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Family Matters in Roman Asia Minor: Elite Identity, Community Dynamics and Competition in the Honorific Inscriptions of Imperial Aphrodisias.

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**Family Matters in Roman Asia Minor: Elite Identity, Community
Dynamics and Competition in the Honorific Inscriptions of Imperial
Aphrodisias.**

by

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To Jean, Boots, and Bill Sr.

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Ann Marie Morgan, Ph.D.

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In the city centers of Roman Asia Minor, honorific monuments, which consisted of a portrait sculpture and biographical inscription, filled the agoras, aedicular facades, and colonnaded avenues. While some monuments were for Roman emperors and magistrates, the majority celebrated and memorialized the most important members of the local community, male and female, individuals who held public offices, sponsored festivals, and funded large scale construction projects. Honorific monuments were collaborative productions that involved civic institutions, the honored benefactor, and the family or friends of the honorand. Because of the multiplicity of actors involved in the honorific process, an examination of honorific inscriptions allows for a discussion of identity construction at different scales from the individual honorand and his or her family to an entire civic community. In a city in Asia Minor during the empire, the identities conveyed included Roman imperial allegiances, Greek cultural values, and ties to the local community, often combined in compositions that justified claims of status or fulfilled political ambitions.

This dissertation investigates the honorific inscriptions from one city in Asia Minor, Aphrodisias, from the mid-1st century BCE to the mid-3rd century CE, which consists of 206 instances of honor for 183 local Aphrodisians. The analysis examines developments in elite self-fashioning and the evolution of the reciprocal relationship between a community and its benefactors, with particular focus on references to ancestry and familial connections in the language of the inscriptions. The evidence indicates that the Aphrodisian elite deployed epigraphic formulations that mention family background and Roman connections in order to construct composite cultural identities and to affirm their place among the city's aristocratic factions. The contextualization of these texts in an historical and archaeological framework demonstrates that the observed epigraphic changes responded both to internal factors, such as demographic shifts, and external ones, such as the spread of Roman citizenship. This analysis highlights the internally-stratified and competitive aristocratic order that functioned in Imperial Aphrodisias and articulates how the elite employed references to ancestral background, local ties, and Roman familial connections strategically in ways that had tangible impacts on the landscape of the city.

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Introduction

The urban landscapes of Roman Asia Minor—the colonnaded streets, stoas, aedicular facades, and open spaces—were filled with portrait monuments. Some represented divinities, heroes, institutions and portraits of the emperors and imperial household; but the majority were images of local benefactors, both men and women, that stood on inscribed bases. The portrait sculptures and inscriptions that together collectively are referred to as honorific monuments were issued by civic institutions; each publicly celebrated and memorialized the life, character, contributions, and family of its honorand. These honorific monuments were the modern day political ad campaigns, curriculum vitae or obituary, and civic memorials all in one, commemorating the most important members of the community, whose biographies were permanently carved in stone and who together represented the most significant members of the civic elite—the local politicians and celebrities.¹

A study of honorific monuments is a study in the construction and display of identity, but not only the identity of the individual who was being honored. A degree of self-fashioning went into the commissioning and display of both the statue and the inscription, but the decisions made also involved the honorand's family, other members of the elite, and ultimately the civic institutions issuing those honors—the *boule* and the *demos*. The analysis of honorific monuments, and the inscriptions in particular, which record the social relationship that resulted in these monuments, is therefore a study of registers of identity: the individual, an elite family, the collective elite within a community,

¹ Smith (1998, p. 56) contends that these statue monuments shared more with billboard advertisements than the gallery objects we think of as art; see also, van Nijf 2010a for a similar description.

the entire civic population, and even a wider provincial and imperial community with which the individual and population were in constant interaction.

This dissertation sets out to examine these constructions and presentations of identity as evident in the honorific inscriptions (and whole monuments) from one particular city in Roman Asia Minor: Aphrodisias. More specifically, the chapters of this dissertation analyze the inclusion of references to ancestry or family in the honorific inscriptions as a means of articulating how identity, or, more appropriately, identities were constructed at different scales over time. The observations made regarding the inclusion of ancestry are contextualized within a historical framework as a means of analyzing how constructions of identity transformed and were influenced by a changing relationship with the Roman administration and demographic shifts in the community. The remainder of this introduction briefly outlines the theoretical framework which informs the analysis of the honorific inscriptions before summarizing the nature and development of honorific production in Asia Minor and the specific dataset from Aphrodisias. The final section provides a brief literary review on the scholarship of Aphrodisian inscriptions and the city that serve as the foundation for this project.

IDENTITY, ANCESTRY, AND THE MOTIVATIONS FOR EUERGETISM

The study of identity politics, particularly in the Greek-speaking half of the empire, has received significant attention in recent years, particularly among scholars interested in the literature of the Second Sophistic. Only recently, however, have related questions been asked of the rich material record of the eastern provinces.² While previous scholarly approaches have used the paradigm of “Romanization” to discuss cultural change and

² Van Nijf 2010a, p. 174. For examples of discussions of identity as expressed in Second Sophistic literature, see Anderson 1993 and Goldhill 2001. Woolf (1994) notes how consideration of material culture nuances constructions of identity.

identity in the provinces, the current consensus in scholarship (for the Roman period and all others) is that identity is not unproblematically passed down or taken up by subject peoples and communities; rather, it is formed relationally and in constant negotiation with internal and external influences.³ Any analysis of identity must therefore take into account the power dynamics that operated within a given context; for Roman Asia Minor that included imperial interventions as much as long-standing local traditions and broader cultural (often Hellenic) values.⁴

Additionally, it is instructive to understand that even though conceptions of identity were created and defined in a dialectic, the performance of identity was not an uncomplicated presentation of an essentialized category, i.e. “Roman,” “Greek,” or “local.”⁵ The relational nature of identity warns against thinking of any one thing—text, sculpture, monument—as wholly Roman or Greek or local.⁶ The display or advertisement of identity, for individuals and communities, was a construction. It was a layering or nesting of smaller (micro) identities, such as family, tribe, profession, or city, within larger (macro) identities, such as ethnicity, culture, or political community.⁷ Microidentities

³ Mattingly 2011, pp. 204-211; see also, Revell 2009. For previous approaches to questions of identity and the “Romanization” model, see Blagg and Millett 1990. Appropriation and adaptation in both directions prevents homogenization of identity (Woolf 2010, p. 191).

⁴ Woolf (1994) distinguishes between the aspects of a “Roman” (political) identity and a “Greek” (cultural) identity. Mattingly (2011) notes the limitations on constructions of identity imposed by overarching power structures and dynamics; see also, Huskinson 2002.

⁵ This approach to questions of identity in the communities of Asia Minor has been explicitly laid out recently by Whitmarsh (2010). Approaches to Second Sophistic literature often times examine the ancient evidence in terms of a dichotomy between Greek and Roman; e.g. Anderson 1993; Swain 1996; Goldhill 2001. For ancient authors, such as Aelius Aristides and Plutarch, Greek and Roman were very real categorical distinctions. They also served as administrative categories for Roman authorities (Woolf 1994); see also, Jones 2010.

⁶ Whitmarsh (2010) discusses how the creation of notions of identity were brought about by interactions with external communities, namely identity was formed in relation to other identities. In his study of Termessian identity, van Nijf (2010a) contends that no Termessian would fully understand the question of what they were Greek or Roman (or local); “they were all these things at once.”

⁷ The layering of identities is discussed at length by both Whitmarsh (2010) and Woolf (2010). Mattingly (2011, p. 213) refers to the layering as discrepant identities, which emphasizes the differences in constructions between groups within a broader identity.

nested within macroidentities created distinctiveness and were brought about by interactions with Rome—a supralocal entity.⁸ Thus, in the study of identity politics in the East, for cities and individuals the composition of identity was typically a negotiation with Roman, Greek, and a range of local constructs.

Different signifiers—language, costume, style, and posture, and so on—referenced different kinds of identities or affiliations, but were used in tandem with one another to create a composite cultural identity.⁹ How this identity was constructed—what affiliations were referenced and to what degree or in what order—depended entirely on context.¹⁰ Historical, political, and social circumstances made certain identity constructs more appealing or more valuable, but such circumstances could also control or limit access to other forms.¹¹ The physical setting and audience also impacted the choices made in the construction of identity. Finally, the background, preferences, and agenda of the person projecting the identity affected the nature of the composition.¹²

In many discussions of identity, the categories of Roma and Greek are not mutually exclusive. Attributes reflecting Roman identity reference loyalty to or membership in an imperial community, while those described as Greek are often concerned with

⁸ Conceptions of the local were constructed during times of expansion and interactions with supralocal entities. Whitmarsh (2010, p. 2) contends that “a phase of rapid globalization will also see an intensification of consciousness of localism; and perhaps also an increased awareness of, even questioning of, the power dynamics between local and non-local.” See also, the discussion in Appadurai 1990 and Kearney 1995.

⁹ The multiplicity of factors that contributed to the construction of identities for individuals was discussed in regards to the Termessian elite (van Nijf 2010a and 2011).

¹⁰ Different affiliations could have been given prominence or placed hierarchically in relation to other identity references (van Nijf 2010a). Woolf (2010, p. 199) notes that the crafty politician would know which “cards were best played” in matters of diplomacy regarding presentations of communal identity.

¹¹ Mattingly 2011, p. 213; see also, Huskinson 2002.

¹² Smith (1998), van Nijf (2010a), and Longfellow (2011) all examine the construction of identities—Greek, Roman, and local—by benefactors in their honorific monuments and other benefactions. Mattingly (2011, p. 216), however, cautions against giving any one individual too much agency because in an imperial context, all decisions would still be constrained by wider political controls.

demonstrating knowledge of or participation in a shared set of cultural values.¹³ In addition to these broader political and cultural categories of identity, there were also regional preferences (also both political and cultural) that influenced identities, such as competitions between cities within a province, as well as the cults, ethnicities, and traditions shared within a region, for example Caria.¹⁴

In contrast to these wider-reaching, multi-city identities, more geographically limited aspects of identity, generally grouped under the heading “local,” were included in the overall constructed identity. For a community, the local elements of its identity referred to the rituals, cults, and history that were unique to that *polis*.¹⁵ Often this included the foundation legends of the city and the epichoric cults that honored those founders. Mythological or legendary descent, as a marker of local identity was an optimal way for a community to express a distinctive identity, but one that could still be nested or situated in a larger tradition, for example a wider mythological network.¹⁶ Civic ancestry and genealogical descent from a heroic founder or deity had been an aspect of Greek identities from the earliest writings of Homer and Hesiod.¹⁷ In the Hellenistic period, genealogies and foundation legends for cities were created and used as forms of kinship diplomacy or as means of legitimization.¹⁸ Under the empire, the practice of advertising a city’s ancestry

¹³ Woolf (1994) makes this distinction most explicitly.

¹⁴ The distinctiveness of a Carian identity was maintained in antiquity; for example, the Aphrodisian Apollonios wrote a Carian history in the early 3rd century CE (see Chapter Five). For shared cults in the region, see Laumonier 1958 and van Bremen 2010. For aspects of a shared regional cultural in the Hellenistic period, see van Bremen and Carbon 2010.

¹⁵ In Pausanias’ *Exegesis*, what made a community local were its rituals, cults, traditions and history. The localism highlighted by Pausanias was in contrast to the universality of the Roman Empire praised by Aelius Aristides (Whitmarsh 2010); see also, Alcock 2004.

¹⁶ Woolf (2010, p. 198) questions whether descent was the primary means of identification for Greeks; see also Hall 2002.

¹⁷ Jones 2010. Aristocratic status was boosted by genealogical means, so opportunities in the Classical *polis* were constrained by sumptuary laws in order to maintain the concept of *isonomia* (Thomas 1989, pp. 156-159; Garland 1989).

¹⁸ Alcock (2001) observes a proliferation of foundation myths following the conquests of Alexander; these myths were a means of linking the past with the present. Van Nijf (2010a, p. 172) suggests that the change

and legendary founders was employed in competitions for rights and privileges from imperial authorities, such as tax exemption or membership in the Panhellenion.¹⁹ An important ancestry, one with venerable origins or Hellenic pedigree, presented a city with a distinctive identity, entitled it to certain privileges and elevated its status in the regional and imperial communities.

The advertisement of prominent ancestors by the cities of the Roman period, which offered them a distinct and local identity, was also a strategy adopted by individuals in those cities. The epigraphic record of Asia Minor from the Late Hellenistic period on is filled with references to the ancestors of benefactors, which indicates that a hereditary elite dominated civic politics and relied, in part, on the actions or status of their ancestors, real or purported, to justify their own privileged position in the community.²⁰ In a sense, the community of individuals was a microcosm of an empire or province of cities. In the broader context, a venerable mythic ancestry was one was for a city to compete for privileges and justify its status. Similarly, within the limited context of a specific city, an individual's advertisement of his or her pedigree, which was presumably prominent ancestors, served to legitimize the status of the individual and compete against other elites in the community. The reality of high mortality rates made continuity of a family line rare, which then made claims to illustrious ancestry a valued form of symbolic capital.²¹

might have been related to the Hellenistic kings who legitimized their rule with monumental displays of ancestors. See also, Jones 1999a.

¹⁹ Lindner (1994), Jones (1999a), and Ng (2007) all consider the construction of identity at the communal level and examine how foundation legends were used in inter-*polis* rivalries and acts of diplomacy. For the Panhellenion, see Spawforth and Walker 1985 and Jones 1996.

²⁰ Dmitriev 2005, p. 164; see also, Strubbe 1998, pp. 492-499. The family monument for Licinnia Flavilla in Oenoanda recorded multiple generations of her family going back over 300 years. In a manner similar to the ancestral claims of cities, Licinnia's genealogy connected the family to the Roman Empire and to other communities in the region, as far away as Sparta (Hall, Milner, and Coulton 1996).

²¹ Zuiderhoek 2011 discusses the volatility of elite demography and the high rates of mortality in the Roman Empire. Tacoma (2006) proposes a three generation turn-over in families in Roman Egypt. Zuiderhoek (2009a, p. 140-146) notes that the high degree of social turnover made references to aristocratic ancestry highly valuable for urban elites in the Roman period.

For this dissertation, the promotion of an individual's ancestry has been included as an aspect of a local identity in terms of categories of constructions, namely because the value associated with prestigious ancestors rarely went beyond the boundaries of the city, whose inhabitants would have been most familiar with their names, accomplishments, and overall family lines.²²

The need for elites to engage with their ancestry as a way of competing for or justifying their status was a result of the dramatic social inequality that was prevalent in the cities of the Greek East in the Roman period. During the Hellenistic period and following, the civic politics and offices of cities in the Greek East were dominated by a small minority of wealthy families.²³ With the advent of the Roman Empire, the functioning oligarchies became legal institutions through laws establishing property requirements for membership in the *boule*, as well as lifelong terms.²⁴ For this dissertation, the term elite refers to those citizens who were wealthy enough to be members of the *boule*.²⁵ During the Roman period, the cities of Asia Minor experienced great prosperity and population growth; as the population increased so did social inequality as the wealthy became wealthier.²⁶ Due to increased elite demand for goods and services, however, the middle levels of society (e.g. tradesmen and merchants) also saw a slight increase in

²² Other aspects of local identity included behavior or traits that similarly were most (or only) relevant to the individual's civic community (or even a smaller group within that community), such as holding civic magistracies or liturgies, providing services to the populace, or participation in a city festival.

²³ Gauthier 1985, Quass 1993 and Migeotte 1997. For the political organization of these oligarchies, see discussions in Dmitriev 2005.

²⁴ The *Lex Pompeia* for Bithynia established property requirements for the *boule* and there is evidence for a similar edict issued by Augustus in a letter from Pliny (*Ep.* 10.79). Wörrle (1988, p. 133) notes evidence for lifelong membership in the council in Lydia; see also, Quass 1993. Zuiderhoek (2009a, pp. 60-62) notes that these laws—property qualifications and lifelong membership—transformed membership in the *boule* into a Roman *ordo* like the rank of Equestrian or Senator; see also, discussion in Pleket 1998.

²⁵ “Aristocracy,” and “bouleutic order” are also used to refer to the same group of wealthy citizens. See Quass (1993, p. 388) for a discussion of how ancient elites perceived of themselves as a distinct group.

²⁶ This economic model and the correlation between the rise in population and the increase in social inequality is discussed by Zuiderhoek (2009a, especially pp. 54-59); see also Scheidel and Friesen 2009.

wealth.²⁷ Because membership in the *boule* was based on property requirements, by the 2nd century CE the number of people who qualified for the *boule* had expanded due to the increased accumulation of wealth by these mid-level citizens.

Because of high mortality rates, the wealthiest families were not capable of sustaining the number of councilors needed for a functioning city-council and so new members were promoted from the ranks of the sub-elite. The term “sub-elite” refers to individuals and families in the community that were not members of the *boule* but had acquired substantial wealth, often through trade, and might meet the property qualifications to stand for public office and be promoted into the *boule*.²⁸ By the later 2nd century CE, there was substantial income disparity between the wealthiest citizens and the poorest, but there was also noticeable wealth differentiation within the bouletic order.²⁹ A few extremely wealthy families were situated at the apex of the bouletic order, or top-tier benefactors, whose remaining members were second-tier benefactors.³⁰ By the mid-3rd

²⁷ Zuiderhoek 2009a, p. 115. Van Nijf (1997) discusses the presence of the subsets of the population in Asia Minor; see also, Jongman 1991 for a discussion of these levels at Canusium in Southern Italy.

²⁸ The size of a city council in Asia Minor ranged from 60 members to 600 (Broughton 1938, p. 814 and Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 134-135). Based on demographic models, Zuiderhoek (2009a, p. 134) estimates that in a council of 500 members (such as Oenoanda) 16-18 individuals would have to be added every year. Evidence from Canusium suggests that the elite families were not able to sustain the city council and so new members were drawn from people of inferior status (Jongman 1991). For the high mortality rates in the empire, see Scheidel 1999. For the high social turnover among elite families due to mortality rates, see Tacoma 2006 (Roman Egypt), Saller 1994, and Zuiderhoek 2011.

²⁹ The difference was already noted by ancient authors, such as Pliny, who referred to the *honesti* and the *e plebe* to distinguish between members of the elite with disparate social backgrounds. Other terms included *primores viri* and *honestiores* for the established elites and *inferiores* and *humiliores* for those with less established pedigrees (see *Dig.* 50.7.5.5 and 50.2.12). For a discussion of this development, see Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 134-137; see also Pleket (1998) for a discussion of the internal stratification of the elite in the Roman period.

³⁰ The highest ranking families achieved their position out of “demographic luck” and strategic adoptions and marriages so that they were able to secure their wealth over generations (Zuiderhoek 2009a, p. 63). See also, Tacoma 2006 and Jongman 2003. Woolf (1994, p.127) refers to the “super-euergetai” as the wealthiest members of the elite and van Nijf (2010a, p. 167) notes the presence of super-elite families who dominated the political space of Termessos.

century CE, the last period considered in this dissertation, the cities of Asia Minor had significantly increased in their stratification, especially of the elite.

Because these cities developed within the tradition (ideologically at least) of the Classical *polis* and its putative notions of egalitarianism and *isonomia*, they encountered difficulties on account of the rising oligarchic power-structures that dominated civic politics.³¹ One means of alleviating the tensions created from increased social inequality and subsequent stratification of the community was the practice of euergetism, which was the donation of public gifts—buildings, festivals, distributions, provisions of grain, etc.—to the populace by a private citizen, members of the elite who were referred to as an *euergetes* or benefactor.³² Although this practice was connected to aspects of aristocratic gift exchange extending back to the Archaic period as well as notions of the good citizen-benefactor of the Classical period (who was most often wealthy), euergetism took hold in the Hellenistic period and became one of the defining characteristics of urban life in the Eastern Empire.³³ It was a form of wealth redistribution whereby a private benefactor funded the amenities of civic life for the experience and enjoyment of the entire community.³⁴ Euergetism, as a social institution, was employed in the cities in order to

³¹ This is not to suggest that these cities all once had radical democracies that were abandoned for oligarchies; rather, the political organization of the city, the active role of the council, the assembly (*demos*), and the courts, suggests a continuation of the ideology that shaped the Classical democratic *polis*, that is a community of citizens with equal rights (Zuiderhoek 2009a, *passim*). See also, Jones 1940 and Dmitriev 2005, p. 335. For the increasing oligarchization and civic institutions that controlled the political culture of post-Classical *polis*, especially in the Hellenistic period, see van der Vliet 2011; see also, Thonemann 2012.

³² There are multiple studies on the practice and nature of euergetism in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, including Veyne 1976, Garnsey 1988, and Migeotte 1997. This dissertation follows the understanding of euergetism laid out by Zuiderhoek 2009a.

³³ Veyne (1976, pp. 186-228) identifies the Archaic elements in the practice of euergetism and also relates elite donations to the system of liturgies established in the Classical period. In 4th century BCE literature, there are comments on the usefulness of private, individual wealth to the maintenance of the *polis* and civic life. Zuiderhoek (2009a, pp. 130-132) discusses a few examples from Attic oratory and Aristotle.

³⁴ There are numerous examples from antiquity of the people turning against a benefactor, sometimes violently, because of failure to perform benefactions or the right kind of benefactions. Dio notes a number of encounters between an angry populace and an under-performing euergetes (*Or.* 34.16-20, 39 and 46, for

legitimize (consciously or unconsciously) oligarchic rule and demonstrate that those who were capable of performing acts of euergetism were deserving of their wealth and status.³⁵

The wealthiest members of the elite, the top-tier families, gave lavish and substantial gifts of whole buildings or festivals to distinguish themselves as the highest-ranking citizens, while the lower strata of the bouletic order, second-tier families, gave smaller contributions that justified their place as members of the elite.³⁶ Benefactors used their gifts of public munificence as venues for the display of identities which they constructed in order to present a self-image to the community that further justified or promoted their status.³⁷ The benefactions, however, were only part of the process of elite legitimization; the gifts and benefactors had to be accepted by the community. The acceptance of this power structure and of an individual's status as elite was best expressed through the production of honorific monuments issued by communities in gratitude and celebration of a benefactor's generosity.³⁸

example); see the discussion in Salmeri 2000. Such encounters are also noted by Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 24), Pliny (*Ep.* 6.31), and a set of inscriptions from Ephesos (*IvE* 1491-1493; Kalinowski 2002); see also, Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 67-70.

³⁵ Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 115-116. In essence, acts of euergetism were ways for a political structure to gain or establish its legitimacy through public acceptance and participation (Beetham 1991). Euergetism was a means of memorializing the civic hierarchy in public space and glorifying the oligarchic structure. (Zuiderhoek 2009a, p. 71); see also, Lafond 2006. The practice of euergetism increased correspondingly with the rise in population and social inequality, peaking in the mid- to late- 2nd century CE and ending in the mid-3rd century CE (Zuiderhoek 2009a, figs. 1.2 and 1.3). This coincides with dramatic shifts in the political structures of the cities, which suggest that the ideology of *isonomia* that had made euergetism necessary and desirable was no longer the dominant civic ideology of cities in the later empire (Brown 2002).

³⁶ The size of the gifts was a reflection of the internal stratification of the aristocracy. Because some members of the *boule* were recently promoted from the middle levels of the community, they were not socially distant from sub-elite citizens and so they had to distinguish themselves from this lower group, in addition to justifying that they were worthy of the promotion to this status (Zuiderhoek 2009a, 139-140). The wealthiest families on the other hand would have set themselves apart from the members of the elite with less wealth and inferior social background through the donation of expensive public gifts.

³⁷ Examples of this constructive use of benefactions for local benefactors are plentiful. For example, Salutaris' procession at Ephesos (Rogers 1991a) and Plancia Magna's gate at Perge (Newby 2003). See also, Smith 1998 and Longfellow 2011.

³⁸ Euergetism was part of a process in which hierarchy was presented by the benefactor and accepted by the community. The honorific monument was the final result of this exchange (Zuiderhoek 2009a, p. 21).

HONORIFIC MONUMENTS

The honorific monument, which usually consisted of a portrait sculpture of a benefactor and an inscribed base or plaque, was awarded to local benefactors by communities in recognition of their status or munificence.³⁹ As one of the highest awards that a city could offer its citizens, honorific monuments were typically awarded at the end of a long life of euergetism or after the honorand provided a benefaction.⁴⁰ The procedure for awarding them developed over the course of the Hellenistic period, but by the mid-2nd century BCE it was a common aspect of established cities in the Greek East and increased in popularity until ending almost entirely around the mid-3rd century CE.⁴¹ By the Roman period, cities were filled with honorific monuments for those individuals regarded as the most important figures of the community, including emperors and members of the imperial household, Roman magistrates, athletes and performers, and especially local benefactors, male and female. These monuments, issued by civic institutions, such as the assembly, the *boule*, and the *gerousia*, demonstrated the community's acceptance of an oligarchic regime in general and the honorand specifically, but they were also a critical opportunity for self-representation and identity construction for the benefactor.⁴²

³⁹ There are a range of studies on honorific monuments in the Greek East. See, most recently Ma 2013a and 2013b for honorific monuments in the Hellenistic period. Van Nijf (2001 and 2011) has examined the honorific monuments from Roman Termessos. Trifiló (2007) considers the spatial arrangement of honorific monuments in Roman cities. Zuiderhoek (2009a) analyzes honorific inscriptions as forms of legitimization; an approach also adopted by Lafond (2006). Smith et al. (2006) focus on honorific portraiture at Aphrodisias, as does Smith (1998) for the Greek East.

⁴⁰ Other awards included seats at the theater or festivals, award of a gold crown or wreath, and public dining rights. Only an intramural burial was a higher honor.

⁴¹ There are extremely few examples from the Archaic period, such as Kleobis and Biton at Delphi or the Tyrannicides at Athens, but honorific monuments truly began in the early 4th century BCE. Originally, they were issued to powerful outsiders, such as generals or Hellenistic dynasts. Local benefactors gradually became more regular recipients of public honor, at first for military achievements, but more and more for civic contributions in the 1st century BCE (Ma 2013b). For more on the early history of honorific monuments and inscriptions, see Quass 1993. The issuance of honorifics declined dramatically in the mid-3rd century CE, along with the practice of euergetism.

⁴² Van Nijf 2010a; see also, Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 133-135.

Although no one document survives describing the procedure for issuing, creating, and displaying honorific monuments, some epigraphic evidence from across Asia Minor suggests that the entire production involved a multiplicity of actors.⁴³ The language of most honorific inscriptions indicates that an honorand was nominated and approved for public honor by a vote of the council and the assembly.⁴⁴ These institutions also had some input on the location of the statue.⁴⁵ The display setting decisions, however, was sometimes determined by the honorand and his or her family or by another organization that had petitioned for the honor.⁴⁶ While the specific choices regarding costume, hairstyle, posture, and even the language of the inscriptions most likely fell to the honorand and family, those decisions had to be approved by the civic institutions in addition to being influenced and limited by popular and artistic trends in the city and region.⁴⁷ Thus, the honorific monument was an artefact that reflected the interests and identities of many different parties.

⁴³ Ma (2013a, pp. 243-265) examines both the political and artistic processes involved in producing Hellenistic honorific monuments.

⁴⁴ Most of the inscriptions begin with the *boule* and *demos* honoring the benefactor and some inscriptions explicitly state that it was awarded by a vote (*ψηφίσματος*) (Appendix B.125).

⁴⁵ For example, in a consolatory decree for three brothers, the inscription states that their statues are to be set up in the sacred and public places of the city (Appendix B.67); see also, Trifiló 2007 and Ma 2013a, pp. 195-239.

⁴⁶ The location of honorific monuments in buildings that the honorand was responsible for building or renovating suggests that the honorand had some say in the display context, such as the honorific monument of Tiberius Claudius Zelos in the theater, which was in the same location as his dedicatory inscription (Appendix B.74 and *I Aph 2007* 8.85). Another honorific text for an Aphrodisian, whose name does not survive, notes that his son oversaw the display of the statue near the fountain that his father had dedicated (Appendix B.64). Van Nijf (2011) discusses the negotiations between the *technitai* and the city for the location of their honorific monuments to the benefactress Atalante.

⁴⁷ Smith 1998. Some of the inscriptions include overseer clauses, which note that family members, the honorand himself or herself, and at times non-related individuals were responsible for the completion of the monument; see the discussion in Chapter Four.

The honorific portrait could be a bronze or marble statue, or even a painted wooden image.⁴⁸ This portrait was an individualized representation of the honorand, but all of its physical aspects were dictated by cultural norms.⁴⁹ Women were generally presented as dignified matrons, usually wrapped in a himation.⁵⁰ Male honorands had a range of costume choices, which reflected some aspect of their identity. Heroic nudity (with or without a chlamys) often alluded to athletic training; a cuirass reflected military prowess; the toga was a sign of Roman citizenship, and the himation and chiton were the signifiers of a citizen in a *polis* community.⁵¹ Similarly, different hairstyles presented different cultural choices. For both men and women, the options included adoptions of Classical models or changing imperial fashions, such as the towering hairstyles of Flavian women and the elaborate curls and beards of Antonine men.⁵² While some statues were seated and others equestrian, the majority were standing, often in gestures associated with performing a sacrifice or public speaking.⁵³ Finally, many of the portrait sculptures also included attributes that signified an honorand's civic roles or personal qualities, such as the wearing of a priestly crown or holding book scrolls as a sign of education.

The second half of the honorific monument was the inscribed base upon which the statue was displayed, which literally elevated the honorand above the rest of the

⁴⁸ The statue is most often referred to as an *eikon*, but sometimes also an *andrias* or *agalma*, the latter initially entailed cultic associations, but was used more freely in the Roman period (Ma 2013a). Most of the bronze portraits do not survive because they were melted down in antiquity.

⁴⁹ Smith et al. 2006; see also, Smith 1998.

⁵⁰ For the costuming of female portraiture in the Greek and Roman world, see Lewellyn-Jones 2002 and Dillon 2010.

⁵¹ For a discussion of these costumes, see Smith et al. 2006, pp. 36-37. Dio (*Or.* 39.3) claims that to wear the civic himation was a sign of Hellenicity; see also, Smith 1998. To a certain degree, the honorands would wear the costumes that they would have been seen wearing in person, as they conducted sacrifices or led processions.

⁵² Smith 1998.

⁵³ Smith 1998. Seated statues were generally chosen to signify the life of an intellectual, a philosopher or sophist, whereas equestrian statues, most often for emperors, indicated military success (Ma 2013a)

population.⁵⁴ While the portrait sculpture presented an image of the individual, the inscription specifically located that individual in a relationship with the community and articulated why he or she was important, but both worked together to portray a constructed identity. The honorific inscription commemorated a political transaction and memorialized a social relationship between the civic institutions issuing the honors, most often the *boule* and the *demos*, and the honorand (and his or her family).⁵⁵ In addition to affirming the role of the civic institutions as distributors of honors, the inscription also presented the honorand as worthy of such an award. In this capacity, like the choices in portraiture, the inscription was an opportunity for self-fashioning and a public forum for the construction of identity.

Benefactors were praised for attributes that can be roughly divided into five categories: ancestry, virtuous character, civic offices and services rendered, achievement in athletics or performance, and involvement in the imperial administration.⁵⁶ These were the qualities that a community deemed valuable and, together, they formed the essential characteristics of the aristocratic order. Each could be invoked in the inscription to present the benefactor as deserving of honor and to justify his or her place among the elite. The choices made about which attributes to include, in what order, and to what degree of emphasis depended upon the social background and preferences of the honorand and his

⁵⁴ Van Nijf 2001.

⁵⁵ Ma 2013a, pp. 15-43. See also, van Nijf (1997 and 2001) for a discussion of how other institutions and organizations participated in the honorific process. Van Nijf (2010a, p. 167) notes the “intense discussions, personal energy, and political time that must have gone into the conferral” of honorific monuments. Dio (*Or.* 31) remarks on the nature of the honorific monument as preserving a memory of a relationship between the benefactor and the community.

⁵⁶ Smith et al. 2006. The text of honorific inscriptions were intentionally vague and without specific details. The purpose and effect of such vagueness was that it encouraged the benefactor to continue to act in this way and others to emulate this behavior (Zuiderhoek 2009a; Van Nijf 2011). Smith et al. (2006, p. 22) actually argue that the inclusion of specific contributions (“mundane details”) gives “the impression of a lack of security and confidence about why the honorand has a public statue.”

or her family as well as external circumstances affecting the elite or the community as a whole.

Ancestry was a means of conveying social continuity between the revered past and the present; it also demonstrated that an honorand was situated in a long line of civic benefactors, a status which both entitled and obligated him or her to continue those services.⁵⁷ The listed virtues confirmed the moral superiority of the wealthy benefactor, while the civic offices demonstrated his or her active participation and contributions to civic life.⁵⁸ Victories in athletic or artistic competitions presented the honorand as a successful practitioner of Greek cultural values and signified his training in the gymnasium and excellence in *paideia*.⁵⁹ Finally, involvement in the imperial community, which included the possession of Roman citizenship, demonstrated a certain accumulation of wealth and access to higher power structures.

Before turning specifically to the honorific monuments of Aphrodisias, it is worth noting that they were experienced by the local population because they were integrated into the civic landscape and set up in prominent places in the city.⁶⁰ Although the original location for many of the monuments has been lost, surviving examples demonstrate that the placement and arrangement (e.g. in family groups) of the honorifics reiterated the civic

⁵⁷ Zuiderhoek (2009a, pp. 140-146) argues that the symbolic value of good ancestry or an extensive pedigree was precisely because the demographic conditions of the Roman Empire were so volatile and it would have been a significant accomplishment for a family to reproduce over multiple generations. Quass (1993) notes the formation of a hereditary elite in the cities of the Hellenistic period; see also, Dmitriev (2005, p. 167) for the prevalence of ancestral references in honorific inscriptions.

⁵⁸ For a list of the most common virtues employed in the honorific inscriptions, see Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 122-123); see also, Smith et al. 2006, Lafond 2006 and Pont 2010.

⁵⁹ Van Nijf 2004. Because many of the competitions took place in cities other than the competitor's *polis*, such accomplishments also reflected an honorand's notoreity in a wider regional or even Imperial context.

⁶⁰ Van Nijf (2001, pp. 26-27) notes that the display setting was a crucial part of its meaning and that different zones of the city (in this case, Termessos) were set aside for different honorands. Trifiló (2007) comments on similar evidence from Roman fora in North Africa, identifying that the more significant benefactors were honored in the more conspicuous places.

hierarchy that created these awards.⁶¹ Overall, all of these aspects—portraiture, inscription, and setting—worked together to construct a composite identity for an individual honorand and his or her family; in doing so, each monument affirmed the group identity of the elite and of the community in terms of qualities which were deemed most valuable by the collective.

At Aphrodisias, the production of honorific monuments began in the 1st century BCE and continued into the mid-3rd century CE.⁶² Excavations and survey at Aphrodisias have recovered 220 pieces of portrait sculptures from this period.⁶³ The most notable trends from this dataset are the high production in the 1st century CE when compared to other cities in the region. The significant 1st century CE production reflected the city's good relationship with the Julio-Claudian emperors. The second trend was the overwhelming majority of honors for local benefactors in comparison to emperors or magistrates, evidently a consequence of the autonomous status that Aphrodisias enjoyed.⁶⁴ The production clearly indicates a communal preference for honoring local benefactors.⁶⁵ Although the display contexts for many of the sculptures are unknown, the evidence suggests that statues were set up in abundance in the theater (Fig. 1.H), in and around the

⁶¹ Ma (2013a, p.2) comments sadly on the loss of these statues and their original locations: “This awareness of absence haunts the sober, conscientious archaeological and epigraphic publication of bases.”

⁶² Smith et al. (2006) have published an extensive volume on the honorific portrait sculptures recovered from Aphrodisias. This publication includes a summary and some observations regarding the honorific inscriptions as well. The reason for the delayed production of honorific monuments at Aphrodisias was most likely reflective of its later foundation in the early 2nd century BCE.

⁶³ This number is comprised of 108 statues, 49 busts, and 63 detached heads (Smith et al. 2006).

⁶⁴ Smith et al. (2006) contend that the early abundance might also have been due to the Aphrodisians preference for and access to marble, which lasted longer than bronze portraits from other cities.

⁶⁵ Smith et al. (2006, p. 21) calculate that anywhere from 4-10 honorific monument were awarded each year at Aphrodisias. This was a “huge investment in public symbols” for a town of only 15,000 people.

bouleuterion (Fig. 1.B), as part of the Agora Gate at the east end of the South Agora (Fig. 1.E), and in and around the Hadrianic Baths (Fig. 1.F).⁶⁶

In addition to the instances of portrait sculpture, around 274 honorific inscriptions have been recovered, most of which have been published.⁶⁷ The majority of these inscriptions follow a standardized formula, comparable to the pattern employed by other cities in the Roman period: honoring body, most often the *boule* and the *demos* (nominative) + name and filiation of the honorand (accusative) + his or her virtues, offices, and services (accusative) + name(s) of those who supervised the commissioning and display of the statue (genitive absolute).⁶⁸ Local benefactors at Aphrodisias were honored for their ancestry (the standing of their family, the accomplishments of their ancestors, or for acting in the tradition of their ancestors), their virtues, offices held, services rendered, athletic or artistic notoriety, and imperial connections.⁶⁹ Rarely were specific contributions included in the inscriptions, such as buildings constructed.⁷⁰

In the inscriptions analyzed for this dissertation, there were 206 instances of honors for 183 local Aphrodisians.⁷¹ Thirty-eight women received honors, twenty athletes and performers (all male), and 148 male benefactors.⁷² The honorific monument was one of

⁶⁶ For a discussion of the survival, recovery, and original display of these statues, see Smith et al. 2006, pp. 21-30

⁶⁷ Many of the honorific inscriptions have been made available through an online database, *I Aph 2007*. Smith et al. (2006) list the honorands and basic information about the inscription, but do not provide the text in full. Thirty-four inscriptions were for members of the imperial household and another fifteen were for Roman magistrates. For more on the publication of the Aphrodisian inscriptions, see Appendix A.

⁶⁸ Smith et al. 2006, p. 22. For the development of this formula in the Greek world and its variations, see Ma 2013a, pp. 15-43.

⁶⁹ Smith et al. (2006, p. 25) provide examples of the different virtues included in the honorific inscriptions. The virtues all presented the honorand as having good moral character and being committed to the well-being of the *polis*. There was a repetitive nature to the inclusion of these traits, but they were combined in such ways to create individual biographies. While the virtues listed seem vague and repetitive, each individual text varied in choice creating a distinctive combination of 'shared values'.

⁷⁰ As noted above, the text of honorific inscriptions were generally vague.

⁷¹ Seventeen of the benefactors received multiple honorific monuments. For a full discussion of the database, see Appendix A.

⁷² For a discussion of this distributed, see the Conclusion.

the greatest honors that a benefactor could receive from a city.⁷³ Thus, the individuals who were awarded with honorific monuments were those who had the greatest impact on the city and its affairs—the leading men and women of the community.

The chapters of this dissertation analyze the surviving honorific inscriptions from Aphrodisias, with particular attention paid to how references to ancestry and family were incorporated (or omitted) and how such inclusions related to the construction of identity for individuals, families, the elite (as a social group), and the city as a whole. The first chapter examines the honorific inscriptions from the 1st century CE and argues that an honorand's ancestry was used competitively as a means of legitimizing status and distinguishing members of the elite from long-established families from those associated with newly-promoted ones with ties to Rome. Building on this divide between local ancestry and imperial interactions, Chapter Two identifies how both groups of elites contributed to the creation of a collective identity for the city by creating monuments that feature civic foundation legends, such as the reliefs in the Civil Basilica and by earning intramural burials from the city.

Chapter Three considers the honorific productions of the early 2nd century CE and notes evidence for a growing stratification of the elite that included an expansion of types of honorands, as well as the commemoration of elite children who died prematurely, which was a previously less-employed practice. The chapter concludes by analyzing the collaborative construction of the Hadrianic Baths as symptomatic of changing elite dynamics that included increasing oligarchic stratification, greater participation outside of the city, and the death of major aristocratic families. In the late 2nd century CE, three benefactors stand out in the honorific inscriptions as wealthiest elites in the civic hierarchy,

⁷³ Smith et al. (2006, p. 20) note that other honors included front row seating at festivals and public dining rights. The only honor more coveted than an honorific monument was the award of intramural burial, which at any city in Asia Minor was limited to a handful of individuals (Berns 2003).

and Chapter Four analyzes how the choices of each of these three honorands presented a specific identity that served his personal background and ambitions. The final chapter considers the honorific inscriptions from the first half of the 3rd century CE. At this time, there was an abundance of individuals receiving honors, and Roman citizenship no longer distinguished the status of a benefactor since the Edict of Caracalla had made citizenship universal. As a result, ancestry regained its prominence as a crucial marker of identity. These shifts in honorific choices occurred alongside increasing imperial presence in the region and a growing stratification of the society that ultimately led to the promotion of Aphrodisias to a provincial capital and the abandonment of the honorific process in the mid-3rd century CE.

A REVIEW OF THE SCHOLARSHIP ON APHRODISIAS AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS

The remains of Aphrodisias have fascinated travelers and scholars for centuries; their preserved notebooks and published works serve as the foundation for the more recent scholarship as well as this present study.⁷⁴ In the 18th and 19th centuries, the site of Aphrodisias was visited by European travelers who copied down many of the inscriptions that they came across and whose observations and transcriptions were published in early volumes of Greek inscriptions.⁷⁵ In the early 20th century, intermittent excavations began at the city with the works of P. Gaudin, who also created squeezes for around 200

⁷⁴ A summary of the early scholarly visitors to Aphrodisias and their contributions, as well as a catalogue of the epigraphic publications for the city, see *Iaph 2007* “History and Bibliography of the Inscriptions.”

⁷⁵ William Sherard first visited the site in 1705 and the site continued to be explored by European scholars and travelers for the next two centuries. The notebooks from their travels have been made available for the compiling of the online database and the notebook of J.G. Deering (1812) has been digitized and made available through the online database: *Iaph 2007* “Notebooks.” The notes of the early visitors, such as Sherard, contributed to publications of *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Other early publications include Leake 1843, Waddington 1870, Paris and Holleaux 1885, Liermann 1889, and Kubitschek and Reichel 1893.

inscriptions, which were published by T. Reinach.⁷⁶ The notable Asia Minor epigraphist, Louis Robert, began publishing inscriptions from Aphrodisias in the 1930s around the same time that the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* expedition visited the site.⁷⁷ The expedition's findings were later published by J.M.R. Cormack and subsequently reviewed by Robert as part of his *Hellenica* series.⁷⁸

Systematic excavations by modern archaeologists began at Aphrodisias in 1961 under the auspices of Kenan Erim and the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University.⁷⁹ J. Reynolds undertook the role of publishing many of the newly discovered inscriptions, especially those concerning the imperial cult at the city.⁸⁰ She also produced a volume on the inscriptions from the Archive Wall, and the volume includes other related texts from the city.⁸¹ C. Roueché published the numerous inscriptions from Late Antique Aphrodisias, which were later catalogued and added to a searchable online database.⁸² Roueché also produced a volume on the texts concerning performers, athletes, and competitive factions in Late Antique Aphrodisias; this volume contains appendices of inscriptions for all the known festivals and competitors in the city in both the Imperial and Late Antique periods.⁸³ Together Reynolds and Roueché, along with G. Bodard and the

⁷⁶ Reinach 1906. The squeezes made by Gaudin are currently in the possession of the Sorbonne. G. Mendel also conducted excavations with Gaudin (Mendel 1906). Other excavations were conducted by A. Boulanger (1914) and G. Jacopi (1939-1940) over the next three decades. Boulanger's excavations mainly focused on the Hadiranian Baths.

⁷⁷ For Robert's early discussion of Aphrodisian inscriptions, see Robert 1937, 1939, and 1954 (Robert and Robert).

⁷⁸ Cormack 1962 (*MAMA* 8); Robert 1965 (*Hellenica* 13). Cormack also published subsequently on the Aphrodisian inscriptions (1964); Robert (1966) provided a response to this publication as well.

⁷⁹ The earliest epigraphic publications from the modern excavations were published by Erim, for example Erim 1969. T. Drew-Bear (1971 and 1972) also published some of the inscriptions from the city. Much of the early work from these modern excavations can be found in Erim (1986).

⁸⁰ For the series of articles on the imperial cult, see Reynolds 1980, 1981, 1986 and 1996.

⁸¹ Reynolds 1982.

⁸² Roueché 1989; *ala2004*.

⁸³ Roueché 1993.

University College London, compiled an extensive online database of the Aphrodisian inscriptions, which includes those copied in the notebooks of early visitors, which have yet to be rediscovered, as well as those uncovered by modern excavators, which have yet to be published.⁸⁴

Current excavations and research at the site are under the direction of R.R.R Smith (Oxford University). While Reynolds continued to provide publications for the inscriptions from specific buildings, such as the theater and the Civil Basilica, the most recent discoveries have been published by A. Chaniotis in a series of articles and chapters.⁸⁵ Smith, along with several colleagues, recently published a volume on the honorific portraiture from the city, which includes substantial observations and summaries of the honorific inscriptions from the Imperial period, including a table of the recipients from both published and unpublished texts.⁸⁶ In addition to these works and other chapters and articles about Imperial Aphrodisias, the excavations reports are regularly published in two journals: *Kazi Sonuçlari Toplantisi* (since 1990) and *American Journal of Archaeology* (since 1995). A *Journal of Roman Archaeology* supplemental series, *Aphrodisias Papers*, continues to be published as edited volumes for the ongoing research at the site.⁸⁷ Furthermore, there is a series of monographs published for specific buildings and topics from the city, including the iconography of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias and the reliefs from the Sebasteion.⁸⁸ The analysis and conclusions of this dissertation are immensely indebted

⁸⁴ *I Aph* 2007.

⁸⁵ Temple of Aphrodite: Reynolds 1990; Theater: Reynolds 1992; Civil Basilica: Reynolds 2008. For examples of the publications of Aphrodisian inscriptions by Chaniotis, see Chaniotis 2004, 2009a, and 2012.

⁸⁶ Smith et al. 2006.

⁸⁷ Roueché and Erim 1990; Erim and Smith 1991; Roueché and Smith 1996; Ratté and Smith 2008.

⁸⁸ For the iconography of Aphrodite, see Brody 2007; for the Sebasteion reliefs, see Smith 2013. The series also includes a publication on the funerary monument of Gaius Julius Zoilos (Smith 1993), the reliefs from the Agora Gate (Linant de Bellefonds 2011), the portrait statuary from the city (Smith et al. 2006), and the discoveries from the most recent regional survey (Ratté and de Staebler 2012).

to the substantial work of these previous and contemporary scholars, whose publications have not only provided the necessary data for such an examination, but also have helped frame the argument and approach of the project.

Chapter 1: The “Co-Founding” Families in a Competitive Community

Archaeological evidence from Aphrodisias and its environs indicates intermittent habitation of the area from prehistoric times.⁸⁹ Epigraphic and numismatic evidence, however, indicate that the establishment of a *polis* community known as Plarasa and Aphrodisias did not occur until the 2nd century BCE, a relatively late foundation date compared to other cities in the region that emerged during the first major wave of urbanization following Alexander’s conquest.⁹⁰ When Aphrodisias was elevated to *polis* status, the sanctuary of Aphrodite served as a unifying center for rural landowners who were probably Seleucid and Macedonian veterans as well as local Carians.⁹¹ Drawn together into a more centralized community, the sanctuary served as the central site for the new city.⁹² Much debate, however, surrounds the questions of when and under what

⁸⁹ For occupation of this region in the Bronze Age and Iron Age, see Mac Sweeney 2011. Ratté (2008, p. 11) notes that occupation evidence for the Iron Age, particularly the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, is primarily pottery, but there is evidence for the establishment of a sanctuary on the terrace that later housed the Temple of Aphrodite.

⁹⁰ Reynolds 1982. Aphrodisias’ foundation as a *polis* was not driven by Hellenistic imperial agendas that led to the founding of Antioch or the reorganization of Ephesos, but rather seems to have grown from a “second wave of city founding” that swept through the Maeander Valley in the mid- to late Hellenistic period (Ratté 2008). For more on the early history of Aphrodisias, see Ratté 2008; see also, Ratté 2000, 2002, and Chaniotis 2010a. For the foundation of Hellenistic cities in Asia Minor, see Cohen 1995; see also, Ma 2000. The site of Plarasa is generally considered to be modern day Bingeç (Ratté 2012).

⁹¹ The demographic composition of the first citizens of Aphrodisias has been proposed by Ratté (2000 and 2008) based on the interpreted historical context that led to its foundation. Such a composition is also supported by the prosopography of some of the earliest inscriptions as well as individuals from the Imperial period who claim descent from the co-founding families (Chaniotis 2010a and van Bremen 2010). Chaniotis (2009a) also notes the early presence of Dorian names at the city, perhaps a reflection of Rhodian settlers as part of the initial community; see also the recent publication of a 2nd century BCE epitaph with Rhodian names (Chaniotis 2013, no. 23).

⁹² Ratté (2008, p. 28) notes that the landowners were motivated potentially by the benefits experienced by citizens of neighboring Seleucid colonies. The sanctuary of Artemis at Magnesia on the Meander was similarly used as a centralizing site by its citizens when they established a new festival for Artemis in the 3rd century BCE (Kern 1900, no. 16). The sanctuary underwent major renovations in the late 1st century BCE, and it is unclear what it consisted of (architecturally) before this time (de La Genière 1990; Theodorescu 1987, 1990). The site of the sanctuary served as the religious and civic heart of the community until the *polis* was abandoned in the early 7th century CE (Ratté 2008, pp. 11-12).

circumstances Aphrodisias obtained the official status of a *polis*. One current scholarly contention is that the local populations around the sanctuary came together during the period of Rhodian control of Caria (between 188 BCE and 167 BCE) and claimed for themselves the status of *polis*, along with the rights and privileges associated with such political standing.⁹³ The initial community was referred to in inscriptions and coinage as Plarasa and Aphrodisias.⁹⁴ The dual name was a reflection of an act of synoikism or sympolity that brought these neighboring populations together to form one *polis*.⁹⁵

⁹³ In early publications, scholars claimed that Aphrodisias was founded shortly after Rome (re)gained control over Caria in 167 BCE as a means of assisting in their consolidation of the valley (e.g. Reynolds 1982; see also, Jones 1999a, p. 100). The 2003 discovery of an inscription, however, honoring a Rhodian general dedicated in the sanctuary of Aphrodite conclusively dates the founding of Aphrodisias to at least the time of Rhodian control of Caria after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE (Chaniotis, 2010a). Another decree, discovered previously (unpublished, Inv. No: 1964.555), honored a different Rhodian general and had been considered evidence for the possibility of Rhodian foundations. The discovery of the second inscription has confirmed those suspicions (Ratté 2008, p. 18). Based on this evidence, it has been argued that the Rhodians founded the city of Aphrodisias in order to consolidate control of the area. On the other hand, Chaniotis (2010a) has argued that the period of Rhodian control was one of weak centralized authority and a time when local communities were able to claim for themselves rights and privileges without turning to a higher authority for recognition.

⁹⁴ Additional epigraphic evidence indicates that other communities in the vicinity of Aphrodisias were included in this unification. For example, a 1st century BCE inscription from Aphrodisias records a dedication to the kore of Plyareis (*I Aph 2007* 8.209). In the late 2nd century BCE, in the earliest honorific inscription recovered from Aphrodisias, the *demoi* of Plyareis honored a man from Gordiouteichos (Appendix B.10). Gordiouteichos is not mentioned elsewhere epigraphically, but it is known from Hellenistic coinage (Robert 1937, pp. 552-555; Drew-Bear 1972, pp. 439-441). There is also a relief from Lagina that most likely depicted Gordios alongside personifications of Aphrodisias and Plarasa demonstrating that these were independent yet closely-connected communities (Robert 1937, pp. 552-555). There were also coins minted jointly by Gordiouteichos, Plarasa, and Aphrodisias in the 1st century BCE (MacDonald 1976, p. 67, R55, and 71, O65-67, R108-111). For more on the location of Gordiouteichos at modern day Yazır, due west of Aphrodisias, see van Bremen 2010, p. 441 and Ratté 2012, p. 14. The significance of these communities, Gordiouteichos and Plyareis, and their relationship with Aphrodisias is discussed in the next chapter.

⁹⁵ Chaniotis 2010a. The union, whether it was a sympolity (Reynolds 1982, doc. 11 and Chaniotis 2004, p. 382-3) or a synoikism (Reynolds 1986), was not attested epigraphically earlier than the Treaty of Kibyra, which is problematically dated to either after 167BCE or after 129BCE (Chaniotis 2010a, p. 455. *I. Kibyra* 2). Robert (1965) and Chaniotis (2003) characterize this relationship as a sympolity, in which both *poleis* maintain a degree of independence. Reynolds (1986), however, argues for a synoikism, uniting two entities into a single civic one. The two earliest epigraphic attestations of this joint community, the Treaty of Kibyra and a decree from Plarasa and Aphrodisias, both refer to the *demoi* of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, which illustrates that despite their political unification the communities regarded themselves as separate entities (Reger 2004, p. 163). For more on Hellenistic sympolities in the region, see Reger 2004.

The early history of Aphrodisias and Plarasa, attested through literary and epigraphic sources, indicates that the community maintained a close connection with Rome when it was a rising western power.⁹⁶ The second century historian, Appian, states that Sulla received an oracle from Apollo at Delphi that instructed him to make an offering to Aphrodite at her Carian shrine and an inscribed letter of Octavian mentions a statue of Eros dedicated by Caesar to the city's goddess.⁹⁷ Throughout the tumultuous 1st century BCE, Aphrodisias and Plarasa consistently sided with Roman authorities and for this allegiance, the city was rewarded with tax-free status and the sanctuary of Aphrodite with asylum rights by a *senatus consultum* in 39 BCE.⁹⁸ The receipt of these civic privileges from Rome coincided with Octavian's declaration of favor to the Aphrodisians in a series of letters to the city, as well as other cities and individuals in Asia Minor.⁹⁹ Aphrodisias and Plarasa's early support of Rome and its subsequent close relationship with the imperial

⁹⁶ The newly-formed *polis* might have embraced Rome fervently (as indicated in inscriptions) as means of having its locally-proclaimed status acknowledged and legitimized by a higher authority (Ratté 2008, p. 30). A decree of Plarasa and Aphrodisias from around 88 BCE closes with the statement that “without the rule of the Romans we do not choose even to live” (χωρίς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ ζῆν προαιρούμεθα) (trans. by Reynolds 1982, doc. 2; *I Aph 2007* 8.3).

⁹⁷ In 81 BCE, Sulla reportedly dedicated a golden crown and a double axe in the sanctuary at Aphrodisias (Appian, *Civil Wars* I.97). The statue dedicated by Caesar to Aphrodite was stolen when Aphrodisias was looted during Labienus' war in 40 BCE (*I Aph 2007* 8.31). For more on Aphrodisias' early dealings with Rome, see Reynolds 1982, especially docs. 1-13.

⁹⁸ *I Aph 2007* 8.27; Reynolds 1982, doc. 8. For the ways in which this status of a *civitas libera* impacted Aphrodisias, see Kokkinia 2008. In this decree from the senate, the community is referred to as the *demos* of Plarasa and Aphrodisias as opposed to the *demoi* (plural) in the inscription from 88 BCE (Reynolds 1982, doc. 2). Reger (2004, p. 163) argues that “the persistence of the double ethnic at Aphrodisias until roughly the reign of Augustus bespeaks the length of time required for the populations of two constituent states finally to submerge their identity into a single ‘Aphrodisias.’”

⁹⁹ Reynolds 1982, docs. 10, 12, and 13. In his letter to Samos, Octavian claims that he has rewarded the Aphrodisians with freedom because they took his side in the war (against Labienus presumably) and because of their devotion to him and Rome (*I Aph 2007* 8.32). In a letter addressed to Stephanus, Octavian notes his affection for Zoilos, his friend and an Aphrodisian and that he has freed Zoilos' native city, which he cherishes more than any other in Asia Minor (*I Aph 2007* 8.29). The Zoilos that Octavian refers to is the great Aphrodisian benefactor, Gaius Julius Zoilos, a freedman of Octavian, discussed in Chapter One.

authorities became an important element of the city's self-representation under the empire as did its privileged status of free and autonomous.¹⁰⁰

After the city of Plarasa and Aphrodisias received autonomy from the Roman Senate in 39 BCE, major changes in the political, economic, and architectural organization of the urban center took place. In the early years of Augustus' reign, the city became known simply as Aphrodisias.¹⁰¹ The primacy given to Aphrodisias in the renaming was most likely a reflection of the importance of the city's patron goddess to the ideology of new emperor.¹⁰² Also shortly after the *senatus consultum*, the marble quarries in the vicinity of the city began to be systematically exploited by wealthy Aphrodisian families who owned the land. Not only did this development allow for the city to be monumentalized with grand structures, but it also ensured that those families that had

¹⁰⁰ Kokkinia 2008, p. 53. The relationship between Rome (and Roman authorities) and Aphrodisias (and its citizens)—how it is exploited and how it develops—is explored in each chapter of this dissertation. Thus, it is worth noting here that a close relationship between the two entities was presented epigraphically at least by the early 1st century BCE and that this relationship was presented as unique among cities in Asia Minor by Octavian; for example, his letter to Stephanus in 39/38 BCE (Reynolds 1982, doc. 10); see also, Chaniotis (2002) for an Aphrodisian identity that presented balanced interests of a free and autonomous and a city indebted to Rome throughout the first three centuries of Roman rule.

¹⁰¹ For the coins marking this transition of nomenclature, see MacDonald 1992, nos. 59-71 (Plarasa and Aphrodisias, pre-Augustan) and nos. 73-77 (Aphrodisias only, Augustan); see also MacDonald 1976, p. 29. The change is discussed by Reynolds 1996b, p. 43. Chaniotis (2003) emphasizes that a change in name came with a dramatic change in the collective identity of the city. Ancient historians record that the community situated at imperial Aphrodisias had already undergone several name changes from the Lelegon polis to Megale Polis to Ninioe before appearing as the joint community of Plarasa and Aphrodisias in the epigraphic record of the 2nd century BCE (Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Ninioe)). No archaeological evidence has been recovered to support this evolving name change nor the presence of a settlement worthy of the name "Megale Polis." Reger (2004, p.163) notes that this was part of a long process of integration of two communities who, despite their political unification in the early 2nd century BCE, saw themselves as distinct entities for multiple generations until the late Republic and the reign of Augustus.

¹⁰² Chaniotis 2003. Reynolds (1996b, 43) notes that the change in nomenclature might have occurred around the same time that the Koinon of Asia voted, in 9 BCE, to change the beginning of the calendar year to Augustus' birthday. Unfortunately, it is not clear what specific political changes were attached to the change in name. Plarasa and the communities of Gordiouteichos and Plyareis presumably became part of the *chora* of Aphrodisias (Ratté 2008 and 2012).

claims to the marble quarries would experience an increase in wealth through the production and trade of marble.¹⁰³ Another major development was the complete transformation of the urban center into a cityscape of marble monuments, a process that began under the patronage of the imperial freedman Gaius Julius Zoilos and continued through the Julio-Claudian period.¹⁰⁴ The surviving epigraphic evidence suggests that it was not until well into the building up of the city (probably around the mid-1st century CE) that the issuance of honorific statues for local benefactors began to be practiced with regularity.¹⁰⁵

This chapter analyzes the early honorific inscriptions from Aphrodisias—the few examples that survive from the Hellenistic and Augustan periods as well as the more abundant collection from the second half of the 1st century CE. In terms of constructions of identity, in the honorific texts and the contemporary monuments dedicated by the honorands there is a noticeable tension between displays of imperial support and celebrations of Aphrodisian history that resulted from a uniquely situated city, one that was free and autonomous, but also indebted to Roman authorities for granting and maintaining its elevated position.¹⁰⁶ A close reading and analysis of the inscriptions illustrates that

¹⁰³ Smith et al. (2006, p. 6) note that there is no securely dated use of marble in the city before the 30s BCE. For discussion of the marble quarries at Aphrodisias, see Rockwell 1996 and Ponti 1996. The region of the Maeander Valley around Aphrodisias flourished under the stability brought about by Roman conquest (Thonemann 2007); for the more immediate hinterland of Aphrodisias, see Ratté 2012.

¹⁰⁴ For the monumentalization of the city over time, see Ratté 2008, fig. 10.

¹⁰⁵ Smith et al. (2006, p. 4) suggest that the monumentalized center was both the “premise and setting” for the reward and display of honorific statues. Furthermore, as discussed in the introduction, the production of honorific monuments for local benefactors was directly tied to the oligarchization of the *polis* and the need for elites to justify and legitimize their status in a community (Zuiderhoek 2009a).

¹⁰⁶ As mentioned in the introduction, a decree of Plarasa and Aphrodisias from around 88 BCE closes with the statement that “without the rule of the Romans we do not choose even to live” (χωρίς τῆς Ῥωμαίων

signifiers of prestige and strategies of legitimization varied not only according to historical circumstances and cultural preferences but also according to the social background and motivations of the individuals and families being honored. Identifying the contrasting choices that were made in the formulations of honorific inscriptions in this period, particularly between allegiances with Rome and descent from important civic ancestors, demonstrates the presence of rival family groups among the elite of 1st century CE Aphrodisias, who incorporated different forms of symbolic capital into their honorific monuments as a means of affirming or justifying their status in the community.

This chapter begins with an overview of the monumentalization of the Aphrodisian city center through the 1st century CE. Only a handful of Aphrodisian families contributed to building projects, and their projects were constructed primarily in the decades from Tiberius to Nero. Most of the dedications were made collectively to three entities: the patron deity Aphrodite, the emperors, and the *demos*. The chapter then considers the production of honorific monuments—publicly issued portrait statues with their accompanying inscribed bases—which were displayed within and in front of the dedicated buildings. Too few honorific inscriptions from the Hellenistic period and the early years of the empire survive to present a cohesive summary, but by the mid-1st century CE the production of surviving honorific texts increased. The local honorands of this century included individuals who dedicated the major buildings in the city, a growing number of

ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ ζῆν προαιρούμεθα) (trans. by Reynolds 1982, doc. 2; *I Aph 2007* 8.3). For more on the balance between autonomy and imperial loyalty, see Chaniotis 2002; see also, Kokkinia 2008.

Aphrodisians who possessed Roman citizenship, and a group of individuals from a few local families who included praise of their local ancestors in their honorific inscriptions.

The final section of this chapter examines an identifiable group of Aphrodisian families, the descendants of “co-founding” families. In the late 1st century CE, the term “co-founding” (συνεκτικότης) was employed as a formulaic title in the honorific inscriptions of eight Aphrodisian benefactors. While these benefactors contributed to the civic life of the community by holding office and sponsoring feasts, they were not the same families that outfitted the city buildings, nor did they have Roman citizenship. Their title indicates, however, that they were members of established elite families, whose claims to status were conceived of as inherited. The term and its appearance in the honorific record suggest that it was a strategic response to the presence and growing influence of families who received their wealth and prestige through their connections with the imperial administration. Thus, the honorific inscriptions of the 1st century CE demonstrate that while some families relied on their ties to Rome for means of legitimization, others trusted in the symbolic capital of ancestry and the advantages of advertising their longstanding ties to the local community. Most importantly, the inscriptions show that these two strategies were negotiated and created in dialogue with one another.

