

SHOWING OUR GRANDEUR

ELITE IDENTITY, COLLECTIVE MEMORY, AND PROVINCIALISATION
IN LATE-IMPERIAL APHRODISIAS



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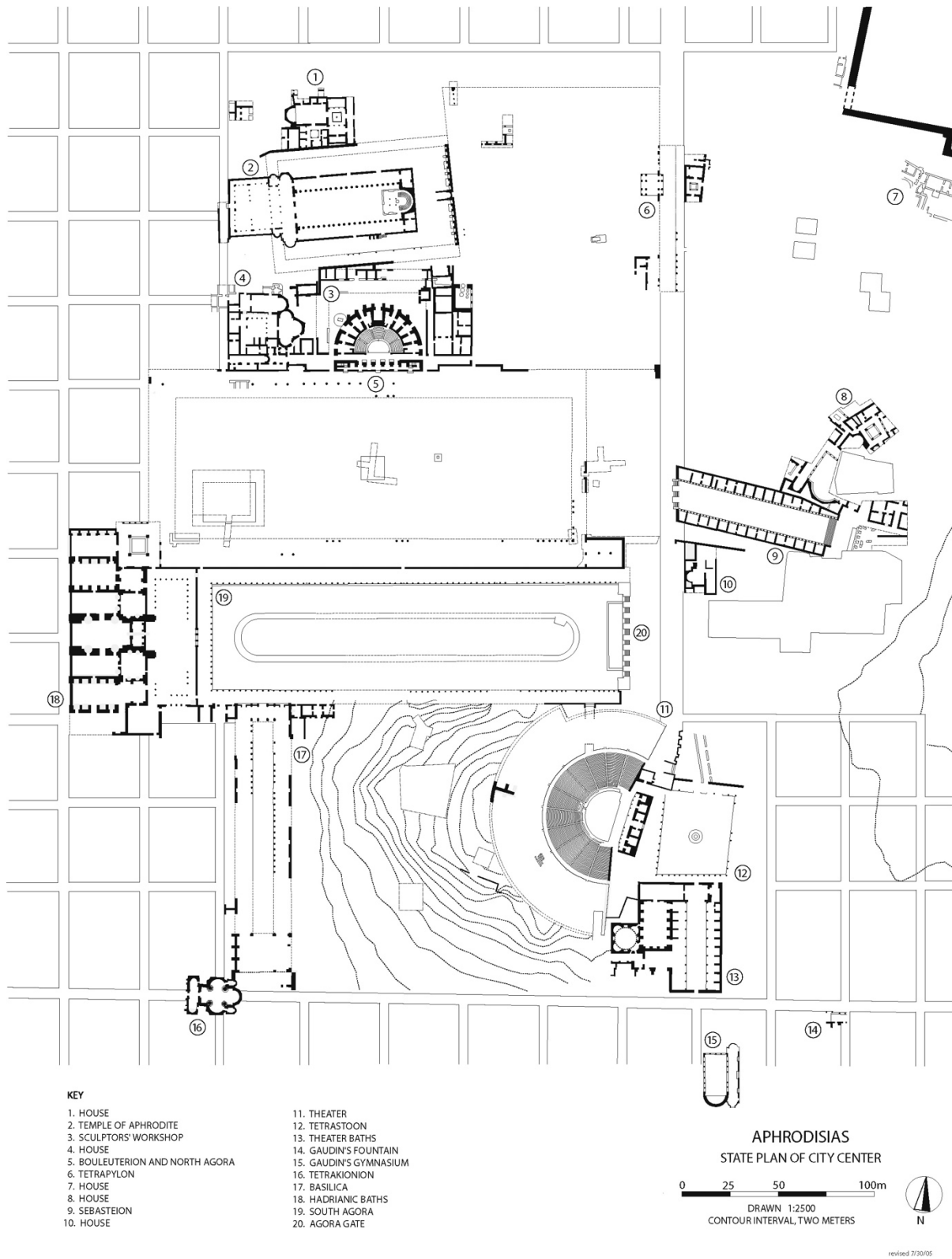


Figure 1. The centre of Aphrodisias, (plan courtesy of NYU Excavations at Aphrodisias)*

* Sitz (2019) Figure 1.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines how a city, its elite, and its governors defined and negotiated their position in a shifting Empire, from the so-called ‘crisis of the third century’ to the end of the fourth century, when Theodosius’ reign changed the entire picture of the empire again. The city of Aphrodisias, with its rich epigraphic records in Late Antiquity, offers an excellent opportunity to study the different ways of self-positioning. By examining the Aphrodisian corpus of inscriptions, containing *ca.* 150 texts, this thesis intends to explore how several elements, crucial to the civic identity in the Principate, were used and adapted by different parties in Aphrodisias in the third-and-fourth-century changing political and ideological landscape to position themselves within the city, within the surrounding area, and within the Empire.

Located in the centre of the Carian desert, southwestern Anatolia, the city of Aphrodisias was a newcomer among the famous Asian constellation of cities. Having been small and rather unimportant in the Hellenistic period, Aphrodisias grew powerful and influential only after the Roman conquest of the surrounding area. The city, smartly if not luckily, formed an alliance with Rome and especially with Octavian, who later dominated the entire Mediterranean and repaid his supporters with glorious privileges. Benefiting from their constant support to Octavian and his successors, Aphrodisias enjoyed ‘rights of freedom’ (τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δικαία), from which the city profited much to enhance its privileged status in the political landscape of southwestern Anatolia.¹

The crisis in the third century appeared to offer both dangers and opportunities for the Aphrodisians, because the previous mechanism of fostering civic relationships collapsed. Before the crisis, Asian cities formed an established network with a common political culture, a hierarchy of cities, and fierce internal competition. Cities emphasized their Hellenism and their affinity with Rome, exploiting these two elements to profit from imperial authorities and to place themselves above other cities.² A hierarchy of cities had emerged in which famous Ionian cities were competing fiercely for the top places in the urban network, followed by regional centres and minor cities. Inter-

1 Kokkinia (2008) 57.

2 Alcock (2002) chapter 2; Mitchell (1995) Part 2.

civic competition, which had never terminated since the Hellenistic period, became more visible thanks to large monumental building projects and frequent imperial interventions.³ The civic system remained stable for almost two centuries, thanks to the common recognition of their Greekness and the stability of the supreme Roman power. Aphrodisias, however, did not stand on the top of this hierarchy. Although its freedom offered some space for manoeuvre, the city never managed to be promoted into a *metropolis* of Asia in the Principate.

On the one hand, the economic and military crisis destroyed both the stability of the central power and the economic prosperity in Anatolia. On the other hand, the chaos required a reorganisation and a redistribution of power: new provinces and dioceses were created, cities were granted new status, and state power became more military in nature and more centralised. It permitted those cities of a lower status to promote themselves, provided they positioned themselves in a right way, while at the same time previously privileged cities were in danger of losing their status. In fact, we see frequently in the third century that cities who made the wrong political decisions suffered loss of privileges or rights.⁴ Aphrodisias was clearly a winner in this chaotic period: when the new diocese of Caria (and Phrygia) was established from the previously larger province of Asia, the city of Aphrodite became its capital.⁵ Although the economy failed to recover in the fourth century and even deteriorated after Valens, the local economy of Aphrodisias recovered in the mid-fifth century and afterwards. For those studying the political chaos of the third and the fourth centuries, it is of real importance to understand how Aphrodisias achieved its rise in status and understood the changes.

Studying Aphrodisias may not only be an important task but a feasible project as well, thanks to its rich collection of inscriptions. The city and its elite were never reluctant to display their success in the late-antique city landscape with monuments, public buildings, and elite epigrams: hence the large corpus of surviving inscriptions. Since the literary sources about Aphrodisias in the third and

3 Jones (1999) 106–21; Pont (2010) 269–96.

4 Lenski (2016) 151–3.

5 About this, see *ala2004* 1.1–9.

the fourth centuries are extremely limited, archaeological findings, especially inscriptions, are crucial to our examination of the city's chaotic period. Compared to other Asian cities, Aphrodisias is among those few which preserved a large corpus of late-antique inscriptions. We have late-antique inscriptions from great cities like Ephesus and from smaller cities, but no other city on the level of regional capital preserved such a large collection as Aphrodisias.

Up to now, around 150 inscriptions found in Aphrodisias can be reasonably dated to the third or the fourth century (56 of which, that have been discussed in the thesis, are collected in the Epigraphical Dossier). These inscriptions were mainly set up by Aphrodisian citizens, but several honorific texts for emperors were set up by governors. Roueché has presented most of the inscriptions in her *ala2004* project with commentary. However, the dating of most inscriptions relies more on palaeography than on prosopography or titles, thus it may be contested in various cases.⁶ Roueché has divided these inscriptions into various categories with hybrid criteria: categories including 'funerary' and 'honour', 'acclamation' and 'verse', but also 'governor' and 'imperial'. It may therefore be better to examine these inscriptions one by one.

No matter in which category, inscriptions are made to be seen, by passers-by, by authorities, by relatives of the dead, or by god(desse)s. One single person can play several roles in a society, depending on to whom and about what s/he is speaking. In order to examine how Aphrodisias and Aphrodisians presented themselves, one must exploit different types of inscriptions and discover the reason why a certain monument with inscriptions was erected in the given place. In Aphrodisias, such idea of exhibition found expression in the famous 'Archival Wall': not an archive, but a deliberate display of selected texts showing the affinity between the Roman power and the city of Aphroditite. Fortunately, several important texts outside the Wall were preserved, permitting us to compare those selected and those not included. Why were some inscriptions selected, and why not others? The answer shall show how the city as a whole intended to define itself and to be understood by both its citizens and by foreigners.

Although Aphrodisias offers one of the largest late-antique epigraphic corpora, the density of inscriptions was still lower than in the Principate. This phenomenon was the result of several trends.

6 *ala2004* Introduction.9.

First, epigraphic practice in the entire Empire generally declined in the mid-third century, and Aphrodisias was no exception.⁷ Second, although inscriptions still contained public utterances, the personal and private section grew more important. Given the centralisation of power, local public motivation to inscribe documents declined, which led to a decline of public inscriptions. Third, the decline of elite competition and the wish to exempt oneself from local obligations made local elites less keen on local self-honouring. Eventually, local elites almost disappeared in public inscriptions in the fourth century.⁸ Thus, the best way to find local voices is to examine funeral inscriptions in which people were freer to express their ideas. Some members of the elite displayed their high literacy by writing their epitaphs in verse; others showed their knowledge and intelligence by mentioning where they had been and what games they had participated in. We see in these funerary inscriptions a continuity of Hellenism, but also a new emphasis on what the deceased themselves did in their life rather than their family clan, as many inscriptions in the Principate did.

Almost all the late-antique honorific inscriptions were dedicated to imperial authorities: governors, imperial families, or senators having good contacts with the imperial power.⁹ Several inscriptions were made, with statues, for displaying political preference or loyalty to different emperors in various political circumstances. These inscriptions also help understand how governors positioned themselves by honouring emperors. On another level, the cities as an entity honoured their governors to engage in promoting both his political career and positioning themselves in the Empire, after Aphrodisias had become part of the province of Caria. It is therefore crucial to analyse the two-folded honours, in order to find the new elements after the provincialisation of Aphrodisias.

In recent epigraphic studies, scholars tend to apply external elements of inscriptions to interpret the texts. Inscriptions are increasingly considered as not merely texts but as monuments that convey information by texts, layout, images, among others. Most inscriptions in Aphrodisias were found *in situ* and can be contextualised with their original images or statues. Therefore, it would be inadmis-

7 Bolle et al. (2017) 1–11.

8 Morgan (2014) 147.

9 *ala2004* 11.30.

sible to overlook the existence of material context when interpreting texts. The layout of public inscriptions tells us where readers should focus their eyes on.¹⁰ Honorific statues complemented the titles attributed to the honoured person. Moreover, the frequent reuse of second-century statues in the fourth century sheds light on the economic problem the city faced then. Taking a larger view, where monuments were located within the city should also be considered. Some honorific statues were placed in front of a large monument, some epitaphs were found outside the necropolis, and the Archival Wall formed part of the stage entrance of the theatre. The location, the layout, and the relevant imagery, all played a part in the entire monument.

Occasionally referred to as Pompeii in Caria, Aphrodisias has attracted much scholarly attention. Thanks to the digital inscription project in 2007, most inscriptions are available online which facilitates the usage. Afterwards, Reynolds, Roueché, Smith, and Chaniotis are continuing the edition of new inscriptions which cannot be found in *LPh2007*. For funerary epigrams, Louis Robert collected and commented some thirty of verse epitaphs, then Merkelbach and Stauber recollected them with commentaries in *SGO*, but their focus remained philological.¹¹ Monographs concerning the city wall and the honorific inscriptions have provided observations on how inscriptions constructed a 'regional identity' and a 'civic identity'.¹² Nevertheless, late-antique Aphrodisias has been relatively underrepresented in scholarly discussions, partly because there were less inscriptions than earlier centuries, partly because there were less parallel or comparative cases in surrounding regions.

This thesis focusses on 'the third century crisis' and its aftermath. In this period, civic competition became fiercer, and imperial authority in such competition became more visible. Due to the deteriorating economic condition, tensions on the civic elite level were also more visible, since elites in the entire Empire were trying to get exempted from the heavy civic burdens. As the competitions between elites and between cities came to an end at the same time when the entire Eastern Empire entered a rather peaceful period under the reign of Theodosius II, I will roughly terminate my study

¹⁰ Kokkinia (2016).

¹¹ Robert (1965), *SGO* (1998, 2010 repr.).

¹² De Staebler (2007); Raja (2012) Chapter 2; Morgan (2014).

on the eve of the fifth century. The following century would witness a new prosperity of Aphrodisias.¹³

Peer Polity Interaction (PPI), a term originally from archaeology, was first introduced in the ancient historical studies by John Ma in his examination on the *network* of Hellenistic Greek cities. On a community level, Ma presented a rather stable landscape of interaction between cities: cities did not only share the language, but also issued their decrees with citations of decrees from other cities. They were actively forming and reforming the common language by the mutual recognition in the ‘mirror discourses of mutual honorific decrees’.¹⁴ The theory of PPI intends to replace the traditional ‘centre-periphery’ dichotomy with a map without centre.

For the later Roman Empire, Lenski applies the concept of PPI in his examination of Constantine’s relations with Greek cities. There, the higher outsider, the emperor, became crucial in the civic PPI. Therefore, cities tended to show their loyalty and compete with other cities in order to gain favour of the emperor and receive benefits thereafter. On the other side, Constantine conducted a ‘politics of favoritism’ to exploit benefits from these cities. In Lenski’s case, the original idea of PPI, deconstructing the ‘centre-periphery’ model, gave place to the centre; members of the PPI would rather appeal to the ‘centre’, the imperial court, rather than communicate with other cities.¹⁵

This thesis intends to examine the decline and fall of Ma’s PPI, when the ‘core’ re-emerged because of the centralisation of power at various levels. In the third and the fourth century, the actual political powers shifted from a relatively large group of local elite to a small group of very wealthy people, from minor provincial cities to provincial capitals and governors who resided in capitals, and from various provinces to imperial authorities. As the supreme power grew stronger, the mechanism of PPI lost its practical meanings, and became more stylish and formal (Section 1.2 & 2.3). In order to gain actual benefits, the focus of communication shifted to the higher levels: civic communities to governors, or governors to emperors (Section 3.1). However, the similar style of communication did not change much. The thesis, in other words, intends to examine the different presentations of such style.

13 *ala2004* Introduction.18–20.

14 Ma (2003) 22.

15 Lenski (2016) Chapter 7.

The thesis presents many of its studies in the form of case studies. This relates to an assumption that micro-history can better expose the complicated and hybrid tensions by presenting more detailed context. For those cases enclosing multiple tensions and powers, it may be better to examine them as a whole rather than to rearrange them in different perspectives and analyse these perspectives as separated parts. However, Aphrodisias *did* provide many simple, if not fragmentary, inscriptions in which the main story was clear and simple. For these inscriptions, I will use more analytical methods: comparing the common elements and the subtle changes over time. These inscriptions will be used as 'side dishes' for those more detailed cases, to prove the general existence of certain tensions or point out the particularity of the cases.

Chapter 1 focusses on the self-referential representation of the Aphrodisians in the third and the fourth centuries. Funerary and honorific inscriptions are examined to present the elements Aphrodisians applied to show their eliteness:¹⁶ how traditional elements were inherited and new religious identity was emphasized. Two special case studies on the honorific statue base for Achilles and the epitaph of Athanasios¹⁷ show the mechanism of such self-representations combining traditional and new labels.

Chapter 2 offers a case study on the 'Archival Wall', one of the best examples of civic self-representation in the city. Regarding the Wall as consciously-created *lieu de mémoire*, the chapter argues that the city, as a whole, defined itself by the concept of liberty, the competition with the famous Asian cities, and the continuous relationship with the emperors. The careful selection of relevant inscriptions and the layout showed that Aphrodisias, though respecting the importance of the Roman affinity, intended to present their continuous contribution to Roman hegemony and their constantly-received repay from Roman emperors.

Chapter 3 focusses on the change after Aphrodisias was fully integrated into the new Empire: provincialisation. The chapter examines the changing political culture within the city, among the civic elites (especially the silence of their public self-representation), and the role of governors in

¹⁶ A continuation of Slootjes (2011).

¹⁷ Personal names are given in transcriptions from Greek, unless the names are obviously Latin.

the new civic political structure. The focus of civic politics shifted to governors. They received honours from the civic elites who were trying to escape from the city council, and undertook public buildings which were once civic services of local elites. On the other hand, they had to show their loyalty, on behalf of these civic elites, to emperors who wanted these elites to stay in the local community. Governors used traditional languages to honour emperors and to present themselves, but local elites would rise again in the coming century when a relatively peaceful period started. In the end of this chapter, I aim to point out the trace of Aphrodisias in the fifth century and show the special features after the provincialisation.

Chapter 1 ELITES' SELF-DISPLAY: MULTIPLE IDENTITIES IN INSCRIPTIONS

This chapter discusses what elements the Aphrodisian elite applied to represent their identity, and how they selected to represent themselves in such ways according to the context. It aims to show that Aphrodisians inherited traditional ideas of civic elite, but that religious affiliation gradually became dominant. After the triumph of Christianity, many Aphrodisians reaffirmed their eliteness by reusing the traditional discourses.

Introduction

Identity is the central concept of this chapter. But it is a concept difficult to define. Scholars have revealed the co-existence of ontological and performative elements of identity: while what individuals can identify themselves are limited to facts, which of these labels they choose to present themselves depends on contexts.¹ Therefore, it makes more sense to examine how agents display their identity in certain contexts, and why they select these elements in such cases. This chapter aims to present in several cases the different elements and methods through which Aphrodisians represented their memories, their favoured characteristics, and their religious affiliations.

Chaniotis has sketched the developments of several elements which constructed various identities in Aphrodisias. Civic identity, as he defines it, was the 'elementary identity of a member of an ancient community':² Social and cultural identity constructs the city's cultural horizon and self-position, but is visible mainly in individual self-representations. In this Hellenic city, Hellenic culture and their interactivity with other Greek cities are intensively displayed. In late-antique Aphrodisias, as in many cities in Anatolia, religious identity becomes more visible and sometimes even overrides other elements, ending up when Christianity becomes dominant. While Chaniotis focusses on the idea of collective identity, I intend to emphasize the individual agency in this chapter. Nevertheless, the sketch somehow shows the context of self-representing discourses by the elite individuals: the persistent Hellenic and the rising religious context.

¹ Overview in Pitts (2007); Revell (2016).

² Chaniotis (2016c) 90.

The agency of elite in the city dominates the construction of such identity through their constant self-representation in monuments. They deliberately participated in the imperial and administrative cosmos, and thus were sensitive to current cultural and political contexts within and beyond the city. The changing society left the local elite more space to manoeuvre in order to maximize their own benefits, but also required them to stabilize their status within the city and in the region. For this end, they attempted to promote an identity, not only for themselves to retain the regional recognisance, but also for the city to gain more profits from the growing powers of new emperors. After all, 'showing our grandeur' is never merely for showing: it always has further political and social expectations.

The context being crucial to self-representation of elite identity, two types of inscriptions are perfect sources for such contextual examinations. **Inscribed honorific decrees** and statue bases, conducted under the supervision of civic authorities, presented 'the balance of power between the elite and the demos' in order to reaffirm the social hierarchy.³ **Epitaphs** provided those citizens of the middle class with another carrier of their identity: they took the honorific form of self-representation in their funerary monument, a sphere both public and private.⁴ Both honorific and funerary inscriptions were made to be seen: honorific inscriptions mentioned a selected series of characteristics of the honorand, and epitaphs told the readers what the authors wanted them to know about the deceased. Both displayed in public, they offered perfect means to represent the honorands or the dead not only to their relatives, but also to other passers-by.

Four sections on different perspectives of elite identity representation will be presented. Section 1.1 points out that the elites displayed their cultural superiority over the common people by referring to their *paideia* with verse inscriptions and literacy. Section 1.2 focusses on one case, in which a Pan-Hellenic celebration of a young elite athlete presented the mechanism of showing the elite's identity. While the first two sections examine the elements already visible during the Principate, Section 1.3 discusses the religious identity in Aphrodisias, an element particularly highlighted in the third and

3 Heller & Van Nijf (2017) 14.

4 Ögüç (2014) 152.

the fourth century. Section 1.4 closes the chapter with another case study of a member of the Christian elite, who enclosed the religious identity and the traditional eliteness in his opisthographic epitaphs.

1.1 *Competing for paideia: traditional virtues in the changing period*

This section outlines the continuity of the traditional features of elite identity, and the growing emphasis on individuality in the inscriptions.

During the Principate, Greek elites already applied different methods to secure their social dominance within the city. Whereas wealth and military services were crucial for elite membership or the 'eliteness', they preferred to be praised for cultural superiority.⁵ All these elements can be traced back to the Hellenistic period, when the civic elites had already praised their own well-birth and benefactions to the city. In early third century, even though the political circumstances changed, the local elites did not change too much their way of self-honouring.⁶

Among all these elements, cultural superiority remained central to the elite, though the notion changed over time. The idea of *paideia*, virtue of education and culture, appeared frequently in the inscriptions in Aphrodisias, but was seldom mentioned explicitly. During the Principate, the term was often understood as education for the young; for instance, two young deceased were identified as 'in education' (ἐν παιδείᾳ)⁷, and two poets were praised for their pursuit for education.⁸

From the third century onwards, the elite still paid attention to their intellectual identity and traditional virtues. A magistrate called Alexandros was praised for his 'justice' (δικαίος), and his rule as 'godlike' (ζαθής).⁹ The honorific text was composed in Attic verse, parading the literacy of both the honorand and the city, since the monument was set at the North Agora.¹⁰ Another honorific verse starts with 'the wise' (τὸν σοφὸν), and then praises a certain Eupeithios in an archaising style.¹¹

5 Perkins (2009) 5.

6 Mitchell (1995) 229–34 points out the military turn in early third century due to the political and military crisis, on the basis of inscriptions from many Ionian cities. This is not the case in Aphrodisias. The fact that few references to military service were found in the Aphrodisian epigraphic corpus suggests that the elites may not have recognised the importance of the military power.

7 *I Aph 2007* 7.8, l. 8 & 13.5, l. 13.

8 *I Aph 2007* 11.508.i, l. 9; 12.27.iii, l. 7.

9 *I Aph 2007* 3.4.ii.

10 *ala 2004* III.35, Smith (1999) 165–7.

11 *I Aph 2007* 5.120.

This Eupeithios may have been both benefactor and teacher in the city, having funded some buildings to the city and having practiced intellectual activities.¹² The honorific verse is more delicate than common honours for sophists in Aphrodisias,¹³ since the terms ‘the wise’ and ‘the true praise’ (αἶνος ἀληθῆς) are normally reserved for governors and magistracies.¹⁴ The verse demanded that his statue stand in the Hadrianic Baths, where honorific statues were installed since the first century. It is therefore clear that the city intended to celebrate the deceased Eupeithios with both his civil service and intelligence. In sum, the individuals are still honoured according to traditional virtues and ideals in a classical civic honorific system.

The traditional virtue ideals also apply to women: the double-sided epigrams of Claudia, an early-deceased girl, showed the wishes and the virtues that were attributed to females.¹⁵ The epigram on Face *a* praises the girl for her hospitality (φιλοξενία), piety (εὐσεβεία), and purity (καθαρός).¹⁶ Thus, Justice (Δίκη) honoured her with the tomb and offered her a ‘lawful husband’, whom she never married during her lifetime. The three-line epigram is written as a message addressed to the deceased Claudia, suggesting that this side may have faced the corpse (backside). On Face *b*, the text addresses Claudia in the third person. Again, she was praised for her ‘acts of piety’. This time, however, the epigram explicitly said that (the soul of) Claudia ‘up enter the heaven’ (οὐρανὸν εἰσανόρουσε), whereas her body was joined by Fate (μοίρη) with the wedded husband.¹⁷ Face *b* is probably the frontside of the epitaph. The two sides of this stone thus serve different purposes: while Face *a* is more or less a self-appraisal, Face *b* serves as a self-representation to the public. We may therefore say that the outside context demanded for a Christian understanding of death: Fate is preferred to Justice, and the separation of soul and body is commonly understood. Certainly, the premature death of Claudia calls for a marriage after death. The epitaph therefore serves as an intentional representation of ideal virtues in the sarcophagus.

¹² *I Aph2007* 13.125.

¹³ *I Aph2007* 11.513, 12.35, 12.325, 12.529, 12.909, 14.18.

¹⁴ Puech (2002) 238, *SEG* 48-1327, Chaniotis (2008a); *pace ala2004* III.38.

¹⁵ *I Aph2007* 15.347.

¹⁶ φιλοξενία: only once seen; εὐσεβεία, seen in *I Aph2007* 5.204, l. 19.

¹⁷ *ala2004* IX.18.

The meaning of *paideia* is much broader than literary education. *Paideia* contains several elements which may symbolise the eliteness during this period. In the third century, a particular part within the ideal of *paideia*—athleticism—became increasingly important, thanks to the development of agonistic competitions.¹⁸ The elite regarded victories in such competitions as the result of their superiority in virtues. Victors were often honoured with a statue depicting the image of the competition in which they won. Usually on the statue base, an honorific text was inscribed. Therefore, these inscriptions, normally erected by the city and the victors' family for victors in domestic and international competitions, often referred to virtues far beyond *paideia* and competing skills.¹⁹

Similar to earlier agonistic-honorific inscriptions which emphasized the family honours, inscriptions of this type in the third century still praised the family of the victor. Since the athletes mainly came from the top elite families in the city, agonistic-honorific inscriptions traditionally praised the family of the honorand. Whereas Morgan points out that members of the elite ceased referring to their fathers and ancestors, the importance of glory in the family did not decline until the fourth century.²⁰ In the third century, it was still a common practice that male elder relatives set honorific statues for their younger nephews or grandsons.²¹ Zenon Aeneas, son of one top family in the city, received exceptional honours from the presiding magistrate, who happened to be his kinsman. The text praised Zenon's family as one of the leading families in the city, but referred to almost no concrete thing about Zenon Aeneas himself.²²

However, texts in the third century focussed more on individuals, and, in consequence, the honorand became more independent in the honorific inscription, I shall present this point in detail in Section 1.2, but here an overview will be useful. Noble birth now became *one of* the virtues of the honorand: his own characteristics and skills, including body and artistic achievements, were described in much detail. In the honorific inscription of the kithra-player Meliton, he was praised as 'distinguished by good birth and dignity of conduct'.²³ The deeds of the young athlete Aurelius

18 Mitchell (1995) 221–5.

19 Statues: *LSA*-532, *LSA*-547 as examples. See Van Voorhis (2008).

20 Morgan (2014) 19.

21 *I Aph2007* 12.623, 13.616, 11.223, 11.58, 12.35.

22 *I Aph2007* 1.177.

23 *I Aph2007* 1.182, ll. 7–10.

Achilles were exhaustively described in the honorific decree.²⁴ Soon after the establishment of the local game Aphrodisian Philemoneia, the texts of honorific decrees were standardised. Therefore, the focus shifted to names of the honorands only.

To conclude, the traditional virtues and honorific mechanisms were generally preserved in the third century. Magistrates received honours according to traditional sense of honour. Traditional ideas of cultural superiority remained widely accepted. Furthermore, elites started to focus on specific elements of the traditional *paideia*, because of the popularity of agonistic games.

1.2 *Pan-Hellenic vs. civic identities: the case of Aurelius Achilles**

When Aphrodisians had to position themselves in a larger context, what would they do? How would the elite exploit the changing political conditions to manoeuvre within the traditional city network? A brilliant case shall be examined in this section: a statue base for a certain Aurelius Achilles, with inscriptions honouring him both by the Ephesians and by the Aphrodisians. The Aphrodisians deliberately set up this statue (now only the base survives) to make self-claims not only to their visitors but also, or even mainly, to their fellow citizens by referring to the homage from the traditionally powerful and respectful city of Ephesus. I have studied the case previously in another essay.²⁵ On the basis of my previous study, I will present new evaluations and interpretations of the interaction between Aphrodisias and Ephesus, after briefly recapturing basic information on the inscription.

Archaeologists have not found the statue but only the rectangular base.²⁶ The statue base was found *in situ* in the north portico of the Hadrianic Baths, East court. The baths were founded in the Hadrianic period, but were then restored in the late-third or early-fourth century.²⁷ Around the statue base, four other honorific inscriptions and dedications were erected in early fourth century.²⁸ The surrounding inscriptions suggest that Achilles' statue was set at around the same time. The name 'Aurelius' points to a date later than 212. The palaeographical features suggest a date of mid-third century, since the letter forms are identical to letters on the Archival Wall (Chapter 2). The

²⁴ *I Aph2007* 5.214.

* An early version of this section has been presented in the CRASIS Masterclass, Groningen, 07 March 2019.

²⁵ Wang (2019a) Section 1. Some factual descriptions will be used in this thesis.

²⁶ Jones (1981) 108, Fig.1.

²⁷ *I Aph2007* 5.301 & 5.302.

²⁸ *I Aph2007* 5.215, 5.216, 5.301, and 5.302.

texts were inscribed on two adjoining faces of a statue base: scholars named the left face as Face *a* and the right one Face *b*. On Face *a*, a decree in rhythm was inscribed. It was awarded by the Ephesians to honour Aurelius Achilles, an Aphrodisian player winning the contest of the Olympia in Ephesus. The Ephesians praised Achilles' glorious achievement in the competition and ordered that 'by means of this decree he should be commended even more to his fatherland.'²⁹ An honorific verse was inscribed on Face *b*, elaborating his achievement with an emphasis on his awards. Aphrodisias was hometown of many victors of agonistic contests in Ephesus, Smyrna, and Corinth in the Principate,³⁰ and Aurelius Achilles was the last victor known to us in the epigraphic corpus of Aphrodisias: he must have won in the Ephesian Olympia shortly after 250s.³¹

While the decree honoured the victory of Aurelius Achilles, it should be understood as a declaration of Ephesus' ideology and its self-representation. The metropolis of Asia intended to show its cultural hegemony and its friendship with Aphrodisias by issuing a sophisticated decree to Achilles' own city. The language of the decree of Ephesus was highly literate: the entire text was written in one sentence, with a series of genitive absolutes and a care of rhythm.³² The reinforcement of affinity with Aphrodisias was expressed by showing Ephesus' warm-hearted openness before the actual business this inscription dealt with. The friendship towards a certain city and a praise to its citizen were usually combined in the Principate, but fewer cases were available in later period.³³ The two cities had long friendship already in the first century. In 89–90, a monument was set up by Aphrodisians in Ephesus, in order to commemorate Domitian's grant of *νεωκορῖα* to Ephesus.³⁴ There were also citizens of Aphrodisias who held priesthoods or positions in Ephesus (see Section 1.3). For the Ephesians, this may have been a good chance to enhance the friendship with this special city in Caria, a rich region to which Roman authorities paid much attention (see Section 3.1).

29 *IAph2007* 5.214.i, ll. 42–44.

