New History of the Ancient Greek City-State from the Early Iron Age to the End of Antiquity* (Princeton 2024) appeared after the manuscript of this handbook was finished. In this diachronic in-depth overview on the Greek city, he corroborates the view of the Imperial-era *poleis* as vital political entities endowed with agency.

# 1

# SOURCES AND METHODS

# CHAPTER 1.1

# THE EPIGRAPHIC CULTURE OF THE GREEK CITIES IN THE ROMAN EAST

ANGELOS CHANIOTIS

## Introduction: What is an 'epigraphic culture'?

Around the mid-1st century BC, a Roman official sent a letter to the *conventus* cities of the province of Asia, responding with indignation to the abuses that the cities had suffered in the hands of another Roman magistrate. The anonymous author of the letter, of which two fragmentary copies have survived inscribed at Miletos and Priene, explains:

> I have wondered how you have been able to bear the insolence of certain people in this matter. For this reason, I have written to the Koinon of the Hellenes, to you (citizens of Miletos), Ephesos, Tralleis, Alabanda, Mylasa, Smyrna, Pergamon, Sardis, and Adramyttion, to send this letter on to the cities in your own jurisdiction and to see that it is engraved in a very visible place on a marble doorpost, so that the law is established uniformly for the whole province forever. (. . .) But the reason for which I wrote in Greek you shall not seek first: my intention was not to make my letter less intelligible to you by a translation.
> (*I.Milet* 3; *I.Priene B–M* 13; all translations of inscriptions are by the author)

Epistolary communication between Roman magistrates and Greek cities was common practice since the 2nd century BC, and those among the Roman dignitaries who had enjoyed Greek education probably composed their messages directly in Greek; others sent the Latin original accompanied by a Greek translation, with occasional Latinisms. That a document contains instructions concerning the manner of its publication was common practice, too. However, the relevant information is rarely as detailed as here. The closest parallel is, again, a Roman document, the *lex de piratis persequendis* (100 BC). The Delphic copy explains that

> the provisions of the law shall be recorded on a bronze tablet, otherwise, on a marble stone or also on a bulletin board, and they shall be displayed in the cities, either in a

> temple or in a market place, clearly, where those who wish can read them when standing on the ground level.
>
> (*F.Delphes* III.4, 37)

What is unusual in the letter from Miletos and Priene is that its author felt the need to explain his motivation. The letter reveals an awareness of the fact that documents may be inscribed or not; that inscriptions may be read or not; that texts may be understood, misunderstood, or misinterpreted. And the authors of both this text and the *lex de piratis* were also aware of the significance of what we would today call the 'materiality' of the text, i.e. the material and the type of the epigraphic monument, its location, and the legibility of the text.

When the text was inscribed in Miletos, Greek epigraphy was already more than seven centuries old. The importance of inscriptions as a medium of communication and commemoration had been recognized as early as the 8th century BC, and inscriptions were produced in every Greek city. But the frequency of inscribing texts and the types of inscriptions varied significantly from place to place and from time to time. For instance, epitaphs are almost entirely absent in pre-Hellenistic Sparta; honorary inscriptions, extremely common in the Hellenistic world, are non-existent in Hellenistic Crete. These differences are frequently explained as differences in 'epigraphic habit' (MacMullen 1982; Meyer 1990), and scholars have recognized quantitative changes ('epigraphic curves') from the Classical period onwards. An 'epigraphic habit' may consist in the absence or the limited number of inscriptions. Therefore, it differs from an 'epigraphic culture', which presupposes that cities and individuals give inscriptions a privileged role as a medium not only of public record-keeping and communication but also as a medium of self-representation, commemoration, education, and promotion of social and other values. In this chapter, the term 'epigraphic culture' is used in this specific sense. Athens had an epigraphic culture already in the 5th century BC, Priene and Magnesia on the Maeander from the Hellenistic period onwards; Sparta discovered an epigraphic culture in the Imperial period. Aphrodisias, which did not have an epigraphic culture in the first two centuries of its existence as a *polis*, is one of the best examples for the public display of inscriptions from the late 1st century BC onwards.

We can recognize the existence of an 'epigraphic culture' by applying various criteria. An 'epigraphic culture' presupposes frequent, if not regular, use of inscriptions, such as, e.g., the annual commemoration of banquets and festivities of priests of the emperor in Ankyra (*I.Ancyra* 2); diversity in the type of texts that are inscribed; diversity in the social background of the agents of inscriptions; and diversity in the spaces in which inscriptions are found; the inscribing on stone of texts for which normally perishable materials would be used; and if not a 'discourse' on inscriptions, at least an awareness of their existence and the part they play.

In this chapter, I will not provide an overview of the different types of epigraphic texts found in the Greek cities of the Roman East, i.e. a survey of 'epigraphic practice': imperial letters, edicts, laws, civic decrees, lists of magistrates, building inscriptions, honorific inscriptions, manumission records, endowments, statutes, lists of members of voluntary associations, cult regulations, dedications and altars, oracles, hymns, aretalogies, healing miracles, records of divine punishment, agonistic inscriptions, epitaphs, acclamations, literary and philosophical texts, and seat inscriptions. Instead, I will discuss four significant aspects of the 'epigraphic culture' in the Greek cities of the Roman East: innovation, diversity, monumentalization, and sophistication.

# Innovation: What is new in the 'epigraphic culture' of the Greek cities in the Roman East?

Although 'epigraphic culture'—and more generally, culture—is better studied in the perspective of a 'Long Hellenistic Age' (from Alexander to the Severans), one may recognize specific developments that shaped the role played by inscriptions in the civic space in the Roman East, roughly between Augustus and Caracalla. It should also be stressed that, although 'epigraphic culture' is not a phenomenon that starts in the Imperial period, it is in this period that we observe it for the first time in several regions or cities, especially in Crete (Chaniotis 2005), in the Black Sea region, and in certain areas of Asia Minor, e.g. in Lydia (MacMullen 1986). The factors that contributed either to the emergence or to the reshaping of 'epigraphic culture' in this period are heterogeneous and not always easy to determine. Some generalizations are unavoidable in the selection of factors that follows.

Undoubtedly, the emperor was the single most important factor that contributed both to an increase in the number of inscriptions and to the regularity of their appearance. In the Hellenistic period we find hundreds of inscriptions that concerned the relations between kings and cities, mainly letters and honorific decrees; but they cannot be compared in number, spatial diffusion, and regularity with the imperial epigraphy of the Imperial period. I am not referring to the occasional exchanges between emperors and cities that deal with specific issues, but to the regular, sometimes annual, erection of inscriptions in honour of emperors and their families. Lyttos on Crete is an instructive, albeit perhaps extreme, case of such regularity. Before the Roman conquest of Crete, Lyttos had produced eight legal inscriptions of the Archaic and Classical periods (Gagarin and Perlman 2016: 476–95), two treaties (*Staatsverträge* III, 486; IV, 745), and 15 epitaphs (*I.Cret.* I.xviii, 73, 78, 101, 107–8, 110A, 112, 119, 122, 130, 136, 143, 145, 181; *SEG* 23, 543). During the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, the Lyttians dedicated at least one statue of the emperor every year on his birthday, often together with a statue of his wife or his sister. From a period of just 40 years, we have 41 honorific inscriptions for Trajan, Plotina, Marciana, Hadrian, Sabina, Matidia, and Paulina (including unpublished material from my excavation), more inscriptions than from the eight centuries that precede the Roman conquest of Crete. The travels of Hadrian in the eastern provinces triggered the dedication of hundreds of honorific inscriptions and dedications. In Athens alone, we have more than 100 statues and altars dedicated to him (*IG* II$^2$ 3287–386 and more recent finds). Because of his association with the emperor Claudius, his physician C. Stertinius Xenophon was the reason for the erection of c. 50 inscriptions in Kos (e.g. *IG* XII.4, 296–302 and 314–22). Another innovation indirectly associated with the emperor concerns the appearance of a new type of inscription: the commemorative monuments for gladiators, such as funerary altars set up by the owners of the *familiae* of gladiators, who employed them in gladiatorial combats in connection with the imperial cult (Robert 1940; Hrychuk Kontokosta 2008).

Surely, the integration of the cities even of the most remote provinces of the empire into the huge network of economic and cultural exchanges, that the Principate made possible, facilitated the transfer of ideas and trends. The elites that dominated the political, economic,

and social life of the cities were eager to follow them. The honorific inscriptions that were traditionally set up by the assembly and the council for benefactors continued to dominate public spaces. But now members of the elite were honoured with statues on inscribed bases by relatives, friends, and dependent people (e.g. *I.Ephesos* 3072: relative; 735: friend; 617, 729, 1562: patron). Genealogical and quasi-biographical texts are known in very small numbers since the early Classical period (Chaniotis 1987); but honorific inscriptions and epitaphs that provide elaborate lists of ancestors, refer to relatives and their achievements (e.g. *I.Ephesos* 2072), and even claim descent from heroes and great historical personalities (e.g. *IG* II² 3546: Pericles; *IG* V.1, 471: the Dioskouroi; *IG* V.1, 477: Perseus) become a more common phenomenon in the imperial cities, as part of the elite's self-representation (Chaniotis 1988: 224–6; cf. Jones 2010). The most elaborate text of this group is the genealogy of Licinnia Flavilla in Oinoanda in the mid-2nd century AD which records 12 generations of her family, starting with the foundation of Kibyra as a colony of Sparta. The text, inscribed on the family's *hērōon*, named at least 54 individuals and their offices and benefactions (*IGR* III, 500). Exactly as the competition of cults triggered an increase in the number and sophistication of religious texts—dedications, narratives of miracles, hymns, records of divine justice (usually known as 'confession inscriptions'), and oracles—, the competition among cities for privileges and reputation and, after the foundation of the Panhellenion by Hadrian in AD 131/2, their efforts to demonstrate their Hellenic origins produced texts that commemorated the past (see below).

The agonistic culture in the Roman East, i.e. the continually increasing number of agonistic festivals with the participation of athletes and artists (see Carless Unwin in this volume), is another significant factor. Victories in these contests, both the ones founded by cities and the ones endowed by wealthy individuals, brought enormous social prestige. Admittedly, dedications after victories, lists of victors, and honorific inscriptions that list the victories of athletes are also attested before the Imperial period. But then new components of epigraphic culture begin to appear, such as quasi-biographical inscriptions of the superstars of sport, music, and theatre (Strasser 2021), and regularly erected honorific inscriptions for victors, e.g. in Termessos (*TAM* III.1, 141–213; *SEG* 57, 1461–4; van Nijf 2001).

Innovations in the epigraphic culture also came from the increasing number of voluntary associations. *Thiasoi* and *koina* acquired great importance in the Hellenistic period, providing to their members a sense of identity. In the Imperial period they make their presence visible not only with occasional dedications, epitaphs, and honorific inscriptions but also with long lists of their members (see below). Also the existence of communities of Italian and Roman settlers in Greek cities and the foundation of Roman colonies in the East are important new factors. The most visible impact of this development is the appearance of Latin and Greek–Latin bilingual inscriptions, which in the Hellenistic period existed in large numbers only in Delos. In several colonies (e.g. Patrae, Dion, Philippi, Alexandreia Troas, Antioch in Pisidia), the majority of inscriptions were in Latin until the 3rd century AD (in Philippi also later). The less obvious Roman influences can be recognized in the vocabulary of inscriptions—e.g. the attribute *glykytatos* ('sweetest') under the influence of the Latin *dulcissimus*—and in the social background of the people who set them up, namely the increased number of epitaphs of or by household slaves or slaves employed in estates, alumni, and freedmen as well as dedications by people who identify themselves as *douloi*. Also the honorary inscriptions set up by slaves and freedmen for their masters and patrons, a phenomenon of no significance in

pre-Roman Greece and Asia Minor but common in Rome, Italy, and the Latin West, can be attributed to Roman influence: the privileges of Roman freedmen and the position of slaves as members of the *familia*.

Finally, there are innovations also in the places in which inscriptions were set up. In addition to the usual places—agoras, sanctuaries and temples, and cemeteries—the building activity of the Imperial period increased the number and importance of theatres, *bouleutēria*, gymnasia, and seats of magistrates as places for the erection of honorific or commemorative statues and the inscriptions that accompanied them. Building inscriptions in porticoes, colonnaded streets, public gardens, baths, fountains, and aqueducts commemorated the sponsors of the buildings, and some of these places, especially public parks and colonnaded streets with stoas, became new spaces for the erection of honorific inscriptions (van Nijf 2000) and sometimes for the placement of sarcophagi (Engelmann 1999).

## Diversity: The heterogeneous social background of 'epigraphic culture'

A funerary relief from Thessalonike (late 2nd century AD; Fig. 1.1.1) shows a bearded man and two women in the upper panel, and a funerary banquet in the lower panel. The typical epitaph uses the normal family terminology:

> Onesimos, steward of Aelius Menogenes, made this grave (*hērōon*) for memory's sake for his wife Nike and for himself, while he was still alive, and for his daughter Onesime, while she was alive, and for his mother Euphrosyne, while she was still alive.
>
> (Despinis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997: 152–3; *SEG* 47, 974)

The man's portrait in the upper panel, with a short beard, resembles portraits of Antoninus Pius; the hairstyles of his deceased wife and his daughter imitate those of the imperial women of the Antonine dynasty. The banquet scene shows Onesimos reclining on a couch; the two seated women presumably are his mother and his daughter; the standing woman, represented as Aphrodite, is his deceased wife, associated with the divine sphere. Based on the portraits, the designation of the grave as a *hērōon*, and the use of standard family terminology, we could never suspect that this is the epitaph of a 'family' of slaves, if Onesimos had not identified himself as a steward (*oikonomos*, *villicus*). While the relief transmits the image of a normal citizen family, the inscription commemorates the difference in status.

Slaves are attested since the Mycenaean period and they are mentioned in inscriptions of a legal nature since the Archaic period; they are the subject of these texts, not their agents. The epitaphs of slaves are not numerous until the Imperial period; grave epigrams for slaves are a rarity as are funerary inscriptions set up by slaves for fellow slaves and dedications by slaves. One has to wait until the late Hellenistic period for building inscriptions sponsored by freedmen (e.g. *SEG* 37, 528). The Imperial period marks a change, with inscriptions set up by slaves and freedmen abounding. Honorific inscriptions set up by freedmen for their patrons had the greatest public visibility (e.g. *I.Ephesos* 2063; *I.Ancyra* 56; *TAM* III.1, 123).

**FIG. 1.1.1:** The grave relief of Onesimos, a steward, and his family, late 2nd/early 3rd century AD. Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki. Inv. no. 1524 (© Photographical Archive of Sculpture in the Cast Collection of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Also epitaphs and dedications in which people explicitly designate themselves as *douloi* are common (e.g. *I.Kibyra* 296; *IGBulg* III.2, 1797; *I.Cret.* I.vii, 6). The same applies to epitaphs set up by masters for their slaves and freedmen, sometimes in metrical form (Chaniotis 2023b), and to epitaphs for and by *threptoi* (foster children). One should add that this

phenomenon is far more common in Latin epigraphy and in Greek inscriptions in the West than in the East.

Unparalleled before the Imperial period are also epitaphs set up by slaves for fellow slaves (*syndouloi*). Let us examine an example from Patara in Lycia:

> For Kalokairos, a good hero. His fellow slaves, Elpidephoros, Herakleides, Zosimos, Nauklerikos, Marion, Kerdon, Eugamos, and Metabolikos, for memory's sake, (honoured) a virtuous man, affectionate towards his master (*philokyrios*), and an extraordinary man.
>
> (*TAM* II, 466, 2nd century AD)

Following the model of honours for deceased free people, not only of the elite, to whom the status of a hero was granted, the deceased slave is referred to as *hērōs*. The term *syndouloi* is modelled on *syskēnoi* ('those who share the same tent'), *synarchontes* ('jointly serving in a board of magistrates'), *systratiōtai* ('jointly serving in the army'), and so on. The attribute *philokyrios* is similarly modelled on attributes of praise for the free (see Heller 2020): the good wife is *philandros* ('the one who loves her husband'), the good citizen *philopatris* ('the lover of his fatherland'), the good subject of the emperor *philosebastos* and *philokaisar* ('loyal to the Augustus/the Caesar'), the loyal friend of the Romans *philorhōmaios*, the pious worshipper of Artemis *philartemis*, the friend of the Athenians *philathēnaios*. Similarly, the good slave is *philokyrios*, an attribute that is also attested as a personal name of slaves. In their inscriptions, slaves reproduced the modes of representation and the values of their masters, rarely lamenting the bitter fate of slavery (*SEG* 59, 1318, Ephesos, c. AD 100). The adoption of elite ideology has been observed in the case of the monuments concerning freedmen as well (Borg 2012).

An interesting group of relevant inscriptions consists of dedications made by cult associations, accompanied by long lists of their members which often represent low social strata (e.g. *IG* X.2.1, 244; *SEG* 46, 800; 60, 1497). Exactly as the middle class and the elite used lists of names—lists of councillors, officials, and ephebes—as a medium of commemoration and visibility, people in the lowest positions of the social ladder saw an opportunity to see their names commemorated through epigraphic media. Inscriptions in which people identify themselves by naming their profession, unprecedented in numbers and diverse terminology, also contribute to the social diversity of the 'epigraphic culture' of the Imperial-period cities.