THE MONUMENTALIZATION OF IMPERIAL APHRODISIAS

A summary of the available evidence regarding civic buildings from this period demonstrates that a small number of Aphrodisian families provided the monumental framework for the display of portrait statues and honorific inscriptions as well as the

physical setting for festivals, rituals, and assemblies at which honors would have been issued and announced. Unfortunately, little archaeological evidence has been uncovered from Aphrodisias which can be used to reconstruct the Hellenistic city before the building projects attributed to the imperial freedman Gaius Julius Zoilos at the end of the 1st century BCE. Early epigraphic evidence attests to the presence of an agora, a gymnasium, and a bouleuterion in the Hellenistic city.¹⁰⁷ After the issuance of the *senatus consultum* of 39 BCE granting the city free status, Zoilos returned to his native city with immense wealth, which he presumably accumulated through his service in the Julian household, and undertook the monumentalization of the city center. His contributions included an Ionic temple and temenos in the sanctuary of Aphrodite (Fig. 1.A), the formalization of the North Agora with a series of stoas and boundary stones (Fig. 1.C), and the donation of a stage building at the theater (Fig. 1.H).¹⁰⁸ In his dedicatory inscriptions, Zoilos was described as priest for life of both Aphrodite and Eleutheria and as *stephanephoros* for the tenth

¹⁰⁷ Ratté (2008, p. 17) proposes that the grid plan of the city was also a feature of the Hellenistic city; current research on site is testing this hypothesis. The agora was referred to in the *senatus consultum* from 39 BCE and presumably referred to the North Agora, which was subsequently enclosed with stoas by Zoilos. A gymnasium was referred to in two inscriptions as the burial site for the Aphrodisian, Kallikrates (Appendix B.9.A and B); Chaniotis (2008, no. 6) locates this gymnasium west of the bouleuterion. An early reference to the bouleuterion was made in an unpublished inscription from the early 1st century BCE (Chaniotis 2010a, p. 466, n. 60). A sanctuary and temple to the local cult of Zeus Nineudios was also a part of the Hellenistic city, as noted by a 1st century BCE architrave (*I Aph 2007* 12.204) and a contemporaneous private dedication to the god (Chaniotis 2004, no. 11); see also Chaniotis 2008, no. 2. For more on the significance of this cult in the city, see Laumonier 1958, p. 480 and the discussion in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁸ From the sanctuary: *I Aph 2007* 1.1, 1.2, and 1.38. It is unclear what kind of building stood in the sanctuary before Zoilos and even to what degree Zoilos participated in the temple's building. Construction on the temple continued through the reign of Tiberius and included donations by at least two other families (discussed below); Reynolds 1990. North Agora: Chaniotis 2004, no. 12 and *I Aph 2007* 3.2. For more on the agora, see Smith and Ratté 2000, pp. 233-238. Theater: *I Aph 2007* 8.1 and 8.5; the stage and the proscenium were dedicated to Aphrodite and the people (Reynolds 1991). The types of buildings that benefactors typically dedicated were those that were perceived of as essential to civic life; religious structures, agoras, and theaters ranked high on the list (see Zuiderhoek 2009a, fig. 5.2 and pp. 79-86).

time.¹⁰⁹ He was also hailed as a savior and benefactor of his country (σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος) on the architrave of the Temple.¹¹⁰

After Zoilos' constructions in the late 1st century BCE, a second wave of monumental dedications commenced in the reign of Tiberius and lasted into the Flavian dynasty.¹¹¹ All of these 1st century CE contributions have two things in common: they were made by local, Aphrodisian benefactors and families, and they were dedicated to Aphrodite, the *Sebastoi*, and the *demos* (Table 2).¹¹² Around the mid-1st century CE, the theater was renovated by the Aphrodisian Aristokles Molossos and his foster-son, Hermas; the renovations included a new bank of seats for the audience, and they were dedicated to

¹⁰⁹ Priest of Aphrodite: *I Aph 2007* 1.1, 2, and 38. Priest of Eleutheria: *I Aph 2007* 3.2. Dual priesthood: Appendix B.15.B (his honorific monument from the Hadrianic Baths). The inscriptions from the theater listed him as making the dedication after he had served as *stephanephoros* for the tenth time. The *stephanephoros* was the eponymous magistrate at Aphrodisias, but the precise responsibilities of the office remain obscure. A number of Aphrodisians held the office multiple times, often leaving an endowment for the office so that they were listed as holding the office even after their death. This suggests that it was (or at least became) an honorary title associated with funding (and, if living, overseeing) annual civic rituals. The office was held by both men and women at Aphrodisias and was also an eponymous office at other cities in Asia Minor (see Dmitriev 2005). Mitchell (1993, p. 200) says that *stephanephoroi* were particularly attested in areas formerly controlled by the Seleukids. While the office of priest of Aphrodite was held by numerous wealthy Aphrodisians, Zoilos was the only one who held the priesthood of Eleutheria. This honor was most likely a reflection of the crucial role he had in Aphrodisias receiving free status from Octavian and the senate (Reynolds 1982, pp. 156-157). Gnaius Pompeius Theophanes, from Mytilene, served as priest of Zeus Eleutherios after he received freedom for his native city from Pompey (*IGR* 4, 55b; see Strubbe 2004, p. 324). A statue base for the goddess Eleutheria survives from Aphrodisias (Chaniotis 2004, no.8) and the goddess featured prominently on coinage at the city (MacDonald 1992, pp. 29-31); see also, Chaniotis 2002.

¹¹⁰ Like the priesthood of Eleutheria, the title of savior was exceedingly rare honors at Aphrodisias and has been interpreted as a reference to Zoilos' integral role in obtaining free status for the city. In addition to examples from late antiquity and dedications to Hadrian, the term savior was only used in two other inscription, both from the 1st century BCE and both times paired with the title of benefactor. In a letter to a Roman official in 88 BCE, the Aphrodisians describe the Romans as their saviors and benefactors (πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὄντας σωτήρας καὶ εὐεργέτας) (*I Aph 2007* 8.3); in the first surviving line of one of the honorific attributed to Kallikrates, he is described as savior and benefactor (σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην) (Appendix B.9.C). For more on this title in the epigraphy of the Greek East in general, see Erklenz 2002.

¹¹¹ Dio (*Or.* 40.10) claims that constructing buildings enhances the dignity of a city and was a demonstration of civic pride. The cost of construction, however, meant that it could only have been undertaken by the wealthiest of benefactors (Zuiderhoek 2009a, p. 63).

¹¹² For the construction history of the 1st-century-CE Aphrodisias, see Ratté 2002.

Aphrodite, the Sebastoi, and the *demos*.¹¹³ Around the time of Nero, the stadium was constructed on the northern edge of the city but the dedicatory inscription does not survive.¹¹⁴ During the Flavian dynasty, the Civil Basilica was built on the southwest corner of the South Agora and dedicated in the Flavian period (Fig. 1.G).¹¹⁵ The dedicatory inscription from the basilica's architrave, while fragmentary, records a dedication to the emperor Titus made by Claudia Paulina, an Aphrodisian benefactress.¹¹⁶ The upper story of the Civil Basilica was decorated with relief panels—seventy-six—which included vegetal scenes, erotes at work, and figures associated with Greek and Aphrodisian mythology.¹¹⁷

Most of the 1st century CE monuments in the city center, however, were funded and dedicated by members of two Aphrodisian families, that of Eusebes and that of Diogenes. Eusebes, the son of Menandros, son of Eunikos, and his brother Eunikos dedicated an unidentified building in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite (Fig. 1.A) to divine Augustus.¹¹⁸ Additionally, a Flavian inscription refers to a Eusebian bath complex, which has been

¹¹³ Reynolds 1991. The dedications were made by Hermas who acted on behalf of his deceased foster-father (*I Aph 2007* 8.108, 111, 112, and 113).

¹¹⁴ Welch 1998.

¹¹⁵ For more on the architecture of this building, see Stinson 2008. For more on the dating of the basilica, see Yildirim 2000. The building was originally dated to the 3rd century CE based on the relief panels (Erim 1986, pp. 26-27, 99-101). Yildirim (2000 and 2004) convincingly re-dated these panels to the Flavian period.

¹¹⁶ *I Aph 2007* 6.2.

¹¹⁷ Yildirim 2000. These panels and the basilica are discussed in detail in Chapter Two. The Civil Basilica might have been the last major construction in Aphrodisias in the 1st century CE. Chaniotis (2008, no. 6) notes that a gymnasium of the *neoi* was constructed in the late 1st or early 2nd century CE, possibly in the vicinity of the North Agora.

¹¹⁸ *I Aph 2007* 1.102.

attributed to Eusebes and interpreted as a predecessor to the Hadrianic Baths, located at the west end of the South Agora (Fig. 1.F).¹¹⁹

The other major dedicatory family active in 1st century CE was that of Diogenes, the son of Menandros, the son of Diogenes. In the reign of Tiberius, the area between the North Agora and the Theater was enclosed and formalized by the construction of the Portico of Tiberius, which was dedicated by Diogenes, son of Menandros, to Aphrodite, the divine Augustus, Zeus Patroos, the emperor Tiberius, Julia Augusta, and the *demos* (Fig. 1.E).¹²⁰ Also in the reign of Tiberius, Diogenes' brother, Attalos dedicated at least two columns to Aphrodite and the *demos* the Temple of Aphrodite along with his wife, Attalis Apphion (Fig. 1.A).¹²¹ Attalis, who must have been younger than her husband, continued to make civic contributions into the Flavian period. When she died, funds from

¹¹⁹ A Flavian inscription (*I Aph2007* 5.6) recovered from the area of the Hadrianic Baths states that material was taken from a Eusebian Bath complex for a new bath construction, perhaps because of damage from an earthquake. Reynolds (1997, p. 399) argues that this was most likely the same Eusebes associated with the construction of the Sebasteion. Chaniotis (2008, p. 62) notes that these baths were most likely constructed during Tiberius' reign and damaged (or destroyed) in the earthquake of 41 CE. He also places the baths on the spot of the later Hadrianic Baths.

¹²⁰ *I Aph2007* 4.4. Reynolds 1980, p. 110, no. 6. A stoa was the second most common building type donated by local benefactors (Zuiderhoek 2009a, fig. 5.2). The interior of the colonnaded space was filled with an elongated pool, but the precise use of the space is unknown. The portico shares a back wall with the south side of the North Agora; they were most likely constructed at the same time (Smith 2013, p. 7). An architrave from this stoa also preserves the name Diogenes (Smith 2008b, n. 14). The inclusion of Zeus Patroos refers to a provincial (non-local) cult associated with Augustus and established by the Koinon of Asia in 14 CE (Buckler 1935; see also Reynolds 1980, no. 5). A statue at Aphrodisias was dedicated to Zeus Patroos, presumably depicting the deified Augustus (Smith et al. 2006 H3 and *I Aph 2007* 12.902).

¹²¹ *I Aph2007* 1.7, 1.8. Another three columns were dedicated to Aphrodite and the *demos* by another couple, Eumachos Diogenes and Amias Olympias (: *I Aph2007* 1.4, 1.5, 1.6), who have been described as members of a lower-ranking city among the Aphrodisian hierarchy of the 1st century CE (Reynolds 1999). Unlike the other contemporary inscriptions, the column dedications were not made to the *Sebasteoi*. For more on these inscriptions, see Reynolds 1990.

Attalis' estate provided resources for a statue of the Emperor Titus and a new bath complex, which replaced the Eusebian Baths on the site of the Hadrianic Baths (Fig. 1.F).¹²²

Multiple members and generations from both Eusebes' and Diogenes' family collaborated with the construction of, arguably, the most famous monument at Aphrodisias in the Julio-Claudian period: the Sebasteion, a unique and elaborately-decorated imperial cult complex (Fig. 1.D).¹²³ The complex consisted of four integrated structures: (1) an aedicular propylon on the west, facing onto the main north-south avenue of the city that ran from the temple to the theater; (2) a Corinthian cult temple on the eastern end; and (3-4) two three-story high stoas leading from the propylon to the temple, creating an unroofed processional hall. There were access points at both ends so that it could function both as a grand avenue that people used to reach the city center from the east and as a civic space for public gatherings.¹²⁴ The construction of the complex began in the reign of Tiberius and was completed in the reign of Nero.¹²⁵

¹²² Statue of Titus (*I Aph 2007* 12.614). Bath building: (*I Aph 2007* 5.6). Attalis Apphion was one of the most epigraphically-attested benefactors at Aphrodisias. In addition to her dedications, she served as *stephanephoros* multiple times (e.g. *I Aph 2007* 12.525, 13.203) and was awarded an honorific monument in the city (Appendix B.22).

¹²³ The most complete discussion of this monument was only recently published: Smith 2013. Inscriptions: *I Aph 2007* 9.1, 9.25, 9.112. The inscriptions are discussed by Reynolds (1980, 1981, and 1986). The architecture and decoration of the Sebasteion are discussed by Smith (1987, 1988, and 1990) and Smith and Lenaghan (2008); see also Kovulmaz 2008. Mitchell (1993, p. 216) notes that sanctuaries for the imperial cult began to be constructed in the cities of Asia Minor in the early years of the principate; see also, Price 1984.

¹²⁴ Smith (2013, p. 13) likens the plan to the forum of Julius Caesar in Rome and notes that the propylon did not function as a gate, in the sense of preventing access. Furthermore, the statue of Aphrodite that was displayed in the propylon was labeled as the ancestor of the Sebastoi (Προμήτορα θεῶν Σεβαστῶν) (*I Aph 2007* 9.34); this designation likens her to Venus Genetrix whose temple was the focus of the *Forum Julium* (Reynolds 1996b, p. 44). A contemporary statue (subject unknown) was dedicated by an imperial freedman to the divinity of the emperors, Aphrodite Genetrix (Ἀφροδίτη γενετείρα), the Senate and People of Rome, and the citizens of Aphrodisias (*I Aph 2007* 12.305).

¹²⁵ In his recent publication of the reliefs from the Sebasteion, Smith (2013, p. 7) suggests that one impetus for constructing such an elaborate monument to the emperors was anxiety stemming from the transition to a

Eusebes, together with another brother Menandros and Eusebes' wife, Apphia, dedicated the propylon and north portico to Aphrodite, the divine Sebastoi, and the *demos*.¹²⁶ The dedication notes that after damage was caused by an earthquake, Apphia, her daughter Tata and her grandsons Eusebes and Menandros paid to have the monument restored.¹²⁷ Thus, the construction project lasted over three generations of one family and six members were credited with the benefaction.¹²⁸ The south portico and the Imperial cult temple were dedicated by members of Diogenes' family. The inscription from the architrave of the South portico reads that Tiberius Claudius Diogenes restored what had been promised by his father, Diogenes, his uncle Attalos, and his uncle's wife, Attalis; it was dedicated to Aphrodite, divine Augusts, Tiberius Claudius Caesar, and the *demos*.¹²⁹ The fragmentary inscription from the front of the Temple records a dedication to the emperor Tiberius Claudius Caesar, son of divine Augustus, and to Julia Augusta, the new Demeter, by Attalis Apphion on behalf of her husband, Attalos.¹³⁰ While the different elements of the complex eventually came together as an integrated unit, the use of different craftsmen and construction techniques, as well as choices in iconography and the language

new emperor, since Aphrodisias' privileged position had been the result of the close relationship the city had with Augustus.

¹²⁶ North portico: *I Aph2007* 9.1. An unpublished inscription with almost identical text survives from the propylon.

¹²⁷ There was an earthquake at Aphrodisias during the reign of Claudius (ca. 41 CE) (Reynolds 1981).

¹²⁸ Smith 1987. The letters of the inscription were marked out with red paint (Smith and Lenaghan 2008).

¹²⁹ *I Aph2007* 9.25; Reynolds 1981, 317-327, no. 1. The inscription aggrandized the man who completed the work, Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, who was the first in his family to receive Roman citizenship. While speculative, it is possible that Tiberius Claudius Diogenes received Roman citizenship, in part because of his family's promotion of the emperor at Aphrodisias, especially with the construction of the imperial cult complex (Reynolds 1981).

¹³⁰ *I Aph2007* 9.112. Reynolds 1980, p. 79, no. 10 and 1986, p. 110. The inscription also mentions a temple (*naos*) and altar (*bomos*). An Aphrodisian woman, Ammia, was honored as the priestess of divine Julia, the new Demeter, in an inscription from the 1st century CE (Appendix B.21.ii)

of the inscriptions, suggest competition just as much as collaboration between these wealthy families.¹³¹

A large multi-purpose complex in the city center opposite the agoras, the Sebasteion was one of the most substantial constructions at Aphrodisias in the 1st century CE.¹³² In the 1st century BCE, the cult of Aphrodite and its sanctuary was advantageous for the Aphrodisian community because of the perceived importance of the goddess to Roman rulers, especially Julius Caesar and Augustus, and it contributed to Aphrodisias' receipt of autonomy in 39 BCE. The construction of the Sebasteion, a temple that celebrated the emperors alongside Aphrodisias' patron goddess, can be seen as a celebration of Aphrodisias' continued place of privilege in the new political regime.¹³³ In fact, the complex might have been motivated by Tiberius' confirmation of the city's status shortly

¹³¹ Rockwell (1990) discusses the different techniques applied to the relief panels and identifies different workshops used for each portico. Different construction methods for the separate buildings have been identified in the current *anastylosis* project undertaken at the site and are awaiting publication; see Smith 2013, pp. 24-40.

¹³² Most of the constructions in the 1st century CE added to previously existing monuments, such as renovations to the theater or columns to the Temple of Aphrodite. Other primarily formalized already existing public spaces, such as the Portico of Tiberius. The Eusebian Baths (and their successor), Stadium, and the Civil Basilica were all constructed during this time, but the alignments of all these structures followed the city's grid plan. The Sebasteion, on the other hand, was not aligned with the city's grid, presumably because it was constructed over what seems to have been previously private, residential property (Smith 1987). Moreover, it was the introduction of a previously unattested cult into the city. Zuiderhoek (2009a, pp. 81-82) discusses the particular favoritism of elites for the dedication of religious structures because the recurring rituals that those spaces housed motivated a sense of unity and served as a continued reminder of the benefactors' contributions.

¹³³ Smith (2013, p. 9) argues that "In the years between 39 BCE and 14 CE, the local elite thoroughly internalized their position within the Augustan new order, and the Sebasteion was their response to the confident realization that this beneficent new order would endure." Price (1984) stresses that the creation of imperial cult temples were "organic local responses" to imperial authorities and the new political situation in which these communities found themselves, one that allowed for and even encouraged competition among elites and *poleis*.

after Augustus' death.¹³⁴ Situated at the midpoint of the processional route in the city, between the Temple of Aphrodite and the theater, the Sebasteion could have usurped some of the ritual importance of the original sanctuary. If the sanctuary of Aphrodite served as the center of the original foundation of the city, then the families that constructed the Sebasteion might have been motivated to construct a new (or alternative) civic space, one which was much more directly tied to the imperial household.

The integration of imperial concerns with Aphrodisian interests also was represented visually in the rich iconographic program of the Sebasteion. Each portico of the complex had two stories of relief panels with forty-five panels per level (for a total of 180 panels).¹³⁵ Each register of panels had an overall theme with imperial imagery above mythological scenes on the south portico and images of allegories above peoples of empire on the north portico. R.R.R. Smith, the primary publisher of the reliefs, argues that the south portico presented an idea that the Julio-Claudian emperors were the natural continuation of Greek myth and history.¹³⁶ On the lower story, scenes from Greek myth were presented while the panels closest to the temple were associated with the founding of

¹³⁴ Smith 2013, p. 7. Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.60) mentions that Tiberius conducted an asylum review in 22 CE and that Aphrodisias' status was preserved along with that of Ephesos and Magnesia on the Maeander, but Smyrna and Sardis had their rights revoked.

¹³⁵ For the publication of these reliefs, see now Smith 2013. Smith (1988) has determined that approximately 75% of the reliefs from the South portico and about 10% of those from the north survive. Most of the Sebasteion reliefs are on display in the on-site museum; see Kovulmaz 2008.

¹³⁶ In terms of Greek myth, there were also multiple depictions of Aphrodite and scenes of 'love' featured in the panels, which visually linked the complex to the city and its patron goddess who was jointly worshipped with the emperors in this space. A city's patron deity was a crucial symbol for the collective representation of the community (e.g. the cult of Artemis at Ephesos and Perge or the cult of Apollo at Hierapolis).

Aphrodisias and the founding of Rome.¹³⁷ The scenes on the upper story progress toward images of imperial victory, such as Claudius conquering Britain; this configuration visually acknowledged the fortunate position of the Greek world under Roman imperial rule and the close relationship of Aphrodisias and Rome's origins and emperors.¹³⁸ At the same time, the relief registers of allegories and provinces from the north portico spoke to the idea of empire without end and Roman rule on both land and sea.¹³⁹

Overall, the Sebasteion can be interpreted as a structural and visual representation of the balance between not only local autonomy and Roman favor discussed in the introduction, but also the importance of Hellenic culture and local traditions.¹⁴⁰ The complex was the product of two local families that had helped outfit much of the monumental center and it was dedicated to the civic deity and the *demos* as well as to the emperors. The propylon was populated with honorific statues of the imperial household and the relief panels depicted emperors alongside images of Aphrodite (both her local cult statue and Hellenistic representations), as well as images from Greek and local mythology that would have been familiar and easily identifiable to a local audience.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ The panels of the south portico that were closest to the temple depicted scenes such as Aeneas' escape from Troy and his arrival in Italy, as well as an image of the three Graces, which was also a scene on the tunic of Aphrodite's cult statue, and Ninos, a legendary founder of Aphrodisias, making a sacrifice (Smith 2013). For Ninos as a founder of Aphrodisias, see Yıldırım 2000, pp. 143-175 and the discussion in the next chapter.

¹³⁸ Smith 2013; see also, Smith 1988 and 1990.

¹³⁹ Smith 2013; see also, Smith 1987.

¹⁴⁰ This is particularly the case through the inclusion of popular Greek myths as well as the Hellenized representation of Aphrodite, which was a departure from the Anatolian style of her local cult statue (Brody 2007).

¹⁴¹ The local cult statue of Aphrodite was archaizing in style and reflected the ancient, Anatolian origins of the cult (Brody 2007). In the reliefs with Aeneas and Anchises, however, Aphrodite was depicted as a traditional Hellenistic goddess (Smith 1990).

This brief summary has provided an overview of the earliest known monuments in the city that stood alongside the honorific statues. Two significant points should be stressed from this summary. First, the complete monumentalization of the city was accomplished by a handful of families. On each of the dedications, the local benefactor insured that his or her contribution would be recognized by the populace through a dedicatory inscription.¹⁴² The benefactor was memorialized because, as discussed in the introduction, such acts of euergetism stemmed from an elite's need to legitimize a position of status and wealth to the community as well as from his or her competitive desire to distinguish the importance and hierarchies among the elite.¹⁴³ Even in the buildings that were arguably collaborative projects, such as the Temple of Aphrodite or the Sebasteion, the contributions of each family were articulated in the dedication. Second, the summary identified some of the ways that Rome was physically brought into the local civic landscape—through dedications of major buildings to the emperor, the construction of Roman-inspired buildings, and the creation of an entire complex dedicated to the imperial authorities, filled with images of the emperors, and displaying statues of members of the imperial household in an aedicular façade on the main avenue of the city.¹⁴⁴ These direct references to Rome,

¹⁴² Regarding the private dedications of nymphaea in the provinces, B. Longfellow (2011, p. 62) writes: “Such projects provided enduring reminders of their deeds and generosity, thereby integrating their memory into the collective communal identity.”

¹⁴³ Zuiderhoek 2009a.

¹⁴⁴ Chaniotis (2002) explores other ways that imperial control influenced civic life, such as naming a month *Kaisaros*, starting the year on Augustus' birthday, or having a tribe called *Rhomaioi*. There were also new priesthoods created for worship of the emperor, both generic (i.e. priest or priestess of the Sebastoi) and specific, such as Diogenes, priest of Claudius and Dionysos (*Laph 2007* 12.515); see also, Reynolds 1980, 1981, and 1986.

however, were still embedded into a local framework, which preserved and celebrated the privileged status of the city under Roman rule.

THE HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE 1ST CENTURIES BCE AND CE

It was not long after the construction of these buildings that their spaces and many others in the cities were filled with honorific monuments for local benefactors. While too few honorific inscriptions survive from the Hellenistic and Augustan periods to draw any broad conclusions, the evidence from the second half of the 1st century CE suggests that local benefactors were divided between two contrasting strategies of self-fashioning.¹⁴⁵ One group of individuals chose to emphasize their ties to Rome, some of whom were members of the families responsible for the monumentalization of the city. Another group of individuals stressed their ancestral background and its significance to the local community.

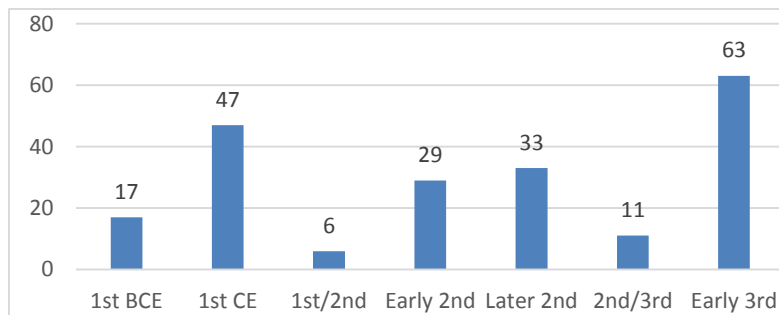


Illustration 1: Distribution of honorific inscriptions recovered from Aphrodisias according to date.

¹⁴⁵ The low number of honorific inscriptions from the earlier period might be a result of the accident of survival, or, more likely, it might be a consequence of the late foundation date of the city and the fact that it did not seem to have a monumental center until the Augustan period. Ma (2013a, pp. 67-110) notes the necessity of an outfitted public space with monumental accoutrements not only to function as the proper backdrop for these statues but also to help foster the competitive and euergetic atmosphere which encouraged the production of these statues.

Of the honorific inscriptions for local benefactors catalogued for this dissertation, seventeen texts date to the 1st century BCE and forty-seven to the 1st century CE, most from the second half of the century.¹⁴⁶ The nature of the Hellenistic honorific inscriptions—the inconsistencies in form, grammar, and language—indicate that the city had yet to fully codify its honorific practices.¹⁴⁷ One recurring theme in the early honorific texts was praise of military accomplishments.¹⁴⁸ Solon, son of Demetrius, was honored for his services as a general and for his role in securing the rights of freedom of Aphrodisias from Rome.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, Kallikrates son of Pythodoris was honored for his military victories. He was granted at least three honorific monuments, which record (in addition to his military achievement) that he served as an ambassador to Rome, provided grain in times of famine, and held numerous offices and liturgies in the city.¹⁵⁰ For his services to the community, he received burial in the gymnasium, the highest honor a benefactor could receive and one awarded to possibly only two other Aphrodisians.¹⁵¹ Like Solon, Kallikrates most likely

¹⁴⁶ For a discussion on the dating of these inscriptions, see Appendix A. Eleven texts date before the reign of Augustus (Appendix B.1 and 9-14). Six inscriptions can be dated securely in the reign of Augustus (Appendix B.2 and 15-18), leaving forty-seven inscriptions recovered from the 1st century CE. In addition to these texts, there are six honorific inscriptions that can be dated no more securely than the 1st or 2nd centuries CE (Appendix B.49-53).

¹⁴⁷ In contrast to the later standardized formula outlined in the introduction, the Hellenistic inscriptions included a lengthy decree issued by the Koinon of Greeks of Asia for two Aphrodisians ambassadors sent to Rome (Appendix B.11.i-ii), a husband and wife honored by the *boule* and the *demos* with no additional information beyond their filiation (Appendix B.12.i-ii), a man, Epaneitos, who received a public burial from the *boule* and *demos* (Appendix B.14), and a man, Agroitas, from Gordiouteichos, a neighboring community, honored by the *demos* of Plyareis (another neighboring community) (Appendix B.10). Agroitas' inscription is most likely the oldest surviving honorific inscription from Aphrodisias and it dates to the late 2nd century BCE.

¹⁴⁸ Military praise was a common feature in honorific inscriptions of the Hellenistic period (Ma 2013b).

¹⁴⁹ Appendix B.13. The opening lines of this inscription are missing, but Reynolds (1982, doc. 41) has associated the honors with a Solon, son of Demetrius mentioned in a number of letters from Roman authorities to the city, as he served as an ambassador to Rome from Aphrodisias and worked to secure her rights (*I Aph 2007* 8.25, 8.27, and 8.31); see also, Smith 2013, p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Appendix B.9.A-C. The first lines for all three inscriptions do not survive, but have been associated with Kallikrates because of his dedications of Nike (see below). For the association of these three inscription with Kallikrates, see Reynolds 1982, docs. 28-32.

¹⁵¹ The two other Aphrodisians were Adrastos and Tatia Attalis, whose intramural burial are discussed in the following chapter. Gaius Julius Zoilos, another Aphrodisian, might have also received an intramural

helped to secure Aphrodisias' privileged status from the Roman Senate; not only did he fight in the war against Labienus, but he also erected statues of Victory to honor Caesar (it is unclear if this is Julius or Octavian), and he served as priest of Dea Roma.¹⁵² While no honorific portraiture has been recovered from Hellenistic Aphrodisias, one of the earliest 1st century CE portraits was of an elderly man wearing a Hellenistic style military cuirass (Fig. 2).¹⁵³ Although he has not been associated with Solon or Kallikrates, he provides a close visual analog to their honorific portraits.¹⁵⁴

The most extensive of the surviving honorific inscriptions was issued for Hermogenes Theodotos, son of Hephaistion, whose posthumous honorific inscription dates to the mid-1st century BCE.¹⁵⁵ The inscription includes an extensive list of Hermogenes'

burial; this possibility is discussed below. In his survey of cultic honors issued to benefactors in the Hellenistic period, Strubbe (2004) notes that the receipt of freedom from Roman authorities was a primary reason for grants of intramural burial at this time. Gaius Julius Epikrates, from Miletos fought against Labienus and was later part of the embassy that obtained autonomy for the city; he was granted an intramural burial (*Milet VI* 1, 159); see also, Robert 1966, p. 422. The location of the burial in the gymnasium was probably also a result of Kallikrates' service as a gymnasiarch during military struggles. Hellenistic gymnasia were principal sites for military training, particularly for the young men, and thus served as an appropriate place for the burial of successful Hellenistic military commander (Chaniotis 2008, no. 6). For more on the role of the Hellenistic gymnasium in military training, see Kah 2004. The practice and significance of intramural burials is discussed more in Chapter Two.

¹⁵² For his participation in the war, see Reynolds 1982, docs. 28-32. For the statues of victory, see *I Aph 2007* 11.301 and 13.116; see also, the discussion in Reynolds 1982, pp. 150-156 and 1980, pp. 71-73. For a discussion on the identity of the Caesar mentioned, see Reynolds 1981, pp. 42-43.

¹⁵³ Hallett 1998 and Smith et al. 2006, no. 14. This statue was found buried to the area east of the Bouleuterion with three other portrait statues and is considered to be part of a family group representing three generations of Aphrodisian benefactors from the 1st century CE. The statue group is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

¹⁵⁴ Of the costume choices for Aphrodisian benefactors (nudity, toga, himation, and cuirass), the cuirass is by far the least prevalent. There are ten other examples of cuirass statues from the first three centuries CE at Aphrodisias (Smith et al 2006, nos. 15-24); most of these are quite fragmentary. One identifiable cuirassed statue was recovered from the Agora Gate and depicts Antoninus Pius (no. 17).

¹⁵⁵ Appendix B.1. For a discussion of this text and its significance, see Chaniotis 2004, pp. 378-386. Posthumous inscriptions were not unusual at Aphrodisias or in other cities, especially since the honorific monument was one of the highest honors a benefactor could receive and often celebrated a lifetime of civic contribution (Smith et al. 2006, p. 26).

virtues and honorific titles, such as κτίστης and εὐεργέτης.¹⁵⁶ It also documents that Hermogenes undertook the liturgy of *stephanephoros* at Aphrodisias and provided dedications within the city.¹⁵⁷ He also went on embassies to Rome and was successful because of the relationship (γνώσις) he had established with the authorities.¹⁵⁸ For all of his services, he received a civic crown along with his posthumous honorific monument.

A notable aspect of Hermogenes' honorific is the attention paid to his family in the first few lines of the text, particularly his identification as one of the first and most illustrious citizens (τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτων πολειτῶν) and his descent from ancestors who were “the greatest and among those who built together the community” (προγόνων ὑπαρχόντων τῶν μεγίστων καὶ συνεκτικῶν τὸν δῆμον).¹⁵⁹ These descriptors alluded to Hermogenes' membership in what was a socially-recognized (but perhaps not formally-defined) group of families.¹⁶⁰ Hermogenes was the first Aphrodisian to be described with the title of συνεκτικῶς or to have references to his ancestors, beyond a patronymic, included in his honorific inscription.¹⁶¹ Ancestral references might also be suggested by the presence of his second name, Theodotos. The presence of a second name was common among the elite at Aphrodisias; members of the same family usually used the same second

¹⁵⁶ Chaniotis (2008, p. 383) argues that κτίστης here should not be translated as ‘founder’ as is sometimes the connotation, but rather as a title for someone who “excelled in building activities.” See also, Follett 1992; Erklenz 2002. The significance of this term is discussed at length in the following chapter.

¹⁵⁷ This is one of the few inscriptions that mentions, albeit vaguely, building activities of the honorand.

¹⁵⁸ Chaniotis (2004, p. 384) notes that the embassy might have concerned taxation or the free status of the *polis*.

¹⁵⁹ Translation by Chaniotis 2004, p. 379. His ancestors were further described as virtuous and having made many promises to the fatherland.

¹⁶⁰ References to “first” families were included in the Aphrodisian inscriptions through the 3rd century CE. The title suggests that social status was hereditary and associated with certain families; being a member of these families meant that an individual was expected to behave as his or her forefathers through benefactions and political participation (Chaniotis 2004, p. 381). For the development of these families in the Hellenistic period, see Quass 1993.

¹⁶¹ The full implications of the συνεκτικότης title are laid out in the following section of this chapter.

name over generations, which suggests that it was a signifier of lineage, similar to the *nomen* in Roman onomastic practices.¹⁶²

In the detailed inscription for Hermogenes, almost every category of honor is represented: family background, numerous virtues, civic offices, and Roman connections. The inclusion of all these traits was seldom replicated in the body of surviving inscriptions from later periods, nor were specific details like those in the Kallikrates' texts. It is possible that such exhaustive biographies were constructed for these benefactors because the practice of issuing public honors was new to the city and thus there was a greater need to justify the worthiness of the honorand.

After Aphrodisias achieved its free status from Roman authorities, the honorifics began to take on a more formulaic character in terms of the reasons for being honored and the language used for honoring.¹⁶³ Most of the recipients of public honors were local Aphrodisian benefactors.¹⁶⁴ One of the most famous Aphrodisian benefactors was Gaius Julius Zoilos, who received two honorific monuments from the city in the early years of Augustus' reign, one displayed in the theater and a second recovered from the Hadrianic Baths.¹⁶⁵ Neither of the honorary inscriptions, however, provided the biographical details mentioned in Hermogenes' inscription nor did they mention any of his architectural contributions to the city. The inscription from the Hadrianic Baths read: "Gaius Julius Zoilos, priest for life of Aphrodite and Eleutheria," while the inscription from the theater

¹⁶² The use of second names at Aphrodisias is studied extensively in Chaniotis 2014. Chaniotis notes the prevalence of this practice in the inscriptions from Roman Asia Minor and its similarities to the Roman practice, but states that any specific relationship between the two practices has yet to be established.

¹⁶³ For example, successes in military action were no longer included in the honors.

¹⁶⁴ Three Aphrodisians received honors during Augustus' reign: Pereitas, son of Adrastos, a priest of Ares (Appendix B.16), Artemidoros, son of Apollonios, son of Pereitas, a former *stephanephoros* (Appendix B.17), and Sokrates, son of Theophrastos (Appendix B.18). All three provide at least a patronymic.

¹⁶⁵ Theater: Appendix B.15A. Hadrianic Baths: Appendix B.15B; Smith (2007, p. 209) argues that this statue was moved into the bath complex during one of the Late Antique renovations; originally, it was erected elsewhere in the city, perhaps around the area of the *bouleuterion* or in the sanctuary of Aphrodite.

only included his name.¹⁶⁶ The limited biographical information has been interpreted by R.R.R. Smith as a reflection of the prominence of Zoilos and his contributions: he was so well known that specificity was not needed.¹⁶⁷ An elaborate funeral memorial was constructed for Zoilos, but it is unclear whether or not this was an intramural tomb, since its original location is unknown.¹⁶⁸ The surviving relief panels that encircled the monument depicted at least three images of Zoilos in different costumes—toga, civic himation, and the long cloak of a traveler (perhaps returning from an embassy of Rome).¹⁶⁹

A portrait head recovered from the theater dates to the Late Republican period and has cautiously been identified as the honorific statue of Zoilos.¹⁷⁰ The over life-size portrait wears a toga that has been pulled over his head (*capite velato*) to signify his religious role; the face has noticeably Caesarian features.¹⁷¹ All of these choices, together with its location in the theater—a building that Zoilos helped construct and which housed his honorific inscription—encourage an identification of the statue as that of the imperial freedman.¹⁷² The bare honorific inscription for Zoilos in the theater consists only of his

¹⁶⁶ The lack of a patronymic was not uncommon in Roman onomastic practice (McLean 2011) although Zoilos' lack of a patronymic could equally be a result of his freedman status. The other Hellenistic inscriptions (for non-Roman citizens) all provided patronymics, except for the four inscriptions, whose introductory lines do not survive (those for Kallikrates and Solon).

¹⁶⁷ Smith et al. 2006, pp. 21-22.

¹⁶⁸ Comparative evidence suggests that Zoilos would have received an intramural burial at Aphrodisias because he was instrumental in the city's receipt of autonomy. A number of benefactors credited with the same accomplishment received intramural burials from their cities (Strubbe 2004). For examples, Gnaeus Pompeius Theophanes, from Mytilene, who served as priest of Zeus Eleutherios, received an intramural burial after he obtained freedom for his native city from Pompey (*IGR* 4, 55b; see Strubbe 2004, p. 324).

¹⁶⁹ The reliefs and entire structure are discussed in Smith 1993. All three representations were depicted next to each other on one side of the monument. Each costumed representation of Zoilos symbolized different aspects of his identity in relation to the community: a possessor of Roman citizenship, a local magistrate and priest, and an ambassador to Rome.

¹⁷⁰ Smith et al. 2006, no. 1.

¹⁷¹ While Smith et al. (2006, p. 103) remark that no other portrait from Asia Minor—Aphrodisias or elsewhere—demonstrate such “Caesarian” features, it does not match any known portrait of the Roman triumvir and so was most likely a portrait of an Aphrodisian with close ties to the Caesarian household (i.e. Zoilos). There were also very few togate statues recovered from Aphrodisias. Twelve others have been recovered, two of which have been linked with imperial family members (Smith et al 2006, nos. 2-13).

¹⁷² Smith et al. 2006, p. 104.

name, advertising only his possession of Roman citizenship and membership in that imperial community, which was reiterated through his sculpture by means of the stylized portraiture and the toga.¹⁷³

Besides a few visiting (non-Aphrodisian) Roman magistrates who received honorific monuments, Gaius Julius Zoilos was the first Aphrodisian to have Roman citizenship. Another recipient is not to be found in the epigraphic record until the mid-1st century CE.¹⁷⁴ Zoilos' heavily Romanized presentation not only celebrated his present allegiances and connections, but also reflected his social background as an imperial freedman without an aristocratic pedigree. This representation was set up in the theater that he helped to construct and which prominently displayed his dedicatory inscription.¹⁷⁵

One important honorand who was awarded a monument during the reign of Augustus was Artemon, the son of Andron.¹⁷⁶ He was not praised for holding any magistracies or liturgies; rather, he was honored for being a good and noble man who loved his country in the tradition of his ancestors. Likewise, his ancestors were praised for being good and noble, for providing numerous benefactions to the fatherland, and for being 'co-

¹⁷³ Another togate statue, also recovered from the theater, dates to around the mid-1st century CE (Smith et al. 2006, no. 2). This statue of a young benefactor might have represented Zoilos' son or another Aphrodisian with Roman citizenship, such as Tiberius Claudius Diogenes (discussed below). The rest of the togate statues have been dated in the 2nd century CE, which coincides with the increasing distribution of Roman citizenship among the Aphrodisian elite, discussed in Chapter Four. The Romanness of Zoilos' honorific monument would have been further stressed by the honor being issued solely by the *demos*, which was primarily used to honor emperors and Roman magistrates at Aphrodisias. Most local benefactors were honored by some combination of the *boule* and *demos* or other organizations, such as the *neoi*. Only eight of the 206 instances of honor from this dissertation were issued by the *demos*.

¹⁷⁴ Three Roman magistrates were honored in the reign of Augustus. Marcus and Publius Vinicius were proconsuls in 12-10 BCE and 2 CE, respectively. Their inscribed statue bases were recovered from the North stoa near the *bouleuterion* and both were named *euergetes* (*I Aph 2007* 3.101). Sextus Appuleius was proconsul in the Augustan period and his base was reused in the city walls (*I Aph 2007* 12.301). All honors were issued by the *demos*. There was also one recovered imperial statue base from this period, for Augustus the son of divine Julius, which dates to the Augustan period and was found near the *bouleuterion* (Smith et al. 2006, H1).

¹⁷⁵ This dedication was preserved on the stage front after the theater underwent renovations in the 2nd century CE. The renovations are discussed in Chapter Four.

¹⁷⁶ Appendix B.2.

founding' (συνεκτικότες) members of the *demos*. He was awarded a gold crown along with his honorific monument. No surviving portrait sculpture has been associated with this inscription, but since the majority of honorific statuary at Aphrodisias were presented in the civic himation, it is likely that Artemon was presented in this traditional *polis* costume.¹⁷⁷

The choices made in Artemon's honorific inscription—the emphasis on his aristocratic pedigree and the virtues that were associated with good birth—contrast sharply with those made for Zoilos in his theater inscription.¹⁷⁸ While in the mid-1st century BCE benefactors such as Hermogenes and Kallikrates included combinations of identifying features that justified their position of prestige, the honorific inscriptions from the 1st century CE that followed Zoilos and Artemon indicate a growing divide in choices of representation between an emphasis on Roman connections and stress on ancestral background, especially descent from “co-founding” families. The evidence from honorific inscriptions at this early date is limited, however, and it is not until the late 1st century CE, which yields many more surviving inscriptions, that these contrasting choices can be examined fully.

In total, forty-seven inscriptions date to the 1st century CE, but the majority of these were produced in the last fifty years of the century. The recipients of honors included local male and female benefactors, and at least one athlete.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Smith et al 2006, p. 37, nos. 41-79 (statues) and 127-136 (busts). The himation with chiton was considered the standard dress of the Greek citizen from the early Hellenistic period and reflected one's “hellenicity” (cf. Dio *Or.* 39.3); see also, Zanker 1988, pp. 212-230.

¹⁷⁸ For a discussion on the association between virtues and good birth, see Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 122-127; see also, Lafond 2006.

¹⁷⁹ The 1st century CE inscriptions are found in Appendix B.3-8 and 19-48. The athlete was Adrastos, son of Adrastos (Appendix B.24), who received an honorific monument at the end of the 1st century CE for being a “sacred victor.” The significance of honors for athletes is discussed in Chapter Three.

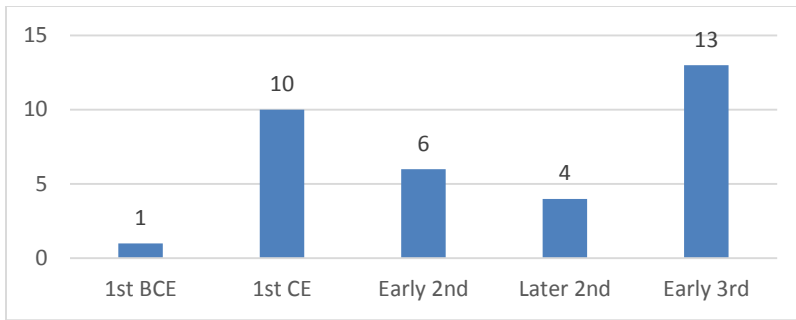


Illustration 2: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for female honorands at Aphrodisias according to date.

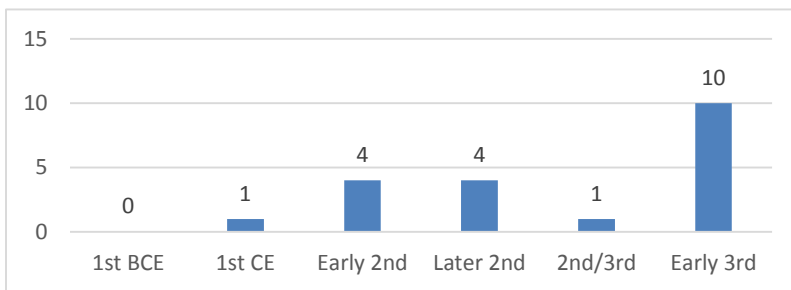


Illustration 3: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for athletes/performers at Aphrodisias according to date.

Statues of these local honorands were in addition to the twenty-two honorific statues issued for the emperor and his family at Aphrodisias, over half of which (at least thirteen) were displayed in the propylon of the Sebasteion.¹⁸⁰ Of the local benefactors, ten were female, almost all of whom were honored alongside their husbands, fathers, or sons.¹⁸¹ They were generally praised for their virtuous character (typically σωφροσύνη);

¹⁸⁰ The imperial statues are catalogued in Smith et al. 2006 (H2-H23); at least thirteen of these statues were from the Sebasteion. This is the highest concentration of imperial honors and reflects the close relationship between the Aphrodisians and the Julio-Claudian household (Smith et al. 2006, p. 5).

¹⁸¹ Antonia Flaviane (Appendix B.44.ii), Ammia (Appendix B.6), and a woman whose name does not survive (Appendix B.23.iii) were honored with their husbands. Neaira Ammia was honored with her son (Appendix B.20.i). Tata (Appendix B.5.ii) was honored with her father and husband. Apphia (Appendix B.3.iii) was honored with her husband and her daughter, also named Apphia (Appendix B.3.ii) and Ammia (Appendix B.21.ii) was honored with her husband and son. Out of the six inscriptions that date to either of the 1st or 2nd centuries CE, three women were honored: Claudia Tryphosa Paulina was honored by her parents as a youth who died prematurely (Appendix B.49), Flavia Pythodoris was honored with her

some held local priesthoods, and one, Tata, served as contest-president.¹⁸² Of note is the honorific inscription for Attalis Apphion, daughter of Menekrates, who donated columns to the Temple of Aphrodite, contributed to the Sebasteion (both acts with her husband), and left funds from her estate for the dedication of a statue of Titus and the construction of a new bath complex.¹⁸³ Her inscription gives minimal details, which is reminiscent of Zoilos' honorific from the Hadrianic Baths, simply listing the name of her father and grandfather (Andron) and mentioning that she served as high priestess and priestess, presumably for the cult of the Sebastoi and the cult of Aphrodite, respectively.¹⁸⁴

The honorific inscriptions for the male benefactors demonstrate a greater variety in the reasons for receiving honor. In addition to their virtuous character, these men served as *stephanephoroi*, gymnasiarchs, contest-presidents, local priests, and ambassadors to Rome.¹⁸⁵ Most of these honors were issued by the *boule* and the *demos* and the commission of six monuments was overseen by family members or spouses.¹⁸⁶ The most common

husband (Appendix B.50.ii), and Apphia by her husband (Appendix B.51). For more on the public role of women in cities of Asia Minor in the Roman period, see van Bremen 1996.

¹⁸² Smith et al. (2006, p. 36) state that the range of costume choices available for female honorific portraiture was much more varied in comparison to the limited number of qualities and virtues attributed to them in the inscriptions; for the surviving portraiture, Smith et al. 2006, pp. 194-196 and nos. 80-108. The priesthoods included the cult of the Sebastoi and a cult of Artemis; for example, see the honorific inscription for Apphia (Appendix B.19). Smith et al. (2006, p. 26) note that religious office was the primary public role for women at Aphrodisias. For Tata's inscription, see Appendix B.5.ii. Her text is discussed in full in the following section.

¹⁸³ For these dedications, see the discussion in the previous section and Table 2.

¹⁸⁴ Appendix B.22. For the identification of her priesthoods with these cults, see Reynolds 1981, p. 320. She did not include her role as *stephanephoros*, an office she held on multiple occasions, nor her construction contributions. In Zoilos' inscription from the baths, he was listed as priest of Aphrodite and Eleutheria (Appendix B.15B)

¹⁸⁵ For example, Dionysios, the son of Papylos, the son of Papylos, was praised as a priest of Zeus Nineudios as well as priest of the Sebastoi, contest-president, ambassador, leader of the *ephebes*, and secretary; this was in addition to his own virtues and the virtues of his ancestors (*προγόνων ὑπάρχων καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν*) (Appendix B.28). For the remainder of 1st century CE honorific inscriptions not explicitly discussed in this chapter, see Appendix B.19-48.

¹⁸⁶ In the 1st century CE, the *boule* and *demos* issued honors in 77% of the surviving inscriptions, nineteen times on their own and seventeen times in conjunction with the *gerousia* or the *neoi* or both. Four inscriptions were issued only by the *demos*; one was issued only the *neoi*, and the honoring bodies do not survive on six of them. The overseer of a monument was included in the last lines of the inscription in

costume choice for the portraiture of benefactors, at Aphrodisias and in other cities of Roman Asia Minor, was the chiton-himation, which was considered the traditional *polis* costume.¹⁸⁷ Among the male honorands were four young boys or youths who had died prematurely, but were members of wealthy Aphrodisian families.¹⁸⁸

Although none of the inscriptions mentions building activities, four of the individuals responsible for the monumentalization of the city did receive honorific monuments (in addition to the honorific inscription for Attalis Apphion). Eusebes, one of the contributors to the Sebasteion, was honored in a minimalist style as Eusebes *Philopatris*, son of Menandros, son of Eunikos.¹⁸⁹ The honorific inscription for Diogenes, the benefactor of the Portico of Tiberius, was more detailed.¹⁹⁰ He was honored as Diogenes, son of Menandros, son of Diogenes, priest of Aphrodite, *securitas* of the

what is referred to as the ἀνάστασις clause (Smith et al. 2006, p. 27). The following inscriptions were overseen by family members: Appendix B.4 (his mother), 6 (her husband), 27 (his foster-son), 39 (his brother), 44.i (his daughter), and 48 (his mother). Four inscriptions record overseers of a different nature: Appendix B.33 (by a friend), 36 (a person of unclear relation), 37 (according to his will), and 44.ii (the honorand paid for her own monument). The remaining thirty-seven inscriptions either did not have ἀνάστασις clauses or they do not survive. The significance of these clauses, particularly when non-related individuals were involved, is discussed in Chapter Four.

¹⁸⁷ Smith et al. 2006 and Smith 1998. Unfortunately, the display contexts of these monuments cannot be discerned. Although most of the surviving copies were recovered from the area of the *bouleuterion* and the theater, this is more a reflection of the nature of survival than a representation of original display context (Smith et al. 2006). Based on comparisons with other cities where more statue bases remained *in situ*, these statues would have been displayed in the stoas of the agoras, the palaestra of the bath complexes, around the sanctuary of Aphrodite, along the main avenue, and on the stage front of the theater and *bouleuterion* (cf. the distribution of honorific monuments at Termessos, van Nijf 2011).

¹⁸⁸ These types of honors are referred to as consolation decrees and are discussed in detail in Chapter Three. For the 1st century CE inscriptions, see Appendix B.4 (Aristokles Molossos), 21.iii (Phanias), 31 (Attalos), and 48 (Titus Lysimachos Grypos). The honorific inscriptions for children and youths even if consolation decrees, were represented with portrait sculptures as well. A few statuary pieces of young boys survive at Aphrodisias; the best example is the young boy and naked youth from the East *bouleuterion* group (discussed below). For more on their representation, see Smith et al. 2006, pp. 36-38.

¹⁸⁹ Appendix B.25. While *Philopatris* has the appearance of a virtue commonly attributed to Aphrodisian honorands, Chaniotis (2014, pp. 219-220) suggests that it was actually a second name (like Hermogenes Theodotos) that was derived from an honorific title, especially since he was listed as Eusebes *Philopatris* in both of his dedicatory inscriptions (*I Aph* 2007 1.102 and 9.1).

¹⁹⁰ Appendix B.26.

Sebastoi, gymnasiarch, *stephanephoros*, and priest of the Sebastoi; he also sponsored feasts for the people.¹⁹¹

Diogenes' son and co-contributor to the Sebasteion, Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, also received an honorific monument.¹⁹² His inscription was carved onto the *scaenae frons* of the theater in the mid- to late-1st century CE.¹⁹³ The text read that he was honored (without a patronymic) as high priest of Asia, Sebastophant, contest-president, a just benefactor, a lover of his country and its citizens (φιλάνθρωπον φιλοπολείτην), *nomothetes* and gymnasiarch. The inscription for Diogenes has some fairly anomalous features when compared to the other Aphrodisian honorific texts. He was the first Aphrodisian to serve as high priest of Asia.¹⁹⁴ The office of Sebastophant might also have been a provincial post related to the emperors since it was not otherwise attested at Aphrodisias.¹⁹⁵ In addition to these provincial posts, his local contributions are also included. The office of *nomothetes*, which most likely related to overseeing changes to the city's constitution, was

¹⁹¹ The precise nature of the office (or title) of *securitas* of the Sebastoi (Θεῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀμεριμνίας) is unknown. Diogenes was the only Aphrodisian to have this title. The phrase first appears on coins during the reign of Claudius and could refer to an official provincial post or simply be a local signifier of imperial loyalty, like *philokaisar* used by Eumachos in his column dedication (*I Aph* 2007 1.4) (Reynolds 1996b).

¹⁹² Appendix B.48.

¹⁹³ Smith et al. (2006, p. 55) argue against the association between this honorific inscription and the dedicator of the Sebasteion because of the location of the inscription on the *logeion*, which was renovated in the mid-2nd century CE. Smith et al. contend instead that the stage front inscription was for a homonymous descendant of the Sebasteion benefactor, who was himself honored by a different inscription recovered from the theater. This unpublished statue base was inscribed for a Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, a good and noble man (Smith et al. 2006, H88). Both Reynolds (1981, p. 321) and Bourtzinakou (2011) place the stage front (and published) inscription in the 1st century CE. For this dissertation, it has retained its initial 1st century CE dating and its association with the benefactor of the Sebasteion primarily because of the inclusion of the *philopoleites* attribute, which only appears in two other inscriptions, both of which date to around the 3rd quarter of the 1st century CE and one of the instances is Tiberius Claudius Diogenes' dedication of the Sebasteion (see below, note 101).

¹⁹⁴ This was a required liturgy for most cities in Asia, but it was entered into voluntarily by Aphrodisians due to the exempt status of their city. For more on the office of the high priest of Asia, see Friesen 1999.

¹⁹⁵ Reynolds 1981, p. 321. It was referenced in Bithynia/Pontus in 1st century CE inscriptions (e.g. *IGR IV* 643) and at Ephesos in the 2nd century CE (*IE* 2061).

held by only one or two other Aphrodisians.¹⁹⁶ While the virtue of *philopatriis* was commonly attributed to honorands, the quality of *philopoleites* was much more restricted in its distribution. It appears in only two other surviving inscriptions: (1) describing Tiberius Claudius Diogenes in his dedication of the Sebasteion's South Portico and (2) describing Adrastos Hierax in the honors issued to him by the *neoi*.¹⁹⁷ Thus in his honorific inscription in the theater, Tiberius Claudius Diogenes includes his virtuous character (εὐεργέτην, δίκαιον, φιλόανθρωπον, φιλοπολείτην), his local civic contributions (ἀγωνοθέτην, νομοθέτην, δις γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς λοιπὰς ἀνυπερθέτως πεπληρωκότα πάσας), and his participation in the provincial administration (ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ σεβαστοφάντην). His participation in provincial posts associated with honoring the emperor or his completion of an imperial cult complex at Aphrodisias might have led to his Roman citizenship.¹⁹⁸ His status as a Roman citizen could have been further emphasized by the choice of a togate portrait statue to stand above the honorific inscription.¹⁹⁹

One notable omission in Tiberius Claudius Diogenes' honorific inscription is the absence of a patronymic. His father, Diogenes, was an accomplished and well-known Aphrodisian benefactor, who dedicated multiple structures and received a lengthy

¹⁹⁶ Reynolds 1981, p. 322. In the late 2nd century CE, Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometeinus Diogenes, a descendant of this Diogenes, was honored twice with the title *nomothetes* (Appendix B.80A and B). His monuments are discussed in Chapter Four. Another individual was honored with this title, along with a list of civic offices in an unpublished inscription from the 2nd century CE, recovered from the sanctuary of Aphrodite, but the name of the honorand does not survive (Smith et al. 2006, H189).

¹⁹⁷ The *philopoleites* virtue appears in the Adrastos inscription in a similar combination of virtues as in the one for Diogenes. Adrastos is described as φιλόπατριν καὶ φιλοπολείτην καὶ εὐεργέτην. Robert (1965, p. 215) notes the rarity of this term and contends that it highlights an interest in the people as beneficiaries, as opposed to the city; see also Reynolds 1981, p. 322.

¹⁹⁸ By the time he had completed that project he had already obtained Roman citizenship and so its construction could be seen as a sign of gratitude to the emperors who had granted him this status. His father, Diogenes, might have held a provincial post as well: *securitas* of the Sebastoi. The process of receiving Roman citizenship is discussed below.

¹⁹⁹ A togate statue of a young Aphrodisian benefactor of a mid-1st century date has been recovered from the theater (Smith et al. 2006, no. 2).

honorific monument in which he lists his father and grandfather. The son, however, provides no mention of his father, other ancestors, or any member of his family. The absence of familial references not only increases the attention on his present contributions, but it also highlights his unusual status as an Aphrodisian with Roman citizenship.

The inscription for Tiberius Claudius Diogenes was the first of six honorific inscriptions from the 1st century CE in which the honorand possessed Roman citizenship.

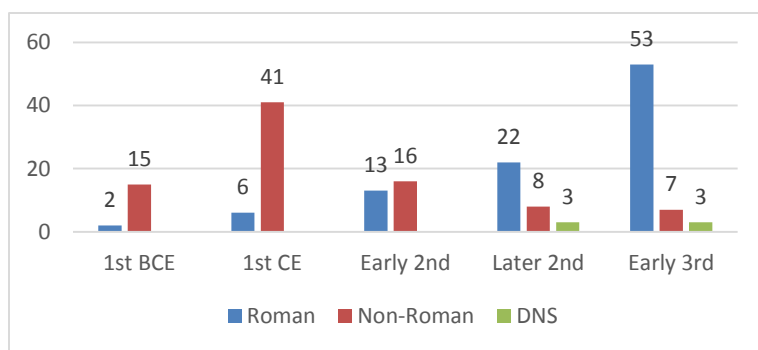


Illustration 4: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship according to date (“DNS” stands for “does not survive”).

Previously, Zoilos had been the only Aphrodisian documented with Roman citizenship. These individuals included Gaius Julius Potitianos and his wife Antonia Flaviane, Tiberius Claudius Hierokles, and a fragmentary inscription for a Lucius Antonius.²⁰⁰ One feature that all of the inscriptions for honorands with Roman citizenship have in common is a lack of significant information provided about their family and ancestry; only three provided a patronymic.²⁰¹ The only one which mentions family

²⁰⁰ Potitianos and his wife (Appendix B.44.i-ii); Hierokles (Appendix B.46); Lucius Antonius (Appendix B.47). The final honorand was Titus Antonius Lysimachos Grypos (Appendix B.45).

²⁰¹ Two of the honorands provided a non-Roman name for their father, indicating that they were the first in their families to receive Roman citizenship: Appendix B.45 and 46. Antonia Flaviane’s father was a Roman citizen (Appendix B.44.ii). The remaining three honorands did not provide a patronymic.

background is a consolation decree for Titus Antonius Lysimachos Grypos, who died prematurely and so was honored for his good family background.²⁰²

As evident in the inscriptions already discussed, it was the standard practice for honorands without Roman citizenship to be listed with at least a patronymic if not also a papponymic or more generations.²⁰³ When an individual acquired Roman citizenship, however, naming practices changed. The Roman *tria nomina* formula, which was the preferred and most prevalent onomastic choice for individuals with Roman citizenship in the Early and High Empire, provided genealogical information since a son adopted his father's praenomen and nomen.²⁰⁴ But in the Greek East when individuals received citizenship from imperial grants or provincial administrators, neither the praenomen nor nomen carried ancestral weight because they referred back to an imperial grant rather than functioning as a signifier of kinship.²⁰⁵ At Aphrodisias, most individuals with Roman citizenship chose not to include a patronymic to signify kinship or else included one generation of ancestry, whereas almost no benefactor without Roman citizenship left out his or her patronymic and a growing number included multiple generations.

²⁰² Appendix B.45. This phenomenon is discussed in Chapter Three.

²⁰³ McLean 2011, ch. 4. For example, the 1st century CE honorific inscriptions for Attalos (Appendix B.31) and Epicharmos (Appendix B.32) listed three preceding generations.

²⁰⁴ For a summary and discussion of Roman naming practices in the Greek East, see McLean 2011, ch. 4. For a discussion of Roman nomina in the East, see Salomies 2001a, 2001b, and Solin 2001. Women in families with Roman citizenship were generally given a feminine form of their father's nomen and cognomen, such as Antonia Flaviane, the daughter of Lucius Antonius Flavianus.

²⁰⁵ The *tria nomina* used by Greeks with Roman citizenship in the East was borne as an indicator of citizenship and legal privileges, not as a marker of descent (Salway 1994, p. 135). For the distribution of citizenship in the East, see Holtheide 1983. See also, Van Nijf (2010a) for a discussion of the practice of adopting the *tria nomina* by local Termessian benefactors. The distribution of citizenship in Asia Minor increased dramatically in the 2nd century CE and its effects on the population of Aphrodisias are discussed in Chapter Four.

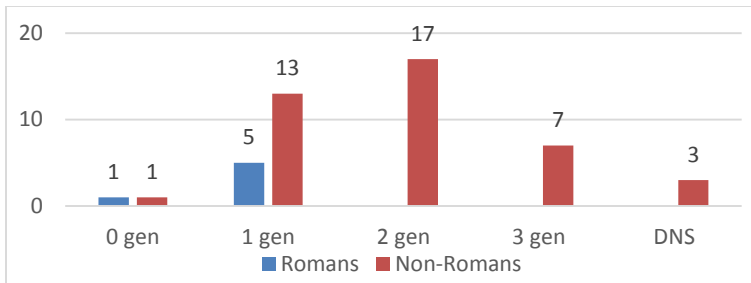


Illustration 5: Number of generations provided by Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship in the honorific inscriptions of the 1st century CE.