30 Examples: *IAph2007* 12.215, 12.711, 12.920, among others.

31 Jones (1981) 118, citing Lämmer (1967) 12, assumes that the game ended 'with the Gothic attack of 263'.

32 Jones (1981) 115 & 117–8. See also *IAph2007* 5.214 note.

33 See especially Robert (1967) 17–27.

34 *I. Eph.* #233. The friendship may be expressed in a different way in Aphrodisias at around the same time on the Archival Wall, see Section 2.3.

Bravery and body training are two main elements that the Ephesians emphasized in the inscription. The decree narrated how Achilles achieved his victory: the young player ‘competed impressively’ in contests, especially at the Olympia, where the Ephesians encouraged Achilles to compete in the category of men in which he won.³⁵ The words with which Achilles was described showed the Ephesian preferences. ‘All virtue of body and soul is blended’ in Achilles.³⁶ The decree used more words to describe his decision to participate in the higher category: there, it was his courage that pushed him to take the challenge of competing against those older than him, and his excellent body training enabled him to defeat all his opponents. Since Aphrodisias agreed to inscribe the text, it was clear that the praise was satisfactory to Achilles’ fellow citizens.

The epigram on Face *b* showed how the Aphrodisian elite replied to the favour from Ephesus: it clearly replied to the decree not only because it was inscribed on the same statue base but also because of the content. As I shall discuss in Section 3.3 in more detail, verse writing was commonly found in epitaphs and honorific inscriptions in this period.³⁷ In typical late-antique verses, names and actual events were not explicitly mentioned: the achievement of the honorand was only presented in highly literary languages with symbols. While athletes generally came from elite families, this verse also suggests that the family of Achilles had a considerably high status in Aphrodisias. Although the metres seemed cumbersome, as Jones points out,³⁸ the interest of this epigram lies in the reaction process: what elements did this epigram add to the already sophisticated decree of Ephesus?

Self-pride and divine favour are the two themes of the epigram. The entire epigram was written on behalf of the honorand, similar to a self-honouring. As in Face *a*, the epigram misses the first lines on the top of the base. In the beginning of the lines that we can see now Achilles was compared with two other honourable athletes, Varianus and Arion, about both of whom we know little.³⁹ Arion was called an ephebe ‘superior to grown men’. It therefore hints that Achilles also competed

35 *Iph2007* 5.214.i, ll. 26–27.

36 *Iph2007* 5.214.i, ll. 20–21.

37 More examples in *Iph2007* 15.245; 15.334; 15.347.

38 Jones (1981) 124.

39 Jones (1981) 123.

in the boy's category.⁴⁰ The reference to Zeus, the patron of the Olympia in Ephesus, and to the olive wreath implied his victory at the Olympia.⁴¹ The following couplets made a proud claim of his multiple victories in 'all the stadia of the communities (ἐθνέων)', which all his fellow citizens cannot reach. The next couplet may refer to the image of the original statue: it may have held crowns or may have been crowned, considering the dative τύπω ἡμετέρω.⁴² We know from the epigram that Achilles won not only Olympia but also Pythia, so no one could confront a second contest. In a word, an overtly self-promoting honorific verse for a statue base, on the adjoining surface of the decree.⁴³

Why did the Aphrodisian elite as a group agree to put this statue in the court of Hadrianic Bath, an openly public area in the city? They must have believed that the statue strengthened the civic glory of their city and of themselves, and that the city could benefit from the establishment of such statue. The benefits came through the mechanism that prevailed in the community of Greek cities: the elite of Aphrodisias reaffirmed its position within a Pan-Hellenic inter-civic community. According to Ma's theory, one city issued its decree with reference to a decree from another city: in this way, two cities in the Peer Polity Interaction mutually acknowledged a common political language and shared ideas.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the Aphrodisians presented their own ideas according to the decree from Ephesus: Aphrodisias displayed its distinctiveness but only to a certain extent. In this sense, cities created a sense of community, a clear distinction between 'us', those within the system of mutual recognition, and 'others', those out of it.

While I have interpreted the monument in the framework of traditional civic interaction in the previous study, now I believe it more important to regard it as an intentional self-display of the Aphrodisian elite. The monument was public but, more importantly, *private*. The decree of Ephesus brought a public discursive platform on which the friendship between two cities legitimised the interaction between Ephesus and the Aphrodisian elite.⁴⁵ The family of Achilles must have understood and acknowledged this public perspective when inscribing the epigram on the same stone.

40 *I Aph2007 5.214.ii*, ll. 5–6.

41 *I Aph2007 5.214.ii*, ll. 4 & 8.

42 Pace Roueché (1993) 206.

43 Developed from Wang (2019a) 6–7.

44 Ma (2003) 22, see above in the General Introduction.

45 *I Aph2007 5.214.i*, ll. 9–12.

On the other hand, the authors paid much attention to further elaborating the virtues already in the decree. The family of Achilles certainly wanted to gain profits and honours for themselves, as all the families of victors did. Furthermore, the authors of the epigram wisely connected the honour with the city's glory: after all, to honour Achilles would glorify his city as well. Since the monument was dedicated to a private citizen, the authors were able to exaggerate the discourses from the official language, and such exaggeration also benefited the city itself. The authors of the epigram clearly knew what would please the Ephesians and, more importantly, their fellow Aphrodisians.⁴⁶

I suggest that two elements should be considered when interpreting the reason why the city made the monument. First, for the Aphrodisian elites, maintaining interactions with Ephesus only brought them more cultural, political and economic capital. Since Aphrodisias has a special status with relation to the province of Asia, showing a Pan-Asian Greekness may position Aphrodisias within a cultural landscape that was largely accepted within and beyond the province of Asia. Second, the Aphrodisian elite were positioning the city and themselves, and redefining their diplomatic relations in this new period. When the Aphrodisian elite attempted to present proudly the achievement of a boy athlete, they were in fact praising their own city as well. Internally, the elite displayed a civic pride for the new period, with elevated Hellenic culture and invincible athletes. Externally, citizens in the free city of Aphrodisias had larger freedom to define its place and relations with cities in Asia. The statue was made not only for flaunting to the foreigners, but equally or more importantly, to strengthen the self-confidence of the Aphrodisian elite.

In conclusion, the case of Aurelius Achilles represented a special period of time. The traditional inter-civic network still worked well, as the interactive official documents still transferred from one city to another. Local elites still highly valued the Pan-Hellenic or Pan-Asian agonistic games. On the other hand, Aphrodisias and its citizens already showed, to a certain extent, a sense of competition with Ephesus. They intensified the praise in the decree and created a much stronger image of the boy victor. We may later see a similar process of language intensification in Section 2.3.

1.3 *Religious affiliation*

⁴⁶ Pace Wang (2019a), where the local audience was ignored.

The complexity of the religious landscape in the third and the fourth century is well attested in inscriptions in Aphrodisias. After all, the crisis in this period consisted not only of consecutive military conflicts, but also of conflicts and conversions between religions. Before the crisis, different religious affiliations could be found, most notably those of the Jews and pagans; the fourth century witnessed the rising hegemony of Christianity. Contemporaries were certainly aware of the importance of religion, and gradually emphasized their religious identity in the relevant inscriptions.

As mentioned in the previous section, the Pan-Hellenic religious identity could also be presented in other inscriptions. Believers continued to offer votive gifts to Asclepius or other deities,⁴⁷ and some buildings were still dedicated to the goddess Aphrodite and to emperors, ranking the goddess above the emperors.⁴⁸ Although the word ‘pious’ (εὐσεβής) was now reserved for emperors in Aphrodisias, priests could sometimes be praised as working ‘with piety’ (εὐσεβῶς).⁴⁹ In Aphrodisias, male and female priesthoods were almost hereditary, but the priests and priestesses often held positions not only in their own city but also in large Ionian cities or even in the province of Asia. Three honorific inscriptions were found on the southeast city wall: they were erected to honour three elite ladies, Aurelia Messouleia Satorneila, Aurelia Flavia Messouleia, and Aelia Laevilla, all having served as priestesses in Aphrodisias and elsewhere.⁵⁰ The three women were all born from priest families and then married a high-priest: Messouleia Satorneila’s mother and Flavia Messouleia’s mother were both flower-bearers (ἀνθοφόροι) of Aphrodite, and both of them married a high-priest; Aelia Laevilla’s career was more splendid. She held not only the high-priestesshood (ἀρχιτέρεια) in Aphrodisias, but also served as the high-priestess of Asia and the κοσμήτειρα of Ephesian Artemis.⁵¹ As I shall show in Section 2.3, the relationship between Ephesian Artemis and Aphrodisian Aphrodite was, according to a certain official narrative, in conflict; the city of Aphrodisias also tried its best to keep it in ‘honorific isolation’ from the province of Asia. However, while the official narrative on the

47 E.g. *I Aph 2007* 5.117.

48 *I Aph 2007* 8.115, 12.638, and unpublished inv. 82.70.

49 *I Aph 2007* 13.105.iii.

50 *I Aph 2007* 12.531–12.533.

51 The function of this κοσμήτειρα is unclear. She may be in charge of the Temple of Artemis, as the word’s masculine equivalent suggests. The word appears almost exclusively in similar contexts: honorific inscriptions or epitaphs of women serving in the Ephesian Artemision. See other examples in *I. Eph.* #792, 892, 980, 983, 984, 993, 1026.

Archival Wall tried to keep a distance from Ephesus and from the province of Asia, Aelia Laevilla's career showed that local elites in Aphrodisias still interacted closely with elites in Ephesus and the province of Asia, as in Section 1.2.

Chaniotis has pointed out that the Jewish community deliberately displayed its identity by 'using biblical names and incorporating Jewish religious symbols'.⁵² However, it is uncertain to what extent such practice related to a religious rather than an ethnic consciousness, as previous scholars maintained.⁵³ The inscription which Chaniotis takes as example is a list of names of those erecting a memorial at their own expense, dated to the early fourth century.⁵⁴ The list is divided into two parts. The list on Face *a* and the first half the Face *b* is the list of members of 'the *dekania* of the students of the Pentateuch' (ἡ δεκανία τῶν φιλομαθῶν τῶν κέ παντευλόγων), in which biblical, Hellenic and Egyptian names are presented. Since it was common that Jews took Greek or Egyptian names in the Hellenistic period, those having non-Jewish names may be Jews as well. However, we have no other hints on Jewish nomenclature in previous centuries in Aphrodisias: thus, the phenomenon may or may not have started in the third century. The list started with a προστάτης and his son, a magistrate, then a 'palace worker' (παλατῖνος) and his son: these two families clearly occupied high positions and had important influence among the Jewish community. Interestingly, the 'president of the *dekania*', Samuel, was a proselyte, namely a Gentile who had been converted to Judaism, and changed his name according to the Hebrew Bible. There are two more proselytes in the list, both taking Jewish names (Joses and Joseph). This may suggest that it was more important for proselytes to show their conversion, and the easiest way was to change their names.

The second part of the list is the names of 'Godfearers' (θεοσεβεῖς). This term is ambiguous: Reynolds & Tannenbaum understood it as gentile sympathisers of Judaism, but there are two godfearers in the *dekania*, which may suggest that some godfearers were more than sympathisers: they were preparing to be converted into Judaism. All the godfearers have Hellenic names, and their names

52 Chaniotis (2016) 95. See also two graffiti in the third or the fourth century: *I Aph 2007* 13.107 & 8.267 (uncertain).

53 Reynolds & Tannenbaum (1987) 11.

54 *I Aph 2007* 11.55. See his own examination in Chaniotis (2002b). I follow the date of Blanco Pérez (2018), against Reynolds & Tannenbaum (1987) 19–23, on the basis of palaeography and social circumstances. Chaniotis (2002b) 213 ff. argues for an even later date (mid-v century), but it is less likely.

are followed by their occupations. The ‘students of the Pentateuch’ had various occupations, from sheep-shepherd to goldsmith, and even one was called ‘foreigner’ (ξένος), but no one was in the *cur-sus* of the civic government, and only eight jobs were mentioned in total. On the other hand, the list of ‘godfearers’ starts with nine councillors (βουλευτής), and most names are followed with jobs. These references to their occupations may actually be references to their professional *collegia*.⁵⁵ Then it seems better to interpret the *dekania* as a certain form of *collegium*, which performed both religious practice and social duties, for example, ‘provide some sort of relief against misfortune for the group’.⁵⁶

The name list showed a complex scenario of Judaism, in which Jews were dominant, while their sympathizers provided different resources. The Jews were cautious about who should be in their group, and who should not be: whereas the other groups funded the construction as well, the inscription listed different groups in different parts of the stone. Then the inscription creates more questions: why these non-Jews invested in the construction of a Jewish monument, and why these Jews still divided these groups. Given the fact that the Jews had places in the Bouleuterion at least in the third century,⁵⁷ the influence of Jewish community may have been large enough to attract many eminent magistrates and councillors to support their public projects.

Finkelstein once assumed that the Jews deliberately displayed their religious identity in reaction towards the rise of Christianity.⁵⁸ Whereas we cannot see in this inscription the conflict between these two religions, it is clear that in the period when this inscription was erected, Christians became more visible and more willing to showcase their religious affiliations. A Christian soldier Eusebios, has served as *primipilarius* and made a dedication around 325–350, in which the traditional Jewish expression ‘from the gifts of God’ was used.⁵⁹ The earlier attested bishop of Aphrodisias, Ammonios, attended the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. However, Ammonios ranked only second in the list of bishops from Caria. Though it cannot be confirmed due to the lack of sources, it may suggest

55 Braun (1998) 142–5; Van Nijf (1997).

56 Blanco Pérez (2018).

57 *I Aph2007* 2.6, Row 8 ‘τό *vacat* [προς Ἑβραίων].’ (My transcription).

58 Finkelstein (2018) 21–4.

59 Chaniotis (2008b) 258.

that Ammonios or Aphrodisias still did not have a prominent position in the ecclesiastical order in Caria.⁶⁰ Later in the Council of Constantinople another bishop of Aphrodisias was attested, about whom we know even less than about Ammonios.⁶¹ Neither of these two names has been found elsewhere in Aphrodisias, suggesting that the two bishops may not have been local. The booming of Christianity would be attested from the early fifth century onwards, thus beyond the examined period of this thesis. I shall briefly discuss the relationship between local elites and Christianity in Section 3.2.

To conclude: whereas we seldom found any sources on Jewish and Christian communities in previous centuries, they started to openly show their existence and institutionalise their communities in the third and fourth century. On the other hand, priests of traditional religions continued their cults on different levels, from group to city, and from cities to the province. The third and fourth century was the first and the last period when multiple religions flourished and competed.⁶² In late fourth century, however, the triumph of Christianity resulted in a mixture of traditions. The temple was converted into church but pagan inscriptions were ‘hidden in plain sight’;⁶³ honorific epigrams for local elites were also adapted to the Christian context, but traditional elements were still interesting for those Christianised elites, as I shall show in the coming Section.

1.4 *‘I performed every civic duty in this my fatherland’: the case of Athanasios the Traveller*

The last point I notice is the attempt to pile up whatever elements were reconsidered positive to build one’s identity. I take one case of this florid style in the later period.⁶⁴ In this inscription, we see all the elements that have been discussed previously. The idea of Christianity covered all the characteristics which had previously been praised as honours, and furthermore, gained the superiority over other honorific characteristics.

Four fragments of one single epitaph were found around the Theatre. These fragments make up a fragmentary panel of marble, but the bottom of the marble was lost. Both sides are inscribed with

60 *PCBE* III, Ammōnios 1. A counter-example for Jones (1964) 881.

61 *PCBE* III, Eudokios ?, Roueché used the name ‘Eudoxius’ in *alaz004*.

62 Chaniotis (2008b) 259–60.

63 Sitz (2019).

64 *IAph2007* 8.263.

squared sigma's and epsilon's, rounded omega's, and some diaeretic dots. These letter shapes and the letter heights suggest that the inscription can be dated to mid-late fourth century.

The epitaph is one of the only two known examples of opposite-faced inscriptions in the Aphrodisian corpus: both examples are funerary epigrams. Kuin has conducted a 'preliminary' research on opisthographic inscriptions, in which she suggests the affinity between the backside of the inscription and the idea of 'symbolic epigraphy', namely the inscription not made to be seen.⁶⁵ In the case of Claudia, as examined in Section 1.1, it is rather clear which side was made to be read. However, in this case, we cannot be sure which side was set to be the 'backside' according to external features of the fragments. The astonishing similarity between the two verses suggests that the opisthographic practice is conducted either for security or for the satisfaction of the commemorators. Since Face *a* started with a claim 'I performed every civic duty in this my fatherland' (ll. 1–3) and ended with two lines of praying (ll.15–16), which did not appear in Face *b*, I believe that Face *a* was made to be read by others and Face *b* may be an earlier, uncompleted version of the epitaph. Thus, it was hidden or at least be put on the reverse side.

The epitaph is presented for an Athanasios, a name attested thrice in Aphrodisias.⁶⁶ With no patronym or other names, we cannot connect him with any other known person. All the known Athanasioi appeared after the third century, and all the fourth-century Athanasioi found in *LGPN* were Christian, including our Athanasios the Traveller in Aphrodisias.⁶⁷

The first interesting point mentioned in the inscription is the emphasis on the fact that he had fulfilled all the *λειτουργησία* during his life. The term *λειτουργησία*, very commonly used in the first three centuries, only appears in the Aphrodisian corpus from in the fourth century onwards in this inscription, on a participle (Athanasios is a *λειτουργήσας*). He must have practiced the civic services, as Roueché's translation suggests, but it is rather strange that he did not claim himself as councillor of the city, *πολιτευόμενος*.⁶⁸ In the fourth century, it was very common to mention this, as it was a criterium for further social mobility, because members of the local elite must fulfil their local duties

65 Kuin (2017) 581.

66 *I Aph2007* 8.60.9.ii (undated); 15.356.a.4 (v–vi century).

67 *LGPN* 3a-33349, 37142, 37143, 59015; 4-24246; 5a-40791; 5b-1273–1275, 28026.

68 She translates the term as 'civic duty' in *I Aph2007* 8.263.

before they could be elevated to the senatorial rank.⁶⁹ But since the text was an epitaph, it seems to be merely a form of self-honouring. The emphasis ‘on this my fatherland’ (ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐμᾶυτοῦ πατρίδι) further proves that the epitaph was made for a local audience to show that the deceased had fulfilled his obligation in his *origo*, as the law demanded.⁷⁰

The epitaph put much emphasis on Athanasios’ movements. Among Tacoma’s ten type of immigrants (originally designed for migration in the Principate), Athanasios may be categorised in either elite or intellectual, or perhaps be categorised in a new type: Christian pilgrim.⁷¹ In Late Antiquity, travelling was a costly activity: an archive of a fourth-century Egyptian lawyer recorded the costs of his daily life and public activities during his travel to Antioch.⁷² Politically, travelling to many cities and visiting many peoples helped provincial elites to maintain their social network across the empire. This may in turn increase the possibility that he or his heirs might be elevated to the senatorial rank.⁷³ On the other hand, travelling can be a symbol of one’s knowledge or even one’s divine favour.⁷⁴ The text particularly emphasized that Athanasios was ‘kept safe’ (σωθεῖς) on both sides of the inscription. The presentation of Athanasios’ travelling thus served both as a socio-economic claim, that he was rich and knowledgeable with a wide network, and a religious claim, that he was blessed and had been kept safe by God.

Roueché argues in her commentary, ‘the inscription clearly dates from a period when Christian cult was firmly established at Aphrodisias.’⁷⁵ The date may be more flexible because of the clear reference to civic duties and because Christian inscriptions *can* be found in a period when Christian cult was not *firmly* established in this region. In the case of Athanasios, however, we have a highly religious prayer at the end of both sides of the epitaph, referring to the day of judgment and to the traces of martyrs. The open claim on Christian salvation seemed to be a common phenomenon in epitaphs of members of the elite in the fourth century. In these texts, the deceased was generally

69 Pace *ala2004* ix.27.

70 *Dig.* 50.2.1.

71 Tacoma (2016) 63–70 & Table 2.4.

72 Matthews (2006) Chapter 7.

73 See the cases in Bradbury (2004).

74 Scott (2011) 102.

75 *ala2004* ix.27.

claimed to have advocates or even grants to enter the heaven after the judgment, because of his good behaviour before death. Therefore, the epitaph connected Athanasios' earthly travel and civic obligations with his salvation. Because Athanasios had lived a good life and had prayed to God, his soul may be received by Jesus Christ.

It is therefore interesting to compare Athanasios' epitaph with two other inscriptions, both of which were made for a Christian high official in the fourth century: an epitaph in Rome, made for a Christian senator and consul, Petronius Probus;⁷⁶ and an honorific inscription for a Christian proconsul in Asia, Nonnos.⁷⁷ The epitaph of Petronius Probus is also opisthographic, but the two faces of the texts were written in different religious contexts. Face *a* emphasized Probus' high status and great services during his prefectures and consulship. The language and the mentioned virtues were very traditional: glory in the past, loyalty to Rome, generosity, and a loyal wife. But on Face *b*, Probus was presented as a devout Christian: 'these gentry's titles, you surpass, having been given Christ's gift in your later years.'⁷⁸ The language suddenly turned to a typical Christian style. The sharp distinction may be explained by the fact that Rome still had a fierce competition between Christians and believers of traditional religions. Probus, being high imperial official, had to show his traditional way of express to pagans on the one hand, and express his Christian belief when he was buried in the Christian necropolis. The honorific inscription in Ephesus was also special. Although a cross can be found at the beginning, the entire text has no Christian elements. The text may thus not be distinguishable from other non-Christian honorific inscription in this period. Given the context of civic politics, the existence of non-civic elements may have been reduced.⁷⁹

The two inscriptions chose to include Christian language and symbol in civic display to different extents. In Athanasios' case, we see a combination of both civic and Christian elements. An epitaph was private and related to his religion, therefore, religious affiliation and belief on the judgment were retained in the text on both sides. Athanasios was a member of the elite as well, and thus his epitaph was also a public and civic monument. This may result in the inscription of Face *a*, adding

76 *CIL* vi, 1756b.

77 *I. Eph.* #1308 = *SGO* 03/02/17.

78 *CIL* VI, 1756b, Face b, ll. 8–9.

79 Another example, also in Ephesus, is *SGO* 03/02/15. Only the Chi-Rho shows that the monument was Christian.

the claim about his civic duties. In the end, Athanasios was presented as both a perfect member of the civic elite and a perfect and blessed Christian. At the time when everyone had become Christian or at least had understood what Christianity was, Athanasios attempted to re-introduce some traditional ideas about civic and intellectual life. It may be difficult to explore whether Athanasios' heirs benefitted from this epitaph, but Athanasios or the one who wrote this epitaphs must at least have an understanding that performing local obligations may help promoting their own status.

Conclusion

Honorific and funerary inscriptions in the third and fourth century prove the gradual changes of identity representations in Aphrodisias. Traditional features of the Greek elite were maintained, particularly in verse epitaphs and in agonistic inscriptions. The family chain in the Principate was however less strong, and the honorand was treated more as an individual. Members of the elite gained their authority also from a Pan-Hellenic elite network. By mutual recognition and competing for the honour of their own city, the Aphrodisian elite not only gained inter-civic status but also stabilized their internal social order. In the crisis of the third century, the rise of religious diversity and conflicts resulted in a strong emphasis on the religious identity of Jews, Christians, and pagans. The reinforcement of the religious identity also serves as a method of inter-civic mutual recognition. When Christianity triumphed in the fourth century, all the traditional identity features were integrated in the honour of the Christ. While everyone now became Christian, one needed to label him/herself with more distinct features. The practice of Athanasios shows how one may add as many labels as possible to show one's characteristics. By examining these inscriptions of commemoration, the chapter shows what the elite identity meant in the changing political circumstances, and how individuals managed to show their identity to both other elites and the commoners. Inscriptions serve as a carrier of memory, but such memory has been selectively constructed to show the grandeur of the addressee.

Chapter 2 COLLECTIVE MEMORY ON THE WALL:

CIVIC COMPETITION AND MEMORY SELECTION IN CIVIC IDENTITY FORMATION

This chapter offers a case study on the Aphrodisian ‘Archival Wall’, the famous wall inscribed in the mid-third century AD with consecutive documents about the privileges Rome granted to Aphrodisias. Seventeen documents dating from the Republican time to Gordian III were inscribed on a long wall in six columns with a revealing layout. Interpreting the Wall as a selective canon of collective memory, this chapter attempts to examine the Wall from the perspective of civic competition and self-glorification in the third century, and intends to answer the question why these documents, rather than others, were selected by the mid-third-century Aphrodisians to be inscribed on this Wall.

Introduction

The wall that would become the ‘Archival Wall’ was erected in late last century BC, as the north wall of the stage building of the Theatre. When the building was founded, the Wall must have been blank. It was in late second and early third century when a series of honorific inscriptions started to appear on the walls of the theatre: the northeast corner of the stage carried three documents, many honorific statues and monuments for local benefactors and governors were erected in the vicinity, and some texts are found in the stage or on the south wall.¹ The Archival Wall, therefore, forms a part of a larger project of inscription for the entire theatre. Palaeography confirms that the inscriptions were inscribed in the third century as one single collection.² For the visitors to the city theatre in the third century, the Archival Wall would stand out among the environment of honorific civic statues.

Working from different perspectives, scholars have offered different dates, both for the inscription of the Wall in its entirety and for individual documents. Kokkinia argues that, given the flattering language in the letter issued in 243 (*IAph2007* 8.103), it may be the case that the Aphrodisians wanted the text to be immortalised soon afterwards. This implies that at least some inscriptions on

¹ Reynolds (1991).

² Jones (1985) 264, *pace* Reynolds (1982) 33, Kokkinia (2016) 16.

the Wall would not be inscribed much later than 243.³ Pont, regarding the Wall as a delicate monument to commemorate Aphrodisias' transformation to the provincial capital of Caria and Phrygia, dates the monument to 249–50 when the city was, according to her, put under the administration of the new province.⁴ Kokkinia's date can be supported by further arguments. The letter of Traianus Decius, referring to the city's freedom in December 250, was not inscribed on the Wall.⁵ This letter offers a *terminus ante quem* for the Wall, but it simultaneously disconnects the Wall and the provincialisation, which must have happened after the reign of Traianus Decius (Section 3.1). Since no text on the Wall refers to Philip the Arab, the emperor after Gordian III who issued the letter in 243, it is reasonable to date the ensemble no later than the death of Gordian or shortly after.

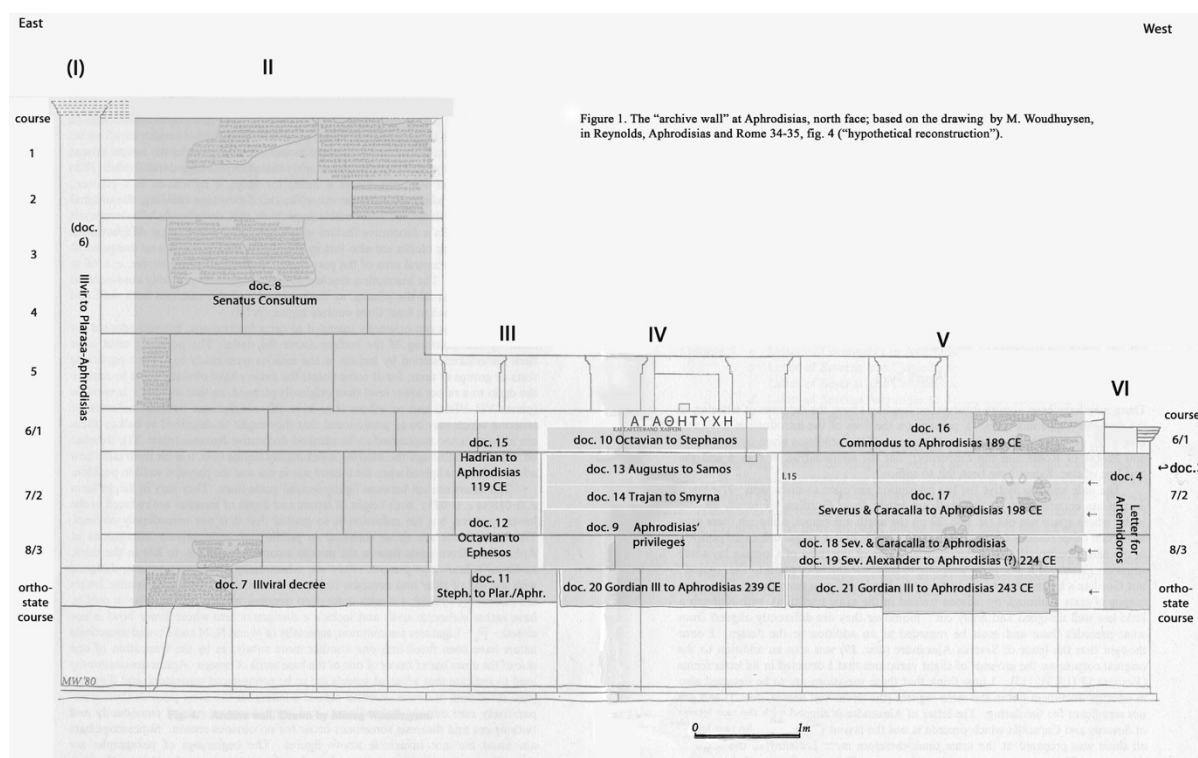


Figure 2. The Layout of the 'Archival Wall' at Aphrodisias, north side of the stage building in the Theatre⁶

3 Kokkinia (2016) 49.

4 Pont (2012) 340.

5 *Laph2007* 8.114.

6 Kokkinia (2016) Figure 1.

The nature of this Wall was once subject to fierce debates. Reynolds regards the Wall as an archive, thus naming it as ‘Archival Wall’.⁷ Chaniotis disagrees with Reynolds and argues that the inscriptions on this Wall were a selection of texts ‘that highlighted the city’s privileges, especially its status as a free and autonomous city’ and also showed their friendship with the Romans. According to him, the fact that the ‘Archival Wall’ contains not only letters from Roman authorities to the city of Aphrodisias but also to other cities suggests that the Wall was not originally made as an archive, since the copies of the three ‘foreign’ letters might not have been kept in the archive of Aphrodisias.⁸ Pont argues that the Wall constructed an identity that was formulated in a context of city networks, regional and far-away.⁹ Kokkinia sees the Wall as depicting the grandeur and history of Aphrodisias with careful selection and disposition of the testimonials honouring the city, its goddess and its citizens.¹⁰ Now it is widely accepted that the Wall contains a collection of documents with careful selection, in order to fit for a certain political purpose and to construct a civic memory. The term ‘Archival Wall’ is now used only for convenience: it should not be taken as an archive.

Constructing collective memory means selecting certain facts and omitting others. Luckily, we have not only this Wall but also a number of inscriptions elsewhere, making it possible to compare the documents on the Wall with those inscribed elsewhere. Sixty administrative documents have been found in Aphrodisias, most of which are known to Aphrodisians prior to the inscription of the Wall. We even have two documents that had first been inscribed in another public space, and were collected on the Wall after the city had received it one or two centuries ago.¹¹ It thus makes sense to examine the criteria for selection and the reason why the Aphrodisians intended to commemorate these elements of memory on the Wall.

7 Reynolds (1982) 63.

8 Chaniotis (2002a) 251–2.

9 Pont (2012) 345.

10 Kokkinia (2016).

11 *IAph2007* 11.412 & 12.904.

The Archival Wall created a political *lieu de mémoire* for the Aphrodisians in the mid-third century. In other words, the Wall carried the shared knowledge and ideas of the Aphrodisians, which were associated with the city's collective identity. The Wall expressed multiple levels of civic pride and identity. It showed the long freedom the city had enjoyed, the constant friendship with Rome and its emperors, and sometimes the superiority over other cities in Asia. The epigraphic presentation thus contributed to, internally, the formulation of a civic collective memory of the city, and externally, the self-position within the political landscape of Asia in the chaotic third-century.