It is far more difficult to establish a similar development with regard to women, because in many areas women had been epigraphically visible as dedicants of votives and epitaphs and as benefactresses already in the Hellenistic period. But there are regions in which women first make their appearance as agents of epigraphy only in the Imperial period. Crete is such an area. Women appear as the subject of legal regulations in the Archaic and Classical periods; only in the Imperial period we see them as sponsors of buildings and dedicants of funerary monuments for family members. The Jews are another group that emerges from the shadow of anonymity in the Imperial period. Jews had lived in Greek cities in significant numbers from the Hellenistic period on, in Alexandria, Asia Minor, the Bosporan Kingdom. In the Imperial period they are clearly recognizable through the use of two names, a Greek and a Jewish, religious symbols, or the explicit designation *Ioudaios*—e.g. in epitaphs from Hierapolis (Miranda 1999). In sum: trends that can already be recognized in the Hellenistic period culminate and spread geographically during the Principate.

## Monumentalization: Literary and philosophical texts written on stone

In 1555, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire in the court of Suleiman the Magnificent, copied from an ancient wall near the Haci Bayram Mosque in Ankara a long inscription that was later labelled by Theodor Mommsen 'the queen of inscriptions'. More familiar with ancient texts than many a student of Classics nowadays, de Busbecq realized that this text was none other than Augustus' account of his accomplishments, deposited along with his will with the Vestals in AD 13. It was Augustus' desire that this document, known as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Cooley 2009; *I.Ancyra* 2), be engraved in bronze tablets and set up at the entrance of his Mausoleum in Rome. The Roman copy has been lost, but the *Monumentum Ancyranum* preserves a large part of the Latin original and a Greek paraphrase; fragments of additional copies have been found in Antioch in Galatia (*SEG* 6, 586) and in Apollonia in Pisidia (*MAMA* IV, 143). Augustus was aware of both the 'power of images' and the 'power of inscriptions' (Zanker 1987; Alföldy 1991); and after his death, the court of his successor (or provincial governors?) made sure that his *Res Gestae* were accessible to the population of the provinces in both Greek and Latin.

Augustus' semi-literary account of his political career and the offices he held, his benefactions, his military successes, and his vision for the government of the empire is truly an impressive monument, although less original than we might think. In content, it continues in short form the tradition of memoirs or *commentarii* composed by Roman statesmen such as Sulla, Caesar, and Cicero. The narcissistic statements about being the 'first' to have done something—reminiscent of some of Donald Trump's tweets—align well with the practice of athletes to claim in their inscriptions to have been 'the first and only' to have accomplished something extraordinary. Epigraphic *res gestae* of rulers have a long tradition in the monarchies of Egypt and the Near East; they found, if not imitators, certainly soulmates among Hellenistic kings. Ptolemy III's account of his military accomplishments in the Third Syrian War was inscribed on a throne in Adulis (c. 244 BC; *OGIS* 54 = *I.Éthiopie* 276) and the texts that establish the cult of Antiochos I of Kommagene (mid-1st century BC) include narratives of his life (Waldmann 1973; Crowther and Facella 2003). Other monarchs followed the same practice, with famous examples being the accounts of the campaigns of King Sapor near Persepolis (*I.Estremo Oriente* 261; c. AD 270) and King Aizanas in Aksum (*I.Éthiopie* 270/1; 4th or 5th century AD).

Augustus' *Res Gestae* surpass any earlier autobiographic epigraphic account in length and multiple subsequent instances of inscribing. Similarly, the inscriptions of literary, semi-literary, and scientific content that were on public display in the Imperial period surpass in number, diffusion, and diversity of content their predecessors of the Hellenistic period. Hellenistic inscriptions of this nature include the list of the victors at the Pythia, composed by Aristotle and Kallisthenes and set up in Delphi, the account of the foundation of Magnesia on the Maeander, the biographies of Archilochos in Paros, hymns with signs of musical notation in Delphi, and the famous Parian Chronicle (Chaniotis 1988: 23–105, 278–86).

The philosophical inscription of Diogenes in Oinoanda (2nd century AD) is the best-known example for the transformation into monuments of texts typically meant for

distribution in papyrus scrolls or parchment books (Smith 1996 and 2003). Diogenes had a summary of Epicurus' treatises on old age, physics, and ethics, as well as a selection of his letters, inscribed on the 80-metre-long wall of a portico in Oinoanda in Lycia. It has been estimated that the text consisted of c. 25,000 words, possibly the longest Greek inscription ever. About one third of the text has survived, but new fragments are being continually discovered. Diogenes explains his motivation:

> The majority of people suffer from a common disease, as in a plague, with their false notions about things, and their number is increasing (for in mutual emulation they catch the disease from one another, like sheep); moreover, [it is] right to help [also] generations to come (for they too belong to us, though they are still unborn) and, besides, love of humanity prompts us to aid also the foreigners who come here. Now, since the remedies of the inscription reach a larger number of people, I wished to use this stoa to advertise publicly the [medicines] that bring salvation. (transl. by M. F. Smith)

Both Diogenes and Augustus knew the impact of inscriptions on posterity. But while Augustus was interested in the promotion and preservation of his image, Diogenes was concerned about educating his contemporaries and people in the future.

Diogenes' inscription may be the longest, but it is not the only philosophical inscription in this period. Apart from an oracle in the same city that explained the nature of god (*SEG* 27, 953), there are metrical texts with philosophical ideas in Ephesos, Rome, and Monte Fortino (*I.Ephesos* 4328; *SEG* 16, 602; 32, 1020; 33, 960), all of them from the 2nd century AD. Around the same time, the medical doctor Sarapion published in Athens a philosophical poem about the duties of physicians (*SEG* 28, 225), and the architect Neikodemos inscribed in the *agoranomeion* in Pergamon a mathematical treatise (*I.Pergamon* 333). These texts served educational purposes, and the same applies to a large number of collections of alphabetical and dice oracles in many cities of Asia Minor (Nollé 2007). The oracular responses often contain (rather trivial) pieces of popular wisdom.

While such texts are a peculiar form of euergetism, as they aim to do some good to other people, the historical and mythological texts that were inscribed on stone in this period have their origin in the strong interest in cultural memory, in the self-representation of cities, and in local patriotism. From the 2nd century AD we have fragments of historiographical accounts from Pergamon (*I.Pergamon* 613) and Sardis (*I.Sardis* 577), an encomiastic oration for Theseus from Athens (*IG* II$^2$ 2291a; *SEG* 50, 155), a mythological and historical account in a decree from Synnada (*SEG* 30, 89; 47, 152), and an oration from Athens (*IG* II$^2$ 2291b). The best-preserved text of this kind is an account of genealogies, miracles, and oracles that documented the close relation and concord of the Lycian cities (*TAM* II, 174; Papanikolaou 2012). It was composed by Hieron of Tlos and submitted to the magistrates of Sidyma and Tlos. The text was inscribed on the wall of a portico in Sidyma; arranged in columns and decorated with an ornament on the left margin (Fig. 1.1.2), it reproduces the image of a papyrus scroll.

As in other aspects of 'epigraphic culture', in the case of the 'monumentalization' of texts we observe the continuation and proliferation of trends that can be observed already in the Hellenistic period. The agents of these inscriptions were fully aware of the importance of inscriptions as a medium of communication and education. Diogenes of Oinoanda states this explicitly: 'the remedies of the inscription reach a larger number of people'. The same alertness explains the sophistication of expression and presentation, to which I finally turn.

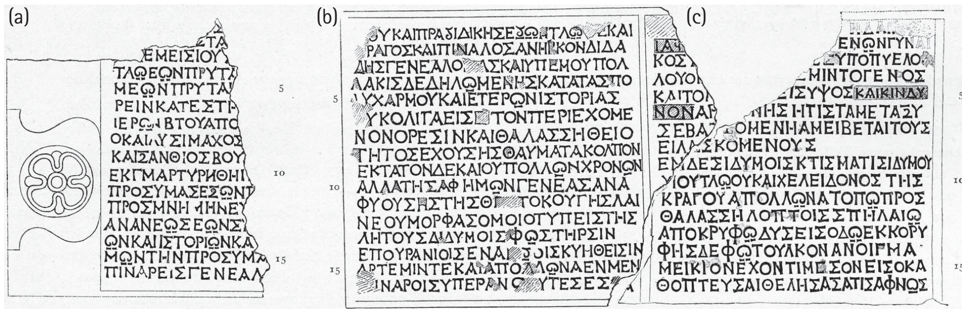



**FIG. 1.1.2:** Inscription imitating the layout of a papyrus scroll, arranged in columns and with a decoration on the left. *TAM* II, 174 (Vienna 1920)

## Sophistication: Attracting the attention of readers and viewers

Inscriptions are texts; texts have authors; authors have intentions; intentions are served by a variety of media of verbal communication. But inscriptions are also monuments; while graffiti appear on surfaces where one does not expect them, inscriptions require decisions about the construction on which they will be inscribed (wall, architrave, pediment, etc.) or, in the case of free-standing monuments, about material, form, and decoration; they also require decisions about the layout of the text and the lettering.

Epigraphic texts and inscribed surfaces may be in a dialogue. Already the earliest inscription, on the 'Nestor's cup' from Pithekoussai (c. 740–720 BC; Hansen, *CEG* 454), refers to the cup on which it appears. Sophistication in inscribing texts is as old as Greek epigraphy. In the late 4th century BC, the Athenian statesman Stratokles ensured that the inscribers of the decrees that he proposed used blank spaces or line-initial position to give his name visual prominence on the stone (Tracy 2000). Epigraphy had reached high levels of sophistication long before Greece and the Hellenized world were incorporated into the Roman Empire. But now, the strong interest in inscriptions and the awareness of their impact can be seen in the diffusion of certain practices beyond the great centres of culture, but also in techniques that made sure that the interest of the viewer was attracted and the message of the inscription enhanced.

Archaizing letterforms are a case in point and a good example of 'epigraphic culture'. Numerous inscriptions in Roman Attica, especially those inscribed under Hadrian and the later Antonine emperors, imitate letterforms or the stoichedon style of the 5th and 4th centuries BC (Aleshire 1999; Lazzarini 1986). A nice example is the tombstone for Herodes Atticus (*IG* II$^2$ 6791). The archaizing features are interesting not only because they show that the sponsors of these inscriptions fully understood the chronological differences of letterforms but also because they exploited letterforms, in order to associate their lifetime with a period of Athenian glory. Archaizing letters are also found elsewhere, e.g. in Ephesos (*SEG* 48, 1395) and Side (*SEG* 65, 1429). Exactly as a poet could be honoured as a 'New Homer and a New Themistocles' (*IG* II$^2$ 3786–9), exactly as artists produced archaizing statues,

poets adopted Homeric vocabulary, the historians of the Parthian Wars imitated Thucydides (Lucian *Hist. conscr.* 15), and authors of epigraphic texts used Archaic forms, the stonecutters were given instructions to use lettering that would build a bridge between present and past. Similarly, the occasional layout that recalled the image of a book or a papyrus scroll (see above, Fig. 1.1.2) and the use of lectional signs created a bridge between book and epigraphic production (Garulli 2018).

The fact that inscriptions were produced from the mid-1st to the early 3rd century AD in larger numbers than in any earlier period had an impact on their appearance and content. The private dedicants of inscriptions wished that *their* inscription was seen and read, especially in locations in which large numbers of inscriptions were displayed, i.e. in sanctuaries and cemeteries. Speaking tombstones literally beg the passer-by to stop, pay attention to them, read the text, see the image, and feel compassion (Chaniotis 2023a: 143–68). Civic cemeteries of the Imperial period resemble an arena in which the dead competed for the attention of the visitors and hoped that, by reading the inscription aloud, they would say aloud their name, lend their epitaph their voice, and create the illusion of communication. A simple stele or a funerary altar would not suffice for this task. So, those who could afford it decorated the epitaphs of their beloved with reliefs. Some of them are standardized, with busts that represent the deceased with the current hairstyles, with representation of a funerary banquet, or with the image of the 'Thracian Rider'; but there are clear efforts for individualization, either with the use of images that refer to the occupation of the deceased (Figs. 1.1.3 and 1.1.4), or less often to the conditions of their death or their views about life and death.

In Amphipolis, c. AD 100, Timotheos was commemorated with a stele with three relief panels that depicted his rise from slave to wealthy slave-trader (Fig. 1.1.3). In the upper panel, a man, reclining on a couch, a wine cup in his hand, is being attended by a servant; in the second panel, five farmers are engaged in the making of wine; in the lower level, eight men, two women, and two children, chained with neck-irons, are being led into captivity by a hooded man. A similar attention to imagery, albeit usually of low artistic quality, can be observed in the case of dedications, decorated with reliefs that represent deities, diseased body parts, allusions to misdemeanours punished by the gods, rituals, animals expected to be protected, and symbols of divine power. Let me be clear, again: the phenomenon—i.e. the use of sculpted and painted images in epitaphs and dedications—is not new; its diffusion in cities that did not have such a tradition of elaborate and heterogeneous funerary monuments is. The same observation also applies to sophisticated texts: epigrams and highly rhetorical decrees.

The 'golden age' of inscribed epigrammatic poetry in quantity—not so much in quality—is the Imperial period. The numbers did not increase in cities with old literary traditions, but in cities in central Anatolia (Galatia and Phrygia) they only appear in the Imperial period. The increase in numbers went along with greater diversity in the social background of their sponsors, not just the elite, but also the wives and friends of gladiators, slaves, freedmen, and merchants. Higher demand could only be met by recycling stereotypical phrases, which makes the life of epigraphers easy when they try to restore fragmentary inscriptions. But what really fills them with joy and at the same time moves them is the occasional poem that expresses and arouses emotion through reference to the individual fate of the deceased.

Individualization is not only a feature of sophisticated epitaphs. It can also be found among honorific inscriptions, when their authors use laudatory attributes that characterize

**FIG. 1.1.3:** The grave relief of the slave-merchant Aulus Caprilius Timotheos. Amphipolis, c. AD 100. *SEG* 28, 537. From: Roger, J. 1945. 'Inscriptions de la région de Strymon', *Rev. Arch.* 6: 47

an individual's personality and achievements. Aphrodisias, the find place of hundreds of honorific inscriptions on statue bases, provides both cases of a standardized vocabulary of praise ('he/she was a model of virtue') and an effort to personalize the encomiastic attributes. For instance, Artemon was a good and virtuous man, a lover of the fatherland following the ancestral tradition, a man who lived nobly and prudently, excelling in love of learning, education, and virtue in every respect (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 12.905); Aelius Aurelius Ammianos

**FIG. 1.1.4:** Sarcophagus from Aphrodisias with representation of a workshop of glass production, c. AD 200. *I.Aphrodisias 2007* 13.101 (© Archive of the Excavation of Aphrodisias. New York University)

Papias was a generous man, and a patriot, who lived a disciplined and honourable life and was admired for the mildness of his character and his considerate manner (12.21); Dionysios served in all offices with modesty and piety, respecting both law and justice (12.612). Both the portrait statues and the inscriptions on their bases presented the honoured persons with recognizable individual features (on the portraits, see Smith 2006).

Finally, since the local statesmen expected that the decrees that they proposed in the assembly would be read, they made the effort to use sophisticated expressions, complex syntax, emotional language, and rhetorical devices not only in the text that they orally presented in the assembly but also in the text that was inscribed—presumably a summary of the oration. A decree from Olbia (2nd century AD) is a good example of such rhetorically sophisticated inscribed decrees that start making their appearance in the Hellenistic period. Korzoazos is praised after his death as

> a man who walked well on the path of public conduct and emulated an irreproachable life. Experience tested his toils, for in face of the communal needs he bore the unwelcome burden by voluntarily accepting liturgies and displayed soundness of behaviour by fulfilling in advance the demands of every vote. Such was his attitude. And if ever the fatherland frequently took advantage of his zeal with requests, by imitating well the life of those who demonstrate the best civic conduct he became a model to the young for the emulation of the noble men. He served in political office trustworthily and strenuously, tirelessly accomplishing all that was

> asked of him in the embassies to the neighbouring kings. Words would be strained to give an accurate account of this, etc.
>
> (*IOSPE* I$^2$ 39)

This decree does not differ from a funeral oration. With texts as this, the gap between literary and documentary sources is bridged. What the selection of time has not preserved through the literary tradition—thankfully, a philologist with high aesthetic standards might say—has survived as part of an 'epigraphic culture' that granted inscriptions a privileged position as a medium of communication, continuing, reinforcing, and diffusing trends that we already observe in the Hellenistic cities.