All but one of the benefactors without Roman citizenship listed at least a patronymic, seventeen of them included the name of their grandfather (37%), and another seven listed their great-grandfather (17%).²⁰⁶ While the provision of genealogy might reflect traditional naming practices, it was also coupled with an interest in advertising the virtues and deeds of an honorand's ancestors. Some of the non-Roman Aphrodisians included praise of their ancestors within their honorific inscriptions, such as Dionysios, son of Papylos, son of Papylos, whose ancestors were virtuous and former magistrates (*προγόνων υπάρχων καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ φιλοδοξίαις γεγονότων*).²⁰⁷

Benefactors with Roman citizenship did not include these kinds of ancestral references in their honorific inscriptions. Advertising connections to Rome or imperial loyalties was one marker of status with which an honorand justified his or her position of authority and receipt of honor. Similarly, Roman citizenship suggested a certain accumulation of wealth as well as ties to the Roman administration. The evidence suggests, however, that the decision to promote this Roman identity was at the expense of an honorand's familial identity, which situated him or her in the local community. The

²⁰⁶ The wife of Athenagoras is the only honorand not listed with a patronymic, but instead her husband's name (Appendix B.23.iii). Three inscriptions are too fragmentary to determine if any genealogy was provided: Appendix B.8C, 36 and 37.

²⁰⁷ Appendix B.28. More examples are provided in the following section.

inclusion of an extensive pedigree or praise for ancestors established an honorand's position as part of a long-established aristocratic family and distinguished him or her from those that had only recently acquired wealth through the opportunities presented by Roman control. The absence of ancestry from the honorific inscriptions for those with Roman citizenship suggests that connections to authorities outside of the community could be seen in competition with a background that rooted the honorand in the civic environment.

The tensions between Roman allegiances and local, ancestral roots was also manifested in the portrait sculptures associated with the honorific inscriptions. The togate statues that might have represented Gaius Julius Zoilos and Tiberius Claudius Diogenes were discussed above. The inscriptions for these two benefactors suggest that their statues were displayed not as part of a family group, but as singular benefactors.²⁰⁸ In contrast to these choices, a statue group of four Aphrodisian benefactors dating to the early to mid-1st century CE has been recovered in the area of the *bouleuterion* (Fig. 3).²⁰⁹ It depicts three generations of a single family: an elder (grandfather) in a Hellenistic-style cuirass (Fig. 2), a middle-aged man in a civic himation, a youth wearing only a chlamys, and a young boy in a himation and a hairstyle that suggest cultic affiliation.²¹⁰ Each figure represented different attributes of the good Aphrodisian citizen: military prowess, civic participation, athletic ability, and possibly religious dutifulness.²¹¹ Furthermore, their findspots and posture suggest that they were originally displayed as a family group somewhere in the

²⁰⁸ The statue of Zoilos might have been paired with an over life-size portrait sculpture of female benefactress of roughly the same date, but this association is speculative and neither a spouse or direct descendants of Zoilos have been identified in the surviving epigraphic record (Smith et al. 2006, pp. 48-49)

²⁰⁹ This statue group has been published by Hallett 1998, but is also discussed in Smith et al. 2006, pp. 50-53 and nos. 14, 41, 26, and 42.

²¹⁰ Smith et al. (2006, no. 42) suggest that the lock indicated that the boy was in the service of a god or goddess, but it is unclear which deity it was and what that responsibility would have entailed. The lock is on the backside of his head and not visible in the drawing.

²¹¹ Van Nijf (2011) notes how members of the same family would emphasize different qualities of a good citizen, but be honored alongside each other so that the entire family was seen to embody all civic ideals.

vicinity of the *bouleuterion*, the heart of civic politics. Although the honorific inscriptions for these benefactors have not been identified, it is clear that the emphasis in the statue group and in the individual sculptures is on the importance of family and involvement in the local community. This message stands in contrast to the imposing togate statues, which might have been of Zoilos and Tib. Cl. Diogenes, and offers a potential visualization of the tensions between Roman connection and familial ties identified in the honorific inscriptions. The possible rivalries that this tension created, however, are best articulated in comparison to a group of families, all without Roman citizenship, who received honors in the late 1st century CE and who chose to focus on their ancestry—their descent from “co-founding” families—in their honorific text.

THE “CO-FOUNDING” FAMILIES AND A COMPETITIVE RESPONSE

Overall, the rare and intriguing epigraphic title of “co-founding” appears in the inscriptions for nineteen individuals at Aphrodisias from the first example in the mid-1st century BCE to the last in the early 3rd century CE (Tab. 1). While the examples of this title span a three hundred year period, it concentrates in the honorific inscriptions from the late 1st century CE, when eight Aphrodisians from four families were issued honors by the *boule* and the *demos* in which the honorands were described as members of first and “co-founding” families of the community (γένους τοῦ πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικότης τὴν πατρίδα).²¹² The families that received this title have been described as “top-tier” families in the Aphrodisian hierarchy, but there has been little discussion who their members were, how they contributed to the community, and when they were honored for such prestigious descent. A close examination of their honorific inscriptions and a consideration of these texts with contemporaneous honorific and dedicatory inscriptions from the city suggest

²¹² The remaining nine examples are discussed in Chapters Two and Five.

that the “co-founding” families, while prestigious and important, were by no means the undisputed leaders of the community; in fact, the sudden frequency with which the term appeared in the late 1st-century-CE corpus potentially reflects societal pressures and competition that emerged from their weakened position due to the prominence of other families, especially those who saw to monumentalizing the city center.

While a number of scholars have discussed the *συνεκτικότες* families, most of the focus has been on the moment of founding in which these families claim to have participated. An early suggestion was that the founding moment was the monumentalization of the Aphrodisian city center in the late 1st century BCE, when Aphrodisias gained dominance over its neighbor, Plarasa.²¹³ The current scholarly consensus, however, locates the “co-founding” moment in the 2nd century BCE when Aphrodisias, with Plarasa, was elevated to status of *polis* during the period of Rhodian control of Caria (188 BCE-167 BCE).²¹⁴ A. Chaniotis interprets the use of a form of *συνκτίζω*, as opposed to *οικίζω*, as an indication that significant building was involved in the founding event.²¹⁵ He goes on to argue that Aphrodisias was the location of

²¹³ Robert 1965. The last reference to Plarasa and Aphrodisias as a joint community was on coins in the early years of Augustus’ reign (MacDonald 1976, 29).

²¹⁴ The most complete discussion of the *συνεκτικότης* term and its implications is found in Chaniotis 2004, pp. 382-384, but nuances are added in Chaniotis 2009a and 2010a.

²¹⁵ 2004, p. 382. For more on the difference between *οικίζω* and *συνκτίζω*, see Robert and Robert 1974, p. 404. It is perhaps worth noting that because of Chaniotis’ interpretation of the title, he always translates *συνκτίζω* as some variation of “those who jointly built the community” while other scholars, such as Smith et al. (2006) or Reynolds (1982) simply use the phrase “co-founding,” which is the translation adopted for this project. The *συνεκτικότης* term is almost completely anomalous in Greek epigraphy. A possible parallel is a 2nd century CE inscription from the Herakleia Salbake for a local honorand, Titus Statilius Apollinarios, who has ancestors *ὑπάρχων καὶ συνε-[κτικότης] τὴν πόλιν* (*MAMA VI 97*). Unfortunately, the main points of comparisons are restored. Several examples of honorands identified as descendants of founders of a *polis* or *patrída* survive from the Imperial period, but these texts use a form of *κτίσαντης*: Menandros at Didyma (*IDid 84*), Antonia Baibia at Elis (*IvO 456*), and Kallisthenes near the Black Sea (*IosPE I² 42*). Robert (1965, pp. 212-213) discusses the families from Miletus who were described as *τῶν κτισάντων τὴν πόλιν*. There are also examples of individuals, both in literature and epigraphy, who were said to be connected to the founders. For example, Apollonius describes Philostratos as *γένος ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνμμένον* (*Philostr. VA 1.4*) and in a 2nd century CE inscription from Didyma, M. Ulpius Flavianus was described as from a family of *ναύαρχων καὶ κτιστῶν τῆς πατρίδος* (*IDid 152*). Based on

construction since it was the home of the famous sanctuary of Aphrodite, but the date of the referenced construction is unclear, particularly in relation to the elevation of Aphrodisias to polis status or to the unification of the two communities (if these were actually two distinct events).²¹⁶ As Chaniotis himself states, however, “the authors of these inscriptions do not take the trouble to give us any further explanation concerning the exact nature and date of the process described.”²¹⁷ Neither the honorands who were described with this title nor the civic institutions who issued it were concerned with explaining what foundation moment was referred to or when it happened; the absence of an explanation suggests that it was a term whose significance was understood by the intended audience, presumably the populace of Aphrodisias and part of the social memory.

The two earliest examples of the term date to the 1st century BCE. Hermogenes in the mid-1st century BCE and Artemon at the end of the century were honored as descendants of families who participated in the joint founding or building of the community (συνεκτικόντων τὸν δήμον).²¹⁸ After Artemon, the title did not appear in the epigraphic record for at least two generations. Then in the third quarter of the 1st century, the family of Hermias Glykon, son of Hermias, grandson of Phantias received an honorific decree and public burial from the *boule* and the *demos*.²¹⁹ Hermias was praised for his virtues and civic

these comparisons, the anomalous nature of the *συνεκτικόντως* term is its inclusion that the foundation was a joint act of multiple families and its appearance as a perfect participle as opposed to present. Thus, the “co-founding” title at Aphrodisias stresses the joint nature of the foundation, and so privileges a group of families over any one individual or family, as well as a specific historical moment.

²¹⁶ Chaniotis 2004, p 382; 2010a, p. 455.

²¹⁷ 2010a, p. 455.

²¹⁸ It is worth noting the use of the singular *demos* here in relation to the previous discussion of the sympolity of Aphrodisias and Plarasa. In earlier texts concerning the city, the plural *demoi* was used to describe the joint communities of Aphrodisias and Plarasa, for example in Reynolds 1982, doc. 2 (ca. 85 BCE) (Reger 2004, p. 163). The use of the singular in Hermogenes’ inscription might be reflective of the submersion of these two entities into one community, which was formally recognized in the Augustan period with the dropping of Plarasa from the city’s name.

²¹⁹ Appendix B.3.i-iii. The inscription is on a block as opposed to a statue base. The block might have been part of a structure in front of which portrait statues stood inside the city center or it might have been incorporated into a tomb monument set just outside of the city (e.g. Reynolds 1999); cf. numerous

offices. His wife, Apphia, daughter of Menestheus, the son of Eumachos, lived chastely and their daughter, Apphia, who died at a young age, was honored for her modesty and for serving as a model of virtue.²²⁰ In addition to these accolades, both Hermias and his wife were honored as members of first and “co-founding” families of the city (γένους πρώτου συνεκτικός τὴν πόλιν). Because all three of their texts are on a single wall block, their portrait statues were most likely displayed as a family group next to this collective inscription.

The examples of Hermias and Apphia shared a number of features that were repeated in the honorific texts of the other 1st century CE συνεκτικότες honorands. First, the inscription for Apphia included an additional phrase about the accomplishments of her ancestors.²²¹ Second, the term was employed in a fairly standardized form: Hermias was from a first and co-founding family of the *polis* (γένους πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πόλιν) while Apphia’s family was additionally described as most trustworthy (γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐπισημοτάτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πόλιν).²²² The formula primarily consisted of the use of γένους (instead of προγόνων, which was used by Hermogenes and Artemon), and the additional preceding adjective πρώτου. An additional element of the formula adopted in the remaining six συνεκτικότες individuals from the late 1st century CE was the use of πατρίδα instead of δῆμον or πόλιν.²²³ A final similarity found in most of

examples of such tomb monuments from Hierapolis (Öğüş 2010, pp. 277-284; Ritti 2006). Reynolds (1999) suggests that the wife, Apphia, was the granddaughter of Eumachos Diogenes who dedicated columns to the Temple of Aphrodite early in the reign of Tiberius (*Iaph2007* 1.4-1.6). Therefore, the inscription would date to the third or fourth quarter of the 1st century CE. Hermias Glykon is an example of an Aphrodisian with a second name, which, as mentioned in the discussion of Hermogenes Theodotos, was a signifier of ancestry (Chaniotis 2014).

²²⁰ Apphia, the daughter, was not specifically listed as being descended from a “co-founding” family, but the association would have been clear to most viewers since she was honored alongside her two, “co-founding” parents.

²²¹ The inscriptions for both Hermogenes and Artemon also included extra ancestral praise.

²²² The combination of the adjective πρώτου with another superlative adjective, such as ἐπισημοτάτου was adopted by other Aphrodisian benefactors, see below.

²²³ Hermias and Apphia used πόλιν in their inscriptions; Hermogenes and Artemon used δῆμον.

the other *συνεκτικότες* inscriptions was the presentation of the honorands in a family group, which further emphasized the importance of the family in terms of symbolic capital.²²⁴

Around the same time, another young Aphrodisian was honored as a descendant of a “co-founding” family.²²⁵ Aristokles Molossos, son of Aristokles, the grandson of Artemidoros, was honored by the council and the people with a statue whose production was overseen by his mother, Ammia.²²⁶ Little was said about Molossos beyond that he was a young man (*νεανίαν*), which was a term reserved exclusively at Aphrodisias for youths who died prematurely.²²⁷ The inscription did praise his ancestors: Aristokles was a member of a first and “co-founding” family of the fatherland (*γένους τοῦ πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικότης τὴν πατρίδα*), who held civic offices, such as the *stephanephorate* and *gymnasiarch*. While the inscription includes additional praise for his ancestors and the formula for the *συνεκτικότης* title (adopting the term *πατρίδα* instead of *πόλιν*), Aristokles’ honorific does not seem to have been displayed alongside other members of his family.²²⁸

Two other family groups, who intermarried, comprised the remaining “co-founding” families (Fig. 4). During the Flavian dynasty, Diodoros, the son of Diodoros the natural son of Leon, along with his daughter Tata and her husband, Attalos, the son of Pytheas, received honorific inscriptions, all written on a single block, from the council, the

²²⁴ Another similarity that was not exclusive to the “co-founding” families, but certainly prevalent among them, was the use of second names, which was a practice that identified Aphrodisian elite as members of certain families and might also have referenced back to a specific important ancestor (Chaniotis 2014).

²²⁵ This date is based on the renovations to the theater made by the honorand’s father (Reynolds 1991).

²²⁶ Appendix B.4. Aristokles Molossos is another example of an Aphrodisian with a second name.

²²⁷ The other examples include three brothers who died in the early 2nd century CE (Appendix B.67), an Aphrodisian named Praxiteles also in the 2nd century CE (Appendix B.68), and Kastor in the 1st century (Appendix B.33). The fact that Aristokles’ mother oversaw the statue also indicate his premature death.

²²⁸ This might have been because he died so young. His father, also named Aristokles, was one of the main contributors to constructions in the theater in the Julio-Claudian period. The elder Aristokles was honored in a separate inscription by his foster-son, Hermas, whom he must have adopted upon the passing of his young homonymous son (Appendix B.27). Hermas oversaw the construction of the statue as well as the completion of his foster-father’s theater dedications. No mention was made of the father’s ancestors in his honorific inscription. It is tempting to imagine that this was because he was a foster-son, and so not an official member of a “co-founding” family.

people, and the *gerousia* (Fig. 5).²²⁹ Both Diodoros, honored for his many magisterial undertakings, and his son-in-law were praised in formulaic terms for being members of a first, brilliant and “co-founding” family of the fatherland (γένους πρώτου καὶ λαμπροῦ καὶ συνεκτικότης τὴν πατρίδα).²³⁰ While both husband and father were honored with “co-founding” ancestry, Tata was honored as being from only a first and brilliant family (γένους πρώτου καὶ λαμπροῦ). The absence of a “co-founding” title, however, did not subtract from her honors and accomplishments; based on the position and detail of her inscription, she was the focus of this honorific monument. Tata served as *stephanephoros*, contest-president, and priestess for Hera and the Sebastoi, and was given the honorary title of “mother of the city.”²³¹ In addition to her virtues and offices, she was responsible, as high priestess of the imperial cult, for bringing olive oil into the city, sponsoring elaborate games with wild animals, and feasting the public. The inscriptions for her husband and father at either side of her text represented her impressive ancestry and a good marriage alliance, while her own honorific focused on her specific contributions to the city. The arrangement of the texts would have been mirrored by the placement of their portrait statues.

It was perhaps this desire to privilege her own extensive benefactions and accomplishments that resulted in the omission of Tata’s “co-founding” status. Ancestry,

²²⁹ Appendix B.5.i-iii. Attalos’ inscription is on the left side, Tata in the center, and Diodoros on the right.

²³⁰ While Attalos’ inscription is too fragmentary to discern much more information, Diodoros’ honorific included an additional clause about his ancestors, namely that he always lived in a manner worthy of his ancestors (ζήσαντα ἀεὶ ἀναλογούντως τῷ γένους τοῦ ἰδίου ἀξιώματι). Both inscriptions are highly fragmentary. The text has been reconstructed by both Reynolds and Roueché (*I Aph 2007* 12.205). The restoration of συνεκτικότης to Attalos’ inscription is speculative. Attalos was not included in the initial publications of the “co-founding” families (Robert 1965, pp. 213-214 and Reynolds 1982, p. 165), but following Reynolds’ 2007 restoration, he has been included in this study.

²³¹ Van Bremen (1996, p.126) discusses this inscription and the important contributions of Tata. The title, “mother of the city” (μητέρα πόλεως) with which Tata was honored, was an honorific title for elite women in the Roman period, primarily used in the 2nd century CE; Tata was the only example from the 1st century CE and she was the only woman who received this title at Aphrodisias. The title was bestowed upon women of very high status and who had been exceedingly generous (see van Bremen 1996, pp. 167-169 and Appendix 3); see also, Dmitriev 2005, pp. 178-185.

as a signifier of status, was used and included in honorific inscriptions as a means of justifying the status of the honorand and his or her family; thus, the absence of “co-founding” ancestry from Tata’s inscription suggests that other qualities served to justify her status, especially her accomplishment of being the first to bring outstanding ἀκροαμάτα to the city’s festival.²³² Tata’s family group negotiated a balance between priorities in such a way that presented and honored Tata as a composite benefactor who both possessed noble ancestry and made significant contributions to the community as a benefactress in her own right.²³³

The final group of συνεκτικότης inscriptions consists of three statue bases for a male benefactor, his father, and his wife, who were honored by the council, the people and the *gerousia* with similar language. Ammia, daughter of Attalos, the son of Pytheas (the same Attalos from the Tata group) was praised for her virtuous character and for the fact that her family was first and “co-founding” of the fatherland (γένους πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικότης τὴν πατρίδα), producing *stephanephoroi* and gymnasiarchs.²³⁴ The production of her statue base was overseen by her husband, Adrastos. Although she was honored with her own base, the similarity in structure and the proximity of their find spots suggests that her statue was displayed alongside those of her father-in-law, Neikoteimos, and her husband. Neikoteimos Hierax, the son of Zenon, the grandson of Artemidoros, was praised as gymnasiarch, for his virtues, and for his status as a member of a first and “co-founding” family (γένους πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικότης τὴν πατρίδα).²³⁵

²³² Van Bremen 1996, p. 168.

²³³ A similar combination at a greater scale is found in the gate complex of Plancia Magna at Perge, which included portrait statues of the benefactress, her son, and her father, alongside the heroic founders of the city. Boatwright 1993; see also Chi 2002, pp. 123-145, Newby 2003.

²³⁴ Appendix B.6.

²³⁵ Appendix B.7. Neikoteimos Hierax is also an example of a second name and one that was passed onto his son, Adrastos, and his grandson Hypsikles (Chaniotis 2014, pp. 221-223).

The final member of this group was the most accomplished of the “co-founding” descendants. Adrastos, the son of Neikoteimos Hierax, the grandson of Zenon, and the great-grandson of Artemidoros, was honored by the council, people, and *gerousia* as a member of a first and “co-founding” family (γένους πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικότος τὴν πατρίδα) and as a benefactor who brought in olive oil and served as gymnasiarch.²³⁶ The rest of his biography is known from a second honorific inscription dedicated by the *neoi*, in which Adrastos was credited with holding a number of civic offices, including stephanephorate (twice), contest-president (three times), and agoranomos (four times).²³⁷ Adrastos also served as high-priest of the Sebastoi and an ambassador; he gave costly feasts to the people and brought in olive oil. Furthermore, he was honored as a κτίστης of the *demos* in the tradition of his ancestors (κτίστην γεγονότα διὰ προγόνων τοῦ δήμου). It is worth noting that in the inscription issued by the *neoi*, which was not part of a family group of Ammia and Neikoteimos, the “co-founding” status of his family was not mentioned; rather the inscription went into great detail acknowledging his specific benefactions to the community and his civic service. It was for these deeds that he received an honorific inscription from the *neoi* and the honorific title of *ktistes*.²³⁸ It is tempting to characterize

²³⁶ Appendix B.8A.

²³⁷ Appendix B.8B. Unlike the other base for Adrastos and those of his father and wife, all of which were around .5m in height, the *neoi* base was over 1m tall, which allowed for the more comprehensive biography and also (literally) elevated Adrastos above other contemporary sculptures, which were displayed on .5m bases. The *neoi*, a civic association of young men who have completed their time as *ephebes* but have yet to enter public life fully as adults, was closely linked to the institution of the gymnasium. When they were initiators of honors, it was for men who had served as gymnasiarchs or were associated with accomplishments in athletics or education. The *neoi* took up funds to pay for Adrastos’ statue. At Aphrodisias, inscriptions suggest the presence of a gymnasium of the *neoi* built in the late 1st century CE (Chaniotis 2008, no. 7). For more on the institution of the *neoi*, see Kennell 2013; see also Dreyer 2004.

²³⁸ In a way, declaring Adrastos as a founder of the *demos* makes him independent of and perhaps superior to his “co-founding” family: beyond being a member of one of several families that came together to found the community, Adrastos, as an individual, was credited with founding it. There is a debate over the meaning of the title of κτίστης in Greek honorific inscriptions from the imperial period, in that the term could be translated as “builder” without the founding implications (e.g. Follet 1992). The significance of this title at Aphrodisias and in regards to Adrastos is discussed in the following chapter. A third inscription for Adrastos is also discussed in Chapter Two.

the συνεκτικότης label as an official classification that only the civic institutions of the council and people were allowed to issue, and that explains its absence in the *neoi* honorific text.²³⁹

In summary, the συνεκτικότης label was one with limited distribution at Aphrodisias. While it might have referred to a moment of unification and building in the 2nd century BCE, it was included in honorific inscriptions sparingly. Besides two early examples, the title adopted a standardized formula and appeared most frequently in honorific inscriptions from the late 1st century CE. The eight individuals who received this status symbol, honored alongside their family members, stressed their ancestry and pedigree in their inscriptions, often instead of their own accomplishments, such as the limited biographical information for Adrastos in his “co-founding” inscription compared to the one issued by the *neoi*. In a sense, being a member of one of those families was a primary reason for the receipt of honor. The value suggested by the συνεκτικότης title was so great that elements of its standardized formula were co-opted by other Aphrodisians, including those who had less distinguished pedigrees. These new familial titles did not appear in the epigraphic record until after the “co-founding” families began boasting of their lineage in a set formula. For example, in a late 1st century honorific inscription, Attinas, the son of Theodoros, was honored as being from a first and most reputable family (γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου); thus he adopted much the same language of the “co-founding” families, but replaced the participle συνεκτικότης with a superlative

²³⁹ Van Nijf (2011) noted similar differences and restrictions in two honorifics at Termessos for a local woman, Atalante—one issued by the *demos* and a second by a group identified as *technitai* (*TAM* III.1.4 and 1.62) for the times she had acted on their behalf. The *neoi* might have petitioned the council and people to issue their own honors for Adrastos, perhaps because of his contributions to the gymnasium on their behalf (Chaniotis 2008). The *neoi* were included with the *boule* and *demos* (and *gerousia*) in eight other honorific inscriptions issued at Aphrodisias, but Adrastos’ inscription was the only example of the institution serving as the sole honoring body.

adjective.²⁴⁰ The borrowing of the language by other members of the elite indicates that the title was an effective strategy for conveying prestige. The impressive pedigree held enough symbolic capital within the community not only to justify the erection of honorific monuments but to inspire the imitation of other Aphrodisian benefactors.

If the title of *συνεκτικότηως* was so effective at communicating status, then why was it used for only a limited period of time? With the peace and stability established in the region under Augustus, the city of Aphrodisias began to prosper, especially with easy access to desirable resources such as marble and a favorable relationship with the imperial household. The consequence of this prosperity was an influx of wealth into the community, which resulted in competitive benefactions and building. The dedicatory inscriptions from the buildings in the city center identified a group of a few important families in the city that had both the wealth and influence within the community to construct impressive public buildings and dedicate them to the emperors. A possible interpretation of these dedications is that they reflected the benefactors' abilities to profit from the new opportunities presented by the Roman administration, which had allowed them to accumulate the wealth necessary to attain their status and influence. Even the honorific inscriptions for the dedicators of the 1st century CE monuments highlighted their Roman connections, while downplaying any ancestral status.²⁴¹ The absence of ancestry from those with Roman citizenship or Roman ties continued to be a feature of honorific inscriptions for the next century as well.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Appendix B.42. The exact same language was used in an honorific inscription from the 1st or 2nd century CE for Timokles, the son of Apollonios, the grandson of Hypsikles (Appendix B.52). At the end of the 1st century, Adrastos, son of Adrastos, a local athlete was described as being from a first family (*γένους πρώτου*) (Appendix B.24).

²⁴¹ Both Diogenes and Attalis Apphion were listed as high priest of the Sebastoi and Tiberius Claudius Diogenes held the provincial post of High Priest of Asia.

²⁴² The pattern did not change until citizenship was universally-distributed under Caracalla. This phenomenon is discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

On the other hand, the honorands with συνεκτικότης ancestry, who were not the same individuals who dedicated the monuments in the city center, did not include references to imperial connections.²⁴³ The absence is conspicuous when one compares the two inscriptions of Adrastos. In the honorific inscription issued by the *neoi*, he was said to have served as high-priest of the Sebastoi, but this title (along with many others that he held) was not included in his συνεκτικότης inscription. A possible interpretation of this phenomenon is that “co-founding” rhetoric was created and employed in opposition to status symbols related to Roman influences. The members of the “co-founding” families most likely belonged to an established aristocracy who had from the founding of the city (as they claimed) held a place of prestige in the social hierarchy of Aphrodisias. Their honorific inscriptions demonstrated that they possessed some amount of wealth, participated actively in the civic life of the city, and sponsored festivals, feasts, and distributions for the community, but the dedicatory record suggests that they were not the primary builders of the city.²⁴⁴ They were not motivated (or perhaps not able) to spend money and resources on the outfitting of the public space of their city and subsequently to inscribe their names across buildings in highly conspicuous ways. Although the locations of their honorific inscriptions and portrait statues are not known, the inscriptions themselves indicate that they were displayed as family groups, which would have emphasized the significance of belonging to an important family; this is in contrast to the singular displays of statues for benefactors such as Tiberius Claudius Diogenes.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ The only possible exception is in Diodoros’ inscription in which a line has been restored by Roueché (*I Aph 2007*) to identify him as a priest of the Sebastoi (Appendix B.5.iii.12).

²⁴⁴ Zuiderhoek (2009a) notes that buildings were the most expensive benefaction an elite could make and such donations were made by only the wealthiest families.

²⁴⁵ The contrasts continue if the family group recovered from outside of the *bouleuterion* is taken to be representative of how the “co-founding” families might have been portrayed. This is entirely speculative, but a useful exercise, since the *bouleuterion* group was displayed as a multi-generational, civically-minded family, which is how the honorific inscriptions present the “co-founding” descendants. Not only were they displayed as a family, but each wore a costume emphasizing his role in the local community (not

Another group of families—ones who did not emphasize (or even mention) their ancestry in their honorific inscriptions—undertook the task of monumentalizing the city. They most likely had only recently acquired wealth due to the social and political opportunities offered by the establishment of the imperial administration and subsequent peace and stability it brought to the region.²⁴⁶ These individuals actively incorporated the emperors and Rome into their dedications and honorifics. Their accumulation of wealth and subsequent public generosity to Aphrodisias could have threatened the status quo of the local hierarchy, of which the *συνεκτικότες* families were once the leaders. The “co-founding” families, the established aristocracy, at first had no need to vie for power or name recognition with other elites, but as the public space of Aphrodisias began to be dominated by these new families, the *συνεκτικότες* descendants carved out their own language of honor by standardizing a familial title that announced not only their pedigree, but their importance to the city of Aphrodisias as the descendants of the original founders. In this way, the advertisement of “co-founding” lineage was a competitive response to the increased wealth and display tactics of other elite families.²⁴⁷

CONCLUSIONS

Aphrodisias’ privileged status in the empire resulted in a sort of identity crisis for the city, proud of its autonomy, but also indebted to imperial authorities for the granting

membership in the imperial one) and they were placed next to the building associated with local politics, not in the theater.

²⁴⁶ Mitchell 1993; see also, Zuiderhoek (2009a) for a discussion of how the re-organization of the province under Augustus resulted in the accumulation of wealth among the urban elite. Smith et al. (2006, p.4) mention that the exploitation of the Aphrodisian marble quarries began around the same time as the Aphrodisias received its free status. Those families who monumentalized the city and advertised their Roman loyalty might have been the same families that owned the marble quarries, but no such connection can be confirmed based on existing evidence.

²⁴⁷ It is tempting to project the tension and competition identified in the late 1st century honorifics to the earlier attestations of the *συνεκτικότες* family, but the evidence does not survive to do so definitively. It could be suggested that Artemon’s use of the title was in response to the actions of Zoilos, certainly not a member of the established aristocracy.

and maintaining of that elevated status. In the acts of aggrandizing the city center with marble buildings and stoas, an imperial presence was integrated into the cityscape through dedications made to the emperors, displays of imperial portraiture, and the construction of an imperial cult complex in the heart of the city. Even this complex, however, was not wholly Roman, but it balanced local traditions and Hellenic values alongside images of imperial victory. The same tension between Roman and local, and the negotiated incorporation of both, was also present in the honorific inscriptions issued during this time. The 1st century CE was a time when the public space Aphrodisias was dominated by individuals who stressed the importance of Rome. The individuals who sponsored these projects were not, at least as they were presented in their honorific inscriptions, a part of the established aristocracy and had most likely acquired their wealth recently through connections with Rome.

These changes incited the established elite in the city—those who derived their position of authority from generations of ancestors and those who traced their lineage back to families that had come together around that same sanctuary of Aphrodite to form a community—to advertise their heritage, which also promoted the local history of the community free from imperial intrusions such as Roman citizenship or dedications to the emperors. The competition between these different groups of families and the negotiation between symbols of prestige and authority directly impacted the nature of honorific inscriptions, but it also affected the creation of a collective identity for the city and a public debate over the authoritative history of the community. This competition is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Local Pasts, Intramural Burials, and Collective Identities

The previous chapter introduced the evidence for honorific inscriptions in the late Hellenistic period and the first century of Roman rule. While honors were issued to benefactors for a range of important civic contributions, the inscriptions for the *συνεκτικότες* descendants stand out as a cohesive group of elite benefactors who created an exclusive hereditary claim of aristocracy and who relied on their inherited status to justify their position of authority in the city. A motivating factor for the formulaic use of this title and its appearance in the late 1st century CE was competition for status brought about by the rise of newly-promoted elite families. The *συνεκτικότης* title offered a means of distinguishing long-standing elite families from Aphrodisians who, in contrast, relied on their Roman citizenship and ties to the emperors as means of justifying their wealth and influence in the community.

Although the creation and use of the *συνεκτικότης* title by certain families in the 1st century CE might have been a strategic response to elite competition, the employment of such a term was also an integral part of forming a communal identity and contributed to crafting a shared past for Aphrodisians. By linking themselves to families identified as city founders, the *συνεκτικότες* benefactors rhetorically inserted themselves into the historical narrative of the community. But the “co-founding” families were not the only advertised founders of Aphrodisias. Another set of foundation stories, featuring legendary figures connected to other communities outside of Aphrodisias, were depicted on relief panels in the Civil Basilica commissioned by Claudia Paulina around the same time that the *συνεκτικότης* title was standardized in the honorific inscriptions. Unlike the version promoted by “co-founding” families, the mythological foundations of the Civil Basilica reliefs advertised an inclusive foundation story that was not tied specifically to ancestors

of specific benefactors, but rather had more universal appeal to Aphrodisians and outsiders alike. The relief panels from the Civil Basilica illustrate that the *συνεκτικότες* descendants were part of a broader elite culture concerned with the Aphrodisian history and the foundation narratives of the city.

This interest in local history and foundations in particular was not unique to Aphrodisias, but was part of a broader phenomenon in the region which flourished in the Roman period.²⁴⁸ It was during the first three centuries of Roman rule in Asia Minor (and the Greek East more broadly) that communities expressed an increased public interest in and awareness of civic mythologies. Examples included the proliferation of Androklos imagery along the Embolos of Ephesos and the display of the Trojan War heroes Mopsos and Calchas as founders in the Gate of Plancia Magna at Perge.²⁴⁹ These sculptural representations were in addition to the representation of founders on city coinage and the rise in production of local histories.²⁵⁰ This cultural production by individuals and communities occurred alongside the Second Sophistic literary movement, which was characterized by its veneration of the past.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ The promotion of the mythic past of a community was not a phenomenon peculiar to the Roman period. Woolf (1994, p. 129) argues that interest in descent was a prominent feature of Greek cultural identity, broadly-speaking. Examples of maintaining civic memory by means of advertising the legendary foundations of a community were present in cities on the mainland in Classical period (Clarke 2008). In the Hellenistic period, the Pergamene dynasts claimed ancestral descent from Herakles (Dignas 2012), while cities on the mainland experienced a resurgence of worship of Homeric heroes (Alcock 1991). It is in the Roman period, however, that claims of mythic descent and the promotion and articulation of such ancestry in material culture and literature flourished (Ng 2007; Jones 2010). It is in the circumstances of swift globalization, such as the expansion of Rome and the transition to empire, that “an intensification of consciousness of localism” came about (Whitmarsh 2010, p. 2); see also, Appadurai 1990.

²⁴⁹ For a discussion of both these monuments, see Ng 2007. For the appearance of Androklos at Ephesos, see Thür 1995. For Perge, see Boatwright 1993 and Newby 2003.

²⁵⁰ For foundation legends on coins, see Price 2005. Other sculptural representations included the theater reliefs from Nysa and Hierapolis (Newby 2003); see also, Linant de Bellefonds 2011. Rogers (1991a and b) and Wörrle (1988) discuss the role of the past in civic festivals; see also, Price 2012.

²⁵¹ For scholarship on the Second Sophistic, see, for example, Anderson 1993; Swain 1996; Whitmarsh 2001; Alcock et al. 2001.

Scholars have demonstrated that an overarching effect of claims of origin and their public display was the creation and maintenance of a communal identity, which served to unify the citizens by means of a shared past.²⁵² In general, foundation narratives are types of cultural memories: “collective understandings, or constructions, of the distant past, as they are held by people in a given social and historical context.”²⁵³ These constructed memories are important for group identity, creating social cohesion and legitimating political power.²⁵⁴ In more practical terms, advertisements of mythological founders and ancient local cults were manipulated in matters of kinship diplomacy and especially in inter-*polis* rivalries.²⁵⁵ Appeals to Rome were made for asylum rights, neokorate status, and tax exemption on account of the great antiquity of a city or its superior origin stories.²⁵⁶ Although used politically and externally, such claims created a shared past for a city and in doing so, they unified the society.

This chapter explores how a dispute over Aphrodisias’ foundation—as represented by the inscriptions of the “co-founding” families and mythological foundations of the Civil Basilica—stemmed from intra-*polis* rivalries between the exclusive and hereditary claims

²⁵² Woolf (2010, p. 198) remarks upon how “so many microidentities were formed in relation not to an existing place, but to a genealogically constructed ancestry...through founding figures, actual historical figures, through myths of migration and epic journeys of culture heroes.” In a speech to Tarsus, Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 33.1-2) demonstrated the degree to which “communities identified with their founders and foundation legends” (Yıldırım 2004, p 40); see also Jones 1978, pp. 71-82.

²⁵³ Holtorf 2000-2005, s.v. *cultural memory*. See also, Assman 1992; Halbwachs 1992.

²⁵⁴ Jonker 1995, p. 30. Arguably, because memory is not passively stored, its active construction is dependent upon the circumstances under which it is called to mind; thus, cultural memories only need to be truthful in the sense that they are convincing to those that hear or experience them.

²⁵⁵ Jones 1999a. For the phenomenon in the Greek East in general: Scheer 1993; Lindner 1994; Curty 1995; Patterson 2010. For how the phenomenon affected Aphrodisias, see Chaniotis 2003 and Yıldırım 2004.

²⁵⁶ Friesen (1999) has discussed the competition for neokorate status. Ng (2007) examines how cities, such as Perge, relied on different foundation myths and cults at different times to appeal to external audiences. Spawforth and Walker (1985) discuss the exploitation of local myths by communities for admission into Hadrian’s panhellenion; see also, Jones 1996.

of the *συνεκτικότες* descendants and other elite families.²⁵⁷ This chapter, however, goes on to argue that both versions of Aphrodisias' foundation were successful and both became a part of the collective identity of the city. The relief panels, which advertised a Hellenic pedigree and ancient origins that would have been experienced by local and external audiences, were displayed prominently in a building intended for large public gatherings. On the other hand, the importance of the “co-founding” families was celebrated by the construction of an intramural tomb for one of them, Adrastos, located at the heart of civic activity, next to the *bouleuterion*.²⁵⁸ The public outcry, emotional reaction, and subsequent intramural burial of Adrastos' granddaughter Tatia Attalis, possibly the last of the *συνεκτικότες* descendants, demonstrated the degree to which the community had embraced these families as integral to its identity and social cohesion. Overall, this chapter further examines the developing negotiations regarding the focus of elite benefactors between a free and autonomous Aphrodisias (a local perspective) and a provincial city grateful for its imperial privileges (a supralocal perspective).

THE MYTHOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE CIVIL BASILICA RELIEFS

The most explicit representation of Aphrodisian history was displayed in the Civil Basilica, a monumental dedication by an Aphrodisian, Claudia Paulina, and constructed in the late 1st century CE, the same time that the *συνεκτικότης* title was formalized in the honorific inscriptions. The entire iconographic program of the Basilica was one that celebrated Aphrodisias' fortunate circumstances and highlighted its ancient origins in the

²⁵⁷ Alcock (1997) discusses the competition over myths and heroes between elites for social power in the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, Alcock (2001) stresses that “social memory offers an arena for political contestation with different agents seeking to harness its inherent dynamism and multiplicities and to bend the past to their own ends.”

²⁵⁸ As discussed later in this chapter, the identification of this tomb has not been securely identified.

central panels depicting Ninos, Semiramis, Bellerophon, and Gordios.²⁵⁹ At the local level, the creation and promotion of a foundation narrative was not a simple or uncontested process. These public claims of foundation were displayed on monuments that often were the production of one individual and his or her family, motivated mainly by the desire to shape a specific interpretation of a public image that best suited the individual's personal ambitions.²⁶⁰ The inclusion of sculpture or references to a city's mythological foundation was another means of self-fashioning on the part of the elite, and the inclusion of references to the civic past can be interpreted as a way by which benefactors justified their status within a community and competed with other elites for distinction and honor.²⁶¹

In contrast to the familial contributions to the origins of the city promoted in the honorific inscriptions of late 1st century CE Aphrodisias, the reliefs from the Civil Basilica focused on the more remote past of the city—the mythic beginnings of the community. In doing so, Claudia Paulina, was able to connect herself to the deep history of the city in a way that was accessible to all and that situated Aphrodisias in a wider network of mythological relationships in the region and the empire.²⁶² As G. Woolf has noted in

²⁵⁹ The main publications for the Civil Basilica are Stinson (1997, 2007, and 2008), concerning the architecture and plan, and Yildirim (2000, 2004, and 2008), concerning the relief panels. The inscriptions recovered from the Basilica are published by Reynolds (2008a). The original publication of the basilica was by Erim (1978), who dated the structure to the 3rd century CE “on stylistic grounds” (see also, Erim 1986). This date was supported by Roueché (1981), who associated it with the promotion of Aphrodisias to a provincial capital. However, at a colloquium on Aphrodisias, Reynolds (1987) and Waelkens (1987) suggested a date in the late 1st century based on the dedication of the architrave and the style of the columns, respectively. Further study of the architectural plan, decoration, and ornamentation has securely dated the structure and its reliefs to the late 1st century CE (Vanderput 1997, Stinson 1997, and Yildirim 2008). The inscriptions on the founder relief panels might have been added at a later date, possibly in the 3rd century CE (Yildirim 2000).

²⁶⁰ For example, the elaborate procession dedicated by Salutaris at Ephesos linked Salutaris with the local founder, Androklos (Rogers 1991a; Ng 2007).

²⁶¹ Longfellow 2011; see also, Lafond 2006, who notes the preference on the part of elites for maintaining traditional cults.

²⁶² By including her father and brother in a display of mythological founders in her construction of a gate at Perge, Plancia Magna directly links herself and her family to the past of her city (Newby 2003). Alcock (2005) notes that the Hellenic past served as a “source of social power” and the ability of references to the Greek past to communicate in a multi-cultural world.

regards to the benefactions of elite across Asia Minor in the Roman period, “it is difficult to escape that a key preoccupation of the euergetistical classes was the inscribing of Greek myth on the provincial landscapes.”²⁶³ Claudia Paulina and the reliefs from the Civil Basilica were no exception.

The Civil Basilica was built on the southwest corner of the South Agora in the late 1st century CE (Fig. 1.G). The surviving (albeit fragmentary) architrave inscription of the Civil Basilica preserved the building’s dedication to an emperor, possibly Titus or Domitian, by the local Aphrodisian benefactor Claudia Paulina, daughter of Hierokles.²⁶⁴ The structure consisted of a 110-meter long hall of two 2-story colonnades with main entrances at the north and south ends (Fig. 6). The second story of these colonnades was decorated with relief panels displayed below wooden screens, resembling a frieze course broken up by columns (Fig. 7).²⁶⁵ Of the seventy-six relief panels that decorated the upper story, forty-six panels have been recovered in various states of preservation. According to the proposed reconstruction of the iconographic program, relief panels of acanthus, vegetation, and images of victory were located at the northern and southern ends of the colonnades with a concentration of figural relief panels at the center of the structure.²⁶⁶ In addition to scenes representing stories from Greek myth, such as Leda with the swan and

²⁶³ Woolf 2010, p. 197; see also, Woolf 1994.

²⁶⁴ *I Aph 2007* 6.2. Reynolds (2008a, no. 1) dates the basilica to the reign of Titus or Domitian based on one of the surviving fragments from the dedicatory inscription. The inscription is too fragmentary to discern whether Hierokles, most likely in the genitive, would have been the husband or father of Claudia Paulina. Reynolds leaves this role as undeterminable, but a comparison to other dedicatory and honorific inscriptions from Aphrodisias suggests that it is most likely the name of her father, since women were overwhelmingly identified by their patronymic in inscriptions at Aphrodisias. Claudia Paulina most likely made the dedication with her husband or other members of her family (cf. Dmitriev 2005, pp. 178-183).

²⁶⁵ The relief panels were not contiguous, but were broken up by columns. For the full publication of the relief panels, see Yildirim 2000. The relief panels were conceived of as part of the original construction and their carving and composition suggests a consideration of optimal legibility from the ground level (about 9 meters below) (Yildirim 2000, pp. 42-48).

²⁶⁶ Yildirim 2008. There were also a high volume of Erotes and Dionysiac imagery among the surviving panels.

a male hero fighting a boar, there was a group of three panels in the center of the eastern colonnade that featured figures securely linked to the foundation of Aphrodisias.²⁶⁷ The overall interpretation of this iconographic configuration is that scenes of prosperity and fertility (represented by the vegetal panels) led to representations of the mythic history of the region and finally the foundation of the city and its neighboring communities.²⁶⁸

The three foundation relief panels from the eastern colonnade, from north to south, consisted of (1) Semiramis and Gordios making a sacrifice at an altar, (2) Bellerophon and Pegasus visiting the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, and (3) Ninus making a sacrifice at an altar with an eagle atop it (a three-branched tree and a second male figure frame the composition) (Fig. 8a-c).²⁶⁹ Taken together, the reliefs depicted a narrative of co-founding for the city of Aphrodisias; but unlike the *συνεκτικότης* epithet, which was applied to a limited number of Aphrodisian families in honorific inscriptions, the figures of the basilica's mythological foundations were not connected exclusively to any one family or individual.

²⁶⁷ The Leda panel (Yıldırım 2000, A3) depicts Leda, the swan, and Eros. A similar scene of Leda and the swan was included as part of the South Portico of the Sebasteion, which pre-dates the Basilica by a generation. The Leda myth might have referred to a local legend about descent from Greek heroes or Lacedaemonian origins, but this narrative cannot be reconstructed (Yıldırım 2000, pp. 70-75). The hero and the boar motif was a common *topos* of Greek mythology and could have represented any number of Greek heroes, including Androklos, Meleager, Herakles, Bellerophon, and Adonis (Scherrer 2000, see also Yıldırım 2000, p. 95, n. 135). The panel from the Civil Basilica (Yıldırım 2000, A8) did not provide additional clues to identify the hero pictured, but a panel from the Sebasteion with a different composition has been identified as Meleager with the boar (Smith 1990, p. 97).

²⁶⁸ Yıldırım 2000. Scenes, such as the boar and the hero, might have been associated with a rural foundation or myths from the surrounding countryside.

²⁶⁹ All of the figures were also identified with inscribed names, but it is not clear when these labels were added. A date in the 3rd century CE is one possibility. Additionally, the *Carian History* by Apollonios of Aphrodisias was written around 200 CE and retold the narratives of Ninus and Gordios, suggesting a contemporaneous literary interest in these stories. The implications of the 3rd century inscribing moment are discussed in Chapter Five of this dissertation. Yıldırım (2000) suggests that the inscribed labels could have replaced painted labels from the original display, but no trace of paint survives to confirm this hypothesis. Reynolds (2008a) dates the inscriptions to the Flavian period as part of the original display.

The 6th century CE author, Stephanus of Byzantium, preserves an excerpt from the early 3rd century *Carian History* by Apollonios of Aphrodisias.²⁷⁰ In this section, Ninos, King of the Assyrians, along with his wife, Semiramis, founded a city called Ninoo, which later became Aphrodisias. Ancient authors credit Ninos and Semiramis with conquering all of Asia, including Caria, and founding cities as part of that conquest.²⁷¹ Evidence for the early name of the city and Ninos' involvement in its foundation was preserved in the local cult of Zeus Nineudios, which was active at Aphrodisias in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.²⁷² The relief panel from the Civil Basilica most likely represented Ninos (identified by an inscription) founding this early cult of the city by depicting Zeus' eagle on top of the sacrificial altar; the adjacent tree may have represented the god's sacred grove.²⁷³ The act of establishing a civic cult was a standard element in Greek narratives of city founding, and heroes were often shown sacrificing as a means of signifying the act of foundation and the gods' approval.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Steph Byz. *s.v. Ninoo*. *FGrHist* 740. Ninos and Semiramis were credited with conquering all of Asia (Strabo 16.1.2); see also the references in Diodoros Siculus (2.1-2.4.1; 2.5.3-2.7.2, citing Ctesias) (Pierobon 1987, p. 42, n. 28). The novel of Ninos and Semiramis was possibly composed by Chariton of Aphrodisias, who wrote in the late-1st century CE (Swain 1996, p. 423, see also Simon 1998, pp. 182-183).

²⁷¹ Strabo 16.1.2; see also the references in Diodoros Siculus (2.1-2.4.1; 2.5.3-2.7.2, citing Ctesias) (Pierobon 1987, p. 42, n. 28). The novel of Ninos and Semiramis was possibly composed by Chariton of Aphrodisias, who wrote in the late-1st century CE (Swain 1996, p. 423, see also Simon 1998, pp. 182-183).

²⁷² An altar featuring an eagle was dedicated to Zeus Nineudios in the 1st century BCE (Chaniotis 2004, p. 393, no. 11). There was also a building architrave dedicated to Zeus Nineudios from the Late Hellenistic period (*I Aph2007* 12.304) and the Aphrodisian, Dionysios, was listed as a priest of Zeus Nineudios in an inscription from the 1st century CE (*I Aph2007* 11.104 and 12.612). Laumonier (1958, pp. 480-1) notes the preponderance of local cults to Zeus in Caria; see also Van Bremen 2010, p. 441.

²⁷³ Yıldırım (2004) discusses the significance of both the eagle and the tree in the basilica composition. Briefly, the eagle, with its head turned toward Ninos, designated the god's favor for Ninos and the foundation of the city. The tree, which appeared on coinage of Aphrodisias in the 3rd century CE, represented a natural setting where the cult of Zeus was most likely located in the city. With these signifiers, the basilica relief depicted the moment of foundation by Ninos situated physically in the Aphrodisian landscape. A second panel from the basilica (Yıldırım 2000, A9) pictured an eagle, hare, and a tree and might have alluded to this cult and foundation. The second male figure in the relief panel was not labeled and remains unidentified. Yıldırım (2000, pp. 162-166) speculates that he might have represented one of the local kings who assisted Ninos in his conquest of Caria.

²⁷⁴ Such scenes were depicted on coins from Asia Minor in the imperial period (Weiss 1984, pls. 1, 7; 2, 2) and were part of a prominent tradition even in Roman practice, such as Aeneas sacrificing on the Ara Pacis

The panel of Semiramis also depicted her making a sacrifice at an altar alongside a figure labeled “Gordis.”²⁷⁵ This was most likely the legendary Gordios, who is known from Stephanus as the father of Midas and an early king of Phrygia.²⁷⁶ Gordios was credited with founding the settlement of Gordiouteichos, a nearby community, which was absorbed by Aphrodisias in the Hellenistic Period, most likely as part of the sympolity with Plarasa in the early 2nd century BCE.²⁷⁷ The two figures were shown making a joint sacrifice, a composition that symbolized the *homonoia* shared between representatives of two communities—those of Aphrodisias and Gordiouteichos.²⁷⁸

The final founder relief portrayed the Greek hero Bellerophon and Pegasus visiting the oracle of Delphi. While Stephanus did not mention this hero as a civic founder, a statue base from Aphrodisias identified Bellerophon as founder of the people (κτίστην τοῦ

(Zanker 1988, p. 204, fig. 157). For more on the connection between civic founders and the establishment of a local cult, see Malkin 1987, p. 142.

²⁷⁵ For more on the history of Semiramis as both a historical and literary figure, see Pettinato 1988. It is worth noting here that she was linked most closely with Aphrodite in Greek literature, and so was a highly suitable figure to associate with the founding of Aphrodisias (Yıldırım 2000, pp. 103-125).

²⁷⁶ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Midas*. See van Bremen 2010, p. 442, n. 19. The kingdom of Phrygia, like Assyria, was one of the earliest kingdoms in history, and in Greek literature it was considered to have competed with the Egyptians in its antiquity (Yıldırım 2000, p. 117).

²⁷⁷ The most likely location for this site is modern day Yazır, due west of Aphrodisias (van Bremen 2010, p. 441). Evidence for Gordiouteichos as an independent settlement is found in a reference from Livy (38.13), a 1st century BCE honorific decree for a man from Gordiouteichos recovered at Aphrodisias (Appendix B.10), local coinage (Robert 1937, pp. 552-555), and mention in Stephanus Byzantium (*s.v.* *Gordiou teichos*). There is also a relief from Lagina that most likely depicted Gordios alongside personifications of Aphrodisias and Plarasa demonstrating that these were independent yet closely-connected communities (Robert 1937, pp. 552-555). Coins were minted jointly by Gordiouteichos, Plarasa, and Aphrodisias in the 1st century BCE (MacDonald 1976, p. 67, R55, and 71, O65-67, R108-111). For more on the location of Gordiouteichos, see Ratté 2012, p. 14.

²⁷⁸ There was a temple of *Homonoia* at Aphrodisias mentioned in the novel *Chaereas and Callirhoe* by Chariton, the Aphrodisian. The temple and the cult statue of Aphrodite figured prominently on a series of coins from Aphrodisias minted in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE to indicate an alliance between the city and the Roman emperors or Aphrodisias and other cities; MacDonald (1992, p. 45) notes that “Aphrodisias seems to have been unusually active in entering into *homonoia* relationships.” For a discussion of this phenomenon and bibliography, see MacDonald 1992, pp. 45-46.

δήμου).²⁷⁹ Bellerophon, easily identifiable from his companion Pegasus, was a preeminent Hellenic hero whose exploits predated the Trojan War. Outside of Aphrodisias, Bellerophon was said to have founded a number of cities in the regions of Caria and Lycia, evidenced by his frequent appearance on coinage from the region.²⁸⁰ Furthermore, his mythological associate, Chrysaor, was credited with the foundation of Plarasa, another neighboring community that joined with Aphrodisias in its promotion to *polis* status in the 2nd century BCE.²⁸¹ Chrysaor was also associated with the founding of other cities in the region of Caria, including Mylasa and Halikarnassos.²⁸² The relief panel from the Basilica further emphasized Bellerophon's role as a civic founder by depicting him visiting the oracle of Delphi. Oracles of Apollo appeared frequently in foundation stories, especially the Delphic oracle, which played a major role in narratives of Greek colonization.²⁸³ Moreover, the depiction of Delphic Apollo embedded the foundation of Aphrodisias into the world and network of Greek myth and denoted the god's favor of the civic foundation.²⁸⁴ The important figures therefore were not simply exhibited on the relief

²⁷⁹ Smith 1996, p. 56 and fig. 51. The statue is dated no more precisely than the Imperial period. Van Bremen (2010, p. 441) contends that this statue might have been part of a series of founder statues displayed in the city. For a discussion of these myths in context, see Chaniotis 2003 and 2009b.

²⁸⁰ For examples and a discussion, see Debord 2010.

²⁸¹ Jones 1999a, pp. 142-143. In Greek mythology Chrysaor appeared both as the brother of Pegasus, born from the decapitation of Medusa, and as a double to Bellerophon in genealogy (*LIMC* s.v. Bellerophon); therefore, while there was certainly a close link between the two heroes, the precise nature of that connection in the context of a Carian city remains elusive; see also, Chaniotis 2003.

²⁸² Yıldırım 2004. Aphrodisias had a close relationship with Halikarnassos as indicated by honors that the Halikarnassians bestowed upon an Aphrodisian poet, Gaius Julius Longianos, in the early 2nd century CE (Appendix B.58); for a discussion, see Chapter Three.

²⁸³ Yıldırım 2004. For oracles in the Archaic period, see Leschhorn 1984, pp. 114-116; Malkin 1987, pp. 112-113. Athenaeus (VIII.361.C-E) preserved the story of a delegation going to see the Delphic oracle before founding Ephesos; see also, Rogers 1991, pp. 105-107. Documents that recorded oracular responses were presented as authentication of a city's origin, for example, Magnesia on the Meander (Chaniotis 1988, pp. 37-40); see also, Yıldırım 2004, p. 36.

²⁸⁴ Similarities between the founder reliefs and some of the relief panels from the Sebasteion have been noted by Yıldırım (2004), including Bellerophon with Pegasus, a figure visiting the oracle at Delphi, and a figure making a sacrifice at an altar with an eagle on it. This has been confirmed with specific analysis in the recent publication of the Sebasteion reliefs published by Smith (2013).

panels of the Civil Basilica; they were portrayed in acts linked with the founding of the city, a sort of iconographic *ktistes* label. This depiction was significant because originally the panels were not labeled; the iconography of founding had to be included in order to enable the audience to understand the imagery.²⁸⁵ Even if the viewer was unaware of the identity of the figures, the composition of the scenes would have conveyed their meaning as foundation stories.

In brief, the three most prominently-positioned panels in the Civil Basilica depicted three legendary foundation stories of local and neighboring communities all participating in acts associated with founding a city. These legends were advantageous to the community in inter-*polis* relations. All took place before the Trojan War and therefore emphasized the venerability of the community's origins. Bellerophon, given primacy in the central panel, marked the Hellenic pedigree of the city and embedded the city into a wider mythological network, particularly within the region of Caria.²⁸⁶ The founders, Ninos and Semiramis, demonstrated that Aphrodisias always had a privileged place within empires, drawing a line from Assyrian royalty to the Roman emperors.²⁸⁷

In addition to the wider Hellenic and Imperial significance of the figures, each founder referenced a more local region: Bellerophon and Pegasus were associated with the regions of Caria and Lycia, Gordios with Phrygia, and Ninos and Semiramis with Asia in general and Caria specifically. These were precisely the cultural (Carian, Lycian, and

²⁸⁵ Yildirim 2004; cf. Harl 1987, pl. 34, 9-10.

²⁸⁶ Having legendary heroes was used as a primary reason for civic praise; see Dio Chr. *Or.* 39.1; Lib. *Or.* 11.42; see also, Yildirim 2004, p. 35. Myth allowed a city with a more recent foundation, such as Aphrodisias, to claim an ancestry of great antiquity (cf. Price 2012). This was also done by Pergamon in the Hellenistic period (Scheer 1993, pp. 133-151); see also, Strubbe 1984-1986 and Dignas 2012. The longest example of myth used in diplomacy is a late 3rd-century-BCE decree from Xanthos requesting funds to rebuild walls (*SEG* 38.1476) (Price 2005). Another example is the reference to mythic pasts in the letters from Magnesia on the Maeander for the celebration of a new festival in 208 BCE (*IvM* 16); see also, Erskine 2002 and Gehrke 2001, p. 287.

²⁸⁷ Yildirim 2004, pp. 38-41.

Phrygian) and political (Asia) regions in which the community of Aphrodisias was geographically situated.²⁸⁸ Moreover, although each panel was separate, the figures and narratives were interwoven such that Ninos sacrificed with one figure and Semiramis with Gordios on either side of Bellerophon visiting Apollo. Thus, the choice of figures and their composition presented a mythological narrative of co-foundation, one that brought together different communities—Aphrodisias, Plarasa, Gordiouteichos—and different regions in the center of the city's new basilica.

In comparison to the honorific inscriptions for the *συνεκτικότες* descendants, a similarity between the two versions of Aphrodisian foundation stories is noticeable: both described a joint act of foundation. There was an acknowledgement in both textual and visual representations of Aphrodisias' foundation that the act was not limited to one particular hero, king, or family, but was rather a collective effort of multiple parties. This reflected the historical circumstances that are known about Aphrodisias' establishment as a *polis* and its subsequent development. Official decrees and coins bore the name of both Plarasa and Aphrodisias until the time of Augustus, and a series of coins were issued jointly by Gordiouteichos, Plarasa, and Aphrodisias.²⁸⁹ The difference, however, between the Basilica reliefs and the *συνεκτικότες* inscriptions is the way that each portrayed the co-founding origins of the city. In the honorific inscriptions, individuals were said to be members of families that jointly founded the community. This claim established an

²⁸⁸ Ratté 2008.

²⁸⁹ For Plarasa and Aphrodisias, see Reynolds 1985. The nature of Aphrodisias' promotion to a *polis* is discussed in Chapter One. The preponderance of *homonoia* coins might also apply to this discussion as evidence of Aphrodisias' self-perception of a community that regularly joined with others. There was a temple of *Homonoia* at Aphrodisias mentioned by Chariton in his novel and referred to on coins of the late 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (MacDonald 1992, pp. 45-46). Reger (2004, p. 163) notes that the language of some late Hellenistic inscriptions, which refer to the *demoi* of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, indicate that communities thought of themselves as separate entities despite their political unification. This dualistic self-image was not abandoned fully in the epigraphy until the reign of Augustus when Plarasa dropped from the city's name.

exclusive and specific group of Aphrodisian families that had taken part in the beginnings of the city—an invisible line was drawn from the city’s origins to a specific benefactor—and were still active generations later.

The mythological foundations also presented a narrative of communities joining together to form Aphrodisias; but instead of families jointly founding the city (whose possible descendants identified themselves epigraphically in Imperial Aphrodisias), the reliefs mythologized the narrative of co-foundation using heroes and kings who were not explicitly tied to any one family in Aphrodisias. In this way, the foundation narrative of the basilica reliefs presented the same story, but told in a different register, one that was not only legible and relevant to outside communities, but also universally applicable to all Aphrodisians. By depicting the co-foundation as performed by heroes and legendary kings from a remote past, removed from personal ancestries, the basilica reliefs countered the potency of the exclusive and hereditary claims to authority that were made by the “co-founding” descendants and their ancestral title.

A possible motivating factor for the expansion of the co-founding narratives of Aphrodisias’ origins was the identity and social agenda of the building’s benefactor, Claudia Paulina.²⁹⁰ Like Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, a contributor to the Sebasteion,

²⁹⁰ Because the architrave inscription is fragmentary (*I Aph 2007 6.2*), a secure identification with this Aphrodisian remains inconclusive, but the cognomen Paulinus/Paulina is extremely rare at Aphrodisias. Besides the basilica inscription, the cognomen Paulina appears six times in the published inscriptions from Aphrodisias: once in a 3rd century CE funerary inscription for Aelia Paulina (*I Aph 2007 12.523*), once in a late 2nd century CE honorific inscription for Claudia Paulina, daughter of Claudius Is- (Appendix B.92), once in posthumous honors for Claudia Tryphosa Paulina, daughter of Apollonios, who died in childhood in the 1st or 2nd century CE (Appendix B.49), and three inscriptions that mention a Claudia Paulina as *stephanephoros*, including one during the reign of Hadrian in 119 CE (*I Aph 2007 11.412*) and two held posthumously in the 3rd century CE (*I Aph 2007 11.41* and *13.618*). An unpublished inscription recovered from the Hadrianic Baths (Smith 1997, B16) records that a Claudia Paulina was one of a number of women who dedicated caryatids in the East Court of the bath complex. Reynolds (2008a) associates the *stephanephoros* Claudia with the dedicator of the basilica and her office as indicative of her active civic participation in the city. If the Basilica was dedicated in the reign of Titus, it is perhaps more likely that the Hadrianic Claudia Paulina was the daughter of the basilica benefactor. Regardless of specific identification, it is clear that Claudia Paulina is the most plausible restoration of the architrave and that she

Claudia Paulina was a member of one of the few families in Aphrodisias who had received Roman citizenship under the Julio-Claudians. Additionally, she dedicated her monumental structure in the heart of the city to the emperors, following the lead of the dedications of the Sebasteion and Portico of Tiberius (Tab. 2). Furthermore, her choice of building type reflected an awareness of provincial and imperial models. Basilicas were relatively rare in Asia Minor before the 2nd century CE.²⁹¹ In the early 1st century CE, the Stoa Basilica was built by Sextus Pollio in the Upper Agora at Ephesos, which combined features of Hellenistic stoas, particularly in its elongated proportion, and Republican basilicas, such as a three-aisle plan and two-story elevation.²⁹² The Flavian Civil Basilica at Aphrodisias also had a three-aisle plan, two-story elevation, and elongated proportions, although it was not as narrow or as long as its Ephesian predecessor.²⁹³ While in design the Civil Basilica relied on provincial models, its closest decorative parallel was the relief program from the 1st century BCE Basilica Aemilia at Rome, which included panels depicting scenes from early Roman history.²⁹⁴ Thus, Claudia Paulina not only linked herself (and her family) in name and dedication to the Roman administration, but chose a building type that demonstrated her awareness of how a provincial city could respond to the center of imperial

was a member of euergetic and civically-active family at Aphrodisias, with ongoing connections to the emperors.