In order to show the conscious construction of the expressions on the Wall, I shall constantly compare the documents on the Wall with those found elsewhere in Aphrodisias. The key question is why the Aphrodisians chose to inscribe these documents on the Wall in this specific time. Three ideas that are central to the texts on the Archival Wall will be addressed. Section 2.1 discusses the freedom of Aphrodisias, and examines the laws about the freedom of Aphrodisias in different places in order to show the special political language. Section 2.2 focusses on the relationship with Rome and emperors and argues that the idea of continuity was crucial for the presentation of affinity. Section 2.3 focusses on three inscriptions carrying letters from Roman authorities to three other Asian cities. These three letters intensified the competition and expressed the civic competition in a stronger voice.

2.1 *Continuity of freedom*

This section focusses on the idea of freedom (*ἐλευθερία*) demonstrated in documents on the Archival Wall and elsewhere in the city. By showing several cases of negotiation from inscriptions, it aims to argue that the third-century Aphrodisians applied freedom as a political slogan, in order to retain their freedom and special status in the changing political circumstances.

The concept of civic freedom arose against the background of Hellenistic conquests, but it remained important in the Roman Empire. It is not an equivocal term, and its meaning changed over

time, but its semantic frame concerned fiscal and political notions.¹² Financially, free cities were legally not obliged to pay tax (λειτουργία) to the provinces and therefore enjoyed a relaxed fiscal environment.¹³ However, sometimes Rome granted freedom to the cities but simultaneously imposed tribute on these free cities.¹⁴ Politically, the Roman province of Asia appeared to have no legal power over free cities, but free cities were supposed to remain loyal to the Empire. When the Romans conquered Asia, they formally granted to some cities ‘autonomy and freedom’ or ‘freedom and immunity (from taxation)’. While freedom, autonomy, and immunity (*libertas, autonomia, immunitas*) are clearly distinguished in Latin authors, Greek epigraphic evidence shows that the semantic boundaries of their Greek equivalents (ἐλευθερία, ἀυτονομία, ἀτελεία) are less clear-cut.¹⁵ At the same time, most autonomous cities had to remain loyal to the Roman power if they wanted to retain their freedom: several cases proved that emperors could deprive cities of their liberty if the cities had behaved against Roman interests.¹⁶ In general, the concept of freedom needs to be examined case by case, and the unclearness of ‘freedom’ made it possible for cities to negotiate with Roman authorities and to propose it as a political slogan, in order to show their speciality or even superiority.

Frequent claims of freedom in Aphrodisias happened mainly in the third century, though the city had gained its freedom in 38 BC.¹⁷ In the corpus of Aphrodisian inscriptions, the terms of ‘freedom’ are mentioned in fifteen documents ranging from the last century BC to the mid-third century AD, in which nine documents are on the Archival Wall.¹⁸ Whereas many documents were late Republican and Augustan, only one text (4.101) was inscribed before the third century.¹⁹ The city once

¹² Millar (1999), Dmitriev (2011) 233.

¹³ Bernhardt (1980) 207, Dmitriev (2005) 118–9.

¹⁴ Dmitriev (2005) 292. Zack (2014).

¹⁵ Millar (1999).

¹⁶ Lenski (2016) 103 for examples.

¹⁷ Pliny Senior *Naturalis Historia* V.109. Reynolds (1982) 4–6, 76.

¹⁸ *I Aph 2007* 8.26, 8.27, 8.29, 8.30, 8.32, 8.33, 8.34, 8.35, 8.103 (Archival Wall); 4.101, 8.114, 11.412, 12.34, 12.909, 14.12.

¹⁹ *I Aph 2007* 12.909 called a woman descendant of ‘the co-executor of the city’s autonomy.’ (τῶν συναιτίων τῆ πόλει τῆς αὐτονομίας). Although it is almost certain that the ‘autonomy’ has to do with the city’s freedom, the phrase seems more like an honour to the lady’s ancestor, rather than a magistrate or position. Discussions: *OGIS* 455 n.13, Robert (1966) 423–5, Reynolds (1982) 164, Pont (2010) 318.

had a cult of the goddess Eleutheria (freedom), but it was attested only in two Republican-Augustan documents.²⁰ On local coins, Aphrodite was normally used as assimilation of goddess Eleutheria;²¹ but Freedom was personified and appeared in a special type during the reign of Gordian III: the goddess Eleutheria crowns Demos while holding a statue of Aphrodite.²² Another local coin issue also bears inscription of ‘free people’ (ἐλευθέρος δῆμος).²³ These two designs were exclusively cut for the city of Aphrodisias, showing a strong civic devotion to their freedom. Coins after 250 AD ceased inscribing Eleutheria: instead, the city council and its people were called ‘holy’ (ἱερός).²⁴ It is thus clear that, though Aphrodisias became free in 40–30s BC, local emphasis on the freedom in Aphrodisias was a short-period phenomenon, roughly from the reign of Gordian III to 250.

Why did the Aphrodisians claim their freedom three centuries after the city had been freed? We need to examine what elements of freedom Aphrodisias emphasized. Kokkinia argues that the Wall is in a centripetal design: the texts below the title ‘With Good Fortune’ (Ἀγαθῆ Τύχῃ) were in the centre and thus the five documents on the central column (Column IV) should catch special attention.²⁵ On the bottom of this column is an extract of documents listing the privileges Aphrodisias was granted by the Romans.²⁶ Given its height on the Wall, this text seems most convenient for reading in this column. The first part (ll. 1–5), citing the *Senatus Consultum*,²⁷ confirmed that Aphrodisians and Plarasans were free from Roman military billets or levy of money or resources. The resources were listed in large letters with clear word-breaks in between: ‘No soldiers · No ships · No corn · No arms · No rafts · Not anything else.’²⁸ The second part (ll. 6–9), discussed almost the same thing: banning the entry of commanders or garrison into the city’s territory against their will, and

20 *IAph2007* 5.101 & 3.2.

21 MacDonald R199–R201 (129–130 AD), Aphrodite Eleutheria.

22 MacDonald R418 (238–44 AD). MacDonald (1992) 31.

23 MacDonald O240 (238–48 AD).

24 MacDonald O203 (around 250 AD), O249–50 (250–5 AD), O299 (260–8 AD, 2 types).

25 Kokkinia (2016) 46.

26 *IAph2007* 8.28.

27 *IAph2007* 8.27, ll. 32–6.

28 *IAph2007* 8.28, l. 5.

exemption from taxes and contributions (προσόδους φόρους μὴ διδόντων). We do not find the source of these lines, but it seems likely that these lines are extracted from another vanished treaty or *Senatus Consultum*.²⁹ The third part, concerning the privilege of Aphrodisian ambassadors, will be discussed in Section 2.2. To conclude, this very inscription shows that the city emphasized their tax immunity and exemption from Roman military interventions. These two themes dominated the entire Wall.

The freedom is a good reason to demand *immunitas* from direct or indirect tax burdens,³⁰ and it is clear that the Aphrodisians valued their fiscal immunity even more than political freedom. Still on the Column iv, other two documents also refer to their freedom from tax burden. On the top, Octavian declared that ‘no burden falls on them (Aphrodisians)’.³¹ Just above the aforementioned extract, Trajan confirmed that the city was removed from the ‘list of province’ (τύπος ἐπαρχείας, *formula provinciae*): hence its citizens were ‘not liable either to the common duties of Asia or to others’.³² The removal from the ‘list of province’ was also mentioned in the letter of Hadrian, on the left top of Column iii and central to the entire Wall. In this letter on the Wall, we are informed that several tax contractors had attempted to collect tax from Aphrodisias.³³ Hadrian therefore reaffirmed Aphrodisias’ freedom from taxes in Asia because the city ‘is removed from the list of province’ (ἐξληγμένης τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας).³⁴ The Senate was, according to Hadrian’s letter, the original source of these privileges of Aphrodisias. The inscribed version of the *Senatus Consultum*, from which the aforementioned extract copied several privileges, repeated their exemption from levies and contributions nine times! In the third century when the entire Asia faced economic turmoil,³⁵

29 Reynolds (1982) 95.

30 Bernhardt (1980).

31 *I Aph 2007* 8.29, l. 3.

32 *I Aph 2007* 8.33, ll. 3–4.

33 *I Aph 2007* 8.34, l. 11.

34 *I Aph 2007* 8.34, ll. 13–4.

35 Rees (2004) 37–45; Hekster (2008) 34–6.

the Aphrodisians intended to claim their immunity so as to escape from the growing financial demands from the province and the emperors.

As a relatively small city with considerable income on a strategic location, Aphrodisias would fail in the end, but the Aphrodisians kept up their appearance in language. On the Wall, a letter from Gordian III presented Aphrodisians' successful rhetoric.³⁶ The document, issued in 243 in response to a petition concerning 'the matter of the Laodiceans',³⁷ subtly demanded Aphrodisians to assist the victims of a disaster, probably an earthquake in Laodicea ad Lycum.³⁸ The Council of Asia had requested Aphrodisias, then still a free city, to contribute to the beneficent activity; the city thus dispatched envoys to Gordian to protest against this request, certainly referring to the privileges Gordian himself had confirmed four years ago.³⁹ The emperor clearly wanted to reject Aphrodisians' petition but, with his previous confirmation, he had to maintain their freedom in language. He claimed in the letter that 'it is not possible to issue a command to those who are free' but interpreted the Asian decree (*βούλευμα*) as a 'good administrative act'.⁴⁰ While he pretended to leave the decision for Aphrodisias according to their will, his intention was so clear that Aphrodisias could not misunderstand. On the other hand, the reply must have been satisfactory to the Aphrodisians. The city therefore ordered the letter to be inscribed on the Wall and the words 'law the willing-to-do' (*νόμος τὸ ἐκούσιον*) to be set out with a star: the letter, with Aphrodisias saving the face and Gordian achieving his purpose, 'must have been considered among the gems of this collection', as judged by Kokkinia.⁴¹

The second quarter of the third century witnesses not only an economic crisis but also a rapid governmental centralisation in Anatolia.⁴² To preserve its political autonomy, Aphrodisias claimed

36 *I Aph2007* 8.103.

37 *I Aph2007* 8.103, l. 9.

38 See SHA, *Gordian* 26.1–3. Reynolds (1982) 134.

39 *I Aph2007* 8.102 (239 AD).

40 *I Aph2007* 8.102, l.4.

41 Kokkinia (2016) 35.

42 Zuiderhoek (2009).

its freedom from direct Roman political interventions. The aforementioned extract mentioned the prohibition of unwilling military entries. Roman proconsuls, however, must have intervened frequently in local affairs, since many private epitaphs legally rejected proconsular intervention (ἔντευξις ἡγεμόνος) on the treatment of their legacy.⁴³ The term ἔντευξις means ‘both a petition and a petition that has received a positive response.’⁴⁴ Although it is not clear how such intervention actually worked, we may think of local disputes of property, in which one party appealed to the proconsul for arbitration. Since we know these claims only from Aphrodisias, I am confident to argue that this formulary of epitaph must relate to Aphrodisias’ special political freedom from proconsuls: it was not only a public display, but also a useful privilege that was acknowledged by many local people.

The city also received letters from provincial consuls, some of which even praised the city for its loyalty, reputation, and privileges; but none of these letters were inscribed on the Wall.⁴⁵ On the Wall, we see some reference to Aphrodisias’ political and legal freedom: the *Senatus Consultum* ruled that ‘the community of Plarasa and Aphrodisias should be free and enjoy [its own] law [...] to enjoy their own traditional laws and those which they pass among themselves hereafter’;⁴⁶ the letter of Hadrian confirmed Aphrodisias’ autonomy;⁴⁷ Severus and Caracalla explicitly reaffirmed the privilege that ‘your existing polity (πολιτεία) and its laws which have survived unchanged up to our reign.’⁴⁸ In general, the reference to political and legal freedom is less explicit in comparison to tax immunity.⁴⁹ Aphrodisias perhaps had to manoeuvre between the claim of freedom and the loyalty to Rome.

43 *I Aph 2007* 12.1107 (II–III century), 13.151 (early III century), 13.702 (late II–early III century), Chaniotis (2004) No.22 (III century), No. 26 (II century). Chaniotis (2002a) 257 also refers to other two unpublished inscriptions.

44 Chaniotis (2002a) 257.

45 *I Aph 2007* 1.301.i (II century), 2.307 (II–III century), 12.538 (180s AD), 15.330 (180s AD), 12.911 (II–III century).

46 *I Aph 2007* 8.27, ll. 46 & 61–2.

47 *I Aph 2007* 8.34, l. 5.

48 *I Aph 2007* 8.37, l. 6.

49 Reynolds (1982) 128.

Two texts concerning proconsular visits to the city further complicated the nature of Aphrodisias' political freedom.⁵⁰ Theoretically, proconsuls of Asia should not visit the city without Aphrodisias' permission, but what if the Aphrodisians invited the proconsul? A letter of Commodus dealt with this issue: the city invited the Asian proconsul for its internal financial administration whereas the proconsul must have been reluctant and reported to Commodus. The emperor, supporting the provincial intervention, mentioned twice the 'rights of freedom' (ἐλευθερίας δίκαια) and emphasized that it was 'necessary to preserve the cities in the same position'.⁵¹ I suppose the letter provided a basis for the Aphrodisians when a similar visit was necessary during the reign of Severus Alexander. Due to the 'freedom' of Aphrodisias, Sulpicius Priscus, the provincial proconsul of Asia, hesitated to visit the city since he did not know whether 'no law of your city or decree of the Senate or instruction or letter from the emperor prevents the proconsul from making a stay in the city'.⁵² Notice that it was the Aphrodisians who invited the proconsul to visit the city, stay there and sacrifice to Aphrodite for the imperial family.⁵³ Aphrodisias at this time did not want to cut off completely the connection with the Asian proconsuls. The goddess of Aphrodite was addressed as a reason to let the proconsul intervene the local affairs. Given the fact that Severus Alexander himself issued a letter to Aphrodisias concerning a dispute between the city and the Council of Asia in favour of the city,⁵⁴ the proconsul Priscus had to behave more carefully so as to avoid further imperial intervention. Praying to the goddess also offered him a reason to present his friendliness to the city of Aphrodisias.⁵⁵ The letter of Commodus was, by all means, a constant source of authority for Aphrodisias when they need to appeal to the governors because of internal affairs.

Aphrodisians claimed their financial and political freedom on the Wall with an intention to be exempted from tax burden and from political-military intervention. The 'freedom' rhetoric would

⁵⁰ *I Aph2007* 8.35 (Commodus), 12.34 (222–35, late period of Severus Alexander's reign).

⁵¹ *I Aph2007* 8.35, ll. 9–10.

⁵² *I Aph2007* 12.34, ll. 19–22. We know his name from *I Aph2007* 12.33, an honorific inscription adjusted to the letter.

⁵³ *I Aph2007* 12.34, ll. 24–25.

⁵⁴ *I Aph2007* 8.99 (224 AD).

⁵⁵ Less strong than the argument of Chaniotis (2002a) 255–6.

eventually not help to maintain its freedom but all external powers had to respect the tradition of freedom when intervening in civic affairs in Aphrodisias.

2.2 *Friendship with Rome*

This section examines how Aphrodisias presented its loyalty to Rome on the Archival Wall. From the perspective of Aphrodisias, the Wall served as a diplomatic symbol of friendship and loyalty to Rome, especially to the Roman emperors, which in its turn served as a basis for the city's freedom.

We shall first re-examine the composition of the so-called *Senatus Consultum*, which occupied the entire Column II of the Wall and consisted of several senatorial decisions in reply to an envoy of Aphrodisias. The text took the form of treaty, but its content probably came from several treaties, since the same privileges have been repeated in the text.⁵⁶ Written in a formulaic diplomatic style, the opening of the decree reaffirmed the 'favour, friendship and alliance' (χάρις, φιλία, συμμαχία) between Plarasan-Aphrodisians and Romans, confirmed by the authority of the Senate, Antony, and Octavian. The privileges were granted as a result of friendship, since claims of freedom, friendship, and alliance were repeated once a privilege was confirmed. Apart from tax immunity and legal autonomy, discussed in Section 2.1, the Romans also granted to the Aphrodisian ambassadors special privileges to be treated as Roman senators when visiting Rome.⁵⁷ Among the treaties between Rome and Eastern cities, so far as I know, no other text offered a parallel set of privileges to the ambassadors.⁵⁸ Although ambassadors from other cities may have enjoyed similar privileges, the fact that the decree to Aphrodisias listed in detail ambassadors' privileges may suggest that the honours were initially granted to certain honourable ambassadors, and then were extended to all future ambassadors. Aphrodisians certainly considered the ambassadors' privileges crucial to the status of the city. Therefore, they consequently extracted several lines from this paragraph into the short list of the

⁵⁶ For similar treaties see Mitchell (2005), Burton (2011).

⁵⁷ *I Aph 2007* 8.27, ll. 75–85. The *Senatus Consultum* permitted ambassadors from Aphrodisias and Plarasa (1) to sit as spectators in the area reserved for Senators at contests and other spectacles in Rome or its suburbs; (2) to have access to the Senate and the right to speak and report in the Senate.

⁵⁸ Reynolds (1982) 89.

city's privileges.⁵⁹ The city must have regarded the high status of its ambassador as a sign of its affinity to Rome.

The relationship between Aphrodisias and Rome had been more asymmetrical: Aphrodisias had been a client to Rome, then the city was freed by Sulla but soon lost its freedom during the Mithridatic War or the War of Brutus and Cassius; only in the late Republic was Aphrodisias freed by Octavian.⁶⁰ Therefore, although many Republican texts could show Aphrodisias' loyalty to and friendship with Rome, they were not inscribed on the Wall.⁶¹ Already in the second century BC, the city of Plarasa-Aphrodisias had dedicated statues, taken oaths, and claimed their alliance with Rome, together with their neighbouring cities in Caria. The region of Caria was therefore considered most pro-Roman in Western Asia Minor.⁶² The oath was preserved in Aphrodisias, but third-century Aphrodisians did not inscribe this on the Wall.⁶³ The reason why this oath was not on the Wall cannot be confirmed, but it was probably because the text did not emphasize so much the special status of Aphrodisias. As most other cities in Asia, Aphrodisias had once been client of a Roman proconsul, Quintus Oppius, whose letter in 85 BC was inscribed on the south wall of the north *parodos*, not far from the Archival Wall, in late second century AD.⁶⁴ Had Aphrodisias merely wanted to show the friendship with Rome, then the letter would have been a good claim: Aphrodisias was among the first cities that dispatched soldiers when Oppius was besieged and demanded for help.⁶⁵ Oppius claimed that he would undertake the patronage of the Aphrodisians and stand for Aphrodisias' profits in Rome: a claim common in the last century BC.⁶⁶ However, Reynolds and Eilers argue correctly that it was Aphrodisias that initiated the relationship of patronage with Oppius. It may have seemed

59 *IAph2007* 8.28, ll.10–15 = 8.27, ll. 76–83.

60 Santangelo (2007) 50–4, Chaniotis (2003) 74–5, Reynolds (1982) 4 & 98. The letter 8.24, whose authorship remains uncertain, will not be discussed here. See Reynolds (1982) 20–6 & Kokkinia (2016) 37–42 for two brave but unconvincing reconstructions.

61 Santangelo (2007) 54 & 207–9.

62 Santangelo (2007) 49.

63 *IAph2007* 8.210.

64 *IAph2007* 8.2.

65 *IAph2007* 8.2, ll. 17–24.

66 Eilers (2002) takes this letter as the main example of his entire book.

to the third-century Aphrodisians inferior to later letters between Aphrodisias and Rome, in which two cities seemed to have a more symmetrical relationship.⁶⁷

Then what kind of relationship was preferred by the third-century Aphrodisians? Let us return to one of the most important inscriptions on the Wall: the letter of Octavian to Stephanos, inscribed on the top of the central Column iv.⁶⁸ Apart from the aforementioned exemption from financial burden, the focus of the Aphrodisians was the special recommendation and relationship between Octavian and Aphrodisias: Octavian explicitly defined the status of Aphrodisias by saying ‘I have taken for mine out of all Asia’, an expression which should be interpreted as a claim of patronage. He also demanded Stephanos, a lieutenant of Antony in Asia, to protect the Aphrodisians ‘as my own townsmen’ (ὡς ἐμοῦς πολεῖτας).⁶⁹ Octavian’s importance to the city’s freedom was clearly recognised by the third-century Aphrodisians: the *Senatus Consultum* was issued under the authority of Octavian and Antony⁷⁰; Octavian himself also wrote a letter to the city of Samos, in which Aphrodisias’ privileges were justified (Section 2.3). Some of the documents on the Wall and in the city were also sent to Aphrodisias under Octavian’s command, since he asked Aphrodisian ambassador Solon to bring back ‘copies of the privileges that relate to you’ from Roman public tablets (ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων δέλτων) in another letter.⁷¹ For the third-century Aphrodisians, Octavian’s special favour and the preservation of these documents must be crucial to their collective memory concerning their status as the *one* city out of Asia: they remembered Octavian as the liberator of their city.

Interestingly, Octavian must have personal friendship with two Aphrodisians, as both of them were explicitly mentioned on the Wall. The letter to Stephanos referred to a freedman Zoilos,⁷²

67 Reynolds (1982); Eilers (2002) 23–4.

68 *I Aph2007* 8.29.

69 *I Aph2007* 8.29, l. 4.

70 *I Aph2007* 8.27, l. 26.

71 *I Aph2007* 8.25. It is highly likely that 12.904, a fragment of the *Senatus Consultum*, is among the original copies taken back thanks to 8.25.

72 *I Aph2007* 8.29. For Zoilos being freedman, see *I Aph2007* 8.1 and 8.5.

whom Octavian befriended. Readers may attribute Octavian's favour of the city to Zoilos' good relationship with his master.⁷³ Given the fact that Zoilos paid the first phase of the theatre, the north *parodos* of which carries this 'archive', one should understand the selection of this letter as a display of Zoilos' contribution to the city's freedom. Zoilos' family, very influential in the Principate, had even erected a statue in front of the later Archival Wall, perhaps shortly before the Wall was inscribed.⁷⁴ The other important individual is Solon son of Demetrios, mentioned in three documents on the Wall. He was the ambassador who brought back the *Senatus Consultum* and the aforementioned copies concerning the city's privileges. Moreover, he had reported to Octavian the damage and the contribution Aphrodisias had made during the war against Labienus, so that the emperor demanded Ephesus to assist in Aphrodisias' reconstruction (Section 2.3). Solon received special privileges for Aphrodisias' ambassadors in the *Senatus Consultum*.⁷⁵ Thanks to his 'greatest care' over the civic affairs, Augustus conferred him special privileges, held him as among imperial acquaintances, and praised him in the letter to his hometown.⁷⁶ The reference to two specific persons may both commemorate them for their heirs in the third century, and attribute their friendship with Rome not only to emperors' grace but also to the commitments of Aphrodisians.

Aphrodisias' friendship with Rome provided the justification for not only the origin but also the continuity of their freedom: letters from several emperors in the third century were inscribed on the Wall, confirming the privileges of Aphrodisias in a modelled formula.⁷⁷ Sulla and Julio-Claudian emperors had already used a language of divine affinity between Rome, city of Aeneas son of Venus/Aphrodite, and Aphrodisias, city of Aphrodite.⁷⁸ But it was not until Severus and Caracalla when such affinity was firmly established in their letters replying Aphrodisians' congratulations to

73 Smith (1993a); Kokkinia (2016) 30.

74 *I Aph 2007* 8.203, I follow the interpretation of Smith (2006) 43 and Kokkinia (2016) 50n145. Reynolds' date rejected due to palaeography and architectural contexts.

75 *I Aph 2007* 8.27, ll. 75–83.

76 *I Aph 2007* 8.25, ll. 36–7.

77 *I Aph 2007* 8.36 (Severus & Caracalla 198 AD), 8.37 (Severus & Caracalla 198 AD), 8.99 (Severus Alexander 224 AD), 8.102 (Gordian III 239 AD), 8.103 (Gordian III 243 AD).

78 Santangelo (2007) 207–9; Jones (2001) 182–3.

their imperial enthronement. The Aphrodisians must have received a similar letter of thankfulness from Hadrian in which the city's privileges had been confirmed,⁷⁹ but the third-century citizens chose not to inscribe it on the Wall. What made the Aphrodisians, thus, inscribe the two letters from Severus and Caracalla? Not only did the emperors confirm the privileges of Aphrodisias, but more specifically, the goddess of Aphrodite, 'from whom our nobility associated' (παρ' ἧς ἡ εὐγένεια [ἡμῶν καθέστηκεν]), was praised in both letters.⁸⁰ Although the argument that these letters indicated a 'lien de consanguinité' seems an overinterpretation,⁸¹ it is clear that the divine connection and friendship in the letters attracted the third-century Aphrodisians who commemorated them on the Wall.⁸² The next document, the letter from Severus Alexander in 224, dealt with a petition about which we know little. Its opening, 'to take away anything from the rights belonging to the city is foreign to the guardianship (κηδεμονία) in my reign', introduced the idea of imperial guardianship which protected Aphrodisias' privileges.⁸³ In a letter, which was written in the same style as the letters of Severus and Caracalla, Gordian III confirmed the same privileges after referring to 'your antiquity, your goodwill, and friendship towards the Romans'.⁸⁴ The continuity of formula even can even be found in texts later than the Wall: the letter from Traianus Decius and Herennius Etruscus, the last imperial letter found in Aphrodisias, praised the city's goddess and then referred to Aphrodisias' relationship and loyalty to Rome.⁸⁵ All these letters were written in a formulaic way, with reference to Aphrodite, to the city's grandeur or to imperial obligations.⁸⁶ The third-century Aphrodisians clearly intended to display such continuity on the Wall, in order to justify their continuous freedom and privileges.

79 As suggested in *I Aph 2007 8.34*, ll. 5–7.

80 *I Aph 2007 8.36*, l. 9, reconstructed in Jones (2001), My translation.

81 Jones (2001) 183, also referring to *I Aph 2007 8.37*, ll. 4–5; *SEG* 51-1492.

82 Robert (1977) 88.

83 *I Aph 2007 8.99*.

84 *I Aph 2007 8.102*, l. 4.

85 *I Aph 2007 8.114*, ll. 8–9. It may also relate to Decius' own religious agenda, as suggested by Levick (2002) 240–1.

86 Elaboration of Millar (1992)'s mechanism.

To conclude, friendship and affinity to Romans, especially to Roman emperors, served to the third-century Aphrodisians as the basic justification for the city's continuous freedom and privileges. The city intended to show a continuity of friendship thanks both to the emperors and to the local elite, both to the divine connection and to secular supports. With about half of the documents on the Wall referring to the friendship between Aphrodisias and Rome, the city seemed to claim itself as the *one* city out of Asia, in comparison with other Asian cities. Such civic pride over other cities will be examined in the following section: here we see a inter-civic political landscape in Asia which turned to be even more complicated, not only during the Principate but also in the third century.

2.3 *Competing with Metropoleis**

This section focusses on the idea of superiority over other cities, intentionally shown on the Wall by the third-century Aphrodisians. On this Wall, Aphrodisias confirmed its status as 'one city in Asia' by carefully selecting three texts sent from Roman emperors to three other cities about Aphrodisias. The section aims to examine what kind of relationship the third-century Aphrodisians intended to show on these three selected texts on the Wall. The answer lies in the differences between the selected texts and those not selected.

We need to first examine what relationship actually existed between these cities during the Principate. As shown in Sections 1.2 and 2.1, Aphrodisias was to some extent independent from the province of Asia, but its elite still participated in some agonistic games and other political affairs in the province. It played an intermediary role between Asia and Rome since the last century BC thanks to this special status. A decree of Asian Council of Hellenes honoured two brothers who resided in Aphrodisias and simultaneously held the citizenship of Tralles. They had been appointed to visit the Roman Senate and magistrates representing 'all the peoples and nations in Asia', in order to 'assist and [protect] the province (ἐπαρχία) [being ruined]' by publicans and creditors.⁸⁷ The brothers from Aphrodisias, described in the decree as 'having a reputation for excellence and glory', had

* Part of this section has been presented in the CRASIS Masterclass, Groningen, 07 March 2019.
87 *I Aph 12007* 2.503, ll. 8–9.

endured dangers and questions and finally brought their missions to fruition: therefore, the decree ordered an honorific statue for the brothers.⁸⁸ The inscription was dated to the first half of the last century BC: the affair was therefore probably related to the aftermath of the Mithridatic Wars in the 70s BC, since no other wars in this period caused both severe economic turmoil and a certain unification of Asian cities. It is clear that Aphrodisias played a role of intermediary in the interactions between Rome and Asia. While one might understand the role of Aphrodisias as political middleman,⁸⁹ it is more probable that Aphrodisias serves as representative of the province of Asia thanks to its close relationship with Rome.⁹⁰ For the third-century Aphrodisians, no matter whether Aphrodisias was free from the province, the text could have served as a good display of the city's superiority over other Asian cities. But why did they not inscribe it on the Wall, if they merely wanted to 'show our grandeur'? I argue that the third-century Aphrodisians preferred a certain kind of 'splendid isolation' from the province: a clear distinction between the free Aphrodisias and the unfree province was expected.

Such isolation was presented in the letters from Trajan and from Hadrian, which have been briefly discussed in Section 2.1. Both letters confirmed that Aphrodisias had been removed from the 'list of province' and thus needed not pay for liturgies or other taxes of the province. Whereas Hadrian's letter concerned the relationship between the province and Aphrodisias, the letter from Trajan was written to Smyrna. The letter presented a clear deducing process: Aphrodisias was a free city out of *formula provinciae*, so citizens of Aphrodisias should be free from liturgies in Asia or to others, thus Ti. Julianos Attalos, an Aphrodisian 'with the highest testimonials', should be free from duties in Smyrna.⁹¹ It appeared in Aphrodisias because the city was involved in the letter: such practice was relatively uncommon: to my best knowledge, there was no other parallel cases, except for

88 *I Aph 2007* 2.503, ll. 27–29.

89 Santangelo (2007) 130.

90 Reynolds (1982) 30–31.

91 *I Aph 2007* 8.33. See also Pliny the Younger, *ep.* 10, 48, 55, 119.

those inscriptions which the Senate or the emperor claimed to be copied across the Empire.⁹² One of the best-known examples was the letters of Antoninus Pius to Berenice and Ptolemais published in Cyrene.⁹³ Millar argues that these inscriptions were unfavourable replies to the applicants of petition, thus the party of which Antoninus Pius was in favour inscribed it when they received a copy, whereas the petitioners must have had no reason to inscribe it.⁹⁴ In this case, Trajan clearly sent the letter to Smyrna and a letter with similar ideas to the proconsul: at the same time, while Aphrodisias received a copy. The fact that this letter was not found in Smyrna or any free cities in Asia suggested that the letter may not be appreciated in Smyrna. For the Aphrodisians, this letter perfectly fit their idea that the city was free from the provincial administration. However, in Aphrodisias, the letter was not inscribed right after it was issued, but two centuries later. Millar's argument can explain why Aphrodisias held a copy of the text, but cannot explain why *in the third century* the letter was inscribed on the Wall. I argue that Aphrodisias intended to create a sense of isolation/freedom from the province of Asia.

Whereas Trajan's letter to Smyrna satisfied the third-century Aphrodisians thanks to the idea of isolation from the province of Asia, two letters from Octavian show more explicitly the city's superiority over other two cities. Just below Octavian's letter to Stephanos on the Wall, we find his reply to a petition from the Samians, issued in 38 BC. The Samians requested Octavian to grant them freedom, but the would-be-emperor refused. It seems strange that Octavian referred to Aphrodisias in a letter to Samos, unless Samos' petition mentioned Aphrodisias. The letter, unlike Trajan's letter to Smyrna, did not directly deal with affairs in Aphrodisias but only referred to the city. Therefore, the letter may not have been automatically forwarded to Aphrodisias, as Millar suggests. It seems more likely that an ambassador (most probably Solon, envoy in 38 BC) found the letter and brought it back

92 Edmondson (2014) 144 on negative decisions of the emperor in general.

93 Reynolds (1978) 121. However, in the case of Cyrene, the first letter (to Berenice) was not a faithful copy but an excerpt from the original imperial letter, as the inscription claimed, 'excerpts of letters of the Lord Antoninus' (κεφάλαια ἐπισ[τολῶν τοῦ] κυρίου Ἀντωνεῖν[ου], l. 69).