## 'Epigraphic culture': A culture of commemoration

For centuries, people who died in Lydia were honoured, buried, and remembered by their families; however, it was only in the Imperial period that the bereaved set up inscriptions with the names of their family members, sometimes also friends, who honoured them. People have been dreaming for hundreds of thousands of years; accounts of dreams exist from the beginning of Greek literature, and professional dream-interpreters earned money in Classical Athens. But it was only in the Imperial period that we find dedications in which it is explicitly stated that they were made 'in accordance with a dream' (Chaniotis 2018: 30). Pilgrims visited the sanctuary of the Great Gods in Samothrake in order to be initiated in the Mysteries since the Archaic period. But it is only from the 2nd century BC on and mainly in the Imperial period that we find inscribed records of initiates, including the crews of Roman ships (Dimitrova 2008). People have shouted words of praise for public figures or victorious athletes and used religious acclamations for centuries, but it is only in the 2nd century AD that they started recording acclamations in inscriptions (e.g. *SEG* 38, 1172; 50, 1160; 51, 613–31, 1813; *I.Laodikeia Lykos* 38). Size may not always matter, but the quantity of evidence certainly does. What led to this proliferation of inscriptions, their geographical diffusion, their social and thematic diversity? How do we explain *le charme discret* of the inscribed stone?

The existence of an empire, pacified in its largest part and under a unified administration, facilitated mobility, and the movement of people as administrators, soldiers, pilgrims, athletes, artists, slaves, merchants, and other professionals facilitated the movement of ideas and practices. The existence of the empire also facilitated the stronger cultural integration of cities in Anatolia and Syria; it was neither a process of Hellenization—there were no agents who consciously 'Hellenized'—nor of Romanization; it was more a process of emulation, of following the trends that were predominant in Greece, the Aegean, and the coastal areas of Asia Minor. The adoption of trends was not limited to the local civic elites; as the social diversity shows, it also influenced lower social strata. As far as their means allowed, representatives of the lower strata set up inscribed epitaphs and dedications decorated with reliefs.

The common denominator of all these inscriptions is their ability to give durability to an ephemeral experience. The ephemeral joy and pride of victory is prolonged through an agonistic inscription and an inscribed acclamation, such as the graffiti with the text *νίκη*

('victory') in Kos (*IG* XII.4, 3448–511). The feeling of gratitude for benefactors or statesmen is perpetuated—and exploited by their descendants—through honorific inscriptions. The ephemeral existence of individuals is commemorated beyond the close circle of family and friends through the epitaphs; their name is heard aloud whenever people read it. The Roman Empire, the spread of literacy, the influence from large urban centres with long cultural traditions, and the role of elites as trendsetters were only the facilitators of the 'epigraphic culture'; the real reason for its existence is the deep human need to defeat death through remembrance. On the back of a pillar on the stage of Aphrodisias' theatre, a man wrote: *Ζήνων ἔγραφε* ('Zenon wrote this'). He has left us more words than the founder of the Athenian democracy.

## Suggested Reading

An introduction to the epigraphy of the Imperial period is offered by McLean 2002. On 'epigraphic cultures' and different epigraphic practices, habits, and curves, the studies of McMullen 1982, Meyer 1990, and Woolf 1996 are still influential; see also Bolle, Machado, and Witschel 2017 (Late Antiquity); Nawotka 2021 (eastern Mediterranean); Alföldy 2018 (Roman epigraphy of the Imperial period). The 'materiality' of inscriptions is discussed in several essays in Petrovic, Petrovic, and Thomas 2018. *Steinepigramme* offer a good collection of epigrams; the development of inscribed epigrams in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods is discussed by Christian 2015, their literary and cultural aspects by Staab 2018. Examples of literary and semi-literary texts in inscriptions are given by Chaniotis 1988. For voluntary associations, Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011, Harland 2014, and Kloppenborg 2020 offer representative collections of epigraphic sources. The phenomenon of bilingualism has attracted a lot of attention in recent years. The fundamental study of Adams 2003 is important for methodological considerations; bilingual inscriptions in Asia Minor have been collected by Kearsley 2001; representative studies can be found in Biville, Decourt, and Rougemont 2008. The Jewish inscriptions of Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Cyprus have been collected in *I.Jud. Orientis* I–III. Grave epigrams for slaves and freedmen have been discussed by Chaniotis 2023a, inscribed acclamations of the Imperial period by Chaniotis 2009 and Kuhn 2012. On the increase in number of inscriptions, especially epitaphs with lists of family members in Lydia, see Thonemann 2022.

## References

Adams, J. N. 2003. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. Cambridge.

Aleshire, S. 1999. 'The Identification of Archaizing Inscriptions', in *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina* II, 153–61. Rome.

Alföldy, G. 1991. 'Augustus und die Inschriften: Tradition und Innovation. Die Geburt der imperialen Epigraphik', *Gymnasium* 98: 289–324.

Alföldy, G. 2018. *Die epigraphische Kultur der Römer*. Stuttgart.

Biville, F., Decourt, J.-C., and Rougemont, G. eds. 2008. *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie*. Lyons.

Bolle, K., Machado, C., and Witschel, C. eds. 2017. *Appreciating Materiality: A Long View on Epigraphic Culture(s)*. Berlin.

Borg, B. 2012. 'The Face of the Social Climber: Roman Freedmen and Élite Ideology', in *Free at Last: The Influence of Freed Slaves on the Roman Empire*, ed. S. Bell and T. Ramsby, 25–49. London.

Chaniotis, A. 1987. 'Ein neuer genealogischer Text aus Milet', *EA* 10: 41–4.

Chaniotis, A. 1988. *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften*. Stuttgart.

Chaniotis, A. 2005. 'From Communal Spirit to Individuality: The Epigraphic Habit in Hellenistic and Roman Crete', in *Creta Romana e Protobizantina*. *Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Iraklion, 23-30 settembre 2000* I, 75–87. Padua.

Chaniotis, A. 2009. 'Acclamations as a Form of Religious Communication', in *Die Religion des Imperium Romanum. Koine und Konfrontationen*, ed. H. Cancik and J. Rüpke, 199–218. Tübingen.

Chaniotis, A. 2018. 'Nessun Dorma! Changing Nightlife in the Hellenistic and Roman East', in *La nuit. Imaginaire et réalités nocturnes dans le monde gréco-romain*, ed. A. Chaniotis, 1–58. Geneva.

Chaniotis, A. 2023a. *Emotionen und Fiktionen. Gefühle in Politik, Gesellschaft und Religion der griechischen Antike*. Darmstadt.

Chaniotis, A. 2023b. 'Slavery and the History of Emotions: The Greek Epigraphic Evidence', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 164/3–4: 183–214.

Christian, T. 2015. *Gebildete Steine. Zur Rezeption literarischer Techniken in den Versinschriften seit dem Hellenismus*. Göttingen.

Cooley, A. E. 2009. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Edition with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Cambridge.

Crowther, C. and Facella, M. 2003. 'New Evidence for the Ruler Cult of Antiochus of Commagene from Zeugma', in *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens*, ed. G. Heedemann and E. Winter, 41–80. Bonn.

Despinis, G., Stefanidou-Tiveriou, T., and Voutiras, E. 1997. *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki* I. Thessalonica.

Dimitrova, N. M. 2008. *Theoroi and Initiates in Samothrace. The Epigraphical Evidence*. Princeton.

Engelmann, H. 1999. 'Inschriften einer Hallenstrasse', in *Steine und Wege. Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Scherrer, H. Taeuber, and H. Thür, 23–4. Vienna.

Gagarin, M. and Perlman, P. 2016. *The Laws of Ancient Crete* c. *650–400 BCE*. Oxford.

Garulli, V. 2018. 'Lectional Signs in Greek Verse Inscriptions', in *The Materiality of Text: Placements, Presences, and Perceptions of Inscribed Text in Classical Antiquity*, ed. in A. Petrovic, I. Petrovic, and E. Thomas, 105–44. Leiden and Boston.

Harland, P. A. 2014. *Greco-Roman Associations. Texts, Translations, and Commentary*. II, *North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor*. Berlin.

Heller, A. 2020. *L'âge d'or des bienfaiteurs. Titres honorifiques et sociétés civiques dans l'Asie Mineure d'époque romaine (Ier s. av. J.-C.–IIIe s. apr. J.-C.)*. Geneva.

Hrychuk Kontokosta, A. 2008. 'Gladiatorial Reliefs and Élite Funerary Monuments', in *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New Research on the City and its Monuments*, ed. C. Ratté and R. R. R. Smith, 190–229. Portsmouth, RI.

Jones, C. P. 2010. 'Ancestry and Identity in the Roman Empire', in *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. T. Whitmarsh, 111–24. Cambridge.

Kearsley, R. A. 2001. *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia Minor. Mixed Language Inscriptions and Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Interaction until the End of AD III*. Bonn.

Kloppenborg, J. S. 2020. *Greco-Roman Associations. Texts, Translations, and Commentary. III, Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt*. Berlin.

Kloppenborg, J. S. and Ascough, R. S. 2011. *Greco-Roman Associations. Texts, Translations, and Commentary. I, Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*. Berlin.

Kuhn, C. 2012. 'Emotionality in the Political Culture of the Graeco-Roman East: the Role of Acclamations', in *Unveiling Emotions. Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, ed. A. Chaniotis, 295–316. Stuttgart.

Lazzarini, M. L. 1986. 'L'archaismo nelle epigrafi greche di età imperiale', *AION(ling)* 8: 147–53.

MacMullen, R. 1982. 'The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire', *AJPhil*. 103: 233–46.

MacMullen, R. 1986. 'The Frequency of Inscriptions in Roman Lydia', *ZPE* 65: 237–8.

McLean, B. H. 2002. *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)*. Ann Arbor, MI.

Meyer, E. 1990. 'Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: the Evidence of Epitaphs', *JRS* 80: 74–96.

Miranda, E. 1999. 'La comunità giudaica di Hierapolis di Frigia', *EA* 31: 109–56.

Nawotka, K. ed. 2021. *Epigraphic Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity*. London.

Nollé, J. 2007. *Kleinasiatische Losorakel. Astragal- und Alphabetchresmologien der hochkaiserzeitlichen Orakelrenaissance*. Munich.

Papanikolaou, D. 2012. 'The Tlos Sophist (*TAM* II 174)', *C&M* 63: 119–60.

Petrovic, A., Petrovic, I., and Thomas, E. eds. 2018. *The Materiality of Text: Placements, Presences, and Perceptions of Inscribed Text in Classical Antiquity*. Leiden and Boston.

Robert, L. 1940. *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*. Limoges.

Smith, M. F. 1996. *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda*. Vienna.

Smith, M. F. 2003. *Supplement to Diogenes of Oinoanda. The Epicurean Inscription*. Naples.

Smith, R. R. R. 2006. *Roman Portrait Statuary from Aphrodisias*. Mainz.

Staab, G. 2018. *Gebrochener Glanz. Klassische Tradition und Alltagswelt im Spiegel neuer und alter Grabepigramme des griechischen Ostens*. Berlin.

Strasser, J.-Y. 2021. *Mémoires de champions. Corpus des palmarès d'Octavien à Valentinien I$^{er}$*. Athens.

Thonemann, P. 2022. *The Lives of Ancient Villages. Rural Society in Roman Anatolia*. Cambridge.

Tracy, S. V. 2000. 'Athenian Politicians and Inscriptions of the Years 307 to 302', *Hesperia* 69: 227–33.

van Nijf, O. 2000. 'Inscriptions and Civic Memory in the Roman East', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions: Reusing, Rediscovering, Reinventing, and Revitalizing Ancient Inscriptions*, ed. A. E. Cooley, 21–36. London.

van Nijf, O. 2001. 'Local Heroes: Athletics, Festivals, and Elite Self-fashioning in the Roman East', in *Being Greek under Roman Rule: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic, and the Development of the Empire*, ed. S. Goldhill, 306–34. Cambridge.

Waldmann, H. 1973. *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen unter König Mithradates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I*. Leiden.

Woolf, G. 1996. 'Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire', *JRS* 86: 22–39.

Zanker, P. 1987. *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*. Munich.

CHAPTER 1.2

# CIVIC COINAGE

ANTONY HOSTEIN

## Introduction

Under the Roman Empire, *poleis* or *civitates*, i.e. juridical communities of free men organized in self-governed systems, continued to produce their own money, even if the new imperial context led to important changes. From Lusitania to Arabia, about 700 communities regularly or occasionally struck their own coins. These form a large body of source material which has been neglected by specialists of the Roman Empire for a long time. However, with their obverse and reverse legends and images, these coins offer interesting and invaluable information at the intersection of disciplines such as epigraphy, iconography, and archaeology. Our knowledge of this material is rapidly growing as new methods and technologies in the field of digital humanities are developed to provide a standard typology of local coinages.

## What is civic coinage? Definitions, chronological developments, characteristics

For a long time, coins issued by cities in the Roman Empire were referred to as 'Greek imperial coins' by numismatists (Butcher 1988; Suspène in Amandry 2017: 183–6; Burnett 2024). But this category was inappropriate since some issues, e.g. in *municipia* or *coloniae*, were struck with Latin legends, while others were produced by client kings. 'Roman provincial coinage' has now been established as the new standard designation, as has 'Roman imperial coinage' for coins issued by the imperial authorities. Roman provincial coinage consists of a vast body of material comprising all the coins from Augustus to Diocletian that were not produced in imperial mints (some late Republican issues can be considered as pre-Roman provincial coinage in a way). Roman provincial coins can be divided into four categories according to the issuing authority: coinages of client kings (Dahmen 2010), provincial issues minted under the supervision of the emperor, coinages of *koina* and provincial leagues often

in connection with the imperial cult, and city coinages. In the following pages, the focus will lie on the last two types which were the most common and are very similar to each other.

From the 1st century BC to AD 276, city coinages in bronze or copper were struck on a massive and continuous basis throughout the empire, but after Claudius only in the eastern provinces. These local issues were often sporadic and discontinuous, with interruptions of several decades. They provided small change at a local scale and were struck for the double motive of pride and profit. The *Roman Provincial Coinage* (*RPC*) website contains c. 363,000 coins of c. 70,000 different types from public and private collections. These figures do not provide an exact picture of the amount of money produced, but are a reliable guide to general tendencies. In the Roman East, from the Balkans to Egypt, coin production increased gradually during the 1st century BC. Considerable increases took place during the reigns of Domitian, Trajan, and later Antoninus Pius. The peak of coin production was reached in the early 3rd century AD under Septimius Severus and Caracalla. After Gordian III, civic coin production declined and came to an end in the 270s AD between Gallienus' sole reign and that of Tacitus, with the rhythms and patterns varying regionally. The only exception was Egypt where the production of tetradrachms stopped only after the death of the usurper Domitius Domitianus in AD 297.

On the obverse, these coins bear a portrait of the emperor or a member of the *domus Augusta*, together with a legend indicating his or her name and title(s) (Fig. 1.2.1). This obverse feature emerged under Caesar and became a standard in the Augustan period. From the Antonines on, a longer official titulature was included (*Autokratōr Kaisar* + name + *Sebastos*) and laureate, cuirassed, and draped busts replaced the bare-headed or laureate head characteristic of the Julio-Claudian portraits. These basic elements varied greatly over time, however. An exception are bronze coins with busts of gods or personifications on the obverse, which have long been referred to as 'pseudo-autonomous coins' (Johnston 1985). This misleading designation has now been replaced by the more accurate 'coins without imperial head'. Such issues are very common in western Asia Minor and are sometimes the only currency struck in a city, e.g. at Athens or on Chios (Fig. 1.2.2). On the reverse, Roman provincial coins usually bear an image referring to the issuing community, its topography, its ancestral gods, or its mythological past. City coinages thus provide unique insights into civic life and sometimes also information about political events (Harl 1987), especially at times when historical and epigraphical sources are scarce, as is the case in the mid-3rd century AD.

Early types of the 1st century AD were influenced both by Hellenistic coins and the repertoire of Julio-Claudian monetary iconography (Fig. 1.2.3). A greater iconographic diversity can then be observed from the 1st century AD onwards. This feature became more pronounced in the 2nd century as a result of technical, cultural, and economic changes—stronger Roman influence, general prosperity, the Second Sophistic, and diffusion of large bronzes called 'medallions' (Heuchert 2005). From this time on, coins lost their Hellenistic appearance and became thinner and larger. Concomitantly, the iconographic repertoire of the reverses became more elaborate. This general development was not the same everywhere: it can first be observed in Greece and western Asia Minor, then in the Balkans, and later also in the Levant.

To summarize, the obverses of Roman provincial coins reproduced faithfully the art of official sculptors' workshops and showed a rich variety of imperial portraits—sometimes even members of the *domus Augusta* who did not appear on imperial coins, like Caesonia, Vespasianus the Younger, or Galerius Antoninus (Fig. 1.2.4). On the reverses, apart from the most common types with local gods or temples, complex mythological scenes began

to appear under Augustus, but became common only under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (Heuchert 2005; Price 2005). Similarly, agonistic types referring to important athletic or musical contests became more frequent under the Severans (Klose 2005). Large denominations, like medallions in Rome, enabled new iconographic experiments. Offering a large surface to the engravers, they allowed them to create complex and lively scenes which were true miniature bas-reliefs comparable to those sculpted on civic monuments and temples (Fig. 1.2.5). They reflected a 'new dynamic style of reverse images' (Heuchert 2005: 55).