²⁹¹ For the development of the Roman basilica as a structure in cities of the Eastern Empire, see Coulton 1976. For a bibliography on the known basilicas from Roman Asia Minor, of which there are at least nine examples, see Stinson 2008, p. 79, n. 3.

²⁹² Fossel-Peschl 1982. Additionally in its bilingual dedicatory inscription, the structure is referred to as a *basilica* (Latin) and a *basilike stoa* (Greek) (Knibbe et al. 1993, pp. 148-149). Stinson (2008, p. 106) notes that the unusually elongated proportions was “their most distinctive feature.”

²⁹³ For a comparison of these two structures, see Stinson 2007. For a discussion of how the Civil Basilica related to the Ephesian basilica and other structures in Asia Minor, see Stinson 2008, especially figs. 26 and 27.

²⁹⁴ Stinson 2008, p. 99, n. 46. The placement of the reliefs (and not their subject matter) in the Civil Basilica has parallels with the weapons reliefs from the stoa in the sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon (Stinson 2008, p. 99).

power.²⁹⁵ More importantly, however, the construction of the basilica can be seen as a competitive statement to the monuments of the provincial capital, Ephesos.

At Aphrodisias, the Civil Basilica was an exceptional monument as the city's first fully-enclosed space.²⁹⁶ In broad terms, a basilica, like the related Hellenistic stoa, was a multi-purpose building type.²⁹⁷ In addition to housing legal and commercial activities, the Civil Basilica functioned as a processional way to the South Agora for local, regional, or interregional events.²⁹⁸ The building might have also served as a type of sculpture gallery—some of the most impressive works of Aphrodisian art have been recovered there—and it could have been used as a large gathering space during festival celebrations.²⁹⁹ Given the wide range of activities that could have taken place in the basilica and its accessibility to both Aphrodisians and outsiders, the choice of Claudia Paulina and her family of foundation myths was all the more effective. Instead of a few

²⁹⁵ Although only the name of Claudia Paulina survives in the dedicatory inscription, it is more likely that other members of her family or her husband also participated in the dedications, like Attalis Apphion and her husband dedicating the Sebasteion temple.

²⁹⁶ Stinson 2008, p. 79. In comparison, the Sebasteion, while similar in form, was at least 20 meters less in length and significantly narrower in the width. Additionally, the porticoes of the Sebasteion were decorative and not functional, making it an entirely processional and ritual space in comparison to the Basilica's commercial functions. Furthermore, the basilica was incorporated into a thoroughfare that would lead visitors into the city center, whereas the Sebasteion connected the eastern part of the city (most likely residential) to a main avenue (Fig. 1).

²⁹⁷ For more on the relationship between the basilica and the stoa, see Coulton 1976, pp. 10, 182-183; see also, Martin 1951.

²⁹⁸ A price edict of Diocletian was inscribed on the front of the basilica in the 4th century CE (Roueché 1989, pp. 252-318). Additionally, a 3rd century CE inscription mentions a workshop located near the basilica, which is evidence of potential commercial activities (*I Aph 2007* 12.526). Stinson (2008, p.106) notes that a preference for the elongated form of the Asiatic basilicas was due to their similarities with colonnaded streets.

²⁹⁹ Stinson (2008, p. 101) discusses the spaces available for honorific portrait statues and the possible display of statues of the Flavian emperors in the South hall just as statues of the Julio-Claudian emperors were displayed in the Sebasteion and the Antonines in the Agora Gate; see also, Reynolds 1996b, p. 47. The most notable sculptures, such as the "Blue Horse" were added at a later date (Stinson 2008, pp. 89-91). Martin (1951, p. 497) notes that Greek stoas were used as art galleries, which further links the form and function of the Civil Basilica to Hellenistic stoas. Rogers (1991a, p. 113) argues that the Salutaris procession actually passed through the Stoa Basilica. The basilica at Hierapolis had steps that excavators have interpreted as functioning as seats for gladiator contests (D'Andria 2003, pp. 98-109).

local families to serve as founding figures, Claudia presented her audience with legendary heroes of wide renown in compositions associated with jointly founding a city. Their stories inserted the community into a wider and already established mythological network that bestowed upon Aphrodisias a venerability no historical family line could match.³⁰⁰

As argued in the previous chapter, some families at Aphrodisias relied on their connections to the Roman administration to justify their high status within the Aphrodisian community and they advertised these ties through their dedications and honorific inscriptions. On the other hand, the *συνεκτικότες* descendants utilized their ties to families integral to Aphrodisias' past in order to promote themselves, justify their important status in the city, and distinguish their claim to authority from those without this prestigious ancestry.³⁰¹ Claudia Paulina's choice of myths reflected a strategic middle ground approach to utilizing the past in claims of status.³⁰² Although she did not claim descent from a "co-founding" family, she still understood the symbolic capital of connecting herself with the Aphrodisian past and the founding of the city. Thus, she chose to decorate this impressive building, which reflected provincial and imperial influences, with myths that celebrated the origins and history of the city, and demonstrated she was willing to act as a caretaker of those traditions.³⁰³ Her selection of foundation myths reached further

³⁰⁰ Jones (2010, pp. 120-121) notes that the production of heroic ancestries came about from conflicts and competitions for authority between aristocrats.

³⁰¹ References to the past categorized individuals as belonging to specific groups (Gehrke 2001, p. 304). Both Dio Chrysostom and Libanius stress the importance of preserving a harmony between past and present to maintain a city's success and the praiseworthiness of citizens who emulated the virtues and behavior of their ancestors (Dio Chry. *Or.* 31.62-63, 31.75, 31.146; Libanius *Or.* 11.11) (Yıldırım 2004, p. 41); see also, Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 140-146 and Jones 2010, p. 118.

³⁰² Alcock (2001) examines how preservations of monuments or references to the past fed off of the places and monuments already in place. For the Civil Basilica reliefs, this included both the iconographic program of the Sebasteion and the honorific bases for the "co-founding" families.

³⁰³ A similar tactic was adopted by G. Vibius Salutaris when he dedicated his procession to Ephesos that included the carrying of statues of local cults and heroes, such as Androklos. Salutaris, not originally from Ephesos, was demonstrating his knowledge of the local history and his embracing of that tradition (Rogers 1991a). Longfellow (2011) has also argued that the inclusion of a civic founder in a private benefaction was a means of associating the benefactor with the values embodied by that founder, for example,

back in time, to the deep past of the city—to a mythologized co-founding moment that was unattached to any specific families in the city, who claimed to represent families, presumably from the neighboring communities (Plarasa, Aphrodisias, and Gordiouteichos), that jointly founded the city. The mythological foundations rhetorically obscured the exclusivity of ancestry claimed by the “co-founding” families.³⁰⁴ While the basilica’s version of the city’s past inserted Aphrodisias into a regional mythological network and established its privileged status, the choice of myths also usurped the claims of authority made by the “co-founding” families by offering a more universal history shared by all Aphrodisians, including elite families who were connected to the imperial administration.

THE INTRAMURAL BURIAL OF ADRASTOS

Although the Civil Basilica reliefs advertised foundation narratives that created and shaped a collective identity for the community of Aphrodisias, particularly one that was legible to an external audience, the “co-founding” families were also accepted by the community as integral to its collective identity, one that was more conscientious of the local population. Regardless of what foundation moment the term *συνεκτικότης* referred to, its appearance in inscriptions inserted a moment of local history—an extremely important moment of the city’s past—into the language of public honors. These accolades were voted on by civic bodies including the assembly, proclaimed aloud in front of the community, and set on public display permanently in stone. The “co-founding” families

Aristion’s insertion of Androklos into his Nymphaeum at Ephesos. In the Basilica reliefs, Ninos and Semiramis were depicted in the traditional *polis* costumes, especially Ninos in a Coan-style chiton and himation (Yıldırım 2004, p. 43). This costume choice—the depiction of the figures as local elites would have had been seen in their portrait sculptures in the city—would have stressed further the link between the founders and the dedicating benefactor.

³⁰⁴Alcock (2005, p. 162) notes that one aspect of the manipulation of memory and the past in the public sphere is that “if some heroes were actively called to mind through reconstruction of monuments or through the homage of new building, others were not. The obverse side of commemoration...can be oblivion.”

eternalized one version of Aphrodisian history in which a group of families, whose descendants walked among the populace of 1st century CE Aphrodisias, came together and founded (or built) the fatherland. This narrative unified the group—itsself, the hereditary elite of Aphrodisian aristocracy—by bestowing on them shared knowledge and shared past experiences, and it also unified the community with a public display of this collective history and hierarchy.³⁰⁵ As discussed in the introduction, there was a multiplicity of actors involved in the production of honorific inscriptions and that included the *boule* and the *demos* who nominated honorands and approved the receipt of an honorific monument. In the late 1st century CE, the *συνεκτικότης* title was included in at least eight honorific inscriptions, which meant that the term and the history it represented was repeatedly brought into the public discourse of issuing honorific monuments. Because it was voted on by the public and included in monuments that were displayed in public spaces, this suggests that the import of the epithet was accepted by the community. The most definitive proof, however, for the integration of the *συνεκτικότες* families into the collective identity of the city was the awarding and construction of an intramural burial for one of the descendants, Adrastos (and later his granddaughter), in a tomb in the heart of Aphrodisias.

As introduced in the previous chapter, Adrastos, the son of Neikoteimos Hierax, received two honorific inscriptions at Aphrodisias in the third quarter of the 1st century CE: one from the *boule*, *demos*, and *gerousia* and a second from the *neoi*. The first inscription honored Adrastos alongside his wife, Ammia, and his father as a member of a co-founding family and a gymnasiarch who distributed oil.³⁰⁶ In the inscription from the *neoi*, Adrastos was not described as a *συνεκτικότης* descendant, but many more details were provided in this text. In addition to serving as *stephanephoros* (twice), gymnasiarch (twice), contest-

³⁰⁵ Jones 2010; cf. the discussion of hero cults in Hall 1999.

³⁰⁶ Appendix B.8A.

president (three times), and local high priest of the Sebastoi, he was described as being a *euergetes* and *ktistes* of the *demos* in the tradition of his ancestors (εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην γεγονότα διὰ προγόνων τοῦ δήμου).³⁰⁷ While the title of *euergetes* was applied to numerous individuals at Aphrodisias, both emperors and local benefactors, the designation of *ktistes* had much more limited distribution in the epigraphic corpus.

In Roman period inscriptions from other cities, the title of *ktistes* has been translated as either “founder” or “builder.” At Aphrodisias, the title was given to only two other benefactors: Hermogenes and Tiberius Claudius Zelos.³⁰⁸ For the Hellenistic inscription of Hermogenes, Chaniotis translated *ktistes* as someone who “excelled in building activities.”³⁰⁹ In the late 2nd century CE, Zelos significantly renovated the theater at Aphrodisias and was described as a *ktistes* in his honorific inscription as well as those of his son and grandson.³¹⁰ The only other appearance of the term in the Imperial period was the statue base of Bellerophon, where the mythic hero was described as a *ktistes* of the people, just as Adrastus was described.³¹¹

In other cities in Asia Minor, the term was applied to both benefactors and mythic heroes alike, often within the same space. For example, local benefactors at Perge, the brother and father of Plancia Magna, had portrait statues displayed alongside heroes of the

³⁰⁷ The inscription actually honored him as a *ktistes* twice once in line 8 and again in line 14; see Appendix B.8B. Smith et al. (2006, pp. 22-23) discuss both inscriptions.

³⁰⁸ The term appeared more liberally in the late antique period. Hermogenes: Appendix B.1. Tiberius Claudius Zelos: Appendix B.74, 75.

³⁰⁹ 2004, p. 383. Although no recovered building has been linked to Hermogenes, his honorific inscription did state that he adorned the city with dedications, indicating possible constructions. In this inscription, *ktistes* appeared between the honorary titles of *euergetes* and *soter*. Reynolds (*Laph 2007*) has provided translations for the inscriptions of Adrastus and Zelos. In all instances, she prefers the translation “founder,” but gives no reason for the preference. For more on the debate over this term, especially in the Roman period, see Erklenz 2002 and Strubbe 1984-1986. See also, examples in Chapter One.

³¹⁰ For a discussion of the family and contributions of Zelos, see Chapter Four.

³¹¹ Smith 1996, p. 46, fig. 51 (Inv. 91-2). This stray find has not been dated more specifically than the imperial period. Adrastus might have contributed to the construction of a gymnasium for the *neoi* near the Temple of Aphrodite (Chaniotis 2008, no. 7).

Trojan War such as Mopsos and Calchas in the South Gate complex of the city. The statue bases for all the figures included their name and the title *ktistes*.³¹² The use of this title at Aphrodisias for both mythic founders and benefactors who donated buildings meant that the significance of the term in Adrastos' inscription was somewhat ambiguous although being followed by “τοῦ δήμου,” which appears elsewhere only in the inscription for Bellerophon, encourages an association with this mythic hero. Regardless of the precise meaning, the rarity of the title (even more rare than the *συνεκτικότης* title) presented Adrastos as an accomplished and superior benefactor in the community and potentially emphasized his connectedness to the beginnings of the city. Thus not only did the long list of offices and services performed by Adrastos and listed in the inscription demonstrate his crucial role to the well-being of society, but the honorary title employed by the *neoi* also suggests that Adrastos, *ktistes* of the people, was a critical part of the collective identity of the community.³¹³

A third surviving inscription for Adrastos detailed an event in the benefactor's life.³¹⁴ First, the *demos* of Aphrodisias had decreed a public funeral and intramural burial for Adrastos because of his goodwill and generosity to the people.³¹⁵ Then, a council

³¹² Newby 2003; see also Boatwright 1993. A similar combination occurred at Ephesos and the late 2nd century CE bath complex of Vedius Antoninus. Vedius was repeatedly honored with the title of *ktistes* in honorific inscriptions (*IvE* 727, 2065, 3075) and he placed a statue of Androklos the mythic *ktistes* of the city in the center of his bath building (Ng 2007, pp. 209-218). The term was also used liberally in Asia Minor to describe the emperors, particularly Hadrian, but these instances are not widely attested at Aphrodisias (Erklenz 2002 and Follett 1992)

³¹³ Lyson received an intramural burial at the Letoon around 196 BCE for rebuilding the gymnasium and the honors were issued by the *neoi* (*SEG* 46.1721). Similarly, Lucius Vaccius Labeo received a public burial and the title *ktistes* at Kyme for his service as gymnasiarch and building a bath for the *neoi* (*IKyme* 19). See the discussion in Strubbe (2004), who also notes that contributors to the gymnasia were common recipients of intramural burial because they were seen as re-founding the city by building a structure of such civic importance. Adrastos served as gymnasiarch, and he might have also constructed a gymnasium for the *neoi* (Chaniotis 2008, no. 7).

³¹⁴ Appendix B.8C. This text is fully discussed by Reynolds 1996a.

³¹⁵ The Greek reads that they voted for his “ἐνταφίην καὶ κηδεῖαν” in the city. Reynolds (1996a, p. 124) notes that κηδεῖαν, attested only here in the Aphrodisian corpus, refers to the rituals that took place at the tomb regularly after burial. Regarding the services that Adrastos provided, the honorific inscription issued

meeting was held for the *bouleutai* to determine where this intramural tomb was to be located. The original proposal was “in the public *ergasteria* (workshops) opposite the Council-chamber (έν τοῖς ἄντικρυς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου δημοσίοις ἐργαστηρίοις).³¹⁶ Adrastos interrupted the meeting and proposed that the burial be in his own *ergasteria* so that the city would not suffer financial loss. The final line of the inscription reads that Adrastos prepared his heroon in the *ergasteria*, but due to a lacuna in the text it is unclear if the workshops were his own or the city’s.³¹⁷ The block upon which this event was inscribed was most likely part of Adrastos’ intramural heroon.³¹⁸

Regardless of which workshops Adrastos’ tomb was located in, the receipt of an intramural burial was the height of honors given by cities in the Greek East to benefactors during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.³¹⁹ The practice of marking out an individual

by the *neoi* detailed that in addition to his numerous civic offices, Adrastos also served as an advocate for the people and provided public feasts and contributions (Appendix B.8B).

³¹⁶ Translation by Reynolds 1996a, p. 124. The precise nature of the *ergasteria* is discussed by Reynolds (1996a, p. 125). Literary evidence from Dio Chrysostom concerning these structures suggests that they could be impermanent workshops, including space for a blacksmith (*Or.* 40.8-9). At Aphrodisias, a sculptor’s workshop from the 2nd century CE has been recovered as part of a stone stoa on the north side of the square that housed the *bouleuterion* (Rockwell 1992). While there is no surviving evidence for an earlier workshop, a 1st century predecessor is still a possibility (Smith and Ratté 1996, p. 9). Berns (2011, p. 237) argues in favor of associating the large stoa behind the *bouleuterion* as the location for the tomb as opposed to an impermanent structure, which has been suggested by Reynolds (1996a). The possible parallel is a burial of the son of Glykon at Smyrna in the *ergasterion* (*IK* 23,265); van Nijf 1997, p. 41.

³¹⁷ Reynolds (1996a, p. 125) argues in favor of the burial in the workshops of Adrastos and restores ἰδίος to the missing section. On the other hand, Jones (1999b, p. 600) has proposed an alternative reading of this text supplying ἐαυτῆς in line 14 and argues for Adrastos’ burial to be the same as the archaeologically identified tomb next to the *bouleuterion* (see below). Reynolds (1996a) has suggested that Adrastos’ workshops might be next to the public ones and so his actual tomb would remain in relatively the same location, but she does not explicitly say that the recovered tomb owner and Adrastos are one and the same. The use of the word *heroon* should not be taken as conclusive evidence for cultic activities since it was a term regularly employed for burial monuments at Aphrodisias, at least in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (Ögüş 2010, pp. 31-40); see also, Hughes 1999, p. 173.

³¹⁸ Reynolds 1996a. The intramural tomb of Opramoas in Rhodiapolis was covered with inscriptions concerning the benefactor; see Kokkinia 2000 and Berns 2011, pp. 232-233. Opramoas also participated in the construction of his tomb monument as the inscription from Aphrodisias suggests for Adrastos (Berns 2011).

³¹⁹ Intramural burials were not features of cities in the west, the burials for emperors being an exception (see Cormack 2004, p. 37); see also Cicero *de Legibus* 11.23.58. For a survey of intramural tombs from the Geometric period to the Late Roman, see Schörner 2007; see also, Berns 2003.

with an intramural burial can be traced back in the landscape of Greek cities to the Archaic period, but there was a noticeable density of these tombs in the Roman period in the urban centers of Asia Minor.³²⁰ Moreover, while the granting of an intramural tomb was always a restricted honor issued by civic communities, the individuals who qualified for this privilege changed over time.³²¹ Although originally intramural tombs were constructed for mythic founders or epic heroes, in the Roman period the recipients were wealthy local benefactors who had held civic magistracies and contributed extensively to the well-being of the city.³²²

The award of an intramural burial was more than a grant of honors from a city to a benefactor; the reconfiguration of civic space required for the construction of this monument meant that it was a very deliberate integration of the benefactor into the fabric of the city and symbolically a reflection of the benefactor's importance to the cohesion of the community.³²³ The identity of the individual honored became embedded in the civic identity of the city. This relationship had its origins in the earliest intramural burials, which honored city founders and local heroes.³²⁴ For example, the legendary founder of Ephesos, Androklos, was honored with an intramural tomb constructed in the Hellenistic period on the highly-trafficked Embolos.³²⁵ The importance of such intramural burials is further

³²⁰ Berns (2011, p. 234) describes it as a "particular cultural density of intramural tombs from the imperial period." For more on these tombs in general, see Cormack 2004; Ewald 2008. Kearns (1992, pp. 72-74) notes that the heroic tomb was seen to be immune to the pollution associated with other burials and thus allowed to be placed within the city limits.

³²¹ Schörner (2007) notes that it was historical founders, particularly of colonies (*oikistai*) that received intramural burials in the Archaic period, while successful generals or royals were recipients in the Hellenistic period. For more on the early practice of intramural burials, see Malkin 1987. For more on the form of intramural burials in the Hellenistic period, see Kader 1995.

³²² Alcock (1991) and Antonaccio (1994) discuss the early tombs for legendary heroes. Berns (2011) argues that the intramural tomb in the late 1st and entire 2nd centuries CE was used as another opportunity for elite self-fashioning by local elites.

³²³ Cormack 2004, Chapter 2; see also, Ewald 2008.

³²⁴ Cormack 2004, p. 48; see also, Schörner 2007.

³²⁵ Pausanias (7.2.8-9) describes Androklos' tomb on the Embolos, still standing in the 2nd century CE. For more on this tomb, see Thür 1995. Androklos' Hellenistic tomb was most likely the reason for the

reflected in the longevity of the structures. At Ephesos, the sarcophagus of the local benefactor, Claudius Aristion, which was part of an intramural burial on the Embolos in the early 2nd century CE, was preserved and reburied in the area after an earthquake in the 5th century CE.³²⁶ One of the consistent aspects of these intramural burials in the Roman period was their prominent locations within the city, especially near the agora, which was traditionally the place for the burial of city founders, but also near major sanctuaries in the city and other highly-trafficked areas.³²⁷

The epigraphic evidence for Adrastos as benefactor suggests that his intramural burial conformed to the pattern of similar tombs across Asia Minor in the Roman period. From the three inscriptions that survive from Aphrodisias, it is known that Adrastos was an accomplished and active member of the Aphrodisian elite; he held numerous civic magistracies and funded public feasts. Additionally, he was a member of a “co-founding” family and was honored as a *ktistes* of the *demos*. The inscription says that Adrastos prepared the tomb himself, which was congruent with the elite participation identifiable in examples from other cities, such as Opramoas’ monument at Rhodiapolis.³²⁸ Finally, the

concentration of intramural burials in this area, including the Library of Celsus, in the Roman period (Thür 2004).

³²⁶ Cormack 2004, p. 42. The intramural burial at Aphrodisias (discussed below) was also protected and preserved over time despite substantial renovations in the area.

³²⁷ Cormack 2004, pp. 36-40. The intramural tombs in Aizanoi, Oenoanda, Sagalassos, and Miletos were all located on the agora. At Rhodiapolis, Opramoas’ tomb was located in the highly trafficked area near the theater (Berns 2011). The other major location for burials in the Roman period was incorporation in the gymnasium of the city. For more on the location of the intramural tombs, see Malkin 1987; Martin 1974. For example, Dio says that the tomb of King Prusius, the city’s founder, was removed from the agora in the Imperial period (*Or.* 47.17)

³²⁸ Berns (2011) argues that intramural tombs were a merger of different means of self-representation in the Roman period. The location of the tomb brought to the viewers’ minds its owner’s public benefactions, and the burial served to distinguish him or her from fellow citizens. This could possibly be applicable in the case of Adrastos’ burial although all of the evidence is circumstantial. Chaniotis (2008, no. 7) has conjectured the existence of a gymnasium in the area between the Temple of Aphrodite and the North Agora, west of the *bouleuterion*. In this area, a column dedication has been recovered, which was dedicated to the *neoi* (*Laph 2007* 1.174); an architrave with a similar dedication was recovered from the area of the Hadrianic Baths (*Laph 2007* 2.507). The architrave, while fragmentary was a dedication made by someone in Adrastos’ family to the emperor Hadrian, most likely one of Adrastos’ sons, Hysikles or

inscription recording the award of the intramural burial documented that the burial was to be located near the council-chamber. The *bouleuterion* at Aphrodisias was located between the North Agora and the sanctuary of Aphrodite. It was this action—the granting of an intramural burial in such a prominent location—that highlighted the importance of Adrastos to the collective identity of the city. The location near the agora inserted his memorial into a highly-trafficked area of the city and asserted Adrastos’ position as a *ktistes* of the *demos* as well as physically embedded him into the landscape and therefore the collective identity of the community.

In fact, an intramural burial from the 1st century CE, which consisted of a three-stepped, circular platform, was located in the square between the North Agora and the sanctuary of Aphrodite, behind the *bouleuterion* (Fig. 9).³²⁹ On top of this platform, eight benches were arranged in an octagonal configuration and an unfinished garland sarcophagus and round altar were placed in the center.³³⁰ Although the superstructure of the heroon cannot be reconstructed since none of the building blocks have been positively identified apart from those that preserved his receipt of an intramural burial, the architecture of this monument appears unique among the intramural tombs in Asia Minor.³³¹ The presence of the altar suggests that cultic activities took place there and the

Attalos Adrastos. Adrastos’ own close connection with the *neoi* is evident by the honorific inscription which this organization bestowed upon him. Therefore, if there was a gymnasium of the *neoi* in the area proposed by Chaniotis, then the location of the intramural tomb proposed by the council would have been in proximity of it and thereby reinforced the connection between Adrastos and this group.

³²⁹ Erim 1986, p. 64. It should be noted that the precise location and plan of the *bouleuterion* at Aphrodisias in the 1st century CE is not presently known by archaeologists. The *bouleuterion* noted on current plans is from the 2nd/3rd century CE reconstruction of the building. Evidence of an earlier *bouleuterion* has yet to be concretely identified, but it is generally believed to have occupied the same space.

³³⁰ The style of the sarcophagus was archaizing, but the decorative elements of the altar are consistent with sculpture from the Sebasteion and so a date in the mid- to late- 1st century CE is given (roughly contemporaneous with the honorific inscriptions of Adrastos) (Öğüş 2010, p. 15).

³³¹ Cormack (2004, p. 40) notes the similarities in some structural elements between the tomb at Aphrodisias and the tomb outside the agora at Termessos. Öğüş (2010, p. 14, n. 29) compares the configuration of benches at Aphrodisias to the Octagon tomb at Ephesos and the hexagonal tomb in the

benches indicate that people were encouraged or invited to sit at the tomb, perhaps to hear praise for the tomb's owner recited.³³² At the end of the 2nd century CE, the *bouleuterion* underwent substantial renovations, which included an expansion of the *cavea*. These renovations encroached upon the circular platform, but very deliberately left it (and presumably its superstructure) exposed (Figs. 9 and 10), in recognition of the significance of the monument and its interred benefactor to the identity of the city.³³³

This monument seems to conform to the conditions for the burial of Adrastos issued by the council and the people. Not only was the tomb located near the council-chamber, but the circular platform was also across from the stoa that housed a sculpture workshop as early as the 2nd century CE; its identification as the tomb of Adrastos, however, remains tentative. Regardless, it is clear that both the tomb's owner and Adrastos were integral to the identity of the community, embedded in the heart of the city next to the seat of local politics—the *bouleuterion*. The epigraphic corpus documents only two other Aphrodisians honored with an intramural burial: Kallikrates, son of Pythodoris, and Tatia Attalis, Adrastos' granddaughter.³³⁴ Kallikrates was an important aristocrat at Aphrodisias in the Hellenistic period and provided the city with distinguished military service and

same city (Berns 2003, Cat. 11A5 and 11A2, respectively). Cormack (2004, p.33-40) claims that the architecture of many of the intramural tombs in Asia Minor resembled the architecture of temples. Berns (2011) argues that there is nothing unique in this imitation of sacred architecture as it was also adopted by the tombs of the elite in the necropoleis outside of the city; rather, in the imperial period the important consistency of intramural tombs was their accessibility and encouragement of outsider engagement, which was in contrast to the inaccessible monuments of conspicuous consumption constructed by benefactors in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, such as the Octagon at Ephesos and the northwest heroon at Sagalassos (Waelkens et al. 2000, pp. 173-193).

³³² The tomb of Androklos from Ephesos also had a seating area next to the monument (Thür 1995). Altars were not standard accoutrements of intramural tombs (Cormack 2004, p. 44), but ritual activity is discernible at some of the intramural tombs, such as the monument of Diodoros Paspáros at Pergamon (Filgis and Radt 1986), which might not have housed his actual burial.

³³³ Cormack 2004, p. 42. For more on the reconstructions of the *bouleuterion*, see Bier 2008 and the discussion at the end of Chapter Four of this dissertation. Smith et al. (2006) also notes that the *bouleuterion* was the site where the most honorific portraits have been recovered.

³³⁴ Kallikrates: Appendix B.9A-C. Reynolds 1982, docs. 28-32. Tatia Attalis' inscription and burial is discussed in the next section.

humanitarian aid (providing grain in a time of crisis); for these services, he was awarded intramural burial in the gymnasium. Tatia Attalis was the last of the *συνεκτικότες* descendants.³³⁵ Thus, all of this evidence—the rarity of Adrastos’ intramural burial, its location in the heart of the city, its likely longevity, his honorific title of *kitstes*, and his descent from a “co-founding” family—demonstrates that he was both an essential and a symbolic figure of Aphrodisian society, a representative of its collective identity for the local community. The tomb served as a mnemonic for those passing by, reminding them of the city’s ancestors.³³⁶ It was not only a reminder of Adrastos, but of the founding family from which he came and whose great civic contributions he so excellently represented. In comparison to the relief panels from the Civil Basilica, which promoted a collective identity that was legible to an external audience, the intramural burial of Adrastos embedded a local benefactor as a new founder of the people into the civic landscape (and symbolically into the collective identity). His elevated position assured the importance of his family and also the other families that advertised themselves as “co-founders” of the community.³³⁷

THE INTRAMURAL BURIAL OF TATIA ATTALIS

The importance of Adrastos’ family to the city and to the identity of the community, secured by his benefactions and burial, was the reason for another extremely rare event at

³³⁵ The inclusion of this burial in the gymnasium was not unique for cities in Asia Minor and epigraphic evidence suggests that it was issued for benefactors who contributed militarily to the well-being of their community (Berns 2003). Berns (2011) notes that burials in libraries, which were made in the 2nd century CE, were comparable to earlier burials in gymnasia, sites of education as well as physical activity (see also, Neudecker 2004, pp. 303-304). The funerary monument of Gaius Julius Zoilos, whose relief panels were recovered near the northeast gate of the city was most likely an intramural burial as well, an appropriate honor given his substantial contributions to the city and his role in obtaining privileged status for the city (Smith 1993). Robert (1965, p. 420) argues that men who freed their cities were typically awarded with intramural burials.

³³⁶ Cormack 2004, p. 48.

³³⁷ While none of the other *συνεκτικότες* descendants received an intramural burial, the family of Hermias Glykon did receive a public burial from the city, presumably outside of the city (Appendix B.3).

Aphrodisias, the public funeral and intramural burial of a woman, his granddaughter, Tatia Attalis. An inscription recorded on two masonry blocks preserves a two part decree issued by the council and the people.³³⁸ The first part provided a brief description of Tatia Attalis, daughter of Hypsikles, son of Adrastos, son of Neikoteimos, son of Artemidoros, son of Zenon. Her father and ancestors were foremost and co-founders of the fatherland (πάτρος καὶ προγόνων ὑπάρχουσα τῶν πρώτων καὶ συνεκτικῶν τὴν πατρίδα).³³⁹ Her ancestors were gymnasiarchs, *stephanephoroi*, contest-presidents, and high priests, and they set up works for the city.³⁴⁰ Tatia's ancestors were celebrated elites at Aphrodisias in the 1st century CE and members of two of the συνεκτικότες families (Fig. 4). At least five of her ancestors received honorific monuments from the city. The contributions of Tatia, however, were much more limited, and her epigraphic biography consisted of her role as priestess of the Sebastoi and the fact that she lived modestly and virtuously, possibly because she died young and unmarried.³⁴¹

³³⁸ This decree is by far the most published and most discussed of the inscriptions covered thus far. Appendix B.55. Reynolds and Roueché (1992) is the main publication of this inscription, but Tatia is also discussed by van Bremen 1996, pp. 156-164, Jones 1999b, and Chaniotis 2006, pp. 224-226.

³³⁹ The language here is unique among the surviving συνεκτικότες inscriptions, lacking the *genous* part of the formula, but it should be noted that this section of the phrase is restored by Reynolds and Roueché (1992); see Appendix B.55 for the problems with the text.

³⁴⁰ The previous chapter noted that the “co-founding” families were not associated with any of the major constructions in the city. Adrastos’ sons, Attalos Adrastos and Hypsikles, however, did contribute to the civic landscape, perhaps motivated by competition from other building families. Attalos Adrastos constructed dining facilities for the people (*I Aph 2007 12.26*); for the location of these facilities, see Chaniotis 2008, n. 1. He also received two honorific inscriptions in the theater (Smith et al. 2006, H70 and 71). Hypsikles helped oversee the construction of a bath complex (*I Aph 2007 5.6*); for more on this inscription, see Reynolds 1997. Finally, the architrave dedicated to Hadrian for a gymnasium of the *neoi* was made by a descendant of Neikoteimos, son of Artemidoros, son of Zenon; this would be Adrastos himself or one of his sons. Given the dedication of the inscription to Hadrian, one of his sons is more likely (*I Aph 2007 1.174*); for more on the location of this gymnasium, see Chaniotis 2008, no. 7.

³⁴¹ The inscription for Tatia Attalis has been characterized as a consolation decree because it was issued to commemorate the premature death of a young person. In the early 2nd century CE at Aphrodisias, and Asia Minor in general, consolation decrees and honors for youths increased in frequency. The problem with Tatia’s decree as one of consolation, as strictly defined, is that her family seems to have all died out and she was the last surviving member. It is the community that is consoling itself at her loss. The phenomenon of consolation decrees and this social development whereby the community adopted the role of the family is discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

The second half of the inscription documents what was an incredibly rare event, not only at Aphrodisias but also in the Greek East in general. Although the text is fragmentary, the following actions are discernible. During the private family funeral of Tatia, who had “reached the end of her life sooner than the destined time,” the people of Aphrodisias came together and “seized” (ἀρπάσασα) the corpse of Tatia.³⁴² Then they “stored” (ἀπέθετο) the body away until the council granted her a public burial in the tomb of her grandfather.³⁴³ Overall, the inscription records an extreme example of a consolation decree in which the deceased was honored for her ancestry and virtue and mourned for having died prematurely, but the text went beyond the standard tropes of the consolation decree. The entire community reacted with intense, even violent emotion upon Tatia’s death; they seized her body and held it until they, the *demos*, were granted the right to bury her inside the city. Essentially, the people of Aphrodisias intervened in a private family event and turned it into a public ritual.³⁴⁴

The incident at Tatia’s death was not a unique event in the Greek world although it was unprecedented at Aphrodisias. The surviving epigraphic record documents that at least three other private funerals were interrupted by the public.³⁴⁵ In one example from the second century CE, Agreophon from Caunus had his private funeral interrupted because the people requested his burial in the gymnasium. His relatives politely refused but settled on a public burial in the family monument outside the city.³⁴⁶ The second example is for a woman from Knidos during whose funeral the people detained the body until the council

³⁴² The translation is from Chaniotis (2006, p. 224).

³⁴³ Jones 1999b, p. 598.

³⁴⁴ While the funeral procession and mourning might have been made visible to the public, the acts involved in the burial were typically undertaken and funded by family members, including the carrying of the funeral bier, mourning, and other funerary rituals (Frisone 2011); see also, Garland 1985.

³⁴⁵ For more on the phenomenon, see Jones 1999b.

³⁴⁶ This inscription is discussed by Jones 1999b, pp. 594-596, with bibliography.

granted her intramural burial in the tomb of her ancestor, Theopompos.³⁴⁷ A third inscription details the death of Apollonis Prokleous of Kyzikos, at whose funeral there was a demonstration by the people which resulted in a public burial in the tomb of her husband at the great harbor (most likely intramural).³⁴⁸ Out of the four interrupted funerals preserved in inscriptions, three of them were for women and resulted in their burial in a tomb of a family member: (1) the woman from Knidos in the tomb of Theopompos, her ancestor, (2) Apollonis in the tomb of her husband, and (3) Tatia Attalis in the tomb of her grandfather. The public involvement in the funeral of a local woman might have resulted less from the contributions of the deceased herself and more so from what she represented to the community as the maternal provider of future generations of benefactors, now lost.³⁴⁹

In addition to the limited epigraphic evidence, there are literary examples of the people interjecting themselves into a private funeral. Philostratos describes the funeral of Herodes Atticus, during which the Athenian people seized (ὀρπάσαντες) his body and carried it from Marathon to Athens, where they buried him; they mourned him “like children who have lost a good father”.³⁵⁰ A similar story was told by an actual Aphrodisian. In Chariton’s novel *Chareas and Callirhoe*, the entire city of Callirhoe’s birth mourned the news of her presumed death at the beginning of the narrative.³⁵¹ The limited number of comparanda for Tatia’s funeral demonstrates that such actions of the populace were rare for communities in the Roman world. The interruption of her funeral resulted in an intramural burial, which, as discussed above, was the highest of honors a benefactor could

³⁴⁷ *IKnidos* 71.

³⁴⁸ SEG 28, 953; Reynolds and Roueché 1992, p. 154.

³⁴⁹ Van Bremen 1996, pp. 150-165; see also, Dmitriev 2005, p. 178.

³⁵⁰ Philostratos *VS* 15.20. For this translation and a discussion of the text, see Chaniotis 2006, p. 225. For more on this funeral, see Rife 2008.

³⁵¹ *Chareas and Callirhoe* 1.5. The date of the Aphrodisian Chariton is not certain, but he is generally considered to be late 1st century CE or a little later, which means that he might have witnessed or participated in the actual funeral of Tatia Attalis (Jones 1999b, p. 592).

receive from a community; the act equated the deceased with a civic founder and integrated him or her into the collective identity of the city. Moreover, an intramural burial for a woman was almost unheard of for cities in Roman Asia Minor, and especially for a female who had contributed so little to the city.³⁵² So why was Tatia granted this distinction?

The action of the Aphrodisian populace at the funeral of Tatia was an extreme manifestation of a constructed familial relationship that developed in the Imperial period between a community and a future benefactor, resulting in the increased issuance of consolation decrees and honorific inscriptions for women and children.³⁵³ The interrupted funeral presents the general populace embracing the deceased as an essential component of its identity; thus it takes over the role of the family, even to the point of usurping familial rights to perform the burial, thereby transforming a funeral from a private ritual to a public one.³⁵⁴ At the funeral of Herodes, the Athenians mourned their patron as if he had been their father; likewise, the Aphrodisians reacted to the death of Tatia as if they had lost a daughter. The public funeral, which drew the entire community into a “ritual of togetherness,” functioned as a means of allowing the community to mourn as well as an act of heroization of the deceased.³⁵⁵ The interruption of the funeral, the seizure of the corpse, the public burial, and the intramural tomb all served to elevate and heroize Tatia Attalis, the young and unmarried priestess of the Sebastoi, who died before her time.

Why did the community have such a visceral reaction to the death of a young woman? And why did they treat her funeral as one of the most important events in the city,

³⁵² In addition to Tatia and Apollonis Prokleous, Reynolds and Roueché (1992, p. 154) include Archippe of Cyme as a possible recipient of intramural burial (*SEG* 33, 1039).

³⁵³ This phenomenon is discussed in detail in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

³⁵⁴ Van Bremen 1996, p. 163; Chaniotis 2006, pp. 224-226.

³⁵⁵ Chaniotis (2006, p. 226) stresses the importance of these emotional events as intense shared experiences, the details of which were inscribed on stone so that the impact of these rituals was not forgotten. Furthermore, the contact with the corpse is significant in the process of heroizing the deceased; see also Jones 1999b, p. 592.

granting her an honor bestowed to perhaps only two other Aphrodisians? It is true that like other young scions of wealth from Aphrodisias (and other cities in Asia Minor), Tatia was a potential benefactress. When she died, the city lost not only her future contributions, but also those of the sons and grandsons that she would have produced for the city.³⁵⁶ Reynolds and Roueché take this conclusion out one step further. Tatia was not just a lost benefactress for the city; she was in fact the last of a liturgical family at Aphrodisias: “the pathos of her early death may have been enhanced if we are right in suspecting that she was the only representative of her generation in the family.”³⁵⁷ While Adrastos and Ammia had two sons, Hypsikles and Attalos Adrastos, Tatia (daughter of Hypsikles) seems to have been the only offspring of her generation, with no documented siblings or cousins; nor are there any identifiable members of her family attested in the epigraphic record at Aphrodisias after her death. Moreover, her uncle, Attalos Adrastos, bequeathed his entire estate to the city—an act that was characteristic of a man without any heirs.³⁵⁸

While the death of such an important family in the early 120s CE would surely have been tragic for the community, additional evidence suggests that Tatia was not only the last member of her family, but actually the last of all the *συνεκτικότες* families. The survey of the co-founding families from the late 1st century CE includes four groups: the family of Hermias Glykon, the family of Adrastos, the family of Diodoros and Attalos, and that of Aristokles Molossos. Hermias and his wife were honored and buried along with their young daughter; no descendants of their family were thereafter recorded.³⁵⁹ Aristokles Molossos died as a child and was honored by his mother; his father adopted an heir, but

³⁵⁶ Reynolds and Roueché 1992, p. 160.

³⁵⁷ 1992, p. 154.

³⁵⁸ *I Aph 2007* 12.26 and 12.1007.

³⁵⁹ Appendix B.3. The two Aphrodisians described as co-founding descendants in the late 1st century BCE, Hermogenes and Artemon, did not have descendants subsequently attested in the epigraphic record.

neither was ever described as co-founder.³⁶⁰ The family of Adrastos married the daughter of the family of Attalos and their last recorded descendant was Tatia.³⁶¹

The only other co-founding line active at this time was that of Myon Adrastos and Peritas Myon.³⁶² This father and son pair were honored together on a private funerary monument during the reign of Trajan. Myon Adrastos was honored first with an extensive genealogy: he was the son of Peritas Myon, the son of Adrastos, the son of Dionysios, the son of Peritas, the natural son of Adrastos, the son of Molon.³⁶³ His ancestors were from a first family (προγόνων ἐνδόξων γένους πρώτου), they served as gymnasiarchs, *stephanephoroi*, and other magistrates, and he was a member of a co-founding family of the fatherland (ἀπόγονον τῶν συνεκτικῶτων τὴν πατρίδα).³⁶⁴ Myon lived virtuously and served as a priest of Nerva.³⁶⁵ A second inscription honored Myon's father, Peritas Myon, the son of Adrastos, the son Dionysios, the son of Peritas, the natural son of Adrastos, the

³⁶⁰ Appendix B.4. A possible explanation could have been that the co-founding status did not transcend adoptive lines unless that adoption occurred within a family, such as the adoption of a nephew. And so, Aristokles' adopted heir, Hermas, inherited his foster-father's wealth, but not his pedigree.

³⁶¹ Appendix B.5-8.

³⁶² Appendix B.54. Like the other "co-founding" families, Myon and Peritas both have second names. A Flavius Myon minted coins at Aphrodisias from 68-81 CE (MacDonald 1992, nos. 50-51). Chaniotis (2014, p. 218) suggests that this was Peritas Myon (Appendix B.54.ii).

³⁶³ Appendix B.54.i. Chaniotis (2014) discusses this genealogy and its epigraphic formulation in terms of the practice of adoption and second names at Aphrodisias. The long lists of ancestors included in his text and the specificity of ancestral accomplishment provided in the inscription of his father (see below) suggests the possibility that individual families retained some kind of ancestral archive. The possibility of family archives is discussed by Jones 2010, p. 118; see also Thomas 1989, pp. 155-195. The most famous example is the extensive, thirty-one generation, family tree inscribed on the tomb of Licinnia Flavilla (*IGR* III, 500 (V), Hall et al. 1996).

³⁶⁴ It is worth noting that although the inscription included the honorific title of συνεκτικότες, it was not employed in the standardized formula found in the 1st century CE examples. The title is separated from πρώτου and introduced by ἀπόγονον, instead of γένους (cf. Tab. 1).

³⁶⁵ He also set up "gilt shields and statues of different kinds in sacred and public places, carrying inscriptions fitting the reputation of his family" (ll. 11-14). The translation is by Reynolds (*IAph* 2007 11.508). This is one of the few inscriptions from Aphrodisias that explicitly stated the physical contributions that a benefactor made to the city. Smith et al. (2006, p. 22) interpret a significant amount of detail in honorific inscriptions as a reflection of a need to justify an honorand's status in the community, particularly because he or she was an outsider.

son of Molon.³⁶⁶ He came from a distinguished and esteemed family (λαμπροῦ καὶ ἐνδόξου), whose members undertook gymnasiarchies, *stephanephorates* embassies, and other magistracies. He was praised for following in the path of his ancestors by “living with generosity towards his homeland” (ζῶντα φιλοτίμως πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα) and carrying out magistracies.³⁶⁷ While the inscriptions indicate that both father and son were active participants in local civic politics, the inscriptions were part of a funerary monument in which no provisions were made for Myon’s wife or children, suggesting that such offspring did not exist and that the family line ended with Myon.³⁶⁸

Tatia’s consolation decree dates to shortly after the funerary monument of Myon and Peritas. When the post-Tatia inscriptions are examined, they reveal that the title *συνεκτικότης* was absent for many years thereafter. If Tatia’s funeral took place during the reign of Hadrian (in the 120s), as Reynolds and Roueché argue, then it was at least sixty years before the term appeared again in Aphrodisian epigraphy.³⁶⁹ In the last quarter of

³⁶⁶Appendix B.54.ii.

³⁶⁷ In addition to these ancestral accomplishments and connections, the inscription closed with an additional link between past and present: Peritas “was holding the gymnasiarchy and his eleventh *stephanephoros* in the manner of Myon, his great-grandfather, splendidly and lavishly and worthily of his ancestors” (ll 30-34). The translation is by Reynolds (*Laph 2007* 11.508). In addition to serving as gymnasiarch and *stephanephoros*, Peritas also was a priest of Titus.

³⁶⁸ The text for the son, Myon, included a clause concerning burial restrictions in the tomb and a statement that Myon was still alive when the text was inscribed. Although other Aphrodisians had honorific inscriptions inscribed as part of their funerary monuments outside of the city, such as the family of Hermias Glykon, those texts followed the grammatical structure of honorific texts inscribed on statue bases displayed within the city, particularly in their inclusion of the opening lines that stated that the *boule* and *demos* honored the individuals (the assumption is that the honorific inscriptions preserved on the tombs would have been replicated on monuments also displayed in the city). The texts for Myon and Peritas, however, retained no such introductory clauses and so might not have been the result of the public process of issuing honors that was represented by other examples. Unregulated circumstances for the publication of these texts on a private monument help explain the number of peculiarities identified in these inscriptions, including the anomalous employment of the *συνεκτικότες* title, the lengthy genealogical provisions, the inclusion of burial restrictions, and the specific reference to a previous ancestor.

³⁶⁹ Familial titles, however, did continue in the surviving epigraphic corpus and benefactors were described as being members of foremost (πρώτου) families, often paired with adjectives, such as ἐνδόξου. For example, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, the Aphrodisian athlete Aelius Aurelius Menandros was honored as a member of foremost and honorable family (γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐνδόξου) (Appendix B.86A).

the 2nd century and in the first half of the 3rd century CE, a new concentration of appearances of this title (not used in the same standardized formula of the 1st-century-CE examples) appeared for seven individuals, none of whom have any demonstrable connection to Tatia or the other “co-founding” families.³⁷⁰

If Tatia’s death symbolized the end of both an important family and historical lines of the city, the public outcry, the interrupted funeral, and the intramural burial of a young woman all become more understandable. Tatia Attalis represented the last “direct” connection between past and present in the community, the last link to those families that came together and created the Aphrodisian community, and the last living incarnation of the history of the city. Despite her limited contributions, the loss of Tatia, who embodied so much for the city both in terms of future benefactions and past history, was felt exponentially more than other elite deaths.

CONCLUSIONS

The deeds undertaken by the Aphrodisian populace at the death of Tatia Attalis were the reactions of a community to the passing of an individual, a family, and a group of families who were essential to the cohesion of the society. Tatia Attalis and the “co-founding” families, the established aristocracy, presented themselves and were honored as descendants of founders of the city, representatives of the long history of Aphrodisias. They were one part of a larger collective identity, which included this shared past. Just as the founder reliefs from the Civil Basilica advertised a rich heritage to an external audience that inserted the city into a wider network, the co-founders gave legitimacy and a history to the internal hierarchy of Aphrodisias. It naturalized the status of some families and

Pyrron Papias and his two sons were described with the same language in their honorific inscriptions from the late 2nd century CE (Appendix B.87-89).

³⁷⁰ The resurgence of this term in the epigraphic record is discussed in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

guaranteed their participation in civic life because they had been a part of the city from the “beginning,” whatever that beginning was. The intramural burial of Adrastos, along with his *ktistes* title, proved that the community had accepted this benefactor as integral to its conception of itself, allowing for space to be carved out in a central and prominent location in the city for his permanent burial monument. The subsequent burial of Tatia Attalis in this same monument demonstrates that this acceptance extended beyond Adrastos as an individual to his entire familial line, and arguably all the families that that line represented—the “co-founding” families.

These families and their importance to the identity of the community were being defined and inserted into the public dialogue at the same time that the Civil Basilica reliefs were commissioned and those foundation narratives crafted. The choices of Claudia Paulina represented one piece of the Aphrodisian collective identity. Overall, the evidence has shown that the competitive elite environment of late 1st century CE Aphrodisias made claims to local pasts a highly contentious process in which all sides saw value in linking themselves to the origins of the city. While those with a prestigious pedigree advertised this title in honorific inscriptions, some without pedigree connected themselves to the past through sculptural representations. Both narratives of foundation were embedded into the landscape of the city. The reliefs of the Civil Basilica were accessible to visitors and Aphrodisians alike as they were displayed in a prominent building that would have been used for festivals, processions, legal activities and more. The “co-founding” families displayed their honorific inscriptions and portraiture within the city (unfortunately their location is unknown) and the intramural tomb of Adrastos was probably located next to the *bouleuterion*, the heart of local politics, and yet a place potentially less frequented by outsiders, and therefore more targeted to the local population.

Constructions of a local identity are precipitated by the presence of a supralocal entity. In this instance, the creation of an Aphrodisian collective identity was influenced by the presence of Rome and the provincial administration it brought about. The new provincial opportunities encouraged the promotion of a local history that was relevant and legible to a wider audience, one that would insert the community of Aphrodisias into a broader, regional network and one that could be used to gain or justify imperial privileges. The increased connectedness of the city, however, did not lessen the importance of its native citizens to an internal audience. Rather, those individuals who represented the ancestral longevity of the community were honored as essential to its collective identity. Their relationship with the community was embodied by the emotional reaction of the people when the last of these descendants passed away.

Chapter 3: Loss and Change in the Community of the 2nd Century CE

The previous two chapters introduced the practice of honorific inscriptions at Aphrodisias, which began in the Late Hellenistic period and started to flourish in the latter half of the 1st century CE. This development coincided with the monumentalization of the civic center by a select group of local families. In honorific and dedicatory inscriptions from the 1st century CE, two groups of families at Aphrodisias presented themselves as part of the top-tier of local society: the *συνεκτικότες* descendants who dominated the honorific inscriptions and the families connected to the imperial administration that undertook most of the building projects. In chapter two, it was argued that members of both groups became integrated with the collective identity of the Aphrodisian community—Claudia Paulina through her display of Aphrodisian foundation legends in their benefactions, and Adrastus and his granddaughter Tatia in their public funeral and intramural burial. The underlying dynamic of this period, particularly the generation of elites active in the mid- to late-1st century CE, was intense competition. Intra-*polis* rivalries between Aphrodisian elites, some of whom had long been part of the civic hierarchy, and others who had only recently attained substantial wealth and influence, spurred on a competitive building spree in the community and a profusion of honorific titles and monuments. The present chapter, which progresses in time to the honorific (and dedicatory) inscriptions from the first half of the 2nd century CE, departs from the agency of the elites and their public competition, and rather focuses on how these civic rivalries impacted the relationship between the community and its euergetistic families.

The honorific record from the first half of the 2nd century CE is most notable for the shifts in the types of honorands publicly commemorated. The surviving epigraphic corpus from this period was dominated by consolation decrees for deceased youths, while

the remaining inscriptions were issued for victorious athletes, educators, and sophists. Additionally, decorated or notable benefactors, such as Tiberius Claudius Diogenes or Adrastos in earlier generations, were conspicuously absent from the record, except for a Titus Sallustius Athenagoras and his family, who received multiple honors for achieving the rank of Roman senator (as opposed to undertaking any local liturgies or magistracies). Thus, the overall honorific record from the early 2nd century CE was markedly different from the record of the previous half century. It indicates a more public consciousness of the importance of families, Greek cultural values, and regional involvement as well as an increasing disparity in wealth among the recipients of honors. Similarly, the dedicatory record from the first half of this century stands apart from the previous one. The only major monument constructed in this period, the Hadrianic Bath complex, was a collaborative benefaction that included small-scale dedications from at least thirty families, most of which were second-tier in the civic hierarchy. The contraction in building activity and high number of contributing benefactors might have been the result of financial strain in the community—a condition evident in a series of inscribed letters from the emperor Hadrian to Aphrodisias—and a product of the growing stratification of the bouletic order. Overall, the evidence suggests that some elite families might have died out while others had begun to pursue opportunities outside of the city. These shifts in the demography and priorities of the local aristocracy resulted in increased attention to the children of wealthy families, the broadening of the honorific pool, and a new form of collaborative building projects, all of which were significant departures from the competitive rivalries of 1st century Aphrodisias.

CONSOLATION DECREES AND THE COMMEMORATION OF CHILDREN

The elite factions identifiable in the 1st century CE honorific inscriptions were not found among the twenty-nine honorific inscriptions that date to the first half of the 2nd century CE.

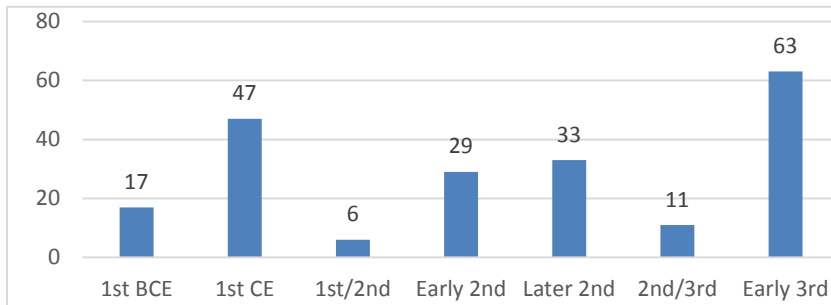


Illustration 6: Distribution of honorific inscriptions recovered from Aphrodisias according to date.

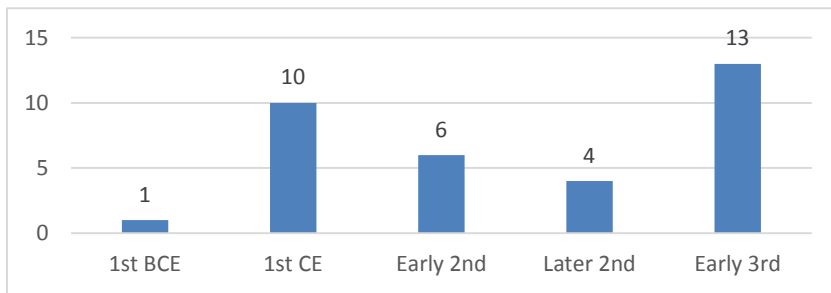


Illustration 7: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for female honorands at Aphrodisias according to date.

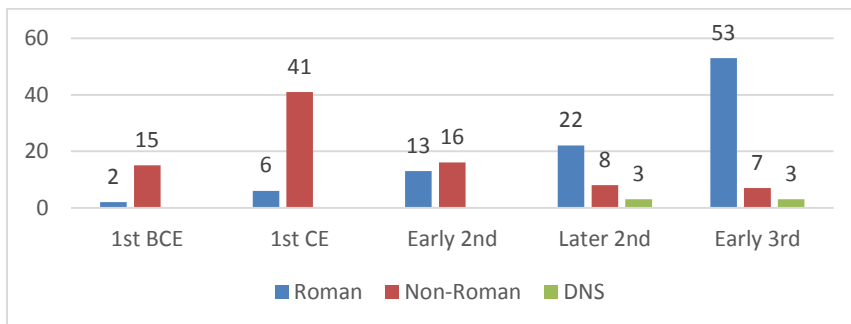


Illustration 8: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship according to date.

In this group of texts, there were six honorifics for local women and thirteen inscriptions for Roman citizens.³⁷¹ Accompanying the increased presence of Roman citizens among the Aphrodisian honorands was an increase in the number of generations provided by the non-Roman honorands. Nine recipients provided the name of their great-grandfather; two of these provided five total generations and one provided six generations.³⁷²

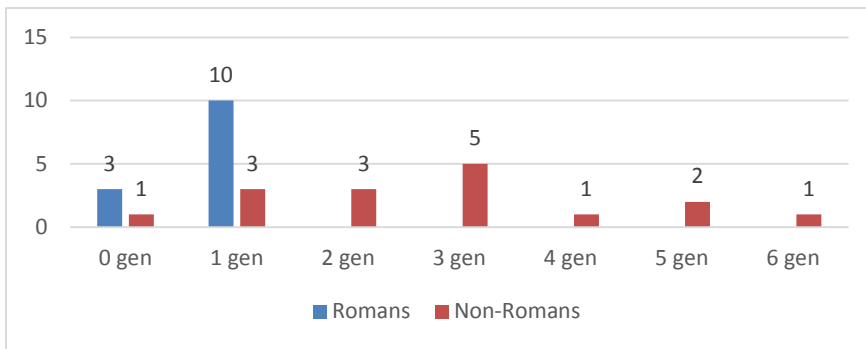


Illustration 9: Number of generations provided by Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship in their honorific inscriptions from the first half of the 2nd century CE.

On the other hand, honorands with Roman citizenship never listed more than a patronymic, as in the previous century.³⁷³ The overall impression from this dataset is a pool of honorands whose accomplishments or reasons for receiving honor were much more varied than the civic benefactors of the previous century. The previous chapter introduced the emotional reaction of the community at the death of the benefactress Tatia Attalis, arguably the last of the co-founding descendants, who died in the reign of Hadrian.³⁷⁴ The

³⁷¹ While the proportion of honorific texts for women stayed about the same, the proportion of texts for Roman citizens rose substantially, from 15% in the 1st century CE to 46% in the first half of the 2nd century CE. Seven of the thirteen honorifics were for Sallustius and his family.

³⁷² Three generations: Appendix B.64, 65, 67.i-iii. Four generations: Appendix B.69. Five generations: Appendix B.54.ii-55. Six generations: Appendix 54.i.

³⁷³ The changes in genealogical provisions is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

³⁷⁴ Appendix B.55.

evidence from the first half of the 2nd century CE demonstrates that this public reaction was not an isolated incident, but rather part of a broader trend in which the children of elite families increased in importance in the eyes of the community and their deaths began to be a matter of public consolation and commemoration.

Of the twenty-nine inscriptions from the first half of the 2nd century CE, sixteen of the individuals honored were deceased at the time their monuments were awarded. As stated before, an honorific monument was the highest honor that a benefactor could receive from a city, and it was quite common at Aphrodisias for this honor to be given toward the end of a benefactor's life or even after his or her death.³⁷⁵ These monuments then celebrated a lifetime of achievement and civic contributions. So it should be no surprise that at least 57% of the inscriptions from this period were awarded to the honorand posthumously. What is surprising, however, is the fact that at least eleven of those decrees were for youths who died prematurely (39% of the total number of the inscriptions and 70% of the posthumous inscriptions). By comparison, of the thirty-seven inscriptions that date to the latter half of the 1st century CE, there were only five honors for deceased youths (11%).³⁷⁶ The high proportion of honors for deceased youths at Aphrodisias in this later period means that either some event caused a great number of deaths or a change in the practice of commemoration made honors for children more common (or possibly a combination).

³⁷⁵ Strubbe (1998, p. 64) notes that "posthumous honours of all kinds were frequently conferred in that region [Caria]." See also, Habicht 1995, pp. 90-92. Van Bremen (1996, p. 163, n. 71) states that the concentration of posthumous decrees might be a reflection of different recording habits between regions. Thus, the practice of issuing consolation decrees was one way that the community of Aphrodisias participated in a regional phenomenon.

³⁷⁶ 1st century CE consolations: Appendix B.3.iii (Apphia), 4 (Aristokles Molossos), 21.iii (Phanias), 39 (Panphilos), and 48 (Titus Lysimachos Grypos). Appendix B.41 (Attalos) and B.43 (Mithridates) were posthumous decrees, but it is unclear whether or not they were children. Two inscriptions that date to either the 1st or 2nd century CE were for deceased youths: Appendix B.49 (Claudia Tryphosa Paulina) and B.51 (Apphia).

With the death of Tatia Attalis, the city had lost an entire sector of its euergetic population, along with the promise of future generations of benefactors to fulfill the duties of their forefathers as office-holders and patrons. It is certainly possible that the momentous death of a young benefactress brought greater significance and meaning to the deaths of all elite children, as their loss would have recalled the loss of the founding families. This, in and of itself, could have resulted in an increase in the public commemoration of deceased children. Additionally, the growing reliance on local families for euergetism over the last century had increased the overall importance of children to the health of the community and therefore increased the significance of their passing. This resulted in the need to commemorate their deaths in new and public ways.

The death of a child (from any family) was a lamentably common occurrence in the ancient world. Across the empire, high mortality rates, particularly for infants and children, plagued communities and elite families were not immune from such losses.³⁷⁷ As discussed briefly in the Introduction, high mortality rates made it difficult to sustain any substantial continuity within a family line, and thus they threatened intergenerational stability of resources or power over time.³⁷⁸ Because such continuity was necessary for a

³⁷⁷ For discussions on demography in the Roman Empire, see Saller 1994; Scheidel 1999. The model life tables for the Roman world suggests that average life expectancy was around 20-30 years, but Scheidel (2001) has argued against such a broad generalization and in favor of taking a more bracketed or group approach (e.g. at infancy, one's life expectancy was X, while if they survive childhood, life expectancy is now Y).

³⁷⁸ Zuiderhoek 2011, p. 186. Strategies such as adoption or calculated marriages were options available to wealthy families attempting to ensure generational continuity and protect against extinction. Epigraphic evidence from Aphrodisias demonstrates that strategic adoption was practiced there. For example, when Aristokles Molossos lost his homonymous son at a young age, he adopted an Aphrodisian named Hermas. Hermas completed the promises of benefactions to the theater made by his foster-father (*I Aph 2007* 8.108, 112, and 113). The relationship between Aristokles and Hermas is unclear, but other examples suggest that adoptions could have happened within families, such as an uncle adopting his nephew. For example, Diodoros was described as the adopted son of Diodoros and the natural son of Leon in his honorific inscription (Appendix B.5.iii). The same name between the honorand and his adoptive father suggests that they were members of the same broader family line. For more on the practice of adoption in the ancient world in general, see Lindsay 2009.

family to accumulate wealth and prestige, there was significant investment in the livelihood of children from wealthy families. The loss of a child—a tragedy for all parents and families—would have been devastating for an elite family that had been relying on that child to carry on the family name and inheritance.³⁷⁹

But the sense of loss did not end with the relatives; the death of a child from a wealthy family also impacted the community because of what the child represented on account of pedigree. Ancestral references, which legitimized the status of an honorand and distinguished him or her from other elites with less prestigious pedigree, showcased a unique relationship between community and benefactor—a relationship of expectation and obligation.³⁸⁰ Because an individual came from a wealthy family which had undertaken multiple offices and liturgies or provided public benefactions, he or she was expected by the community to hold the same offices, take up the same liturgies, and provide similar benefactions.³⁸¹ Therefore, a somewhat cyclical and integrated relationship existed between the benefactor, his or her family, and the civic community. A benefactor could be praised and receive honor for the accomplishments of his or her ancestors, but was also then obligated to perform public service in equal measure.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ Zuiderhoek 2009a, p. 143. Zuiderhoek goes on to note that those families that were able to survive successfully (out of “demographic luck”) were the same ones that became the top-tier of the bouletic order, such as the co-founding families at Aphrodisias.