94 Millar (1992) 431 & 438, Wang (2019a) 9.

to Aphrodisias:⁹⁵ but we never know. Octavian's response offered an unusual case of refusal to freedom granting. What interested the third-century Aphrodisians was certainly the reason why he reserved freedom only for Aphrodisias: Octavian honoured the city because they 'took my side in the war and were captured by storm because of their devotion to us (Romans).'⁹⁶ He described Aphrodisias' freedom as 'the greatest privilege of all', thus giving freedom to Samos would break his custom (συνήθεια) even if the his wife had recommended Samos.⁹⁷ The last sentence was interesting: Octavian's claim not only informed us that 'a grant of freedom would normally be expected to confer immunity from taxation';⁹⁸ more importantly, his language showed a clear distinction between freedom as honour/privilege and immunity as fiscal benefits. While Samos' petition was interpreted as a fiscal action, Octavian's rejection implicitly elevated the problem to a level of honour. This notion must have been satisfactory to the third-century Aphrodisians. The friendship and devotion in the war (against Labienus) provided a firm basis for the justification of Aphrodisias' splendid freedom, but at the same time strongly rejected demands from other cities for such freedom.

The other letter of Octavian has received less scholarly attention in comparison to the letters to Samos and Smyrna, partly because it did not explicitly refer to the idea of freedom or immunity. This letter was written to the Magistrates, Council and Demos of the Ephesians.⁹⁹ According to the letter, the issue started from an embassy led by Solon son of Demetrios, who reported to Octavian the damage to Aphrodisias and Plarasa during the war against Labienus. It is highly likely that this Solon was the same Solon son of Demetrios who brought back the *Senatus Consultum* and other important documents concerning Aphrodisias' privileges altogether, as mentioned in Section 2.2.¹⁰⁰

95 Reynolds (1982) 105.

96 *I Aph 2007* 8.32, ll. 2–3.

97 *Pace* Reynolds (1982) 106, where freedom is described as the reward of *virtus*. The relationship between Livia and Samos see Herrmann (1960).

98 Reynolds (1982) 106.

99 *I Aph 2007* 8.31, l. 1.

100 *I Aph 2007* 8.25, ll. 28–35.

The main content of this letter can be divided into two parts. First, Octavian demanded Ephesus to co-operate with Antony to help restore the property to Aphrodisias. Ephesus, the *metropolis* in Asia, was demanded to offer (financial) assistance at Aphrodisias' request.¹⁰¹ Second, Octavian acknowledged that a golden Eros, originally dedicated by Caesar to Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, was looted and now dedicated to Artemis of Ephesus. He demanded the Ephesians to return it. The letter was clearly the result of Solon's petition: Solon must have known much about the loss of property in Aphrodisias and about the statue of Eros.

Aphrodisias had a good relationship with Ephesus in the Principate, but on the Wall which emphasized the freedom from the province of Asia, the selection of this letter was reasonable. Octavian's discourse in this letter was the main reason why the city preferred it. Octavian used a religious discourse to explain his order in the second half of the inscription. Ephesus should return the golden Eros not only because the offering was originally to Aphrodisias and the Ephesians captured it illegally, but also because the statue of Eros, symbol of love and relationship, should not be set in the temple of Artemis the virgin.¹⁰² It almost created a battle between the two goddesses in these two cities. Already in the *Senatus Consultum*, the temple of Aphrodisian Aphrodite had been ruled to 'pertain to the temple of Ephesian Artemis at Ephesus',¹⁰³ taking the Artemision as the standard. Octavian's letter further mounted the tension between Aphrodite and Artemis. This tension, relevant to the relationship between Aphrodisias and the province, could only be seen on the Wall: there was a cult of Artemis in Aphrodisias, influenced by the imperial cult.¹⁰⁴ We know from Section 1.2 & 1.3 that the two cities actually had a good relationship, and some female members of the elite from Aphrodisias even held priestesshood of Ephesian Artemis. For Aphrodisias, at least on the Wall, getting rid of the influence of Artemis was an attempt to show its independence from Ephesus and the province of Asia.

¹⁰¹ *I Aph 2007* 8.31, ll. 8–11.

¹⁰² Wang (2019a) 10.

¹⁰³ *I Aph 2007* 8.27, ll. 56–7.

¹⁰⁴ *I Aph 2007* 1.186 and 12.609.

The expression of Octavian's affinity with Aphrodisias also deserves an examination.¹⁰⁵ Octavian mentioned that the Eros had been dedicated by Caesar, thus the patronage of Aphrodisias had already started from his 'father'. Octavian used a language of patronage 'ἀνάγκη μοι' (it is necessary for me) when explaining why he took care of the Aphrodisians, to whom he granted privileges. He even assumed that Ephesus had known the benefits he granted to Aphrodisias, since the last line, 'that you will have heard of them (the benefits) too' (ὅμας ἀκούειν νομίζω), attempted to remind the Ephesians of the relationship between Aphrodisias and Octavian. We do not know how Ephesus could have known Octavian's favour, but this may be another element that satisfied those who chose this text to be inscribed on the Wall in the third century. One may think of the letter to Stephanos in which Octavian claimed that Aphrodisias was 'taken for mine out of all Asia': the letter might have been published before the letter to Ephesus. After all, the last line appeared to be even stronger than merely a flattering for Aphrodisias.¹⁰⁶

It thus seems clear that these three documents on the Wall presented an idealised relationship between Aphrodisias and cities in Asia. Whereas in fact we know that Aphrodisias was independent in politics but related to the province in culture, the three documents intended to show a independence and even superiority, stronger than actuality, over other cities in Asia: Smyrna, Samos, and Ephesus. The special status of freedom remained crucial in these three texts. By selecting these three texts rather than others, such as the decree of Asian Council, the third-century Aphrodisians credited their superiority over other cities to their freedom, and their freedom to their devotion and loyalty to Rome.

Conclusion

The Archival Wall offers a wonderful case of intentional construction of the city's collective memory. The third-century Aphrodisians carefully selected documents in order to show three key ideas of which they thought highly: the constant freedom, the long friendship with Rome, and the superiority

¹⁰⁵ *I Aph 2007* 8.31, ll. 19–20.

¹⁰⁶ *Pace Kokkinia* (2016) 26 and *Wang* (2019a) 10.

over other Asian cities. Freedom is clearly the focus of the city's collective memory: it was the result of their friendship with Rome and thus ensured the city's special status in Asia. In the third century when the entire Asia faced economic crisis and political deterioration, the claim of freedom must have been pivotal. For local inhabitants, their special status of freedom served as a source of civic pride; for the local elite, freedom allowed them to be exempted from provincial duties and political interventions, and also provided them with a larger space for political participations; for visitors, especially governors, the freedom of Aphrodisias demanded them to behave more carefully.

The Wall also offers a platform for methodological discussions on epigraphy.¹⁰⁷ Given the fact that most letters are high and small, the inscribed documents were made to be seen, but perhaps not to be read or to be examined. According to Kokkinia's self-justification, a textual analysis of texts from the perspective of the audience is by nature invalid.¹⁰⁸ She is correct to argue that the Wall serves more as a symbol than an archive. I therefore also focus on the layout and the particular elements in the texts. But to some extent, Kokkinia has gone too far. I argue that these texts were made to be read by a certain group, and more importantly, they were selected to show a clear ideology. The content may not be so important for the audience, but it was important for the decision-makers: for them, to choose which texts were to be immortalised related to their self-identification, since the actual audience of the monuments were probably not the passers-by but the local elite and the elite network across the empire.¹⁰⁹

When the local power continued to decrease, the claim of freedom became less sound and useful. Cities in the community of Peer Polity Interaction did not need to rank themselves since no victory could be obtained. The loss of power was definitive, and competing for imperial favour would gain less and less actual benefits. Twenty years later than the construction, visitors to Aphrodisias may

¹⁰⁷ Corbier (2006).

¹⁰⁸ Kokkinia (2016) 44. Her reason is that many texts on the Archival Wall were so small that no one could read carefully.

Although it is in fact readable if one stands in front of the Wall. A better reason may be the illiteracy, or may assume that most visitors would not read the texts thoroughly and carefully.

¹⁰⁹ Frenkel (2017).

hear from the Archival Wall the last cry for their freedom, but also the first claim for its loyalty to Rome: one may therefore understand the Wall also as a means to flatter Rome, in order to gain a better status in the newly-organised empire. A new role was to be played by the city of Aphrodite: and the city would take pride in its new position: the capital of a new province.

Chapter 3 COPING WITH THE NEW EMPIRE: APHRODISIAS AS THE PROVINCIAL CAPITAL*

This chapter examines how Aphrodisias and the Aphrodisians expressed their new role when the city was provincialised. When Aphrodisias lost its political ‘freedom’ in the second half of the third century, the city came under the supervision of a newly-created province and its governor, who stayed in the city which became the capital of this new province. It was no longer free from provinces and imperial interventions, its local elite gradually became silent in public affairs, and governors became more visible in the local record. Local elites and imperial governors adapted to each other in order to redefine the mechanism of local political culture. Aphrodisias also had to change its status from a free city and a special friend of Rome to the capital of a new and rich province of Caria. When did the city become a part of the province? How did Aphrodisias as a city and members of the Aphrodisians elite present their new role in the newly-organised empire? To what extent did governors, the new players of local politics, influence the city and its political culture?

Introduction

The reform of provinces in the mid- and late third century gradually reframed the landscape of the entire Roman Empire.¹ Large and influential provinces, like Asia and Africa, were disassembled into smaller entities. Power in multi-centric provinces were intensified and centralised towards the provincial capitals, even if this process may have started one century earlier.² These provincial capitals, where imperial governors and armies were stationed, not only accumulated most imperial resources and festivals in the entire province, but also attracted the elite from other cities in the provinces. Late-antique governors, rather than visiting cities around their province, stayed more in the capital cities. Due to the relative shortage of sources, a thorough study on the role of provincial capitals in the third and the fourth century is still wanting.³ But fortunately, cities in Caria preserved relatively good documentary evidence in this period, which allowed us to trace Aphrodisias’ role in this new

* An earlier version of Sections 3.1 & 3.2 has been presented on the Research Master Symposium, Universiteit Leiden, 14 June 2019.

1 Pace Barnes (1982) and Corcoran (2000), both describing the provincial reforms as a single-time change.

2 Rees (2004), Zuiderhoek (2009).

3 For the Principate, Haensch (1997) is still irreplaceable. The early third century is partly studied by Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002).

province. The unique epigraphic corpus enabled a discussion on the period of Aphrodisias' provincialisation. When did the city become part of a province and which province? Had there been a province of Phrygia and Caria which was later disassembled? Was Aphrodisias made capital once the province was created or only after?

It has been widely accepted that the late third century and the entire fourth century witnessed a dramatic crisis for civic institutions in the East, and Aphrodisias was no exception.⁴ The local elite reduced their investments in provincial games and less frequently held civic magistracies. A clear diminution of honorific statues and inscriptions for local elites started already in the mid-third century. Some members of the city council were promoted to the senatorial order and thus exempted from local benefactions and duties, some became members of the provincial council, and others, mainly with lower ranks and incomes, silently disappeared in the local record. During the period interested in this essay, the voice of the local elite in civic affairs diminished quickly. Although many of them must have retained their property and income, they became more reluctant to present themselves in public discourses. On the other hand, sources suggested that the city faced a fiscal crisis, and the institutional order of the city was destroyed. It was until the second half of the fifth century, when the local finance recovered, that the local elite became influential again.⁵ While Roueché has wisely examined the rejuvenation of civic politics after Marcian's reign, the activities of the local elite in the 'dark' fourth century still demand a careful examination.⁶

Following the growing centralisation of the empire's political institutions and the decline of local power, provincial governors became the main character in local politics. Instead of sponsoring festivals or offering meals as the local elite had normally done in the Principate, governors were in charge of public buildings and the maintenance of public constructions. Since these governors were outsiders of the local community, they had to cooperate with local people and especially the local elite. They also played as mediator between the city/province and emperors. On the one hand, they were honoured by the provincial council and/or cities, because they represented the imperial power; on the other hand, these governors replaced the city in direct interactions with emperors.

4 The best overviews are Jones (1964) 741–763 & Liebeschuetz (2001) Chapter 3.

5 *ala2004* IV.2, v.6.

6 *ala2004* v–vi.

Such bilateral message transfers and honorific practice made governors crucial to political manoeuvres in *ca.* 250–400.

This chapter consists of three sections, all of which will deal with different players in the new political culture. Section 3.1 discusses the provincialisation of Caria and Aphrodisias. I shall argue that Aphrodisias became the provincial capital in the newly-created province of Caria once it was created, but the city retained its freedom for around twenty years after the Archival Wall. Aphrodisias quickly changed its role by advertising agonistic games in the new province and thus created a new network of province in surrounding region. Section 3.2 discusses the end of local aristocracy on an institutional level. Albeit some victors who entered the imperial bureaucratic system, we see clearly the diminution of local voices in public affairs, but the local elite continued to make honorific monuments, mainly for governors. The section will point out that the local elite tried to show their loyalty to governors and at the same time gradually became silent in public discourse. Section 3.3 focuses on governors in the fourth century: how these governors were presented in honorific inscriptions made by and for them, and how they intervened in civic political discourses.

3.1 *Capital of Caria*

This section examines the process of provincialisation of Aphrodisias. By re-examining relevant sources and previous arguments, I will discuss several questions about the transitional period during which Aphrodisias was transformed from a free city to a provincial capital, and how the city as a political entity took its new role within the new province.

The last known inscription referring to the city's freedom was a letter from Traianus Decius and Herennius Etruscus, dated from December 250 to January 251 thanks to the imperial titles. The two emperors claimed to preserve 'your existing freedom and all the other rights', as what previous emperors normally did in their letters to Aphrodisias. It is interesting to examine the last clause of the letter, '(we) being willing also to give fulfilment to your hopes for the future.'⁷ The emperors promised their favour to the city in the future. It is worth noticing that the emperors *explicitly* permitted the city to directly petition to them. Whereas it was common for provincial cities to disregard the rules that these cities should appeal to their provincial governors, and to directly petition to the

⁷ *I Aph 2007* 8.114, l. 15.

emperor, emperors would normally not encourage such direct petitions.⁸ This clause, however, left much space for upward communications in the changing political landscape. The mid-third century witnessed a provincial rearrangement that seemed unclear from the sources.

Traditionally, the disassemblment of the province of Asia, as part of the so-called provincial reforms, had been dated to the reign of Diocletian. However, the area of Caria and Phrygia might be an exception, according to Roueché's ground-breaking essay and her following publication of late-antique inscriptions in Aphrodisias.⁹ From then on, it was widely accepted that a joint province of Phrygia and Caria must have been created prior to 259, and the joint province may have been dismantled in *ca.* 300.¹⁰ Roueché's argument was based on a series of honorific inscriptions which were dedicated to several ἡγεμόνες 'of Caria and Phrygia' (Καρίας καὶ Φρυγίας).¹¹ Some ἡγεμόνες were also honoured both in Caria and in Phrygia.¹² However, Roueché and her supporters have never explained why *only* this area could have become independent from the province of Asia in the mid-third century, thirty years before the definitive separation of the province of Asia.

Dmitriev's essay, astonishingly underestimated by recent scholarly debates, refuted all the arguments that had been proposed by Roueché in three main points, and convincingly argued that no joint province of Phrygia and Caria ever existed: (1) the term ἡγεμών may also mean *procurator* of one or two defensive areas in one province, and there were also ἡγεμόνες of only one region (Caria or Phrygia);¹³ (2) no 'governor of Phrygia and Caria' was attested in the period 260–301. In 301 when the Prices Edict in Aezani was erected, Fulvius Asticus was only mentioned as the ἡγεμών of Phrygia on the stone of the Edict, though he was also the ἡγεμών of Caria (thanks to inscriptions dated in the period 293–305).¹⁴ However, the fact that one man could be ἡγεμών of two provinces cannot

8 Full of exceptions in Hauken (1998). Julian was one of the emperors who followed the rules, see *Amm. Mar.* 16.5.13.

9 Roueché (1981). The joint of two areas has already been argued by Anderson (1932), not widely accepted.

10 Roueché (1981), and her further development in *ala2004* 1.3–17.

11 *SEG* 41-1174 (c. 249); *ILaodikeia am Lykos* I 39 (before 260), Christol & Drew-Bear (1983) #32 (before 260), *Iaph2007* 4.309. Overview in Dmitriev (2001) 469–470.

12 Q. Fabius Clodius Agrippianus Celsinus in *SEG* 36-1195 (Phrygia) and Varinlioglu & French (1991) #1 & 2 (Caria). L. Castrius Constans in *ILS* 8881 (Phrygia) and *MAMA* 94.11 (Caria); P. Aelius Septimius Mannus in *ILaodikeia am Lykos* 1.46 (Phrygia) and *Iaph2007* 6.103 (Caria).

13 See the *Fasti* of the 'joint province' in Dmitriev (2001) 486–489.

14 Crawford & Reynolds (1975) 160 (Aezani of Phrygia), *SEG* 31-932 (Halicarnassus, Caria), *SEG* 31-940 (Mylasa, Caria), *SEG* 41-941a (Ceramus, Caria, 301–317).

prove that the two provinces were institutionally united.¹⁵ (3) Some inscriptions showed the influence of Asian proconsuls in this area even after those inscriptions referring to ἡγεμόνες of Caria or Phrygia. These inscriptions are mainly dated to 260s–290s: therefore, Phrygia and Caria were still under the influence or even governance of Asia during this period: however, there is no source about proconsul of Asia between 247 and 260s.¹⁶ We therefore have enough reasons to doubt whether a ‘joint province of Phrygia and Caria’ ever existed as an institutionalised region: it is difficult to give a definite answer. What is certain is that a collected defensive region must have existed in these two areas in 250–260s, and Roman officials, especially commanding officials in these two regions must have had constant interactions and overlapping tasks. Aphrodisias, having honoured several ἡγεμόνες in this period, must have served an important role in the governance of these regions.

I agree with Roueché that Aphrodisias soon became the centre of these regions, or in her words, ‘capital for the joint province.’¹⁷ Aphrodisias had already been honoured as ‘metropolis of Caria’ two centuries ago, when Caria was still part of the province of Asia.¹⁸ The city had a long distance from coastal Carian cities like Milet and Halicarnassus, but if cities in Phrygia were taken into consideration, then Aphrodisias was a convenient choice for a governing centre. Its freedom may also play a role. In the Principate, Aphrodisias had already provided inhabitants in surrounding cities with an ideal commercial environment, thanks to its immunity from provincial taxes. Its local economy was particularly strong thanks to the development of sculptural crafts and the immigration of craftsmen from minor cities in the Maeandros Valley. Furthermore, the choice of provincial capitals or governing centres was not always rational: it was a competition for honours and privileges, thus civic competitions must have played an important role.¹⁹ Having claimed their friendship with and loyalty to Rome on the Archival Wall two decades before, Aphrodisias had apparent political advantages over

¹⁵ See also Akdoğan-Arca (2016) 65–67 for the new interpretation of SEG 52-1098.

¹⁶ SEG 4-467.iii.30 (263–264 AD), CIL III 14191 (286 AD), *I. Didyma* 89, 90, 159.11 (286–293 AD). *Milet* I. 9,339a (end of the third century). Before 260s, the latest inscription referring to a proconsul in Caria was dated to 242–247, as argued by Lorient (1996) 224.

¹⁷ *ala2004* 1.5.

¹⁸ Robert (1970) 370n4; Bowersock (1995) 90–98.

¹⁹ Roueché (*ala2004* 1.5) has assumed that *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 110 was evidence for a competition between Aphrodisias and Laodicea for the status of capital. Her argument is carefully refuted by Kuhn (2013). However, such conflicts between cities for the status of provincial capitals were common: see Heller (2006) chapitre IV.

I owe this idea to Dr. Rens Tacoma, who made this argument during our discussion on 25 June 2019.

Smaller cities had erected inscriptions to honour ‘Demos of Aphrodisias’ already in the mid-third century: an inscription found in a neighbouring town, Karacasu, recorded that a M. Aurelius Hermes paid ‘perpetual distributions’ to honour the Aphrodisians. Its letter form is typically Aphrodisian, very similar to letters on the Archival Wall. It is interesting to see that the text described Aphrodisias as ‘devoted to the emperor, free and autonomous according to the decree of the most holy Senate and the treaty and the divine response.’²¹ It clearly refers to the texts on the Archival Wall: this may prove that the elite from surrounding cities was aware of the privileges that the Aphrodisians actively displayed on their monuments.

A larger civic network was built shortly afterwards. A group of seven honorific statues for cities surrounding Aphrodisias, found beside the west wall of the city, offered a nice example. These statues were erected to honour the Demos of at least seven cities: Keretapa, Hierapolis, Kibyra, Apollonia Salbake, Heraclea Salbake, Tabae, and another city of which the name was lost.²² Interestingly, there is also a statue dedicated to the Demos of Aphrodisias nearby, which may not belong to this group but must have been erected roughly at the same time.²³ The texts on all these statue bases are almost the same (only the city names are different) and rather simple. Aphrodisias, calling itself ‘the most splendid city’, honoured the Demos of ‘the most splendid city’ (λαμπρότατος δήμος) of each city, a typical diplomatic title that appeared also in the decree in Section 1.2. The texts mention that the people of each city ‘joined in the sacrifice for the giving of the grant of the sacred contest’ (ἡ δεδόμενα τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀγώνος δωρεά). After a blank space, the texts end with the name of the magistrate in charge. All the statue bases took almost the same layout. Although it was not clear when exactly the Aphrodisians erected these statues, these statues were clearly completed within a short period of time: only two archons were mentioned. These features showed that the statues were crafted all at once ordered by the city, and were erected perhaps intentionally in the vicinity of the statue for the Demos of Aphrodisias.

²¹ *Iph2007 14.12*, ll. 4–9. Note that the translation of Reynolds (1982) put ‘Aphrodisias’ in front of all these adjectives, in contrast to actual word order in Greek.

²² *Iph2007 12.924–12.930*. I have examined this series of inscriptions in Wang (2019a) Section 3. But the argument changes, since I did not notice the existence of *Iph2007 12.922* when writing the previous study.

²³ *Iph2007 12.922*.

Was there a provincial game for the ‘newly-created province’? Roueché argued that the game of Pythia, created during the reign of Valerian in Aphrodisias, may have served as a provincial game in the new province.²⁴ However, no concrete evidence can make such connection between Pythia and a new province, and this series of honorific inscriptions never mention the name of this ‘sacred contest’. Aphrodisias indeed issued some coins to indicate the newly-created games.²⁵ However, had the new games been indeed a provincial game, the coins should have presented not only the city of Aphrodisias but also the province. However, in MacDonald’s collection, the word ‘Caria’ never appeared in any legend of Aphrodisias’ coins. As I shall show, it is not important whether the games were officially provincial games, but it is important that Aphrodisias used the sacred contest as a method to show its central role in the surrounding cities: no matter whether these cities were in ‘the joint province of Phrygia and Caria’ or not.

What should be emphasized is the fact that Aphrodisias gathered those cities together to fund the ‘sacred contest’. This was normally what a provincial capital would do when hosting a game at the provincial level. Provided that the locations of the six mentioned cities were in either Phrygia (Hierapolis and Kibyra) or Caria (others), it is reasonable to date these statue bases later than the foundation of the united governance. It is also remarkable that neither Laodicea, the largest city in Phrygia, nor any Carian city on the coast was mentioned. Hence the network must have been developed not according to institutional regions but to physical distances and political influence. If we take the dedication to Demos of Aphrodisias nearby into account, then these inscriptions formed a constellation of cities in this governing region. Another evidence is the existence of two place inscriptions, bearing the name of Hierapolis, in the Tetrastoon at roughly the same period.²⁶ These two inscriptions suggest that these statue bases were also made to integrate the surrounding cities to a common activity in Caria and Phrygia, of which the centre was Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias created its own network of surrounding cities in the same way other provincial capitals had conducted. Asian diplomatic languages and Greek-Anatolian political culture were exploited to rearrange its

24 Roueché (1981) 119, later Roueché (1993) 187.

25 Only MacDonalds Type 212 (R465) and Type 227 (R530–543) depict agonistic imagery.

26 *IAp*12007 8.402 & 8.403.

geopolitical landscape. 150 years later, epigraphic records in all the other cities would decline, but Aphrodisias still held a hegemonic role in this region.

Aphrodisias finally became capital of a new province in *ca.* 300. On the one hand, although Aphrodisias could not control what happened in the entire empire, the city could express its new status freely in order to gain profits from emperors and to define their own identity in the changing world order. On the other hand, a province was always a province, no matter in what kind of empire. Aphrodisias practiced its authority over other cities in the province in the same way in which Ephesus and other provincial capitals practiced within their provinces. Aphrodisias had attempted to show its special status with respect to the larger cities in the late Principate, then stabilized its capital status in a traditional way in the early Dominate. The city eventually won a high status, but it gradually lost its special political culture which was best expressed on the Archival Wall decades before.

3.2 *The end of local aristocracy*

As in many Greek cities in Late Antiquity, the elite in Aphrodisias also faced a fiscal crisis because of the heavy local burden. It was a general trend that the local elite reduced their expenditure on euergetism and attempted to join the imperial bureaucracy or senatorial order so as to get exemption from local liturgies and benefactions. Although they might still keep their land and remain wealthy thanks to the land income, the aristocratic system in civic politics gradually collapsed. Only in the mid-fifth century did a new group of elite reform the mechanism of civic politics, with the help of governors and bishops. In late third and fourth century, we face a crucial problem: the lack of sources.²⁷ Nevertheless, we still find some hints that showed political life of the elite in this period.

First, some members of the local elite must have succeeded to hold imperial positions. We know one Aphrodisian, Asklepiodotos, who became the ἡγεμὼν of Caria and Phrygia and later proconsul of Asia. The honorific inscription for this Asklepiodotos was both traditional and special: it was inscribed with traditional third-century letter forms, used in civic honorific inscriptions and on the

²⁷ As pointed in *ala2004* II.1, 'we have frustratingly little evidence for the way in which the city developed during the period after the accession of Diocletian, and before the sole reign of Constantius II which must have been an important period in the development of the city'; and III.1, 'the epigraphic evidence tells us remarkably little about the activity of the city and its citizens.'

‘Archival Wall’; however, the title ‘founder and saviour of his own homeland’ was special in this period.²⁸ Although usually used to praise a benefactor paying for a building, ‘founder’ here clearly meant that the honorand had contributed more to the city; ‘saviour’ of the homeland was used mainly for governors and imperial officials, as shown in another inscription in Aphrodisias.²⁹ Since no early-imperial Aphrodisian family had nomenclatural connection with this Asklepiodotos, Roueché has reasonably suggested that he was a new elite promoted due to his imperial service.³⁰

We know another Aphrodisian, Alexandros, who became the governor of Phrygia in late fourth century. The *metropolis* of Phrygia, Laodicea ad Lycum, honoured him in his hometown, the *metropolis* of Caria, Aphrodisias with an honorific inscription.³¹ Interestingly, the text was inscribed on a statue base that was reused from a second-century honorific statue and the letters were in an Aphrodisian style. Therefore, it was the Aphrodisians who decided how to present the honour from Laodicea: Alexandros’ fellow citizens also appreciated his authority over the Phrygians.

Second, there were certain local nobles who still performed euergetism in Aphrodisias. The best-known examples are a series of benefactors named Flavius Zenon ‘high-priest and *comes*’, Flavius Andronikos, and a Palladios.³² The common *nomen gentilicum*, Flavius, indicates that these benefactors may have served for the family of Constantine the Great. Since a Flavius Zenon ‘high-priest and *perfectissimus*’ and a Flavius Andronikos were known as Aphrodisian sculptors signing their names on statue bases in Rome, it is highly likely that these Flavii were identical to the namesake sculptors in Rome.³³ It is further supported by the fact that in the dedications they claimed to have ‘made’ (ἐποίησεν) and ‘dedicated’ (ἀνέθηκεν or ἐδωρήσατο) the monuments: such clear distinction appeared in no other inscriptions in Aphrodisias. These sculptors earned not only money but also imperial favour and social promotion in Rome, then returned to their hometown and held local positions. It is clear in the texts that Flavius Zenon had served as priests for local spectacles and that

28 *I Aph 2007* 4.309.

29 A nice example is *I Aph 2007* 5.215. *Pace ala 2004* 11.11.

30 *ala 2004* 11.6.

31 *I Aph 2007* 3.4.ii.

32 *I Aph 2007* 5.301 & 5.302 (Flavius Zenon, ἀρχιερεὺς and *comes*), 2.113 (Flavius Andronikos, *perfectissimus*) 5.119 ([Fl.] Palladios, no title).

33 Erim & Roueché (1982).

all the three persons had paid for civic constructing projects. However, in inscriptions the civic magistracies and euergetism were generally presented as obligations rather than honours. The epitaph of Athanasios, which has been studied in Section 1.4, claimed first the fulfilment of his civic duties: he justified his travel by emphasising his ‘perform[ing] every civic duty in my own country.’³⁴ Even in the sixth century, the famous acclamations for Albinus emphasized that, since Albinus has built a portico for the city, he should enter the Senate and thus get exempted from local duties.³⁵

However, there were other elements that disappeared from public life after the second half of the third century. Only two agonistic inscriptions dated to the late third and the fourth century, and even these two examples reused statues that had been made around fifty years earlier. Unlike long and formulaic texts in early third century, these two inscriptions are so short, ‘(Honorand), victor at (Games), (Competition), The fatherland.’³⁶ Even if ‘the absence of evidence cannot be evidence of absence,’ it is still reasonable to argue that Aphrodisias witnessed a decline of athleticism roughly in 300–400: only in the first quarter of the fifth century can we see the revival of Aphrodisian athleticism.³⁷

Furthermore, even individual voices declined in public affairs. We hardly find any names of local individuals in public inscriptions in the period 280–400. The last honoured civic magistrate received his statue in 253–260.³⁸ The last first-archon (πρωτος ἄρχων) whose name survives to us appeared in the honorific inscription for Asklepiodotos.³⁹ The last known member of council, Papias, appeared in an epitaph that dated back to mid-third century.⁴⁰ Even in fourth-century public inscriptions, relevant civic magistrates were not mentioned in the end of texts, in contrast to previous practice.

The silence of civic magistrates can also be understood in a broader tendency: the province replaced the municipality as the socio-political unit in the empire. In this period, the city council was seldom attested,⁴¹ but the provincial council, normally called ‘the Carians’ in epigraphic evidence,

34 *I Aph 2007* 8.263.

35 *I Aph 2007* 4.21.

36 *I Aph 2007* 8.88 = *LSA*-532; *I Aph 2007* 8.87 = *LSA*-547.

37 Remijsen (2015) 81–82, *pace* Lenaghan’s general picture in *LSA*-532.

38 *I Aph 2007* 1.189.

39 *I Aph 2007* 4.309, l. 12.

40 *I Aph 2007* 15.345.

41 Only seen in *I Aph 2007* 3.8.i (late IV century), 5.121 (385–8), 12.101.i (365–70), 2.101 & 2.111 (uncertain).

took its place and became crucial in the political manoeuvre in this period, especially when the affairs were related to governors and emperors.⁴² Even the term ‘Demos of Aphrodisias’ appeared less than ‘the Carians’. Provincial councils were generally assembled in the capital of a province, and councils recruited its members from councillors of provincial cities. In the case of Caria, it seems that most councillors of Aphrodisias also served as councillors of the province: the βουλή now referred more to the provincial council. It deserves a book to examine provincial councils in Late Antiquity, so I do not intend to discuss it in detail.⁴³ Here I only point out that the local aristocratic institutions were now integrated into, if not replaced by, new provincial institutions. The last public inscription in which ‘the Aphrodisians’ appeared was an honorific inscription for governor Oikoumenios in late fourth century.⁴⁴ Interestingly, the statue had a special head on which the sculptor had inscribed ‘Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) Γ(έννη)’ (Mary bore Christ), a very common Christian acronym.⁴⁵ Whereas Aphrodisias remained a strongly pagan city even in late fourth century, Christianity subtly emerged on the head of its highest official (no matter whether he was Christian) and in the mind of its talented local craftsmen. In the mid-fifth century, more members of the local elite became clergymen, just as their ancestors became priests of traditional religions two centuries ago (Section 1.3). The aforementioned ‘provincial institutions’ would also include the ecclesiastical diocese of Caria, of which Aphrodisias was also the capital.