## 'The cities and their money': Authority, local elites, and system of production of civic coinage

The production of coinage was an important feature of a self-governed city. The details of the institutional procedures for money striking are not well known (see *RPC* II: 1–7 and Weiss 2005). Inscriptions or literary texts give very little direct information. Striking coins required the permission and acquiescence of both the emperor (or his representatives) and the civic assembly, as is made clear in some colonial coins through the Latin abbreviations PERM for *permissu* or DD for *decreto decurionum* (Figs. 1.2.6 and 1.2.7). Names and offices (*archai* or *leitourgiai*), introduced by a preposition (*epi* or *dia* are the most common) or sometimes associated with a specific verb—e.g. *anethēken* ('has dedicated') when the issue was supported by a benefactor (Fig. 1.2.8)—indicate that members of the local elites were involved in coin production (Weiss 2005; Bennett 2014). Names of governors are recorded only at particular moments and in specific areas (mainly Asia and Moesia; Fig. 1.2.9). Names and offices appear only in Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and western Asia Minor. From Anatolia to the Levant, issues may sometimes be dated with very diverse local eras drawing on Hellenistic or Roman traditions (Leschhorn 1993; Kushnir-Stein 2005; see Fig. 1.2.3 and below). One of the most important eras was the one starting in 31 BC with Augustus' victory at Actium, which was considered a key chronological marker both by the Romans and the *provinciales*. Where local eras do appear, names are usually not mentioned, and vice versa. Recent research rightly suggests that legends on the reverse only provide general information on the context in which the coins were made, and not on the system of production itself (*RPC* I: 1–5; *RPC* II: 1–7; Weiss 2005: 58–61). If we consider names and offices, stone inscriptions serve as a neat parallel for a variable system in which offices were mentioned in order to date documents or to indicate a relevant sphere of public responsibilities. This feature also appears on coins, where names and offices were provided to date the issues and/or to underline that certain people were involved in the production of the coinage. It is nevertheless impossible to specify exactly to what extent (Weiss 2005: 64–7). Thus, names and functions did not refer to the so-called 'monetary magistrates', and it is inappropriate to consider systematically the people mentioned on coins as 'eponymous magistrates' (contra Bennett 2014). Names of women connected to high officials or specific liturgies and priesthoods were also mentioned (see the example of Aelia Peisonina at Laodikeia on the Lykos, Fig. 1.2.10). As coin production was 'firmly linked to the regular norms of civic life'

(Weiss 2005: 67), the mention of names and offices was intended above all to celebrate the prestige of the ruling families.

At the individual level, the reverse legends give precious information about local government and the most prominent families (Weiss 2005; Bennett 2014; see also Giannakopoulos in this volume). For example, we see attested civic offices (*archai*) and liturgies (*leitourgiai*) such as those of *stratēgoi* (Fig. 1.2.11), *archontes* (Fig. 1.2.13), *grammateis*, *prytaneis*, and more rarely *epimelētai*, *gymnasiarchoi*, *agōnothetai*, *stephanēphoroi*, *panegyriarchai*, or priests (*hiereis*: Fig. 1.2.10, *archiereis*, *asiarchai*, *theologoi*). These may be connected with various references to the kinship links of the individuals (son of, grandson of, etc.), their Roman citizenship indicated by their *tria nomina* (Fig. 1.2.11), their social status (*eques Romanus*, parent of a senator), their moral values and professional skills (*philopatris*, *rhētōr*, *sophistēs*), or how often they had carried out the specified function (*stratēgos* Γ = for the third time, etc.). Names of women are recorded, but rarely and mostly in the case of priestesses from very important families (Fig. 1.2.10).

Such references became frequent on coins under the Antonines, and very common later. They are valuable when documentation becomes scarcer, as is the case in the mid-3rd century AD. They supplement the evidence of epigraphy for particular topics, such as onomastic studies, the existence of *collegia* of magistrates, civic offices attributed to emperors, and so on (Hostein and Mairat 2019).

Three civic offices appear primarily on coins in three main areas. *Stratēgoi* are mentioned for the most part in civic issues struck in Troas, Mysia, Aeolis, and Ionia, *archontes* in Lydia and Phrygia, and *grammateis* in the Maeander valley. This distribution pattern reflects the diversity of institutional practices at the regional level (see e.g. *RPC* VII.2: 47 and *RPC* IX: 18–19). Alongside offices, *leitourgiai* are recorded on coins in some places as well (e.g. a gymnasiarch in Pergamon, see *RPC* I, 2360). In a small group of cities, we have the preposition *para* followed by the legend in the genitive case. Sometimes the name and office of a magistrate appear in the nominative case as subject of the verb *anethēken* (Weiss 2005; Bennet 2014; see Fig. 1.2.8). In both cases, the formula implies that the issue was paid by a *euergetēs*, an unusual situation that was clearly not the norm. Such indications were rare under the Julio-Claudians and Flavians, became more common under the Antonines and Septimius Severus, and then abruptly disappeared after Caracalla, with very few exceptions. The *para*-construction is attested only at Apameia and in some cities of the upper Maeander valley, and *anethēken* was used especially often under Hadrian, in close connection with civic issues struck in the name of Antinous (Fig. 1.2.8).

Mentioning names, offices, or honours on coins could serve dating purposes or indicate magisterial responsibilities. Coinage can also be viewed as mobile miniature monuments whose role it was to commemorate public activity, to display control over a community, and to assert the social superiority and excellence of local aristocratic families who wanted to stand out from the rest of the population. They proclaimed individual and family power and attested continuous traditions within a community. In a way, the local elite played the role of the emperor on a local scale, which is vividly expressed by the two faces of the coins.

If we consider coin production from a practical point of view, it is likely that coins were usually struck at local or regional mints, but no such archaeological structure has yet been discovered. Only a few exceptions exist of specific issues produced at Rome for a province, like the coins of the *koinon* of Cyprus under Trajan or Antiochian tetradrachms under Philip

I signed MON VRB for *Moneta Vrbis*. However, civic coinages often shared common styles and patterns at a regional level. Konrad Kraft was the first numismatist to publish a synthesis of the coinage production of western Asia Minor (Kraft 1972). His work was based on the study of die-links and stylistic similarities shared by neighbouring cities. Kraft defended the idea that workshops of die engravers, responsible for coin striking, were itinerant and often reused obverse dies in the different cities they travelled to, hence the many instances of die sharing he identified between the Antonines and the 250s AD in the province of Asia. There, he identified four main workshops creating specific networks. Kraft's theory was criticized by Ann Johnston and other scholars for its overly schematic approach, but without invalidating it, even if some questions regarding the organization and the die supply remain open (Johnston 1974 and 2007; Watson 2019). Individual case studies can provide a more nuanced picture, with examples of cities not included in well-organized workshops (or only at specific moments), places where craftsmen were itinerant, others in which they were not, and so on. For example, recent archaeometric analyses of Lydian issues have demonstrated that local bronzes were struck with shared dies but with metal from different origins (Hochard, Blet-Lemarquand, and Sigot 2018). The existence of bronzes issued in Egypt at the mint of Alexandria between Domitian and Antoninus Pius in the name of 'nomes' is also relevant here in so far as they can be regarded as civic issues, made at Alexandria for these local districts, one century before the 'poliadization' of the province by Septimius Severus (Geissen 2005; see also van Minnen in this volume). The circumstances and purposes of its production could thus be as diverse as civic coinage itself.

If the right to strike coins was a facet of local autonomy, this privilege was ambiguous in so far as Roman authorities could interfere at any time in local affairs (Jacques 1984). For example, Nero promoted *eleutheria* in Achaea in AD 66/7. Shortly afterwards, heavy restrictions followed and Vespasian revoked the freedom of the Greeks. A few years later these restrictions were abolished again by Domitian. Members of the local elite were free to choose the images and legends on their coins according to their preferences, but in a constrained and continually evolving political environment. Furthermore, it should be stressed that civic issues were also an important factor in local economies. Civic bronzes were struck when small change was needed, when older coins were worn or lost, or when more currency was required for local transactions in times of economic prosperity (see below and also Erdkamp in this volume). And lastly, coin production could also be stimulated by specific events, such as religious festivals, the rise of a new emperor, official imperial visits, or the passage of armies.

## The expression of local pride and identities on civic coinages

The reverses of civic coinage were the place par excellence for the expression of local pride and identity (Howgego 2005). In most cases, the city was named in the legend with its ethnic in the genitive plural ('of the Smyrnaeans', 'of the Athenians'; see e.g. Figs. 1.2.1, 1.2.2, 1.2.3, etc.). The display of titles such as *neōkoros* (Fig. 1.2.10) or *mētropolis* (Fig. 1.2.12; see Burrell 2004; Heller 2006; Guerber 2009) was also a widely used means of distinction (see below). Further

emphatic words like first (*prōtē*), greatest (*megistē*), or most beautiful (*kallistē*) could also be added. *Municipia* and *coloniae* proudly displayed their full civic titulature abbreviated in Latin to emphasize their Roman status (Filges 2015; Figs. 1.2.14 and 1.2.15). All these distinctive titles outlined a geography of power within the limits of the *imperium Romanum*.

Despite the fact that the Roman Empire embraced a wide variety of languages, the legends of civic coins were usually in Greek, the everyday language of the eastern provinces. The use of Latin in *coloniae* and *municipia* was the norm at the time of their foundation, but also a way to claim a distinctive identity based on their connections with the emperors and Rome (Figs. 1.2.6, 1.2.7, 1.2.14, 1.2.15), even if these titles were sometimes translated into Greek, especially in the *coloniae* created in the 3rd century AD (see Fig. 1.2.15, with ΚΟΛ for COL(*onia*)). Over time, however, more and more errors occurred in the Latin legends, proof, on the one hand, that the engravers no longer mastered the language and, on the other, that these errors did not raise any particular problems for the civic authorities. Bilingualism persisted, but at a very low level, with different combinations. The use of the Punic language is attested in Phoenicia at Sidon and Tyre (Fig. 1.2.15—a unique trilingual reverse legend in Latin, Greek, and Punic), but very rarely, and mostly for antiquarian purposes after the 2nd century AD. The choice of a language on coin legends as well as spelling mistakes and variants provide interesting information often neglected by specialists (see Howgego 2005: 12–14; *RPC* IX: vii and 14–15).

The images on the reverse offer a vivid view of a *polis*' visual culture. But coin types should not be studied in isolation without considering the contexts of their production and the characteristics that appear on previous issues: some images were unique because they were chosen for a specific occasion, some were common but important civic symbols, others were denomination marks, and so on. A nuanced approach is thus required for a full understanding of their message and meaning (Iossif, de Callataÿ, and Veymiers 2018).

Compared to inscriptions, civic coinage provides poor information on local institutions. Coins are small, and the texts of the legends are short. Personifications or 'divine qualities' (Clark 2007) of local institutions were popular types in western Asia Minor and in Greece, but absent in the surrounding regions (Martin 2013). Similar to those of local gods or heroes, busts of the *dēmos*, the *boulē*, and the *gerousia* appeared on the obverses, and sometimes in more or less complex scenes on the reverses as well. The personifications could be labelled as sacred (*hieros/hiera*) or divine (*theios/theia*) in the coin legends. With c. 800 different types, the *dēmos* was portrayed frequently as a young diademed male figure (or more rarely as a bearded old man, see Martin 2013), and more than twice as often as the *boulē* (Fig. 1.2.11). Depictions of the *gerousia* are very rare and only attested in a small group of Carian and Phrygian cities. Another important personification on coins was the *tychē* of the city, with its codified representation. Shown as a draped and crowned female figure holding specific attributes or a statue of the chief deity of the city, the *tychē* did not represent a specific institution but embodied the *polis* as a whole (Fig. 1.2.12). These personifications were the expression of the local self-representation of the civic body and the affirmation of the community's unity and harmony (*homonoia*/*concordia*). These types could also have been used as marks of denominations, especially for small and very small bronze currencies. The same can be said about types with a bust of the Roman Senate (Fig. 1.2.13; see below).

The past and origin stories were key elements in the visual communication of cities, which found expression not only on coins but also in inscriptions, sculptures, and monuments.

Local and common antiquarian traditions were further stimulated by the creation of the Panhellenion in AD 131/2 and the cultural renewal of the Second Sophistic. The ancients did not distinguish strictly between the mythical and historical past, with both being viewed as having really taken place, and myths inserted civic history into a very long-term perspective (Howgego 2005; Price 2005). In this framework, it was possible to proclaim both antiquity and a form of primacy in fictional genealogies populated by local heroes and gods. These claims were not fixed but highly malleable. They were very helpful to anchor stories and narratives in the civic territory and the present.

As worship of the gods was a crucial element of civic integration and identity (see Belayche in this volume), the majority of civic coins featured local cults. The reverse designs in particular are dominated by religious topics. The image of a *polis*' main deity together with the ethnic in the genitive was probably the most common reverse type (e.g. Fig. 1.2.16), and these gods embodied the community in a simple and effective way. The same can be said of depictions of the city *tychē* from the 2nd century AD on (see above). Sometimes, the name of the god was further specified by explanatory legends or an epithet. This happened especially when a new type was introduced. The coins often reproduced the precise physiognomy of a cult statue or a statuary group visible in the public space. In addition to such static images, the gods could also appear in scenes conceived as true *tableaux vivants* depicting episodes of local mythology connected with the foundation of the community (Weiss 1984), e.g. the Judgement of Paris at Skepsis in Troas (Fig. 1.2.5), or Isthmos and Ino in the *colonia* of Corinth (Fig. 1.2.6). Next to the images of deities, we also find representations of local heroes who participated in the foundation or refoundation of a city, e.g. Dido founding Carthage on coins from Tyre in Phoenicia, or Lakedaimon the founder of Sagalassos in Pisidia (Figs. 1.2.15 and 17). In addition, we also see historical figures, born in the city or with an eminent role in its history, being depicted on coins, e.g. Herodotus at Halikarnassos (Fig. 1.2.18). Generally speaking, foundation stories begin to appear on coinage under the Flavians and became popular after Hadrian when communities made ever more references to their 'Greek' ancestry. As is to be expected, variations of this general trend occurred according to region and time, but they all had in common that the myths depicted on the reverses were largely invented and rewritten to build a distinctive local identity. Hadrian's philhellenism inherent in the foundation of the Panhellenion in AD 131/2 and further stimulating the new cultural acme of the Second Sophistic played a major role in these transformations (Weiss 2004), as did the appearance of large bronze denominations that allowed the engraving of more complex and elaborate scenes. The importance of the connection to the past can also be seen in the references to local eras (Leschhorn 1993; Kushir-Stein 2005) appearing on reverse legends in the 2nd century AD, particularly in eastern Asia Minor and the Levant (see e.g. the local era of Gabala, Fig. 1.2.3). These eras could be civic, provincial, royal (i.e. Hellenistic), or imperial (i.e. for the ruling emperor), but they all served to keep specific historical events in the collective memory and to highlight a particular aspect of the past in order to build a strong civic identity.

Other common motifs on the reverses were civic topographies and landscapes (Howgego 2005; Heuchert 2005; Price 2005). The representation of space was very important in the context of identity: it gave a visual account of the city's territory (*chōra*) and offered a summarized and idealized vision of a city's most remarkable buildings (views of whole cities, *akropoleis*, temples, altars, doors, walls, bridges, lighthouses, etc.), sometimes in a bucolic setting with trees, rivers and/or river-gods, and mountains (see Figs. 1.2.11, 1.2.19, 1.2.20,

1.2.21). As locations of social memory, these buildings were chosen to express collective identity (Burnett 1999; Elkins 2015). Such landscapes could also be used as backdrops for scenes of civic life, such as processions, sacrifices (Fig. 1.2.22), festivals, games, ceremonies of the imperial cult, or official visits (*epidēmia*/*adventus*). These types are a very important source for reconstructing local religious rituals (Howgego 2005; Price 2005), which reminds us that the numismatic evidence is often a crucial complement to literary and epigraphic sources. Again, images of temples and rituals demonstrate the primacy of religion in the expression of identity. All these motifs, some inspired by imperial coinage or local carved bas-reliefs, developed very gradually in the 1st century AD and became more frequent under the Antonines, especially on the large denominations often referred to as bronze 'medallions'. Types connected to festivals and games, such as agonistic tables, prizes or wreaths (Fig. 1.2.23), or *ludi circenses*—gladiatorial games or *venationes*—(Fig. 1.2.24) also became increasingly frequent from the last Antonines onwards (Klose 2005). This rich iconographic repertoire served as an assertion of locality. It reminded the coin users of the importance of the topographical anchorage of civic communities in a well-defined local territory included in a vast empire.