³⁸⁰ For example, in a speech by Dio Chrysostom to the Prusans, the author declines public honors saying that he already has the many honors that the city bestowed upon his father, mother, grandfather and other ancestors (*Or.* 44.3-5; see Jones 1978, pp. 105-106 for a discussion of this passage). This is an example of how an individual benefactor might publicly rely on the accomplishments or fame of his or her ancestors in order to bolster his or her own prestige and status. In the inscriptions for Opramoas on his intramural tomb in Rhodiapolis, multiple references to his distinguished family and ancestors were included (see a translation and discussion in Kokkinia 2000). Van Nijf (2010a) also notes the prevalence of ancestry and genealogy in the honorific inscriptions of Termessian benefactors and interprets these as a means of legitimization for public honor.

³⁸¹ Dmitriev (2005, pp. 164-169) notes that the change in status of children began in the 2nd century CE, which was when children started to hold offices jointly with their parents.

³⁸² For example, in a speech by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 46), he narrates that a hungry mob attacked his home during a grain shortage accusing him of stockpiling grain when he was supposed to sell it cheaply. This anecdote illustrates the degree of reliance that a community had on the generosity of its wealthy citizens.

It was precisely this degree of commitment to the city—particularly its maintenance and beautification—that resulted in the public adulation and promotion of children from wealthy families. Beginning in the Hellenistic period and culminating in the High Empire, children and young adults from aristocratic families began to receive public honors, awards, and privileges solely because they were from these families.³⁸³ By the 2nd century CE, new honorific titles had developed that presented adult benefactors as benevolent and generous parents and their children as dutiful sons and daughters.³⁸⁴ In this century, the phrases “son of the city” and “daughter of the city” began to appear in the epigraphic record as honorific titles for young men and young women of good birth.³⁸⁵ Such a publicly-granted title signified an early commitment to the city, as opposed to being a reward for any individual achievement, and the bestowal of this title was based solely on the deeds and behavior of the youth’s ancestors.³⁸⁶ Moreover, the familial language employed in this

The level of expectation was such that if an aristocrat did not comply, negative and even violent actions could be undertaken by the masses (Zuiderhoek 2009a, p. 138). Pliny the Younger notes tensions between some of the Ephesian elites and the local benefactor Claudius Aristion in the early 2nd century CE (*Ep.* 6.31.1). Similar tensions have been proposed between the Ephesian populace and Vedius Antoninus under Marcus Aurelius (*IvE* 1491) (Kalinowski 2002); a new interpretation of this relationship is offered by Kokkinia 2003. The ideological view that ancestry obligated an individual to behave certain ways was also present in the specific responsibilities that a child or grandchild might have inherited from their parent. For example, at Aphrodisias Ammia completed the waterworks promised by her father, Adrastus (*I Aph* 2007 2.314); see also van Bremen 1996, p. 99-113.

³⁸³ Pleket (1998) argues that it was the increasing oligarchization of the post-Classical city which resulted in the production of honors for children; see also van Bremen 1996, p. 163.

³⁸⁴ Van Bremen (1996, pp. 156-170) describes this phenomenon as the “domestication of public life” and finds evidence for the developing relationship in honorific titles, scenes from Greek novels, and the rise in consolation decrees and public funerals. In the 1st century CE, the Aphrodisian Tata, the daughter of Diodoros, was described as the mother of the city (Appendix B.5.ii). This was the earliest attestation of this title in Asia Minor (van Bremen 1996, p. 169).

³⁸⁵ Giannakopoulos 2008; Canali de Rossi 2007. Aphrodisias produced the highest number of examples of the term “daughter of the city.” Van Bremen (1996, Appendix 3, nos. 15-23) lists nine examples, of which only one dates to the early 2nd century CE (no. 18: Claudia Paulina); the rest date to the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE. Smith (2007) adds four more examples, all of which were from the Hadrianic period (B 12, 22, 25b, and 25d), an indication that the children of wealthy families had become more important to the local community by this time; see also some of the dedicators listed in Table 4.

³⁸⁶ Robert (1969, pp. 316-322) interprets this title as a form of public adoption by the city’s institutions, perhaps an event that involved some sort of public competition.

official phrase demonstrated the sense of obligation a child from a wealthy family was supposed to feel toward his or her native city; it instilled a sense of familial duty.³⁸⁷ While personal ancestry was a valuable marker of status that a benefactor could advertise in acts of self-promotion, family background also embedded the children of wealthy families in a life of obligation to the city—office-holding, liturgies, benefactions and more.

This metaphorical relationship of familial duty was also present in the reactions and involvement of the public to events in the life of the youth that otherwise would have been considered private.³⁸⁸ Consolation decrees and public funerals are the best example of the public embrace of wealthy children. The decrees were official texts issued by the local civic institutions upon the untimely death of a male or female citizen; the ostensible purposes of these decrees were to honor the deceased and console his or her relatives.³⁸⁹ Although consolation decrees survive from all over the Greek world, the greatest concentration of them is from Caria, and Aphrodisias in particular.³⁹⁰ All of the decrees recovered date to the Imperial period, which was a result of the systematized oligarchic (and hereditary) society that operated in the cities of Roman Asia Minor. Members of the oligarchy were largely determined by family background and so it was only after such a

³⁸⁷ As Giannakopoulos (2008, p. 267) reasons: “The local benefactor helping his city was not presented as the saviour, protector and master of the rest of the citizens in absolute need of his generosity and goodwill, but as a faithful son or daughter executing his or her expected duty to the family.”

³⁸⁸ For example, citizens could be invited to the wedding ceremony of a son or daughter from a wealthy family (Wörrle 1995, pp. 244-245). Both Wörrle (1995) and van Bremen (1996, p. 164) interpret these acts—public marriages, public funerals, and even the opening up of a benefactor’s home to more public gatherings—as a blurring of the lines between public and private that was taking place in the urban environments of the Greek East throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods (this is not to say that Rome, the Western empire, or North Africa were immune to such trends).

³⁸⁹ For more consolation decrees, see Pleket 1994. Consolation decrees can be considered a sub-category of honorific decrees since both sets of texts praised the honorand (Quass 1993, p. 49); the primary difference was the fact that the recipient of a consolation decree had died prematurely, whereas the recipient of an honorific inscription might have been alive when the honors were issued or might have received them posthumously at the end of a long and rich life (Strubbe 1998, pp. 59-75). For posthumous decrees, see Habicht 1995, pp. 90-92.

³⁹⁰ By Strubbe’s criteria, ten examples come from Caria and seven of those from Aphrodisias; another thirteen were from Amorgos, an island off the coast of Caria.

political order was in place that children began to be considered potential future benefactors.³⁹¹ For this reason, consolation decrees were a phenomenon of the Roman period, and especially of the 2nd century CE, because it was at this point that local politics became dominated by a limited number of wealthy families who could monopolize liturgies and magistracies over multiple generations and thus establish the expectation from the community of how the children of these families would behave.³⁹² The content of these decrees and honors consisted of consolation to the family and mention of the virtuous nature of the deceased.³⁹³ Because the deceased young person had been unable to actually contribute to the well-being of the community, no civic contributions or services are enumerated; instead, the focus is on the generosity of the deceased's ancestors and families, which reaffirmed the presumption that prestige was inherited.³⁹⁴

In addition to the decree for Tatia Attalis, ten inscriptions from Aphrodisias in the first half of the 2nd century CE honored deceased children; seven of them were set up by the grieving parents. The council, the people, and the *gerousia* issued honors for Theodotos, son of Andronikos, son of Pardalos, son of Papias; his father set up the monument.³⁹⁵ As was typical of consolation decrees, Theodotos was commended for having ancestors who held liturgies and for himself having lived moderately (*κόσμιος*). In

³⁹¹ Pleket (1994, pp. 154-156) discusses the relationship between political structure and production of consolation decrees; see also Strubbe 1998, p. 64.

³⁹² Pleket 1994, pp. 154-156. Van Bremen (1996, p.163) goes on to discuss the act of joint office-holding with children which became a feature of civic politics in the Imperial period.

³⁹³ The most frequently cited virtues were self-restraint (*σωφροσύνη*), orderly conduct (*κοσμιότης*) and distinction (*σεμνότης*), in addition to the proper education (*παιδεία*) of the youth (Strubbe 1998, pp. 68-69). These virtues were also employed to describe adult citizens in other honorifics and their use furthered the affirmation of an elite ideology of moral superiority (Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 122-133). The reference to *παιδεία* in the consolation inscriptions coincided with an increasing interest in proper education and its importance to the civic community that occupied elite ideology of the imperial period. As discussed below, honors for sophists and individuals renowned for their *παιδεία* began to regularly appear in the honorific record at Aphrodisias in the early 2nd century CE.

³⁹⁴ Zuiderhoek 2009a, p. 142. As previously discussed, the inclusion of ancestral achievements was not unique to consolation decrees, but was a common feature in honorific inscriptions from the Imperial period.

³⁹⁵ Appendix B.65.

another inscription, Sextus Flavius Julianos Diogenes and his wife, Flavia Apphia, set up honors for their son, Julianos, and daughter, Flavia Apphia Juliane.³⁹⁶ The most tragic of these inscriptions was the set of three consolation decrees honoring the death of three brothers—Zenon, Kallias, and Eudamos—all sons of Kallias, the son of Zenon, son of Eudamos.³⁹⁷ Each son was honored by the council and the people with multiple statues and images in public and private places. The other posthumous decrees include honors for Praxiteles, a young man who lived modestly and gave a foundation to the council and the people.³⁹⁸ The council and the people also honored Dionysios, listed with four previous generations, for his orderly life, as well as Lykidas Zenon, who was honored for his education (*παιδεία*) and whose statue was set up by his parents.³⁹⁹

The evidence suggests that some of these inscriptions were for children who might have been the last member of their family, and so their death marked the end of an elite familial line.⁴⁰⁰ This was not necessarily the case for all the decrees, however; in fact, the

³⁹⁶ Appendix B.66. No other information was provided for these siblings. The public bodies issuing this honorific do not survive, but Reynolds' commentary suggests that the block is missing that opening section and the honors would have been issued by the *boule* and the *demoi*.

³⁹⁷ Appendix B.67. These might be the same three youths associated with the donation of two rooms of the Hadrianic Baths discussed below (*I Aph 2007* 5.9). The consolation decrees were not issued at the same time, but individually as each brother passed away. Two of the inscriptions record the living brothers participating in the erection of their deceased brothers' monuments. The time between the deaths of the brothers suggest that it was not a catastrophic plague, during which members of the same household would have most likely died in close proximity to each other. The text for the brothers also explains that they would receive three types of honorific statues: "public statues" (*ἀνδριάντας*), "sacred statues" (*ἀγάλματα*), and "painted busts in gilded shield frames" (*εἰκόνας γραπτὰς*). For a discussion of these terms and their meaning, see Smith et al 2006, pp. 20-21 (cf. Appendix B.42, ll. 20-22). These images were to be set up in either sacred or civic spaces (*ἐν ἱεροῖς ἢ δημοσίοις τόποις*) at the discretion of their father. Specifying the location of the statue was rare in Aphrodisian inscriptions. For more on the control of public space by elites by honorific monuments, see van Nijf 2011; see also, Ma 2013a, pp. 67-150 for the Hellenistic age.

³⁹⁸ Appendix B.68.

³⁹⁹ Dionysios: Appendix B.69; Lykidas Zenon: Appendix B.61. An inscription for Molossos, son of Peritas, son of Adrastos, son of Artemidoros honors him for becoming a priest of Hermes as a child (Appendix B.70). It is not clear whether this was issued posthumously or not.

⁴⁰⁰ Tatia Attalis is the obvious example, but the loss of multiple children for Flavius Julianos (Appendix B.66) and Kallias (Appendix B.67) insinuates that these families had lost all of their offspring as well.

concentrated loss of so many elite families seems highly unlikely.⁴⁰¹ Alternatively, the loss of a few (and some extremely) important euergetic families over time increased the general awareness of the community to the death of elite children, and highlighted the significance of all elite children in the minds of the populace. The community reacted accordingly through public consolation and commemoration.⁴⁰² Moreover, the increased number of honors for deceased youths was a reflection of the evolving relationship between the community and its wealthiest citizens and a manifestation of the heightened reliance that the populace had on aristocratic families and their offspring for maintaining the health of the city.⁴⁰³ By the 2nd century CE, children of aristocratic families were just as important as wealthy adult benefactors to the livelihood of the community.

NEW HONORANDS: ATHLETES, PERFORMERS AND SOPHISTS

A second notable difference in the surviving honorific inscriptions from the first half of the 2nd century CE was the increase in the number of honors for athletes, performers, and educators.⁴⁰⁴ Of the twenty-nine individuals who were honored in this fifty year period, three were victorious performers and two were honored as sophists (Tab. 3).⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰¹ There is no evidence in the region of some sort of cataclysmic event or plague that would have wiped out these families. Additionally, the consolation decrees were spread out over the fifty year period in question, suggesting a change in commemorative behavior as opposed to a reaction to a particular event.

⁴⁰² The reaction also included the creation of new honorific titles for elite children, such as daughter of the city, which first appeared in the inscriptions at Aphrodisias in the reign of Hadrian.

⁴⁰³ The increased reliance on children is based on patterns identified across Asia Minor and the increasing prominence of children in the epigraphic record of these communities (Dmitriev 2005, pp. 164-169); see also, van Bremen 1996, pp. 160-175.

⁴⁰⁴ The scholarship on athletes in the ancient world is immense; for the role of athletes (and performers) in the Hellenistic and Roman period, see Newby 2005, van Nijf 1999, 2001, 2004, and 2006. The importance of athletics in the Greek East during the Roman period has most often been studied in relation to the rise of festival culture (Wörrle 1988, Mitchell 1990, and van Nijf 2001). Chapter Four provides a full discussion of festival culture at Aphrodisias and its documented rise in the later 2nd century CE.

⁴⁰⁵ In the previous century, only one athlete received an honorific inscription. Adrastus was honored by the Aphrodisian *boule*, *demos*, and *gerousia* for being the 5th sacred victor from the synod (Appendix B.24); see also, Roueché 1993, no. 66. There is a possibility that the inscription might date to the early 2nd century CE. The contest, labeled as “sacred”, meant that it did not take place at Aphrodisias. A contest had to be granted the title of “sacred” and no such contest at Aphrodisias was given that honor until the

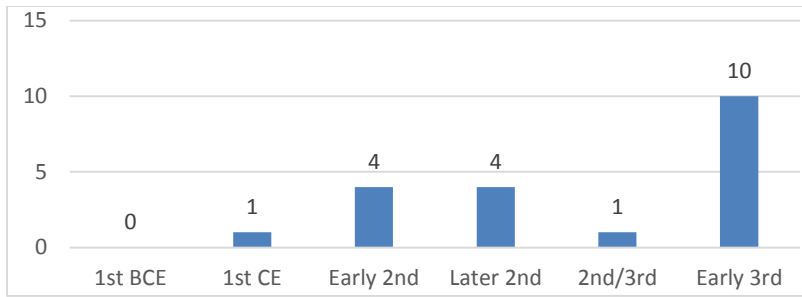


Illustration 10: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for athletes/performers at Aphrodisias according to date.

The inscriptions for the three competitors (who received four honorific monuments) all date to the reign of Hadrian.⁴⁰⁶ Tiberius Claudius Kallimorphos was honored by the local *boule* and *demos* for his international successes as a choral flautist.⁴⁰⁷ He was the son of Tiberius Claudius Agathangelos, a priest for life of Nike, and a circuit-victor. The inscription listed the contests at which he was victorious, which included games all over Asia Minor, as well as mainland Greece.⁴⁰⁸

Two additional performers were honored in the reign of Hadrian, but unlike Kallimorphos, these individuals were awarded statues at Aphrodisias by non-local organizations. The Synod of Athletes, based at Ephesos, issued two honorific decrees and statues for Kallikrates, son of Diogenes, to be set up in public at both Ephesos and Aphrodisias.⁴⁰⁹ He was a pancratist and a sacred victor who received honors for his

mid-3rd century CE (Roueché 1993). No information is given to specify his specialty or even the contest in which he competed. For comparable honorific inscriptions of sacred victors from Ephesos, see Brunet 1998, pp. 61-103.

⁴⁰⁶ Jones (1990) notes the popularity of establishing festivals in Asia Minor under the reign of Hadrian due to the emperor's cultural preferences and presence in the region.

⁴⁰⁷ Appendix B.56; see also, Roueché 1993, no. 67.

⁴⁰⁸ As discussed in more detail in chapter four, the Greek East experienced a kind of "agonistic explosion" in the Roman period (Robert 1982, p. 38) and almost every city had at least one or two festivals (van Nijf 2001, pp. 310-311).

⁴⁰⁹ Appendix B.57A and B. In the Roman period, synods were legally-constituted entities whose structure was based on that of the city, particularly in their regular correspondences with emperors. Synods oversaw the caretaking of performers at contests, encouraged the organization of festivals, and even provided contests with their own funding (Roueché 1993, p. 225).

victories and good character. The final performer honored in this period was Gaius Julius Longianos. His honors included three decrees: two issued from a city (Halikarnassos) and one from the Synod of Performers.⁴¹⁰ Longianos was a tragic poet from Aphrodisias who was honored at Halikarnassos because his performances “delighted the older and improved the younger [in the city]” (τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους εὐφρανεν καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὠφέλησεν).⁴¹¹ At Halikarnassos, he was given local citizenship and honored with multiple bronze statues, including one set up “in the sanctuary of the Muses and in the gymnasium of the Ephebes next to the statue of Herodotus” (ἐν τῷ τῶν Μουσῶν τεμένει καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῶν ἐφήβων παρὰ τὸν παλαιὸν Ἡρόδοτον).⁴¹² Additionally, his books were included in the libraries at Halikarnassos and the decree was sent to the Aphrodisians so that the community should know “the way in which we [the Halikarnassians] regularly behave towards all educated men” (ἦθος ᾧ περὶ πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς πεπαιδευμένοις χρώμενοι διατελοῦμεν). The third decree was issued by the Synod of Performers and it honored Longianos for his eloquence and learning (παιδεία) “as an encouragement for future generations” (καὶ προτροπὴν τῶν μελλόντων). While Halikarnassos set up bronze statues of Longianos, the Synod provided a “painted likeness” (εἰκόνι γραπτῇ) to be displayed at Aphrodisias.⁴¹³ The texts for Longianos highlight the interconnectedness of cities within

⁴¹⁰ Appendix B.58; Roueché 1993, no. 88. The first of the three decrees is fragmentary and the issuing body cannot be identified, but Reynolds (*Iaph* 2007 12.27) suggests that it was also from Halikarnassos. The titles provided at the beginning of the third decree date the inscription specifically to the year 127 CE.

⁴¹¹ The translations are Roueché 1993, no. 88.

⁴¹² In the Imperial period, a number of authors were from Aphrodisias. In addition to Longianos, whose works are not known outside of this inscription, there was the novelist Chariton in the late 1st century CE, the philosopher Alexander in the late 2nd century CE, and the local historian Apollonios in the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE.

⁴¹³ The three decrees were inscribed on a single block with molding, which was most likely part of a composite monument upon which a statue (or statue group) of Longianos was displayed. It is also possible that the block was part of a building possibly displayed in the local gymnasium or library. The block was reused in the construction of the city wall in the 4th century CE (*Iaph* 2007 12.27). For more on the different types of honorific portraits, see Smith et al. 2006, pp. 20-21.

region; both Halikarnassos and Aphrodisias were Carian cities, and their shared regional identity was reiterated through the honors bestowed upon the Aphrodisian poet.⁴¹⁴

None of these performers—Kallimorphos, Kallikrates, or Longianos—was otherwise attested at Aphrodisias, but all came from wealthy families.⁴¹⁵ While early scholarship suggested that athletics and performance in the Roman period were the purview of professional athletes without distinguished pedigree, the innumerable honorific inscriptions for victors—including those of Aphrodisias—demonstrate that agonistic skills were among the primary public pursuits of local elites in the Eastern Empire.⁴¹⁶ These individuals were from families that had the time and money required to pursue a successful course of training and competition in the gymnasium.⁴¹⁷

Kallimorphos, Kallikrates, and Longianos all participated in *agones*, athletic and musical competitions that were considered essential to the definition of Greek culture in the Roman period.⁴¹⁸ These pursuits were the embodiment of *paideia*, the education and

⁴¹⁴ Likewise, the honors for Kallikrates advertised the relationship between Aphrodisias and the activities at Ephesos, two cities that were part of the same provincial community. In regards to a collective interest in maintaining a Carian identity, the foundation legends chosen for the Civil Basilica, specifically the founders Bellerophon and Pegasus, tied Aphrodisias to the region through mythological (see Chapter Two). For more on a distinct Carian identity, see van Bremen and Carbon 2010.

⁴¹⁵ Both Kallimorphos and Longianos had Roman citizenship. Moreover, Longianos' praenomen and nomen suggest that he was connected to Gaius Julius Zoilos (cf. *I Aph 2007* 12.514). While no family background is stated nor can familial connections be made for Kallikrates, his ability to perform as a pancratist "from his earliest youth" (*ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας*) suggests that he too had a wealthy upbringing in the gymnasium and therefore was part of an aristocratic family. Lucius Septimius Flavianus Flavillianus from Oenoanda was also a pancratist and from an extremely wealthy family, the Licinniani (Hall et al. 1996: cat. 30-32). The 1st century CE athlete from Aphrodisias, Adrastos, was from a foremost (*πρώτου*) family (Appendix B.24).

⁴¹⁶ The earlier perception of professionalism of Greek athletics can be found in Harris 1972. Van Nijf (2001) and others have demonstrated that the majority of athletic victors in the Roman period were local elites who competed in civic and regional festivals.

⁴¹⁷ Pleket (1974 and 1975) provides examples of victorious athletes who were honored and were members of leading families.

⁴¹⁸ Van Nijf 2001, p. 315; see also van Nijf 2004. Mitchell (1993, pp. 206-207) contends that cultural ties, such as the continuation of agonistic festivals, became more pronounced after the loss of political autonomy. Both Lucian (*Anacharsis*) and Dio (*Or.* 29.16) make the connection between athletic training and civic values. *Agones* were in opposition to *munera*, or gladiatorial games, that were held in much lower

cultural values associated with a Hellenic identity.⁴¹⁹ As an essential part of *polis* life since the archaic period, musical and athletic competition represented a continuous link between the competitor and the Hellenic past, and served as a means by which an individual demonstrated knowledge of Hellenic tradition.⁴²⁰ In the previous chapter, it was argued that Claudia Paulina incorporated images of local mythology in her construction of the Civil Basilica as a means of linking herself to the shared past of the community as well as advertising the city's prestigious Hellenic identity to external audiences. In much the same way, participation in festival competition was a means for individuals to publicly present themselves as competent practitioners of Hellenic tradition. Both acts—the display of Aphrodisian mythology and the participation in competition—should be seen as part of the creation of a broad Hellenic *koine* which local elites were actively shaping and contributing to across the eastern empire; moreover, both situated the community of Aphrodisias into a network of other cities within a region, culturally and politically.⁴²¹ Moreover, the celebration of these victorious competitors was a way for communities to demonstrate their recognition and appreciation of these cultural values.⁴²² Having a victorious citizen at such

esteem by elites and the emperors, although they were popular among the general population (see Kokkinia 2011).

⁴¹⁹ Van Nijf 2004; see also Preston 2001. For more on the training that was included in the gymnasium, see Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993; see also Fischer 2010. Gleason (1995) discusses the importance of rhetoric as a crucial part of *paideia* and the competition for status among the educated elite in the Roman period. *Paideia* and the culture of Hellenism that it represented “was a major ideological force in the hands of local elites, used to provide a common identity to dominant groups in widely divergent cities and provinces” (van Nijf 2001, p. 317); see also, Whitmarsh 2001, Jones 2004.

⁴²⁰ Cartledge 1985; see also, Pleket 1975. Athletic training was deemed necessary to be a successful citizen in a *polis* community. Athletics and competitions were part of elite practices even in the Homeric epics (Newby 2006, pp. 21-24). Athletes were aware of the prestige that a victory brought them and their native cities, as well as how their victory and performance related to past victors; see Brunet 1998. For more on the development of athletic competition in the ancient world, see Newby 2006 *passim*.

⁴²¹ Referring to the Antonine emperors, Kokkinia (2011, p. 124) contends that “since those at the top of the social and political scale can be proven to have occasionally stressed Greek elements of developing empire-wide cultural *koine*, we should not be surprised...” to see the creation of more musical and athletic contests.

⁴²² Van Nijf (2001, p. 316) argues that the festival founded by Demosthenes at Oenoanda was a means of inventing a Greek tradition for the Lycian community by employing an “old-fashioned programme.” Jones (1990) provides similar examples from other cities in the East. Van Nijf (2001, pp. 317-318) suggests that

contests brought positive attention to the city on a provincial or even international stage, and so it was in the interest of those cities to honor their victorious athletes and performers in their public spaces as permanent fixtures attesting to the city's importance abroad.⁴²³

As games and contests became more common and popular in the Greek East, the victorious athlete and the winning performer became a regular staple in the sculptural landscapes of these cities.⁴²⁴ At Aphrodisias, only two contests can be dated securely to before the mid-2nd century CE: the Contests of the Augusti and the *Aphrodiseia Isolympia*.⁴²⁵ None of the competitors, however, was honored for victories in local contests; they were celebrated for accomplishments on the international stage. The honors issued by Aphrodisias for Kallimorphos demonstrated the city's pride in its accomplished competitors and advertised the ability of its citizens to succeed in such competitions. The honors for Kallikrates and Longianos, issued by external organizations, demonstrated the

an interest in Greek athletics and competition was perhaps even more desirable for elites who were implicated with the Roman administration and that these festivals served as a means of legitimizing their "Greekness." This suggestion is discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapter.

⁴²³ Cities, such as Oenoanda and Termessos, were filled with numerous honorific monuments for victorious athletes in the most important locations of the city, such as the agora and along major roads (van Nijf 2001, p. 324). For the distribution of athletic statues in Oinoanda, see Hall and Milner 1994. For the distribution of these honorific texts at Termessos, see the map (p. 365) in *TAM III* and inscriptions nos. 141-213. Van Nijf (2000) discusses how elites controlled the experience of public space through the placement of their honorific monuments. Unfortunately, the original display context for athletic inscriptions from Aphrodisias does not survive. A few athletic monuments from the 3rd century CE were recovered *in situ* in the Hadrianic Baths (*I Aph 2007* 5.214) and in the theater (*I Aph 2007* 8.87 and 88).

⁴²⁴ Aelius Aristides (1.304d) claims that the entire empire became a festival procession in the reign of Hadrian (cf. Cassius Dio 69.10.1); see also, Wörrle 1988.

⁴²⁵ Roueché 1993, pp. 161-163. The Contests of the Augusti aligned with much of the festival culture in the Roman period, which was directly tied to the emperors and the imperial cult specifically (van Nijf 2001, p. 319). Mitchell (1990) provides a list of the festivals in Asia Minor connected to emperors. The *Isolympia*, on the other hand, had parallels with newly-founded contests modelled on the Panhellenic games, such as the *Olympia* celebrated at Ephesos (Robert 1978). Additional evidence for festival activity and athletic competition before the reign of Hadrian consists of the frequently-attested office of *agonothete* (e.g. Appendix B.5.ii), inscriptions for owners of troops of gladiators (*I Aph 2007* 4.104 and 11.507), and the construction of the stadium in the latter half of the 1st century CE (Welch 1998). By the end of the 2nd century CE, however, there were at least six other contests that were established as part of the Aphrodisian festival calendar, but none of these were epigraphically attested before 180 CE; see chapter four for discussion of these contests.

success of Aphrodisian citizens abroad, and the recognition by other communities of the achievements of Aphrodisians.

These inscriptions also highlight the increasing emphasis on cultural values, particularly *paideia*, that began to appear in the 2nd century CE honorifics. Longianos' decree detailed the exceptional treatment an individual could receive for educating citizens.⁴²⁶ At Aphrodisias, other benefactors were honored specifically for their *paideia* in the early 2nd century: Lykidas Zenon and Myon, son of Peritas.⁴²⁷ Furthermore, two other Aphrodisians were honored as sophists, teachers of *paideia*: Marcus Antonius Popillios Agelaos and Chaireas.⁴²⁸ The inscriptions for victorious performers and sophists in the first half of the 2nd century CE represented the introduction of a new type of honorand to Aphrodisias, broadening the honorific pool and integrating a new marker of identity into the possible constructions.

Athletic prowess and success in competition were cornerstones of Hellenic identity, and the epigraphic evidence suggests that in the early part of the 2nd century CE it became increasingly desirable to publicly advertise these qualities. Honorific inscriptions for these accomplishments presented the honorand as an embodiment of *paideia*, but they also demonstrated that Aphrodisias possessed successful Greek citizens and, as a community, recognized the importance of individuals who succeeded in such pursuits.⁴²⁹ They

⁴²⁶ Appendix B.58.

⁴²⁷ Lykidas Zenon: Appendix B.61. Myon: Appendix B.54. The only earlier appearance of this term in the honorific inscriptions was in the text for Artemon in the late 1st century BCE (Appendix B.2). The term was used in three more honorific inscriptions at the end of the 2nd century CE.

⁴²⁸ Marcus Antonius Popillios Agelaos (Appendix B. 59) also served as chief temple builder. Chaireas (Appendix B.60) was honored by a Claudia Kallikrateia. The occupation of sophist developed in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and flourished in the Roman period. For more on the development of sophists, see O'Grady 2008; see also, Borg 2004. Aphrodisias was also home to the famous philosopher Alexander, who was in charge of the peripatetic school in Athens (Sharples 1987). In the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE, three more Aphrodisians were described as sophists in five inscriptions.

⁴²⁹ Van Nijf (2010a, p. 180) notes that the Termessian elite utilized their successes in *paideia* as a means of justifying their social dominance; see also, Woolf (1994, p. 128) for the importance of *paideia* in the construction of Greek identity in general.

positively represented Aphrodisias and the city's embrace of the values of a Hellenic community both at home and abroad. Similarly, education and intellectual pursuits, also cornerstones of Hellenic identity, became qualities worthy of public honor. In contrast to the honorands of the 1st century CE, who used their honorific inscriptions to legitimize their status and compete with local families, the monuments of these athletes, artists, and intellectuals were more directed at presenting a community whose citizens successfully embodied the cultural values of Hellenism. This is not to say that the honorands of the 1st century were not demonstrating their cultural values, since their inscriptions were filled with virtues relevant to being a good citizen, such as moderation and generosity. Nor is it the case that the honorific monuments of the 2nd century CE athletes were displayed without a consideration of competition. Rather, it is a conclusion drawn from the overall impression of the data from each period. The data suggests that honorific monuments of the early 2nd century CE were more focused on presenting the honorand as a good Greek citizen as opposed to distinguishing him or her from other rival families.

TITUS SALLUSTIUS FLAVIUS ATHENAGORAS: AN APHRODISIAN SENATOR

A final notable feature of the honorific inscriptions from the first half of the 2nd century CE is the absence of important civic benefactors. In the 1st century CE, the honorific record was dominated by powerful, elite families, some of which were responsible for monumentalizing the city and others that claimed descent from civic founders. They held multiple civic offices, undertook liturgies, and provided public services. Moreover, the language of the inscriptions was constructed with a competitive drive for distinction, particularly on the part of the co-founding descendants. In contrast, the body of surviving honorific inscriptions from the first half of the 2nd century CE does

not present the same competitive fervor; it is dominated instead by the loss of elite children and the celebration of Hellenic culture.

There were, however, some Aphrodisians in this period who held impressive civic resumes. Early in the reign of Trajan, Myon Adrastos and Peritas Myon held civic magistracies including imperial priesthoods; but because they were honored on a funerary monument and no official honorific monument has been recovered for them or other members of their family, they were most likely not major benefactors.⁴³⁰ No other prominent benefactor can be identified in the surviving record until almost the mid-2nd century CE, at which time multiple honorifics were erected in the city for Titus Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras and his parents. While Sallustius received four honorific monuments in the city, only one of these has been fully published; it is a collection of three texts inscribed on a single block, honoring Sallustius (center), his father (right), and his mother (left), and set up by a local Aphrodisian, Milon the son of Milon.⁴³¹

Based on the epigraphic evidence, the family was active in the province and in the imperial administration, but made few (if any) contributions to their local community. In the honorific inscription for his father, Titus Flavius Athenagoras Agathon was described as the son of Flavius Mithridates, the father of Sallustius, senator, the grandfather of Titus Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus, senator, and the father of Flavia Apphia, high priestess.⁴³²

⁴³⁰ Appendix B. 54.i-ii.

⁴³¹ Appendix B.71. Reynolds (1999) situates this text in the Hadrianic period or early Antonine. Sallustius was honored along with his mother in a separate inscription (Smith et al. 2006, H200 and 201). He was honored individually in two other monuments (Smith et al. 2006, H67 and H68). Although these inscriptions have not been fully published, much of their information has been included by Smith et al. (2006) in a table of benefactors and so they have been included in this study and published elements of these texts are discussed accordingly, relying on the information provided by Smith et al. 2006. Based on the surviving record, thirteen Aphrodisians received more than one honorific monument and Sallustius was the only one to receive four (Smith et al. 2006, p. 26, n. 88).

⁴³² Sekunda (1991, pp. 118-119) suggests that a family with the names of Mithridates and Athenagoras was active at Tabai in the Hellenistic period, a city near Aphrodisias. This family might have had Persian origins when they married into a local Anatolian family. Chaniotis (2014, p. 215) notes that Agathon was a second name for this family.

He also served as the procurator of the Sebastos (ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ).⁴³³ Athenagoras' family line can be traced extensively in the surviving epigraphic record at Aphrodisias to at least the mid-1st century BCE (Fig. 11).⁴³⁴ While Athenagoras' ancestors held magistracies and contributed to the Temple of Aphrodite, they were not one of the top-tier families in the community in the 1st century CE, neither financially equal to Eusebes or Diogenes nor with the same pedigree as the συνεκτικῶς families.⁴³⁵

Athenagoras' father received citizenship during the Flavian dynasty.⁴³⁶ Athenagoras himself took up service in the imperial administration and married into a senatorial family, the Sallustii.⁴³⁷ His wife, Sallustia Frontina, was the daughter of Sallustius Rufus and the sister of Sallustius Titillianus, both senators.⁴³⁸ Their son, Titus Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras, was the first documented Aphrodisian to achieve the rank of Roman senator, a position he most likely acquired through the connections of his maternal grandfather and uncle.⁴³⁹ His accomplishments in the Imperial administration

⁴³³ Because Athenagoras was described as a grandfather, the inscription was probably erected late in his life. For more on the office of the Roman procurator, see Sherwin-White 1939 and Duncan-Jones 1974.

⁴³⁴ Reynolds (1999) provides the full family tree and related inscriptions, which mostly come from a family tomb monument that was incorporated into the East Gate of the city. The earliest ancestor in the family was Eumachos, who dates to sometime in the mid-1st century BCE. Athenagoras' great-uncle, was Eumachos Diogenes, who along with his wife Amias Olympias dedicated columns to the Temple of Aphrodite in the reign of Tiberius (*Laph* 2007 1.4, 1.5, and 1.6).

⁴³⁵ Reynolds (1999, p. 328) characterizes the family as "second rank" among the elite of 1st century CE Aphrodisias.

⁴³⁶ Reynolds (1999, p. 330) speculates that the Aphrodisians who acquired Roman citizenship at this time were possibly awarded this status by Vespasian for supporting his claim to the throne, but there is no evidence for a date of enfranchisement beyond the imperial praenomen and nomen.

⁴³⁷ For more on the Sallustii, see *PIR* S' 67,71; see also Halfmann 1979, p. 36. It is unclear in what city the Sallustii originally lived. No other family members with that name appear at Aphrodisias or the region. Reynolds (1999, p. 327, n. 2) notes that the exclusive use of Latin names (e.g. Rufus, Frontina) suggested that the family might have emigrated from Italy and settled in Asia Minor.

⁴³⁸ Appendix B.71.i.

⁴³⁹ Reynolds 1999, p. 327. Sallustius' name bears markers of both his maternal and paternal heritage, which preserved the high (senatorial) standing of his mother's family. The combination of family names in the creation of polyonymous nomenclatures began to be practiced with frequency in the 2nd century CE and could be used to preserve the heritage of both parents or of adoption (Salway 1994). Van Bremen (1996, pp. 273-296) discusses the opportunities and ways available to women to enhance and pass on their status and the status of their family.

were celebrated in the public space of Aphrodisias with three more honorific inscriptions. In two of these texts, he was described as a senator. One of them was erected by the *patris* for him and his mother, and a second for him alone by the *boule* and the *demos*.⁴⁴⁰ In the final inscription for Sallustius, he was described as a consul and honored by an Adrastus Pylades “as his personal savior and benefactor.”⁴⁴¹

The texts for Sallustius and his family demonstrate that around the middle of the 2nd century CE a wealthy and important family was in place at Aphrodisias to receive honors. Members of this family had held Roman citizenship for generations, the father held an imperial post, and the son entered into the rank of senator and consular, a first at Aphrodisias.⁴⁴² Descendants of this family continued to be active both at Aphrodisias and in the Empire, while their ancestors had been participants in local civic life.⁴⁴³ Sallustius, however, was not honored for any specific service to the city; neither were his father or mother.⁴⁴⁴ They received honors for the imperial acclaim they had achieved. Similar to

⁴⁴⁰ Smith et al. 2006, H200 and 201 honor Sallustius and his mother. The *patris* who honored these benefactors was not specified, nor is it precisely clear what process was undertaken to receive honors from a/the *patris*. The inscriptions for Sallustius and his mother were the first documented honorific texts to be issued by the *patris* at Aphrodisias, but a handful of other honorifics were similarly awarded in the later 2nd century CE and early 3rd centuries CE. The increased occurrence of this practice is discussed in chapter four. Smith et al. 2006, H67 was issued by the *boule* and *demos*. The monument was overseen by a Marcus Ulpius.

⁴⁴¹ Smith et al. 2006, H68. The translation has been provided by Smith; unfortunately, the original Greek text has not been published. This was obviously the latest of the four inscriptions since it is the only one that listed him as consular. In the family group texts, Milon claimed that he acted on behalf of his friend and benefactor (τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον καὶ εὐεργέτην) at the end of the inscription for Athenagoras, the father.

⁴⁴² Sallustius represents the growing internal stratification of urban elite in the 2nd century when some families began to accumulate significant wealth (Pleket 1998). For a discussion of Roman senators in the East, see Halfmann 1979 and Rizakis 1996. At least three times more elites from the East entered into the Roman Senate in the 2nd century CE than in the 1st century CE (Zuiderhoek 2009a); see also, Duncan-Jones (1982, p.4) for the property qualification for admission into the Senate.

⁴⁴³ The activities of descendants of the family, which included Sallustius’ sister Flavia Apphia, are discussed in Chapter Four. The funerary honors for Athenagoras’ great grandfather listed his service as a gymnasiarch and *stephanephoros* (Reynolds 1999, B.1).

⁴⁴⁴ Zuiderhoek (2009a, p. 72) stresses that wealthy citizens, even those who became Roman senators, remained active benefactors in their local communities. Dio Chrysostom and Herodes Atticus both contributed significantly to their native city despite their Roman connections (Salmeri 2000, pp. 58-60). Plutarch, however, criticizes Eastern elite who prioritized advancement in the Roman administration over

the honors for victories that athletes and performers had won outside of the city, Sallustius was awarded honorific monuments for the prestige he had won in the province and brought back to Aphrodisias as its native son. Thus, as Aphrodisias' display of victorious athletes demonstrated the community's embrace of Hellenic values and identity, the display of monuments for its citizen, who was accomplished in the imperial administration, demonstrated the community's recognition of the importance and influence of the Roman power structure.

The inscriptions concerning Sallustius and his family highlight two notable trends that were just beginning to take hold in the honorific record of Aphrodisias in the mid-2nd century CE. First, two of Sallustius' inscriptions were set up by private Aphrodisians based on a perceived relationship between the honorand and the monument's overseer (i.e. friend, benefactor, and savior) and a third inscription was overseen by another Aphrodisian. While the full implications of these acts by private individuals are discussed in Chapter Four, it is worth noting that the frequency with which private, unrelated individuals began taking up the responsibility of overseeing and financing public honors for local benefactors increased from this time onward. This suggests the emergence of new power relationships between different tiers within the Aphrodisian social hierarchy. The second trend that is highlighted by the Sallustius inscription is the epigraphic shift, from ancestry that is most meaningful to a local audience and achievements in the imperial administration. In Chapter One, the honorific inscription for Tiberius Claudius Diogenes illustrated how an individual with a prestigious personal ancestry could forego mention of that pedigree in favor of emphasizing his connections to the province and the imperial administration. Yet Diogenes still included his contributions to the local community. In the inscriptions for Sallustius,

local responsibilities (*de tranq. Anim* 470c; *Prae. Ger. Reip.* 811b-c, 814d). Reynolds (2008b, p. 1049) contends that promotion into the Roman Senate would have resulted in "a limitation of the services and the funds that they offered locally."

any such connections, including the accomplishments of his more distant ancestors, were completely absent and replaced instead by his imperial accomplishments, which truly distinguished him among the Aphrodisian population. Athenagoras and Sallustius were important Aphrodisians who had directed their attention outside of the city, spent time and energy moving up the political ladder of the imperial administration, and then returned to Aphrodisias as celebrated citizens, despite possibly not having made any tangible contributions to the community.

Overall, the picture from surveying the honorific inscriptions in the first half of the 2nd century CE was not the same as that of the 1st century CE when honorific inscriptions were used by rival families competitively to establish or reaffirm their claims to status. Instead, it was a city mourning the loss of elite children and celebrating the accomplishments of its citizens outside of the local community. The surviving honorific inscriptions depict a city with a heightened awareness of the kinds of values and citizens that were integral to its success both internally and within the empire. The outpouring of public commemoration for children represented the importance that local families and their continuation had to the community. On the other hand, the inscriptions for agonistic competitors and senators demonstrated that the Aphrodisian community knew about and participated in a wider network of communities with shared cultural values and political opportunities. It was inevitable in the interconnected environment that the most ambitious competitors and politicians directed their attention and resources away from the local community, and this behavior was even encouraged; the populace honored them as important residents because of the advantageous way they represented the city of Aphrodisias and the values of its citizens to external audiences.

CHANGES IN THE COMMUNITY: THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HADRIANIC BATHS

The change in elite dynamics reflected in the honorific inscriptions is also identifiable in the monumentalization of the city that took place during this time. One possible interpretation of these developments is that they were the consequences of a society trying to find new ways of maintaining its former prosperity in a context in which some families had died out and others had directed their resources away from their local community. Unlike the long list of monuments built in Aphrodisias in the 1st century CE by a limited number of families (Tab. 2), the construction record for the first half of the 2nd century was much sparser in the number of buildings and richer in the number of benefactors.⁴⁴⁵ The most substantial new project was the Hadrianic Baths, located on the west end of the South Agora and dedicated to Aphrodite, the emperor, and the people (Fig. 1.F).⁴⁴⁶ The available inscriptions and plans present an elaborate and complicated structure whose constituent parts were provided by numerous citizens of Aphrodisias.⁴⁴⁷ The overall

⁴⁴⁵ A temenos was built around the Sanctuary of Aphrodite (Reynolds 1990) and public facilities for dining and sacrifices (perhaps temporary in nature) were set up by Attalos Adrastos in his will (*I Aph 2007* 12.1007 and 12.26). Chaniotis (2008, no. 1) suggests that these might have been located in the sanctuary itself and were possible temporary in nature. The contraction of building activity is contrary to regional trends at a time when Hadrian went to great lengths to encourage monumental construction in the province (Mitchell 1987, pp. 344-354); see also, Boatwright 2000, pp. 109-111.

⁴⁴⁶ This structure was at least the second bath building on this location (Reynolds 1997). An inscription from the Flavian period and recovered from the Hadrianic Baths recorded that a bath complex was constructed on property bequeathed to the city by Attalis Apphion, and it used materials from the Eusebian Baths which were damaged by the earthquake in 41 CE (*I Aph 2007* 5.6). Chaniotis (2008, p. 62) claims that the Eusebian Baths, built under Tiberius, were located in the same spot as the Hadrianic Baths and that parts of the Flavian structure were incorporated into the later expansion under Hadrian. The building was renovated and used continuously until the site was abandoned in Late Antiquity (Smith 2007 and Roueché 1989a, p. 329).

⁴⁴⁷ Modern survey, excavations, and reconstruction of this bath complex are ongoing at Aphrodisias and a full publication of the building's architecture and inscriptions has yet to be published. Excavation of the Baths: Mendel 1906, pp. 178-184; Boulanger 1914; Erim 1986, pp. 38-42 (with bibliography). For more on the construction, plans and functions of bath complexes in Western Asia Minor, see Yegül 1992 and 2009.

plan is a series of vaulted rooms on the west side with a large peristyle court to the east (the palaestra), connected to the west stoa of the South Agora by staircases (Fig. 12).⁴⁴⁸

Among the Hadrianic dedications recovered from the complex, one fragmentary inscription documents the dedication of a room for bathing and anointing by a family of three brothers (Eudamos, Kallias, Zenon) and a fourth individual (Apphion) of unknown relation.⁴⁴⁹ In the East Court, at least nine other Aphrodisians were responsible for the constituent parts (Tab. 4). This two-storied courtyard consisted of forty-six Corinthian columns set on large grey pedestal bases. Of the surviving structural elements from the East Court, two architraves, along with column capitals, were dedicated by Epigonos, the son of Dioskourides and two lintel blocks for the north and south doors were given by Peritas Attalos, son of Zenon.⁴⁵⁰ Three sets of blue marble columns were dedicated by four benefactors, including the brothers Nestor and Zenon, who dedicated fourteen.⁴⁵¹ In addition to the documented twenty-six inscribed blue marble columns, a few grey marble column bases survive from the east court, which were dedicated by three Aphrodisians.⁴⁵² Thus, the dedications to the Hadrianic Baths included lavish marble accoutrements and

⁴⁴⁸ Smith (2007, p. 208) notes that the two colonnades share a back wall and were built at the same time. The bath complex plus the palaestra became a standard building type constructed in the cities in the Roman period, especially between the late 1st century and mid-2nd century CE. The bath-gymnasia complexes were tied to the *agones* and competitions, and so it was not a coincidence that a rise in festivals coincided with the construction of these buildings (Mitchell 1993, pp. 216-218).

⁴⁴⁹ *I Aph 2007 5.9*. These three names, Eudamos, Zenon, and Kallias, appear as brothers in a consolation decree issued to their parents at their death, also in the Hadrianic Period (Appendix B.67).

⁴⁵⁰ The architraves were from the east and west porticoes (*I Aph 2007 5.5*). The lintels were for the north and south doors of the court (*I Aph 2007 5.207* and *5.208*). Both dedications were made to Aphrodite, the emperor Hadrian, and the *demos*.

⁴⁵¹ *I Aph 2007 5.205*. Only two of these columns survive. Their father is the same Epigonos who dedicated the capitals and entablature. Artemon, the son of Adrastos dedicated six columns, of which four survive (*I Aph 2007 5.2*). Diogenes, son of Leon, also dedicated six, but only one survives (*I Aph 2007 5.3*). All of the columns were dedicated to the *demos*.

⁴⁵² The brothers Menippos and Papianos Kodios dedicated four to the *demos*, of which two survive (*I Aph 2007 5.206*) and Attalos Andron dedicated one to the *patris* (*I Aph 2007 5.201*). All the inscriptions were on column bases, but state that they dedicated the columns and their capitals. There was another white marble column base on which no name survives (*I Aph 2007 5.202*).

structural elements, provided by and inscribed with the names of at least thirteen local benefactors from seven different families.⁴⁵³

Unlike the other columned spaces of the city, such as the one in front of the Portico of Tiberius, the dedicatory inscriptions of the Hadrianic Baths' East Court had many dedicators and bore only marginally legible text. More specifically, the Portico of Tiberius was engraved with the name of its sole donor, Diogenes, and the letters were all ca. 9.5 cm in height (Fig. 13a).⁴⁵⁴ In the more comparable example of the Temple of Aphrodite, where dedications also were inscribed on columns, the inscriptions were set apart from the fluted white marble by means of an embossed *tabella ansata*, which made the names of the dedicators prominent and easy to read (Fig. 13c). The dedications in the East Court were more numerous and harder to read. The letters in the dedication of the doorways were only 4-5 cm high and with little spacing between words (Fig. 14a). Likewise the letters from the columnar dedications were only 2.5-3cm and inscribed directly onto a mottled blue-white, curved surface, as opposed to being set apart on a *tabella ansata* (Fig. 14c).⁴⁵⁵ Finally, the construction of the Hadrianic Baths differed from the 1st century CE building projects in the types of individuals who made contributions. Of the thirteen dedicators, none had acquired Roman citizenship nor did any of the dedicators receive an honorific monument.⁴⁵⁶ Their dedications in the Hadrianic Baths appear to have been their only

⁴⁵³ All of these inscriptions, except for the brothers' donation of a room for anointing (*IAph 2007 5.9*) came from the East Court. The funding of bathing facilities and of structures concerned with water-supply (e.g. aqueducts) usually required contributions from multiple benefactors in Roman cities (Eck 1987, pp. 72-73). For example, multiple benefactors contributed to the restoration of a bath house at Stratonikeia (Robert 1937, p. 549). The phenomenon and implications of collaborative building projects are discussed below.

⁴⁵⁴ The colonnaded halls of the Sebasteion bore one major dedicatory inscription on each of its four sides, recording the names of two families in large inscribed letters (7-9 cm in height) picked out with red paint (Fig. 14b) (Smith and Lenaghan 2008).

⁴⁵⁵ The height of the letters from the temple of Aphrodite columns also measures around the same height: 2.5-3cm. Obscuring the legibility of Hadrianic texts even further was the fact that they were displayed in an enclosed space that would have been dark and lit by oil lamps.

⁴⁵⁶ The three brothers, Eudamos, Kallias, and Zenon received a consolation decree (Appendix B.67). This could be a result of the accident of survival or excavation.

contributions to the Aphrodisian landscape; these were second tier benefactors compared to the 1st century CE families.

Ancient authors note that in the 2nd century CE, there was an increasing stratification of the bouletic order, the individuals who comprised the membership of the urban elite and served as local euergetists.⁴⁵⁷ This stemmed from two circumstances. The first was a gradual accumulation of wealth by sub-elite citizens, tradesmen and merchants, so that they met the financial requirement for membership in the *boule*.⁴⁵⁸ Second, the demographic volatility of all families in the Roman period (discussed above) meant that aristocratic families were not capable of maintaining a functioning city council on their own, and so were forced to promote individuals from the sub-elite population.⁴⁵⁹ The end result was a highly stratified urban elite in which a few families, out of “demographic luck,” achieved significant wealth and prestige and the majority of the *bouleutai* were less established and less well-off.⁴⁶⁰ Aphrodisians such as Athenagoras and his son Sallustius

⁴⁵⁷ This development is laid out by Zuiderhoek (2009a, pp. 54-55); see also, Jongman (2002) for similar developments at Pompeii. Both Pliny (*Ep.* 10.112) and Dio (*Or.* 40.14) comment on the growth of city councils in Asia Minor during the 2nd century CE. Pleket (1998, pp. 208-210) discusses the nature of the internal stratification of the elite.

⁴⁵⁸ The financial criterion for being a council member was fixed at 100,000 *sestertii* (25,000 *denarii*) (Duncan-Jones 1982, p. 4); in comparison, the census requirement to be an equestrian was 400,000 *sestertii* and a senator was at least 1 million. At Canusium, in southern Italy, the council of 100 members was not able to be maintained by admitting two former magistrates each year, and so they promoted some individuals with inferior status (Jongman 1991, pp. 321-329).

⁴⁵⁹ In order to maintain a council of 500 members, as at Oenoanda, Zuiderhoek (2009a, pp. 135-6) proposes that 16-18 individuals would have to be added every year. The size of city councils ranged greatly from 60 members at Knidos to over 500 at Thyateria (see Broughton 1938, p. 814 for references; see also Magie 1950, p. 641). The council at Ephesos numbered around 450 members during the reign of Trajan (referenced in the inscription of Salutaris, Rogers 1991a). In the publication of the *bouleuterion* at Aphrodisias, Bier (2008, p. 162) notes that the structure, enlarged in the late 2nd century CE, had a seating capacity for 1700 spectators, but that the number of *bouleutai* would have been significantly smaller for a town of 15,000 (Ratté 2008). A precise number, however, is not determinable given the surviving evidence.

⁴⁶⁰ Hadrian makes such a distinction (*honestiores* and *inferiores*) in his letter to the city Klazomenai (*Dig.* 50.7.5.5). Pliny the Younger criticizes the presence of inferior citizens in the *boule* (*Ep.* 10.79). A similar distinction is made by the 3rd-century jurist, Callistratus (*Dig.* 50.2.12). See also, the discussion in Garnsey and Saller 1987, p. 115.

represent one of these leading families, while the male benefactors of the Hadrianic Baths were drawn from the lower strata of the aristocratic order.⁴⁶¹

In addition to these male benefactors, however, there was also another set of at least twenty votive statue bases set up in the East Court by Aphrodisian women to the *demos* (or *patris*) (Tab. 5).⁴⁶² One of the surviving bases states that the dedicatory statue was a caryatid, but it is not clear if all the bases supported caryatids.⁴⁶³ The names of the female dedicators survive on fourteen of the bases.⁴⁶⁴ Unlike the male contributors of the Hadrianic Baths, the female benefactors were demonstrably from wealthy Aphrodisian families.⁴⁶⁵ Twelve of the women came from families with Roman citizenship; four of them

⁴⁶¹ Zuiderhoek (2009a, pp. 62-65) argues that acts of euergetism, such as the dedications of a bath-complex, was used by all levels of the elite. The wealthiest families distinguished themselves by making large-scale dedications, such as whole buildings, while newer members made small scale contributions, such as donating parts of a building, in order to justify their promotion.

⁴⁶² Ten of these bases were recovered from the courtyard and so the whole group was most likely displayed in that space (Smith 2007). Reynolds (2002, p. 250) argues in favor of displaying the bases on the second story, while Smith (2007, p. 213) proposes that the bases and statues were set up along the back wall of the first floor alternating in between the columns dedicated by the men. Reynolds (2008b, p. 1047) says those dedicated to the *demos* had egg-and-dart molding and those dedicated to the *patris* had plain molding.

⁴⁶³ *I Aph 2007 5.212*. Reynolds 2002. Titus Flavius Athenagoras dedicated the caryatid on behalf of his wife. This was most likely the same Athenagoras who was procurator of the Augusti and father of Sallustius. Fl. Attalis might have been his first wife who died shortly after they married (Reynolds 2002). Most of the inscriptions included only the name of the benefactress, her filiation, and civic titles. Smith (2007) argues in favor of identifying all of these as caryatids. In addition to the famous caryatid porch of the Erechtheum, this statue type was used in the upper story of the Portico of the Danaids, built by Octavian/Augustus (Quenemoen 2006), and in the Hadrianic Serapeum (Taylor 2004), both at Rome and both in an alternating arrangement with columns (similar to the proposal made by Smith 2007). Vitruvius (I 4.8-5.11) says that the caryatid statues were based on the captured women from the city of Caryia in Laconia, but there does not seem to be any direct link between the statue type and the region of Caria (Plommer 1979); see also, Ridgway 1999, pp. 146-150). The significance of the caryatid(s) in the Hadrianic Baths remains elusive. They were not displayed or mentioned elsewhere in Aphrodisias.

⁴⁶⁴ Smith (2007, B 11-25d) lists nineteen statue bases; Reynolds has made seven of these available online (*I Aph 2007 5.7, 5.8, 5.209, 5.210, 5.211, 5.212, and 5.213*); see Table 4.

⁴⁶⁵ For example, Julia Paula most likely came from a family connected with the great family of G. Julius Zoilos (*I Aph 2007 5.210*) and Flavia Attalis Aeliane married into the family of a provincial procurator (*I Aph 2007 5.212*). Another dedicator was the daughter of Athenagoras, the procurator (Smith 2007, B 14). Other benefactresses included Claudia Paulina (Smith 2007, B 16), a relation of the dedicator of the Civil Basilica and a *stephanephoros* under Hadrian (*I Aph 2007 11.412*), and Tryphe (Smith 2007, B 17) who received an honorific inscription as *stephanephoros* (Appendix B.62). Furthermore, two of the dedicators, Ulpia Apollonia and Cocceia Maxima (Smith 2007, B 11 and 21) were daughters of *primipilarii*, which was an equestrian rank achieved through service in the Roman military (Reynolds 2008, p. 1049). For

were high priestesses; another four were given the honorific title of daughter of the city (θυγατέρα πόλεως), and two held the religious position of flower-bearer (άνθηφόρος).⁴⁶⁶

Overall, the Hadrianic Baths, one of the most richly decorated buildings in the city, were a collaborative production that included structural and decorative contributions from over thirty Aphrodisians. Collaborative building projects were not unusual in the cities of Roman Asia Minor. For example, the theater at Nicaea was funded primarily by the city while embellishments were provided by multiple private citizens.⁴⁶⁷ Similarly, the Temple for Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos was funded by a combination of resources from the city and private citizens.⁴⁶⁸ Collaborative building projects, however, were not the normal euergetic behavior at Aphrodisias. Most of the buildings constructed in the 1st century CE were the product of one or two families (Tab. 2). Even when multiple benefactors contributed to one building it was over a significant period of time, as in the example of the additions to the theater made by Aristokles Molossos or the columns in the Temple of Aphrodite made decades after Zoilos' original dedications.⁴⁶⁹

more on this term, see Dobson 1974 and 1978. The father of Cocceia, listed as M. Cocceius Antipater Ulpianus, might have made additions to the Portico of Tiberius at the end of the previous century, but the full name of the dedicator is not certain (*IAph* 2007 4.3).

⁴⁶⁶ The significance of the title “daughter of the city” was discussed above, see note 13(this chapter); see also, Robert 1969, pp. 316-322 and van Bremen 1996, p. 169. The position of flower-bearer is not entirely clear, but it seems to have been a role given to aristocratic young women and most likely involved leading a procession for Aphrodite (Reynolds 2002 and van Bremen 1996, p. 65, n. 100). Similar to the consolation decrees, both titles demonstrate the new ways that the community was honoring elite children at the beginning of the 2nd century CE. Additionally, two portrait sculptures of local women were recovered from the area of the Hadrianic Baths and might have been associated with these dedicators, set up in the bath-complex (Smith et al. 2006, p. 58).

⁴⁶⁷ Pliny *Ep.* 10.39. 3. Zuiderhoek 2005, p. 172.

⁴⁶⁸ *IGR* III, 348. Dio Chrysostom describes his financial contributions for the construction of a portico in the city of Prusa (*Or.* 40.3), which was added on to by other benefactors (*Or.* 47.19). Zuiderhoek (2005, pp. 172-174) discusses other examples of collaborative projects in Asia Minor and elsewhere in the Eastern Empire. As he argues, “these schemes provided a convenient solution in a situation where only a few benefactors could afford to donate entire public buildings and where demand for new public architecture was fairly limited” (2005, p. 172).

⁴⁶⁹ Zuiderhoek (2005, pp. 173-174) notes that restorations and additions to previously constructed buildings was a common type of euergetism and an “important act of civic munificence.” Broughton (1938, pp. 746-797) provides a list of acts of restoration during the Roman period. Moreover, when

Not only was the number of the contributing benefactors to the Hadrianic Baths unusual, but the identity of those benefactors was also distinct from that of previous euergetists in the city. None of the male dedicators had acquired Roman citizenship nor were any memorialized in honorific inscriptions recovered from the city, in contrast to benefactors in the 1st century CE as well as to the women who made dedications to the baths.⁴⁷⁰ The presence of these wealthy female euergetists indicated that families of some wealth and status were present in the city, but their male members made no identifiable contributions to the city, either in the Hadrianic Baths or elsewhere. Because the East Court was filled with dedications of multiple benefactors as opposed to being dominated by a limited number of donors or families (as were the other monumental spaces in the city), the overall effect was a sense of *isonomia* among the dedicating benefactors, further emphasized by the repetitious formula with which their dedications were made.⁴⁷¹ Thus, the questions remain as to why there were so many benefactors in the construction of the Hadrianic Baths and why these benefactors differed in status from previous benefactors.

One possible answer relates to demand. Much of the urban center of Aphrodisias had been fully monumentalized by private individuals and families in the previous century, leaving little space or need for more substantial construction.⁴⁷² Such circumstances would

building activity increased in the later 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE at Aphrodisias, the dedicatory practice resorted back to the trend in the 1st century CE with a limited number of donors supplying funds for construction. For example, the reconstruction of the *bouleuterion* has been attributed to the family of L. Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes (see Chapter Four).

⁴⁷⁰ While the women themselves did not hold Roman citizenship, their names (and, when provided, filiation) suggest that they were daughters of Aphrodisians who had Roman citizenship.

⁴⁷¹ Zuiderhoek (2009a, p. 13) discusses the conception of *isonomia* that dictated the framing of many activities in the post-Classical *polis*, including the issuing of honors by the *boule* and the *demos*. To have this sense of community expressed in the palaestra of the Hadrianic Baths is appropriate because of the association of this space with the Greek gymnasium, which was an essential Greek institution that dated back to the Classical *polis* (Dreyer 2004).

⁴⁷² Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 46.9) notes the harsh public reaction he received when he proposed to tear down older buildings for new constructions; see also, Kokkinia 2011, pp. 102-103. Zuiderhoek (2009a, p. 19) notes a small drop in the number of benefactions made in the cities of Asia Minor during the reign of Hadrian.

have required those individuals who wished to make a contribution to the city to rely on smaller additions and embellishments as opposed to fighting for public space for a full scale building project.⁴⁷³ This explanation, however, does not explain why the benefactors were from seemingly second-tier families and not those with civic titles or Roman citizenship. Another possibility is that the preferred form of euergetism among the wealthiest citizens of Aphrodisias had changed from donating buildings to less archaeologically-recoverable benefactions, such as endowing festivals and games.⁴⁷⁴ During Hadrian's reign, festivals began to increase in popularity across Asia Minor as a preferred type of elite benefaction.⁴⁷⁵ By the 180s CE at Aphrodisias, there were at least eight regular festivals, but none of these contests can be securely dated to the Hadrianic period or the early 2nd century CE.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷³ It could even be argued that these contributions were actually embellishments and additions to the bath complex constructed under the Flavians (*I Aph 2007* 5.6 and Reynolds 1997), especially since the majority of the dedications were concentrated on the adornment of the East Court. Examining elite construction across Asia Minor, Zuiderhoek (2005, pp. 177-178) states: "once all the necessary public architecture was in place, moreover, demand for new buildings fell sharply in most cities. As a consequence, many benefactors made only partial contributions to public buildings." This hypothesis is similar to one proposed for the decline in building activity identified in other cities in Asia Minor in the early 3rd century CE; many of these cities experienced a construction boom in the 2nd century, followed by a contraction of activity in the next century. Kokkinia (2011, p. 104) suggests that periods of rapid building growth were naturally followed by contraction. Mitchell (1990) has associated the decline of building in the 3rd century CE to a rise in festival foundations by the elite and a result of changes in euergetistic preferences. Aphrodisias, because of its easy access to marble and favorable relationship with Augustus and the Julio-Claudian emperors, experienced a building boom in the 1st century CE, and so a potential contraction in the early 2nd century CE.