To conclude: the picture of the local elite after the provincialisation was blurred partly because of the scarcity of sources. However, general trends are clear: the Aphrodisian elites were more integrated into the imperial system, some becoming governors, others working for emperors. Whereas most local nobles still retained their property and local influence on economy, the traditional institutions and the mechanism of euergetism declined. The political focus shifted from the city to the province. The provincialisation changed the political culture from a city-centred style to a province-

⁴² *I Aph 2007* 1.131i, 5.216, 4.310, 5.218, 15.360.

⁴³ Tacoma (forthcoming) will deal with the Senate and civic councils in Italy, but provincial councils, especially in the East, were underrepresented in current scholarship, as lamented in *ala 2004* 11.38 and Liebeschuetz (2001) 12.

⁴⁴ *I Aph 2007* 3.8.

⁴⁵ Smith (2002) 150–1.

centred style. Aphrodisias' elites ceased to praise the freedom of the city and many of their traditional virtues, but tended to claim their fulfilment of local duties, as seen in Section 1.4. In a word, the particularity of Aphrodisias was less visible. When the local elite recovered in the fifth century, they would not be different from the civic elite in other *metropoleis* in Asia: subject to the empire, with an attempt to get social promotion through imperial favour.

3.3 *Governors: bridges between emperors and the city*

This section will be the end of my research, but I also intend to open possibilities of a new research: because a new political player, the governor, now stood in the centre of civic political platform. They received honours from the local elite, offered honours to emperors, and overlooked public buildings and constructions. The provincials also expected benefactions from governors and negotiated with them for local profits. Whereas governors were crucial to later Roman imperial governance, studies on this topic are either very general or on a case-by-case basis.⁴⁶ Aphrodisias provides a wonderful case and I hope to introduce some general ideas on this case.

As mentioned in Section 3.1, Aphrodisias welcomed its first external administrator perhaps in 250s–260s due to the creation of a united defensive region (whether a province or not) of Caria (and perhaps also Phrygia). These newcomers soon received special honours because they held authority and power to supervise local affairs. While it is true that ‘to honor the governor was to honor the master who sent him’,⁴⁷ honouring governors was not merely an indirect way to show loyalty to emperors. We should also understand how these governors were honoured.

In contrast to the decline of honorific statues for the local elite, there were ten honorific inscriptions and statues for imperial officials in 250–400: as I will discuss in the following paragraphs. Three of these honorific inscriptions were written in a traditional format. ‘The Council and the people’ erected two statues for a Marcus Aurelius Diogenes, *legatus pro praetor* and ἡγεμῶν, under the supervision of two different local eminences.⁴⁸ This Diogenes was praised as ‘just, decent, brave, and adorned with every virtue’ in one inscription, and ‘most splendid [...], distinguished, brave, decent, generous, having achieved all virtue’ in the other. Another ἡγεμῶν, P. Aelius Septimius Mannus, was

46 Jones (1964) and Slootjes (2006).

47 Roueché (1998) 32.

48 *IAp*12007 12.644 & 12.645.

honoured in Aphrodisias in the mid-third century as well, with the praise for his being ‘distinguished, brave, pure, generous, having achieved all virtue.’⁴⁹ The language in these inscriptions was very common in honorific inscriptions for governors in other provinces,⁵⁰ but had never appeared in Aphrodisias, because the city never had a governor. Aphrodisias also honoured one Aphrodisian who served as imperial official in this region. In the reign of Diocletian, the Aphrodisians set up an honorific inscription for Asklepiodotos, ἡγεμῶν of Phrygia and Caria, and later proconsul and corrector of Asia. It was a special case because normally one should not become governor of his native province without imperial permission. However, since he was appointed by Diocletian when the ‘provincial reform’ was far from completion, the appointment may have been extraordinary, with *ad hoc* purposes or engagements. The ‘founder and saviour’ (κτίστης καὶ σωτήρ) of Aphrodisias and other regions may have stabilized the regional political and fiscal order.⁵¹

In the fourth century, a new style of honorific inscriptions for governors became popular: verse honours.⁵² The rise of these inscriptions certainly showed a change of local epigraphic culture.⁵³ Extensive usage of verse in honorific inscriptions is a typical late-antique phenomenon not only in Aphrodisias but also in Anatolia. In Ephesus and Smyrna, we find seventeen honorific verses related to proconsuls, only three of which dated to 250–400.⁵⁴ In the collection of *SGO*, there are thirteen verse honorific inscriptions that may be for governors, four of which are building inscriptions of one single governor in Palaestina Secunda, and three in Arabia (uncertain), Lycia-Pamphylia (uncertain),

49 *I Aph 2007* 6.103.

50 Burton (2004) 312.

51 *I Aph 2007* 4.309.

52 The best study on late-antique verse honours is always Robert (1948).

53 As strongly proposed by Roueché (1997) 365.

54 *SGO* 03/02/07 (Andreas the Christian, ca. 400), 03/02/10 (Eutropius, 371–2, see *I Eph.* #42, imperial rescript of Valens), 03/02/18 (Scaurianus, III–IV century). Other honorific epigrams that were dated later are 03/02/08–09 & 05/01/10=24/14 (Damocharis, ca. 550), 03/02/11, 12, & 13 (Flavius Anthemius Isidorus, ca. 430), 03/02/14, 15 (Messalinus, IV–V century), 03/02/17 (Nonnos, V century), 03/02/18 (Probus, V–VI century), 03/02/20, 21 (Stephanos, Justinian’s reign), 03/02/23 (Theodoros, IV–VI century). In Smyrna, 05/01/09 (Eustathios, IV–V century), 05/01/11 (Theodosius, ca. 550), 05/01/12 (Philippos, undated).

and Pisidia.⁵⁵ All the other six examples are in Aphrodisias.⁵⁶ Furthermore, there are eight more honorific inscriptions for other eminences and imperial officials in Aphrodisias.⁵⁷ Whereas verse honours for members of the elite may imply a shared education among imperial elites, their usage for governors needs further interpretation. I feel the necessity to examine Aphrodisias' inscriptions in order to show a complex picture.

The earliest example of verse honours is a fragmentary statue base for Helladios. Its fragments were later reused in the Byzantine Church, but the monument itself must have been reused from a second- or third-century statue base.⁵⁸ Only two lines of the inscription have survived but it seems completed. The text is still in a traditional style, explicitly mentioning the awarder, the honorand and his title. But in contrast to normal honorific inscriptions in prose, this inscription initially mentioned 'of the great virtue of the great governor' and then his name and the Carians' awarding practice. Why the provincial assembly did not follow the traditional prose style but made small changes may never be definitively answered. However, this Helladios may have been honoured in a building inscription in verse as well, again in two lines.⁵⁹ There, Helladios was called 'renovator of the splendid metropolis' (ὁ ἀνανεωτής τῆς λαμπρᾶς μητροπόλεως), a new term that would be given to one governor and a local benefactor in the sixth century.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Helladios was also honoured in a very short fragment, in which he was described as 'pure' (ἀγρός), a word exclusively used in honours for governors.⁶¹ Helladios' case is a nice bridge between early-imperial and late-antique honours

55 SGO 19/03/02 (Matronianus, *dux et praeses Isauriae*, 382), 22/35/01 (Florentinus, perhaps governor in Arabia in 127), 17/01/01 (Marcianus, perhaps Terentius Marcianus *praeses Lyciae et Pamphyliae ca. 278*), 21/22/02–21/22/05 (Mucius Alexander, governor in Palaestina secunda).

There are cases for proconsuls or vicars honoured outside the small province of Asia, for their benefactions in other provinces: 07/02/01 (Axiochos, in Assos of Troas, 360–70), 02/02/04 (Caelius Montius in Tralleis of Caria! 340–350), 02/12/06 (Flavius Magnus in Hierapolis, 352–9 as *vicarius Asiae*). Proconsuls were otherwise exclusively honoured in Smyrna and Ephesus.

56 *I Aph2007* 1.201 = 02/09/25 (name lost), 1.131.ii = 02/09/14 (Helladios), 3.8.i = 02/09/17 (Oikoumenios), 3.4.ii = 02/09/02 (Phrygians honouring Alexandros), 4.202.ii & iii = 02/09/08 & 07 & 8.608 = 02/09/09 (Dulcitiuus), 8.407 = 02/09/26 (name lost).

57 *I Aph2007* 5.120 = 02/09/11 (Eupeithios), 5.121 = 02/09/16 (Menandros), 4.310 = 02/09/04 (Anthemios), 4.202.i = 02/09/03 (Ampelios), 11.68 = 02/09/05 (Asklepiodotos), 1.196 = 02/09/95 (John), 5.204.ii = 02/09/15 (Hermias), 4.20 = 02/09/01 (Albinus).

58 *I Aph2007* 1.131.i, dated to II–III century, was inscribed on the right side of the fragment 1.131.ii.

59 *I Aph2007* 4.120.

60 *I Aph2007* 8.410 (Fl. Palmatos, governor of Caria), l. 2; 11.515 (Rhodopaios), l. 12.

61 See also *I Aph2007* 5.118.

because we see both early-imperial and late-antique features in the three inscriptions about him. At the beginning of the fourth century, the local people started to create new words for honorific inscriptions while keeping on traditional virtues.

Shortly afterwards, verse honours became less formulaic and more literary in language. The very exceptional Latin verse honour, perhaps one of the earliest epigrams, must have intentionally related the laws to the tongue of the honorand, so that readers who knew the common connection between law and justice would know that the honorand was a governor.⁶² A clearer example, however, is the Phrygian honour for Alexandros.

As mentioned in Section 3.2, Aphrodisians must have re-inscribed the text of the honorific inscription for Alexandros by the Phrygians.⁶³ The text has a literal register of language, and its letters are carefully cut. It should therefore be understood that the authority for this governor in Phrygia was so high even after his return to Caria that the Aphrodisian sculptor reworked the monument carefully. Since the statue torso and the statue base had been recycled from a second-century monument, the Phrygians must have only delivered the head and the text message.⁶⁴ The text was rather literary: the sentence 'but all the words fall short of the man's good cheer' has similarities with traditional honorific languages for the local elite mentioned in Chapter 1, but would later be more common in honorific inscriptions for governors.⁶⁵ Such praising words would later appear in the beginning of honorific inscriptions rather than, or even as well as at the end: a phenomenon again empire-wide. In the inscription for Oikoumenios, the florid praise occupied both the first five lines and the last five lines.⁶⁶ Much later, we even cannot find the term 'governor' in the honorific inscription for the governor Dulcitus in the fifth century. It is now the 'characteristic terms' of praise rather than direct references to the position itself that tells us the honorand's position as governor.⁶⁷

62 *I Aph2007* 1.201, *ala2004* II.15.

63 *I Aph2007* 3.4.ii.

64 Slootjes (2006) 148, following Smith (1999).

65 *I Aph2007* 3.4.ii, ll. 7–8.

66 *I Aph2007* 3.8.i, also note the interpretation of the statue by Smith (2002).

67 *I Aph2007* 8.608, *ala2004* IV.24.

While the cities traditionally honoured their governors right after their governorship, governors may also be honoured for ‘special accomplishments’: in Aphrodisias, building and restoring buildings.⁶⁸ Many building inscriptions for governors have been found in third- and fourth-century Aphrodisias. Especially in the fourth century, the city wall was rebuilt and repaired partly for defensive reason, partly for the reason of identity display.⁶⁹ Whereas civic councillors may still have fulfilled most of the obligations for public buildings, it is clear that governors grew their influence in civic buildings and public constructions. In consequence, very few building inscriptions honouring local councillors have been found.⁷⁰ Examining these building inscriptions for governors is more challenging, partly because they are short and the honorand’s office is generally abridged or even omitted, as in the two inscriptions for Helladios. A similar inscription, in prose, was inscribed on the city wall in 365–370 to honour another governor, Flavius Constantius, with a very classical formulism.⁷¹ This Flavius Constantius was also in charge of the repair of the Basilica, as mentioned in a statue base and a building inscription framed within a *tabula ansata*.⁷²

There are two interesting cases when governors erected building inscriptions to honour emperors. Governor Fl. Quintilius Eros Monaxios dedicated the West Gate to emperor Constantius II and a Caesar (his name was erased, most probably Julian): it was therefore dated to 355–360.⁷³ The text is interesting, because each involved party was mentioned with a long modifier. On the one hand, for the Aphrodisians, the text mentioned their kinship with the Cretans;⁷⁴ for Eros Monaxios, the text referred to his previous magistracy in Crete.⁷⁵ Such a connection between Crete and Aphrodisias or Caria was clearly rhetoric, but we should understand it in terms of provincial network of the

68 The categorisation is made by Slootjes (2006) 130.

69 Dalgıç & Sokolicek (2017) 270 offers a clear overview.

70 *IAPH2007* 3.7 (Menander) is the only example that is certainly building inscription for a local councillor.

71 *IAPH2007* 12.101.i.

72 *LSA*-235 & *IAPH2007* 6.4.

73 *IAPH2007* 12.1001. One may also think of Constantius Gallus, another Caesar of Constantius II who also suffered *damnatio memoriae*. But having examined the statue base on location, I agree with Roueché in *ala2004* III.4 that the erased space is clearly too small for Κωνσταντίου Γάλλου or even Κωνσταντίου. Although Julian exercised his authority as Caesar mainly in the West, it is possible that honorific inscriptions in the East mentioned him as Caesar.

74 *Pace* the transcription in *IAPH2007* 12.1001, I believe the layout would have been asymmetrical if Roueché’s restoration ‘μητροπόλει τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων’ were correct: it should be shorter. However, it does not influence my argument.

75 Use both the penultimate and the ultimate names to call a governor is not so rare as Cameron (1985) has argued. I have given a series of examples when examining *CIL* VI, 1751, see Wang (2019b).

governor as well. Eros Monaxios, therefore, aimed to establish the network between two provinces which he had governed. On the other hand, the traditional formula ‘ἀγάθῃ τύχῃ’ was followed by two lines of best wishes to the emperors: a typical display of loyalty.⁷⁶ The governor used his building accomplishment in his capital city to flaunt his loyalty to the two emperors. The following emperor Julian also received similar honours from the next governor of Caria, Antonius Tatianos. Again, the governor was in charge of the building of Tetrastoon and its surrounding decoration.

Whereas Eros Monaxios made a marble block for the two emperors, Antonius Tatianos erected a statue base for the new emperor by reusing the statue body from a mid-second-century torso and putting a head which was in the Julio-Claudian style.⁷⁷ This economical governor had set the statue in front of the western portico of the Tetrastoon and later erased the name of Julian when he died, due to the posthumous *damnatio memoriae*. According to the chronology, Antonius Tatianos must have been appointed as governor of Caria by Julian. Therefore, he must have felt the necessity to showcase his loyalty to new emperors shortly after Julian’s death. He took a statue base from a mid-third century honorific monument for an eminent local councillor and son of a Roman procurator. Then he erected a statue for Valens in a very carelessly way: the inscription called the emperor ‘Flavius Claudius Valens’, following the *nomen* of Julian and Jovian, rather than ‘Flavius Iulius Valens’!⁷⁸ The change of imperial politics influenced the governor’s position and his honorific practice.

A similar series of dedications, by Flavius Eutolmios Tatianos the praetorian prefect, could prove that high officials bet on all the emperors in order not to insult anyone.⁷⁹ Eutolmios Tatianos must have attempted to honour all the emperors, including Honorius, Arcadius, and Valentinian II, in order to stabilize his status as praetorian prefect in a period when even the imperial thrones changed frequently. The fact that his name had been totally erased in all the three inscriptions showed that he failed: Eutolmios Tatianos was relegated to Lycia, his province of origin, perhaps in the reign of Valens. However, Aphrodisias still had good relationship with him and another Tatianos, who may

76 These wishes are typically used for gods or emperors, see examples in Aphrodisias: σωτηρία, *Iph2007* 12.34; αἰώνιος διαμονή, *Iph2007* 12.34, 12.108, 15.330. See almost identical phrase in 12.206, ll. 7–8.

77 Smith (2001) 133.

78 *Iph2007* 8.406.ii. Thanks to the permission of Aphrodisias Museum, I can re-examine the inscription 8.406.i (honour for T. Fl. Sallustius Athenagoras, son of Sallustius Athenagoras the procurator in 12.646), but cannot publish it.

79 *Iph2007* 4.10, 4.11, 5.217.

have been his descendant, repaired his statue in Aphrodisias and erected a new verse honour in the city: this time Eutolmios Tatianos' name has survived from early fifth century until now.⁸⁰

To conclude: the late fourth century witnessed an influential existence of governors in Aphrodisias: they controlled public building projects, became spokesmen of the province and the city, but had to adapt themselves to the changing political atmosphere. When the fifth century started, some higher officials became more visible and even governors had to flatter them on behalf of cities and provinces. At the same time, bishops also appeared in Aphrodisias, made the picture further complicated.

Concluding Remarks

At the end of the fourth century, we finally see an honorific inscription for a local eminent because of his benefaction to the city itself.⁸¹ However, the inscription was very much different from honorific inscriptions in early third century, not to mention the first two centuries AD. The letters have less serifs, Ω and Σ took new forms, and more decorative elements, including the *hedera*, were introduced. The text was written not in prose but in somehow inharmonious verse. This Menandros, with no office or *cursus honorum* mentioned, was honoured because he managed to decrease the burden of taxation in Aphrodisias (δασμοὺς πρηῦνας): a task that could never be achieved by merely a member of the local council. Therefore, it is clear that this Menandros was a higher imperial official who happened to be an Aphrodisian. The city may have been relieved from the heavy fiscal burden henceforth and started to recover, partly thanks to his efforts. In the fifth century, the outcome of imperial policies of restoring civic finances became more visible: the city's elite undertook the duty of construction and restoration again. However, the idea of 'freedom', the ultimate privilege for which the third-century Aphrodisians even erected a Wall, finally disappeared. While we can clearly distinguish inscriptions of Aphrodisias from inscriptions elsewhere in previous centuries, Aphrodisias became merely *one* city within the empire.

⁸⁰ *I Aph 2007* 5.218.

⁸¹ *I Aph 2007* 5.121.

In this chapter, I aim to show the changes of political culture in Aphrodisias after it became a provincial capital. The city shifted its diplomatic focus from large Aegean cities to minor surrounding cities, thanks to the creation of a 'joint province of Phrygia and Caria': though I reject the existence of this joint *province*, the fact that these two areas had been defended and governed together raised a 'sense of capital' in Aphrodisias. The local elite also transferred themselves from local eminenes to imperial subjects. Civic magistracies and benefactions were considered merely as obligations and burdens, and the elite preferred the role of 'the Carians', positions in the imperial government, and imperial favour.

The major change of Aphrodisias' political culture was the rise of a new player in local politics: governors. On the one hand, they controlled the construction and repair of public buildings, and communications with emperors. On the other hand, their strong presence in Aphrodisias diminished the distinction between Aphrodisias the city and Caria the province, thus integrated Aphrodisias into the Later Roman imperial landscape. Provincialisation was indeed imperialisation and integration. The city became a normal one in the empire of Theodosius, in whose reign the economic revival brought the city into a new era. When other new players, bishops, came into the local political structure, the particular political culture of Aphrodisias which related to civic freedom and local elite participation had already vanished. It will thus need a new project to study local politics after the fifth century.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER REMARKS

We have finished a rugged journey to Aphrodisias in the third and fourth century. Whereas a fifth-century visitor could still see the mountains of Kadmos through the Tetrastoon just as two centuries before, the city changed much in the two centuries. In the Introduction of this Thesis, I have written about Aphrodisias in the Principate, 'Aphrodisias enjoyed 'rights of freedom' (τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δικαία), from which the city profited much to enhance its privileged status in the political landscape of southwestern Anatolia [...] The civic system remained stable for almost two centuries.' In the fifth century, the word 'freedom' (ἐλευθερία) had disappeared entirely in the epigraphic corpus for decades, the city's council had only symbolic roles, and archons had been removed for at least one century. A position called 'first-chair of the council' (πρωτόθρονος βουλῆς) appeared in late fifth century,¹ but the position seemed to be no more than an honorific title. Members of the local elite rendered honours of civic buildings and euergetism to governors, and they gradually disappeared in late fourth century and even early fifth century. In the second quarter of the fifth century, governors appointed a πατήρ τῆς πόλεως (father of the city), Ampelios, to undertake public buildings and repairs.² However, civic benefactions eventually declined and the city would be dominated by a famous bishop for some twenty years, Kyros. The bishop attended the Councils of Ephesus I (431) and Ephesus II (449), established a long tradition of monophysitism which lasted for more than a century, and at the same time enjoyed a special privilege from Theodosius II, who constantly refuted monophysitism.³ The once-free city of athletes and Aphrodite became a city of the empire, a city of governors, and a city of bishops. Even the name Aphrodisias would be erased in the late fifth century during a conflict between Christians and pagans. The Stavropoleos Church in Bucarest is well-known, but few know that this Stavropolis had been called Aphrodisias before the sixth century.⁴

However, the calendar changed every day rather than every century, so did the society and politics. I hope to show how complex the ways social and political changes happened were. Some of the changes were instant: for example, the idea of civic freedom abruptly disappeared in 260s, and the

1 *I Aph2007* 1.196.

2 *I Aph2007* 2.19, 4.202, 8.609, 12.101. See *ala2004* IV.21–23.

3 *PCBE* III Kyros 1; *CTh.* 2.1.37. *ala2004* VI.38.

4 Roueché (2007a).

Jewish community erected monuments all of a sudden. However, most of the changes happened more gradually. When Aphrodisias stopped claiming its isolation from and superiority over great Aegean cities, the city still maintained a clear concern on inter-civic relationships. Although we cannot find hints of Judaism and Christianity in previous centuries, religious claims had already started in honorific inscriptions for priests and epitaphs of the local people in the Principate. Inscriptions in verse were perhaps the newest element in the third and fourth century. But although the honorees changed from members of the local elite to governors, and the texts changed from prose to verse, the virtues that were praised in inscriptions were similar. Some elements, including local benefactions and lavish building projects, became almost invisible in these two centuries, but would reappear in the fifth century (though in a way different from the second century). As the Archival Wall aimed to show the continuous friendship between Aphrodisias and Rome, the city remained important for the Eastern Empire in the fifth and early sixth century. While we see the dramatic differences between Aphrodisias in late second century and in early fifth century, one should still remember that the city in 400 was developed continuously from that in 200.

The dominant group of the city was always its local elite. They controlled local farmland and agriculture; they dominated the production of inscriptions and hence collective memory of the city; some of them became imperial officials, senators and governors; and they constantly received benefits and support from the Empire even when facing crises. The interested period of this Thesis, 200–400, was perhaps the only period when the elite in Aphrodisias were not so dominant in inscriptions. But their relative silence was not because of the rise of common people, but due to the growing power of governors. ‘A chaotic era calls for strong authority.’ The famous Chinese proverb may fit in the post-crisis Roman Empire as well. In early fifth century, when the military and political conditions became more stable, the power of governors seemed to have reduced as well. The city seemed to witness a recovery of local aristocracy, but now civic benefactions served more as an obligatory price for social mobility to the senatorial rank than as public service for the city.

However, the nature of inscriptions resulted that common people in Aphrodisias were almost entirely mute in local records. *IAph2007* has documented twenty graffiti, but apart from the two graffiti mentioned in Section 1.3 (n. 42), we have almost no idea when these letters were scratched,

and most of the graffiti were too short and too blurred to be read or understood. Some are prayers made in the fifth or the sixth century, showing that Christianity may have promoted literacy to a certain extent. Other inscriptions relevant to non-elite citizens are gameboards, monuments for gladiators, and some funerary inscriptions.⁵ Again, datable inscriptions are so limited in number that we can only examine the common people as if no change happened over time. We may never know what feeling a housewife or a slave boy had when s/he stood in front of the Archival Wall in the fourth century. In the mid-third century when economic crisis threatened the civic economy, it was the common people, rather than the local elite, who suffered more. After all, although the Thesis focusses on the elite in Aphrodisias, I still hope that a history of daily life of the common people in this period may come out in the future.

Civic competition is a constantly interesting topic for most scholars working on Asia Minor and on Antiquity in general. The fierce competitions between Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum in the Principate have attracted much scholarly attentions, but competitions happened elsewhere as well. This Thesis attempts to introduce this perspective both when examining the Archival Wall and when discussing the reasons why Aphrodisias was made capital of Caria. Whereas studies on civic competitions generally focus on the agency of cities, as the frequently-used concept Peer Polity Interaction shows, we should be aware that cities appealed to Rome rather than confronting with other cities when competing for benefits. There was almost no 'peer interaction' in the third and the fourth century, but the 'peers' directly appealed to emperors and competitions happened in the court. Rome played as an arbitrator or a judge in civic competitions and intended to gain profits from such competitions as well. In the case of third-century Aphrodisias, we clearly see the change of language in imperial letters, because emperors needed to show their authorities and generosity. On the other side, the civic elite, as representatives of their city, formed a network of imperial favours across the Empire for emperors. As a 'tributary empire', Roman Empire exploited such civic

5 Roueché (2007b) for gameboards.

competitions to maintain and strengthen their influence over cities far away from their ruling centres.⁶ In these two centuries, frequent changes of the central power further complicated this competing system. Cities and governors had to choose to which ruler they paid homage and showed loyalty. If the authority they supported lost in wars and political conflicts, his supporters would suffer. While Aphrodisias was almost always lucky to support the winners from late-Hellenistic period to the end of the Principate, its governor Antonius Tatianos still had to show his loyalty soon after the death of Julian and, later, the enthronement of Valens. Although Lenski has finished a great overview on civic competitions in the reign of Constantine, there is still a large space for further studies on civic competitions in the third century onwards.

I hope that this Thesis will not only be the end of a study, but also a starting point of further explorations. Therefore, I have intentionally left traces during my writing process. In Section 1.3, the readers may notice the possibility to examine the relationship between Christianity and civic benefactions. Whereas early Church Fathers wrote extensively on the relationship between Christianity and secular politics, it is still not clear to what extent bishops and other clergies undertook traditional obligations in cities, nor how clergies understood such civic services.⁷ The Council of Chalcedon recorded an example of civic competition between bishops, in which the language used in presenting the competition was similar to traditional discourses in the Principate.⁸ In Section 2.1, I have pointed out that the idea of freedom in the Principate needs further case studies.⁹ In Section 3.2, I have ceased further examining provincial councils and city councils in late-antique Aphrodisias, partly because of the scarcity of sources in Aphrodisias. Sources from Asian cities are not enough to write any case studies on one city, but will perhaps result in a book-length analytical study.¹⁰

All these elements will eventually be embedded in the term 'political culture'. Politics is about relationship of powers and authorities, but it also concerns how such powers and relationship are presented and represented. In Aphrodisias, the political culture changed with institutional changes

6 Woolf (2012) 185–8.

7 See the groundbreaking work by Allen & Neil (2013).

8 Millar (2006) 135–6 on Session XIX.

9 Millar (1999) and Kokkinia (2008) also suggest case studies on this topic.

10 An exception may be councils in Egypt, thanks to the records on papyri: Coles (1966), Tacoma (2006).

and social mobility, but retained many traditional elements. Loyalty and civic pride are constant themes in the city, from the time when Solon brought back the *Senatus Consultum* from Rome to the period when a parade acclaimed Albinus for his benefaction in the columns of Agora.¹¹ The city of Aphrodisias was never too great, but the city, its people and especially its elite were constantly showing their grandeur in their ways.

¹¹ *I Aph 12007* 4.21.i.

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* Unless noted, all the numbers, critical texts and translations follow *I Aph2007*, retrieved on 25 June 2019.

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3.4.ii. The Phrygians honoured Alexandros, vicarious of diocese Asiana

Date	Late Fourth Century (palaeography).
Findspot	Against the north wall of the north Stoa of the North Agora. West of <i>I Aph2007 3.8</i> .
Bibliography	<i>ala2004 #32</i> , <i>SGO 02/09/02</i> , Jones (1997) 212–4, Smith (1999) 165–7.

Text:

εἰκόνα λαϊνέην μὲν | Ἀλεξάνδροιο δικαίου | ἡ Φρυγίης μήτηρ | μητέρι τῆι Καρίης |⁵ τῆς ζαθέης ἀρχῆς τέκμαρ | ἀμβρότον ἐνθάδ' ἔπεμψεν | πᾶς δὲ λόγος μείων | τ' ἀνδρὸς εὐφροσύνης.

vacat.

εὐτυχῶς

Translation:

A stone image of the just Alexandros the mother of Phrygia sent here to the mother of Caria, (as) an undying mark of his god-like rule; but all words fall short of the man's good cheer. With good fortune!

5.120. Verse honours for Eupeithios

Date	Mid-Late Fourth Century (palaeography).
Findspot	Hadrianic Baths, West Side of Trench A, North Room of Tepidarium.
Bibliography	Ševcenko (1968) #55, <i>ala2004 #33</i> & III.38, <i>SGO 02/09/11</i> .

Text:

τὸν σοφὸν ἦδε | πόλις Εὐπειθιον | εἶνεκα πάντων | στήσατο λαϊνέην |⁵ εἰκόνα δειμαμένη *hedera* | μνωομένη μετὰ | πότμον ὅτ' ἀνδράσιν αἶνος ἀληθῆς *hedera* | τίνεται ἀνδρομέ¹³ης ἔκτοθι βασκα¹³νίης *hedera*

Translation:

This city had made and set up a stone image (of) the wise Eupeithios because of everything, recalling that it is after death that true praise, beyond human envy, is accorded to men.

13.125. Funerary epigram for Eupeithios

Date	Late Fourth Century (palaeography, metres).
Findspot	Necropolis, North-east.
Bibliography	Smith (1993b) 355; <i>SGO 02/09/12</i> ; <i>SEG 48-1327</i> .

Text:

ἀθανάτοισιν ὅμοια πόρες κλυτὰ ἔργα πόλιι scroll vac.
ἦρωσ εὐσεβίης θεοτέρπεος ἔγπνοος εἰκῶν vac.
τοῦνεκα νῦν νάεις Εὐπειθίει καὶ πόλον ἄστρων | vac. |
ψυχὴν ἀμπνεύσας ὅτε Μαρτίου ἡμαρ ἔπαιζε[ς]

Translation: (preliminary)

You have given famous buildings to the city, you Heros, living image of the devotion in which God has his joy; therefore, Eupeithios, you now also dwell in the heavenly vault, after you have breathed your soul upwards, when you celebrated the Kalendae of March in play.

15.334. Epitaph of Bitos, signum Asterios, cursor of the phylae

Date	Third-Fourth Century (formula, penalty, naming format).
Findspot	Stray find.
Bibliography	<i>ala2004 #150</i> , Feissel (1991) 375.

Text:

ὁ τόπος ἐστὶν καὶ | ὁ πλάτας Βίτου ΜΟΝΗ | [·· c. 6 ··]ρωτικου τοῦ | Πραυλίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀστε⁵ρίου κούρσορος τῶν | σεμνοτάτων φυλῶν. | εἴ τις δὲ βουληθεῖη | χωρὶς γνώσεως ἐμῆς ἐνθάψαι τινὰ |¹⁰δῶσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ | ταμείῳ χρυσοῦ | λίτραν μίαν.
l. 4, Παυλίου Roueché, *ala2004*; Πραυλίου cj Feissel (1991).

Translation:

The place and the platform are (the property) of ?Bitos [son of - ? ··]rotikos son of Praulios, also known as Asterios, cursor, of the most revered phylae; if anyone should wish, without my knowledge, to bury anyone in (here), he will give to the most sacred treasury one pound of gold.

15.345. Epitaph of M. Aur. Leontius Auchenios & M. Aur. Papios Polychronios

Date	Late third / Early fourth Century (title)
Findspot	Stray find.
Bibliography	<i>ala2004 #151</i> .