To conclude, 'the coins [were] in their images and inscriptions, a representation of the notions entertained by the cities, or more precisely by their upper class', as Peter Weiss has put it (Weiss 2005: 68). They were 'the surface expression of the dominant cultural system' (Swain 1996: 8), because coins show above all the image of an eternal and unchanging *polis* as envisioned by the local elites (Howgego 2005; Butcher 2004). Even during the crisis years of the mid-3rd century AD, the types and traditional themes remained the same and did not disappear in favour of military themes, contrary to what can be observed on certain contemporary imperial issues (see Nollé 2006; Hostein in Amandry 2017: 244–5). But as local identities were multiple and overlapping, these images were relevant for all the different social groups in the civic communities. They were part of a shared visual culture that included many other media, in public or private contexts—e.g. *parasēma* (official emblems) of a city depicted both on coins, weights, and amphorae (see Weiss 2005; Killen 2017; the website of the Pondera Online Project: https://pondera.uclouvain.be/).

## Inter-city networks and rivalries through coins

The legends and images on civic coins are particularly fruitful for the study of city networks and the relations that communities maintained with their neighbours and the imperial authorities (Hostein 2019).

Inter-city political relationships consisted both of collaboration and rivalry. These patterns of networking were diverse and ever-changing (see Hallmannsecker in this volume). Privileged relations with communities near and far were expressed in different ways through a 'kinship diplomacy' which is also well attested in literary and epigraphic sources (Jones 1999). The proclamation of friendship between two communities, and sometimes with Rome, was implemented by recalling shared and common stories and deities, with specific legends or types, e.g. the claim of Sagalassos in Pisidia to Spartan

origin through the cult of the hero Lakedaimon which is attested from the reign of Caligula onwards (Fig. 1.2.17). Even Phoenician cities could explicitly claim to be connected with Greece, Rome, and Africa, e.g. Tyre and Sidon through the figures of Kadmos and Dido (Fig. 1.2.15). Mythology was an excellent means to express values, to claim noble descent (*eugeneia*) in a common narrative of the past, and to position a community within a wider and connected world.

Local communities also struck bronze coins to celebrate concord with another city. These specific issues are called '*homonoia* issues' (Franke and Nollé 1997). The phenomenon is well documented in western and central Asia Minor and Thrace (e.g. Fig. 1.2.25, between Perinthos in Thrace and Kyzikos in Mysia). *Homonoia* issues begin to appear under the Julio-Claudians and the Flavians. Their frequency increased under the Antonines and remained at a relatively high level of production until the 250s AD, with more than a hundred cities minting them. These coins are the subject of divergent interpretations by researchers. They could be a means of preventing or resolving conflicts, of strengthening ties among the civic elites and the communities (through kinship diplomacy), or of advertising particular benefits, such as a common policy in a situation of economic crisis. As reflected by the images on the reverse, this *homonoia* might have involved the hosting of ambassadors and joint celebrations such as oath-taking ceremonies. *Homonoia* coins thus reflect associations and alliances. This phenomenon played an important role in 'provincial' or 'internal' diplomacy (Souris 1984; Millar 1992; Hostein 2022).

The background for the phenomena mentioned above was the intense rivalry between the *poleis* of the Roman East. In contrast to the Classical and Hellenistic ages, the cities were no longer in full control of their diplomacy. Nor could they decide to conduct military operations, this being the exclusive prerogative of the emperors and the senate. Only during civil wars could active support for a pretender reactivate some form of military autonomy, and result in a direct conflict with an old rival city. This is what happened for example in AD 193/4 between Nicomedia and Nicaea (Robert 1977). But in times of peace, the competition between cities for prestige was based on external signs of distinction (e.g. monuments of exceptional size and luxury) and titles granted by the Roman authorities. These titles were the result of a continuous inter-city competition (*agōn*/*aemulatio*) that was arbitrated by the emperors who granted or withdrew honours and privileges (*dōrea*/*beneficia*) on the occasion of embassies or official visits. Among the most prestigious were the titles of *neōkoros* and its iterations, *mētropolis* (provincial capital), *conventus* (head of a juridical district), *nauarchos* (military port for the imperial fleet), and so on (see above). By granting privileges and honours, the emperor established himself as the centre and point of balance in the imperial edifice, as the one who distinguished, hierarchized, and put in order men and communities. The coins, together with inscriptions and other public testimonies, proclaim the support of the cities and their ruling classes for the political system founded by Augustus.

The relationship with Rome was not limited to the titles the emperor granted the cities. First, it was obvious in the portraits of the rulers and their relatives which appeared on the obverse of the coins. On most civic bronze issues, the part devoted to the *domus Augusta* represented half of the monetary message, with regional variants (e.g. the depiction of empresses was rare on coins struck in the Levant). Events related to the emperor or his family, although rare, could also be represented on the reverse: the birth of an heir, a reminder of the *concordia* between the princes, the emperor overcoming a barbarian during a military campaign, or an official visit, like the *epidēmia*/*adventus* of Caracalla at Pergamon

in AD 214 (Weisser 2005; Hostein 2012; Fig. 1.2.26). These types are rare but interesting since they incorporate the emperor in a place (the reverse) which is usually reserved for the civic world. They emphasize the importance of Roman imperial coin types as models which were copied in the provinces and show an accurate awareness on the part of local elites of the latest trends in official iconography which they deliberately but selectively appropriated. In *municipia* and *coloniae*, the connection to the mother city, Rome, was recalled through a shared iconographic repertoire: the cult statue of Marsyas, the she-wolf and twins, or a foundation scene modelled on that of Rome with a magistrate ploughing and tracing the *sulcus primigenius*, the original furrow (Fig. 1.2.14). *Thea Rhōmē/dea Roma* depicted with the features of Athena/Minerva was also a very frequent type, on the obverse in Asia and on the reverse everywhere in the East. This image, which dated back to the Republican period, was associated with the development of the cult of Rome and the emperors and was struck continuously from Augustus to Gallienus (c. 970 entries in *RPC* online). Finally, the personification of the 'Holy' Senate (*Hiera Synklētos*, Fig. 1.2.13), in the guise of a young man or sometimes a woman, is attested on many obverses (c. 665 entries on *RPC* online). It only appears on bronze issues struck in cities of proconsular Asia, with the exception of one issue at Mallos in Cilicia under Decius, with the faulty Latin legend: SACRA SINATVS (*RPC* 9, 1436–7). The adoption of these types was clearly linked to the senatorial status of the province where the coins were produced. More broadly, all these legends and images produced in specific contexts were part of a strategy correlated with a sense of 'Romanness'.

## Civic coinage, regional economies, and the Roman currency

If we now turn to the economic and monetary practices that bound the cities together, we should first recall that civic bronzes were intended above all as small change for daily exchanges within a limited regional territory, as demonstrated by archaeological finds (Nollé, Overbeck, and Weiss 1997; Watson 2019: 161–77). It is clear that the territories of the Roman East, both urban and rural, were highly monetized, even if the material is still not sufficiently published in reports or databases (with the exception of ancient Judaea and Samaria). As mentioned above regarding Konrad Kraft's theories, the production of coins could link cities willing to share the same production tools and dies, and thus the same currencies (Kraft 1972; Johnston 2007). Under the Antonines, shared reverse types appeared at the regional scale and only on medium or small denominations, e.g. Telesphoros or Asclepius in Troas, Lesbos, Aeolis, and Mysia (Fig. 1.2.27). The phenomenon, although it seems to be the result of a concerted effort, may also have developed informally, through both influence and imitation. In any case, it allowed the creation of workshops and monetary areas in specific regions of the Roman East that shared common weight standards and denominations. It is interesting to observe that these areas sometimes went beyond the boundaries of provinces, *conventus*, and traditional regions. The presence of the homogenous series of civic coins in archaeological sites of the *limes Orientalis* like Dura Europos, but minted in regions far away (Achaea, Bithynia, Pontus), is to be explained by troop movements rather than direct long-distance economic exchanges. The case is a different one in the Balkans in the 3rd century

AD, where civic bronzes struck in Bithynia (especially in Nicaea and Nicomedia under the Severans) and in Troas (Alexandria under Gallus and Valerian) were found in archaeological sites on both sides of the Hellespontus and in the Balkans (Thrace, Moesia). These massive issues struck for economic purposes provided small change to merchants and soldiers established there or on the move not only at a local but also at a regional scale. These phenomena are linked to the peculiar context of the *expeditiones* against the Parthians and the Persians in the 200–250s AD and the 'Gothic invasions' of the 240–250s.

The question of the equivalence between civic bronzes and Roman currencies is a complex and central issue. There must have been a system of conversion, but it is difficult to determine, since the coins do not usually carry marks of value, except on Chios and the Cyclades and for some issues from the years 240–260 AD (Johnston 2007). Countermarks can also provide important information on the rating of local bronzes (Howgego 1985; see examples of countermarks on the obverses of Figs. 1.2.10 and 1.2.26). These marks were applied to confirm the validity of the coins and to make them acceptable for local circulation. Only a *longue durée* interdisciplinary approach combining epigraphy and numismatics can shed new light on the topic (Carbone 2016, 2017, and 2020). While the mention of sums of money in stone inscriptions provides valuable information, the currency itself is often not specified and it should not be forgotten that the context of the inscriptions' erection (date, status of the place and dedicator, nature of the text) determines their content, and thus the category of currency mentioned. This textual data must also be compared with the coin finds—archaeological discoveries, hoards, and chance finds.

During the Principate, civic bronzes were reserved for local use of small change, while silver (*cistophori*, tetradrachms) was used for civic expenses and the *Fiscus*, and Roman silver and gold coins (*denarii*, *aurei*), produced sporadically in the East, were used for military expenses. These currencies therefore circulated separately, as observed in hoards and coins from excavations, although exchange conversions did exist (e.g. one *cistophorus* was worth three *denarii* under Augustus).

It is, however, possible to establish general trends for civic bronze coinage in the Roman East as a whole (Carbone 2017). The designation *assarion* appeared in inscriptions for the first time under Augustus, next to other common currencies inherited from the Hellenistic period such as *obolos* or *tetrachalkon*. The *assarion* was created after a first phase of standardization for silver which started after the Mithridatic Wars. It was based on the Roman *as* in order to allow equivalence between local and Roman bronze currencies. As a common denomination, its weight of c. 5g corresponded to the standard of one *hemiobolos*, also called *tetrachalkon* in some inscriptions, but also to half a Roman *as* of c. 11g. Like the *sestertius* in the West, the *assarion* thus offered a common unit of account currency (two *assaria* = one *as* or *obolos*), which was then used for civic coins of various sizes and weights. The creation of this fiduciary and overvalued currency at the beginning of the Principate had many benefits, in particular that it was a functional element of political and economic integration which did not compromise local autonomy. As shown by inscriptions and weight studies, the *assarion* and the *denarius* for silver were the most-used designations during the first two centuries AD. Between the Flavians and the Antonines (see Carbone 2017: 183–280), however, the average weight of the bronzes in circulation doubled, now corresponding to the standard weight of the Roman *as* (c. 11g). But this average weight does not imply that the *assarion* standard itself had changed in the meantime. It just means that most of the coins that circulated weighed the same as a Roman *as*, i.e. the double of a traditional *assarion*.

This was the general situation that seemed to prevail until the mid-3rd century AD, when the imperial monetary system collapsed and a gradual disappearance of civic bronze set in. At that time, flans were reduced in size and weight, zinc was no longer used in alloys, and the standard of the *assarion* probably decreased in weight as shown by value marks (see *RPC* IX: 38, 49–50; Hochard, Blet-Lemarquand, and Sigot 2018).

As often, things on the ground were more complex, even if they do not call into question what has been said above (Johnston 2007; *RPC* VII.1: 71–90 and IX: 38–50). The process of standardization observed in large monetary series is hard to characterize, except if one takes into account a whole region comprised of a group of cities. From the second half of the 2nd century AD on, coins struck in *municipia* or *coloniae* adopted regional patterns shared by the cities of the surrounding area (Spoerri Butcher 2009; Filges 2015). In the 3rd century AD, after the bulk of production under the Severans, a trend for fewer cities to strike more coins may be evidenced in the 240s–250s, with patchy patterns of denominations. However, common features in civic coin production can be identified in the following regions: Thrace and the Balkans, Bithynia-Pontus, Asia, Lycia-Pamphylia-Pisidia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Mesopotamia and northern Syria, Arabia, and Syria Palestine. Ann Johnston (Johnston 2007) has defined three differentiated currency areas or 'models' for western Asia Minor which she terms 'Nicaean', 'Asian', and 'Pamphylian', each of them sharing the same evolution and pattern of denominations (similar size, weight, and alloys in use). It is interesting to note that the lack of coordinated production and of a single universal standard in Asia Minor did not hinder the economic prosperity and fiscal capacity of the cities.

The process of unification only came about between the 270s and 290s AD with the massive arrival of debased imperial coinage in monetary circulation and the gradual demise of the production of civic bronzes (Howgego 2005: 16; Hostein in Amandry 2017: 244–5). Four factors are responsible for the end of civic coin production in the eastern provinces: inflation which made small change obsolete; the diminished stock of available metal, which had been taken over by the imperial workshops; the higher cost of coin production, which led *euergetai* and cities to turn to other forms of self-celebration; and finally, the massive arrival of devalued radiate coins of billon which drove the older currencies out of circulation.

## Conclusion

The numismatic evidence clearly demonstrates that the *polis* system under Roman rule must be studied for its own sake, and not be considered as a mere distorted avatar of the Classical or Hellenistic city. Civic coins are a very rich historical source in this inquiry. They reflect the complexity of the 'integration' and 'Romanization' of the *poleis* in the Roman Empire, as do other sources and topics. But numismatic documentation has a crucial advantage: it is produced in a massive and continuous way, and by the civic authorities themselves. While this material has long been neglected, the online publication of the entire *RPC* series in particular provides an entirely new basis for scholarly engagement with this important body of evidence, the potential of which is still to be fully exploited.

The study of the issues struck between Augustus and Diocletian reveals common patterns in the cities of the Roman East, based on shared historical and cultural

backgrounds. After a clear shift under Augustus followed by slow evolutions until the Flavians, civic coinage flourished under the Antonines and the Severans. These currencies reflect at once the prosperity of the *Pax Antoniniana*, the impact of Roman influence, and the cultural climate of the Second Sophistic. However, no single general model emerges from the picture: besides these general trends, multiple local variations and systems prevail. This diversity of situations offers a faithful mirror of the differences that existed in civic communities of the Roman Empire until the slow demise of the *polis* system in the second half of the 3rd century AD.

## Suggested Reading

Kevin Butcher's book, although published 35 years ago, offers the best introduction to the study of civic coins (Butcher 1988). It should be complemented by a new synthesis (Burnett 2024), by the general introductions to the *RPC* volumes, and by the rich monographic and thematic sections published in two recent handbooks (Metcalf 2012; Amandry 2017). Two essential books give a detailed account on how local coins can highlight many facets of the history of civic communities under the Roman Empire (Harl 1987; Howgego, Heuchert, and Burnett 2005). For recent syntheses of specific regions, see e.g. Butcher 2004 for Syria and Hochard 2021 for Lydia; see also the regional sections in Howgego, Heuchert, and Burnett 2005, as well as Metcalf 2012. Last but not least, the website of the *Roman Provincial Coinage* project offers an excellent example of how new approaches can be combined with traditional printed corpus volumes.

## References

*Roman Provincial Coinage* (*RPC*)

Website: *https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/*

Printed volumes: London and Paris, British Museum Press, Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Vol. I *(44 BC–AD 69)* by A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès (1992); Vol. II *(AD 69–96)* by A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and I. Carradice (1999); Vol. III *(AD 96–138)* by M. Amandry and A. Burnett, in coll. with J. Mairat (2015); Vol. VII.1 *(AD 238–244)* by M. Spoerri Butcher (2006); Vol. VII.2 *(AD 238–244)* by J. Mairat and M. Spoerri Butcher (2022); Vol. IX *(AD 249–254)* by A. Hostein and J. Mairat (2016).

Amandry, M. ed. 2017. *La monnaie antique: Grèce et Rome*. Paris [esp. Chs. 7, 8, 9 by A. Suspène, M. Amandry, and A. Hostein].

Bennett, R. 2014. *Local Elites and Local Coinage: Elite Self-Representation on the Provincial Coinage of Asia 31 BC–AD 275*. London.

Burnett, A. 1999. 'Buildings and Monuments on Roman Coins', in *Roman Coins and Public Life Under the Empire*, ed. G. M. Paul and M. Ierardi, 137–64. Ann Arbor, MI.

Burnett, A. 2024. *The Roman Provinces, 300 BCE-300 CE: Using Coins as Sources*. Cambridge.

Burrell, B. 2004. *Neokoroi. Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*. Leiden and Boston.

Butcher, K. 1988. *Roman Provincial Coins. An Introduction to the 'Greek Imperials'*. London.

Butcher, K. 2004. *Coinage in Roman Syria: Northern Syria, 64 BC–AD 253*. London.

Carbone, L. 2016. *Romanizing Asia: The Impact of Roman Imperium on the Administrative and Monetary Systems of the Provincia Asia (133 BC–AD 96)*. PhD Columbia University.

Carbone, L. 2017. 'The Epigraphic Attestations of Denarii in the Provincia Asia (133 BC–AD 96)', in *XV International Numismatic Congress, Taormina 2015. Proceedings*, 2 vols., ed. M. Caccamo Caltabiano, 841–5. Rome.