⁴⁷⁴ Sponsorship of games was less likely to be preserved in the archaeological record compared to building inscriptions since structural dedications had a ready-made location to be set on display (Kokkinia 2011, p. 116). But the realization of the financial burden of public buildings might have encouraged euergetists to find other spending options. Plutarch notes that the triumvir Crassus thought construction projects brought bankruptcy to the benefactor (*Crass.* 2.6).

⁴⁷⁵ Mitchell 1990. Kokkinia (2011, p. 124) sees a link between the cultural values that *agones* (athletic and musical contest) promoted in Greek cities and the social tastes and agenda of the emperors, particularly a philhellene such as Hadrian; see also Jones 1990, pp. 487-488.

⁴⁷⁶ The Contests of the Augusti and the Aphrodiseia Isolympia were founded in the 1st century CE. The *Kallikrateia* and the *Philemonia* began in the 180s. The *Lysimachea*, *Adrasteia*, City Contests, and Contests of Hosidius Julianos were celebrated in the 180s, but it is unclear when they began (Roueché 1993, pp. 161-178). Likewise, the honorific monuments for the victors discussed above, all dedicated

A possible argument against a preferential shift of the elite to festivals is found in a series of letters between the emperor Hadrian and the city of Aphrodisias concerning the sponsorship of games. In 124/125 CE, two letters were exchanged between the emperor and Aphrodisias concerning a proposal to reallocate the funds (*summae honoriae*) of the high priests from gladiatorial shows to the completion of a new aqueduct, a proposal that Hadrian allows and praises.⁴⁷⁷ In one of the letters, it was stated that some Aphrodisians claimed to be unable to serve as high priest (ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν τινες πολεῖται ὑμέτεροι λέγοντες εἰς ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀδύνατοι ὄντες προβεβλήσθαι).⁴⁷⁸ A recent interpretation suggests that the cost of sponsoring gladiatorial games, which was the responsibility of the high priest at Aphrodisias, was too high and resulted in the reluctance of local benefactors to seek the priesthood.⁴⁷⁹ While popular with the local population, they were put on at great financial

during the Hadrianic period, were for successes at contests outside of Aphrodisias, and so cannot offer evidence of festival culture at Aphrodisias.

⁴⁷⁷ *I Aph 2007* 11.412. The letters, of which there were four total, were originally published by Reynolds (2000) and subsequently reconsidered by Coleman (2008). The date, provided by Reynolds (2000), is based on Hadrian's titles in the text. The *summae honoriae*, which were the financial obligations associated with a liturgical position in a city, were an integral part of civic revenue and a city's maintenance (Duncan-Jones 1990, pp. 176-177). Pliny (*Ep.* 10.39.5) notes that the *summae honoriae* were used to build a bath complex at Claudiapolis. Hadrian's approval of the plan should not be taken as an imperial stance against games as a whole, but gladiatorial shows (*munera*) specifically (Kokkinia 2011, pp. 109-110). In fact, in exchanges with the city of Alexander Troas, Hadrian forbid the diversion of funds away from contest (*agones*) to other purposes (Jones 2007).

⁴⁷⁸ *I Aph 2007* 11.412, ll. 32-33. Hadrian went on to advise that each of these claims should be investigated individually.

⁴⁷⁹ Coleman 2008, p. 37. The previous interpretation, espoused by Reynolds (2000, p. 19), was that wealthy benefactors preferred to sponsor gladiatorial shows instead of contributing to an aqueduct and so the city petitioned the emperor in order to force their contributions for the needed aqueduct. Imperial cult festivals regularly included gladiatorial shows for cities of the Greek East (Robert 1940, pp. 240 and 267-275) and there is evidence for such contests at Aphrodisias as well; see Roueché 1993, pp. 61-80. See also, Carter (2004) on the relationship between high priests and gladiatorial games; Price 1984, p. 89. Furthermore, two inscriptions from the 1st or 2nd century CE at Aphrodisias documented the presence of troops of gladiators in the city, and both owners were listed as high priests (*I Aph 2007* 4.104 and 11.507). A series of gladiator reliefs were made in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (Kontokosta 2008).

cost, and they did not obtain for the sponsor the lasting distinction of an agonistic festival, which would have been celebrated cyclically and have borne the sponsor's name.⁴⁸⁰

The exchange also demonstrates that the local population was concerned with securing funding for the completion of an aqueduct, perhaps even seeking imperial intervention in the project.⁴⁸¹ The claim by some Aphrodisians that they were incapable of undertaking the priesthood and the need on the part of the city to secure funding for public works indicate some degree of financial strain within the city, particularly among the wealthiest citizens on whom these financial obligations usually fell. This interpretation is supported by the contents of the other two letters inscribed alongside the two already discussed.⁴⁸² Letter One, which dates to 119 CE, concerns the location of trials of financial disputes and notes that non-Aphrodisians who had a financial investment in the city were to be tried at Aphrodisias, particularly if they had provided surety for debts. Although no evidence of any specific case survives, the inclusion of arrangements for such cases indicates that these individuals existed and that Aphrodisians sought loans from non-locals.

⁴⁸³ Letter Two, also from 119 CE, confirmed Aphrodisias' autonomy and granted a requested exemption from a provincial nail tax.⁴⁸⁴ The request for this exemption could be

⁴⁸⁰ Both Plutarch (*Mor.* 821F) and Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 34.29-30) mention how citizens would go into debt or bankruptcy fulfilling an obligation of gladiatorial shows, and the *Digest* notes examples of individuals granted exemption from the financial burden of holding the high priesthood (*Dig.* 50.6.6.2 and 50.5.8.pr). The cost of gladiatorial games even resulted in a *senatus consultum* in 177 CE that regulated the price of gladiators (*ILS* 5163) (Carter 2003); see also discussions in Coleman 2008 and Kokkinia 2011.

⁴⁸¹ Coleman 2008, p. 43. In general the construction of an aqueduct was an immensely expensive task that usually required multiple parties to contribute, although there were examples of single benefactors undertaking the responsibility (Eck 1987, p. 72 and Wilson 1996, pp. 18-19). A recent study of the aqueducts at Aphrodisias has been published by Commito and Rojas (2012). Two aqueducts are mentioned in the surviving inscriptions at Aphrodisias, one from the reign of Domitian (*I Aph* 2007 12.314) and one completed in the late 2nd century CE (*I Aph* 2007 12.1111).

⁴⁸² All four letters were inscribed on one panel discovered by excavators in the southwest corner of the South Agora.

⁴⁸³ Reynolds 2000, pp. 13-14. Claudia Paulina was the *stephanephoros* for both Letter One and Two.

⁴⁸⁴ Because it confirmed Aphrodisias' autonomy, a version of Letter Two was inscribed on the Archive Wall of the theater (Reynolds 1982, no. 15, pp. 116-118).

the reaction of a city with a strained civic treasury, concerned about meeting this fiscal obligation.⁴⁸⁵

Reynolds, interpreting the letters in conjunction with the contemporaneous mass sponsorship of the Hadrianic Baths, draws two conclusions: (1) some wealthy families were dying out and (2) local money increasingly was being invested outside of the city.⁴⁸⁶ Reynolds herself provides little supporting evidence for these claims, but when the evidence she analyzes is aligned with the surviving corpus of honorific inscriptions, her conclusions are persuasive. If all of the “co-founding” families died out before or during the reign of Hadrian, as was postulated in the previous chapter, then Aphrodisias had lost one group of the top-tier euergetic families. Their death was not just a symbolic loss of historic families, it was a very real loss of local citizens who contributed actively to the welfare of the state by holding office, taking up liturgies, and providing benefactions. With Tatia’s death, there were fewer families to serve as high priests or contribute to the aqueduct.

Reynolds’ second claim that local families were spending their money elsewhere is partially an argument from silence. The absence in this period of major local benefactors might indicate that the wealthiest citizens were spending their money elsewhere.⁴⁸⁷ The dedications of statue bases by Aphrodisian women prove that there were wealthy families in the city, many of which held Roman citizenship and were connected to the imperial

⁴⁸⁵ The tax could have been quite burdensome if it was levied when the Hadrianic Baths were under construction because the marble veneering would have required iron nails; see also, Kokkinia 2005. Additionally, in the reign of Trajan, the city requested imperial help after an earthquake (Reynolds 1982, doc. 21).

⁴⁸⁶ Reynolds 2000, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁸⁷ The lack of notable benefactors, however, might also be a result of the accident of survival and the incomplete nature of the excavations.

administration.⁴⁸⁸ Additionally, the most honored benefactor in this period, Titus Flavius Sallustius, was praised exclusively for his achievements outside of the city as a Roman senator and consular, as were his parents. Sallustius and his father, the imperial procurator, possibly represented a broader group of Aphrodisians who, with the expansion of political and social opportunities for wealthy citizens in the East, had turned their attention, and thus their financial resources, away from their native communities and toward ambitions in the provincial and imperial administration.⁴⁸⁹ Once these individuals and families received Roman citizenship, new occasions for spending, office-holding, and social advancement opened up for them. In the early 2nd century CE, the province of Asia Minor was becoming more open and connected, allowing for wealthy benefactors to achieve distinction and prestige on multiple stages, not least of which was the provincial one.⁴⁹⁰ If wealthy Aphrodisians were spending their time and resources outside of their native community, participating in the opportunities for social advancement in the Roman networks of Asia Minor, it is not surprising to find a shortage of attention and funds for matters of only local importance, such as an aqueduct or a bath complex.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, an examination of the honorific and dedicatory inscriptions from the first half of the 2nd century CE demonstrates the psychological and experiential

⁴⁸⁸ Reynolds (2008b, p. 1048) suggests that the financial insufficiencies that contributed to the collaborative construction would have resulted in the dedications made by women of high status, even pressured into making these dedications.

⁴⁸⁹ Reynolds (2008b, p. 1049) also argues that Aphrodisians who served in the military, such as M. Cocceius (the father of one of the female benefactors), might have represented those Aphrodisians who withdrew from local civic life after achieving imperial acclaim.

⁴⁹⁰ Citizenship was more regularly distributed to local elites in Asia Minor beginning with Vespasian (Sherwin-White 1973). Both Domitian and Hadrian took an active interest in the cities of Asia Minor, which resulted in increased opportunities for local elites (Mitchell 1993); see also, Boatwright 2000. For more on the openness of Asia Minor at this time and the geographical mobility available to the wealthy, see White 2004.

developments of the Aphrodisian community. The honorific inscriptions highlighted two changes in the community in particular. First, the possible loss of the *συνεκτικότες* families, or at the very least the public funeral of Tatia Attalis, increased the communal awareness of the significance of children to the health of the community. Second, the honors awarded both to children and to performers were consequences of the normalization of honorific practices in the cities, a trend that led to a broadening of the honorific pool and what qualified a citizen for such public prestige. The honorific record also showed that Aphrodisians were becoming increasingly better connected and active in the province and imperial administration, and consequently might have directed their resources away from benefactions in their local community. Their accomplishments outside of the city, however, did not go unnoticed by the local population, but rather were embraced as a positive reflection of the community.

Comparing this record to the Hadrianic Baths and its multitude of benefactors from second-tier families, as well to the letters from Hadrian, which indicate a concern for finances in the community, it becomes clear that the increased awareness of the value of children and the broadening roles of good citizens, along with changes in behavior—the shift of attention to other cities, or to the province at large—had very physical ramifications for the landscape of Aphrodisias. Construction slowed in the city and the one major building project required a collaborative effort. While some of these changes might have resulted naturally from the excesses of the 1st century CE, they were also created by a city whose elite dynamics had changed significantly from the previous generation. One set of wealthy families, who had previously undertaken liturgies, had died out while another set, who had undertaken many of the construction projects, had shifted their focus to provincial ambitions after having received Roman citizenship. With the death of the longstanding elite families and the monumentalization of the city center, the community of Aphrodisias

became more focused on its relationship and role in the broader region and empire, and the changes in the honorific record from the early 2nd century CE reflected this shift in attitudes and priorities, one that continued in the latter half of the century.

Chapter 4: The Rise of Roman Benefactors in the Late 2nd Century CE

In the previous chapters, analyses of the honorific inscriptions demonstrated that ancestry was a highly-valued aspect of elite culture at Aphrodisias, both for the individual being honored and the community issuing the honors. Members of established elite families advertised their descent from the city's "co-founders" as a means of distinguishing themselves in the honorific landscape of the 1st century CE. Adrastos and Tatia Attalis received intramural burials from the city, which reflected the integral role that these individuals and the families they represented had in shaping the collective identity of Aphrodisias. Ancestral accomplishments comprised most of the inscriptions issued for the children of elite families; the honorific texts and consolation decrees for these young Aphrodisians survive in the greatest number in the early 2nd century CE. The previous chapters, however, also demonstrated that the emphasis on ancestry was framed in opposition to other elite families that chose to privilege their membership and participation in the provincial and imperial communities in their honorific monuments. Aphrodisians, such as Tiberius Claudius Diogenes and Titus Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras, did not include references to their ancestors, and instead focused primarily on their ties to the provincial administration. The current chapter examines the honorific inscriptions of the later 2nd century and articulates how the importance of family background and ancestry, identified in previous honorific monuments, came to be usurped by the provincial and imperial achievements of living relatives in a public cityscape dominated by the benefactions of Roman citizens.

Evidence from across Asia Minor, and the empire in general, indicates that the population peaked, as did its prosperity, during the reign of Antoninus Pius in the mid-2nd

century CE.⁴⁹¹ For the cities of Asia Minor, this entailed the apex in the accumulation of wealth for the urban elites and the greatest documented instances of their benefactions.⁴⁹² It was also in the 2nd century CE that Roman citizenship began to be more widely distributed among Eastern aristocrats and there was a noticeable increase in the admission of Easterners into the Roman Senate.⁴⁹³ The gradual increase in wealth that peaked in this period also resulted in rising social inequality, not only between the elites and the non-elites, but also among those individuals who comprised the aristocratic order.⁴⁹⁴ The composition of city councils, whose members held civic magistracies and performed liturgies, became increasingly stratified and communities overall were more hierarchical than even a century before.⁴⁹⁵

The evidence from Aphrodisias suggests that this city also experienced great prosperity in the latter half of the 2nd century CE as well as an increasingly stratified society. Monumental benefactions abounded in this half century after the lull in the early part of the century. The Agora Gate was constructed on the east end of the South Agora (Fig. 1.E); the theater was significantly renovated (Fig. 1.H); the *bouleuterion* was rebuilt

⁴⁹¹ The rise in population in conjunction with a rise in wealth, particularly among the elite, is discussed at length in Zuiderhoek (2009a); see also, Scheidel and Friesen 2009. For the rise in population up through the reign of Antoninus Pius, see Scheidel (2001) and Alcock (2007). During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the population declines due to the Antonine plague (Duncan-Jones 1996; Jongmann 1991) and experiences a moderate recovery in the Severan dynasty (Zuiderhoek 2009a and discussed more in the following chapter).

⁴⁹² Zuiderhoek (2009a, figs. 1.2 and 1.3) discusses the distribution of benefactions in Asia Minor over time.

⁴⁹³ For the distribution of citizenship in the East, see Holtheide 1983 and Sherwin-White 1973. For the increased number of Easterners in the Roman Senate, see Halfmann 1979, pp. 79-81.

⁴⁹⁴ Zuiderhoek (2009a, p. 15) notes that the increase in the number of benefactions made by elites was a direct response to the growing social inequality experienced in these cities and a means of ameliorating tensions between the wealthiest and poorest citizens. Most of the examples of tensions, disagreements, and even violent actions between the populace as a whole and a local elite date to the 2nd century, such as the possible antagonism of the people of Ephesos toward the local benefactor, Vedius Antoninus, regarding his construction of a new *bouleuterion* instead of funding games (Kalinowski 2002); for more examples, see Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 66-68.

⁴⁹⁵ Both Pliny (*Ep.* 10.112) and Dio (*Or.* 40.14) remark on the growing size of city councils during the 2nd century CE; see also, Pleket 1998.

(Fig.1.B); the tetrapylon was added to the sanctuary of Aphrodite (Fig.1.A), and the theater baths were set up on the southern end of the city center (Fig. 1.I).⁴⁹⁶ Furthermore, the majority of the festivals celebrated at Aphrodisias seem to have been initiated at this time.⁴⁹⁷ The construction projects created new spaces for sculptural display and festivals offered the opportunity to publicly confirm the social hierarchy. The honorific record from the second half of the 2nd century CE illustrates the significant accumulation of wealth for some Aphrodisian elites, who not only made substantial contributions to the city, but whose sons and grandsons were Roman senators and consuls. The same epigraphic corpus, however, also provides evidence for the growing inequality between members of the elite that possibly resulted in patronage networks in the city.

The increased accumulation of wealth and participation in the imperial administration experienced by the Aphrodisian elite in the later 2nd century CE devalued the practice of advertising ancestry in honorific inscriptions. The focus shifted almost entirely to an emphasis on the honorand's personal achievements and those of his or her living relatives, all framed in terms of a wider community, either the province or the entire empire. In order to understand the depreciation of the symbolic capital of personal ancestry, this chapter analyzes in detail the evidence for three Aphrodisian benefactors with different familial and social backgrounds. By examining the language of the honorific inscriptions, the nature of their benefactions, and the choices regarding the display and appearance of their portrait sculpture, this chapter reveals the many ways that a 2nd century aristocrat at Aphrodisias had for integrating himself or herself into the community and advertising his or her power and influence. The three Aphrodisian benefactors discussed

⁴⁹⁶ Ratté 2002.

⁴⁹⁷ The best evidence for this is a series of letters between the city and a procurator around 180 CE discussing the funding for multiple local contests (*Laph 2007* 12.538 and 15.330); see discussion in Rouché 1993, docs. 50 and 51. Some of these festivals are discussed later in this chapter.

in this chapter contributed extensively to the new public endeavors at Aphrodisias— constructions and festival sponsorship—and in doing so, they stressed their dedication to the local population as well as their successes in the wider provincial community. For these ambitious and socially-mobile elites working their way up through civic, provincial, and imperial political systems, personal ancestry was of little value for their public self-representation.

THE HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS

The honorific inscriptions from the second half of the 2nd century CE illustrate that some trends from previous periods continued while new patterns began to emerge, such as proliferation of Roman citizens and evidence for patronage networks working within the city. At least thirty-three inscriptions date to the latter half of the century and an additional eleven date to the late second century or early third century.⁴⁹⁸

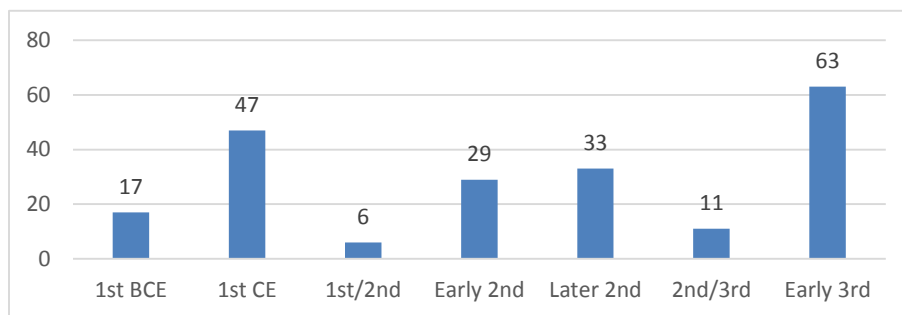


Illustration 11: Distribution of honorific inscriptions recovered from Aphrodisias according to date.

As in the early 2nd century CE, posthumous grants remained an important aspect of the honorific record with about one-fourth of the recipients honored after their death in the

⁴⁹⁸ Appendix B.72-96. The designation of “early 3rd century” refers in this instance to before 212 CE and the Edict of Caracalla. The full implications of this mass distribution of Roman citizenship are discussed in the following chapter.

later 2nd century; only two individuals, however, were clearly children, which contrasts the earlier half of the century.⁴⁹⁹ Four of the honorands were female, which is a decline from previous (and subsequent) periods.⁵⁰⁰

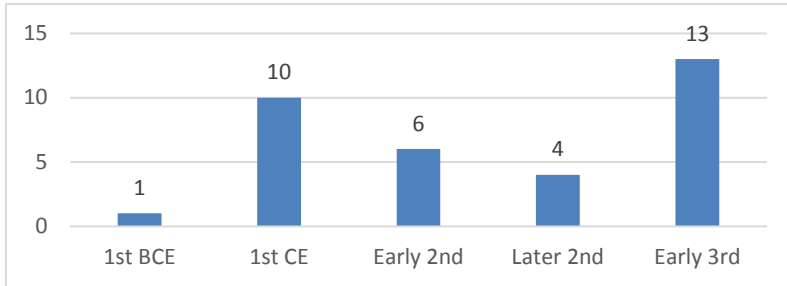


Illustration 12: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for female honorands at Aphrodisias according to date.

Honorific inscriptions for athletes, which first appeared in the surviving epigraphic record at the end of the 1st century CE, continued to be present (Tab. 3).

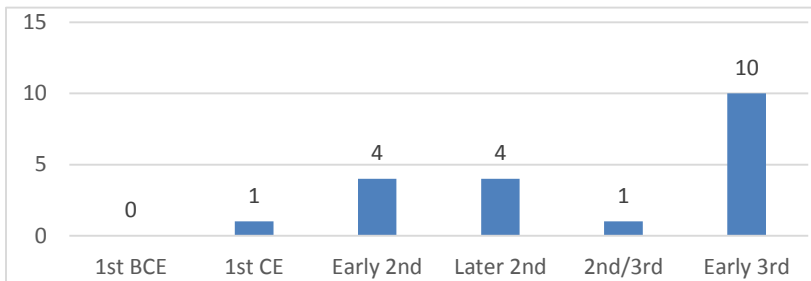


Illustration 13: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for athletes/performers at Aphrodisias according to date.

⁴⁹⁹ Eight out of thirty-three inscriptions were posthumous: Dometeinos (Appendix B.70A), Lysimachos (Appendix B.65), Dionysios (Appendix B.84), Aelius Claudius (Appendix B.81), Ti. Cl. Ant. Ammianos/Dokiamos (Appendix B.80), Pyrrhos (Appendix B.78), Pyrrhos (child) (Appendix B.77), and Demetrius (child) (Appendix B.76). In the late 2nd/early 3rd century group, however, eight of the twelve (66%) were posthumous: -nios (Appendix B.94), Zenon (Appendix B.93), Menippos (twice) (Smith et al. 2006 H126 and 127), Zenon (twice) (Smith et al. 2006 H126 and 127), Eunostos (Appendix B.89), and Hysikleia Apphia (Appendix B.91). None of these individuals are identifiable as children.

⁵⁰⁰ Appendix B.81A and B, 92, and 93. Only one of the honorand's from the late 2nd/early 3rd centuries was female (Appendix B. 101). The reason for the decline in female honorands is unclear.

One athlete, Aelius Aurelius Menandros, was honored with two inscriptions at Aphrodisias, one of which was of substantial length, issued by the sacred council of athletes as well as the civic institutions of Aphrodisias.⁵⁰¹ As with the athletes and performers from earlier in the century, Menandros traveled extensively in the region, won numerous contests and was honored by institutions both inside and outside of the city. He even received a crown at the hands of Antoninus Pius.⁵⁰² Additionally, the honorific texts from the latter half of the 2nd century also show that monuments continued to be set up in family groups. Examples of this type of collective honor and display were common in the 1st century CE, especially with the veneration of the co-founding families, but also occurred in the earlier 2nd century CE with the commemoration of the Sallustii. At the end of the 2nd century, two examples survive of fathers honored with their sons.⁵⁰³ There was also a family group of inscribed bases consisting of a woman, her uncle and his two sons, who were honored and displayed near the city's *bouleuterion*.⁵⁰⁴

The analysis of the honorific inscriptions from the late second century, however, illustrates some developments in community dynamics as well. The most obvious difference is the overwhelming number of Aphrodisian honorands who possessed Roman

⁵⁰¹ Appendix B.85A and B. For more information on this inscription, see Rouché 1993, nos. 91 and 92. The inscriptions describe Menandros as an incredibly accomplished pancratist from a good family and a leader in the athletic community. He was honored by the synod of athletes at Pisidian Antioch, city authorities (the *boule* and *demos*), and an unknown body.

⁵⁰² Other local competitors were honored during this period, such as M. Valerius Epaphroditos, a kithara-singer (Appendix B.87; Rouché 1993, no. 68). There was also a series of honorific inscriptions praising the victorious performances of boys in a newly-established local contest, the *Philemoniea* (Appendix B.66-68). The nature of this festival is discussed later in this chapter. The establishment of a local contest exclusively for the community's male children can be viewed as part of the increased importance on children and their public integration at a collective level.

⁵⁰³ Pyrrhos Papias (Appendix B.88) was honored with his two young sons, Pyrrhos (Appendix B.87) and Demetrius (Appendix B.86), both honored as children posthumously. Almost identical language was used in all three inscriptions, suggesting they were displayed as a group. Zenon (Appendix B.98) and his sons, Zenon and Menippos were also honored. His sons were rewarded two honorifics; both texts honored the brothers together (Smith et al 2006, H126 and 127). It is unclear what relationship the father's text had to either of his son's.

⁵⁰⁴ This family group is discussed in more detail in the final section of this chapter.

citizenship. As discussed in Chapter One, the most obvious signifier of Roman citizenship was the employment of the *tria nomina* formula (or some variation).⁵⁰⁵

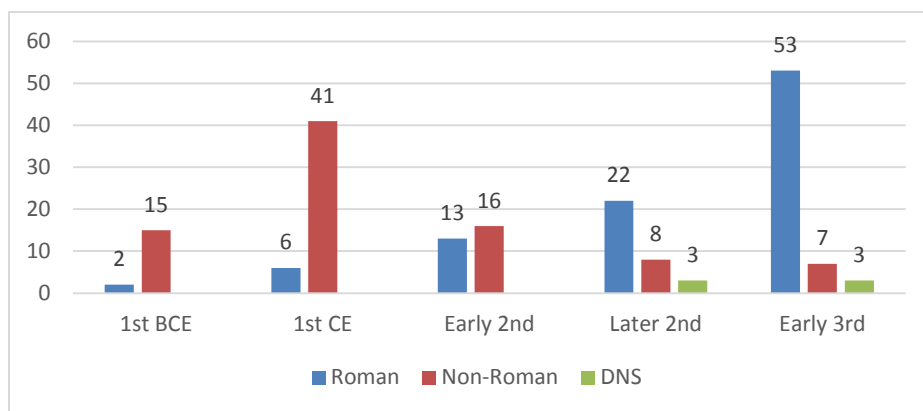


Illustration 14: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship according to date.

In contrast to previous periods at Aphrodisias when the presence of Roman citizens was limited to a handful of honorands, the majority of those honored in the late 2nd century CE possessed Roman citizenship (67%).⁵⁰⁶ This trend at Aphrodisias conforms to the distribution of citizenship across the province, which rose in frequency from the 1st century CE and dramatically increased under the Antonines.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁵ There are also numerous examples of polyonymous and adoptive nomenclatures used, while women usually list only two names (Salway 1994). See also, Salomies 2001a. The main publication on Roman citizenship in Western Asia Minor suggests that before the Antonine Constitution the inclusion of the *tria nomina* formula once citizenship was attained was expected and possibly even required on some public displays (Holtheide 1983); see also, van Nijf 2010a, pp. 180-181.

⁵⁰⁶ Three texts are too fragmentary to identify the name and therefore the citizenship; this leaves eight individuals that did not have Roman citizenship. Of the eleven inscriptions that date to the late 2nd or the early 3rd, only two had Roman citizenship; the remaining nine were presented as non-Roman.

⁵⁰⁷ Under the Julio-Claudians, it would have been a rarity for a provincial elite to receive Roman citizenship, but starting under the Flavians citizenship was more widely distributed. Examining the evidence from Western Asia Minor, Holtheide (1983) argues that citizenship distribution was limited to provincials and local elites (at a delay). Amongst the lower strata of society, only soldiers of successful athletes would have been granted such honors.

The possession of Roman citizenship implied by the *tria nomina* had certain legal implications in addition to denoting membership in a political community outside of one's native city.⁵⁰⁸ Furthermore, advertising Roman citizenship implied a certain accumulation of wealth, contacts with imperial authorities, and participation in the provincial administration. Membership in a wider community and system was further stressed by the omission of an honorand's genealogy. Chapter One explained that it was standard in Greek naming tradition to list a patronymic and often additional ancestry after the honorand's name, while the Roman formula was limited to a patronymic or often nothing at all.

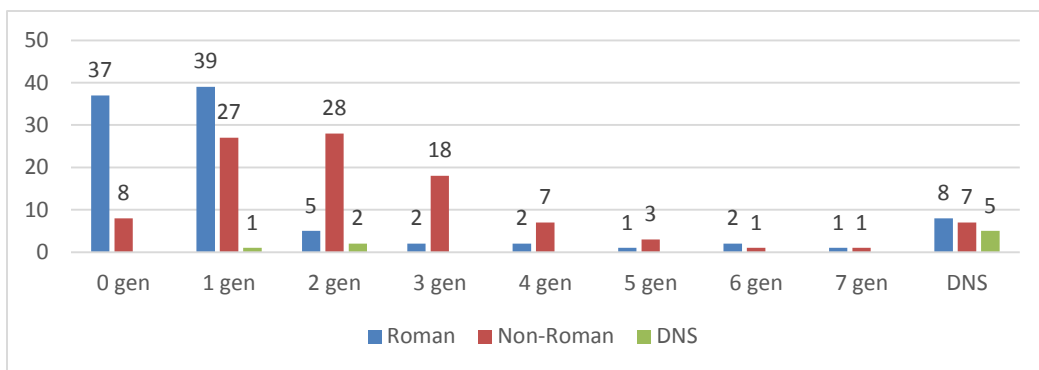


Illustration 15: Number of generations provided by Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship in the honorific inscriptions from the 1st century BCE to the mid-3rd century CE.

For the second half of the 2nd century CE, thirteen honorands with Roman citizenship listed no patronymic, while seven listed their father's name. The honorands without Roman citizenship continued to demonstrate greater variation with two listing four

⁵⁰⁸ In her prosopographic study of Aphrodisias, Bourtzinakou (2011) identifies that the vast majority of Aphrodisians used categorically Hellenic names for their *cognomina*, although a few should be seen as regional preferences (if not entirely local). The range and employment of 'Roman' names at Aphrodisias is relatively small, especially when compared to a similarly-sized city, such as Pisidian Termessos where non-Hellenic, Roman *cognomina* were common (van Nijf 2010a).

generations, one listing three, one listing two, another two honorands with only a patronymic, and two more with no filiation.⁵⁰⁹

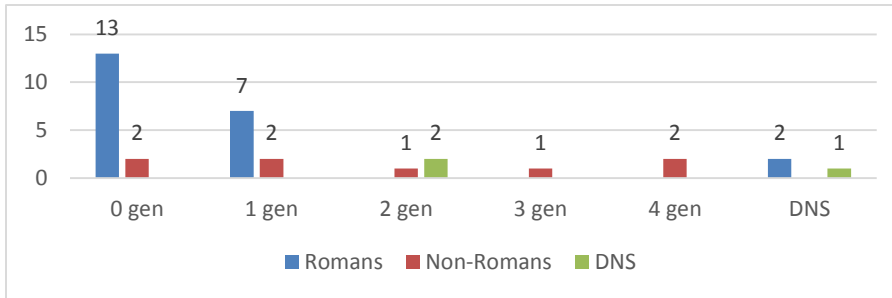


Illustration 16: Number of generations provided by Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship in the honorific inscriptions from the second half of the 2nd century CE.

The difference in these naming practices reflects the seemingly dichotomous messages of the honorands. On the one hand, Roman *tria nomina* with no or limited ancestry stressed horizontal links to a provincial and imperial network beyond the city. On the other hand, the non-Roman practice of “genealogical bookkeeping” emphasized an honorand’s vertical connections—his or her familial roots in a native city.⁵¹⁰

In addition to the decline in genealogical provisions that accompanied an increase in honorands with Roman citizenship, there was also a noticeable drop in references to the ancestors of benefactors, which were once prominent in the honorific inscriptions. Only four honorands were described as members of first (*πρωτος*) families; otherwise references to ancestors, such as having ancestors who held civic magistracies and acting in the

⁵⁰⁹ Four generations: Appendix B.86 and 94. Three generations: Appendix B.87. Two generations: Appendix B.88. One generation: Appendix B.76 and Smith et al. 2006, H54. No generations: Appendix B.89 and 93. The genealogical provisions for three honorands was not able to be determined: Appendix B.78, 85B, and 95.

⁵¹⁰ “Genealogical bookkeeping” is a term used by van Nijf (2010a) to describe the phenomenon of Termessians listing their ancestry in their funerary inscriptions.

tradition of one's ancestors, were not present in the inscriptions from this half century.⁵¹¹ References to the living relatives, however, were not absent, and stressed connections and participation in the imperial administration. The texts from the latter half of the 2nd century indicate a preference for including provincial posts and advertising relationships with members of the Roman hierarchy, such as senators and consuls, instead of established links to a prestigious local ancestry.

The survey of the honorific texts from the last half of the 2nd century also highlights the shifting of patronage networks within the city—possibly a result of the increased distribution of Roman citizenship. As noted in the discussion of Sallustius in the previous chapter, this conclusion is derived from the changes observed in the last lines of the honorific inscriptions of the later 2nd century. One common element of the honorific inscriptions at Aphrodisias was the inclusion of a clause naming a person (or persons) who supervised in some capacity the construction of the monument (*ἀνάστασις* clause) at the end of the inscriptions.⁵¹² Careful examination of these clauses over time shows that prior to the mid-2nd century, just over 20% of the inscriptions included mention of an overseer, and 80% of those responsible for the monument were individuals related to the honorand by blood or marriage.⁵¹³ In contrast to this statistic, 44% of the inscriptions from the latter half of the 2nd century have *ἀνάστασις* clauses, but only about half of those overseers were family members or spouses.⁵¹⁴ The remaining individuals were not related by blood; some

⁵¹¹ Aelius Aurelius Menandros, as well as Pyrrhos and his sons were described as being from *πρωτος* and *ἐνδοξος* families (Appendix B.85A, 86-88).

⁵¹² Based on the vocabulary employed, Smith et al. (2006, p. 24) argue that there were four different scenarios regarding the funding and supervision of honorific monuments at Aphrodisias; each scenario combines different levels of involvement between the city and a private individual in terms of funding and supervising both the statue and the base.

⁵¹³ Ninety-four inscriptions date between the 1st century BCE and the mid-2nd century CE. Of these, twenty-one include *ἀνάστασις* clauses, seventeen of which were made by family members or spouses.

⁵¹⁴ This amounts to fifteen of the thirty-three inscriptions from the later 2nd century; seven of the fifteen overseers were related to the honorand through blood or marriage. Of the eight overseers who were not related, the overseers are as follows: Menandros, secretary for the second time honored Gaius Hosidius

of them listed their civic office (perhaps reflecting that they oversaw the statue as part of their civic duty), while others were silent on the matter. The first Aphrodisian senator, Titus Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras, received four honorific inscriptions at Aphrodisias, and two of them were overseen by a private, unrelated individual. In the group of inscriptions for him, his father, and his mother, Milon oversaw the monuments on behalf of his friend (φίλον) and benefactor (εὐεργέτην).⁵¹⁵ In a separate honorific text, Sallustius was honored by Adrastos Pylades, who acted on behalf of his savior (σωτήρ) and benefactor.⁵¹⁶

The vocabulary used in these inscriptions recalls the language and practices associated with the system of patronage in the Roman world.⁵¹⁷ For example, in Republican Rome it was commonplace for clients to honor their patron with a portrait statue and inscription.⁵¹⁸ Among communities in the Greek East, the system of Roman patronage was joined with the Hellenistic practice of civic euergetism so that benefactors, in addition to donating their money to their civic community, also sponsored buildings and

Julianos (Appendix B.79A), who was also honored by Andronikos (Appendix B.79B), Publius Aelius Kallikrates, the first archon, honored Tib. Cl. Zelos (Appendix B.74), Hephaestion, the first archon, honored L. Ant. Cl. Dometeios Diogenes (Appendix B.80B) who was also honored by Tib. Cl. Ktesias (Appendix B.80A), Metrodoros honored Demetrius (Appendix B.86), and Tib. Cl. Kapitoleinos honored Cl. Ant. Tatiane twice (Appendix B.81A and B).

⁵¹⁵ Appendix B.71.

⁵¹⁶ Smith et al. 2006, H68.

⁵¹⁷ Patronage in the Roman world is a complicated and contentious subject among academics. For the most thorough discussion of this topic, see Wallace-Hadrill 1989. For previous views, see Badian 1958; Gelzer 1969. Generally, patronage is understood as a social relationship entered into voluntarily between two parties of unequal status. Saller (1982) argues that a patronal relationship existed if it is reciprocal, personal, asymmetrical, and voluntary. Saller also stresses the personal aspect of the patronage system, but others such as Rich (1989) and Nicols (1980), acknowledge that patronage relationships existed between benefactors (or Rome itself) and communities. The patron-client relationship, although it existed outside of the law, was critical to the social system of Roman society; it was a means of social integration (Nicols 1992).

⁵¹⁸ Tanner (2000, p. 34) argues that the dedication and sponsoring of statues by private individuals served as a physical manifestation of patronage relationships in which the client offered an honorific monument of his benefactor as a gesture of *gratia* in recognition of the patron's past and hopefully future *beneficia*.

gave financial and political support to groups as well as individuals.⁵¹⁹ Acting as a patron in this capacity was another means for a benefactor to augment his or her status and compete with other elites, while simultaneously providing economic, political, or social advantages to those receiving the benefaction.⁵²⁰ In the Roman period, some professional associations (*collegia*) adopted the practice of dedicating honorific inscriptions as a means of enticing benefactors with tangible rewards to provide assistance.⁵²¹ For example, at Apameia an honorific inscription for P. Manneius Ruso was issued by the local *boule* and the *demos* for his many benefactions to the city; the statue was set up by the *ergastai* of the city and Eumenes and Julius were responsible for the monument.⁵²² Not only did these acts of commemoration on the part of “clients” serve to encourage the generosity of benefactors, but it also provided an opportunity for the overseer, in this instance the *ergastai*, to publicly demonstrate their ability to uphold the political order from which the honorific monument was issued and to insert themselves into the epigraphic landscape of the city, and thus establish a permanent place in its memory.⁵²³

While the language of the ἀνάστασις clauses from Aphrodisias do not make patronage relationships explicit, the similarities in formula and practice suggest that the Aphrodisian elite were also participating in this wider imperial phenomenon, even if on a

⁵¹⁹ van Nijf 1997. Work on patronage networks in Asia Minor has been limited and primarily from the perspective of local communities’ interactions with Roman magistrates; see Tuchelt 1979; Smith 1988; Smith 1989, pp. 130-134.

⁵²⁰ van Nijf (1997, pp. 82-111) reviews the varied ways that benefactors assisted *collegia* in the Greek East. Other studies on Roman patronage have stressed its importance in integrating new citizens into the established social order (Wallace-Hadrill 1989, pp. 74-75).

⁵²¹ van Nijf 1997, p. 108.

⁵²² IGR 4, 791. Van Nijf (1997, pp. 82-111) provides a number of other examples. See also, a discussion of a similar example from Termessos between the benefactress Atalante and the local *technitai* (van Nijf 2000). Kalinowski (2002, pp. 128-145) demonstrates the reciprocal relationship between benefactor and civic associations that resulted in honorific monuments for the family of the Vedii at Ephesos.

⁵²³ van Nijf 1997, p. 126.

much smaller scale.⁵²⁴ The development of these relationships was also a reflection of the growing stratification of the bouleutic order that resulted in a few families dominating the social hierarchy of cities.⁵²⁵ In addition to the power negotiations between the elite (the *boule*) and the rest of the population (the *demos*), new relationships and networks of influence were established within the elite. Of the honorands whose monuments were overseen by private individuals in the 2nd century CE, most of them were demonstrably the wealthiest members of Aphrodisian society. Sallustius was the first Aphrodisian to serve as a Roman Senator and he reached the rank of consul.⁵²⁶ Tiberius Claudius Zelos made substantial renovations to the theater and sponsored a local festival.⁵²⁷ Gaius Hosidius Julianos also sponsored contests at Aphrodisias.⁵²⁸ These were local citizens with substantial wealth, Roman citizenship, and even imperial connections; certainly they were the *honestiores* referred to the ancient sources.⁵²⁹

The best example of these new power relationships that began to be made visible in the honorific record of the 2nd century are the monuments erected for Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes and his niece, Claudia Antonia Tatiane.⁵³⁰ These two Aphrodisians both received two honorific monuments and each one was overseen by another, unrelated Aphrodisian. Tatiane's inscriptions were both overseen (ἐπιμεληθέντος) by Tiberius Claudius Kapitoleinos.⁵³¹ Dometeinos's inscription outside the *bouleuterion*

⁵²⁴ No epigraphic evidence survives at Aphrodisias for a professional association honoring an individual, but there is evidence for smaller civic institutions and bodies, such as the *gerousia*, the *epheboi*, and the *neoi* honoring benefactors alongside the *boule* and the *demos*.

⁵²⁵ Zuiderhoek 2009a.

⁵²⁶ Appendix B.71.

⁵²⁷ Appendix B.74.

⁵²⁸ Appendix B.79A and B.

⁵²⁹ An honorific inscription for Demetrius records that the decree was put to vote by Metrodoros, but this individual did not claim any responsibility for the erection of the statue (Appendix B.86).

⁵³⁰ The details of their inscriptions and the individuals themselves are covered in the last section of this chapter.

⁵³¹ Appendix B.81A and B.

was overseen by Tiberius Claudius Ktesias, while his second honorific was the responsibility of Hephaistion.⁵³² The language in Dometeinos' *bouleuterion* inscription is elaborate: "Tib. Cl. Ktesias the elder supervised (ἀναστάσεως) the erection of the statue and himself had the altar made (ποιησαμένου) for him, and the other features."⁵³³ The inscription records a detailed breakdown in responsibility and cost taken up by Ktesias and, in effect, simultaneously honors him for performing this civic duty.⁵³⁴ Ktesias, and his father Kapitoleinos, who oversaw Tatiane's monuments, were not inconsequential citizens; both received honorific monuments themselves from the city in the early 3rd century CE.⁵³⁵ It is possible that through their support of these important benefactors in the late 2nd century CE, they were able to advance their own status in the hierarchy in the early 3rd century.

The inclusion of the ἀνάστασις clauses, which represented the increasing stratification of the elite and emergent patronage networks, were also related to the competitive development of statue bases that occurred in the 2nd century CE. While statue bases in the 1st century CE tended to be shorter and wider, they became gradually taller, narrower, and more elaborate over the course of the 2nd century CE, and their upper and lower profiles became more complicated.⁵³⁶ The statues themselves continued to be restricted by conservative trends, probably a reflection that their production was still controlled by civic authorities, but the bases became increasingly more complicated as venues for competitive displays. The development in the statue bases might also have been a reflection of the loosening of the democratic structures that controlled the issuance and

⁵³² Appendix B.80A and B.

⁵³³ The translation is Reynolds' (*I Aph 2007* 2.17). A Hephaistion, the second of that name from Demetrios, the first archon, oversaw the second honorific of Dometeinos (*I Aph 2007* 12.416).

⁵³⁴ Smith et al. 2006, p. 34.

⁵³⁵ Ktesias' inscriptions: Appendix B.112A and B. Kapitoleinos: Appendix B.114.

⁵³⁶ Smith et al. 2006, pp. 33-34. For example, the statue base for Dometeinos included acroteria on the upper profile.

production of honorific monuments. In addition to the increased participation of unrelated individuals in the process of honoring and the competitive approach to commissioning statue bases, there was also a collapsing of the language traditionally associated with the honorific process. Both the Dometeinos and Tatiane statues were granted by the *patris* as opposed to the *boule* and the *demos*, collectively.⁵³⁷

Overall, the individuals who acted as overseers of these honors placed themselves in a role normally filled by family members or spouses.⁵³⁸ Just as the city undertook responsibilities associated with family members during the early 2nd century by issuing consolation decrees for deceased youths and offering public burials of its important citizens, the honorific overseers were usurping a role most often associated with family members.⁵³⁹ This action not only inserted the overseer, a non-family member, into the epigraphic record and the memory of the city, but it did so at the expense of the family. The evidence of three Aphrodisian benefactors, to which this chapter now turns, suggests that the traditional, ancestral family connections were no longer of significant value—at least not as much as ties to the Roman administration. The shift to this style patronage networks might have functioned as a contributing factor to this transition.

CARMINIUS CLAUDIANUS AND THE SOCIALLY-MOBILE ELITE

The increasing wealth and opportunities among the aristocratic population at Aphrodisias resulted in the rise and preeminence of certain benefactors in the city, whose

⁵³⁷ Ma (2013a) discusses Hellenistic honorific monuments, and van Nijf (2001) considers honorifics from Roman Termessos; both stress the importance of including these civic institutions in the inscription to indicate their participation in the process and their role in recognizing power in the community. There is an increasing tendency in the honorific inscriptions from the mid-2nd century CE on (at Aphrodisias specifically) toward collapsing that rhetoric, which suggests a shift in the power dynamics of the community.

⁵³⁸ Van Nijf 1997, pp. 113-116; see also, Zuiderhoek 2009a.

⁵³⁹ In other studies of patronage, it has been stressed that the relationship mirrored the dynamics of familial duty and that the patron or benefactor acted with a patriarchal tone toward his or her client (Tanner 2000, p. 33). See also, Badian 1958, pp. 163-165.

families dominated the political and euergetic life of the city for the next few generations.⁵⁴⁰ Three Aphrodisians stand out as the most prominent euergetists at Aphrodisias in the later 2nd century CE. They all had Roman citizenship, they all made substantial contributions to the city, and they all received impressive honorific monuments, none of which included extensive references to their ancestry, however. Instead these benefactors integrated themselves into the community and legitimized their wealth and status through strategic choices in the types of benefactions made, the location for their honorific monument, and an emphasis on their participation in the imperial administration in their honorific inscriptions.

The first benefactor is Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus, an outsider, who in order to advance his political career moved from his native city of Attouda to neighboring Aphrodisias, where he married Fl. Apphia, the sister of T. Sallustius Fl. Athenagoras.⁵⁴¹ Carminius provides a remarkable example of the kind of elite migration and movement between cities that occurred during the Roman period. Other examples include Opramaos, who was a wealthy aristocrat from Rhodiapolis and who donated actively to multiple cities in Lycia.⁵⁴² Furthermore, numerous benefactors from around Asia Minor moved to the capital of Ephesos, presumably to help advance their political careers or social standing.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴⁰ Woolf (1994, p. 123) refers to the existence of “super-euergetai” who were the wealthiest members of a city and usually had extensive ties to Rome.

⁵⁴¹ For a biography of Carminius, see Thonemann 2005 and 2007, pp. 227-235. See also, *PIR* II² C 433. Thonemann (2007, p. 227) notes that Attouda is a five hour walk from Aphrodisias.

⁵⁴² Coulton 1987; Kokkinia 2000.

⁵⁴³ Rogers (1991a) notes that Gaius Vibius Salutaris was not originally from Ephesos. For more on movement to the city of Ephesos in the Roman period, see White 2004. For other examples of families advancing socially or politically in the province, see Thonemann 2007, pp. 235-241. Although there is little direct evidence of other outsiders moving to Aphrodisias, one benefactor, M. Valerius Epaphrodeitos, honored shortly after Carminius, was described as the son of Marcus Valerius Narkissos. He is described as a citizen and councilor by descent (πολείτου και βουλευτοῦ ἀπὸ προγόνων) (Appendix B.97). These added descriptors, specifying both the citizenship and the status of councilor, suggest the need to make public and permanent the local heritage and background of the honorand, a gesture potentially motivated by the presence of both citizens and council-members who had not reached that status by birth, such as Carminius.

While Attouda was a small Phrygian town near Aphrodisias, Carminius' family was still able to succeed within the province. His grandfather received citizenship early in the reign of Trajan, and his father, M. Ulpus Carminius Polydeuces Claudianus, served as high-priest of Asia.⁵⁴⁴ The ambitious Carminius married an Aphrodisian woman, Flavia Apphia, who was from a senatorial family.⁵⁴⁵ Apphia served as high-priest of Asia and was the sister and granddaughter of senators; her brother even became consul. Although there was little information about her family background in Carminius' inscription, she was actually a descendant of a longstanding elite family, which can be traced in the epigraphic record to the mid-1st century BCE (Fig. 11).⁵⁴⁶

At his native city of Attouda, Carminius was a perpetual *stephanephoros*, while at the provincial level he served as treasurer of the province and *curator republicae* at Cyzicus. Carminius and his wife had at least two sons, one of whom split his time between Attouda and Aphrodisias and reached the rank of high-priest of Asia.⁵⁴⁷ His other son became a senator, moved to Rome and married. He had four children and served as proconsul of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia-Isauria; in 190 CE, he reached the rank of suffect consul.⁵⁴⁸ The story of Carminius' family is remarkable, but it is hardly a unique tale of the social and geographical mobility available to elites of Roman Asia Minor. Within four generations, the Carminii went from receiving citizenship to the rank of senator

⁵⁴⁴ For a complete biography of the extended family, see Thonemann 2007, n. 96.

⁵⁴⁵ Flavia Apphia received an honorific inscription from the city, which remains unpublished (Smith et al 2006, H230). This inscription, however, did include more information on her ancestry and is discussed in the following chapter.

⁵⁴⁶ Her ancestors, Eumachos Diogenes and Ammia Olympias, helped contribute to the Temple of Aphrodite during the reign of Tiberius.

⁵⁴⁷ At Attouda, he served as *stephanephoros* and priest of Meter Adrastos and minted coins (Thonemann 2007, p. 233). His wife, Carminia Prokle, was high-priestess of Asia and received honors at Aphrodisias (Appendix B.110). Their daughter was high-priestess of Asia and had a reserved seat at the theater of Aphrodisias (*Iaph* 2007 8.81), while also serving as *stephanephoros* at Attouda and minting coins there.

⁵⁴⁸ *MAMA* VI 74-75. This son received honors at Aphrodisias (Appendix B.73). This son also was mentioned in the *Digest* as suffering financially with the dynastic change to the Severans (*Dig.* 22.1.6).

and consul, while continuing to perform liturgies and benefactions in their native communities. Carminius Claudianus was a major instigator in advancing his family politically, particularly because of his move from the backwaters of Attouda to Aphrodisias and his strategic marriage into a wealthy, well-connected Aphrodisian family. But Carminius still had the status of an outsider in his new community; he had to negotiate a place for himself amongst the Aphrodisian elite, which he did by relying on his imperial-level achievements, his wife's local and imperial connections, and lavish donations that benefitted a majority of the populace.

Only one inscription survives at Aphrodisias for Carminius specifically, but it is an honorific text over 300 words and 45 lines long detailing his important familial connections and civic contributions.⁵⁴⁹ Carminius' text is the longest surviving honorific at Aphrodisias and the tedious recording of donations made "gives the impression of a lack of security and confidence about why the honorand has a public statue."⁵⁵⁰ Thus, not only can the actions recorded, but even the decision to record them, be interpreted as a legitimizing strategy on the part of Carminius.

The inscription opens with an identification of the honorific bodies: the council and the people of Aphrodisias (ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀφροδισιέων). The specification that the honoring parties were from Aphrodisias is unparalleled in the surviving epigraphic corpus of the city, and so it served as an immediate acknowledgement that Carminius was not a native citizen, but he nevertheless was accepted and honored by the local community. Next, as was standard, Carminius provided his name and the name of his father. Departing from local trends, his father was described as a high-priest of Asia and the grandfather and

⁵⁴⁹ Appendix B.72; see also, the discussion and translation in Lewis 1974, pp. 91-92.

⁵⁵⁰ Smith et al. 2006, p. 22. The inscription for Aelius Aurelius Menandros, the athlete (Appendix B.85A) was also incredibly long. The majority of the text recorded his victories at various contests.

great grandfather of senators. This wording is interesting because it centralizes the honorand Carminius and presents his father in terms of his own offspring—an odd presentation that situated ancestors in relation to descendants. Next, the inscription documents that Carminius has been honored by the emperors, another unparalleled epigraphic inclusion. Thus, within four lines, he has taken the reader from the honors given by local institutions to honors bestowed by emperors and embedded his descent from provincial authority and his role as progenitor of imperial authority between them.

Next, however, the inscription shifts to Carminius' wife. The fourth through eighth lines record him as the husband of Flavia Apphia (ἄνδρα Φλαβίας Ἀπφίας), a high-priestess of Asia, mother, sister, and grandmother of senators, a lover of her country, daughter of the city, and the daughter of Fl. Athenagoras, procurator of the Augusti, who himself was the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of senators.⁵⁵¹ It is noteworthy here that Carminius is described as the husband of Apphia and that she is situated so early in the text. In all other Aphrodisian honorifics, the wife, if she appeared at all, was mentioned late in the text and always as the honorand's wife; but here the honorand is described as her husband.⁵⁵² Furthermore, Apphia was not simply referenced; extensive information was provided regarding the importance of her father and her accomplishments and significance in the community. These four lines dedicated to Apphia functioned almost as an embedded honorific inscription for his wife. All of this—her early mention in the text, the vocabulary used to describe the relationship, and the extensive details of her biography—signify her importance to Carminius' public self-fashioning. The most reasonable explanation for such great emphasis on a spouse is that Apphia held high

⁵⁵¹ Athenagoras' description is another example of situating one's ancestors in terms of one's descendants, similar to Carminius' father.

⁵⁵² For example, the long honorific text of Jason Prabeus does not mention his well-born wife, Julia Paula, until the tenth line after he had provided extensive details on the accomplishments of his own ancestors, and even here she is described as his wife (τῆ γυναικί) (Appendix B.104).

prominence in the community. As a descendant of not only a provincially-successful family but also a longstanding local one, she was an ideal marriage candidate for an ambitious outsider. She offered both provincial contacts through her maternal line as well as integration and legitimization in the local community through her paternal heritage. Yet by only listing her father's name and not more of her local genealogy, the focus remained on living relatives and present contributions.

After the praise of his wife, the inscription goes on to describe the rest of Carminius' family and some of his more important offices. He is listed as the son of a high-priest of Asia and the father and grandfather of senators, all of whom are named. The next four lines list Carminius' offices in the province and at Aphrodisias. He served as provincial treasurer, curator at Cyzicus, as well as high-priest of Aphrodisias, treasurer, chief temple-builder, and priest for life of Aphrodite. The remaining thirty lines of the inscription detail the various benefactions that Carminius made to his new city. In addition to the money for the high-priesthood, he donated funds for various construction projects in the city, including new seating at the theater.⁵⁵³ He helped with the construction of a street, presumably near the theater and added extensively to the Gymnasium of Diogenes.⁵⁵⁴ The last section of the text details his substantial cash donations that were intended for distribution to members of the council, the *gerousia*, citizens, those living in the countryside, and even outsiders, plus a distribution of oil to the people as part of a celebration for the completion of an aqueduct.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³ Reynolds 1991, p. 20. Chaniotis 2008, no. 8. Reynolds associated this donation with the lowering of the orchestra, which required a reorganization of the seating.

⁵⁵⁴ Chaniotis (2008, no. 8) attributes this gymnasium to L. Ant. Cl. Dometeinos Diogenes, a contemporary benefactor.

⁵⁵⁵ Commito and Rojas 2012.

The acts described in this text reflect a man trying to integrate himself into the community; he funded seats in the theater, which was the site of public assembly for the population, and it was the organization of seating at such spaces (theaters, stadia, and even odeia) that reiterated in a visual landscape the social structure and hierarchy of the community.⁵⁵⁶ Funding new seats at the theater was a symbolic gesture from a man trying to assimilate himself into that social organization. Carminius also gave lavishly to one of the city's gymnasia. Gymnasia, similar to theaters, served as institutions of social instruction, because both were venues in which the social hierarchy was put on display and enacted: the theater through seating arrangement and performances, the gymnasium through education and training.⁵⁵⁷ The gymnasium and its associated groups, such as the *epheboi* and *neoi*, taught and reaffirmed to its members the values, traditions, and even the ideology of the community.⁵⁵⁸ Finally, Carminius' distribution of cash was also a means of reaffirming the social hierarchy of the city and inserting himself into it. For example, in the distributions allotted by Salutaris as part of his procession in Ephesos, both the order in which the participants received money and the amount given reflected the hierarchy of different institutions, groups, and citizens.⁵⁵⁹ Similarly, Carminius listed the recipients of his distributions for the city in a particular hierarchical order: first the council, then the *gerousia*, the citizens, and finally people outside the city.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁶ Kokkinia 2011, p. 106; see also Rogers 1991b and Mitchell 1990.

⁵⁵⁷ For a discussion of this function of the gymnasium, see van Nijf 2004; Newby 2005. For more on the importance of the gymnasium to social cohesion, see Kah 2004. The role of the theater as a means of social instruction is discussed in the following section.

⁵⁵⁸ For more on the institution of the *neoi*, see Dreyer 2004, Kennell 2013, and van Bremen 2013

⁵⁵⁹ Rogers 1991a.

⁵⁶⁰ Carminius' inscription records gifts of about 110,000 *denarii*, which Zuiderhoek (2009a, p. 4) categorizes as representative of the middle range benefactor.

All of these acts were gestures that impacted (and benefited) a broad swath of the Aphrodisian community in ways associated with the social hierarchy of the city.⁵⁶¹ The elaborate detail of Carminius' inscription reflected his need to document his contributions and reminded the Aphrodisian community of his connections as well, which in turn established his membership in the elite of the city. This is how Carminius confirmed his status and garnished support and approval from the populace. The opening lines of the text concerning his relations—familial and marital—further legitimized that place. Carminius did not have a local family to claim and so his strategies to appeal to the citizen body of Aphrodisias were to stress his local marriage to Flavia Apphia, who did possess extensive roots in the city, and to advertise how much he had given to benefit all those in the city. The inclusion of distributions to people that were non-citizens of Aphrodisias was probably reflective of his own status as an outsider to the community.⁵⁶²

But Carminius was also a man concerned with advertising and celebrating his political and social advancement; he presented himself as the origin of a line of senators and Roman benefactors. He was both trying to establish himself in one local arena while advertising his achievements and those of his children in another imperial one, which is why his senatorial connections, provincial post, and imperial success appeared so early in the honorific inscription. In doing so, he minimized his own family background and even the full ancestry of his wife; strikingly, he omitted references to ancestors, which were commonly found in earlier honorifics at Aphrodisias. Instead, the value of ancestry

⁵⁶¹ This is precisely what Rogers (1991a) argues, namely that G. Vibius Salutaris acted similarly when establishing his civic procession at Ephesos. Zuiderhoek (2009a, p. 71) says that distributions were a “glorification of the hierarchy within the citizen community.”

⁵⁶² Distributions in general were a means by which benefactors put their world in order by enacting a social hierarchy for both the participants and onlookers. Councilors were typically the top recipients in all the recorded distributions (Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 96-107 and Fig. 5.6).

depreciated as Carminius shifted his focus forward and outward, highlighting his personal contributions and the accomplishments of his contemporaneous relations and descendants.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS ZELOS AND THE RISE OF FESTIVAL CULTURE

The honorific inscription of Carminius Claudianus documents strategies used by a wealthy outsider moving into a community, but not all benefactors at Aphrodisias could match his provincial achievements or imperial success; rather, some had to rely on other methods to legitimize their status in the community, such as appealing to the traditions and history of the local community. Tiberius Claudius Zelos was another important benefactor in the latter half of the 2nd century at Aphrodisias. In an honorific text inscribed on the stage front of the theater, Zelos was praised by the council, the people, and the *gerousia* as high-priest and priest for life of Aphrodite and the people, a founder (κτίστης), and a benefactor in all things for his fatherland.⁵⁶³ This inscription was written on the cornice blocks which rested above a triglyph-metope frieze, which sat upon the large letters of Gaius Julius Zoilos' dedicatory inscription from the 1st century BCE. The same cornice that preserved Zelos' honorific inscription also included honors for a number of other Aphrodisian benefactors.⁵⁶⁴

Also on the cornice of the stage front was a second inscription about Zelos, this one a dedicatory inscription.⁵⁶⁵ It reads that Zelos provided a series of items associated with renovations to the theater. Architectural study of the theater shows that the orchestra level was lowered in the second half of the 2nd century. One of the items that Zelos was said to

⁵⁶³ Appendix B.74.

⁵⁶⁴ Reynolds 1991, p. 19. The precise location of the inscription and its relation to other texts also displayed on the *proskeneion* are subjects of current research at Aphrodisias and will be discussed fully in future publications by members of the excavation team. This portrait display is discussed briefly by Smith et al. 2006, p. 55. The other benefactors honored on the stage front are discussed below.

⁵⁶⁵ *Aph 2007* 8.85. This inscription records a dedication to Aphrodite, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius (as Caesar), and the fatherland. The specification of Antoninus Pius as emperor and Marcus Aurelius as Caesar puts the date of the inscription between December 139 and March 161 (Reynolds 1991, p. 19).

have donated was σκούτλωσις for the wall (τοιχου) and the floor (εδάφους), which Reynolds interprets as either paneling or paving, both of which would have been needed in the process of lowering the orchestra. The second set of objects dedicated was the columns and entablature. It is unclear what columns this text refers to; on the one hand, it could be repairs to the Doric columns dedicated by G. Julius Zoilos, which were moved and re-erected as part of Zelos' renovations; on the other hand, it could refer to some decorative display of small pilasters.⁵⁶⁶

Regardless of the columns referred to in the text, it is clear that the inscriptions associated with Zoilos and his original dedication of the theater stage were taken down and carefully re-erected as part of Zelos' renovation. This act reveals a conscientious effort to preserve the past integrity and memory of the theater as well as one of Aphrodisias' preeminent benefactors.⁵⁶⁷ The significance of this preservation might be reflective of Zelos' status in the community. It was argued in the first and second chapters that benefactors relied on the power of the past, particularly the history and traditions of the city, as a means of presenting themselves as legitimate possessors of their place among the elite.⁵⁶⁸ Moreover, in communities in Asia Minor in general, respect and emulation of past ancestors were considered important qualities for a good citizen and benefactor.⁵⁶⁹ A similar regard for Aphrodisias' past—in the form of preserving one of its most famous

⁵⁶⁶ Reynolds 1991, p. 19.

⁵⁶⁷ In a similar vein, a statue of Zoilos with its honorific base was at some point in the history of the city moved into the Hadrianic Baths, which suggests a continued interest in this great Aphrodisian benefactor at least into the 2nd century CE (Smith 2007).

⁵⁶⁸ Claudia Paulina included references to the local past in her inclusion of the foundation relief panels in the Civil Basilica.