Text:

Ἦ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περιχίμεγος τόπος τοῦ|τω μνημείῳ ἐστὶν Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Λεοντ⁵ίου Αὐχενίου | διδασκάλου | φίλων καὶ | Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Παπα|{α}ίου Πολυχρ[ο]|¹⁰νίου διοικη|τοῦ Παπίου πο|λιτευομένου.

Translation:

The sarcophagus, and the area surrounding this memorial, is (the property of) M. Aurelius Leontius Auchenios, teacher of friends, and M. Aurelius Papias Polychronios, steward of Papias, *curialis*.

15.347. *Funerary Verse for Claudia*

Date Mid- to late fourth century (metre, content)
Findspot Stray find
Bibliography *ala2004* #153, *SGO* 02/09/28.

Text: (edition of *SGO*)

Face a:

† ἀντί φιλοξενίῃ [ς] | τε καὶ εὐσεβέων | χάριν ἔργων |
Κλαυδίῃ οἴχομ[έ]νων σε Δίκη κυ[δῆ] | νατο τύμβω |
κουριδίω καθ[ά]ρον δε δέμας [συμ]μειξεν ἀκοίτη[η]
vacat

Face b:

[Κλα]υδίῃ εὐσεβί[αισ]ν ἀενμνήσ[τ]οισι κομώσα |
[ο]ὔρανόν εἰσανό[ρ]ουσε, δέμας δε οἱ | [ε]νθαδε Μοίρη |
κουριδίω ξυνάρη[ρε κ]αὶ οἴχομένης | [συν] ἀκοίτη¹⁰ |
[τύμβ]ω υπ' εὐαγε[— — | —

Translation:

- a. In repayment for hospitality, and in thanks for pious works, Claudia, Justice has honoured you with (the) tomb of the dead, and has wedded your pure body (with it as a) lawful husband.
b. Claudia, who abounded in acts of piety which will ever be remembered, has rushed up to heaven, but Fate here below has joined her body, even after death, with a wedded husband, ?a tomb, ?by the pure . . .

1.177. *Honours for Zenon Aeneas, son of Zenon, wrestler.*

Date Early Third Century (title)
Findspot Temple/Church, re-used in the fifth century.
Bibliography Reconstruction Cornack (1955) 63, fig.12. *MAMA* viii.513; Roueché (1993) #78.

Text:

[Ζήν]ωνα Ζήγ[ωνος] / [τ]οῦ Χάρητος το [ῦ] / [Ζ]ή νωνος Αἰνεῖαν / γένους καὶ ἀξιώ¹⁵ματος τοῦ πρώ/τε ὄντ ος ἐν τῇ / πατρίδι
ἱερο/γείκην πλ εἰστο/γείκην παρὰδο¹⁰ζον παλαιστήν / *vac.* πα ἰ δα *vac.* / Μενεσθεὺς Ἀ/πολλωνίου το[ῦ] / Με νεσθεὺς Π¹⁵α [ἰ]ου
Ἰσόβουνος / ἀρχιεποιοῦς / θεᾶς Ἀφροδεί/της *vac.* τὸν συν/γενῆ ἐκ τῶν ιδί²⁰ων καθὼς ἀγω/νοθετῶν ὑπέ/ *star* σχετο *star*

Translation:

Zenon Aeneas son of Zenon son of Chares son of Zenon, of leading family and rank in the city, sacred victor, frequent victor, extraordinary, boy wrestler. Menestheus Isobounos, son of Apollonios son of Menestheus Papias, chief neopios of the goddess Aphrodite (put up the statue of) his kinsman, out of his own resources, as he promised while he was agonotheite.

5.214. *Honour for Aurelius Achilles.*

Date Third Century, after 212 (nomenclature), around 260 AD.
Findspot Hadrian Baths, East court, in the fourth entrance of the north portico.
Bibliography Jones (1981); Roueché (1993), #72
i. Merkelbach (1974); *I. Eph.* # 12
ii. Merkelbach (1982), 282–3

Text:

i .. ? ..]

[.. ? ..] ἐσπουδακότας ἀποδεχο[μέ]-
[νης] αἰεταίς πρεπούσαις καὶ δικα[ί? νν.]
[αἰς] πρὸς ἀξίαν μαρτυρίας τῆς λαμ -
[πρ]οτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἐφεσίων καὶ *vac.*

5 [συ]νηδομένης ὡς οἰκεῖοις τοῖς παν -
[τῶ]ν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ἄλλαις πο -
[λ]εσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν τῶν ἀν -
[δ]ρῶν ὑπάρχει πρὸς εὐδοκίμησιν
[ἐ]ξαίρετα ταῦτα ὑπάρχουν εὐτυχῆ -

10 [μ]ατα πλεῖον δέ τι τῆς περι τὴν εὔνοι -
[α]ν ῥοπῆς ἀπονεμούσης τῇ λαμ -
προτάτη πόλει τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων
[π]ρὸς τὴν πολλὰ καὶ ἐξαίρετα περι
[τ]ὴν ἀντίδοσιν τῆς φιλοστοργίας

ii .. ? ..]

εἴτε δὲ Βαριανοῖο Π·Ο [.. c. 7 ..]
vac. ἀγορεύσεις *vac.*
μέτροις νεικήσας τοῦτο[ν ἔχω]
vac. κότινον *vac.*

5 εἴτ' ἐπιφημίξῃς τὸν ἔφη[βον Ἀ]-
vac. ρείονα φωτῶν *vac.*
καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο [Ζεύ]ς ὤπα[σε]
vac. μοι κότινον *vac.*

10 *vac.* ἐν πᾶσιν δὲ ἔθνεων ΕἰΡ[.. ? ..]
vac. σταδίοις τόσος εἰμί [*vac.*]
ὅσσον μήτις ἐμῶν ἀστὸς ἔ[φω]
vac. προφέρειν *vac.*
πλήθος δὲ στεφάνων ἀγορεύ -
vac. ει σοι κλέος ἄλλων *vac.*

- 15 ἔστιν αὐτῇ δίκαια καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ν.
 Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἀχιλλέα σώματος μὲν ἄσκη -
 σιν ἐπανελόμενον ἀθλήσεως δὲ
 τὸν γενναϊότατον βίου δὲ καὶ προ -
 αἰρέσεως τὸν σεμνότατον ὡς ἐν αὐ -
- 20 τῷ πάσαν κεκράσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ὄσσην
 ψυχῆς ἔστιν καὶ σώματος ἀποδε -
 ξαμένης μὲν πολλάκις καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 φθάνουσιν ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἐκόσμησεν
 διαπρεπῶς καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀγω -
- 25 νισάμενος ἀνδρείας μάλιστα δὲ
 ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνι ὅτι προ -
 τρεψαμένης αὐτὸν ὡς πατρίδος
 τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ τελεώτατον τῶν
 ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἀν -
- 30 δρῶν μετελθεῖν ὑπακούσας κα[ῖ]
 πεισθεὶς τῇ προτροπῇ τοὺς τε ἀν -
 τιπάλους κατηγωνίσαστο καὶ μετὰ
 τοσαύτης δόξης τὸν κότινον ἀνε -
 δήσαστο ὡς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν
- 35 εὐδοκιμησάντων ἀγωνισμάτων
 καταριθμείσθαι τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐ -
 τοῦ καὶ προθυμίαν *scroll* διὰ ταῦτα ἔ -
 δοξεν μὴ μέχρῃς μόνης τῆς γνώ -
 σεως τῶν παρόντων μηδὲ τῶν ἄ -
- 40 παντησάντων κατὰ καιρὸν τῷ στα -
 δίῳ στήναι τὴν περὶ τούτων μαρτυρί -
 αν ἀ[λλ]ᾶ γὰρ καὶ παρακαταθέσθ[αι] δι[ᾶ]
 τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἔτι μᾶ[λ] -
 λον αὐτὸν τῇ πατρίδι
- 15 εἰκόνη λαϊνέη καὶ τύπῳ ἡμετέρῳ
 πόλλακι γὰρ δὴ [[Πύθια]] [[ἔ]]χῳ καὶ Ὀ -
 νας. [[λύμπια]] δεῖα νας.
 ἀντιπάλους νεικῶν κυδίμ(φ)
 νας. εὐκλείη νας.
- 20 οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δηρεῖ -
 νας. σαμένου περὶ νείκης νας.
 [ε]ῖς ἔριν ἐκλήτου δεῦτερον ἀν -
 νας. *vacat* τιάσαι *vacat*

Translation:

i. [- -] since the most splendid city of the Ephesians always welcomes those who have shown zeal with testimonies that are fitting and just for their worth, and takes a share of pleasure in the advantages of all (men) as if they were her own, and (since she considers that) whatever outstanding (advantages) accrue to the good reputation of other cities from distinguished men, these are matters of (?general) good fortune; (10) and since she assigns an especial portion of her inclination towards goodwill to the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians, towards which she has many and outstanding justifications for the exchange of affection. For these reasons, (the city) has welcomed Aurelius Achilles - - who has both undertaken the training of the body, and is also most noble in training, and most dignified in his way of life and his conduct, so that in him (20) all virtue of body and soul is blended - - (has welcomed him) often, both in previous contests, which he adorned, having competed impressively and with all courage, and especially in the contest of the Olympia, because, when the city encouraged him - - as if it were his own fatherland - - to proceed to the ultimate competition, and to the category of men (30), he listened, and was persuaded by the encouragement, and defeated his opponents, and bound on the (crown of) olive with such glory that his (?display of) courage and eagerness are to be numbered among the most distinguished of contests. For these reasons it was resolved that the testimony about these events should not extend only as far as the knowledge of

ii. [? a couplet naming Achilles] but if you proclaim [? the prowess] of Varianus in verse, I hold the olive having defeated him; or if you praise the ephebe Arion, (superior) to grown men, against him too Zeus granted me the olive (wreath). Ask (?) in all the stadia of the nations, as I am as great as none of my fellow-citizens [were able to] surpass. The throng of other crowns proclaims to you my fame, by means of (? or in) a stone image and my likeness. For I often have Pythia, and divine Olympia, defeating (my) rivals with glorious fame, while none of the men who have struggled (with me) for victory has been summoned to confront a second contest (?).

those who were present and (40) happened to be in the stadium at the time, but by means of this decree he should be commended even more to his fatherland.

11.55. List of Jews and godfearers

Date	Mid- to late Fourth Century (Lettering, Content)
Findspot	Subrubing village out of the East Gate.
Bibliography	Reynolds & Tannenbaum (1987), Chaniotis (2002), Blanco Pérez (2018).

Text:

- a.i Θεός βοηθός, ? πατέλλα ΔΟ[-] | οἱ ὑποτεταγμένοι τῆς δεκαν(ίας) | τῶν φιλομαθῶ[ν] | ⁵τῶν κέ παντευλόγ(... ων) | εἰς ἀπενθησίαν | τῷ πλήθι ἔκτισα[ν] | ἐξ ἰδίων μνήμα | Ἰαηλ προστάτης | ¹⁰ν. σὺν υἱῷ Ἰωσοῦα ἄρχ(οντι) | Θεόδοτος Παλατίν(ος) σὺν |ν. υἱῷ Ἰαριανῶ |ν. | Σαμουηλ ἀρχιδ(?έκανος) προσήλ(υτος) | Ἰωσῆς Ἰεσέου |ν. | ¹⁵Βενιαμιν ψαλμο(?λόγος) | Ἰούδας εὐκολος |ν. | Ἰωσῆς προσήλ(υτος) | Σαββάτιος Ἀμαχίου | Ἐμμόνιος θεοσεβ(ής) |ν. | ²⁰Ἀντωνίνος θεοσεβ(ής) | Σαμουηλ Πολιτιανού | Εἰωσήφ Εὐσεβίου προσήλυτος | καὶ Εἰούδας Θεοδώρου | καὶ Ἀντιπέος Ἐρμήου | ²⁵καὶ Σαββάτιος νεκτάρης | [?κα]ἰ Σαμο<υ>ηλ πρ<εσ>β<ε>υτῆς ἰερεφύς
- ii (If cut when the stele was standing:) ΝΜΔ | (If cut upside down to the main text:) ΠΩΝ
- iii Σα | ³⁰μουηλ | πρ<εσ>β<ε>υτῆς | ¹⁵Περ|γε|οὺς
- b .. ? -] | [.. c. 8 -] | [Σ]εραπίωνος |ν. | [.. ? -] | [Ἰωση]φ Ζήνωνος |ν. | ⁵[Ζή]νων Ἰακωβ stop Μανασῆς Ἰωφ (sic) | Ἰούδας Εὐσεβίου vacat | Ἐορτάσιος Καλλικάρπου |ν. | Βιωτικός stop Ἰούδας Ἀμφιανού | Εὐγένιος χρυσοχόος vac. | ¹⁰Πραοίλιος stop Ἰούδας Πραοιλίου | Ροφός stop Ὀξυχόλιος γέρων Ἀμάντιος Χαρίνου stop Μύρτιλος Ἰακω προβατον(όμος) stop Σεβήρος νν. | Εὐδοσ stop Ἰάσων Εὐδόου νν. | ¹⁵Εὐσαββάτιος λαχα(νοπώλης) stop Ἀνύσιος | Εὐσαββάτιος ξένος stop Μίλων Ὀξυχόλιος νεώτερος vacat | Διογένης stop Εὐσαββάτιος Διογέν(ους) | Ἰούδας Παύλου stop Θεόφιλος vac. | ²⁰Ἰακωβ ὁ κέ Ἀπελλί(ων) stop Ζαχαρίας μονο(πώλης) | Λεόντιος Λεοντίου stop Γέμελλος Ἰούδας Ἀχολίου stop Δαμόνικος |ν. | Εὐτάρκιος Ἰούδα stop Ἰωσηφ Φιληρ | Εὐσαββάτιος Εὐγενίου vac. | ²⁵Κύρουλλος stop Εὐτύχιος χαλκοτύπος | Ἰωσηφ παστι(λλάριος) stop Ρουβην παστι(λλάριος) | Ἰούδας Ὀρτασί(ου) stop Εὐτύχιος ὄρν(ιθοπώλης) | Ἰούδας ὁ κέ Ζωσι stop Ζήνων γρυτοπώλης Ἀμμιανός χιλᾶς stop Αἰλιανός Αἰλια(νοῦ) | ³⁰Αἰλιανός ὁ καὶ Σαμουηλ Φιλανθος | Γοργόνιος Ὀξυ(χολίου) stop Ἐορτάσιος Ἀχιλλέ(ως) | Εὐσαββάτιος Ὀξυ(χολίου) stop Παρηγόριος | Ἐορτάσιος Ζωτικῶ Συμεῶν Ζην vacat |
- Καὶ ὅσοι θεοσεβεῖς stop Ζήνων βουλ(ευτής) | ³⁵Τέρτυλλος βουλ(ευτής) stop Διογένης βουλ(ευτής) | Ὀνήσιμος βουλ(ευτής) stop Ζήνων Λονγι(ανοῦ) βου[λ] (ευτής) | Ἀντιπέος βουλ(ευτής) stop Ἀντίοχος βουλ(ευτής) | Ρωμανός βουλ(ευτής) stop Ἀπονήριος βουλ(ευτής) | Εὐπίθιος πορφυρ(ᾶς) stop Στρατήγιος | ⁴⁰Ξάνθος |ν. stop ν. Ξάνθος Ξάνθου stop Ἀπονήριος Ἀπον(ηρίου) stop Ὑψικλῆς Μελ stop | Πολυχρόνιος Ξάν(θου) stop Ἀθηνίων Αἰ(λιανοῦ) | Καλλιμόρφος Καλ(λιμόρφου) stop ΙΟΥΝΒΑΛΟΣ | Τυχιός Τυχι(κοῦ) stop Γληγόριος Τυχι(κοῦ) | ⁴⁵Πολυχρόνιος βελ() stop Χρῦσιππος | Γοργόνιος χαλ(κοτύπος) stop Τατιανός Ὀξυ(χολίου) | Ἀπελλᾶς Ἦγε(μονέως) stop Βαλεριανός πεν(ακάς) | Εὐσαββάτιος Ἠδ(υχρός) stop Μανικίος Ἀττά(λου) | Ὀρτάσιος λατύ(πος) stop βραβέως vac. | ⁵⁰Κλαυδιανός Καλ(λιμόρφου) stop Ἀλέξανδρος πυ() | Ἀππιανός λευ() stop Ἀδδῶλιος ἰσικιάριος | Ζωτικός ψελ(λός) stop Ζωτικός γρύλλος | Εὐπίθιος Εὐπι(θίου) stop Πατρίκιος χαλκο(τύπος) | Ἐλπιδιανός ἀθλη(τής) Ἠδυχροῦς vac. | ⁵⁵Εὐτρόπιος Ἠδυχ(ρός) stop Καλλίνικος |ν. | Βαλεριανός ἀρχά(?ριος) stop Εὐρετος Ἀθηναγ(όρου) | Παράμονος ἰκονο(?γράφος) stop vacat | Εὐτυχιανός γραφ(εὺς) stop Προκόπιος τρα(?πεζίτης) | Προυνίκιος γραφ(εὺς) stop Στρατόνικος γραφ(εὺς) | ⁶⁰Ἀθηναγόρας τέκτω(ν) | Μελίτων Ἀμαζονίου vacat

Translation:

a. i. God help us. Donors to the soup kitchen. Below are listed the members of the decany of the students of the law, also known as those who fervently praise God, who erected, for the relief of suffering in the community, at their personal expense, this memorial (building). Jael, prostates, with her son Josua, magistrate, Theodotos, former palace employee, with his son Hilarianos, Samuel, president of the dekania, a proselyte, Joses, son of Jesseas, Benjamin, the psalm singer, Judas the good-tempered, Joses, proselyte, Sabbatios, son of Amchios, Emmonios, godfearer, Antoninos, godfearer, Samuel, son of Politianos, Joseph, son of Eusebios, proselyte, and Judas, son of Theodoros, and Antipeos, son of Hermias, and Sabbatios the sweet, and Samuel the older, priest.

a. ii. Samuel the older, from Perge.

b. [.. ? -] Serapionos, [.. ? -] Zenon, Zenon, Jacob, Manases, Ioph, Judas, son of Eusebios, Heortasios, son of Kallikarpos, Biotikos, Judas, son of Amphianos, Eugenios, goldsmith, Praoilios, Judas, son of Praoilios, Rufos the old, Aman-tios, son of Charinos, Murtilos, Jacob, sheepfarmer, Seberos, Euodos, Jason, son of Euodos, Eusabbathios, greengrocer, Anusios, Eusabbathios, the foreigner, Milo, Oxucholios, the younger, Diogenes, Eusabbathios, son of Diogenes, Judas, son of Paulos, Theophilos, Jacob, also called Apellios, Zacharias, ?mono, Leontios, son of Leontios, Gemellos, Judas, son of Acholios, Damonikos, Eutarkios, son of Judas, Joseph, son of Philer, Eusabbathios, son of Eugenios, Kurullos, Eutuchios, bronze-smith, Joseph, confectioner, Ruben, confectioner, Judas, son of Hortasios, Eutuchios, poulterer, Judas, also called Zosi, Zenon, recycler, Ammianos, stockfeeder, Ailianos, son of Ailianos, Ailianos, also called Samuel, Philanthos, Gorgo-nios, son of Oxucholios, Heortasios, son of Achilles, Eusabbathios, son of Oxucholios, Paregorios, Heortasios, son of Zotikos, Sumeon, son of Zenon

(6 lines blank)

[Caius Caesar] Augustus, imperator, [Marcus Antonius, imperator, triumviri] Reipublicae Constituendae, announce:
 [? Since in former times too the Rhodians, Lykians, Tarsians and Laodikeians, and also the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, [always] showed the greatest zeal [for the] empire [of the Roman People] and [being] especially [attached] to our party [.. ? ..] they [have been] unlawfully [.. ? .. ? when], holding the most noble principles, [? they undertook] every risk on behalf of the respublica and ourselves; [for which reason .. ? ..] we ought to provide the most abundant aid in every way and with all zeal [.. ? .. ? for the sake of Apollo] Paeon (Medicus), we desire, with the greatest eagerness, [? to restore them] in order that [? we may pay the debt of gratitude] due not only for those things which [.. ? .. being things] destroyed, but also for their former good services [to us .. ? .. it is] proper that [no one shall have] the power [to .. ? ..] against a Rhodian, Lykian, Plarasan and Aphrodisian, Tarsian [.. ? ..] a freeborn person in respect of [.. ? ..] which have occurred already in the past [.. ? ..] from the time when Marcus [.. ? .. those who ? assaulted] each city which they attacked ? with hostile armies. Whoever fails to observe ? any of these injunctions [.. ? ..] ? to have brought a charge [.. ? ..] and to whomsoever informs against him we will give [.. ? ..].

8.27. *Senatus Consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*

Text:

[In the] consulship [of C. Calvisius C.f. and L. Marcius] L.f.; from the record of decrees referred to the Senate, file [?one, pages four], five, six, seven, eight, nine; and in the quaestorian files of the year when M. Marti[- and .. ? ..] were urban [quaestors], file one. second October, on the Palatine, in the [?temple of .. ? ..]. When the record was written there were present M. Valerius M.f. Lem. Messala, Appius [Claudius ?Pulcher, (L. Nonius) L.f.] Vel. Asprenas, L. Scribonius L.f. Fal. Libo, L. [.. ? ..] L.f. Ouf. Balbus, [.. ? ..] C.f. Claudonianus (sic), L. Ser[gius ?L.f.] Fal. Plautus, C. M.[.. ? .. f.] Pom., Cn. Asinius Cn. f. [?Arn.], P. Sestius L. [f. Col., Cn.] Pompeius Q.f. Arn., C. Hedi[us] C.f. Cla. Thorus, L. [.. ? .. f.] Arn. Capito, T. Licinius T. [f. . . .] enus, C[.. ? ? ..] nius Cn. f. Arn. Rufus, P. [.. ? ? ..] ?Ani., Cn. Sedi[us] C.f. Cla. [.. ? ? ..] n, T. [Li]cinius T.f. Fab. Turannus, [.. ? ..] itus [.. ? ..]

Concerning the matter on which the consuls C. Calvisius] C.f. [and L. Marcius L.f. Censorinus spoke, saying]

[that ?Solon son of Demetrios, envoy of the Aphrodisians, was renewing the relationship of favour, friendship and alliance] and seeking of the Senate [that .. ? .. the People of] Plarasa and Aphrodisias [.. ? .. because of their friendship towards the Romans] and goodwill [?in which they have been] among the most outstanding, [.. ? .. that these things] should be restored to them [and ?the destroyed fields] should be valued, [.. ? .. and that they should receive a favourable] reply; the Senate [decided to reaffirm the relationship of favour, friendship and alliance] with the people of Plarasa [and Aphrodisias], to address their ambassador as a good and noble man and, moreover, a friend [from a good and noble people, which is, moreover, our friend and ally]; and since it is agreed that the community [of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians has] continuously [.. ? ..] shown the greatest [.. ? .. and] goodwill [.. ? ..] to the empire of the Roman people from the time when it entered the friendship of the Roman People; and since M. Antonius and C. Caesar [victorious generals, Triumviri] Reipublicae Constituendae, [spoke] in this house [about the very noble policy] and the exceptional loyalty which [the people of Plarasa/Aphrodisias have extended] to our public affairs, (resolved) that it seems to be in the public interest [for the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, themselves, their children] and their descendants to be exempt from all levies [.. ? .. and removed from] all taxation documents of the Roman People, themselves and their [wives, children and descendants and] to be enrolled among the number of allies; nor should any magistrate [or promagistrate of the Roman People, or anyone else], billet on them, in the city or territory or bounds of the Plarasans [and Aphrodisians, a soldier or a substitute soldier, a cavalry-man] or anyone else, with a view to providing winter quarters, [nor order such billeting to take place], nor levy from the people of Plarasa [and Aphrodisias money], or soldiers [or ships, or corn], or weapons, or rafts, [or anything else at all; .. ? ..]; also resolved that the ?asylia which .. ? .. conceded] to Aphrodite who is present among them, is agreed by the Senate to have been [rightly and duly conceded and in accordance with] the sense of duty to the gods felt by the Roman People [.. ? ..]; and it is also agreed by the Senate that the temple of the goddess in that city should be an asylum and with the same rights as [the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis at Ephesos], and in other respects that the ordinances of Divus Iulius on these matters [should all remain valid .. ? .. similarly] it is agreed by the Senate that the people of Plarasa and Aphrodisias should be exempt in all respects from the joint levy [.. ? ..] on the Maeander [.. ? ..], should be free of liturgies and [?levies] and [contribute] no payments nor anything else [.. ? ..] the matter [?nor should it be allowed to anyone] to take and ?carry off [.. ? ..] a pledge but the community of Plarasa and Aphrodisias should be free and enjoy [its own] law [and courts ?as far as] the Roman People [are concerned]; and [within] their boundaries no one should take bail from anyone, or order bail to be taken from anyone, [for an appearance in court at Rome ?]; and all those rewards, honours and privileges which C. Caesar or M. Antonius, Triumviri Reipublicae Constituendae, have given or shall give, have allotted or shall allot, have conceded or shall concede by their own decree to the people of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, all these should be accepted as having come about duly and regularly; similarly it is agreed by the Senate that the people of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, their children and descendants should themselves have and possess freedom and immunity from taxation in all matters on the legal basis which is that of a community with the fullest right and law, having freedom and immunity from taxation granted by the Senate and people of Rome, and being a friend and ally of the Roman people.

The temple or precinct of the goddess Aphrodite which is in the city of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, that temple or precinct is to be an asylum, with the rights and the religious sanctity which pertain to the temple or precinct of Ephesia Artemis at Ephesos, for an area of 120 feet surrounding that temple or precinct in all directions; that area is to be an asylum; and (it is agreed) that the community, and the citizens of Plarasa and Aphrodisias are to have, hold, use and enjoy all those lands, places, buildings, villages, estates, strongpoints, pastures, revenues which they had when they entered the friendship of the Roman People, and are to be free, and immune from taxation and the presence of tax-contractors. Neither are any of them obliged on any account to give or contribute (anything) but they are to be free in all respects and immune from taxation and are to enjoy their own traditional laws and those which they pass among themselves hereafter. All the [.. ? ..] which the Plarasans [and Aphrodisians .. ? .. ?move] from [the boundaries] of Trallian territory into [the boundaries of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians .. ? ..], all these [they should be allowed to move] without paying tax and without paying pasture dues from [?the Trallian boundaries and if any ?praetor, propraetor or proconsul], and if anyone else in authority [seeks to levy] the public taxes [of the Roman People contrary to the privileges] given and conceded by the Senate to the Aphrodisians [.. ? ..] nor should anyone let to anyone a contract for collecting any of those things ; [a magistrate or pro-magistrate charged at any time] with administration of justice in the province shall see to it that nothing contrary [to this decree of the Senate takes place ; and also that those traditional laws and customs of theirs which] the community and citizen of Plarasa and Aphrodisias [enjoyed] and the places, lands, buildings, [villages, farms, strongpoints, pastures, revenues, .. ? ..] and other matters and [properties which they had when they entered the friendship of the Roman People, all] these they should have and hold. [?Agreed.

Concerning the proposal made by the] consuls [C. Calvisius and L. Marcius Censorinus, (it is agreed) that L. Marcius Censorinus and C. Calvisius consuls,] should instruct the urban quaestors with a view to [?registering the name of the ambassador at the Treasury] and [bid] them give and pay [subsistence allowance to the ambassador of the Plarasans and] Aphrodisians [up to the sum of .. ? .. and that the ambassadors of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians should be allowed to sit] as spectators in the [area reserved for Senators] at contests and gladiatorial combats, [also hunts and competitions of athletes, should any occur in the city of Rome or within] one mile of the city of Rome; and whatever [ambassadors come from Plarasa and Aphrodisias in the future to Rome] to meet the Senate they are to report [to the magistrates and pro-magistrates of the Roman People who have the power] to summon [the Senate], in order that [they may be given access to the Senate; and it is agreed by the Senate that they should have access to the Senate without waiting their turn and] the right [to speak and report in that body (and) that] a reply be given to the envoys of Plarasa and Aphrodisias within 10 days of their] attending and reporting [to the Senate ; and that L. Marcius] Censorinus and C. Calvisius [consuls] should make provision [?for the oaths of the Roman People to be sworn and for the people] of Plarasa/Aphrodisias [to swear] through their ambassadors [.. ? ..] the priests (?Fetiales) themselves [.. ? ..] those about to be hereafter (?holding office) to whomsoever of them [.. ? .. of the people] of Plarasa and Aphrodisias [.. ? ..] they should ?report the ?numbers whatever these [.. ? .. the consuls are to see to it that, ?after certain things] have taken place and been instituted, [?they bring] a law [on these] matters before the People (of Rome) and that [they have] this decree of the Senate [engraved, and also the treaty with] the people of Plarasa [and Aphrodisias] which will be made [in addition to] it, on bronze tablets [and set up in the temple of Jupiter], in Rome, on the Capitol; [and to arrange that other] tablets [be displayed] at Aphrodisias in the sanctuary of [Aphrodite] and in the [?market place(s) of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, ?where they are clearly visible], as seemed to them in accordance with the interests of the state and [with their own] good faith. [Agreed].

In the Senate when the decree was passed [? Senators] were present, and 3[40] Senators [when] the oath was taken.

8.28. Extracts from *Senatus Consultum*, with awards to Plarasa/Aphrodisias

Date Document: 39–8 BC; Inscription: mid-late Third Century (palaeography).

Findspot Archival Wall, Column 4.

Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #9; *AE* 1984, 863.

Text:

εἶδος ἐκ τῶν δεδομένων φιλανθρωπῶπων ὑπὸ τε Αὐτοκρατόρων stop καὶ συνκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων | μῆτε μὴν ἀρχοντά τινα ἢ ἀντάρχοντα δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἕτερόν τέ τινα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἢ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων στρατιώτην καὶ ἀντιστρατιώτην ἰπέα | ἕτερόν τινα εἰς παραχειμασίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δίδοσθαι μηδὲ καταθέσθαι κελεύειν μῆτε χρήματα |⁵ μῆτε στρατιώτας stop μῆτε πλοῖα stop μῆτε σείτον stop μῆτε ὄπλα stop μῆτε εἰς σχεδίας stop μῆτε μὴν ἕτερόν τι πράγμα | *vac.* τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Πλαρασέων καὶ [[Ἀφροδισιέων]] ἐπιτάσσεσθαι *vac.* | εἶδος ὀρκίου γενομένου Ῥωμαίων καὶ Πλαρασέων [[Ἀφροδισιέων]] παρόντων συνκλητικῶν τμ' | ἔπαρχον φρουράν τε εἴσω πόλεως Πλαρασέων καὶ [[Ἀφροδισιέων]] εἰς τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν ἥτις | αὐτῶν χώρα ἰδιόκτητος αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει ἄκοντες μὴ ἐπιδεχέσθωσαν προσόδους φόρους μὴ δίδόντων |¹⁰ ὅπως τε ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν καὶ ταῖς μονομαχίαις ἔτι τε κυνηγίοις καὶ ἐὰν ἀθλοῖται ἀγωνίζονται ἐν πόλει Ῥώμῃ πλησίον τε πόλεως Ῥώμης | μιλίου ἐνός ἐν τῷ τῶν συνκλητικῶν τόπῳ πρεσβευταῖς Πλαρασέων καὶ [[Ἀφροδισιέων]] καθῆσθαι θεωρεῖν τε ἔξῃ καὶ οἴτινες δὲ | ἄμ ποτε πρεσβευταῖς Πλαρασέων καὶ [[Ἀφροδισιέων]] εἰς Ῥώμην πρὸς τὴν σύνκλητον παραγένωνται τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἀντάρχουσιν | δήμου Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν σύνκλητον συναγαγεῖν ἐμφανίσωσιν ὅπως σύνκλητος αὐτοῖς δοθῇ *v.* ἀρέσκει ἐκ τοῦ στίχου σύνκλητον αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι ἐξουσίαν τε αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖνη τῇ τάξει διαλεγεῖναι ἐμφανίσαι τε ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς |¹⁵ ἐγγιστα αἷς ἂν προσέλθωσιν ἐμφανίσωσιν ἀπόκριμα πρεσβευταῖς Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων δοθῆναι *star vac.*

Translation:

Clause from the grant of privileges made by emperors and by the Senate and People of Rome. Nor should a magistrate or promagistrate of the Roman people or anyone else billet on them, in the city or territory or confines of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, an infantry man or one substituting for such, a cavalry man or anyone else with a view to provision of winter quarters, nor order such billeting to take place, nor levy from the Plarasans and Aphrodisians money, soldiers, ships, corn, arms or rafts or anything else.