Carbone, L. 2020. *Hidden Power. Late Cistophoric Production and the Organization of the Province of Asia*. New York.

Clark, A. J. 2007. *Divine Qualities. Cult and Community in Republican Rome*. Oxford.

Dahmen, K. 2010. 'With Rome in Mind? Case Studies in the Coinage of Client Kings', in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, ed. T. Kaizer and M. Facella, 99–112. Stuttgart.

Elkins, N. 2015. *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage*. New York.

Filges, A. 2015. *Münzbild und Gemeinschaft: Die Prägungen der römischen Kolonien in Kleinasien*. Bonn.

Franke, P. R. and Nollé, M. K. 1997. *Die Homonoia-Münzen Kleinasiens und der thrakischen Randgebiete. 1. Katalog*. Saarbrücken.

Geissen, A. 2005. 'The Nome Coins of Roman Egypt', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 167–70. Oxford.

Guerber, E. 2009. *Les cités grecques dans l'Empire romain. Les privilèges et les titres des cités de l'Orient hellénophone, d'Octave à Dioclétien*. Rennes.

Harl, K. W. 1987. *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East A.D. 180–275*. Berkeley.

Heller, A. 2006. *'Les bêtises des Grecs'. Conflits et rivalités entre cités d'Asie et de Bithynie à l'époque romaine (129 a.C.–235 p.C.)*. Bordeaux.

Heuchert, V. 2005. 'The Chronological Development of Roman Provincial Coin Iconography', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 29–56. Oxford.

Hochard, P.-O. 2021. *Lydie, terre d'empire(s) – Études de numismatique et d'histoire (228 a.C.–268 p.C.)*. Bordeaux.

Hochard, P.-O., Blet-Lemarquand, M., and Sigot, P. 2018. 'La fin du système des provinciales en Lydie: qu'en disent les analyses élémentaires?', *BSFN* 73/10: 448–56.

Hostein, A. 2012. 'La visite de Caracalla à Pergame et à Laodicée du Lykos: l'apport des monnaies', in *Les voyages des empereurs dans l'Orient romain (époques antonine et sévérienne)*, ed. A. Hostein and S. Lalanne, 205–27. Paris.

Hostein, A. 2019. 'Les réseaux de cités en Asie Mineure durant les années 240–250 p.C. L'apport des monnayages provinciaux', in *La cité interconnectée dans le monde gréco-romain*, ed. M. Dana and I. Savalli-Lestrade, 113–34. Bordeaux.

Hostein, A. 2022. 'Les cités face à l'empereur. Ambassades civiques et "diplomatie intérieure"', in *Gouverner l'empire romain, de Trajan à 410 ap. J.-C.*, ed. S. Destephen, 139–45. Paris.

Hostein, A. and Mairat, J. 2019. 'Observations sur les monnayages de Colophon frappés au milieu du IIIe siècle', in *Philorhômaios kai Philhellèn. Hommage à Jean-Louis Ferrary*, ed. A. Heller, C. Müller, and A. Suspène, 359–88. Geneva.

Howgego, C. 1985. *Greek Imperial Countermarks: Studies in the Provincial Coinage of the Roman Empire*. London.

Howgego, C. 1995. *Ancient History from Coins*. London.

Howgego, C. 2005. 'Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 1–17. Oxford.

Howgego, C., Heuchert, V., and Burnett, A. eds. 2005. *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Oxford.

Iossif, P. P., de Callataÿ, F., and Veymiers, R. eds. 2018. *Typoi. Greek and Roman Coins Seen through Their Images. Noble Issuers, Humble Users?*. Liège.

Jacques, F. 1984. *Le privilège de liberté. Politique impériale et autonomie municipale dans les cités de l'Occident romain (161–244)*. Rome.

Johnston, A. 1974. 'New Problems for Old: Konrad Kraft on Die-Sharing in Asia Minor', Num. *Chron*. 14: 203–7.

Johnston, A. 1985. 'The So-called Pseudo-autonomous Greek Imperials', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 30: 89–112.

Johnston, A. 2007. *Greek Imperial Denominations, ca. 200–275: A Study of the Roman Provincial Coinages of Asia Minor*. London.

Jones, C. P. 1999. *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*. Cambridge, MA.

Killen, S. 2017. *Parasema: offizielle Symbole griechischer Poleis und Bundesstaaten*. Wiesbaden.

Klose, D. O. A. 2005. 'Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 125–33. Oxford.

Kraft, K. 1972. *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien. Materialien und Entwürfe*. Berlin.

Kushnir-Stein, A. 2005. 'City Eras on Palestinian Coinage', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 157–61. Oxford.

Leschhorn, W. 1993. *Antike Ären. Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nördlich des Tauros*. Stuttgart.

Leschhorn, W. and Franke, P. R. 2002–2009. *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen*, 2 vols. Vienna.

Martin, K. 2013. *Demos, Boule, Gerousia: Personifikationen städtischer Institutionen auf kaiserzeitlichen Münzen aus Kleinasien*. Bonn.

Metcalf, W. E. ed. 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford [esp. Chs. 21 and 24 by M. Amandry and A. Johnston].

Millar, F. 1992. *The Emperor in the Roman World: 31 BC–AD 337* (2nd ed.). London.

Nollé, J. 2006. 'Bronzene Reflexe einer Krise. Das städtische Münzwesen Kleinasiens als Indikator von Phänomenen der Reichskrise des 3. Jahrhunderts und von zeitgenössischem Krisenempfinden', in Deleto Paene Imperio Romano. *Transformationsprozesse des römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*, ed. K.-P. Johne, T. Gerhardt, and U. Hartmann, 271–87. Stuttgart.

Nollé, J., Overbeck, B., and Weiss, P. eds. 1997. *Nomisma: Internationales Kolloquium zur kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung Kleinasiens, 27–30 April 1994 in der Staatlichen Münzsammlung, München*. Milan.

Price, S. 2005. 'Local Mythologies in the Greek East', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 115–24. Oxford.

Robert, L. 1977. 'La titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie: La gloire et la haine', *HS*Ph 81: 1–39.

Souris, G. 1984. *Studies in Provincial Diplomacy under the Principate*. PhD Cambridge University.

Spoerri Butcher, M. 2009. 'L'organisation de la production monétaire au sein de la province d'Asie à l'époque de Gordien III (238–244)', *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 85: 97–132.

Swain, S. 1996. *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World AD 50–250*. Oxford.

Watson, G. 2019. *Connections, Communities, and Coinage: The System of Coin Production in Southern Asia Minor, AD 218–276*. New York.
Weiss, P. 1984. 'Lebendiger Mythos: Gründerheroen und städtische Gründungstraditionen im griechisch-römischen Osten', *Würzburger Jahrbücher n.s.* 10: 177–208.
Weiss, P. 2004. 'Städtische Münzprägung und zweite Sophistik', in *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistik*, ed. B. E. Borg, 179–200. Berlin and New York.
Weiss, P. 2005. 'The Cities and their Money', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 57–68. Oxford.
Weisser, B. 2005. 'Pergamum as Paradigm', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. C. Howgego, V. Heuchert, and A. Burnett, 135–42. Oxford.

FIG.1.2.1.O FIG.1.2.1.R

FIG.1.2.2.O FIG.1.2.2.R

FIG.1.2.3.O FIG.1.2.3.R

FIG.1.2.4.O FIG.1.2.4.R

FIG.1.2.5.O

FIG.1.2.5.R

FIG.1.2.6.O FIG.1.2.6.R

FIG.1.2.7.O FIG.1.2.7.R

**FIG. 1.2.1:** Smyrna [19mm, 5.23g], Augustus – Aphrodite Stratonikis (= *RPC* I, 2463). © *Roma Numismatica EA* 30, 29 Oct. 2016, lot 209

**FIG. 1.2.2:** Athens [22mm, 7.33g], bust of Athena under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius – Themistocles on a galley (= *RPC* IV.1, 8229 temp.). © *CNG EA* 173, 26 Sept. 2007, lot 180

**FIG. 1.2.3:** Gabala [20mm, 5.75g], Caligula – eagle (= *RPC* I, 4453). © *CNG EA* 501, 6 Oct. 2021, lot 212

**FIG. 1.2.4:** *koinon* of Cyprus [27mm, 16.06g], Diva Faustina – Galerius Antoninus (= *RPC* IV.3, 8345 temp.). © *Gemini* 12, 11 Jan. 2015, lot 376

**FIG. 1.2.5:** Skepsis [36mm, 21.35g], Septimius Severus – The Judgement of Paris (= *RPC* V.2, forth.). © BNF. Paris R 3911

**FIG. 1.2.6:** Corinth [30mm, 25.73g], Domitian – Isthmos and Ino holding Melikertes (= *RPC* II, 101). © BNF. Paris 816

**FIG. 1.2.7:** Parion [25mm, 10.11g], Trajan – Victory (= *RPC* III, 1537A). © *Naumann* 104, 4 Jul. 2021, lot 456

FIG.1.2.8.O

FIG.1.2.8.R

FIG.1.2.9.O

FIG.1.2.9.R

FIG.1.2.10.O

FIG.1.2.10.R

FIG.1.2.11.O

FIG.1.2.11.R

FIG.1.2.12.O

FIG.1.2.12.R

FIG.1.2.13.O

FIG.1.2.13.R

FIG.1.2.14.O

FIG.1.2.14.R

**FIG. 1.2.8:** Kyme [36mm, 26.18g], Antinous under Hadrian – Athena Promachos (= *RPC* III, 1936). © Berlin. Münzkabinett. IKMK 18234427

**FIG. 1.2.9:** Hierapolis [19mm, 4.30g], proconsul Fabius Maximus under Augustus – double axe (= *RPC* I, 2930). © *Demos* 6, 5 Dec. 2021, lot 527

**FIG. 1.2.10:** Laodikeia on the Lykos [39mm, 31.48g], Julia Domna under Caracalla – Hygeia and Asclepius (= *RPC* V.2, forth.). © *Leu* 4, 25 May 2019, lot 454

**FIG. 1.2.11:** Blaundos [25mm, 6.81g], bust of *Dēmos* under Trebonianus Gallus – river-god Hippourios (= *RPC* IX, 749). © BNF. Paris 165 (Waddington 4913)

**FIG. 1.2.12:** Thessalonika [29mm, 18.25g], Gallienus – *Tyche* holding cult statue of Kabeiros (= *RPC* X, forth.). © *Naumann* 48, 20 Nov. 2016, lot 335

**FIG. 1.2.13:** Daldis [26mm, 10.07g], bust of Senate under Septimius Severus – Asclepius (= *RPC* V.2, forth.). © BNF. Paris 257

**FIG. 1.2.14:** Berytos [25.8mm, 14.18g], Trajan – foundation scene of a *colonia* with a veiled magistrate ploughing (= *RPC* III, 3841). © BNF. Chandon 739

**FIG.1.2.15.O**

**FIG.1.2.15.R**

**FIG.1.2.16.O**

**FIG.1.2.16.R**

**FIG.1.2.17.O**

**FIG.1.2.17.R**

**FIG.1.2.18.O**

**FIG.1.2.18.R**

**FIG.1.2.19.O**

**FIG.1.2.19.R**

**FIG.1.2.20.O**

**FIG.1.2.20.R**

**FIG.1.2.21.O**

**FIG.1.2.21.R**

**FIG.1.2.22.O**

**FIG.1.2.22.R**

**FIG. 1.2.15:** Tyre [31mm, 17.09g], Gordian III – the foundation of Carthage by Dido (= *RPC* VII.2, 3571). © London, BM 1970.0909.242

**FIG. 1.2.16:** Phokaia [21mm, 6.66g], Lucilla – Athena (= *RPC* IV.2, 1087 temp.). © *NAC* 100, 29 May 2017, lot 1229

**FIG. 1.2.17:** Sagalassos [35mm, 24.98g], Philip I – *Tyche* and hero Lakedaimon (= *RPC* VIII, 1841 temp.). © *CNG MBS* 69, 8 June 2005, lot 1048

**FIG. 1.2.18:** Halikarnassos [23mm, 7.14g], Trajan – bust of Herodotus (= *RPC* III, 2152). © *CNG* 105, 10 May 2017, lot 575

**FIG. 1.2.19:** Pautalia [30mm, 15.55g], Caracalla – view of the sacred mountain of Pautalia, with temples, altars, a cave, trees (= *RPC* V.1, forth.). © *CNG Triton* 10, 9 Jan. 2007, lot 680.

**FIG. 1.2.20:** Madaba [20mm, 7.49g], Elagabalus – temple of Dusares enclosing sacred baetyl (= *RPC* VI, 9351 temp.). © *Roma Numismatics. E-Sale* 10, 26 July 2014, lot 517

**FIG. 1.2.21:** Nicaea [24mm, 7.00g], Macrianus – bird's eye view of the town of Nicaea with its gates, towers, and walls (= *RPC* X, forth.). © *Leu EA* 15, 27 Feb. 2021, lot 1115

**FIG. 1.2.22:** Ilion [27mm, 9.26g], Crispina – sacrifice of a cow suspended from tree, in front of cult statue of Athena Ilias (= *RPC* IV.2, 131 temp.). © *Gorny & Mosch* 241, 10 Oct. 2016, lot 1890

FIG.1.2.23.O

FIG.1.2.23.R

FIG.1.2.24.O

FIG.1.2.24.R

FIG.1.2.25.O

FIG.1.2.25.R

FIG.1.2.26.O

FIG.1.2.26.R

FIG.1.2.27.O FIG.1.2.27.R

**FIG. 1.2.23:** Tarsos [33.5mm, 18.79g], Caracalla – agonistic table between two athletes, with vase below the table (= *RPC* V.3, forth.). © *Nomos* 6, 8 May 2012, lot 176

**FIG. 1.2.24:** Synnada [32mm, 14.90g], Gallienus – hunt scene (*venatio*) in the amphitheatre (= *RPC* X, forth.). © *Nomos* 22, 22 June 2021, lot 352

**FIG. 1.2.25:** Perinthos (*homonoia* with Kyzikos) [40mm, 36.19g], Gordian III – *korē* of Kyzikos and *Tyche* of Perinthos sacrificing over a lighted altar (= *RPC* VII.2, 632). © *Bertolami* 6, 10 Dec. 2012, lot 1144

**FIG. 1.2.26:** Pergamon [43mm, 40.63g], Caracalla – *adventus* scene with Caracalla on horseback saluting the people of Pergamon (= *RPC* V.2, forth.). © BNF. Paris 1370A

**FIG. 1.2.27:** Gargara [17mm, 2.26g], Septimius Severus – Asclepius (= *RPC* V.2, forth.). © *Savoca Coins. Blue* 15, 19 Jan. 2019, lot 1057

## CHAPTER 1.3

# LITERARY SOURCES FOR GREEK CITIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

EWEN BOWIE

## Introduction

Our literary sources for Greek cities of the High Empire differ from those for earlier periods in several ways. Unlike surviving narrative histories of the Hellenistic period and the Roman civil wars (Polybius, Livy, Diodorus Siculus, and Appian), writers offering a traditional political narrative of the Imperial period—Tacitus, Cassius Dio, Herodian—make only sporadic references to Greek cities. Likewise these are rarely visible in the imperial biographies of Suetonius and the *Augustan History*. Nor is there any contemporary source so variously informative as the speeches and letters of Cicero. On the other hand, the prominence of display rhetoric in the cultural life of the educated classes, *pepaideumenoi*, whose rhetorical instruction was often received from the same 'sophists' who entertained them with *epideixeis*, 'displays', has generated two palmary witnesses to Greek city life. One is Cocceianus Dio, who, alongside display rhetoric and philosophical lectures, delivered speeches in his native city Prusa addressing both its problems and his own, in other Bithynian cities deprecating inter-city rivalry, and in cities outside Bithynia criticizing aspects of their civic life. Dio's style was much admired in later antiquity and Byzantium, thus securing the transmission of a corpus of almost 80 speeches. Our other major witness is the sophist Philostratus, who coined the term 'Second Sophistic' for the phenomenon of display rhetoric that he saw as burgeoning in the reign of Nero and as still flourishing in the 240s AD when he wrote. His *Lives of the sophists* complement Dio's information concerning the roles played by sophists in Greek cities. Other witnesses there are—Pliny writing to Trajan from Bithynia, Marcus Aurelius' tutor and correspondent Fronto, the miscellanist Aulus Gellius, the sophist Aelius Aristides (above all the diary constituted by his *Sacred Tales*), the satirical Lucian, the periegete Pausanias, and (with caution) the Greek novels—but these provide only a scattering of details.