⁵⁶⁹ For example, Libanius articulates that the imitation of ancestors was essential for there to be harmony between the past and the present (*Or.* 11.11) and Dio Chrysostom praises the elites who embodied the virtues of their ancestors (*Or.* 31.62-63; 31.146). For more on this topic, see Yıldırım 2004, pp. 41-42.

benefactors—and value of historic preservation as a tool for status justification might be the motivation for Zelos’ careful conservation of his predecessor’s dedication.⁵⁷⁰

The reason for Zelos’ interest in presenting himself as caretaker of the local past might stem from his lack of elite pedigree in the community. He came from an unattested family at Aphrodisias. No predecessor can be identified in the epigraphic record nor did Zelos provide any information on his ancestors. Neither his son nor his grandson, both of whom received honorific monuments at Aphrodisias, included in their inscriptions any ancestors preceding their father and grandfather.⁵⁷¹ All of these inscriptions suggest that Zelos the elder, the dedicator of the theater, was the first important benefactor of the family. The precise history of the family is harder to discern with any specificity; Zelos’ praenomen and nomen (Tiberius Claudius) suggest that citizenship was bestowed upon an ancestor of his during the reign of Claudius.⁵⁷² Zelos acquired a substantial amount of wealth for himself and subsequently bestowed gifts magnanimously upon the Aphrodisian community in ways that attempt to justify his wealth and its accompanying status.

In addition to the preservation of the city’s history, the renovations to the theater allowed Zelos to insert himself physically amidst important civic benefactors, past and present. The lowering of the orchestra allowed the *proskeneion* to serve as a new display

⁵⁷⁰ A similar phenomenon occurs elsewhere in Asia Minor and the empire. For example, Hadrian’s construction of the Pantheon preserved the name of M. Agrippa on the architrave. But there are examples where individuals purposefully erased the dedicatory inscriptions of previous benefactors in order to appropriate more attention for themselves; such cases are mentioned in the *Digest* (50.10.7.1); see also, Thomas and Witschel 1992. At Aphrodisias, restorations of previous monuments were recorded in the Trajanic period. A Kallikrates, son of Molossos, restored two statues (of Victory) that had originally been dedicated in the late Hellenistic period by Kallikrates, the son of Pythodoris, his ancestor (*I Aph 2007* 12.12 and 12.402)

⁵⁷¹ Son: Appendix B.109; grandson: Appendix B.108A.

⁵⁷² One possibility is that Zelos (or his father) was the freedman of an important Aphrodisian family (or another family from elsewhere) who received earlier citizenship (McLean 2011, pp. 127-131). Another possibility is that Zelos or his ancestors acquired his wealth through the military. This hypothesis is largely conjecture and based on the range of historical possibilities. In support, it might be relevant that Zelos sponsored a festival celebrating a Roman military victory (discussed below). For more on the military as a venue for citizenship distribution, see McLean 2011, p. 115; see also, Holtheide 1983.

space for honorific portrait statues. It was here that a statue of Zelos would have stood. One clean-shaven portrait statue of an Aphrodisian man in a chiton and himation is contemporary with Zelos' renovation; the statue emphasizes the honorand's virtuous character and participation in civic politics.⁵⁷³ This statue would have stood on display alongside the togate statue of Gaius Julius Zoilos and at least another togate statue from the 1st century CE, as well other portraits in himation and chiton costumes from the 1st and 2nd centuries CE.⁵⁷⁴ The inscriptions from the *logeion* record at least ten benefactors who received honors, eight of which were doubles (i.e. two inscriptions for the same person) and some of which were restored as part of the 2nd-century renovations.⁵⁷⁵ The creation of this display space suggests an increasing need for the construction of new and prestigious places for honorific monuments to be viewed for both past and present benefactors.⁵⁷⁶

The lowering of the orchestra was most likely a response to the plethora of new festivals which began in Aphrodisias in the mid- and late 2nd century. One such festival was actually sponsored by Zelos. The *Epinikia* celebrated the victory of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus over the Parthians. This festival was commemorated by a series of coins issued by Zelos that date between 161 and 169 CE.⁵⁷⁷ Roueché suggests that these coins

⁵⁷³ Smith et al. 2006, p. 67 and no. 51.

⁵⁷⁴ The potential identification of this statue as Zoilos is made by Smith et al. 2006, no. 1.

⁵⁷⁵ There was room for many more statues. Smith (et al. 2006, p. 32) likens the arrangement to orators upon the stage. Two statues for Hosidius Julianos (Appendix B.79A and B); two for Attalos Adrastos (Smith et al. 2006, H71 and 72). There were two for a benefactor whose name does not survive, but were restored by Grypos at the request of the Junius Maximus (*I Aph 2007* 8.86). Junius Maximus served as Quaestor in the 160s CE.

⁵⁷⁶ The need for new spaces of display is quite evident at Aphrodisias in the late 2nd century CE. Shortly after the renovations to the theater, an elaborate aedicular gate was constructed on the east end of the South Agora, complete with numerous statues of benefactors and emperors (Linant de Bellefonds 2009) and the *bouleuterion* was renovated, which included a new aedicular background for the stage, which housed eight statues, some of which were portrait sculptures (Smith et al. 2006, p. 36). In his study of the display of honorific statues, Trifiló (2007, p.119) notes that the display of honorific portraits “provides key visual evidence of the hierarchic relationships in Roman society.”

⁵⁷⁷ For the full publication and discussion of these coin types, see MacDonald 1992, types 60-70. Similar *Epinikia* festivals were celebrated after the Parthian victory at Ephesus and Athens (Moretti 1953, p. 188).

could have been used as distributions for rewards and prizes during the festival's celebration.⁵⁷⁸ They feature various busts of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Faustina the Younger, the Roman Senate, and the Demos on their obverses; the reverses portrayed mostly images of local significance, such as the cult statue of Aphrodite with and without the emperors, an octastyle temple of Aphrodite, the goddess with Eros, Tyche with a cornucopia, a recumbent river god, and three leafless branches.⁵⁷⁹

A detailed discussion on the significance of the coins' iconography remains outside the scope of this dissertation, but two observations should be made. First, the dedication of coinage celebrating imperial victory and prominently featuring the imperial household emphasized a connection between Zelos and the imperial administration. Second, the coin featuring the three leafless branches is significant in consideration of the importance of the past in Zelos' benefactions. The iconographic scheme of the branches appeared on other coins from Aphrodisias, but this is the earliest surviving attestation on coinage.⁵⁸⁰ Although the precise meaning of the leafless tree is not known for certain, it does seem clear that the tree was a sacred object at Aphrodisias and most likely part of a local sanctuary.⁵⁸¹ In fact, the tree's first iconographic appearance was in one of the foundation relief panels from the Civil Basilica: a leafless, three-branched tree appears in the

Coins, minted by private individuals regularly were distributed at and connected with civic festivals (Klose 2004).

⁵⁷⁸ Roueché 1993, p. 163. MacDonald (1992, p. 38) notes that no direct reference to games or contests was depicted on the coin.

⁵⁷⁹ One coin featured an obverse with an emperor and military trophy (R206). MacDonald (1992, p. 38) argues that this coin was a direct reference to the Parthian victories. Four of the coins (Types 60-63) were inscribed to read: "Ti. Cl. Zelos, priest on the occasion of the Epinician Celebrations, dedicated." There are three more coins attributed to Zelos based on their style, but lacking any inscription (Types 71-73). All of their obverses feature busts of the senate and their reverses depict (1) Aphrodite, (2) Mên, and (3) the three leafless branches.

⁵⁸⁰ MacDonald 1992, p. 32. The coin last appeared in the reign of Valerian II, which was shortly before coinage from the city ends entirely.

⁵⁸¹ MacDonald 1992, p. 33. The practice of representing iconography relevant to a community's past was a common occurrence on coins minted in Asia Minor during the 2nd century CE (Price 2005).

composition of the Ninos relief as he makes a sacrifice over an altar with an eagle atop it (Fig. 8). It is possible that the branches on the back of the Zelos coin allude to this founding event in the history of Aphrodisias and an early cult of the city, possibly for Zeus Nineudios.⁵⁸² Thus, the imagery of the Zelos coins shares features identified in the Civil Basilica and its relief panels, namely its blending of imperial references with the representations of the remote past of the city. Considering the coinage in this light, taken together with Zelos' other benefactions, a possible conclusion is that Zelos advertised his knowledge of Aphrodisian tradition and his loyalty to the emperor in order to present himself as a benefactor worthy of honor.

Zelos's benefactions, however, went beyond the static iconographic displays like those found in the Civil Basilica. His minted coins might have been distributed as part of a sponsored festival, which presumably involved the entire community.⁵⁸³ Similar to the seating arrangements of the theater, public festivals and contests such as the *Epinikia* served as opportunities to reaffirm social norms and hierarchies.⁵⁸⁴ Such events brought together a civic population (and possibly others) for celebration; performances and speeches about the history of the community were regular features of these events.⁵⁸⁵ Thus, like Carminius, Zelos sponsored benefactions that brought the community together and served to confirm the social hierarchy while promoting himself within this organization.

⁵⁸² Yıldırım (2004) makes the connection between the relief panel and the numismatic iconography of the leafless branch coins. There was a possible connection between depictions of dead trees and an Anatolian sky cult (MacDonald 1992, p. 33). Yıldırım (2004) and Chaniotis (2004, no. 11) have both made the connection between the leafless tree and an early cult at Aphrodisias for Zeus Nineudios.

⁵⁸³ For more on the distribution of coins at festivals (Klose 2005) or even more broadly (Harl 1987).

⁵⁸⁴ Rogers 1991a and 1991b. Van Nijf (1997, 135) categorizes festivals as ritualized and performed experiences of civic life: "a strongly normative display of what the community ought to look like and how its citizens ought to live and relate to one another." Zuiderhoek (2009a, p. 76) stresses that festivals presented the hierarchy of the community. Furthermore, these civic hierarchies would have been expressed to the internal participants (in this case, local Aphrodisians), as well as to visiting individuals and communities (Mitchell 1993, p. 206).

⁵⁸⁵ Wörrle 1988, pp. 229-257; Boatwright 2000, pp. 95-98. Chaniotis (2006) stresses the shared emotional experiences that these festivals and contests had on the participating population.

Unlike Carminius, however, who favored his own provincial posts and the achievements of his descendants, Zelos emphasized his knowledge of and respect for the past of Aphrodisias, its benefactors and cults. He made no claim to provincial success, but he demonstrated his imperial loyalties through his festival celebration and theater dedication in a manner that contextualized these loyalties within Aphrodisian tradition.

In fact, the *Epinikia* sponsored by Zelos was just one of many festivals initiated at Aphrodisias in the latter half of the 2nd century CE. As discussed in previous chapters, contests and festivals took place at Aphrodisias before the mid-2nd century, but few of these festivals have survived in the epigraphic (or numismatic) record. In the late 2nd century, however, it is clear that the number of contests in the city increased dramatically from only two known contests in the late 1st century CE to at least seven more a century later.⁵⁸⁶ One such contest was the *Kallikrateia*, which was established in the early 180s.⁵⁸⁷ There was also the *Lysimachea*, which most likely dated to the early 180's and was financed originally by Marcus Flavius Antonius Lysimachos.⁵⁸⁸ A third contest was the *Philemoniea*, which appears to have been a contest for local boys and began in the early 180s with the other

⁵⁸⁶ Before the mid-2nd century CE, only the names of the Contests of the Augusti and the *Aphrodiseia Isolympia* are preserved in Aphrodisian epigraphy (Roueché 1993, pp. 161-163). Additional evidence for festival activity and athletic competition before the reign of Hadrian consists of the frequently-attested office of *agonothete* (e.g. Appendix B.5.ii), inscriptions for owners of troops of gladiators (*I Aph 2007* 4.104 and 11.507), and the construction of the stadium in the latter half of the 1st century CE (Welch 1998). Contests sponsored by Hosidius Julianos and Zelos' *Epinikia* occurred in the 160s CE, but the remaining five contests are not mentioned until the 180s CE (Roueché 1993, nos. 50-53).

⁵⁸⁷ A dossier of letters between a provincial curator, M. Ulpus Appuleius Eurykles, and the city of Aphrodisias from 186/7 CE contains a number of remarks on festival culture at Aphrodisias. One letter mentions the *Adrasteia* (by Claudius Adrastos and for tragedians only) and the City Contest (for Aphrodisian citizens only) as having been well-established by the late 2nd century CE. For more on these letters and contests, see Roueché 1993, nos. 50-53.

⁵⁸⁸ This Aphrodisian was honored publically with a monument as a sophist, high-priest, gymnasiarch, *stephanephoros*, *neopoios*, and contest-president in perpetuity of the *Lysimachea* (Appendix B.75). For more on this contest, see Roueché 1993, pp. 174-176.

contests.⁵⁸⁹ Victorious boys continued to be honored in inscriptions at Aphrodisias into the mid-third century CE.⁵⁹⁰

It was standard practice at Aphrodisias for contests to be sponsored or funded by an individual and named for the benefactor. Such an arrangement meant that these public festivals served as one more means by which a local euergetist could benefit the community while simultaneously legitimizing or promoting his or her status.⁵⁹¹ The name and importance of the benefactor would have been a part of the celebrations, remembered and preserved through the cyclical performance of the festivals.⁵⁹² In fact, the decision to sponsor festivals was one being made by benefactors with increasing frequency in the 2nd and 3rd centuries across Asia Minor.⁵⁹³ Festival sponsorship rivaled the dedication of buildings as the preferred donation by local euergetists and might have been the result of changing preferences within elite culture.⁵⁹⁴ Many of these festivals followed a traditional “Greek” style of athletics and musical performance, and their increase in popularity could have been fueled by members of the elite who perceived value in the cultural traditions of athleticism and performance; even the emperors themselves were encouraging the

⁵⁸⁹ Roueché 1993, pp. 177-178. All of these contests were cyclical so that the citizens would have celebrated at least one contest every year (and certainly multiple contests in some years).

⁵⁹⁰ Honors for victorious boys: Roueché 1993, nos. 79-86. The last attestation of the festival was from its 20th celebration in 241 CE. There were also contests in the “half-talent” category sponsored by Gaius Hosidius Julianos, who was honored twice on the *proskeneion* of the theater (Appendix B.79A and B).

⁵⁹¹ Kokkinia 2011, p. 97; see also, Rogers 1991a (Salutaris at Ephesos) and 1991b (Demosthenes at Oenoanda).

⁵⁹² These contests were immortalized in artistic productions, such as sculpture, mosaics, or reliefs. For example, there was a series of gladiatorial funerary reliefs (around forty-one survive) from Aphrodisias, which primarily date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (Kontokosta 2008).

⁵⁹³ Demosthenes established an elaborate festival at Oenoanda in the reign of Hadrian (Rogers 1991b) and Opramoas sponsored numerous games throughout Lycia in the mid-2nd century (Kokkinia 2000). For more on the rise of festival culture in the Greek East, see Wörrle 1988; Mitchell 1990; van Nijf 2010b.

⁵⁹⁴ Kokkinia (2011, p. 100) notes that the decision not to build could have been based on a variety of factors, such as availability of land or communal preference to repair old building instead of constructing new ones. Rogers (1991b), however, articulates the possible negotiations between a benefactor and local government that the establishment of a festival entailed.

incorporation of Hellenic elements in a “developing empire-wide cultural *koine*.”⁵⁹⁵ The sponsoring of these types of festivals served as an apt means of public self-fashioning because they presented their sponsor as a traditionalist, as someone who maintained cultural traditions for the community.⁵⁹⁶ Some of these festivals, particularly those whose participants were drawn from outside the local population, also served to strengthen bonds between regional and provincial communities as a form of diplomacy.⁵⁹⁷

The role of protector of traditions was well-suited for the founder of the *Epinikia*, Tiberius Claudius Zelos, who in other aspects of his euergetism was very cognizant of the relationship between his actions and the past. The obverses of his coinage depicted locally-significant iconography and his renovations to the theater carefully preserved its construction history. Moreover, both of these acts would have become a part of the *Epinikia* celebration, part of which probably took place in the theater. Even more, Zelos put his honorific inscription and portrait statue on display as part of his renovation and as a backdrop for the performances and assemblies. Zelos’ self-presentation as a benevolent and generous Aphrodisian who was aware and appreciative of the city’s past and went to great lengths to involve the entire community in celebration might have been the reason for the city honoring him with the title of *ktistes*, a veneration reserved for only the most important benefactors of a city.⁵⁹⁸ His benefactions were the appropriate choices for a man

⁵⁹⁵ Kokkinia 2011, p. 124.

⁵⁹⁶ For example, Rogers (1991a) argues that this was precisely the meaning behind the elaborate procession sponsored by G. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesos in 104 CE.

⁵⁹⁷ The honorific inscriptions for victors at Aphrodisias reflect the civic interactions that took place as part of the competitions, since multiple honors were issued for Aphrodisians by Ephesos (B.57, 85A, and 127) and one honorific was issued from Halikarnassos (Appendix B.58). The sacred games that were celebrated at Aphrodisias in the mid-3rd century CE clearly brought together multiple cities in the region as indicated by a series of honorific inscriptions for those cities (*Laph 2007* 12.923-930 with a discussion of each in Roueché 1993, nos. 59-64). For more on the diplomatic and regionally-unifying function of festivals, see Rogers 1991b and van Nijf 2006.

⁵⁹⁸ Only four individuals were honored with title of *ktistes* at Aphrodisias before the mid-3rd century CE. Prior to Zelos, Hermogenes Theodotos and Adrastos Hierax were described as such (Appendix B.1 and 8B). In the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries CE, Titus Flavius Menippos was described as gymnasiarch,

who existed outside of the normal social structure and without an impressive pedigree. Through his substantial contributions, Zelos and his descendants were successfully integrated into and embraced by the Aphrodisian community.

DOMETEINOS DIOGENES: THE SELF FASHIONING OF A LOCAL ROMAN

Both Carminius and Zelos were wealthy elites who made benefactions that stressed community solidarity and in turn integrated them into the civic hierarchy. Carminius relied on his imperial and provincial connections combined with mass-appeal donations extensively detailed in a lengthy honorific. Zelos, on the other hand, chose select and targeted donations that brought together the whole community in celebration and presented him as a protector (and even a part) of civic traditions and history. The third and final benefactor examined in this chapter has a significantly different background and takes a vastly different approach to his choice of benefactions. Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes was a prominent Aphrodisian in the late 2nd century who, along with members of his family, extensively renovated the council-house of the city (Fig. 1.B).⁵⁹⁹ The *bouleuterion* is one of the few places in the city where the sculptural program can be reconstructed and the statues of Dometeinos and his niece, located there, are two of the few portraits that can be positively matched with corresponding honorific inscriptions.

Portrait statues of Dometeinos, his sons Tiberius Claudius Diogenes and Attalos, and his niece, Claudia Antonia Tatiane, along with their corresponding honorific

stephanephoros, and founder in an unpublished honorific inscription for his son (Smith et al. 2006, H161). Yildirim (2004, pp. 44-45) notes that the identification of the benefactor as a founder was related to maintaining (or respecting) the harmony between the past and the present. For more on this title, see Strubbe 1984-1986, pp. 253-254 and 289-301; see also, Leschhorn 1984, pp. 1-4.

⁵⁹⁹ For more on the *bouleuterion*, see Gros (1996); Bier (2008); Stinson (2008). The specifics of the renovations are discussed in the following chapter. Regarding Dometeinos, see *PIR2* C 853; Macro 1979. For the date of Dometeinos, see Jones and Smith 1994, pp. 461-472 and, most explicitly to his activity being at 175 CE, see Chaniotis 2004, no. 31. The activities of his niece at Aphrodisias and Ephesos, Tatiane, are generally dated to around 200 CE (see below).

inscriptions were placed around the *bouleuterion* (Fig. 9). While the aedicular façade of the *bouleuterion* stage was populated with at least eight statues, some divine and some portraits, the over-life-size portraits of Dometeinos and his niece were located at the east and west entrance to the *bouleuterion* (Fig. 15a and b).⁶⁰⁰ Both statues and their 2m-tall bases remained in situ until the city was abandoned four hundred years later.⁶⁰¹ The inscribed base of Dometeinos records that the fatherland honored him as a lawgiver (*nomothetes*) and a father and grandfather of senators.⁶⁰² Dometeinos received a second honorific statue displayed elsewhere in the city; in this inscription he was described as a lawgiver, high-priest of Asia, a perpetual gymnasiarch, and a euergetist.⁶⁰³ In both of his inscriptions, Dometeinos highlighted his importance to the Aphrodisian community, his achievements in the province, and his family's place in the imperial political structure. His significance to Aphrodisias was imparted through the titles of *nomothetes* and gymnasiarch. The office of *nomothetes* is obscure, but probably referred to his role in overseeing major civic legislation.⁶⁰⁴ His importance to the constitutional workings of the city helps explain his family's decision to renovate the council-house, the political heart of the city. The local honor of perpetual gymnasiarch possibly resulted from his donation of

⁶⁰⁰ There were also statues for Dometeinos' two sons located at the ends of the cavea inside the council-house, but only their honorific bases survive *in situ* (Appendix B.82A). A similar combination of portrait sculptures for civic benefactors and deities is found in the sculptural program of the *bouleuterion* at Ephesos, which was renovated around the same time and included portraiture of members of the imperial household (Bier 2011). An inscription of donors for this renovation includes the name of Claudia Antonia, who has been identified as the niece of Dometeinos (Knibbe 1981, p. 53, no. B 54, ll. 13 and 23).

⁶⁰¹ Smith et al. (2006) note that the longevity of display attests to the great importance of Dometeinos and Tatiane to the Aphrodisian community.

⁶⁰² Appendix B.80A.

⁶⁰³ Appendix B.80B.

⁶⁰⁴ Reynolds (*I Aph 2007 2.17*) suggests that *nomothetes* refers to a specific historical moment, perhaps a revision to the civic constitution. The title was given to Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, an ancestor of Dometeinos, in the 1st century CE (Appendix B.47). There is another unpublished inscription for an honorand in the 2nd century CE whose name does not survive, but includes the title of *nomothetes*, along with gymnasiarch, *stephanephoros*, and agonothete (Smith et al. 2006, H189).

the Diogenes Gymnasium, to which Carminius also made substantial contributions.⁶⁰⁵ His provincial accomplishments are evident in his title of the High-Priest of Asia, a position which was reserved for only the highest level of provincial elite and to which few Aphrodisians ever ascended.⁶⁰⁶ Finally, his imperial links are given primacy in his *bouleuterion* honor with his position as father and grandfather of senators listed first.⁶⁰⁷

Dometeinos' inclusion of family and ancestry is particularly significant to understanding his choices of self-representation. In the text, no patronymic was provided, nor references to ancestors, but Dometeinos was stressed as the progenitor of senators (two generations).⁶⁰⁸ While the absence of a patronymic and ancestral references, as well as the focus on present relations, are not a surprise given the previous two examples, the omissions are striking given the actual ancestry of the honorand. Dometeinos Diogenes was a descendant of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, the wealthy 1st century CE Aphrodisian who oversaw the completion of the South Portico and propylon of the Sebasteion and whose father dedicated the Portico of Tiberius in the South Agora. The earlier Diogenes was also the first Aphrodisian to hold the high-priesthood of Asia and be called a

⁶⁰⁵ Chaniotis 2004, p. 413 and 2008, no. 8.

⁶⁰⁶ For more on this position and those that held it, see Friesen 1993. Additionally, these priesthoods often served as a means of moving up in Roman society, especially by having one's son advance to the rank of senator, as in the case of Dometeinos (Campanile 1994, p. 60, n. 40).

⁶⁰⁷ Dometeinos' designation as a grandfather suggests that the honors were bestowed upon him in old age or perhaps even posthumously (Inan and Rosenbaum 1979, p. 213). Such an interpretation is supported by the mention that the statue overseer had an altar made along with the base and the addition of acroteria to the upper profile of the base, which Smith et al. (2006, p. 34) categorize as a "sacrificial allusion." In fact, while the statue honors and renovations date to early in the reign of Severus, Dometeinos' portrait has archaizing elements, which call back to the Antonines. The draping of his himation and his arm positions, the curls and styling of his hair and beard, and the heavy upper eyelids all point to a style of portraiture made popular in the Antonine period (Smith et al. 2006, no. 48).

⁶⁰⁸ The names of Dometeinos' sons, however, were not named as they were in Carminius' inscription. Compared to Carminius' 300+ word inscription, Dometeinos' council-house inscription was only around thirty lines (and twenty of those were for the overseer, Tib. Cl. Ktesias). Although Dometeinos did not include a patronymic, his family background would have been implied to a certain extent by his polyonymous nomenclature (Salomies 1992).

nomothetes, but no mention of these deep local roots in the city were made in either of Dometeinos' inscriptions.⁶⁰⁹

The inscriptions, instead, focus on Dometeinos as a prominent and wealthy benefactor at Aphrodisias with provincial importance and family participation in the imperial political structure. These aspects of his character articulated in the inscriptions, namely a civically-active member of the elite who is the father of Roman senators, were reinforced by his impressive portrait statue set upon its towering base situated in a prominent place outside of the *bouleuterion* (Fig. 15a).⁶¹⁰ The statue wears a himation and chiton, the costume of a local office-holder; it was painted purple and gold, and on his head, he wears an elaborate crown, which featured an image of Aphrodite surrounded by busts of the Antonine and Severan families.⁶¹¹ Thus, he was shown in the ceremonial garb that he wore when he presided over civic festivals as the High-Priest of Asia, the overseer of the Imperial Cult of the province. While the costume located Dometeinos within his community and established his role in the province, his portrait features—the elaborate curls of his hair and beard, as well as his heavy eyelids—were products of Roman metropolitan tastes. At his feet there was a box of *tabellae*, which emphasized his literacy and *paideia* and thus his possession of Greek cultural values. The portrait of Dometeinos represented a “careful negotiation taking place on several levels at once: between the local and the cosmopolitan; between current fashions and age-old traditions.”⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁹ The use of the term *nomothetes*, however, did link indirectly Dometeinos with his ancestor since they were the only two Aphrodisians to hold this title.

⁶¹⁰ As Smith et al. (2006) contend that “the size of the statue and the longevity of its preservation, especially through a time of great change and civic re-organization, confirm the eminent status that Dometeinos must have held in the Aphrodisian community during his lifetime and the integral part of the collective self-conscious he occupied in the Late Antique period.”

⁶¹¹ Smith et al. 2006, no. 48.

⁶¹² Smith et al. 2006, p. 175.

The inscription participated in this negotiation. The text identified what was probably an important role that Dometeinos played in Aphrodisian society, that of *nomothetes*, and it also connected him to his other family members, some of whom were represented in statues within the immediate vicinity. But, as with Carminius, the inscription did not link Dometeinos to the past of Aphrodisias. By connecting himself to the past and the great civic contributions of his ancestors, he would have established himself as one in a long line of local benefactors at Aphrodisias. Instead, his inscription focuses on his personal accomplishments and his position as the father of generations of Roman senators. The omission of ancestral references is an intentional decision that maintains the focus on the importance of Dometeinos and his family to the present and future of Aphrodisias and abroad, not on his ties to the past and the limits of a civic context. Taken together, the honorific inscription and portrait of Dometeinos represented the composite identity, balanced between local and Roman, of this Aphrodisian benefactor.

This sentiment similarly is echoed in Dometeinos' statue pendent, the figure of Claudia Antonia Tatiane, his niece, and her honorific inscriptions.⁶¹³ This stood along the south wall of the portico, at the east entrance to the *bouleuterion*.⁶¹⁴ The base reads that the council and the people honored Claudia Antonia Tatiane, a most powerful benefactress in the tradition of her ancestors (ἐκ προγόνων εὐεργέτιν) and the cousin of Claudius Attalos and Claudius Diogenes, both senators.⁶¹⁵ A second honorific statue for Tatiane, whose original location is unknown, has an almost identical language.⁶¹⁶ In both inscriptions,

⁶¹³ This relationship is not made explicit in any of the inscriptions, but is generally accepted by scholars and supported by Tatiane's explicit claim to be the cousin of Attalos; see also Van Bremen 1996, p. 227.

⁶¹⁴ Taken together, the base and the over life-size statue of Tatiane was 4.46m tall (Smith et al. 2006, pp. 216-217). For a full discussion of this statue, see Smith et al. 2006, no. 96.

⁶¹⁵ Appendix B.81A. Even women of the highest status were honored as members of their family (Dmitriev 2005, pp. 183-185); see also, van Bremen 1996.

⁶¹⁶ Appendix B.71B. There is also evidence that she may have contributed to the *Lysimachea*, which was referred to as the *Lysimachea Tatianeia* in the 3rd century (*I Aph* 2007 12.31; Roueché 1993, no. 76).

Tatiane is honored for two reasons: her role as benefactress in the tradition of her ancestors, and her relationship as cousin to the senators, Attalos and Diogenes.⁶¹⁷

Although Tatiane did not provide a patronymic, she did include a clause about her ancestors, namely that she has been a great benefactor just as they were. While it is not surprising to find an Aphrodisian male with Roman citizenship honored without a patronymic (this occurs roughly 50% of the time), it is unparalleled at Aphrodisias to have a female honored without the specification of her closest male relative, either husband or father, in the surviving epigraphic corpus. The ancestor clause, however, linked Tatiane to her uncle and his influence. In fact, her father's name might have been intentionally excluded so as not to take away from her connection with her uncle at the other entrance of the *bouleuterion*. Like Dometeinos's inscription, Tatiane's honors also stressed her connection to the contemporary present of Aphrodisias and her senatorial cousins, Attalos and Diogenes, whose statues were set up inside the building.⁶¹⁸

Furthermore, Tatiane might have been an active benefactor at Ephesos, where she held the high-priesthood with her uncle. At Ephesos, Claudia's full name appears on a sarcophagus on which she grants a man permission to bury his wife in her heroon outside the Magnesian Gate. The letter includes the fact that Tatiane has *ius liberorum*, or the right to act without a guardian (*SEG IV.544*). This letter dates to 204 CE. Tatiane was buried in a Dokimeion sarcophagus at Ephesos in a tomb complex along with a procurator in the early 3rd century CE (Rudolph 1989 and 1992). Her name also appears on the list of *bouleuterion* donors at Ephesos (Knibbe 1981, p. 53, no. B 54, ll. 13 and 123). In this example, she is only listed as Claudia Antonia. Gros (1996) considers the possibility that she had a hand in restoring both buildings, which might explain the close similarity in their plans. The *bouleuterion* at Ephesos was restored around the time of Commodus; the reconstruction of *bouleuterion* at Aphrodisias has been dated to the late second century CE (Bier 2008); see also, Bier 2011.

⁶¹⁷ The only difference between the two inscriptions is the order in which she is honored. The statue outside of the *bouleuterion* gives prominence to her standing within the community as a benefactress like her ancestors before establishing her imperially-connected relations. This could be seen as the same tactic taken up in the inscription of Dometeinos, who first is listed as *nomothetes* and then as the father and grandfather of senators.

⁶¹⁸ Smith et al. (2006, p. 218) argue that the brothers (and Tatiane) were the main patrons of the *bouleuterion*'s reconstruction, especially since Dometeinos was probably a very old age (or deceased) when the project was completed and his statue erected. Tib. Cl. Diogenes and Attalos were both honored two additional times in the city (Appendix B.82B.i-ii, 83 (Diogenes), 84 (Attalos)). There were a limited number of honorands at Aphrodisias who received two, let alone three, honorific monuments.

The negotiation between local traditions and imperial importance is apparent in the portrait statue of Tatiane as well (Fig. 15b). The benefactress wears a chiton and himation, the traditional garments of Greek women in Hellenistic and Roman statuary, but the contour and curves generally associated with Hellenistic influence have been replaced by a Roman sense of frontality and rigidity.⁶¹⁹ A similar combination is identifiable in her portrait head as her face and hair reflect the metropolitan tastes popularized by images of Julia Domna, but she wears a crown upon her head which identifies her as a local priestess, or the High Priestess of Asia, a position she may have held as partner to her uncle.⁶²⁰

Like her uncle, Tatiane was a benefactor who was addressing multiple audiences. While Dometeios' inscription provided the viewer with a notation as to his role in the community, his statue demonstrated his importance in the province and the entire monument stressed his connections to Rome. Without a patronymic, he served as the founder for multiple generations of senatorial benefactors. Tatiane was less extreme and still connected herself to her ancestors.⁶²¹ She also articulated clearly her horizontal connections to the Roman senators among her present relations and emphasized this visually in her imperially-inspired hairstyle and self-representation. Her Roman connections and wider, non-local focus support an identification of her crown as that of the High-Priestess of Asia.⁶²²

Little is known of Dometeios' specific benefactions to the city. He has been linked to the construction of the Diogenes Gymnasium and with the renovations to the

⁶¹⁹ Smith et al. 2006, p. 218. Her depiction is unique at Aphrodisias, as her himation hangs low at her hips, leaving a thin chiton, which reveals the statue's breasts and navel.

⁶²⁰ Reynolds, *I Aph2007* 2.13, commentary.

⁶²¹ Dmitriev (2005, p. 183) notes that the activities of women were typically honored in comparison to those of their ancestors.

⁶²² The interconnectedness between these two statues is emphasized and reinforced by the fact that were set up by a father and son (discussed above).

bouleuterion.⁶²³ These benefactions, particularly the remodeling of the council-house, differ in a significant ways from those of Carminius and Zelos. While business conducted at the *bouleuterion* might have impacted the whole community, the renovations affected only a select group of the city—those who attended the council meetings. Instead of sponsoring benefactions that brought the whole community together, such as festivals and distributions, or upgrading the structure of the 15,000-capacity theater, Dometeinos and his family rebuilt the 1,700-capacity *bouleuterion*.⁶²⁴ In the act of renovation, the *bouleuterion* was expanded so that it encroached upon but did not cover over the intramural burial platform from the 1st century CE (Figs. 9 and 10).⁶²⁵ The nature of the renovation, which simultaneously recognized the importance of the previous monument while also interfering with the experience of it, was most likely a conscientious decision on the part of the renovators. It demonstrated a degree of respect for what was (at one time) a monument for an important civic benefactor, perhaps Adrastos and Tatia Attalis.⁶²⁶ The expansion over part of it, however, can be seen as a very deliberate reclamation of space by the local family who sponsored the renovations.⁶²⁷ The important benefactor who was buried there previously watched over the proceedings in the *bouleuterion*, but after the renovation, the family of Dometeinos took over that role.⁶²⁸

⁶²³ Chaniotis 2008, no. 8.

⁶²⁴ Bier (2008) provides this audience capacity for the *bouleuterion*.

⁶²⁵ This platform is discussed in relationship to the award of intramural burial to Adrastos in Chapter Two.

⁶²⁶ Intramural tombs could have significant longevity in Roman cities. At Ephesos, the sarcophagus of the local benefactor, Claudius Aristion, which was part of an intramural burial on the Embolos in the early 2nd century CE, was preserved and reburied in the area after an earthquake in the 5th century CE (Cormack 2004, p. 42).

⁶²⁷ Some monuments, however, lost their importance over time or at least a collective recollection of their meaning. At Elis, Pausanias recounts that the citizens cannot remember who was buried in the tomb next to the Agora, although they remember that it is a burial (7.26.6).

⁶²⁸ Alcock (2005, p. 165) notes that in the Roman period “hero cults were not invulnerable or immovable, but followed and served the needs and exigencies of the present.” The elites had a direct impact of the livelihood of those cults and sacred spaces.

The choice of renovation suggests a family assured of its status in the community; the names of their ancestors were etched in stone on monuments and bases throughout the city. The council-house functioned as a micro-theater in that it too could visually mirror or affirm the social structure of Aphrodisias, or at least the stratification of the bouletic order.⁶²⁹ As Carminius' and Zelos' gifts to the theater were seen as a means of assimilating these benefactors into the community's hierarchy, Dometeinos' contributions to the council-house established him at a place of great significance in the local *boule*. He and his family were at the top of civic hierarchy and their choice to display their statues in the newly-renovated space reflected their position of authority in the city, as did the monumental bases on which they stood.⁶³⁰

The significance of the family was also manifested in the distribution of their imagery around the space of the *bouleuterion*. Dometeinos and Tatiane greeted the citizens entering the council-house, while Attalos and Diogenes stood over the seated audience as meetings took place (Fig. 9). Although their portraits were distanced spatially from one another, they were stylistically unified. Moreover, the inscriptions of both Dometeinos and Tatiane reference the honorands who stood inside the building, creating a network of connections that extended over this political space. This choice in display mirrored the choices of self-representation in their honorific inscriptions, which stressed their membership in a wider imperial community.

⁶²⁹ The sculptural display of the *scaenae frons* represents its dual roles as a place for politics and performance. There were two standing portraits of civic benefactors (politics), personifications of the *boule* and the *demos*, two seated himation statues (philosophers or sophists), and statues of Apollo and Artemis (Smith et al. 2006, p. 60); cf. the sculptural program of the Ephesian *bouleuterion*, Bier 2011.

⁶³⁰ Trifiló (2007, pp. 111-118) discusses the relationship between civic hierarchies and choices of display for honorific monuments in Roman cities: the more visually prominent the statue, the higher status of the honorand. The forum or in the area of the forum was consistently a place of great prominence. See also, the discussion of honorific display at Termessos (van Nijf 2011).

Around a century and a half before the renovation of the *bouleuterion* and the distributed display of Dometeinos' family, another familial group occupied this civic space (Fig. 3). This group, discussed in Chapter One, represented three generations of male benefactors, each bearing a different costume to highlight a specific area of civic contribution: the grandfather wore a military cuirass, the father a civic himation, the elder son was shown in athletic nudity, and the younger son featured a religious lock of hair. Their postures suggest that they were displayed and viewed as a coherent group.⁶³¹ This multigenerational display represents the importance of lineage and ancestry that was prevalent in the honorific inscriptions of the 1st century CE. Likewise, the portrait statues of Dometeinos and his family—their choices in costume and style, their separated locations—represented what was important in the honorific inscriptions of the later 2nd century CE, namely imperial connections.

Thus, with this benefactor the depreciation of the personal, ancestral past is most evident. Dometeinos, although from a powerful and long-established Aphrodisian family, felt no need to reference the names or accomplishments of his ancestors in order to legitimize his status or to distinguish himself from other newly-promoted (or newly-arrived) aristocrats. Like Carminius, Dometeinos proffered his provincial connections and the achievements of his offspring. In the prosperous late 2nd century CE with the rise in festivals, the return of construction (and renovation), and the increase in Roman citizens active in the city, regional contacts and networks had more value than the limited legibility of one's own personal pedigree.

⁶³¹ Their display is not known for certain because they were found buried and not associated with any statues bases. These statues were recovered after having been buried at some point in antiquity. It is not improbable that they were buried as part of the renovation to the *bouleuterion* and reflect another aspect of Dometeinos' family reclaiming this civic space as their own. It is tempting to identify the family group as that of Adrastos, his father Neikoteimos Hierax, and his two sons Attalos Adrastos and Hypsikles, but this is no more than speculation.

CONCLUSIONS

The modes of commemoration examined in this chapter were not always the most effective tool for an elite. The background, audience, and agenda of the honorand and his or her family contribute to determining the usefulness of ancestry. The epigraphic record of late 2nd century Aphrodisias suggests that as an individual becomes more involved at the provincial or even Roman level, family and the accomplishments of one's ancestors become less relevant in self-representation. The focus shifts to how an individual can be situated in the region and in a wider community of Roman citizens. And this is best conveyed by senatorial relations and administrative positions.⁶³² In summary, this discussion has highlighted that family ties are one option of self-representation that an elite benefactor had at his or her disposal. References to family background and to the ancestral past served a purpose, but that purpose was confined to the civic community. The effectiveness of ancestry did not extend beyond the boundaries of the community. And so when an individual was trying to move beyond the city—to another city or into the provincial administration—the strength and efficacy of family, so powerful for Adrastus and Tatiana Attalis, was not as useful. A new vocabulary had to be employed, one that could be understood by a wider audience, such as a provincial priesthood or senatorial relations.

In addition to articulating the symbolic value of family from past to present in honorific inscriptions, the close examination of the late 2nd century benefactors illustrates a holistic approach to the self-fashioning of these euergetists, one that considers the inscription, portrait, and gifts as working in concert to present a constructed public persona of the honorand. Choices were made and an identity crafted in order to justify the

⁶³² The regional importance and outlook of Domestinos and Tatiane might help explain why their representations continued to have potency over the generations and why they remained standing over the centuries. Most of the statues set up in the late antique period were honors for Roman officials and provincial administrators.

benefactor's power and status within the community; thereby decisions of individual self-fashioning affected the experiences of the community as a whole. In late 2nd century Aphrodisias, when rising benefactors with Roman citizenship were articulating their place in the social hierarchy, the decisions concerned advertisements of prestige and connections made during large public gatherings, and little attention was paid to local pedigree and family. But in the third century CE, after the distribution of Roman citizenship to all free people, the balance shifted again and the ancestral past once more became viable.

Chapter 5: Citizenship, “Co-Founding” Families, and Local Pasts in the 3rd Century CE

The previous chapters of this dissertation have examined the developing relationship between the community of Roman Aphrodisias and the elite families and individuals that comprised it as represented in the surviving honorific inscriptions. Analysis of these texts has shown that family background and the ancestry of the honorand were used as means of legitimization and distinction in the 1st century CE and in the early part of the 2nd century, when some Aphrodisians first were awarded Roman citizenship. Over the course of the 2nd century CE, however, more and more honorific inscriptions stressed the imperial connections of living relatives over any mention of local ancestry, which is best documented by the late-2nd-century honorific for L. Ant. Cl. Dometeios Diogenes, a man with a rich pedigree whose inscription listed only his own accomplishments and his role as father and grandfather of senators. This chapter examines the honorific inscriptions of the 3rd century, when the universal distribution of citizenship caused individual ancestry to re-emerge as a primary indicator of status.

As introduced in the previous chapter, evidence from across Asia Minor, and elsewhere in the Empire, suggests that the mid-2nd century, particularly the reign of Antoninus Pius, was the peak of wealth accumulation and euergetic acts among the urban elites.⁶³³ While the Antonine Plague, which swept through the Empire in the 160s, halted the population increase that allowed for economic prosperity, the ascendancy of the Severan dynasty marked a resurgence, albeit short-lived, in prosperity and in acts of munificence by the local civic elite.⁶³⁴ In particular, there was a notable rise in the number

⁶³³ See the discussion in Chapter Four; see also, Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 20-21.

⁶³⁴ For a discussion of the Antonine Plague and its effects on populations, see Duncan-Jones 1996. The plague and its aftermath is discussed by ancient authors: Dio Cassius 75.13.2.1 and Ael. Aristides *Or.* 48.38-44 and 51.25. Evidence for the impact of the Antonine Plague on Aphrodisias specifically has not been identified.

of festivals celebrated in the cities of Asia Minor.⁶³⁵ The reduction in population, however, resulted in financial strain for the imperial treasury on account of the sharp decline in available tax revenues.⁶³⁶ In order to rectify this deficit and attempt to protect against future loss, the imperial administration enacted policies that raised tax revenues and brought provincial surpluses under its control and out of the hands of local elites. The most noteworthy of these new policies was the Edict of Caracalla, which distributed Roman citizenship to the free inhabitants of the empire in 212 CE, but many of the new enactments, as discussed in the last section of this chapter, resulted in the increased involvement of imperial authorities in local politics.⁶³⁷ One consequence of the increased imperial control was the promotion of Aphrodisias to capital city of a newly-created province in the mid-3rd century CE.⁶³⁸

It is also in the middle of this century that scholars date the “third-century crisis,” which included threats from invading tribes and peoples, increased inflation, and frequent turnover of emperors.⁶³⁹ The shift in governmental practices and policies that took place during this period—an increasing reliance on and responsibility for imperial authorities

⁶³⁵ Burkert 1987; Wörrle 1988; van Nijf 1997, pp. 131-137.

⁶³⁶ A loss in population due to plague entails a loss of taxpayers. Evidence of population loss due to the Antonine Plague in the Egyptian delta suggests upward of 70-90% decrease in population (Tacoma 2006), but more conservative estimates put the overall mortality rate at about 25% (Zelener 2003). For the impact on Asia Minor, in particular, see Magie 1950, p. 663.

⁶³⁷ The Edict, otherwise known as the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, is known from a papyrus (*P. Giess* 401) and references in the contemporaneous literary source Cassius Dio (77.9.5). For a discussion of the sources, see Sasse 1958. For a discussion on the significance of this grant, see Buraselis 2007. A.J.S. Spawforth (1993) has a concise but informative review of an earlier, modern Greek version (1989) of the Buraselis work. See also, Garnsey 2004. Salway (1994, p. 133) notes that certain groups of barbarians who were defeated and settled within the empire were not given citizenship. For the intensification of imperial impact on Asia Minor, in general, see Mitchell 1993, pp. 232-234 and Wilson 2007.

⁶³⁸ Roueché 1981. Zuiderhoek (2009b, pp. 41-42) notes the structural change from a decentralized administration of large “nation-state” provinces in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE to a highly centralized government in the late 4th century CE. The creation of a new province of Caria-Phrygia-Lycia, and Aphrodisias’ promotion to a capital city, was part of this shift in power structures. Although the specific date for this promotion is not known, it was most likely right around 250 CE (Roueché 1981).

⁶³⁹ There is a substantial bibliography on the crisis in the third century; for example, de Blois 1984 and Eich 2005.

coupled with a loss of stability and prosperity—caused a shift in the ideology of the *polis* community, one that made the maintenance of an illusion of a democratic and isonomic citizenry no longer desirable or achievable.⁶⁴⁰ Across Asia Minor, the practice of issuing public honors for local benefactors, which characterized the public space and experience of the first two and half centuries of Roman rule and was a product of egalitarian ideology, ceased.⁶⁴¹ While cities continued to grant honors—sporadically and never to the same degree as in previous centuries—they were for Roman officials and provincial governors, who had taken over the role of benefactor in urban communities in place of the local elites.⁶⁴²

These were the broader historical circumstances in which the production of honorific inscriptions at Aphrodisias in the first half of the 3rd century CE was situated: a continued presence of social inequality and stratification and an increasing encroachment of the imperial administration into the civic landscape. This chapter contends that three phenomena observable in the honorific inscriptions of this half century were the result of these historical developments. The first section examines the rise in elite involvement in the honorific process as a consequence of broader access to wealth and growing oligarchization. Not only was there an increase in the number of honorific monuments produced at this time, but there was also a rise in the number of individuals involved in the honorific process and the creation (or increased visibility) of new titles and offices that affirmed hierarchical divisions. The need to reinforce elite hierarchies might have arisen from the universal distribution of Roman citizenship and the subsequent surge in

⁶⁴⁰ This is the proposed conclusion of Zuiderhoek (2009a) in his explanation for why the practice of euergetism ended around the mid-3rd century. The evidence from the honorific inscriptions of the 3rd century CE, examined in this chapter, generally supports this assessment.

⁶⁴¹ Zuiderhoek 2009a, figs. 1.2 and 1.3; see also, Zuiderhoek 2009b. The production of honorific inscriptions at Perge was completely disrupted in the 3rd century CE (Şahin 2004, pp. 1-2) and the same at Termessos (van Nijf 2010a).

⁶⁴² For the change in honorific practices at Aphrodisias, see Roueché 1989a and Smith 1999.

sarcophagus production by sub-elite Aphrodisians (i.e. not members of the *boule*), who co-opted elite choices of self-fashioning on their private funerary monuments.

The second section of this chapter focuses on the renewed interest in ancestry evident in the inscriptions from prevalence of inclusions of genealogical lists, ancestral achievements, and familial titles, particularly the reappearance of the “co-founding” (συνεκτικότηως) title. While the revived prominence of ancestral pasts in the inscriptions was an additional means of social distinction, it also related to other developments at Aphrodisias, such as the communal promotion of the past evident in the creation of the Archive Wall at the theater, and to similar displays of local histories produced by numerous cities in the region at this time. The final section of this chapter notes the increased presence of imperial power in the civic landscape, especially in the honors issued for Roman magistrates, and it identifies how political shifts, namely the centralization of governance in the province, led to the promotion of Aphrodisias to a provincial capital and the end of the honorific process for local benefactors. Overall, this chapter investigates the changes in the honorific inscriptions that occurred as the citizens and city of Aphrodisias were increasingly incorporated into a wider, imperial community.

THE HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS AND THE EDICT OF CARACALLA

As discussed in the previous two chapters, a rising population and prolonged stability in the Roman Empire helped produce in the cities of Asia Minor increasingly hierarchical communities.⁶⁴³ One characteristic of these cities, including Aphrodisias, was an internally-stratified urban elite, which comprised established members from prominent families (*primores viri* or *honestiores*) and those who came from a lesser social background

⁶⁴³ This development is explained by Zuiderhoek (2009a, pp. 54-59). Pleket (1998, pp. 208-210) examines the nature of the stratified bouletic order.

(*inferiores* or *e plebe*).⁶⁴⁴ Chapters Three and Four address some of the consequences of the developing elite hierarchy at Aphrodisias, including the collaborative funding of the Hadrianic Baths by second-tier benefactors (Chapter Three) and the emergence of patronage networks evident in the rise of unrelated individuals overseeing honorific monuments (Chapter Four).

The evidence from the honorific inscriptions indicates that the socioeconomic diversity among the members of the bouleutic order reached its apex in early 3rd century CE. It was during this time that more people received public honors, more individuals were recorded as involved in the honorific process, and new titles and organizations were made increasingly visible in the inscribed texts. Out of the 206 conferred honors analyzed in this dissertation, sixty-three date to the first half of the 3rd century CE, comprising more texts than the number recovered from the whole of the 2nd century.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴⁴ Hadrian makes such a distinction in his letter to the city Klazomenai (*Dig.* 50.7.5.5). Pliny the Younger criticizes the presence of inferior citizens in the *boule* (*Ep.* 10.79). A similar distinction is made by the 3rd-century jurist, Callistratus (*Dig.* 50.2.12). See also, the discussion in Garnsey and Saller 1987, p. 115.

⁶⁴⁵ Appendix B.104-157. The increase in recorded inscriptions was most likely due to a combination of factors, including the circumstances of excavation, the removal of statue bases for the construction of the city wall in the 4th century CE, and the unknown processes of removal or treatment of former statue bases, some of which, such as the statue of Dometinos had a long public history (certainly not the case for all monuments). The extent of the increase, however, suggests that it was in part a reflection of reality and that there was a surge in the production of honorific monuments in this period. The reasons for this increase are discussed below. The categorization of many of these inscriptions was based upon a number of variables, including inscriptions for victors in local festivals (the celebrations of which are dated), honorands or overseers who received Roman citizenship with the Edict of Caracalla, identifiable primarily through the adoption of the praenomen and nomen “Marcus Aurelius”, and descendants of benefactors dated securely to the 2nd century, such as the grandson of Tiberius Claudius Zelos. There were also eleven honorific inscriptions that could not be more securely dated than the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries CE (Appendix B.97-103, plus Smith et al. 2006, H126 and 127 (both honors for a pair of brothers, Menippos and Zenon, sons of Zenon)).

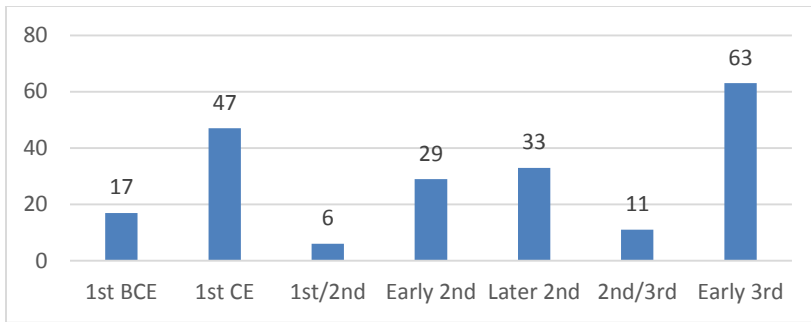


Illustration 17: Distribution of honorific inscriptions recovered from Aphrodisias according to date.

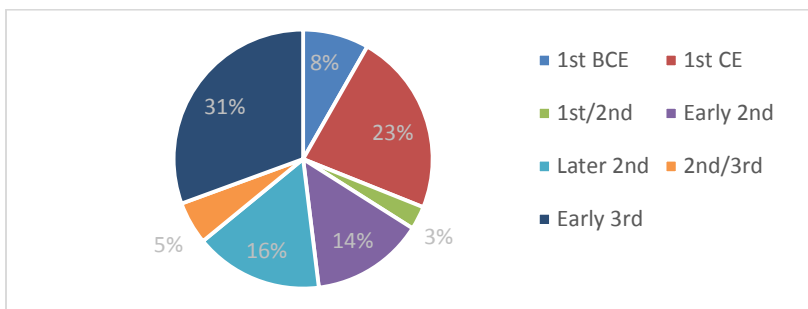


Illustration 18: Percentage of honorific inscriptions recovered from Aphrodisias according to date.

In addition to these sixty-three statue bases and wall blocks honoring local benefactors, eleven honorific monuments were issued for Roman magistrates who were not Aphrodisians, but who had visited the city as representatives of the imperial administration.⁶⁴⁶ In these texts, several trends continued and developed from previous periods. Around one-fourth of the 3rd-century honors were issued posthumously, roughly the same percentage as in the previous fifty years; six of them were for children who died prematurely.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁶ These honors were issued throughout the 3rd century CE, (Smith et al 2006: H38-48), but only five securely date to the first half of the century. The significance of these inscriptions is discussed at the end of this chapter.

⁶⁴⁷ Posthumous honors for children: M. Aur. Attalos by his mother (Appendix B.139), Publius Hilarianos by his father and mother (Appendix B.128A and B), a son of Zenas by his father (Appendix B.145), a son of Tryphon (by his father) (Appendix B.151). The overall percentage of honors for children is a significant

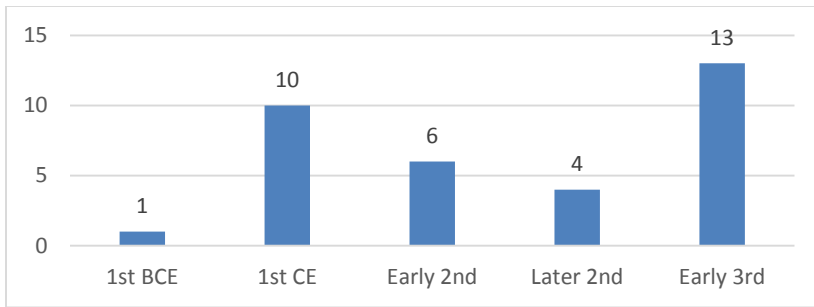


Illustration 19: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for female honorands at Aphrodisias according to date.

While the number of female honorands increased from the latter half of the 2nd century, they still constituted only around 21% of the total, which is consistent with the overall pattern in the honorific inscriptions from Aphrodisias.⁶⁴⁸

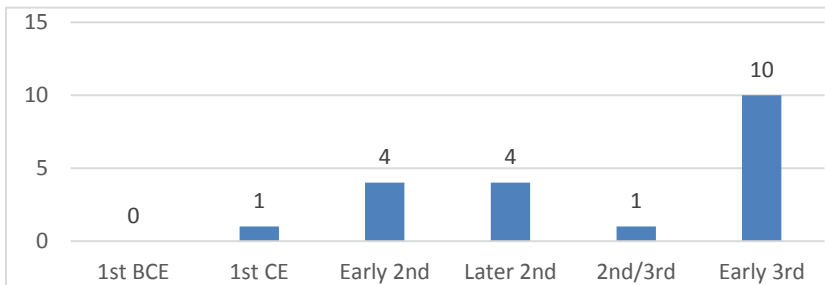


Illustration 20: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for athletes/performers at Aphrodisias according to date.

Honors for victorious athletes and performers increased in frequency from the previous century (Tab. 3), but this is not surprising due to the fact that a significant number

decrease from a century before in the early 2nd century (ca. 70%). Moreover, the number of posthumous decrees for children is also relatively low (9%) in comparison to between 100-150 CE (40%), but is slightly more pronounced than the latter half of the 2nd century (6%).

⁶⁴⁸ Thirteen of the sixty-three honorands were female, whereas in the late 2nd century only four of the thirty-three honorands were (12%). The 2nd and 3rd centuries were periods of great expansion in terms of the power and visibility of women as female benefactresses in communities of Asia Minor (van Bremen 1996), such as the contributions of Claudia Tatiane discussed in Chapter Four. For more on the changing role of women during the Severan period, see Rowan 2011; see also Langford 2013.

of festivals at Aphrodisias only began in the late 2nd century.⁶⁴⁹ In the 3rd century, most of these festivals continued to be celebrated; in fact, the local contest for Aphrodisian boys, the *Philemonia*, had its twentieth celebration in 241 CE, and at least five youths received monuments for their victories in the 3rd century CE.⁶⁵⁰ Additionally, at least two new festivals were established in the city in the mid-3rd century, both of which were associated with emperors: the *Attaleia Gordianeae Capitolia* and the *Valeriana Pythia*.⁶⁵¹ These games were the first at Aphrodisias to draw international attention and signified the city's growing prominence in the region.⁶⁵² Arguably, the most notable of the 3rd-century athletes was Aurelius Achilles, whose statue and doubly-inscribed base were erected in the East Court of the Hadrianic Baths (Fig. 12) and remained *in situ* through late antiquity.⁶⁵³ The statue

⁶⁴⁹ Athletic honorands in the 3rd century: Appendix B.100-108. As discussed in the previous chapter, at least five festivals were established in the latter half of the 2nd century.

⁶⁵⁰ Some festivals, such as the *Epinikia*, were one time affairs, but most were funded so that they would be celebrated cyclically over many years (Roueché 1993, nos. 50-53). For example, the *Lysimachia* was refinanced in the early 3rd century CE by Claudia Tatiane (Appendix B.96). Inscriptions for celebrations of the *Philemonia*: 3rd occurrence in 190 CE (Appendix B.76 (running) and 77 (boxing)), 5th occurrence in 196 CE (Appendix B.78 (running)), 9th occurrence in 208 (Appendix B.135 (running)), 15th occurrence in 226 (Appendix B.130 (boxing) and 147 (running)), 20th occurrence in 241 (Appendix B.148 (boxing)), an unspecified occurrence between 230 and 240 CE (Appendix B.143 (*pankration*)). For more on this contest and victors, see Roueché 1993, pp. 177-178 and nos. 79-86. Portrait sculptures of young boys have been recovered from Aphrodisias and a number of them probably represented the victorious participants in this festival, although none can be securely linked to a statue base. See Smith et al. 2006, p. 52 for a discussion of statues of young boys as a group and nos. 42, and 185-193 for surviving examples at Aphrodisias.

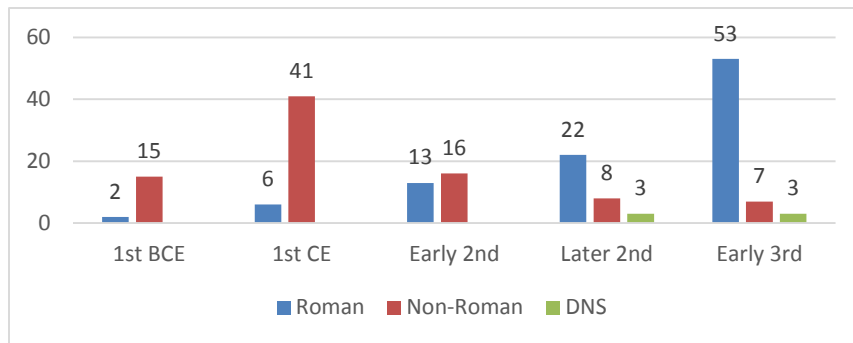
⁶⁵¹ Roueché 1993, pp. 179-182. Both games were modelled on Panhellenic games celebrated elsewhere: the *Capitolia* in Rome and the *Pythia* at Delphi.

⁶⁵² A series on statue base inscriptions at Aphrodisias from the mid-3rd century issued by neighboring cities illustrate the status enhancement of one Aphrodisias' contests, most likely the *Valeriana Pythia*, to a "sacred contest." These texts all follow a similar formula stating the people of Aphrodisias honor the people of another city, who joined in a sacrifice (συνθύσαντα) because of the grant of a sacred contest. The name of the supervising archon is provided at the end. The cities included Keretapa, Hierapolis, Kibyra, Apollonia Salbake, Heraclea Salbake, Tabea, and one more whose name does not survive (*I Aph 2007* 12.923-930 with a discussion of each in Roueché 1993, nos. 59-64). It is unclear of the relationship between the enhancement of the local contest to an internationally-ranked status and the promotion of the city to a provincial capital, but it would not be unreasonable to connect the two events (e.g. the contest becoming sacred to celebrate Aphrodisias as a new capital city).

⁶⁵³ Appendix B.127. For more on this text, see Roueché 1993, no. 72; see also, Jones 1981. For more on its display in the Hadrianic Baths, see Smith 2007, p. 209. Smith (2007, B2) records the location on the North colonnade of the East Court.

was displayed in a space associated with athletic competition and training and the longevity of the monument reflects the continued admiration and importance of gymnasial culture in the city through the 7th century CE.⁶⁵⁴ The front of his statue base records a decree from Ephesos honoring Achilles' accomplishments at the Ephesian *Olympia* while the adjoining side bears a first-person epigram.⁶⁵⁵ The example of Aurelius Achilles demonstrates that Aphrodisian athletes continued to travel and compete outside of the local community and receive honors for such performances, like G. Jul. Longianos and Ael. Aur. Menandros in the previous century.⁶⁵⁶

The most noticeable difference, however, in the inscriptions of the 3rd century is the overwhelming prevalence of Roman citizens among the honorands.



Illustrations 21: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship according to date.

⁶⁵⁴ Smith (2007, p. 209) notes how few honorific monuments remained *in situ* until the abandonment of the city in the 7th century CE. The statues of Dometeios Diogenes and Claudia Tatiane, discussed in Chapter Four, are two additional examples. Honorific statues for two other local athletes, the boxers Kandidianos and Piseas, were preserved *in situ* in the theater (*Laph* 2007 8.87 and 8.88). These honorifics were not awarded until the end of the 3rd century and so are not considered in this dissertation. For more on the statues of Kandidianos and Piseas and their inscriptions, see Smith et al. 2006, nos. 39 and 40; see also, Roueché 1993, nos. 74 and 75. Like the preserved statue of Aurelius Achilles, the display of these two athletes in the theater attests to the continued importance of athletics in civic life.

⁶⁵⁵ In her discussion of the text, Roueché states that the limited factual information provided by both texts “foreshadows the unclear and allusive nature of many late antique honorific inscriptions” (1993, p. 205).

⁶⁵⁶ Longianos: Appendix B.58. Menandros: Appendix B.85A and B.

Of the sixty-three honorifics from this period, fifty-three honorands possessed Roman citizenship (84%), representing nearly 40% more honorific recipients than in the previous period.⁶⁵⁷ In 212 CE, the Emperor Caracalla extended Roman citizenship to almost the entire free population of the empire.⁶⁵⁸ Before this, citizenship had been distributed piecemeal, primarily among Italians, their descendants, and those in the provinces who had been enfranchised due to their connections to imperial authorities.⁶⁵⁹ Almost overnight, masses of individuals suddenly possessed the same rights and privileges that had been an object of competition among the wealthiest members of the urban elite only a generation before. What once had been a status symbol had become the status quo.