Clause from the treaty sworn between the Romans and the people of Plarasa Aphrodisias in the presence of 340 senators: Against their will they are not to receive a commander and a garrison within the city of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians and into their territory, that territory which is their own property; they are not to pay taxes and contributions. And that at games and gladiatorial shows and also at beast hunts, and if athletes compete in the city of Rome or within a mile of it, ambassadors of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians may sit as spectators in the area reserved for senators; and that ambassadors of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians who come to Rome to wait upon the Senate should report to the magistrates or those acting for the magistrates of the Roman people who have the power to summon the Senate, in order that an occasion may be provided for them to attend a meeting; it is agreed that they should have the right to attend the Senate without waiting their turn, to speak in that body and to report to it and that a reply should be given to the ambassadors of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians within ten days of attending and reporting to it.

8.29. Letter of Octavian to Stephanos

Date Document: 39–8 BC; Inscription: mid-late Third Century (palaeography).
 Findspot Archival Wall, Column 4.
 Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #10; *AE* 1984, 864; *SEG* 34-1044. Millar (1973) 56.

Text:

vac. Καίσαρ Στεφάνῳ ν. χαίρειν *vac.* | ὡς Ζωῖλον τὸν ἐμὸν φιλῶ ἐπίστασαι τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἡλευθέρωσα καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ συνέστησα | ν. ὡς Ἀντώνιος ἀπεστὶν δὸς ἐργασίαν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάρησις γένηται μίαν πόλιν ταύτην | ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας ἐμαυτῷ εἰληπα ν. ν. τούτους οὕτω θέλω φυλαχθῆναι ὡς ἐμοῦς πολεΐτας |⁵ *vac.* ὄψομαι ὡς τὴν ἐμὴν σύνστασιν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγάγῃς *vac.*

Translation:

Caesar to Stephanos, greetings.

You know my affection for my friend Zoilos. I have freed his native city and recommended it to Antonius. Since Antonius is absent, take care that no burden falls on them. This one city I have taken for mine out of all Asia. I wish these people to be protected as my own townsmen. I will see that you carry out my recommendation to the full.

8.30. Letter of Stephanos to Plarasa/Aphrodisias

Date Document: 39–8 BC; Inscription: mid-late Third Century (palaeography).
 Findspot Archival Wall, Column 3.
 Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #11; *AE* 1984, 864; *SEG* 33-854.

Text:

Στέφανος Πλαρα(ασέων) [Ἀφροδισι]έων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν | προσελθόντων μοι ὑμετέρων πρεσβευτῶν ἐν Λαοδικῇ καὶ | τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ψηφίσματα ἀναδόντων ἐγὼ πάσαν σπουδὴν | εἰσηνεκάμην καὶ ἐπιμελέστατα ἐξζήτησας παρὰ τε τῶν ἑξῆς ὤθηθαι καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀπέδωκα αὐτοῖς δούλους ὅσους ποτέ ἐπέγνωσαν καὶ ἔλευθέρους ὅσους ἔλεγον ἐπὶ Λαβιήνου πάντα< > | ὑμῖν ἐνδεδεῖσθαι καὶ τούτους ὑμῖν παρέδωκα ὅπως τὰς | κατηκούσας ὑμῖν τιμωρίας ὑποσχώσιν σὺν τούτοις καὶ | στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἀποδέδωκα τοῖς ὑμετέροις πρεσβευ¹⁰ ταῖς καὶ ἄρχουσιν ὃς ἦν ἀπηνεγμένος ὑπὸ Πύθου τοῦ Οὐμανίου.

Translation:

Stephanos to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, greetings.

When your envoys came to me in Laodicea and handed me the decrees from you, I made every effort and, after a most careful search, restored to them all the slaves they recognized from the hands of others and from any own people; and all the free men too against whom, they said, information had been laid in the time of Labienus, I handed over to you in order that they may undergo the punishments you think appropriate. Together with these I have restored to your ambassadors and magistrates a golden crown which had been carried off by Pythes son of Oumanios.

8.32. Letter of Augustus to Samos

Date Document: 38 BC; Inscription: mid-late Third Century (palaeography).
 Findspot Archival Wall, Column 4.
 Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #13; *AE* 1984, 867; *SEG* 35-1081. Millar (1992) 431–2, Bernhardt (1980) 190–207.

Text:

vac. αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱὸς Αὐγουστος Σαμίους ὑπὸ τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑπέγραψεν | ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὄραν ὅτι τὸ φιλάνθρωπον τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδενὶ δέδωκα δῆμῳ πλὴν τῶ τῶν | [Ἀφροδισιέων] ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσας δοριάλωτος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίαν ἐγένετο | οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν δίκαιον τὸ πάντων μέγιστον φιλάνθρωπον εἰκῆ καὶ χωρὶς αἰτίας χαρίζεσθαι ἐγὼ δὲ |⁵ ὑμῖν μὲν εὐνοῶ καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν τῇ γυναικί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σπουδαζούσῃ χαρίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ | οὐχ ὥστε καταλύσαι τὴν συνθήειάν μου· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων μοι μέλει ἢ εἰς τὸν φόρον τελεῖτε | *vac.* ἀλλὰ τὰ τειμιώτατα φιλάνθρωπα χωρὶς αἰτίας εὐλόγου δεδωκέναι οὐδενὶ βούλομαι

δικαία [·? ·?]Σ'Αφρ[οδει·? ·?] | πράγματα ἐπέστειλα τῷ φίλῳ μου Οὐλ[πί]ῳ Μαρκ[έλλῳ? ·? ·?] | διατρέψαι χρόνον αὐταρχῆ πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶ[ν ·? ·?] ν. |⁵ εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο οὕτω γένοιτο τὰ τε δημόσια πράγματα Ἐ |vac. [ἐλευθερίας] δικά[ια ·? ·? c.26 ·? ·?]EK[·? ·?]E[·? ·?].

Translation:

Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Sarmaticus, Germanicus maximus, Britannicus, son of divus M. Antoninus, Pius, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, grandson of divus Pius, great-grandson of divus Hadrianus, descendant of divus Trajanus Parthicus and divus Nerva, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the fourteenth time, acclaimed victorious for the eighth time, consul for the fifth time, father of his country, sends greetings to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians.

I received the decree in which you asked that the proconsul of Asia should visit your [city] and spend some days looking into [and examining] your public affairs on the grounds that they are [quite neglected ?] and in need of a greater reconstruction [to enable ?] the decisions of the curator to stand confirmed. You of course [voted for these proposals ?] with the interests of the city in mind; on me, since I have been appointed to this station, falls the necessity of preserving the cities in the same [position of honour ? as my predecessors ?] visit(s) from an official ? or proconsul [.. ? ..] and meanwhile the rights of freedom [.. ? ..] matters, I have sent to my friend Ulpius Marcellus ? [.. ? ..] to spend a sufficient time with a view to [the reconstruction ?] of the common [.. ? ..] for if this were to happen in this way and the public affairs [.. ? ..] the rights of freedom [.. ? ..].

8.36. Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisians

Date Document: 198 AD; Inscription: mid-late Third Century (palaeography).

Findspot Archival Wall, Column 5.

Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #17; AE 1984, 871. Jones (2001) 183.

Text: (Jones' reconstruction)

αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱός θεοῦ Κομ[μό]δο[υ ἀδελφ[ός θεοῦ] | Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς υἱανός θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγον[ος θεοῦ Τραϊάνου]ῦ Παρθι[κοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρ]ουα ἀπ[ό]γονος | Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτινάξ Σεβασ[τός Ἀραβικός Ἀδιαβηνικός Παρθικός μέ]γιστο[ς ἀρχιε]||ρεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ Σ' αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ [ια' ὑπατος τὸ β' π]ατῆ[ρ πα]τριδὸς ἀνθύπα[τος καὶ] |⁵ αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς [Περ]τῖνα[κος Σεβασ]τοῦ Ἀ[ραβικ]οῦ Ἀδιαβ[ην]ικ[οῦ Παρθι]κοῦ μεγίστου υἱός θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμαν[ικ]οῦ Σαρμ[α]τικ[οῦ υἱ]ανός θεοῦ Ἀντων[εῖ]νου Εὐσεβ[οῦ] βροῦς ἔκγονος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Τραϊάνου Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπ[ό]γονος Μάρκος Ἀ[ύ]ριος Ἀντωνεῖνος | Σεβαστός δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνθύπατος Ἀφ[ρ]ο[δ]ισιέων τοῖς ἀρχου[σι] καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν vac.] | πάνυ τῶν εἰκότων ἦν θεὸν ὑμᾶς προσκυνοῦντας παρ' ἧς ἡ εὐγέ[ν]εια ἢ μὴ καθέστηκεν, ἡσθῆναί τε ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ] |¹⁰ τῶν βαρβάρων καταρωθῶμενοι καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κοινὴν σ[ὺν πάσῃ τῇ] οἰκουμένη ἄγοντας ? ἐπιστεῖλαι διὰ] | ψηφίσματος ὡς εἰδείμεν ὑμῶν τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα δικά[ια τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν μεμενηκότα μέχρι τῆς] | vac. ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἀσάλευτα καὶ ἡμεῖς φυλάττομεν | ΚΑ[·? ·? ·? εὐτυχεῖτε ·? vac.]

Translation: (Mine)

Imperator Caesar L. Septimius Severus, Pius, Pertinax, Augustus, [Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus] maximus, [son] of divus Marcus Antoninus Pius, Ge[rmanicus, Sarmaticus], brother [of divus] Com[mo]dus, grandson of [divus] Antoninus Pius, great grandson of divus Hadrianus, [descendant] of [divus] Traianus Parthicus and divus Ner[va], Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the sixth time, acclaimed victor for the [eleventh time, consul for the second time,] father of his country, proconsul, [and] Imperator Caesar M. Aureli[us Antoninus] Augustus, son of L. Septimius Severus, Pius, [Per]tina[x, Augustu]s, A[rabic]us, Adiab[enicu]s, [Parthi]cus maximus, grandson of M. Antoninus Pius, German[ic]us, Sarm[aticus], great grandson of divus Antoninus Pius, descendant of [divus] Hadrianus, of divus Trajanus Parthicus and of divus Nerva, holding the tribunician power, proconsul, to the Magistrates, [Council and People] of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

It was entirely likely that you who worship a goddess from whom [our] nobility [associated, and rejoiced in our] successes [over] the barbarians and [conducted] a festival to celebrate them in common [?with your neighbours and sent to us though your] decree so that we should know your piety. The existing rights [of your city which have endured up to] our reign we too preserve unchanged [.. ? ..?Farewell].

8.37. Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisians

Date Document: 198 AD; Inscription: mid-late Third Century (palaeography).

Findspot Archival Wall, Column 5.

Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #18; Millar (1992) 416.

Text:

αὐτοκράτορες Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνεῖνος [Ἀφρο]θεῖσιέων τοῖς ἄ[ρχουσι] καὶ τῇ β[ουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν vac.] ἡσθέντας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς θρασυνομένους [βαρ]βάρους νενεικῆσ[θα]ι καὶ πάσαν [τὴν οἰκου]μ[ένην ἐν εἰρήνῃ γεγενῆσ]- θαι σφόδρα ἔπρεπεν εὐφρανθῆναι τῆς πατρῴας κοινωνίας εἰς ἐμὲ Ἀντωνεῖνον ἡκούσης [?δόντας καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ?καί] 5 τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ μάλλον ἄλλων προσήκοντας διὰ τὴν προκαθημένην τῆς πόλεως ὑμ[ῶν] θεὸν τὴν ὑπάρχουσα]ν ὑμῖν πολιτεῖαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ νόμους τοὺς μέχρι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἀκεί[ν]ητους μεμενηκότα[ς] φυλάττομεν εὐτυχ[εῖ]τε]

Translation:

The Emperors Severus and Antoninus to the [Magistrates] and the [Council and People] of the Aphrodisians, greetings. It was most appropriate that you, who rejoiced at the conquest of the insolent barbarians and [?the establishment of peace in] all [?the inhabited world], celebrated the coming of joint rule shared with my father to me, Antoninus, [..? .. for you are ? good and noble men and] more closely related than others to the empire of the Romans because of [the goddess] who presides over your city. Your existing polity and its laws which have survived unchanged up to our reign [we preserve. ?Farewell].

8.103. Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias

Date Document: 243 AD; Inscription: mid-late Third Century (palaeography).
 Findspot Archival Wall, Column 5. Left blocks intact, right blocks damaged, restored.
 Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #21; *AE* 1984, 857.

Text:

αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυ[χ]ῆς Σεβ[α]στὸς ἀ[ρχι]εὐς μέγιστος δη[μαρχι]κῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
 Γ' ὕπατος τὸ β' πατὴρ πατρίδος ἀνθύπατος Ἀφροδ[εισιέω]ν το[ῖς] ἄρ[χο]νσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ | χαίρειν ν. τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας
 βούλευμα τὸ καὶ ὑμᾶς καταστήσαν εἰς κο[ινωνί]αν τῆς πρ[ὸς] τοῖς ἀτυχήσαντας | ἐπικουρίας οὐκ ἐπίταγμα ἦν οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷον τε
 ἐπιτάγματι χρῆσθαι π[ρὸς] τοῖς ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ πολίτευμα |⁵ χρῆστον ἐν μετουσίᾳ καθιστᾶν ὑμᾶς φιλανθρώπου πράξεως καὶ
 ο[ἴ]ης καὶ καθ' ὑμᾶς πράττετε ἐν [κα]τασκευῇ τινος οἰκοδομήματος συνεπιλαμβανόμενοι τῆς ἀναστάσε[ω]ς τοῖς δεομένοις ὑπὲρ
 δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἥκιστα χρῆ δεδιέναι τοῖς γὰρ ἐλευθέρους οὐ πλείστον με[τέ]χετε μόνος ἐστὶν πρὸς τὰ το[ῖ]αῦτα | *vac.* νόμος τὸ
 ἐκούσιον *stop.* ἐπρέσβευον Αὐρήλιος Κτησίας καὶ Α[ἴ]λιος Καλλικράτης εὐτυχε[ῖτε] | *vac.* θεία ἀντιγραφὴ κατὰ Λαοδικεῖς ἢ
 προτεταγμένη *vac.*

Translation:

Imperator Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the sixth time, consul for the second, father of his country, proconsul, to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

The resolution of Asia which associated you too with those assisting the victims of misfortune was not a command, for it is not possible to issue a command to those who are free, but a good administrative act placing you among those who take part in beneficent activity of a type which you undertake also among yourselves when you help with preparations for the erection of a house for those in need. And for the future there is no necessity for fear; for among free men, and you have a very great share of freedom, the only law in such matters is what you are willing to do. Aurelius Ktesias and Aelius Kalikrates carried out the duties of ambassadors. Farewell.

The above (?) is the divine (imperial) reply in the matter of (?) the Laodiceans.

8.114. Letter of Traianus Decius and Herennius Etruscus to Aphrodisias.

Date December 250–January 251 (reign, imperial title, palaeography)
 Findspot South Wall (west), originally from the north parodos wall.
 Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #25, Millar (1992) 417.

Text:

αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γάιος Μέσσιος Κόϊντος Τ[ραϊα]νὸς Δ[έ]κιος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς δημαρχικῆς | ἐξουσίας τὸ γ' ὕπατος
 τὸ β' ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τρίτον | πατὴρ πατρίδος ἀνθύπατος καὶ Κόϊντος Ἑρρένιος Ἑτρούσκος |⁵ Μέσσιος Δέκιος ἀρχιερεὺς
 μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας | τὸ πρῶτον ὕπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος Ἀφροδισιέων τοῖς | *arabesque* ἄρχουσιν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
 δήμῳ χαίρειν | εἰκόσ ἦν ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπάνυμνον τῆς πόλεως θεὸν καὶ | διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οἰκειότητά τε καὶ πίστιν ἡσθῆναι
 |¹⁰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἡμετέρας | θυσίας δὲ καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδοῦναι δικαίας καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ | τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν ὑμῖν
 φυλάττομεν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν | καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ σύνπαντα δίκαια ὁπόσων παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τετυχῆκατε συναύξιν
 ἐτοιμῶς |¹⁵ ἔχοντες ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας *arabesque* | ν. ἐπρέσβευον Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος καὶ Ὀνήσιμος | *vac.*
 εὐτυχεῖτε *vac.*

Translation:

Imperator Caesar [[C. Messius Q. Traianus Decius]], Pius, Felix, Augustus, holding tribunician power for the third time, consul for the second time, designated for the third, father of his country, proconsul, and [[Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius]], Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the first time, consul designate to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

It was to be expected, both because of the goddess for whom your city is named and because of your relationship with the Romans and loyalty to them, that you rejoiced at the establishment of our kingship and made the proper sacrifice and prayers. We preserve your existing freedom and all the other rights which you have received from the emperors who preceded us, being willing also to give fulfilment to your hopes for the future.

Aurelius Theodoros and Aurelius Onesimos carried out the duties of ambassadors. Farewell.

11.412. Four Letters from Hadrian to the City

Date Document: 119–125 (imperial title); Inscription: mid-late Third Century (palaeography)
 Findspot Southwest of the city, reused in the paving road between the Basilica and the Baths

Bibliography Reynolds (2000), *SEG* 50-1096; Campanile (2001) 136–8, *SEG* 51-1491.

Text:

[ἐπὶ Κλαυδίας Παυλεινῆς τὸ *stop* α' *stop vacat* | [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθι]χοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱώνος, Τραιανός | [Ἄδριανός Σεβαστός ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος] δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τρίτον ὑπατος τὸ γ' | [Ἀφροδισιέων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλή καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ν. χαίρειν *vac.* καὶ τῷ ψηφισί]ματι ὑμῶν ἐντυχῶν καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων πρ[ε]σβέων ἀκούσας περὶ τῶν χρηματικῶν δι[κ]ῶν, [συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν εἰ μὲν Ἕλληνας, Ἀφρο]δισιεύς φύσει ἢ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν πολει[?]τευομένων] τις [ἐγκαλεῖται ὑφ' Ἕ]λληνας Ἀφροδισιεύς κατὰ τοὺς ὑμετέρους | [?]νόμους καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ?καθί]στάσθαι τὰς δίκας εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον Ἕλληνας πα[?]ρ' ἄλλης πόλεως, κατὰ Ῥωμαίων νόμους καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ ν. τοὺς μέντοι |¹⁰ [χρεώστας τῆς πόλεως ἠβειβ]αίωτάς ἢ ὅλως συνβεβληκότας τῷ δημοσίῳ ὑ[?]μῶν, [παρ' ὑμῖν τὴν δίκην ὑ]πέχειν νν. ἐπεὶ δὲ στεφανοῦτε με στεφάνῳ | [χρυσῶ? ἀπὸ ??λίτρ]ῶν ἴστε ὅτι παρητησάμην αὐτὸν μὴ βουλόμενος | [ἐπιβαρεῖσθαι ὑμετέρα]ν πόλιν ἐμοῦ γε ἔνεκα ν. εὐτυχεῖτε *stop*

ἐπὶ Κλαυδίας Παυλεινῆς. | [Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ Καίσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱώνος Τραιανός |¹⁵ [Ἄδριανός] Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τρίτον | [ὑ]πατ[?]ος [τ]ὸ τρίτον, Ἀφροδισιέων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλή καὶ τῷ δήμῳ | [χαί]ρειν ν. τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ αὐτονομίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπάρξαντα | ὑμῖν τὰ παρὰ τε τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων, ἐβειβ[?]αίωσα προσθεν. ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ διὰ πρεσβείας περὶ τῆς τοῦ σιδη²⁰ρου χρήσεως καὶ τοῦ τέλους τῶν ἡλίων, καίπερ ἀμφισβητησῖμου τοῦ | πράγματος ὄντος διὰ τὸ μὴ νῦν πρῶτον τοὺς τελῶνας ἐπικεχειρη]κένοι καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐγγέγειν ὅμως εἰδῶς τὴν πόλιν τὰ τε ἄλλα τει[?]μῆς οὐσαν ἀξίαν, καὶ ἐξηρημένην τοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχείας τύπου, | ἀπαλλάσσω αὐτὴν τοῦ τελέσματος καὶ γέγραπφα Κλαυδίῳ |²⁵ Ἀγριππείνῳ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ μου, παραγγεῖλαι τῷ μεμισθωμέν[ω] | τὸ ἐν Ἄσι[?]α τοῦ σιδήρου τέλος ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως. | εὐτυχεῖτε *hedera*

ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Ὑψικλέους *scroll* ἥρωος. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ, | [θ]εοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱώνος, Τραιανός Ἄδριανός | Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἕνατον, |³⁰ ὑπατος *vac.* τὸ τρίτον. Ἀφροδισιέων νν. τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλή καὶ | τῷ δήμῳ ν. χαίρειν *stop* τοὺς πόρους οὓς ἀπετάξατε εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος | καταγωγὴν βειβ[?]αίω *stop* ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν τινες πολεῖται ὑμέτεροι λέγον[?]τες εἰς ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀδύνατοι ὄντες προβεβλήσθαι ν. ἀνέπεμψα αὐ[?]τοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐξετάσσοντας πότερον δυνατοὶ ὄντες λειτουργεῖν δια³⁵δύονται, ἢ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν. ν. εἰ μέντοι φαίνονται τινες αὐτῶν εὐπωρωτέ[?]ροι, προτέρους ἐκείνους ἀρχιεράσθαι δικαίον *stop* συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν παρὰ τῶν | ἀρχιερέων ἀντὶ μονομαχιῶν ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν καὶ οὐ συγχωρῶ μόνον | ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινῶ τὴν γνώμην. οἱ αἰρεθισόμενοι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιμελη]ταὶ τοῦ ὕδραγωγίου περὶ ὧν ἂν γνώμης δέονται καὶ συλλήψεως δυνή⁴⁰σονταὶ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ μου Πομπηίῳ Σεβήρῳ ἐντυχῶναι, ᾧ κάγω γέγραπ[?]φα ν. εὐτυχεῖτε *scroll*

ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ὀπλωνος υἱοῦ ν. Ὑ | ψικλέους *scroll* Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱώνος, Τραιανός Ἄδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ[γιστος], | δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ η', ὑπατος τὸ γ', ν. Ἀφροδισιέ[ων τοῖς ἄρ]⁴⁵χοῖσι καὶ τῇ βουλή καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ν. χαίρειν ν. ὡς ὑπε[?] c. 13 ..] | ΚΑ ἀθρόοι προσαγορεύσαντες ΜΕ[?] ? ..] | ὕδατος καταγωγὴν τυχεῖν[?] ? ..] | Διογένους ὄν πρεσβ[?]εῦτην .. ? ..] | ὑμετέρ[?] ? ..] | [?] ? ..

Translation:

In the first stephanephorate of Claudia Pauleina:

- 1 The emperor Caesar, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the third time, consul for the third time (A.D. 119) greets the magistrates, the council and the people of the Aphrodisians. Having received your decree and heard from your ambassadors about the financial [cases I concede to you that if a Greek] who is a citizen of Aphrodisias either by birth or by adoption into the citizen body [is prosecuted by a] Greek who is a citizen of Aphrodisias the trial is to be heard under your [laws and at Aphrodisias], but if, on the contrary, a Greek [from another city (is prosecuted by a Greek Aphrodisian) the trial is to be held under] Roman law and in the province; those, however, who are [in debt to the city or stand surety for such a debt] or in short have a financial involvement with your public [treasury] are to undergo [trial in Aphrodisias]. Since you crown me with a crown [of gold? weighing? pounds], you should know that I have declined it because I do not wish your city to be burdened as far as I am concerned. Farewell.
- 2 The emperor Caesar, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the third time, consul for the third time (A.D. 119) greets the magistrates, the council and the people of Aphrodisias. Your freedom, autonomy, and other privileges given to you by the Senate and the Emperors who have preceded me I confirmed earlier. But having been petitioned by an embassy about the use of iron and the tax on nails, although the matter is controversial, since this is not the first time that the tax-collectors have undertaken to collect it from you too, nevertheless knowing that the city is in other respects worthy of honour and is removed from the *formula provinciae*, I release it from payment of the tax and I have written to Claudius Agrippinus my procurator to instruct the contractor for the tax on iron in Asia to keep away from your city. Farewell.
- 3 In (the stephanephorate of) Claudius Hypsikles, heros. The emperor Caesar, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the ninth time, consul for the third time (A.D. 125) greets the magistrates, the Council and the People of Aphrodisias. The funds which you have reserved for the aqueduct I confirm. And since there are certain of your citizens who say that they have been nominated for the high priesthood when they are incapable of undertaking it, I have referred them to you to examine whether they are able to undertake the liturgy and are evading it, or are telling the truth; if, however, some of them were to appear to be better off, it is fair that they should hold the high priesthood first. I concede that you should take money from the high priests instead of gladiatorial shows; not only do I concede but I

praise your proposal. The supervisors who will be chosen by you for the water-channel will be able to get advice and help on those matters on which they need them from my procurator Pompeius Severus, to whom I have written. Farewell.

4 In the stephanephorate of Tib. Claudius Hypsikles son of Hoplon.

The emperor Caesar, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the eighth time, consul for the third time (A.D. 124) greets the magistrates, the council and the people of Aphrodisias. As [..?..] they, being gathered in a body, addressed ?me [..?..] aqueduct (accusative case) to get [? help ..?.. name (accusative case) son of Diogenes whom [?you had appointed as] ambassador [...

12.34. Letter from a proconsul to Aphrodisias

Date 222–235 (reign)
Findspot North Wall, original location unknown.
Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #48.

Text:

[·]KE[·?·] | [·εὐτ]υχεῖς δηλ[αδῆ]κόλουθόν ἐσ[τι] | [τ]ὰς πόλεις τὰς καθωσιωμένας | [τ]ῆ μεγάλη αὐτοῦ Τύχη φιλεῖν τε⁵ καὶ τειμᾶν ὅπερ με ποιεῖν ἠδέως | κ[α]ὶ αὐτοὶ ὅστε ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὰς τειμῆσεις τῆ ἐλευθερίας ὑπὸ τῶν προηγόνων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος | [[Αλεξάνδρου]] βεβαιούντος αὐτοῦ¹⁰ [αὐτ]ὴν καὶ αὖξοντος τὰ δίκαια οἱ[ς] | [εὐθ]υμείθε καὶ ἠδέως ἐλεύσομαι¹¹ | [πρὸς] ὑμᾶς ἐπιδημήσω ἐν τῇ λαμ[προ]τάτῃ πόλει ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ ὑμῶν | [θεᾶ] θύσω ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ αἰώ¹⁵ [ν]ίου διαμονῆς τοῦ τε κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος [[Αλεξάνδρου]] καὶ τῆς κυρ[ί]ας ἡμῶν Σεβαστῆς [[Μαμαίας]] μητρὸς | τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων | εἰ μήτε νόμος τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν²⁰ [μ]ήτε δόγμα συνκλήτου μήτε διάταξις μήτε θεία ἐπιστολή κωλύει τὸν | [ἀ]νθύπατον ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει [ὑμῶν] | [ε]ἰ γὰρ τι κωλύει τῶν προγεγραμμένων | θύων ὡς ἔθος μοί ἐστιν τοῖς [ἄλλοις]²⁵ [θε]οῖς ὑπὲρ τε τῆς τύχης κα[ὶ] σωτηρίας | [κ]αὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ κυρ[ί]ου ἡμῶν | αὐτοκράτορος [[Αλεξάνδρου]] [καὶ] τῆς | μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [[Μαμαίας]] Σεβαστῆς κυρίας | δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν πάτριον ὑμῶν [θεᾶν ἐπι]³⁰ [κ]αλέσομαι ταῦτα δὲ ἀπεκρι[νάμην] | vac. τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς λαμπρο[τάτης] | vac. ὑμῶν πόλεως vac. | [ἐρρῶσ]θαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι vac.

Translation:

[...]fortunate; clearly it follows that affection and honour is due to the cities dedicated to his great good fortune, which you yourselves know that I give gladly and especially to those honoured with freedom by the ancestors of our lord Emperor [Alexander] who himself confirms it and increases the rights in which you rejoice; and I will gladly come to you and make a stay in your most splendid city and sacrifice to your native goddess for the safety and eternal continuance of our lord Emperor [Alexander] and our lady Augusta [Mammaea], mother of our lord and of the camps, if no law of your city or decree of the Senate or instruction or letter from the emperor prevents the proconsul from making a stay in [your] city. But if there is any impediment in the documents I have mentioned, when I sacrifice as is my custom to the [?other gods] for the good fortune and [safety] and eternal continuance of [our] lord Emperor [Alexander and] his mother [Mammaea] Augusta, our [lady], I will call upon your native [goddess with them]. I gave this reply [to the chief men] of your [most splendid] city. I hope for your welfare.

14.12. Honours for the people of Aphrodisias

Date Early or Mid-Third Century, similar to letters on the Archival Wall
Findspot Karacasu [Not Karaçasu, as shown in *Iaph2007*], reused in a fountain, original location unknown.
Bibliography Reynolds (1982) #43.

Text:

τὸν [· c.5 ·]τατον δ[ήμιον] | σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων | τῆς λαμπροτάτης φ[ι]λοσεβάστου ἐλευθ[ε]ρίας καὶ αὐτονόμου κ[α]ὶ τὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς [ε]ρωτάτης συνκλήτ[ου] | καὶ τὰ ὅρκια καὶ τὰς θε[ι]κὰς ἀντιγραφὰς Ἀφροδ[ι]σίαν πόλεως νν. | vac. ἀσύλου vac. | vac. καθιέρωσεν vac. | Μᾶρ(χος) [Αὐ]ρ(ήλιος) Ἐρμῆς ΠΑ[·?·] | ΣΟΜ[·] ἀναθεῖς [(δηνάρια) ὀκ]¹⁵ τῶ μ[υ]ρίοις εἰς αἰώ[ν]ιους | κλήρους τῇ κρα[τίστῃ] | vac. βουλή vac.

Translation:

(?Statue of) the most [?distinguished] Demos, ally of the Romans, of the glorious city of the Aphrodisians, devoted to the emperor, free and autonomous according to the decrees of the most holy Senate and the treaty and the divine (imperial) responses, with asyilia.

M. Aurelius Hermes P[erpetuus] who dedicated [?80,000 denarii] for perpetual distributions to the most mighty Council.

1.131.ii. Verse honours for Helladios, governor

Date 300–350 (lettering), the fragment carries another fragmentary text which dates to the second century.
Findspot Temple/church.
Bibliography *ala2004* #16, *SGO* 02/09/14.

Text:

τῆς μεγάλης ἀρετῆς τοῦτον | μέγαν ἡγεμονῆα |
ν. Ἐλλάδιον ν. |5 [Κ]ἀρες στή[σα]ν | [ἀ]μειβόμενοι.

Translation:

[·?·] not bought [·?·] from the marble [?in his own/in their] tongue, to pour out the laws and to ?recall, the tribunal of the [·?·] (?)

1.201. Verse honours for a governor[?]

Date	Early Fourth Century
Findspot	Temple/church, north Temenos Building.
Bibliography	<i>ala2004</i> #8, <i>SGO</i> 02/09/25.

Text:

.. ? .. | [.. ? ..]S | [.. ? ..]N inemptum | E[.. c. 20 ..]I de marmore lingua | fundere iura sua O[..]RUM quae referre tribunal |⁵
vac.