## Narrative histories and imperial biographies

Imperial histories of Rome, chiefly focused on wars and high politics, say little about Greek cities of the empire. One might expect the Nicaean Cassius Dio (c. AD 164–after 229) to write more about Bithynia. But Nicaea figures only three times: when (as also at Ephesos) Augustus established a cult of Divus Iulius there for Roman citizens (51.20.6); when the civil war of AD 194 was fought out on territory between Kios, Apameia, and Nicaea (74.6); and when Severus' deference to Plautianus constrained him to approach the latter to acquire a mullet from Lake Ascanius (75.15.3). Similarly Nicomedia disappears from view between the establishment there (as in Pergamon) of a cult of Augustus (51.20.7) and Caracalla's disreputable wintering there in AD 215 (77.17.4), where Dio's focus is on Caracalla, not on the city. Nicomedia's moment of glory is Dio's anecdote of Caracalla's last words to him (quoting Euripides) in a symposium during the Saturnalia of AD 217. Finally, Dio mentions Elagabalus' murder of Gynnas in Nicomedia and Pseudantonius' wintering there in AD 219 (79.6.7, 7.3).

Dio's account of Augustus shows comparable lack of interest in Greek cities of the East. He registers floods, portents, and imperial building for Rome, but not elsewhere. Earthquakes affecting Paphos and *provincia Asia* prompt financial aid (54.23.8, 30.3). Ephesos and Pergamon feature in connection with the establishment of the imperial cult (51.20.6–7), Rhodes in connection with Tiberius's withdrawal there (55.9.5), juxtaposed with his making Paros sell him its statue of Hestia for the temple of Concord in Rome (55.9.6). Dio's narrative of Agrippa's death reveals Augustus visiting Athens for the *Panathenaea* (54.28.3). Although the fact that for years after AD 46 we have only excerpts and an epitome may have eliminated other references, the Augustan narrative is a fair index of Dio's focus.

The following centuries fare alike. Miletos' only mention concerns Caligula's establishing a cult of himself there (59.28.1). Dio's account of Nero's Greek tour involves sanctuaries, not cities (63.13–18). Dio picks out Smyrna, of which Macrinus put him in charge (79.7.4), as among several cities aided by Marcus after an earthquake (71.32.3). Pergamon's first reappearance after the establishment of Augustus' cult is as the city where Caracalla's visit generated an oracle terming him 'an Italian wild beast' (77.16.8), and which treated Macrinus outrageously (78.20.4).

Dio's near-contemporary, Herodian, covering the years AD 180–238, is comparably uninformative. Ilion figures when Caracalla visits to honour Achilles (4.8.4), Pergamon when he seeks healing at its Asklepieion (4.8.3). The mutual hatred of Syrian Laodikeia and Antioch, and of Phoenician Berytos and Tyre, is mentioned to explain Niger's unleashing of rampaging Mauretanian troops on Laodikeia and Tyre (3.3.3–5). Later Antioch and Alexandria are noted as welcoming Caracalla: like Dio of Prusa (see below), Herodian highlights Alexandrians' frivolity and love of music (4.8.6–9). Mentions of Byzantion and Chalkedon follow solely from their strategic role (3.6.9, 4.3.6).

Tacitus, despite criticizing Greeks 'who admire only their own' (*Ann.* 2.88), communicates more. Like Dio, he registers earthquakes and imperial responses (*Ann.* 4.13). In book 3, reporting a senatorial investigation into asylum rights asserted by numerous Greek cities, he names several, outlining their claims (*Ann.* 3.63–6). Book 4 twice introduces Greek cities. First, at some length (*Ann.* 4.55–6), the senatorial debate of AD 26, triggered by the

competition of 11 Asian cities for a provincial temple to Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate (Price 1984: 64). Their claims show the importance to cities' self-definition of their role in the Classical past as well as in the Mithridatic Wars. This account of Tacitus, together with that concerning asylum, foregrounds the rivalry between provinces' cities illuminated more fully by Dio of Prusa and Aelius Aristides (see below). Tacitus does not touch on an imperial temple's possible economic benefits, nor hint how, or where, a city might have debated its bid, though in citing Smyrna's claim to have assisted Sulla he refers to Smyrnaeans' spontaneous generosity in a *contio*, i.e. an assembly. Tacitus names the senator appointed to oversee the temple's construction but says nothing of how its *archiereus*, 'high priest', was chosen.

Events within a Greek city, however, do figure in Tacitus' second item in book 4, Kyzikos losing its status as *civitas libera*, won by supporting Rome in the Mithridatic Wars (*Ann.* 4.36): neglecting the cult of Augustus and violence against Roman citizens occasioned this loss.

Little can be found in Velleius Paterculus: his scant interest in things Greek ends with the civil wars, the context in which Rhodes and Mytilene feature (2.18).

Suetonius' imperial biographies also offer little. To take only Julio-Claudian *Lives*, many cities are not mentioned at all (e.g. Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamon), others only briefly. Rhodes figures in connection with Tiberius' stay—he wanted to attend a haughty *grammaticus*' lectures and seriously ill-treated a former guest-friend (*Tib.* 32, 62)—and with Claudius restoring Rhodian *libertas*, for which (as for Ilion's freeing from tribute) the young Nero spoke (*Claud.* 25, *Ner.* 7). Suetonius records Nero's consultation of Delphi, his adding a musical competition to the *Olympia*, and his entering its chariot contest (*Ner.* 7, 23, 25). Only in the *Augustus* is Athens mentioned—concerning Augustus' initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, and a move to complete the temple of Olympian Zeus (*Aug.* 93, 60). Mytilene features twice, as Agrippa's residence on withdrawal from public life (*Aug.* 66, *Tib.* 10); Miletos once, in connection with Caligula's ambition to complete Apollo's temple at Didyma (*Calig.* 21).

The *Augustan History* has even less. In the *Hadrian*, for example, only Athens and Alexandria figure, Athens for Hadrian's Eleusinian initiation, his benefactions to the city, and his completion of the temple of Olympian Zeus (*Hadr.* 13.1, 6); Alexandria for his one-upmanship in the Mouseion (*Hadr.* 20.1). The *Pius* notes only his restoration of Rhodes and other cities after an earthquake (*Pius* 9.1). The *Marcus* has several mentions of Antioch and Alexandria in connection with the events of AD 175/6, but for cities further west only the emperor's initiation at Eleusis.

## Philostratus

By contrast with traditional narrative historiography, one work of Cassius Dio's contemporary Flavius Philostratus (c. AD 170–250) is our richest literary witness to numerous aspects of Greek cities—his *Lives of the sophists*. These biographies, probably completed c. AD 242, offer a cultural history of the phenomenon for which Philostratus coined the enduring term 'Second Sophistic', the prominence of display rhetoric in Greek (and inevitably Roman) cultural life from Nero's reign to his own time. This epideictic form's practitioners, 'sophists', and their teaching of rhetoric to young members of Greek civic elites (see Stebnicka in this

volume), are naturally the *Lives*' chief focus. But we get many tantalizing glimpses of the cities which provided their pupils and whose *pepaideumenoi* of all ages were their excited but critical audiences in theatres, *bouleutēria* and *ōdeia*. Alongside information on these venues we read of sophists' appointments to salaried chairs—the civic chair in Athens and imperial chairs in Athens and Rome; of honorific statues erected by pupils and cities (Puech 2002); of high offices held by sophists in cities and occasionally in the Roman administration (Bowersock 1969; Bowie 1982). Sometimes we learn about their in-fighting with other members of their city's elite. The fullest such account concerns Herodes Atticus' conflict with an Athenian faction headed by Claudius Demostratos but including his own former pupil Iulius Theodotos (first holder of the imperial chair at Athens): it resulted in Herodes' exile (claimed by Philostratus not to have been 'exile') and the intervention of Marcus Aurelius. Many sophists were probably embroiled in similar conflicts: Philostratus says nothing of Dio's struggles in Prusa, about which we know from his own speeches (see below), nor of opposition to M. Antonius Polemo in Smyrna, which Ammianus' scoptic epigrams (*Anth. Pal.* 11.180, 181) fortunately document.

For other features of cities Philostratus is often our only or principal witness. It is from him that we know that in imperial Athens the main function of the *stratēgos epi (tōn) hoplōn*, 'hoplite general', was to manage the corn-supply (*V S* 1.23 (526)); that the land-bound ship used in the *Panathenaea* proceeded from the Kerameikos, usually pulled by draught animals, but in Herodes' magnificent celebration propelled by concealed machinery, and was 'moored' near the temple of Apollo Pythios until the next festival (*V S* 2.1 (550)); that Herodes clad the existing stadium in marble for his presidency of the *Panathenaea*, built in Athens in memory of his wife Regilla the theatre, roofed with cedar-wood, still today known as his *ōdeion*, and in Corinth another remarkable theatre; that his other benefactions included iamatic baths at Thermopylae and an aqueduct for Corinth (all these *V S* 2.1 (551)); and that a huge subvention from his father contributed to meeting the spiralling expenditure on an aqueduct for Troy he had initiated while special commissioner for the cities of the province of Asia (*V S* 2.1 (548)). Philostratus' wealth of detail concerning Athens may be due to its being his own city. For Smyrna, however, he knows that its competitive festivals included *Hadriana Olympia*, whose presidency Hadrian granted to Antonius Polemo and his descendants; that its *Dionysia* involved a sacred trireme rolling in a *pompē*, 'procession', from the harbour to the *agora*, captained by Smyrna's priest of Dionysus—a trireme on which Hadrian gave Polemo the right to 'sail'; and that Polemo persuaded Hadrian to give Smyrna 10 million drachmae, which contributed to constructing a corn-market, a gymnasium, and a magnificent temple (*VS* 1.45 (531–2); cf. *I.Smyrna* 697; Bowie 2012).

Other information transmitted by the *Lives* is variously corroborated by diverse sources. The right of practising teachers of rhetoric to *leitourgiōn ateleia*, 'immunity from liturgies', i.e. exemption from expensive civic or provincial office-holding—beginning with Augustus' bestowal of immunity on his physician Antonius Musa and extended by Vespasian and Hadrian—are best set out in the *Digest* (27.1.6.1–2), specifying the maximum number of teachers of rhetoric, *grammatici*, and doctors in cities of different sizes prescribed by Antoninus Pius when confirming his predecessors' legislation (Bowersock 1969; Griffin 1971). Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales* recount repeated (and successful) invocations of such immunity (see below). Philostratus provides a different angle, notably in his *Life* of Philiskos of Thessaly (*V S* 2.30 (621–3)), who claimed immunity as holder of the imperial chair at Athens (probably c. AD 213–220), obtained, Philostratus asserts, through Julia Domna, but

with Caracalla's consent. The Macedonian city of the Heordaei, whence Philiskos' mother hailed, demanded he undertake *leitourgiai* there, and Caracalla, judging the case, took against Philiskos' self-indulgent rhetoric and self-presentation (his hair, gait, and voice), and stripped him of immunity, threatening to abolish that of all teachers: 'Neither you nor any of the teachers has immunity: for never because of some wretched little speeches would I deprive the cities of those who will perform liturgies.' As Philostratus narrates, however, shortly thereafter Caracalla bestowed immunity on the 24-year-old Philostratus of Lemnos, enthused by a *meletē*, 'declamation', he had given. The comparable privilege of free travel by land and sea—i.e. including the right to demand free lodging, which was a substantial burden on cities, especially on much-travelled routes—was on Philostratus' evidence (*V S* 1.25 (532–3)) awarded to Polemo by Trajan and extended by Hadrian to his descendants. That is confirmed, if we trust Philostratus, by the remark of Polemo's great-grandson Hermocrates of Phocaea when offered gifts by Septimius Severus: declining crowns, immunities, dining at public expense, wearing purple, and holding a priesthood as privileges he had inherited from Polemo, Hermocrates requested instead 50 talents of frankincense so as to observe Asclepius' prescription of partridge smoked in frankincense (*V S* 2.25 (611)). Earlier, Philostratus writes, Marcus Aurelius, impressed by the rhetoric of Hadrianos of Tyre, whom c. AD 176 he had appointed as Theodotos' successor in the imperial chair at Athens, offered him privileges and gifts. Philostratus explains: *καλῶ δὲ δωρεὰς μὲν τάς τε σιτήσεις καὶ τὰς προεδρίας καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας καὶ τὸ ἱερᾶσθαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα λαμπρύνει ἄνδρας, δῶρα δὲ χρυσὸν ἄργυρον ἵππους ἀνδράποδα καὶ ὅσα ἑρμηνεύει πλοῦτον*, 'by privileges I mean free dining and front-row seating and immunities and holding a priesthood and all the other things that bring a man glory, and by gifts I mean gold, silver, horses, slaves and all that bespeaks wealth' (*V S* 2.10 (589)). As Caracalla realized, privileges that were a gain for individuals could be a loss to their peers and their city.

On some matters Philostratus is less helpful than might be hoped. Many sophists were honoured by prominently located statues (Puech 2002), but it is only of three that Philostratus writes. One sophist, P. Hordeonius Lollianus, was first to hold the Athenian civic chair of rhetoric: he had one statue in the *agora*, another in a small *alsos*, 'grove'—perhaps a public space, though Philostratus transmits a tradition that the grove was established by Lollianus (*V S* 1.24 (527)). Philostratus says nothing of who authorized or paid for either statue, which inscriptions show were significant issues. The second case is the philosopher cum sophist Favorinus. When Favorinus perceived that Hadrian was not minded to exempt him from the *leitourgia* of serving in his *origo*, Arles, as *flamen*, priest of the imperial cult, he jumped first and accepted the obligation, claiming admonition in a dream by his teacher Dio. According to Philostratus, the Athenians, interpreting this as a loss of imperial favour, pulled down a bronze statue of Favorinus: again, nothing on its original erection. We learn more from Favorinus' own speech transmitted among Dio's works as *Or.* 37. Addressing the Corinthians, likewise intent on removing his statue, Favorinus tells how on his second visit the city erected a statue of him in its library ([Dio Chrys.] *Or.* 37.8; for the city's role also 37.20). The third instance is Varus of Perge, whose statues in the temple of Artemis Pergaia Philostratus mentions not in connection with Varus' honours but as corroborating his claim that Varus' prominent nose explained his nickname *Pelargos*, 'Stork' (*V S* 2.6 (576)).

Philostratus' accounts of sophists in Athens also say little about the ephebate, an institution important in education and prominent in epigraphy (see Kennell in this volume). He never mentions the *kosmētai*, 'overseers', who managed ephebes' training and were

publicly honoured by them, though his verb *metekosmese* may allude to them when he writes that Herodes *μετεκόσμησε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐφήβους ἐς τὸ νῦν σχῆμα, χλαμύδας πρῶτος ἀμφιέσας λευκάς*, 'also changed the Athenian ephebes' dress to its present form, first giving them white cloaks' (*V S* 2.1 (550)). Philostratus' other reference to ephebes comes on Herodes' death, when the Athenians overrode his instructions for burial at Marathon and had the ephebes carry his body to the Panathenaic stadium (*V S* 2.1 (565–6)). An inscription, however, preserves an elegiac poem sung by ephebes welcoming Herodes on his return from exile (*IG* $II^2$ 3606), and we may suspect that, when Philostratus writes of the 'Hellenes' who accompanied Herodes returning from Marathon to hear Alexander of Seleukeia perform in the *Ōdeion* of Agrippa (*V S* 2.5 (571)), many of these 'Hellenes' were Athenian ephebes.

On the other hand, Philostratus can preserve information that currently we know too little to interpret, such as his location of the official seat of the Dionysiac *technitai* in Athens near 'the equestrian statues' (*V S* 2.8.50).

More fictional, but usable with caution, are Philostratus' depictions of Greek cities in his *In honour of Apollonios*. Ephesos, for example, is brought to life by vignettes of Ephesians intent on stoning a magistrate who failed to heat their baths (*V A* 1.16.4); of Apollonios teaching in *xystoi*, 'walkways', and in shady groves (*V A* 4.3.3), as he was when he had his vision of Domitian's simultaneous assassination in Rome (*V A* 8.26); of his predicting and curing a plague (*V A* 4. 4, 10); of his taunting a proconsul attending a performance of Euripides' *Ino* (*V A* 7.5); and of Ephesians sacrificing on behalf of Domitian allegedly marrying Julia (*V A* 7.7). As this last, unhistorical scenario shows, using these products of Philostratean imagination requires greater caution than his *Lives of the sophists*. But such anecdotes as that in *V A* 1.15, concerning a riot in Aspendos due to a grain shortage, caused by speculative landowners keeping back their grain in order to push up its price, matches incidents we know from other sources, among them Dio of Prusa.

## Dio of Prusa

We are fortunate to have substantial collections of speeches by two of Philostratus' sophists, Cocceianus Dio, from Prusa, and Aelius Aristides, from Hadrianoutherai and Smyrna. Of these the speeches of Dio (? c. AD 45–after 110) throw more light on civic life.

The practice of repurposing honorific statues, for example, is addressed by Dio's speech to the Rhodians, *Or.* 31, of disputed date (cf. Jones 1978; Fernoux, Gangloff, and Guerber 2021; see also Heller in this volume). Dio casts himself as an uninvited visitor addressing the *dēmos*, in Rhodes a sovereign body committed to *dēmokratia*, 'democracy', though his statement that his audience meets daily suggests either that he may be addressing the *boulē* or that the *mise en scène* he fashions distorts reality (*Or.* 31.4–6). His rambling discussion of the practical and moral demerits of reusing bronze statues attests both the perceived importance of voting statues to honour benefactors and the Rhodians' readiness to do so by recutting inscriptions on the bases of some of their very numerous statues (3000, Plin. *HN* 30.7.36). We learn of Rhodes' role in the Roman civil wars, of Nero's removal to Rome (by the agency of his freedman Akratos) of numerous works of art from Greek sanctuaries and cities (but not from Rhodes, *Or.* 31.148), of Rhodes' pride in its magnificent public buildings—temples, theatres, shipyards, walls, and harbours (*Or.* 31.146)—and of the continuing prestige

of athletic victories in city culture (*Or.* 31.127). Familiarity with theatrical performances is assumed (*Or.* 31.155).

In his Alexandrian oration (*Or.* 32) Dio attacks public disorder, particularly manifested in theatres and stadia. Hinting that he is the emperor's envoy (*Or.* 32.21), he castigates the Alexandrians' obsession with horse racing (*Or.* 32.41) and with musical performances, instrumental and vocal, including pantomime (*Or.* 32.4, 41) and *kitharoidia* (e.g. *Or.* 32.46, 96), censuring the riotous behaviour these entertainments encourage (*Or.* 32.31–2, 42). Dio's rant suggests admiration for *kitharoidia* is a particular feature of Alexandria (*Or.* 32.47), but epigraphy and other literary texts demonstrate it was empire-wide (Power 2010). We learn nothing about civic administration, nor would we guess that exceptionally Alexandria did not have a *boulē*.

Dio's Bithynian speeches, on the other hand, are a rich, if often imprecise and allusive, source for civic life and inter-city competition. Three may serve as examples of the former.

The sunny side of relations between a euergetic citizen and his city shines through *Or.* 44, delivered in Prusa soon after either Dio's return from exile (von Arnim 1899: 314) or from an embassy to Trajan in AD 101 (Jones 1978: 139). Dio has shown his patriotism by trying to use Trajan's friendship to secure privileges for Prusa: the city proposes to honour him, and in a gesture of deprecation Dio refers to the honours enjoyed by his father and other family members—including statues and funeral games, and a *ἱερόν*, 'sanctuary', of his mother (*Or.* 44.3–4). A more tangled web emerges in *Or.* 45, also addressed to the citizens of Prusa. Dio had obtained financial benefits and the *boulē*'s enlargement to 100, but was accused of influencing the choice of *bouleutai* (*Or.* 45.7–9). He has a proposal for enhancing the cityscape with a portico and a fountain-house (*Or.* 45.12–13), fiercely opposed by some, but ultimately approved by the proconsul and unanimously welcomed by a public meeting the latter had called without notice. It is clear that the final decision rested with the proconsul, not with Prusa's *boulē* or *dēmos*.

*Or.* 46, perhaps, as its manuscripts suggest, early in Dio's career (so von Arnim 1899: 208–9), presents Dio facing an angry crowd, intent on stoning him and burning down his house for failing to alleviate a grain shortage (Oppeneer 2020; cf. Philostratus *V A* above). As in *Or.* 44, Dio flaunts his father's and grandfather's status, emphasizing their benefactions (*Or.* 46.4) and claiming himself to have undertaken the most costly liturgies (*Or.* 46.6); he defends his construction of a portico with associated shops or workshops near hot springs on land he has purchased (*Or.* 46.9), and insists his agricultural income derives not from grain but from viticulture and animal husbandry (*Or.* 46.8).

*Or.* 47 pursues in more detail the opposition to a building project that is probably that of *Or.* 45, disclosing that structures it would replace included a shrine. It is unclear whether the complex is that known from Pliny (*Ep.* 10.81) to have been the basis of an attack on Dio by Archippos (see below). Its reference to the proconsulates of Bassus and Varenus show how much even influential Greeks depended on good relations with Roman officials.

Competition between cities is most fully attested by *Or.* 38. Addressing citizens of Nicomedia (again the actual or imagined venue is unclear), Dio urges pursuit of *homonoia*, 'concord', and abandonment of strife with their neighbour, Nicaea. His evidence for such competition joins that of Tacitus, Aristides, coins, and inscriptions (Merkelbach 1978; Robert 1977; Heller 2006; Hallmannsecker in this volume), in this instance not for a provincial temple but for the title *prōtē*, 'first', in the province (*Or.* 38.24). Neither they nor other sources fully explain what fuelled such competition—in this case later precipitating lethal

consequences in Severus' war with Pescennius Niger (Herodian 3.2.7–9); and according to Dio agricultural trade, friendships, and marriages between citizens of the two cities continued, as did mutual *proxenoi* (*Or.* 38.22). Understandably Dio does not point out that 1st-century Nicaea could claim many more distinguished citizens past and present, something demonstrated by epigraphy and scattered literary testimony (Bowie 2022b).

*Orr.* 40 and 41 attest similar strife, apparently over more material issues, between Prusa and Apameia, a Roman *colonia* and the city of Dio's mother. As a citizen of both communities (cf. Heller and Pont 2012) Dio appeals to both Prusa (*Or.* 40) and Apameia (*Or.* 41) to adopt more harmonious relations. He attests land-locked Prusa's dependence on the port of Apameia and Apameia's need for timber from Prusan mountain-country (*Or.* 40.30), their mutual trade, and friendships and marriages between families in the two cities. Dio's statement that his Apameian grandfather, and through him his mother, had Roman citizenship, and that his own father *acquired* it, raises interesting questions about Apameia's juridical status: Caesar had founded a colony (*colonia Iulia Concordia*, not a name with which Dio's conciliatory rhetoric tries to play) with *ius Italicum* (*Dig.* 50.15.1). Little emerges to explain why mutual hostility had developed, though Prusa's acquisition of privileges not enjoyed by Apameia doubtless contributed. One important detail (*Or.* 41.1) is Dio's address *ὦ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ παρόντες μετριώτατοι*, 'Council and those others who are present, most judicious men'. This seemingly implies that non-elected members—presumably leading citizens—might attend Council meetings. Another significant detail follows: Dio has been honoured with citizenship by Apameia and by many other cities (*Or.* 41.2), one being Nicomedia (*Or.* 38.1). These are among surprisingly few literary testimonies to bestowal of citizenship as a mark of honour, amply attested by epigraphy.

A differently angled contribution to city politics comes from *Or.* 7, a Stoicizing, probably fictional, account of simple hunters' hospitality to Dio when shipwrecked on Euboea, and of attempts to oppress them by evil politicians in a nearby city much of which lies abandoned (Ma 2000).

## Pliny the Younger

Dio's contribution to our understanding of Bithynian civic politics is informatively complemented by Pliny's correspondence with Trajan when governing Bithynia-Pontus as *legatus Augusti* c. AD 110 (*Ep.* 10.15–121). Dio himself figures, accused of *maiestas* (high-treason) by one enemy, the philosopher Flavius Archippos, for locating a statue of Trajan in the same buildings as tombs of his wife and son, and by another, Claudius Eumolpos, of failing to produce full accounts of the complex's construction when seeking to transfer ownership to the city. Despite the case's deferment his enemies failed (unlike Dio) to produce written testimony demanded by Pliny, whose autopsy established that Trajan's statue was in a library, the tombs in an adjacent stoa-complex. Trajan, dismissing the *maiestas* charge, urged Pliny to ensure final accounts were presented (*Ep.* 10.81–2). Archippos, we learn elsewhere (*Ep.* 10.58–9), had been condemned to hard labour in mines for fraud in Domitian's reign (the judgement of a proconsul, Velius Paulus, is cited), but impressed him sufficiently to secure imperial pardon and financial help; his invocation of immunity from judicial service 'as

a philosopher' triggered an attempt to resurrect his condemnation, but he produced Nerva's confirmation of Domitian's acts. Again Trajan takes a generous view.

Other letters document mismanagement of building projects (see Dickenson in this volume): at Nicaea a badly designed, uncompleted theatre and unfinished rebuilding of a gymnasium destroyed by fire; at Claudiopolis an imprudently located bath-building (*Ep.* 10.39); at Nicomedia repeated failures to complete an aqueduct (*Ep.* 10.37) despite starting work on a new forum (*Ep.* 10.49). Trajan's replies include the remark, 'Greeklings dote on their gymnasia' (*gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi*, *Ep.* 10.40), a judgement that tallies with their construction throughout the empire and with Philostratus' later decision to write *Gymnasticus*, the only history of Greek athletics to survive.

The *Letters* illuminate three other Roman concerns. Famously, *Ep.* 10.96–7 are our earliest external testimony to imperial punishment of Christians, though judicial interventions had preceded Pliny's (*Ep.* 10.96.1), and to widespread Christianity in Bithynia's cities and countryside (*Ep.* 10.96.9), going back at least 20 years (*Ep.* 10.96.6). Related is Trajan's anxiety about *hetairiai*, 'clubs', leading him to veto the establishment of a fire brigade in Nicomedia after a serious conflagration (*Ep.* 10.34, cf. 96.7). Thirdly, Pliny twice consults Trajan concerning membership of city *boulai* (*Ep.* 10.79–80, 112–13), something Rome saw as important (and discussed by Kuhn in this volume).

Overall book 10 corroborates other evidence for extensive building, often hasty, for in-fighting between elite citizens, and for their need or readiness to involve provincial governors in both.

## Plutarch

Disappointingly, Plutarch (? c. AD 45–120) writes little of his own office-holding in Chaironeia—his archonship (*Quaest. conv.* 642f., 693f.), and his management of drainage, perhaps more than once (*Prae. ger. reip.* 811b). We learn more about his experiences as a priest of Apollo at Delphi—performance of sacrifices and presence at the dramatic collapse of the Pythia, who died soon after (*De def. or.* 435b–c, 437c, 438a–c)—but little about cults in Chaironeia (Bowie 2022a: 33), despite Plutarch expressing in his later years his pleasure in participation in religious choruses (*An seni* 792f, *Non posse* 1101e4–5). We sense something, however, of the atmosphere at the Thespian festival of Eros, the *Erotidia*, from Plutarch's vivid description of a visit with his wife soon after their marriage, just as the dialogue *On the Pythian oracles* offers a lively account of Plutarch and friends conversing as they walk up the Sacred Way in Delphi, discussing the monuments and their inscriptions they pass (*De Pyth. or.* 395–402). Other works also offer some details of several cities' cults.

Plutarch says little about city politics, despite holding that advancing years should not exclude political activity (*An seni*). His advice to a budding politician in Sardis, however, is often quoted, demonstrating the diplomacy sometimes needed to secure a provincial governor's indispensable agreement to possibly unwelcome resolutions of a *boulē* and *ekklēsia*: 'You rule as a subject, over a city set under the jurisdiction of proconsuls, of the procurators of Caesar . . . this is not ancient Sardis or that old power of the Lydians. You must keep your robes in check, and cast your eye from the generals' office to the tribunal

... observing the senatorial footwear above your head' (*Prae. ger. reip.* 813d–e). Equally illuminating is Plutarch's eloquent silence on civic and provincial imperial cult.

For cultural life Plutarch is a richer source: though less attracted by theatrical performances than his sons, in *Sympotic questions* he represents himself as hosting many *symposia* (traditonal post-prandial drinking gatherings) in Chaironeia and attending others there and elsewhere in Greece (Delphi, Athens, Corinth, Hyampolis, Thermopylae, Patras) and in Rome (Bowie 2022a: 33–40)—*symposia* at which many diverse topics were debated, and which were attended by various types of Greek *pepaideumenoi*, by family members, and by occasional Roman friends, including Plutarch's patron and sometimes dedicatee, L. Mestrius Florus.

## Pausanias

Pausanias famously listed the buildings he thought essential to a Greek city, buildings Panopeus in Phocis lacked (10.4.1): 'Panopeus . . . a Phocian city, if one were to call "city" even people with no official buildings, no gymnasium, no theatre, no *agora*, no water conducted to a fountain, but living in round shacks just like the huts in the mountains, by the bed of a torrent. Yet they have markers of their boundaries with their neighbours, and they too send delegates to the Phocian assembly.' Yet despite here highlighting buildings with political and cultural functions, in his 10-book *Periegesis* Pausanias writes little about these essential components of a city. This is largely because his chief interest is in the sacred. Accordingly his work casts invaluable light on the religious landscape of mainland Greece in the decades when he toured and wrote, c. AD 150–180 (Bowie 2001). Alongside descriptions of sanctuaries both local and—like Delphi and Olympia—Panhellenic, Pausanias writes about cities' cults, interspersing accounts of their mythical and historical past, sometimes as told by locals, including the professional guides he disparages, sometimes drawn from his very wide reading. He also gives detailed accounts of temples, cult statues, and dedications (many of these sculptures)—so detailed that they can help reconstruct sanctuaries' topography, and that omission of a monument certainly there in his time (e.g. Herodes Atticus' Nymphaeum at Olympia) defies explanation.

Secular monuments also receive attention, but usually less. Early in book 1, for example, Pausanias registers stoas in and near the Athenian agora (1.2.4, 3.1), statues of 'famous men and women' (1.2.4, 3.2), and the Stoa of Zeus (not here named) with its paintings of Theseus, *Dēmos* and *Dēmokratia* and of the 4th-century battle of Mantinea (1.3.3–4). He notes that the Royal Stoa is the office of the *archōn basileus*, 'king archon', (1.3.1) and identifies the *bouleutērion* as the meeting place of the Council of 500 (1.3.5), but writes no more about either's functions than that they are annual. Secular monuments later in the book include the Stoa Poikilē (1.15), the so-called Library of Hadrian (1.18.9), the tumulus at Marathon (1.32.3), and the monument which c. AD 114–116 'some Syrian' (Plutarch's eminent friend C. Iulius Antiochos Epiphanes Philopappos) had built to himself on the Hill of the Muses (1.25.8). Overall Pausanias offers a vivid and comprehensive picture of Athens' vast cultural riches—many historic buildings, numerous statues and paintings by great artists.

Book 2's texture is comparable. A short sentence judges Corinth's theatre 'worth seeing' and commends its white-marble stadium (2.1.7); a page follows on the sculpture of the

Isthmian temple of Poseidon (2.1.7–2.1); the section closes with notices of the tombs of Neleus and Sisyphus and of Corinth's recovering the Isthmian games' administration from Sicyon (2.2.2). Only after much concerning religious buildings and sculptures, among which the Peirene fountain-house straddles sacred and profane, does Pausanias briefly mention the baths of the Spartan C. Iulius Eurykles, adorned with various marbles (including, of course, green Laconian marble), and Hadrian's aqueduct bringing water from Stymphalos (2.3.5). His category of 'what can be displayed' (2.7.1.) includes notable tombs (e.g. 2.7.2–3; cf. 1.2.2), and though he explains Sicyonian burial practices (because they are unusual) he never expounds Sicyon's or another city's constitutional arrangements: 2nd-century readers could take them for granted.

## Lucian

Lucian's systematic irreverence contrasts sharply with Pausanias' veneration (c. AD 120–after 180). Despite setting many dialogues in classical or timeless contexts, often Athenian, Lucian's satirizes much in contemporary civic life in Asia Minor, Greece, and the West. *The Dream*'s version of his career corroborates the importance that society attached to rhetorical skills and their role in upward mobility, while his many deconstructions of self-important sophists, philosophers, and *pepaideumenoi* tempted by short cuts to learning present a tableau recognizable as an ungenerous version of Philostratus' predominantly laudatory *Lives*. Most damning, perhaps, is *On intellectuals for hire*, cataloguing the tribulations of Greeks who successfully attached themselves to rich households in Rome. Though Lucian does not name names, the economically dependent stratum in his sights will doubtless have included some of the *grammatici* otherwise documented (Bowie 2022c), but not Philostratus' eminent sophists, mostly from elite families, nor high-flying doctors like Galen of Pergamon.

The ability of good talkers to attract followers in Greek cities is well illustrated by Lucian's *On the death of Peregrinus*, culminating in Peregrinus' self-immolation by fire at the *Olympia* of AD 165, while the age's fertile soil for religious cults (hinted at in connection with Trophonios' cult at Lebadeia in *Dial. Mort.* 3) is exposed by *Alexander or The false prophet.* Coins show that Lucian's enemy Alexander and his cult of a snake-god Glykon are not Lucian's invention (Robert 1980, 1981); Athenagoras attests that after his death he received divine honours at Parion (*Legatio pro Christ.* 1); and Lucian may correctly claim Peregrinus' daughter married the senator Rutilianus—doubtless P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus, proconsul of Asia early in the 160s.

Among Lucian's few positive perspectives on his contemporaries is a warm compliment to Arrian—'the pupil of Epictetus, a man among the first of the Romans and wedded to learning throughout his life' (*Alex.* 2). Positive, too, are portraits of the Platonist philosopher Nigrinos and the Cynic Demonax, though the historicity of both can be questioned; of the Macedonian city, Thessalonike or Beroia, where he will deliver the work to which *Herodotus* is a preface; and of two elite citizens who have facilitated his welcome, also by a Macedonian city, attested by *Scythian* 9–10. Along with Lucian's performance of *Runaway slaves* at Philippopolis (Bowie 1980), these prefaces reveal sophistic culture flourishing in parts of Greece rarely glimpsed in Philostratus.