Translation:

[.. ? ..] not bought [.. ? ..] from the marble [?in his own/in their] tongue, to pour out the laws and to ?recall, the tribunal of the [.. ? ..] (?)

2.113. Statue dedication by Flavius Andronikos

Date	324–350 (Lettering, content)
Findspot	Bouleuterion/Odeon, west side, re-used in the wall between rooms 4 & 5.
Bibliography	Erim & Roueché (1982) #3, <i>ala2004</i> #13, Erim & Reynolds (1991) #14.

Text:

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχῃ· | Φλ(άβιος) Ἀνδρόνικος | ὁ διασημότεατο[ς] | ἐποίει καὶ τῇ αὐτο[ῦ] |⁵ πατριδι ἐδωρήσα|το *hedera*

Translation:

With Good Fortune. Fl(avius) Andronikos, *perfectissimus*, made (this) and gave it to his own fatherland.

3.7. Menandros, curialis, gives a column

Date	Late Fourth Century
Findspot	North Agora, seventh column of the South portico
Bibliography	<i>ala2004</i> #30.

Text:

Μενάν-|δρου πο(λιτευομένου)

Translation:

Of Menandros, councillor.

3.8.i. Verse honours for Oikoumenios

Date	Late fourth Century (language, sculpture).
Findspot	North Agora, against the north wall of north stoa.
Bibliography	Ševcenko (1967) 286, <i>ala2004</i> #31, <i>SGO</i> 02/09/17, Smith (2002) 134–156, <i>LSA</i> -151 (J. Lenaghan).

Text:

τὸν σὲ νόμων πλή|θοντα, τὸν Ἰταλι|ώτιδα Μούσαν ν. | ν. Ἀτθίδος ἡδυεπεῖ |⁵ ν. κερνάμενον μέλιτι | τῆιδ' Οἰκουμένιον | τὸν ἀοίδιμον ἡγεμο|νῆα ν. στήσε φίλη | βουλῆ τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων· |¹⁰ τῶι γὰρ δὴ καθαρῶι φρέ|να καὶ χέρα, τί πλέον | εὔρεῖν ν. μνημοσύ|νης ἀγαθῆς ἄλλο πᾶ|ρεστι γέρας; *hedera*

Translation:

You who are full of (knowledge of) laws, who have blended the Italian Muse with the sweet-voiced honey of the Attic, Oikoumenios, the famous governor, the friendly council of the Aphrodisians has set you up here; for what greater reward than that of being well remembered can the man find who is pure in mind and in hand?

4.10. Fl. Eutolmios Tatianos honours Arcadius

Date	388–392 (prosopography, emperor)
Findspot	South Agora, West portico.
Bibliography	Robert (<i>Hellenica</i> 4) 50–51, <i>ala2004</i> #26, <i>LSA</i> -164 (J. Lenaghan). Smith (1999) 162.

Text:

Ἀ[γαθῆ] Τύχη· | τὸν τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίω γῆς αὐτοκράτορα | καὶ τροπεούχον δεσπότην ἡμῶν | Φλ(άουιον) Ἀρκάδιον τὸν αἰώνιον Αὔγουστον |⁵ [[Φλ(άουιος) Εὐτόλμιος Τατιανὸς ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) ἔπ]αρχ[ος]] | [[το]ῦ [ιερ]οῦ π[ρε]τ[ωρίου] τῆ συνήθει]] | [[καθοσιώσει αφιέρω]σε[ν]] |

vacat

[[ἐπι Ἀντωνίου Πρίσκου]] | [[τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) ἡγεμόνος]].

Translation:

With Good Fortune. The emperor of (all) the earth under the sun, and our victorious master, Flavius Arcadius the eternal Augustus. [[Flavius Eutolmios Tatianus, *clarissimus*, prefect of the sacred praetorium, dedicated (this statue) with the customary devotion, in the time of Antonius Priscus, *clarissimus Praeses*]].

4.11. Fl. Eutolmios Tatianos honours Valentinian II

Date	388–392 (prosopography, emperor)
Findspot	South Agora, West portico.
Bibliography	Robert (<i>Hellenica</i> 4) 50–51, <i>ala2004</i> #27, <i>LSA</i> -166 (J. Lenaghan). Smith (1999) 162.

Text:

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη |

vacat

τὸν τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίω γῆς | αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τροπεοῦχον | δεσπότην ἡμῶν |⁵ Φλ(άουιον) Οὐαλλεντινιανὸν | τὸν αἰώνιον Αὐγουστον |

vacat

[[Φλ(άουιος) [Εὐ]τόλ[μι]ος [Τα]τι[ανός]] | [[ὁ] [λαμ]πρ(ότατος) ἔπ[αρχ]ος [τ]οῦ [ἑ]ρ[οῦ]] | [[πρετωρ]ίου τῆ συ[νήθει]] |¹⁰
[[καθοσιώσει ἀ]φ[ιέρωσεν]] |

vacat

[[ἔπ[ι] Ἰ' Αντωνίου Πρίσκου]] | [[τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) ἡγεμόνος]]

Translation:

With Good Fortune. The emperor of (all) the earth under the sun, and our victorious master, Flavius Valentinianus the eternal Augustus. [Flavius Eutolmios Tatianos. *clarissimus*, prefect of the sacred praetorium, dedicated (this statue) with the customary devotion, in the time of Antonius Priskos, *clarissimus praeses*].

4.120. Building inscription of Helladios, in verse

Date 300–350 (lettering, prosopography)

Findspot South Agora, west portico.

Bibliography *ala2004* #17.

Text:

Θῆκε καμὲ ἐνθάδε Ἑλλάδιος ὁ

ἀνανεωτῆς τῆς λαμπρᾶς μητροπόλεως.

Translation:

Helladios, the renovator of the splendid metropolis, established me also.

4.309. Honour for T. Oppius Aelianus Asklepiodotos

Date 284–301 (prosopography)

Findspot South Agora, gate. Reused in the collecting pool.

Bibliography *ala2004* #7, *SEG* 41-1101, *LSA*-195 (J. Lenaghan).

Text:

vac. ἡ πατρὶς vac. | vac. Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη vac. | Τ(ίτων) Ὀππ(ίον) Αἰλιανὸν | ν. Ἀσκληπίοδοτον |⁵ τὸν λαμπρότατον | ὑπατικὸν ἡγεμόνα
| Καρίας καὶ Φρυγίας | ἀνθύπατον καὶ ἐπα|νορθωτὴν Ἀσίας κτ[ί]¹⁰ στην καὶ σωτήρα καὶ | τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος | Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος)
Μαρκιανὸς ὁ | πρῶτος ἄρχων. vac.

Translation:

The Homeland, With Good Fortune, (set up the statue of) T(itus) Opp(ius) Aelianus Asklepiodotos, the most splendid consular, governor of Caria and Phrygia, proconsul and corrector of Asia, founder and saviour also of his own homeland; Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Marcianus the first archon (set this up/was in charge).

5.118. Building inscription of Helladios

Date 300–350 (lettering, prosopography)

Findspot Hadrianic Baths, central chamber.

Bibliography *ala2004* #18.

Text:

ν. καμὲ Ἑλλάδιος ὁ ἀγνός

Translation:

Me too, Helladios the pure.

5.119. Dedication of Pelladios

Date 300–350 (lettering, prosopography)

Findspot Hadrianic Baths, East Chamber of the east side.

Bibliography Erim & Roueché (1991) #16, *ala2004* #252.

Text:

[?· ?· ?·] Παλλάδιος ν. ἐ[?· ?·] | [π]οίει καὶ ἀνέθηκεν

Translation:

Palladios made and dedicated [me?]

5.121. Verse Honours for Menandros, ?vicar

Date 385–388 (prosopography)

Findspot Hadrianic Baths, Southeastern stretch.

Bibliography *ala2004* #24, *SGO* 02/09/16, *LSA*-191 (J. Lenaghan).

Text:

hedera ἡ βουλή τὸν πᾶσι προς|ηγέα τόνδε Μένανδρον | πολλῶν ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν | στήσεν ἀμειβομένη |⁵ ὅς μεγάλη χαρίεντα πόλι |
θρεπτήρια τίνων | δασμοὺς πρηῦνας πᾶσιν | ἔθηκε φάος *hedera*

Translation:

The Council, in exchange for many benefits, set up this (statue of) Menandros, who was affable to all, and who, making a welcome repayment for his rearing to the great city, moderated (her) tribute, and established light for all.

5.215. Honours for a comes

Date 300–350 (lettering, title)
Findspot Hadrianic Baths, East court.
Bibliography *ala2004* #14.

Text:

.. ? ..] |
τὸν λαμπρ[ότατον] | κόμιτα ν. φίλον τῶ[ν] | βασιλέων σωτή|ρα τῶν ἐθνῶν κτί|στην καὶ ἐπανορθω|τήν καὶ τήσδε τῆς | πόλεως ν.

Translation:

[?The city has honoured so-and-so] the most splendid *comes*, friend of the emperors, saviour of the provinces, founder and restorer also of this city.

5.216. Honours for Aelia Flaccilla

Date 383–386 (prosopography, title)
Findspot Hadrianic Baths, East court, next to 5.217.
Bibliography *IGC* #280; *ala2004* #23.

Text:

[τ]ὴν αἰωνίαν καὶ θεοφιλε|[σ]τάτην Αὐγουσταν ν. Αἰλίαν | Φλαβίαν ν. Φλακίλλαν | τὴν δέσποιναν τῆς οἰκουμένης |⁵ Κάρης ἴδρυσαν
ἐν τῇ ν. ἑαυτῶν | *vac.* μητροπόλει *vac.* | *vac.* + *vac.*

Translation:

The Carians set up in their own metropolis the (statue of) the eternal Augusta, most dear to God, Aelia Flavia Flaccilla, the mistress of the inhabited world.

5.217. Fl. Eutolmios Tatianos honours Honorius

Date 388–392 (prosopography, emperor)
Findspot Hadrianic Baths, East court, next to 5.216.
Bibliography Robert (*Hellenica* 4) 49–50, *ala2004* #25, *LSA*-167 (J. Lenaghan).

Text:

τὸν ἐκ τῆς θείας γονῆς | θεοφιλέστατον | Φλ(άουιον) Ὀνώριον | τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον *hedera* |⁵ Φλ(άουιος) Εὐτόλμι|ος | [T]ατι|α|νός
[ό λ]αμ[πρότα]τος || || ἔπαρχ[ος] [τοῦ ἱεροῦ π]ρα[ι]τ[ωρ]ί[ου] || | τῇ συνήθει καθοσιώσει | ἀφιέρωσεν |¹⁰ *vacat*
ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίου Πρίσκου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) ἡγεμόνος.

Translation:

Flavius Honorius, of divine descent, most dear to God, the most renowned. Flavius Eutolmios Tatianus, the *clarissimus*, prefect of the sacred praetorium, dedicated (this statue) with the customary devotion, in the time of Antonius Priscus, *clarissimus praeses*.

5.218. Tatianos the governor restores the statue of Tatianos, praetorian prefect, in verse

Date Early fifth century (prosopography)
Findspot Hadrianic Baths, East court.
Bibliography *ala2004* #37 *SGO* 02/09/24, Livrea (1997), *LSA*-193 (J. Lenaghan).

Text:

τίς; πόθεν; ἐκ Λυκίης μέ[ν], | ἀριστεύσας δ' ἐνὶ θώκοις | Τατιανὸς θεσμοῖς τε δίκης | πτολίεθρα ξάωσας. ν. |⁵ ἀλλὰ με πανδαμάτωρ
χρόν[ος] | ὥλλυεν, εἰ μὴ ἐμὸς παῖς | ἐξ ἐμέθεν τρίτατος καὶ | ὁμώνυμος ἔργα θ' ὁμοιο[ς] | ἐκ δαπέδων ἀνελών |¹⁰ στήλης ἐπιθήκεν
ὀράσθ[αι] | πᾶσιν ἀριζήλον ναέταις | ξίνοισει θ' ὁμοίως ν. | Καρῶν ἐκ γένης ὅς ἀπήλασε | λοίγιον ἄτην ν. |¹⁵ τὴν δὲ δίκην μερόπεσιν |
ὁμέστιον ὦπας ἐπέιναι | πεμφθεὶς ἐκ βασιλῆος | ἔθ' ἀδομένοισιν ἀρωγός.

Translation:

Who is this? From where? (I am) Tatianos from Lycia, who held the highest offices, and by just laws saved cities. But all-conquering time would have destroyed me if my child, of the third generation, who has the same name and similar achievements, had not lifted me up from the ground and set me on a monument, to be seen and admired by all, local inhabitants and strangers alike. (It is) he who drove deadly ruin from the land of the Carians, and gave justice to dwell among men, when he had been sent from the emperor as a defender for the people, who still rejoice.

5.301. Statue Dedication by Flavius Zenon

Date 324–350 (lettering, content)
Findspot Hadrianic Baths, East court.
Bibliography Erim & Roueché (1982) #1, *ala2004* #11, Erim & Reynolds (1991) #15 a.

Text:

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχῃ | Φλ(άουιος) Ζήνων [[ἀρχ[ι]ε[ρ]εὺς]] [[καί]] κόμης | ἐποίησεν καὶ ἀνέ⁵θηκεν τῇ πατρίδι *hedera*

Translation:

With Good Fortune. Fl(avius) Zenon [high priest and] ?comes, made (this) and set it up for his homeland.

5.302. Statue Dedication by Flavius Zenon

Date 324–350 (lettering, content)
 Findspot Hadrianic Baths, East court, near 5.301.
 Bibliography Erim & Roueché (1982) #2, *ala2004* #12, Erim & Reynolds (1991) #15 b.

Text:

Φλ(άβιος) Ζήνων ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ | κόμης ἐποίησεν καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι προίκα κατὰ διαθήκας διὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ⁵ παίδων ἀνέθηκεν *hedera*

Translation:

Fl(avius) Zenon, high priest and comes, made this and set it up for his own homeland at his own expense, according to (the terms of) his will (carried out) by his own children.

6.103. Honours for P. Aelius Septimius Mannus, governor

Date 250s (title), letter form Archival Wall's style
 Findspot Hadrianic Baths, East court.
 Bibliography *ala2004* #14. This Mannus may have been honoured also in *I. Laodikeia am Lykos I*, 46 (shortly after 250).

Text:

[?ὁ δῆμος] | Πόπλιον Αἴλιον | Σεπτίμιον | Μάννον *stop* τὸν | λαμπρότατον ἢ⁵ ἡγεμόνα ὑπατικόν *stop* ἔνδοξον | ἀνδρείον ἀγνὸν | φιλόανθρωπον *stop* δι' ἀπάσης ἡκοντα |⁹ ἀρετῆς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτη[ν] | [.. ? ..

Translation:

[So-and-so honoured] Publius Aelius Septimius Mannus, the *clarissimus*, governor (*praeses*), consular, distinguished, brave, pure, generous, having achieved all virtue, his/its benefactor [.. ? ..

8.87. Honours for Kandidianos, circuit-victor

Date Late third to Early fourth Century (lettering, sculpture).
 Findspot Theatre, north analemma.
 Bibliography Roueché (1993) #74, Smith (1999) #40, Van Voorhis (2008), *LSA-545* & *LSA-547* (J. Lenaghan).

Text:

Κανδιδιανὸν *vac.* Ἀ{τ}χ' τεονίαν
 περιδοσίαν *vac.* ἡ πατρίς

Translation:

Kandidianos, victor at Actia,
 circuit-victor, the fatherland (honours).

8.88. Honours for Piseas, circuit-victor

Date Late third to Early fourth Century (lettering, sculpture).
 Findspot Theatre, near Porta Regia.
 Bibliography Roueché (1993) #75, Smith (1999) #39, *SEG* 40-931, Van Voorhis (2008), *LSA-532* (J. Lenaghan).

Text:

Πίσειαν Πισέου
 περιδοσίαν
hedera ἡ πατρίς *hedera*

Translation:

Piseas, son of Piseas,
 circuit-victor,
 The fatherland (honours).

8.402. Place inscription for the people of Hierapolis

Date Mid- or Late Third century (location, lettering).
 Findspot Tetrastoon, east colonnade.
 Bibliography *ala2004* #196.

Text:

τόπος Ἱερα-
 πολιτῶν

Translation:

Place for Hiera-
 politans

8.406.ii. Honours for Valens by Tatianos, governor

Date 364 (reign), re-used from a mid-third century statue base.
 Findspot Theatre, reused in the Tetrastoon.
 Bibliography Martindale (1980) 494, *ala2004* #21.

Text:

Φλ(άουιον) Κλ(αύδιον) Βάλγητα | ν. Αὐγουστον | Ἀντ(ώνιος) Τατιανὸς | ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) ἡγεμὼν |⁵ ἐπαρχείας | ν. Καρίας *hedera*

Translation:

Antonius Tatianos, *clarissimus praeses* of the province of Caria (set up this statue of) Flavius Claudius Valens, Augustus.

8.608.i. Verse honours for Dulcitus from Balerianos, in verse

Date	Mid-fifth century (title, prosopography).
Findspot	Tetrastoon, re-used in the defence wall outside the eastern façade of the Theatre in the seventh century.
Bibliography	<i>ala2004</i> #41, <i>SGO</i> 02/09/09.

Text:

ἤθελεν, εἰ θέμις ἦν, | καὶ χρυσὴν τάχα | μορφὴν *vac.* σῆς | ἀρετῆς τεύχειν |⁵ ναί, μά σε, Δουλκίτιε, *scroll* | δς πρώτος στρατῆς | τῆς
σῆς πέλε, Βαλεριανός, | οὐνεκεν εὐνομίας | πύργος ἄρηκτος ἔφυς. *Scroll* |¹⁰ νῦν δέ σε μαρμάρειον | στήσεν προπάροιθε λοετροῦ |
μάρτυς σῶν καμάτων | ἡ λίθος ὄφρα μένοι.

Translation:

If it was permitted, Valerianus, who was the leader of your troop, would have wished to make even a golden image of your virtue - indeed (I swear) by yourself. Dulcitus, because you were an unbroken tower of lawfulness. But now he has set you in marble in front of the baths, so that the stone may remain as a witness of your labours.

12.101.i. Honours for Flavius Constantius, governor, for building the Wall

Date	365–370 (title).
Findspot	Northeast Walls, over the Northeast Gate in the city wall.
Bibliography	<i>ala2004</i> #22, <i>LSA</i> -234 (J. Lenaghan).

Text:

Φλ(άουιον) Κωστάντιον τὸν λαμπρότατον ἡγεμόν' ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος *hedera*
scroll v. μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναστήσαντα *star*

Translation:

The Council and the People (have honoured) Flavius Co[n]stantius, *clarissimus praeses*, who, as well as his other works, put up the wall.

12.644. Honours for M. Aurelius Diogenes, legatus pro praetore

Date	253–260 (content)
Findspot	South Wall, east part.
Bibliography	Roueché (1981) #4, <i>ala2004</i> #5.

Text:

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ] | *scroll* δῆμος *scroll* | Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον | Διογένην πρεσ|βευτὴν Σεβασ|⁵τῶν ἀντιστρά|τηγον *stop* τὸν δίκαιον καὶ
ἀγνὸν | καὶ ἀνδρεῖον | καὶ πάσῃ ἀρε|¹⁰τῇ κεκοσμη-| *scroll* μένον *scroll* | *vacat*
προν<ο>ησαμένου τῆς | ἀναστάσεως Ἀντωνίου Νεικομάχου |¹⁵ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ πρώ|του ἄρχοντος Ἀντωνίου Κλαυδίου Νεικομάχου
ἀρχιερέ|ων ἐκγόνου τοῦ ἀ-|²⁰ *scroll* ξιολογώτατου *scroll*

Translation:

[The Council and the] People (have honoured) Marcus Aurelius Diogenes, *legatus Augustorum pro praetore*, he (who is) just, and decent, and brave, and adorned with every virtue; the most worthy Antonius Neikomachos, father of the first archon Antonius Claudius Neikomachos, offspring of high-priests, supervised the erection (of the monument).

12.645. Honours for M. Aurelius Diogenes, governor

Date	253–260 (content)
Findspot	South Wall, east part.
Bibliography	Roueché (1981) #5, <i>ala2004</i> #6.

Text:

[?Ἡ πόλις] | Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον | Διογένην τὸν λαμ|πρότατον ἡγεμό|να ἔνδοξον ἀν|⁵δρεῖον ἀγνὸν φι|λάνθρωπον, διὰ | πάσης ἤκοντα
ἀ|ρέτης, τὸν ἑαυτῆς | *scroll* εὐεργέτην *scroll* | *vacat*
|¹⁰ προνοησαμένου | τῆς ἀναστάσεως | τῶν περὶ Μάρκον | Ἀντώνιον Οὐεν|ιδιον Ἀπελλᾶν τὸν |¹⁵ ἀξιολογώτατον ἀρ-|*scroll* χόντων
scroll

Translation:

[The City (put up the statue of)] Marcus Aurelius Diogenes, the most splendid governor, distinguished, brave, decent, generous, having achieved all virtue, her benefactor; the archons (led by) the most worthy Marcus Venidius Apellas supervised the erection (of the monument).

12.925. Honour for the People of Hierapolis

Date	Mid-third century (prosopography), arguably around 250.
Findspot	West Wall, fragment from a white marble statue base, near 12.924 & 12.929 .
Bibliography	Roueché (1993) #59. <i>CIG</i> 2763; Cormack (1955) 9. Halfmann (1982) 640–50; Pont (2012) 337–8.

Text:

ὁ δῆμος τῆς λαμ|πρωτάτης Ἀφρο|δισιέων πόλε|ως τὸν λαμπρό|⁵τατον δῆμον | Ἱεραπολιτῶν | συ γθύσαντα ἐπὶ | τῇ δεδομένη τοῦ |
ἱεροῦ ἀγώνος δω|¹⁰ *vac.* ρεῖ *vac.* | προν οησαμένου Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) | Παπίου υ τοῦ Παπίου δ' τοῦ | Διογένους τοῦ πρωτο|λόγου
ἀρχ οντος τὸ β'

Translation:

The People of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (honoured) the most splendid People of the Hierapolitans, who joined in the sacrifice for the giving of the grant of the sacred contest. Under the supervision of Marcus Aurelius Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Papias son of Diogenes, first Archon for the second time.

12.1001. Building dedication to Constantius II and a Caesar (Julian?) by Fl. Q. Eros Monaxios, governor

Date 355–360 (prosopography, reign).
 Findspot West Gate, on the large lintel over the west gate in the city wall.
 Bibliography Robert (*Hellenica* 13), 158–167; *ala2004* #19.

Text:

ν. Ἀγαθῆ scroll Τύχη scroll | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ [τύ]χης καὶ νίκης scroll | καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν stop
 | Φλ(αυίου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Κωνσταντίου εὐσεβοῦς ἀητητήτου Σεβαστοῦ stop καὶ dash |⁵ [[Φλ(αυίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Ἰουλιαν]γρῶ]]
 ἐπιφανεστάτου καὶ γενναιοτάτ[ο]υ Καίσαρος stop | Φλ(αυίος) Κωντ(ίλιος) Ἐρωσ Μονάξιος stop ὁ διασημότατος ἡγεμῶν stop |
 καὶ ἀπὸ Κρητάρχων τὸν Π [· c. 8 ·] [ἐκ θ]εμελίω τῆ λαμ[π]ρᾶ stop | καὶ συγγενεὶ Κρητῶν [μητροπόλει τῶν Καριῶν stop] | ν.
 κατεφεύ[ασεν · c. 12 ·] ?vac.

Translation:

With Good Fortune. For the health and safety and fortune and victory and eternal endurance of our masters, Flavius Julius Constantius, pious unvanquished Augustus, and [Flavius Claudius ?Julianus], the most renowned and most noble Caesar, Flavius Quintilius Eros Monaxios, perfectissimus praeses and former Cretarch, built [?the gate] from the foundations for the splendid [metropolis of ?the Aphrodisians], kin to the Cretans [· ? ·]

14.12. Honours for the people of Aphrodisias

Text:

τὸν [· c. 5 ·]τατον δ[ή]μον | σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων | τῆς λαμπροτάτης φ[ι]λοσεβάστου ἔλευθ[έ]ρας καὶ αὐτονόμου κ[α]τὰ τὰ
 δόγματα τῆς [ε]ρωτάτης συνκλήτ[ου] | καὶ τὰ ὅρκια καὶ τὰς θε[ι]κὰς ἀντιγραφὰς Ἀφροδ[ι]σιέων πόλεως ν. | vac. ἀσύλου vac.
 | vac. καθιέρωσεν vac. | Μᾶρ(κος) [Αὐ]ρ(ήλιος) Ἐρμῆς ΠΑ[· ? ·] | ΣΟΜ[·] ἀναθεῖς [(δηνάρια) ὀκ]τώ μ[υ]ρίους εἰς αἰω[νίους] |
 κλήρους τῆ κρα[τίστη] | vac. βουλῆ vac.

Translation:

(?Statue of) the most [?distinguished] Demos, ally of the Romans, of the glorious city of the Aphrodisians, devoted to the emperor, free and autonomous according to the decrees of the most holy Senate and the treaty and the divine (imperial) responses, asyilia. M. Aurelius Hermes P[· ? ·] who dedicated [?80,000 denarii] for perpetual distributions to the most mighty Council.

LSA-235. Base for statue of Flavius Constantius, governor

Date 360–370 (rank, title).
 Findspot East of Civil Basilica
 Bibliography LSA-235 (J. Lenaghan). The Flavius Constantius may have appeared in *IAPH2007* 6.4 & 12.101.i.

Text:

[Ἀ]γαθῆ vac. Τύχη | Φλ(άβιον) Κωνσταντίον, τὸν λαμπρ(ότατον) ἡγεμόνα κτίστην | vac. κούντων

Translation: (From LSA-235)

Good Fortune. (--- have honoured or have set up the statue of) Flavius Constantius, the *clarissimus praeses*, builder.

I.Laodikeia am Lykos 39. Honorific inscription for a ἡγεμῶν of Phrygia and Caria.

Date 253–9 (position)
 Findspot Found in 1926, now lost.
 Bibliography Anderson (1932) 24.

Text:

[- - - ἡγε-] | [μ]όνα Φρυγίας τε καὶ Κ[α]ρίας | [πρ]εσβετην καὶ ἀντιστρ[άτηγον] | τῶν Σεβαστῶν, ὕπατον [ἀν-]⁵δρεῖα καὶ ἀρετῆ καὶ
 δικαιο[σύνη] | [χεκοσμημένον - - -

Translation: (Mine)

Governor of Phrygia and Caria, *legatus Augustorum pro praetore*, concul, by masculinity, virtue and [sense of] justice. [...]

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AE* = *L'année épigraphique : revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine*. Paris : PUF, 1889–
- AphPap* = Roueché, Ch. M. et al. (eds.) (1990–2016). *Aphrodisias Papers*, 5 Volumes. Ann Arbor, MI & Portsmouth, RI.
- ala2004* = Roueché, Ch. M. (2004). *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions*. Revised Second Edition, URL: <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004>.
- CIG* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Berlin: Reimer, 1828–1877.
- CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1863–
- CSLA* = Ward-Perkins, B. et al. (dir.) (2018). *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity*. URL: <http://cultofsaints.history.ox.ac.uk>
- Dig.* = *Iustiniani Digesta*. Edited by Th. Mommsen & P. Krueger, reworked by Y. Lassard & A. Koptev. URL: <https://droitromain.univ-grenoble-alpes.fr/> §12. Dig.
- Iaph2007* = Reynolds, J., Ch. M. Roueché, G. Bodard (eds.) (2007). *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*. URL: <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>
- I. Didyma* = Rehm, A. (ed.) (1958). *Didyma*, vol. II. *Die Inschriften*. Berlin: Mann.
- I. Eph.* = Wankel, H. et al. (eds.) (1979–81). *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 7 Volumes. [IK 11–17] Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
- IGC* = Grégoire, H. (1968). *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- IJC II* = Ameling, W. (ed.) (2004). *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*. Vol. 2, *Kleinasien*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- I. Laodikeia am Lykos I* = Corsten, Th. (1997). *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos I*. [IK 49] Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
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- JRS* = *The Journal of Roman Studies*. Cambridge: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1911–.
- LSA* = Smith, R. R. R. & B. Ward-Perkins (dir.) (2009–). *Last Statues of Antiquity*. URL: <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>
- LGPN* = Parker, R. (dir.) (1972–). *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. URL: <https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk>
- MAMA* = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, 10 Volumes. London: Longmans & Green.
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- McCabe* = McCabe, D. F. (1991). *Aphrodisias Inscriptions: Texts and List*. Princeton, NJ: Packard Humanities Institute CD7.
- OGIS* = Dittenberger, W. (1903–5). *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 Volumes. Leipzig: Hirzel.
- PCBE III* = Destephen, S. (2008). *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, tome 3, *Diocèse d'Asie* (325–641). Paris : Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance.
- SEG* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden: Brill, 1923–.
- SGO* = Merkelbach, R. & J. Stauber (eds.) (1998). *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, Band I: *Die Westküste Kleinasien von Knidos bis Ilion*. Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner.
- SHA* = *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, the authors of the *Historia Augusta*.
- ZPE* = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1967–.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This Research Master Thesis, under the title 'Showing Our Grandeur: Elite identity, collective memory, and provincialisation in late-imperial Aphrodisias', focusses on the rich epigraphic corpus in the third- and fourth-century Aphrodisias. By examining the Aphrodisian corpus of inscriptions, this Thesis aims to explore how several elements, crucial to civic identity in the Principate, were used and adapted by different parties in Aphrodisias in the third- and fourth-century changing political and ideological landscape to position themselves within the city, within the surrounding area, and within the Empire. I attempt to consider external elements of inscriptions when offering interpretations. The Thesis shall present most of its studies in the form of case study, partly because of the assumption that micro-history can better expose the complicated and hybrid tensions within the case by presenting more detailed context.

Chapter 1 focusses on the elements the Aphrodisian elite applied to represent their identity, and how they selected to represent themselves in such ways according to the context. It aims to show that the Aphrodisians inherited traditional ideas of the civic elite, but religious affiliations gradually became dominant. After the triumph of Christianity, certain Aphrodisians reaffirmed their eliteness by reusing the traditional discourses. I point out that members of the elite displayed their cultural superiority over the common people by referring to their *paideia* with verse inscriptions and literacy, as were the elite in the Principate. Then I focus on one case (the honorific inscription of Aurelius Achilles), in which a pan-Hellenic celebration of a young elite athlete presented a clear mechanism of showing the elite's identity. Then I display the rise of religious identity, particularly in late third and early fourth century. In the end of the Chapter is another case study on a member of the Christian elite, who enclosed his religious identity and traditional eliteness in his epitaph.

Chapter 2 offers a case study on the 'Archival Wall', one of the best examples of civic self-representation in the city. Regarding the Wall as consciously fabricated *lieu de mémoire*, the chapter argues that the city, as a whole, defined itself by the concept of liberty, the competition with the famous Asian cities, and the continuous friendship with Rome. The careful selection of relevant inscriptions and the layout showed that Aphrodisias, though respecting the importance of the Roman affinity, intended to present their continuous contribution to Roman hegemony and their constant repay from Roman emperors. In order to show the conscious construction of the expressions on the Wall, the chapter constantly compare the documents on the Wall with those found elsewhere in Aphrodisias. The key question is why the Aphrodisians chose these documents in this specific time to set up a Wall.

Chapter 3 examines how Aphrodisias and the Aphrodisians found and expressed their new role when the city was provincialised. It shows that the city quickly adapted to its role as provincial capital by advertising agonistic games in the new region and thus created a new civic network in surrounding region. At the same time, albeit some victors who entered the imperial bureaucracy, we see clearly the diminution of local voices in public affairs. I point out that traditional elite culture and institution declined. Concerning the governors, the main player of politics in Aphrodisias, I show that, due to the frequent changes of emperors and economic conditions, governors constantly pay homage to emperors and fund public affairs. They took over most civic administrative tasks and the local elite became hardly visible when a new order of cities was established in early fifth century.