Among the fifty-three honorands with Roman citizenship, at least nine men bore the praenomen and nomen of Marcus Aurelius, which has traditionally been associated with enfranchisement under the Edict.⁶⁶⁰ Of the thirteen women who were honored during

⁶⁵⁷ Only seven honorands are clearly presented as not having Roman citizenship: Peritas Kallimedes, Tatia, Pyrron, Zenon, Zenon Aeneas, Meliton Agroitas, and Aristokles (Appendix B.123.i, 123.iii, 133-136, and 157, respectively). The remaining three inscriptions are too fragmentary for their honorands' citizenship to be categorized (Appendix B.153, 155, 156). Eleven of the fifty-three honorific inscriptions do not retain the name of the honorand (or it cannot be clearly read in full); however, other clues from the text, particularly the listing of relatives with Roman citizenship, provide significant evidence that the honorand also possessed this citizenship, and so they have been categorized as Roman citizens.

⁶⁵⁸ Ancient sources: *P. Giess* 40 and Cassius Dio 77.9.5. Buraselis 2007; see also Sherwin-White 1973, pp. 275-287 and Garnsey 2004.

⁶⁵⁹ Salway 1994. Holtheide (1983) also accounts for the advancement to citizenship for less wealthy provincials through the army as well as by being a freedman of a family with Roman citizenship; see also, Sherwin-White 1973, pp. 291-330. At Aphrodisias, Gaius Julius Zoilos, the freedman of Augustus (Caesar) was the quintessential example of such a grant of citizenship. Inscriptions record at least two other imperial freedmen active at Aphrodisias in the first few centuries: Marcus Julius Attalos was a freedman of Tiberius or Livia (Reynolds 1986, doc. 54) and Marcus Aurelius Gaituklos was a freedman of an unnamed emperor as well as a provincial procurator in the 3rd century CE (Appendix B.137).

⁶⁶⁰ The debate is between whether bearing the name "Marcus Aurelius" refers to a grant of citizenship from the emperor Marcus Aurelius or his son, Commodus, or from the Edict of Caracalla. There is epigraphic evidence from across the Empire that any one of these imperial grants was a possibility if no other dating criteria were available (see Buraselis 1996, pp. 60-63 for a discussion and references). At Aphrodisias, no inscription with the name "Marcus Aurelius" is dated conclusively to the time before the Edict of Caracalla. On the other hand, the appearance of the name Marcus Aurelius on the sarcophagi from the city have been separately dated, based on portraiture, to after the Edict of Caracalla (Smith 2008 and 2012). This suggests that a correlation between the appearance of name Marcus Aurelius and the Edict of Caracalla at Aphrodisias is likely. The Aphrodisian honorands with Marcus Aurelius as their praenomen

this half century, “Aurelia” was incorporated into the names of nine women, some of whom added it to a cognomen, such as Aurelia Apphia; others adopted it as part of polyonymous list, such as Aurelia Flavia Messouleia Diogeneia.⁶⁶¹ In the previous two centuries, the honorific record was made up of Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship, but all of whom contributed in some way to the community. The honorific monuments for Aphrodisians who had newly received Roman citizenship from the Edict of Caracalla suggests that they were part of the same elite culture and honorific process. It is precisely those Aphrodisians who would have been honored without Roman citizenship a generation before who received honors using their new *Aurelius/Aurelia* nomen. Among the new citizens honored, there was a procurator of the Augusti, a priestess of Artemis, a civic builder, and two athletes.⁶⁶² A number of these inscriptions included references to

and nomen are found in Appendix B. 104, 113, 123.ii, 137-142. Additionally, the names for Appendix B.145 and 150 do not survive, but they were both listed as the sons of Marci Aurelii. The group of honors for the family of Peritas Kallimedes, his wife Tatia, and their son Marcus Aurelius Diodoros Kallimedes (Appendix B.123) is an excellent example of how the “Marcus Aurelius” praenomen and nomen were added onto Hellenic names, which then became cognomina.

⁶⁶¹ Aurelia Apphia (Appendix B.119). Aurelia Flavia Messouleia Diogeneia (Appendix B.115 A and B). The other women were Aurelia Messouleia Satorneila, Aurelia Kelesteina, Aurelia Lavilla, Aurelia Julia Apphia, Aurelia Frontina, and Aurelia Ammia Myrton (Appendix B.116-122.i, respectively). Of the inscriptions that can be securely dated to after 212 CE, only one text does not have an honorand with Roman citizenship (identifiable based on the nomenclature). Pyrron, son of Itharos, fourth of that name from Menippos, was honored by the most powerful *boule* and his statue was overseen by Marcus Aurelius Aelius Antoninus (Appendix B.117). This inscription, however, is anomalous for many other reasons as well, including the preservation of two words only encountered here among Aphrodisian inscriptions: νεοκόπος and οικόνομος. Unfortunately, nothing more can be said regarding this inscription at this time.

⁶⁶² Procurator: M. Aur. Gaitulikos (Appendix B.137); priestess: Aurelia Apphia (Appendix B.119); constructions: M. Aur. Jason Prabaeus (Appendix B.104); athletes: Aurelius Achilles (Appendix B.127) and M. Aur. –us (Appendix B.141). The athlete Aurelius Achilles might also have received citizenship with the Edict, but chose to only include his nomen (Appendix B.127). Salway (1994, pp.133-135) notes that the omission of the praenomen at this date was not significant since a binominal system was becoming more and more standard across the empire. It was unique, however, at Aphrodisias and its appearance in this inscription might reflect Achilles status as athlete or as the recipient of honors from an external body—the city of Ephesos.

the accomplishments of their ancestors, such as listing multiple generations, claiming descent from magistrates and liturgists, or being a member of a leading family.⁶⁶³

Moreover, a number of benefactors whose families had been granted citizenship prior to 212, and who were significant within the community and outside of it, adopted Aurelius as an extra nomen. For example, Tiberius Claudius Zelos, the son of the homonymous benefactor who renovated the theater, was honored just after 212 CE as Tiberius Claudius Aurelius Zelos.⁶⁶⁴ Not only was his father one of the major benefactors of the 2nd century, he himself was honored as a rhetor, sophist, high priest, treasurer, *neopoios*, an advocate for the people, and *ktistes* like his father—thus, a crucial member of the Aphrodisian elite and society.⁶⁶⁵ The integration of this new nomen must have served some purpose since it was unnecessary for indicating citizenship, which these honorands already possessed. One possible explanation is that the adoption of the new nomen portrayed the honorand as actively participating in the imperial administration and even establishing a symbolic connection to the contemporaneous emperor.⁶⁶⁶ Furthermore, another result of this added nomen was that the previous *tria nomina* formula employed by these honorands gave way to polyonymy, already a popular trend among the elite in the

⁶⁶³ M. Aur. Ariston (Appendix B.138) includes five generations of his family; he was the only family member listed with Roman citizenship. M. Aur. Attalos (Appendix B.139) is described as a descendant of ancestors who held archonships and liturgies (*ἀπὸ προγόνων ἀρχικῶν καὶ λειτουργῶν*). Aurelia Ammia Myrton (Appendix B.122.i) claims to have been from a leading family in the city (*πρωτεύσαντος*). These aspects—the references to previous generations, ancestors, and familial titles—have similarities to some of the practices adopted by Aphrodisian benefactors without Roman citizenship in the 1st and early 2nd centuries. The significance of these choices is discussed in detail in the next section.

⁶⁶⁴ Appendix B.109.

⁶⁶⁵ Other such Aphrodisians who adopted Aurelius as an extra nomen include Tiberius Claudius Aurelius Ktesias (Appendix B.112B), Julius Aurelius Charidemos Julianos (Appendix B.108A), and M. Aurelius Claudius Ktesias (Appendix B.113). Two women, a mother and daughter, also used Aurelia in their names, but it is not clear if this was a reflection of the citizenship distribution: Aurelia Messouleia Satorneila (Appendix B.116) and her daughter Aurelia Flavia Messouleia Diogeneia (Appendix B.115A and B).

⁶⁶⁶ Salway 1994, p. 134.

late 2nd century CE, exemplified by men such as Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometeinus Diogenes.⁶⁶⁷

The increasing distribution of citizenship amongst the provincial populations, culminating in the Edict of Caracalla had observable consequences regarding choices in language of the honorific inscriptions at Aphrodisias. Developments were to be expected since prior to 212 CE, Roman citizenship was advertised within the context of honorific monuments as a distinguishing marker of high status and imperial connections. In the language of honorific inscriptions, Roman citizenship had high symbolic capital. Each one of the previous chapters has noted some way by which the use of a Roman *tria nomina* or connections to the imperial administration were incorporated into these monuments for the purpose of showcasing wealth and legitimizing status within the community. Not only was almost the entire membership of the elite made up of Roman citizens after 212 CE, but the majority of the entire populace also received this once coveted status.⁶⁶⁸ After this exclusive membership became widely inclusive, however, the top-tier of Aphrodisian society, who once had sole access to citizenship in the city, had to develop new ways of presenting themselves as worthy of honor.

This mentality might explain not only the increase in the production of honorific inscriptions (double from a century before), but also the subsequent abundance of names found in the 3rd-century honorific texts. In addition to showcasing the virtues and accomplishments of the honorand, the honorific inscriptions became an opportunity for other Aphrodisian elites to endorse the social order and to highlight their participation in it. One way individuals permanently inserted themselves into the honorific landscape was

⁶⁶⁷ Salway 1994, pp. 133-137. In this way, the extra nomen could have been adopted competitively.

⁶⁶⁸ Ögüş (*forthcoming*) notes that by the 3rd century CE, many of the rights and practical advantages associated with Roman citizenship had been abolished.

through ἀνάστασις (overseer) clauses, which had become more common in the later 2nd century.⁶⁶⁹ The phenomenon of ἀνάστασις clauses continued in the 3rd century when it became common practice for an overseer to be listed in the inscription: twenty-nine of the sixty-three inscriptions included such a clause (just under half). The majority of these supervisors (at least twenty) were related to the honorand and the overseer was presented as acting out of familial duty. These clauses served as an opportunity for an Aphrodisian, relative or otherwise, to embed himself or herself into the honorific monument and the social hierarchy that the monument asserted.⁶⁷⁰

In addition to the increase in ἀνάστασις clauses, a third opportunity for inclusion presented itself in the honorific inscriptions for athletic victors, particularly those of the young victors of the local *Philemoniea* celebration. In these texts, the name of the contest-president was listed after the honorand and before the overseer clause; sometimes there even multiple contest-presidents listed. For example, in the inscription honoring Zenon, who won the boys' running race in the 9th occurrence of the festival, the *neopoioi* (caretakers of the temple of Aphrodite) served as contest-presidents, and they were led by Tiberius Claudius Apollonios Beroneikianos Akasson.⁶⁷¹ Tychicos, son of Philetos, son of Apollonios, set up the statue from the prize money. Thus, in one inscription three different unrelated individuals were named, and in this way, honored: Zenon as a victorious athlete, Akasson as leader of the *neopoioi*, and Tychicos as a performer of civic responsibility in setting up the statue. Even the institution of the *neopoioi* was honored by according its occupants the office of contest-president.

⁶⁶⁹ Chapter Four discusses the increase in ἀνάστασις clauses in the second half of the 2nd century and relates the presence of non-related overseers to possible patronage networks in the city.

⁶⁷⁰ The range of family members expanded in the 3rd century to include in-laws (Appendix B.153) and multiple nephews in one inscription, all of whom were named (Appendix B.154).

⁶⁷¹ Appendix B.135. The institution of the *neopoioi* is discussed below.

These extra inclusions took on characteristics of honorific inscriptions in and of themselves, similar to the biography and accolades given to Flavia Apphia in the honorific inscription of her husband Carminius Claudianus.⁶⁷² For example, in an honorific text for Antonius Flavius Antiochos, the son of Metrodoros and the winner of the boys' boxing match at the 15th occurrence of the *Philemoniea*, the *neopoioi* were once again the contest-presidents, led by Julius Aurelius Charidemos, a sophist, son of Zelos and grandson of Zelos, high-priests and founders.⁶⁷³ The father of Antiochos undertook the supervision of the monument. In this example, more space was devoted to information on the Charidemos than it was on the intended recipient of the honorific monument.

It is the division of honors within one inscription that became familiar in the 3rd-century honorific texts. In another, non-athletic example, family members received more attention and accolades than the honorand. Ulpia Carminia Claudiana was honored with the title of "daughter of the city," but the rest of her twenty-two line inscription was dedicated to other individuals: her two children were both named and listed with their offices, her ancestors were honored with their accomplishments, and finally, the unrelated overseer M. Aur. Zenobios was verbosely described as fourth of that name from Zenobios, son of Artemidoros, son of Epaphrodeitos, priest for life of Eros.⁶⁷⁴ There was significantly more information and visual space given over to these three individuals than there was for the honorand herself.

The typical honorific monument of the earlier empire, in which the *boule* and the *demos* award honors to a local benefactor, commemorated a socio-political act and memorialized a symbiotic power relationship between an elite citizen and his or her city.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷² Appendix B.72.

⁶⁷³ Appendix B.130.

⁶⁷⁴ Appendix B.110.

⁶⁷⁵ Ma 2007 and 2013a.

While the standard practice from the previous centuries preserved the illusion of a democratic society, the changing dynamics of the later inscriptions reflected the increasingly hierarchical structure of that society. A related development is the emergence of institutions or bodies, other than the *boule* and *demos*, issuing honors.⁶⁷⁶ Entities, such as the *patris* and the *polis*, began honoring citizens with increasing regularity in the 2nd century CE; this practice fails to preserve any element of democratic involvement in the honorific process.⁶⁷⁷

In addition to an increased desire to produce honorific inscriptions and to be embedded in the honorific system, there was the need to develop new means of differentiation. A number of new titles and offices appear in the 3rd-century inscriptions; a possible explanation is that they were created because of a need to distinguish the ruling elite from the rest of the population who had recently acquired Roman citizenship. For example, several women were honored as “daughter of the city,” which has been interpreted as a prestige title rather than a specific office.⁶⁷⁸ The honorific inscriptions of some of the same women and others record that they served as flower-bearers (*anethephoroi*) for the goddess.⁶⁷⁹ The cult of Aphrodite also impacted the inscriptions of

⁶⁷⁶ Smith et al. (2006, p. 24) characterize this transition as “the collapse [of] the appearance of democratic procedure.”

⁶⁷⁷ The *patris* issued the following honors: Appendix B.80A and B, 112B, 114, and 129 (only the first two date to the 2nd century CE). The *polis* issued the following honors: Appendix B.90, 98, 105, 109, and 134. The first instance was in the 2nd century CE.

⁶⁷⁸ Robert (1969) characterized this title as a reflection of a formal adoption by the city. Van Bremen (1996, pp. 168-169) notes that a disproportionate number of ‘daughters’ were from Aphrodisias, for a total of nine (van Bremen 1996, Appendix 3, nos. 15-23), at least seven of whom date to the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries. Aurelia Flavia Messouleia Diogeneia (Appendix B.1115A and B), Aurelia Kelesteina (Appendix B.117), Ulpia Claudia Carminia Prokle (Appendix B.110), and the wife of Sept. Chares Aeneas (Appendix B.107) all date to the early 3rd centuries, as does an unpublished inscription for Claudiane (van Bremen 1996, Appendix 3, no. 19). Flavia Apphia (Appendix B.72), Claudia Paulina (Appendix B.92) and Apphia Hypsikles (Appendix B.101) date to the late 2nd century. The inscription for Gaia Tatia Chresteina (*Laph* 2007 5.8) is on a caryatid base from the Hadrianic Baths and generally dated to the Hadrianic period, but it could have been a later addition (Reynolds 1997); see also, Smith 2007.

⁶⁷⁹ Aurelia Kelesteina (Appendix B.117) and the wife of Sept. Chares Aeneas (Appendix B.107) were both daughters of the city and flower-bearers. Flower-bearers and high-priestesses: Appendix B.115A and B,

male honorands. In the mid-2nd century, an organization known as the *neopoios*, commonly translated as the caretakers or temple-builders of Aphrodite, began to appear with some frequency in the inscriptions.⁶⁸⁰ In addition to individuals being honored as *neopoioi*, the institution oversaw festivals, issued honors, and received foundations.⁶⁸¹ It was clearly an elite institution that might have come into prominence in the 3rd century on account of a need to assert membership in the aristocracy and a reflection of the increasing hierarchy among the elite.

In addition to membership in the *neopoioi*, other offices for male benefactors emerged in the epigraphic record of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE. For example, the office of chief archon (πρωτόλογον ἄρχοντα) first appeared in the honorific inscription of Tiberius Claudius Zelos in the 160s and then with greater frequency in the 3rd century CE.⁶⁸² Two Aphrodisians were credited with serving as leader of the *boule* (βούλαρχος) in the 3rd century, a previously unattested position, and others served as leader of the *neopoioi* (πρωτονεοποιός).⁶⁸³ A noticeable feature of all of these new titles is the hierarchy

121, and *I Aph 2007* 5.210 (Julia Paula, mid-2nd century). These were clearly important women from influential families. Chaniotis (2010b, p. 237) says that the title “suggests a procession in which flowers played some part.”

⁶⁸⁰ There are two early attestations from the 1st century CE: Solon (Appendix B.13) and Dionysios (Appendix B.28). Chaniotis (2010b, p. 237) describes the *neopoioi* as “the board of magistrates responsible for the construction of the temple.” The institution of the *neopoioi* is attested at multiple cities in Asia, such as Ephesus, Priene, and Miletus; they were local religious officials who took care of the primary cult of the city. Most of these attestations date to the Roman imperial period. For more information, see references in Dmitriev 2005. This organization does not reflect the creation of a new cult, but more likely the emergence of a new association through which an Aphrodisian could gain or assert status (cf. van Nijf 1997).

⁶⁸¹ For example, M. Ant. Flavius Lysimachos (Appendix B.75) and Tib. Cl. Aurelius Zelos (Appendix B.118) were honored as *neopoioi*; Pyrron received honors from the *neopoioi* (Appendix B.117), which might have tried to rival the *boule* in importance or at least as an alternative to established hierarchies; an unnamed honorific recipient established a foundation for the *neopoios*, *boule*, and *gerousia* (Appendix B.128). There was a significant increase in the number of foundations established by honorands in the early 3rd century.

⁶⁸² For examples, see Appendix B.74 and 80B; see also *I Aph 2007* 12.417, 1.176, 12.626, and 12.922.

⁶⁸³ For leader of the *boule*, see Appendix B.143 and 153. For chief *neopoios*, see Appendix B.59, 72, 105, 143, and 153.

reflected in their name—“chief” and “first”—which indicates a growing need to distinguish a place of primacy in an increasingly stratified elite.

The rise in honorific production and the number of people commemorated in the process was in part a result of the increased accumulation of wealth within the bouletic order, but it might also have been an elite response to the prosperity of the middle levels of society. It was from this sub-elite group that new members of the *boule* would have been promoted, leaving little social distance between the sub-elite population and the lower strata of the urban elite.⁶⁸⁴ Moreover, in the 3rd century with the receipt of Roman citizenship and having acquired sufficient wealth, members of the this sub-elite group carved out (literally) their own venue for self-representation through decorated and inscribed sarcophagi displayed as part of private funerary monuments outside of the city.⁶⁸⁵

At Aphrodisias, there was a surge in sarcophagus production in the years following the Edict of Caracalla.⁶⁸⁶ Based on their inscriptions, the individuals who commissioned these sarcophagi were primarily not members of the urban elite, but rather the middle levels of society: artisans, tradesmen, and merchants.⁶⁸⁷ The increase in wealth experienced by the aristocratic order also impacted (albeit to a lesser degree) these members of the

⁶⁸⁴ Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 140-146.

⁶⁸⁵ For a full discussion on the production and iconography of these sarcophagi, see Ögüş 2010; see also, Işık 2007.

⁶⁸⁶ Ögüş (2010, p. 212) notes that 62% of the names from the sarcophagi texts were for Marci Aurelii. Smith (2008) combines the epigraphic evidence with an analysis of portraiture, particularly the changing hairstyles of the women in comparison to imperial trends. Based on this investigation, Smith dates the increase in sarcophagus production, specifically to the years immediately following 212 CE after a steady trickle of sarcophagi in the 1st and 2nd centuries (2008, p. 386).

⁶⁸⁷ One text documents that a sarcophagus was used by both a painter and a sculptor (*I Aph* 2007 13.406); another was for a doctor (*I Aph* 2007 11.217). For more on the professions and background of the sarcophagi owners, see Ögüş 2014 and *forthcoming*; see also, Reynolds 1998. Smith (2008a, p. 393) points out that unlike the funerary monuments of freedmen at Rome, who were also new citizens, the professions of the Aphrodisians were comparatively minimized in both iconography and text; see also, Smith 2012. This is not to say that all the sarcophagi owners were excluded from the upper levels of society all together. At least one decedent was mentioned as having become a member of the city council (*I Aph* 2007 11.59).

population.⁶⁸⁸ The evidence suggests that the distribution of citizenship encouraged those individuals who had accumulated wealth, but not in sufficient amounts to enter the *boule* or participate in public acts of euergetism, to find a means of self-expression. The decoration of the sarcophagi became a venue for this level of society and the commissioners actively engaged in emulating elite forms of self-representation, modeling themselves on the honorific portraiture of the aristocracy on display in the city center.⁶⁸⁹ The changes in the honorific inscriptions of the 3rd century CE—the increased production, the greater number of people included in the texts, and the creation of new titles—might have been, in part, a reaction to the growing wealth and visibility of the sub-elite population. While the middle levels of society were participating in their own acts of self-representation on their sarcophagi, the elite affirmed their status and memorialized their position of authority in the public sphere of the honorific monument.

THE RETURN OF ANCESTRY AND THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL HISTORIES

As this dissertation has asserted, references to ancestry and family were by no means new to the honorific inscriptions of Aphrodisias by the 3rd century; they had been used primarily by non-Roman benefactors to distinguish themselves from those with Roman citizenship and to justify status through ancestral accomplishments. When Aphrodisians with Roman citizenship first became common in the city in the 1st century CE, those aristocrats without Roman citizenship relied on ancestry as their own indicator of status, for example by connecting themselves to the “co-founding” families of the city (Chapter One) or by referencing ancestors and listing extensive genealogies (Chapter

⁶⁸⁸ Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 135-140.

⁶⁸⁹ The emulation of the elite on the Aphrodisian sarcophagi is argued by Ögüç 2014. For example, the sarcophagus commissioners depicted themselves in similar costumes and the columnar style of many of the sarcophagi mimicked the aedicular facades of the public spaces where honorific monuments were displayed.

Three). But the “co-founding” title disappeared from the inscriptions and references to ancestors became rare as more local elites obtained Roman citizenship and adopted the practice of limited genealogies. As argued in Chapter Four, most of the honorands from the mid- and late 2nd century focused on the accomplishments and connections of their living relatives within an imperial framework and little attention was paid to their personal ancestry, much less the specifics of genealogy.

After the Edict of Caracalla, the advertisement of Roman citizenship was no longer the signifier of status that it had been. The entire population was at that point members of an imperial community. The need to display status and distinguish between factions of the elite, however, did not disappear. The goal of differentiation was attested by the return of an emphasis on genealogy, ancestral accomplishments, and familial titles, including that of “co-founding.” Although the inclusion of references to ancestry served to distance the elite from non-elite, the phenomenon as practiced by individual honorands was part of a wider trend that affected Aphrodisias and other Asiatic communities, namely a preoccupation with local pasts and civic histories. In particular, the re-emergence of the “co-founding” title as part of the epigraphic rhetoric can be related to this wider phenomenon.

In the sixty-three honorific inscriptions of the 3rd century CE, provisions of extensive genealogies increased, particularly after 212 CE. In other words, after the Edict of Caracalla, honorands with Roman citizenship included lengthy genealogical lists in their honorific inscriptions. This went against trends and standard naming practices of the previous two centuries at Aphrodisias. It was customary for those with Roman citizenship to limit their ancestral provisions to a patronymic (if anything).

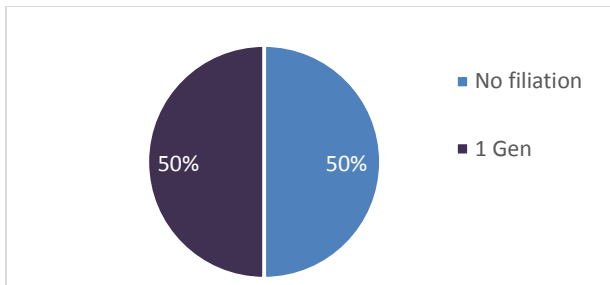


Illustration 22: Percentage of the number of generations provided in the honorific inscriptions for Aphrodisians with Roman citizenship before the 3rd century CE (48 honorands total).

Before the Edict of Caracalla, no Aphrodisian with Roman citizenship provided more than their father's name in their honorific inscriptions.⁶⁹⁰ On the other hand, those without Roman citizenship regularly listed two to three generations and even six generations in one example.⁶⁹¹ After 212 CE, the practice changed almost completely.

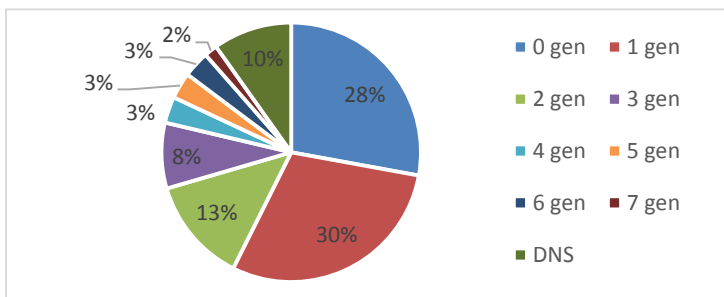


Illustration 23: Percentage of the number of generations provided in the honorific inscriptions for Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship in the 3rd century CE (63 honorands total, 53 with Roman citizenship, 7 without, and 3 whose citizenship does not survive).

⁶⁹⁰ The most customary Roman practice, in general, was to embed the patronymic between the *nomen* and the *cognomen* (Salway 1994, p. 135). At Aphrodisias, it was more common that the patronymic, if provided, retained its Hellenic position after the *cognomen* in the genitive case. Salway (1994, p. 135) argues that embedding the patronymic is a sign of the new citizen adopting more than a name, but having spent extensive time participating in a Roman environment. At Aphrodisias, the senator Titus Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras lists his father's name in between Flavius and Athenagoras, in the Roman manner, as did several others (at least seventeen examples in the honorific inscriptions).

⁶⁹¹ The non-Roman Aphrodisian, Myon, lists six previous generations (Appendix B.54.i); see also, the discussion in Chapter Three.

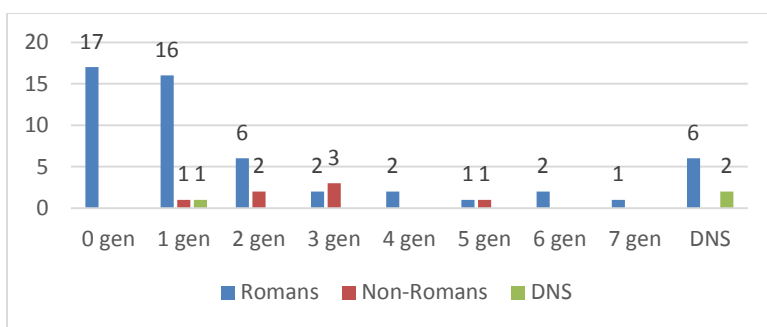


Illustration 24: Number of generations provided by Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship in the honorific inscriptions from the first half of the 3rd century CE.

Of the fifty-three honorands with Roman citizenship from the 3rd century CE, just over half of the honorands follow the customary formula of no generations or patronymic. The remaining Roman honorands, however, demonstrated significant variety in the number of generations provided: six honorands listed two generations, two honorands listed three generations, two honorands listed four generations, one honorand listed five generations, two listed six generations, and one listed seven.⁶⁹² All of the inscriptions that list more than a patronymic for an individual with Roman citizenship appeared after the Edict of Caracalla.⁶⁹³

All of the Roman honorands who listed more than four generations of ancestors were newly-enfranchised citizens bearing the Aurelius/Aurelia nomen.⁶⁹⁴ On the one hand, these data suggest that the new citizens were acting in ways that reflected their status as

⁶⁹² The Roman citizens with three generations or more all use singular Hellenic or local names for their ancestors, as opposed to Roman *tria nomina*. One Roman honorand does provide his father's full name, but his remaining five ancestors are not listed as such: Aelius Aurelius Ammianus Papias, son of M. Ael. Aur. Ammianus, son of Papias, son of Papias, son of Maron, son of Demetrius, son of Antiochos Glykon (Appendix B.125).

⁶⁹³ The honorific inscriptions for non-Romans is consistent with previous periods: one honorand provided one generation, one provided two generations, one provided three generations, and one provided five generations. The honorand who provided five generations, Pyrron, was the only non-Roman honored after the Edict of Caracalla (Appendix B.133).

⁶⁹⁴ Aelius Aurelius Ammianus Papias was a citizen before the enfranchisement, but both he and his father adopted 'Aurelius' as an extra nomen.

recent citizens. In other words, although they possessed Roman citizenship and advertised such through *tria nomina* formulae, they retained or revived practices more traditionally associated with non-Roman honorands, as documented in the honorific inscriptions on the previous two centuries. To a certain extent, the retention of these naming practices is to be expected. Unlike individuals enfranchised by the Edict, previous recipients had spent time in the Roman system and around other Romans; in addition to receiving Roman citizenship, these elites had taken up other aspects of Roman culture often as part of participation in the political sphere.⁶⁹⁵ The new recipients of citizenship, even if they were among a local elite, had not necessarily spent any time with Roman authorities in such a way as to absorb practices or customs beyond the adoption of the praenomen and nomen.⁶⁹⁶ And so, after they received Roman citizenship, they continued to conceive of their names with the same pre-212 approach, which included providing ancestry beyond a patronymic. On the other hand, these new citizens expanded on the practices of previous non-Roman honorands. In inscriptions before the Edict of Caracalla, genealogies with four or more generations were outliers in a spectrum that generally ranged from one to three generations.⁶⁹⁷ When extensive genealogical lists were provided, they served to set the honorand apart from other members of the society. In the 1st and early 2nd centuries, benefactors with extensive genealogies responded to the increasing presence of Roman citizens within the city by creating a dichotomy between vertical roots to the community (ancestry) and horizontal links to the province and empire. Once almost all of the honorands held Roman citizenship, new citizens pursued the listing of genealogies almost competitively, as a means of

⁶⁹⁵ Salway 1994, pp. 133-134.

⁶⁹⁶ A similar occurrence takes place at Termessos with the proliferation of Marci Aurelii in the early 3rd century funerary and honorific inscriptions (van Nijf 2010a).

⁶⁹⁷ Out of around 150 honorands, three individuals provided four generations in the 2nd century and another two in the late 2nd or early 3rd; two individuals provided five generations in the 2nd century; one individual listed seven generations in the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries.

delineating themselves from lower strata of society who had also received this status symbol, but presumably lacked the familial background of a member of the elite.

In the early 3rd century, nineteen of the honorands included references to their ancestry or past familial background in some capacity in comparison to only two honorands who made mention of their relatives serving in the Roman administration, a reversal of the choices made by benefactor in the honorific inscriptions of the later 2nd century CE (Chapter Four).⁶⁹⁸ Five individuals were described as being well-born (εὐγενής) and another five were descended from individuals who had held civic offices, such as gymnasiarch and *stephanephoros*.⁶⁹⁹ Some of the honorands provided more than one reference to their ancestors; for example, M. Aur. Attalos, son of Artemidoros, fifth of that name from Menippos, son of Attalos, was well-born and descended from ancestors who were magistrates and liturgists.⁷⁰⁰ There were also two honorands who were described as being from first families in the city (πρωτεύων).⁷⁰¹ The exact meaning of this term is contested by scholars and ranges from a meaningless honorific title to an official position akin to chief of the *boule*.⁷⁰² In the mid- to late 1st century CE, a set of important families and individuals were described by the related term, πρώτος, which has been interpreted as reflecting their leading status in the community. The term πρώτος served as part of the formula for the descendant of the “co-founding” families in the city (γένους πρώτου και

⁶⁹⁸ Ulp. Carminia Claudiana (Appendix B.110) was described as a cousin of senators and consuls and also a descendant of high-priests of Asia. Publius Aelius Hilarianos (Appendix B.128A and B) was honored in two inscriptions as a knight (*eques*), and a descendant (ἔκγονος) of senators and consulars. His father was a primipilarius and his grandfather was a consul; both were named explicitly in the inscription by their *tria nomina*. Five of the honorands from the 3rd century listed their own role in the imperial administration, as senators or equites. In the previous period, six honorands referenced Roman connections, whereas only two mentioned their ancestral accomplishments.

⁶⁹⁹ Some of these references were generic, as in his ancestors held offices and liturgies, but others were more specific, stating the precise offices held.

⁷⁰⁰ Appendix B.139.

⁷⁰¹ Appendix B.122.i and 154.

⁷⁰² For a full discussion of this term, see Zoumbaki 2008.

συνεκτικός τὴν πατρίδα). The later version, *πρωτεύων*, might have been derived from the 1st-century title as a new honorific attribute of influential families in the 3rd century. Its presence finds parallels at a number of other cities across the province.⁷⁰³ The creation of this new title for leading families might have been an additional means of setting elite families apart, one that was inspired by the rhetoric of important families from the Aphrodisian past.

This was not the only term influenced by the honorific texts of previous benefactors. Adaptations of the title “co-founding” (*συνεκτικότες*) also reappeared in the early 3rd century inscriptions. As detailed in Chapter One, the rhetorical implications of this title were that its users were descendants of families that originally founded the city sometime in the 2nd century BCE. It was formalized, however, by a small group of elite families in the late 1st century CE as a means of consolidating and separating themselves from an encroaching Roman presence. The title served to highlight the connections of one group of elites to the history of the city in opposition to other elites who had begun to look outside of the community for access to wealth and status. The epigraphic evidence suggests that these families might have died out in the early 2nd century CE after the elaborate public funeral and burial for Tatia Attalis.⁷⁰⁴ The title did not appear again in the surviving epigraphic record until the late 2nd century at the earliest, a multigenerational gap. Beginning sometime around the end of the 2nd century and continuing into the 3rd century, the term reappeared in the inscriptions of seven Aphrodisian benefactors, none of whom have any identifiable links to the “co-founding” families of the previous century, suggesting that the use of the term in the later period (as in the earlier periods) was a

⁷⁰³ Zoumbaki (2008, p. 223) notes that the verbal form of *πρωτεύων* reflects a temporary office as opposed to a permanent status.

⁷⁰⁴ Appendix B.55; see the discussion in Chapter Two.

rhetorical strategy as opposed to a reflection of a biological reality. When the term did reemerge in the later inscriptions, the formulaic nature that once characterized its use was absent. Few of the 3rd-century honorands employed the standardized 1st century CE formula (γένους πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πατρίδα), and none of these bases were set up in statue groups with other family members.⁷⁰⁵ The later uses of the historically-laden term were not by a select group of powerful families trying to set themselves apart from infringing Roman citizens. Rather, these instances suggest that the term was used more freely by wealthy individuals wanting to insert themselves into the historical narrative of the city and connect themselves to previous benefactors of the city.

One of the first recipients of this title was Jason Prabaesus, who around 200 CE received a lengthy honorific inscription that detailed his extensive benefactions to the city.⁷⁰⁶ Jason's inscription is the only one of the seven that remotely modeled itself on the formula of the earlier co-founding honorifics. Jason, the son of Menodotos, the son of Menandros, was of a first and most reputable and “co-founding” family (γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πατρίδα); he held many local offices including gymnasiarchies and stephanephorates, and he was married to Julia Paula. Together they funded the construction of stoas, a library, an archive, and other structures.⁷⁰⁷ Despite his

⁷⁰⁵ Underlying this argument is the assumption that these 1st century CE honorifics were still visible (and legible) by the local population, at least the elites. Because it is such an anomalous term within Greek epigraphy, its appearance in the 3rd century inscriptions might reflect an undocumented continuation of the term, or, more likely, an ongoing awareness of its rhetorical significance by means of the continued display of the previous benefactors' monuments.

⁷⁰⁶ Appendix B.104. Chaniotis (2008, no. 4) provides a date range between 180 and 230. In the two recent publications that mention this inscription, the honorand was listed as Marcus Aurelius Jason Prabaesus, but the added praenomen and nomen is based on a reconstruction of the fragmentary opening of the inscription (Cormack 1962, no. 498). If the honorand did possess this praenomen and nomen, his honorific inscription more likely dates to around 212 CE and probably just slightly after it. If the reconstruction is not accepted Jason was the only benefactor without Roman citizenship to use the “co-founding” title at a later date. Also, without Roman citizenship, Jason Prabaesus had a second name, which was common among the earlier “co-founding” descendants and other Aphrodisian elite (Chaniotis 2014).

⁷⁰⁷ For more on the constructions of Jason, see Chaniotis 2008, no. 4.

claims to such a rich pedigree, no trace of any ancestors for Jason can be identified amongst the Aphrodisian benefactors in the previous centuries.⁷⁰⁸ Like Carminius Claudianus in the late 2nd century CE, Jason made substantial and numerous contributions to the city, along with his wife, and many of his donations were recorded in his honorific inscription. Unlike Carminius, however, the honorific inscription for Jason emphasizes the ancestral significance and status of his family and did not include any mention of provincial posts or ties to the imperial administration. Jason's honorific inscription acts as an interesting counterpoint to that of Carminius. The former highlighted local ancestral accomplishments (through generic titles and offices), minimized mention of his wife despite her likely impressive pedigree, and funded benefactions concerned with the archives and history of the city (administrative). The latter, Carminius, emphasized his imperial connections with specific offices, brought attention to his Aphrodisian wife and her accomplishments, and sponsored benefactions of social integration and celebration.⁷⁰⁹ In light of the fact that Carminius' inscription was motivated by his status as an outsider, the tactics taken up by Jason suggest an elite relatively secure in his position of authority and desiring to stress his connectedness to the history of the city as well as to its current administration.

The remaining individuals who employed a version of the “co-founding” title in their honorific inscriptions did so in texts that emphasized their Roman citizenship and the imperial connections of their recent and living relatives. In Chapter One, it was argued

⁷⁰⁸ His wife's nomen suggests that she was a distant relative of Gaius Julius Zoilos who was the most notable benefactor of Aphrodisias in the time of Augustus; see the commentary by Reynolds (*IAPH2007* 12.514). Furthermore, another Julia Paula is described as being a descendant of the people responsible for the autonomy of the city (Appendix B.108B), which appears to have been a more direct reference to her prominent ancestor.

⁷⁰⁹ It is worth noting that besides the athletic victory lists, these are the two longest honorific inscriptions that survive from Aphrodisias. The choices of building types by each of these prolific benefactors is an interesting comparison. Carminius Claudianus, the non-native Aphrodisian, contributed to the theater and gymnasium—buildings associated with social cohesion and community integration. Jason Prabaesus, the descendant of the “co-founders,” funded libraries and archival structures, associated with preserving the history and memory of the city.

that in the 1st century CE, the “co-founding” title was employed by families as a means of distinguishing the established aristocracy from newly-promoted families who relied on Roman connections for status. In the later 2nd and 3rd centuries, the “co-founding” title reemerges in the epigraphic record as a rhetorical strategy for distinguishing established elite also from newly-promoted individuals, but not in opposition to Roman connections. In the 3rd century CE, employment of “co-founding” ancestry complimented Roman loyalties in the self-representation of aristocratic honorands. For example, Marcus Antonius Popillius Andronikos Flavianus, the son of Agelaos, was honored as one whose ancestors were high-priests of Asia and high-priests of the city, the cousin of senators and consuls, and a descendant of those who co-founded the city; he was chief *neopoios* and a benefactor.⁷¹⁰ The entire inscription was a balancing act between Roman/provincial connections and local significance organized in a chiasmic arrangement, leading to two brief attributes of the honorand himself. Andronikos boasted of important ancestors, and his polyonymous nomenclature suggests that his family had held Roman citizenship for many generations. Besides the use of the “co-founding” title, however, there is nothing to connect Andronikos to Jason or any of the other later honorands, nor did the inclusion of this term distance him from any other identifiable faction within the city. It was one more attribute listed to advertise his pedigree and his importance within the city.

The five remaining attestations of the “co-founding” title in this later period seamlessly blended their Roman connections with ancestral references. The wife of Septimius Chares Aeneas, whose name does not survive, was honored as a descendant of a “co-founding” family who was also the first to be entrusted with the priesthood of

⁷¹⁰ Appendix B.105.

Aphrodite.⁷¹¹ She was also awarded a matron's *stola* by the Emperor Alexander.⁷¹² The ancestors of Titus Flavius Apollinarios, the son of Titus Flavius Menippos, were described as gymnasiarchs, *stephanephoroi*, and contest-presidents, while he himself was one of the few Aphrodisians enrolled in a Roman voting tribe.⁷¹³ Julius Aurelius Charidemos Julianos was the son of Tiberius Claudius Aurelius Zelos and the grandson of Tiberius Claudius Zelos, who renovated the theater in the mid-2nd century CE.⁷¹⁴ His mother, Julia Paula, was related to Jason Prabaeus' wife and potentially a distant relative of Gaius Julius Zoilos, the famous Aphrodisian benefactor of the 1st century BCE. In a funerary inscription for her son, she is described as a descendant of those who were responsible for the city's autonomy (ὧν συναιτίων τῆ πόλει τῆς αὐτονομίας ἀπόγονος).⁷¹⁵ The language of this inscription is a significant departure from the other examples, and it might actually be a reflection of her ancestry since Zoilos is often considered the architect behind Aphrodisias' free status, granted in 39/38 BCE.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹¹ The cognomen Aeneas is striking since it was not a common Hellenic name and, in the city of Aphrodisias, had weighted meaning because of the homonymous hero's connection to the patron goddess and the imperial household (which resulted in his statue displayed in the Sebasteion's propylon and depictions of him on the reliefs (Smith 2013)). Four different Aphrodisians, including Septimius, were named Aeneas in the 3rd century CE (*I Aph 2007* 12.537, 12.626, 12.1109, 1.187). Van Nijf (2010a, pp. 179-180) notes the prevalence of Greek "designer" names among the cognomina of Termessians in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. He interprets this as an onomastic strategy (on the part of the parents) to signify Hellenic identity.

⁷¹² Appendix B.107. The word 'stola' is reconstructed by Reynolds (*I Aph 2007* 1.187) and is based on an honorific inscription for Aelia Julia Apphia, *matron stolata* (ματρῶναν στολάταν) (Appendix B.120). No other family at Aphrodisias was described as being the first to hold the priesthood, nor can a definitive hereditary post be identified in the surviving epigraphy. Hereditary priesthoods, however, were common in the Greek world. For examples and discussion, see Jones 2010, pp. 118-121.

⁷¹³ Appendix B.106. Only four other Aphrodisians were enrolled in this tribe. For more on the tribes at Aphrodisias, see Chaniotis 2002.

⁷¹⁴ Appendix B.108A. The identification as a descendant of a co-founding family is based on a heavy restoration made by Reynolds (1982). It is potentially relevant that both his father and grandfather were honored as founders (κτίστης).

⁷¹⁵ Appendix B.108B.

⁷¹⁶ Smith 1993. See also, Reynolds 1982, doc. 8.

Even when the honorand's ancestry can be traced back to the 1st century CE, it is not to families who were described as "co-founding." For example, Carminius' wife Flavia Apphia, a descendant of local benefactors who dedicated the Temple of Aphrodite in the reign of Tiberius, was honored as a member of a "co-founding" family in her own honorific inscription.⁷¹⁷ Extensive epigraphic evidence exists for members of this family in the 1st and 2nd centuries (Fig. 11), but it was only in the honorific inscription for Flavia Apphia at the end of the 2nd century that this family line was referred to as "co-founding." The unparalleled use of the title by a member of this family only in the later 2nd century suggests that the circumstances were such that this term became valuable for Flavia Apphia's self-presentation. Moreover, its adoption by a number of other, unrelated honorands further indicates that they were motivated by factors besides some sudden discovery of a distinguished ancestry.⁷¹⁸ Thus, the question becomes what was the broader context in which this specific term, one laden with local history, became an important title again for the Aphrodisian aristocracy. While the label did establish an honorand as a member of an established elite, more significantly its use alluded to the history of the city, both Aphrodisias' foundations and its earlier benefactors, creating a path through the city's history to its origins centuries before.⁷¹⁹

The reappearance of the *συνεκτικότες* term suggests a renewed interest in the history of the community, which can be identified across the Aphrodisian cityscape at this

⁷¹⁷ This inscription is unpublished, but the basic components of it, including the use of this title, are provided by Smith et al. 2006, H230. As discussed in Chapter Four, Flavia Apphia was the daughter of the procurator, Flavius Athenagoras, and the sister of Sallustius, the Senator (Appendix B.71).

⁷¹⁸ The practice of falsifying information in honorific inscriptions is a documented phenomenon in antiquity and is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two with regards to the inscriptions for Myon and Peritas (Appendix B.54).

⁷¹⁹ It is unclear, however, to what extent knowledge of a 2nd century BCE foundation persisted in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. The description given to Julia Paula as a descendant of those responsible for the city's autonomy suggests that alternative "foundation moments" might have been referenced by the title. As with the 1st century CE instances though, it is not the nature of the foundation that is of interest to this discussion, rather it is the fact that a term referencing the history of the city was used at all.

time. As opposed to using different versions of Aphrodisias' foundation to serve the interests of different elite groups, in the 3rd century the city's past became a means of creating a collective identity for an external audience and of appealing to imperial authority, strategies that were taken up at numerous communities in the region.⁷²⁰ As discussed in Chapter Two, the mythic past and foundation history of Aphrodisias was monumentalized in sculpture on the relief panels of the Civil Basilica in the Flavian period.⁷²¹

The history of this founding, including the acts of Ninus and Semiramis, were part of a history of Caria written by Apollonios of Aphrodisias around 200 CE, and perhaps even retold as part of one of the new festival celebrations.⁷²² Thus, around the same time attention was being paid to the pictorial representations of the foundation narrative, a local historian was publishing the stories. The composition of a narrative for these foundations suggest a need to clarify the identities of civic heroes who would not otherwise be immediately recognized by their audience. This might have been a reflection of new people moving into the city or outsiders visiting the city for political reasons or new festivals.⁷²³ The foundation narratives circulated through the city in other ways as well. On

⁷²⁰ For a general discussion of this phenomenon in Asia Minor, see Woolf 2010. Ng (2007, pp. 67-76) looks more specifically at the interests of communities in this period regarding local histories.

⁷²¹ The founder reliefs were labeled with the names of the founding figures. The original proposed date of these labels was in the 3rd century CE (Roueché 1981), but that was due to the overall dating of the monument to this period. Yıldırım (2000) argues for an inscription moment sometime after the completion of the reliefs and the monument, but does not give a precise date. Reynolds (2008a) argues in favor of a Flavian date contemporaneous with the construction project and part of the original display. If they were labeled at a later time, the early 3rd century CE seems the most likely time.

⁷²² *FrGrHist* 70 1-16. Apollonios was described as a high-priest and historian who wrote *Karika* (*FrGrHist* 70 T 1 (Suda s.v. Apollonios)). He has been identified with a recipient of an honorific statue at Aphrodisias from the late 2nd or early 3rd century: Tiberius Claudius Apollonios Aurelianus, high-priest and priest of Dionysos (Appendix B.95). In Salutaris' festival at Ephesos, the foundation history of the city was incorporated into the procession (Rogers 1991a).

⁷²³ At least two international festivals were established at Aphrodisias in the mid-3rd century: the *Gordianeia Attaleia Capitolia* after 238 (Appendix B.132) and the *Valerian Pythia* in the 250s. For more on these festivals, see Roueché 1993, pp. 179-182.

Aphrodisian coinage of the early 3rd century, five coin types were minted that depicted a version of the three-branched tree on the reverse—the same tree depicted on the Ninos relief panel from the Civil Basilica.⁷²⁴ As discussed with regard to Tiberius Claudius Zelos, this image was most likely a reference to a local cult of Zeus Nineudios at Aphrodisias, and perhaps even the foundation of the cult and the city by Ninos.⁷²⁵

The most telling sign of a communal interest in local history at Aphrodisias is the Archive Wall constructed in the early 3rd century.⁷²⁶ This wall, located on the south side of the north entrance to the theater, comprised marble panels inscribed with the texts of several letters documenting correspondence between Aphrodisias and Rome on matters concerning the autonomy of the city.⁷²⁷ These letters date from the Late Republic to the mid-3rd century CE, but the majority were inscribed on the wall at one moment, probably around the reign of Severus Alexander with subsequent letters added as deemed appropriate up to the reign of Trajan Decius.⁷²⁸ One of the earliest letters was the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* of 39/38 BCE, which granted Aphrodisias the status of a

⁷²⁴ All of these coins are discussed by MacDonald 1992: Types 103 and 104 from 209-211 CE, with the Senate on the obverse; Types 131 and 132 from 200-250 CE, with Senate on obverse; Types 143 and 144 from 200-250 CE, with Demos on obverse; Types 215 and 216 from 255-258 CE, with Valerian on the obverse.

⁷²⁵ There was one mint that depicted Pegasus on the reverse, which was a clear reference to the Bellerophon myth (Type 126) from 209-220 CE. Another set of coins with an eagle on the reverse also began to be minted in the early 3rd century (Types 148, 150, 153, 154). The eagle was probably another reference to the cult of Zeus Nineudios (or the actual founding act). It was one of the most common motifs on coins in the 1st century BCE, but it disappeared from the mints until the 3rd century. All date to between 200 and 235 CE, and the obverses depict the local *Gerousia*, Dionysos, Helios, and a bull.

⁷²⁶ For a full publication of this monument and its inscriptions, see Reynolds 1982. Chaniotis (2002) discusses this monument in terms of the letters selected for inscription and argues (convincingly) that it was less of an “archive” than a constructed image of a city who had maintained a privileged imperial position for centuries.

⁷²⁷ While restoration of this monument is easily visible today, it is unclear how legible the text would have been in antiquity with the roof of the north parodos in place. Legibility did seem to be a concern for the Aphrodisians, however, since the lettering was picked out in red paint (Reynolds 1982, pp. 33-36).

⁷²⁸ Based on the arrangement of letters and the consistency of the masons’ hands, the majority of the Archive Wall dates to the reign of Severus Alexander (Reynolds 1982, p. 36).

free city because of its continued support of Rome.⁷²⁹ Other letters from the triumviral period include three from Octavian in which he states his preference for Aphrodisias because the city took his side in the civil wars and because of his friendship with Zoilos.⁷³⁰ Three letters were from emperors in the 2nd century, all of which confirmed the free status of the city and two of which verified the right of Aphrodisias to abstain from provincial obligations such as liturgies and taxes.⁷³¹

In the Severan dynasty, three letters were inscribed shortly after they were issued. Two letters sent jointly from Septimius and Caracalla first praised the Aphrodisians for having a festival to celebrate recent imperial victories and second, re-affirmed the rights of the city.⁷³² The focus on these letters is not on Aphrodisias' support of Rome, but rather on the importance of Aphrodite to the Roman empire and the continuation of previous policies. In later letters from Gordian III and Trajan Decius, it was the ancient origins of the city that accounted for the citizens' goodwill toward the emperor and for the city's continued free status.⁷³³ Thus, in the early 3rd century a special space in the public setting of the theater was set aside.⁷³⁴ Letters dating back almost 250 years, documenting the close relationship between the city of Aphrodisias and Roman authorities and affirming its privileged status in the empire, were inscribed. A historical narrative of the city was

⁷²⁹ *I Aph 2007* 8.27. For more on this document, see Reynolds 1982, doc. 8.

⁷³⁰ Reynolds 1982, doc. 10, 12, and 13; see also, *I Aph 2007* 8.25, 29, 31.

⁷³¹ A letter from Trajan to Sardis removed Aphrodisias from provincial liturgies (Reynolds 1982, doc. 14; *I Aph 2007* 8.33). A letter from Hadrian removed from Aphrodisians from an obligation to pay a tax on iron nails (Reynolds 1982, doc. 15; *I Aph 2007* 8.34). A letter from Commodus confirmed Aphrodisias' previous rights (Reynolds 1982, doc. 16; *I Aph 2007* 8.35).

⁷³² Reynolds 1982, docs. 17 and 18; *I Aph 2007* 8.36 and 37. The third letter from Severus Alexander also confirmed their previous rights (Reynolds 1982, doc. 19; *I Aph 2007* 8.99).

⁷³³ There were three more letters from Gordian confirming the rights of Aphrodisias on more specific matters. Reynolds 1982, docs. 20-25, especially doc. 20 (Gordian III) and doc. 25 (Trajan Decius); *I Aph 2007* 8.100-103.

⁷³⁴ The significance of its location in a place of public assembly should not be disregarded.

publicly set in stone.⁷³⁵ The inscriptions on the Archive Wall acknowledge the benefaction of the emperor, while expressing the city's pride in its history, religious traditions, and imperial privileges.

The letters from Severus and Caracalla that were contemporaneous with the creation of the Archive Wall explain that in the early 3rd century the rights of the city were tied to the venerability of its patron deity and the importance of this goddess to the imperial household. Under Gordian III, the reasons for autonomy had evolved into the ancient origins of the city as the cause of its privileged status. The letters record its collective identity as perceived by emperors from without: this was a city with a venerable cult and ancient origins. Because of this identity, Aphrodisias was entitled to imperial favor. Just as the coins, Apollonios' history, and the Basilica reliefs advertised the local foundations (i.e., the ancient origins) of the city, the letters on the Archive Wall demonstrate that the promotion of such an identity was beneficial and resulted in imperial recognition and favor.⁷³⁶

Other Asiatic communities in the Severan period also relied on a collective identity defined by local cults and history in order to gain privileges from the emperor.⁷³⁷ For example, at Perge the benefactress Aurelia Paulina constructed an elaborate fountain complex that juxtaposed statues of the imperial family with an archaizing section around a

⁷³⁵ Chaniotis 2002.

⁷³⁶ Soon after the letter of Trajan Decius, Aphrodisias was made the capital of a new province (Roueché 1981).

⁷³⁷ The privileging of the past in these examples can be seen as part of a larger trend categorized by scholars under the title of Second Sophistic. This cultural movement, typically dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, is characterized by the fascination with the past that dominates literature and art of the Greek East. For scholarship on this topic, see Anderson 1993; Goldhill 2001; Borg 2004. Ng (2007) has demonstrated that the use of the past as a means of shaping and projecting a collective identity should not be confined to this limited time frame. While the evidence from Aphrodisias falls in line with material and themes associated with the Second Sophistic, this chapter considers the displays of the Aphrodisian past as more than participating in regional cultural trends and rather as active tools, crafted by the local community in a competitive endeavor for imperial attention and recognition. In the end, the Aphrodisians were successful.

sacred spring of Artemis Pergaia.⁷³⁸ In the Severan period as well, extensive renovations were made to the theater at Hierapolis, which included the display of panels that depicted localized myths of Apollo and Artemis framing a representation of the Severan imperial household.⁷³⁹ These constructions and renovations were part of larger political negotiations between the city, the region, and the emperors. In Pamphylia, Perge was trying to establish itself as the preeminent city in the region and it relied on the venerability of its ancient cult to gain the status of a *metropolis* and become a provincial capital.⁷⁴⁰ The incorporation of the imperial family into the landscape and into this cult was a reflection that “[a] shift from a provincial, in a sense inward looking identity to a more direct engagement with the central authority had taken place in order to preserve or even to augment Perge’s position in the province.”⁷⁴¹ Likewise, the reliefs from Hierapolis joined the imperial household with images of the city’s mythology and rituals. The visual integration can be seen as a gesture of thanks to the emperor who had granted the city the right to host the Pythian Games.⁷⁴²

In the 1st century CE, the Civil Basilica reliefs at Aphrodisias were intended for an intra-urban audience; they participated in a dialogue between the Aphrodisian elites

⁷³⁸ Mansel 1975. For a discussion on the significance of this monument, see Ng 2007, pp. 67-76. For the sculptural program of this nymphaeum, see Chi 2002, pp. 187-198; see also Longfellow 2011, pp. 185-190.

⁷³⁹ There were also panels of the Rape of Persephone, which was said to have occurred near the city. The relief panels have been published by D’Andria and Ritti 1985; see also, Newby 2003 and Ng 2007. Price (2005, pp. 115-123) discusses these reliefs in relationship to the coinage minted by the city. Apollo was the patron deity of Hierapolis.

⁷⁴⁰ Ng 2007, p. 75. The term *metropolis* generally signified that a city was the (or one of the) largest cities in a province and as such, it was home to a substantial administration and numerous Roman officials. Early in the Empire, the title was highly restricted, but this changed in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries. For more on this title and its distribution, see Bowersock 1994; see also, Friesen 2004. Furthermore, the title of *metropolis* carried with it great prestige and desirable privileges (*Digest* 27.1.6.2). For a discussion of the early competitions for this title, see Dmitriev 2005, pp. 247-286. For the granting of Perge with this title, see Şahin et al. 1997.

⁷⁴¹ Ng 2007, p. 91. The establishment of an international festival, such as the Pythian Games, would have resulted in significant financial benefit to the city from the numerous outsiders who attended, in addition to earned notoriety and prestige.

⁷⁴² Ng 2007, p. 143.

themselves more than between the city as a whole and imperial representatives or foreign visitors.⁷⁴³ In the 3rd century, however, such promotion of the local past demonstrated more awareness of external audiences and appealed more directly to imperial interests. Now the advertisement of local history was outward-looking. The examples from Aphrodisias all have this quality: the Archive Wall documented the historical relationship between the city and the emperor. The coins integrated aspects of the city's past and local cults with the senate and the emperor. The history of Apollonios covered the region of Caria and made the foundation stories understandable to a non-Aphrodisian audience. The re-appearance of the "co-founding" title brought attention to the history and foundations of the city as well. It served to establish a link between the ancient origins of Aphrodisias and the 3rd-century benefactors. Furthermore, the term's application to Aphrodisians with Roman citizenship and some of who had more far-reaching imperial connections presented a seamless integration of local history with imperial priorities: an individual mirror to the communal production of the Archive Wall or Hierapolis' theater reliefs. The promotion of the city's history was not in vain either. For the first half of the 3rd century, Aphrodisias continued to have its rights as a free city confirmed until it was promoted to the status of capital of a new province.⁷⁴⁴

APHRODISIAS AS A PROVINCIAL CAPITAL AND THE END OF HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS

The epigraphic evidence suggests that the Edict of Caracalla was a major milestone of the 3rd century CE, impacting the public behavior of sub-elite and elite alike, and in turn disrupting established social dynamics. The Edict was one product of a shift in

⁷⁴³ Ng (2007, pp. 47-67) argues that the Hadrianic display of local founders in the gate of Plancia Magna at Perge was one that looked inward and was constructed for a local, and limited regional audience; whereas the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina in the Severan period was created with an awareness of an external audience.

⁷⁴⁴ Perge was also made a capital city of Pamphylia in the 3rd century CE (Şahin et al. 1997); see also Roueché 1989b.

administrative practices; it consisted of increased imperial involvement in the provinces that escalated in the Severan period.⁷⁴⁵ The reasons for this development were many. In Asia Minor, they ranged from military conflict with the Sassanids, unrest within the province from invasions, and population decline from plague and disease—this is all on top of tumultuous power exchanges at the top levels of administration.⁷⁴⁶ The unrest inside and outside of the province resulted in an increase in military presence, which required more tax revenue.⁷⁴⁷ One consequence of the increased imperial demand for taxes was that they were collected by Roman magistrates who became regular fixtures in the provincial cities, including Aphrodisias. The result of the presence of these imperial officers was that local elites were no longer at the top of civic hierarchy; the frequent involvement of Roman authority weakened benefactors' claims to status.

An empire of “nation-state” provinces controlled by governors in the 1st and 2nd centuries shifted to a highly centralized government of smaller provinces with more bureaucrats.⁷⁴⁸ The overall effects were a local elite less eager to take up liturgies and financially-burdensome magistracies and local civic institutions that were sidestepped by imperial authorities.⁷⁴⁹ The city's aristocracy, once the driving-force behind ideologies of hierarchy and civic benefactions, was challenged from below and above in the 3rd century.

⁷⁴⁵ Zuiderhoek 2009b; Mitchell 1993, pp. 229-239. Septimius Severus and Caracalla also confiscated estates in the province in order to control agricultural surpluses (Broughton 1938, pp. 656-663).

⁷⁴⁶ Zuiderhoek (2009b) argues that the demographic decline caused by the plague was a contributing factor to the local elites removing themselves from public life; see also, Brown 2002. Mitchell (1993, pp. 229-239) discusses the military unrest in the East at this time.

⁷⁴⁷ This was one of the reasons given for the issuing of the Edict of Caracalla (Cassius Dio 77.9.5). Crawford (1975, p. 572) notes that the increased production of coinage and the number of cities minting were due to imperial pressures to satisfy new financial burdens.

⁷⁴⁸ Zuiderhoek 2009b, p. 41.

⁷⁴⁹ Examples included a law that moved local elites' donations for children to the control of governors instead of local city councils (*Dig.* 35.2.89) and the edict that a city could not levy a new tax without the permission of the governor (*Cod. Just.* 4.62.1). There were also laws issued that made office-holdings and liturgies mandatory, which indicate an unwillingness of the elite to participate in civic politics as before (*Dig.* 50.1.18; 50.2.6.4; 50.2.7.3); see also, the discussion in Ögüş (*forthcoming*).

The Edict of Caracalla and accumulation of wealth brought status and a desire for public display to the middle levels of the population at Aphrodisias, most evident in the production of sarcophagi. On the other hand, the imposition of high-ranking imperial administrators diminished the authority of the local elite. Benefactors were situated in the middle of this social development and the increased pressures from both above and below made acts of euergetism less desirable.⁷⁵⁰

The heightened interest and involvement in the provinces also meant that there were new opportunities for cities to compete for imperial attention. As discussed above, advertising the important civic cults, ancient origins, or foundation stories was one strategy that Asiatic communities took up as a means of appealing to the emperor. By appealing to their own venerable histories, Perge successfully became the capital of Pamphylia in the 3rd century and Hierapolis received imperial approval to host the Pythian Games. The number of festivals and games across Asia Minor grew substantially in the 3rd century as a corollary to the intense competition between cities for recognition and prestige.⁷⁵¹ A number of cities, especially in southwest Asia Minor, made adjustments to their theaters in order to welcome visiting emperors or provincial governors as part of these new festivals.⁷⁵² Aphrodisias was one such city. In the first half of the 3rd century, a loggia was added to the front center of the theater, serving as a “seat of honor.” The addition is associated with the visit of Sulpicius Priscus, governor of Asia, during the reign of Severus Alexander.⁷⁵³ The honorific inscription that was issued to Sulpicius encapsulates the power dynamics of 3rd century Aphrodisias. The people of the most splendid city of Aphrodisias

⁷⁵⁰ Zuiderhoek 2009a, pp. 154-159.

⁷⁵¹ Mitchell 1993, pp. 221-225.

⁷⁵² Roueché (1996, p.99, with references) notes that loggias were added to the theaters at Tralles, Priene, Miletus, Termessos, Side, and Nysa in the 3rd century CE. While none of these cities became capitals of a province, Miletus, Tralles and Side all boasted their status as *metropoleis* (1996, p. 100).

⁷⁵³ *I Aph 2007* 12.34 in 222-235 CE; Reynolds 1982, doc. 48.

honored him “according to the (instructions of the) greatest and most revered Severus Alexander.”⁷⁵⁴ The local city council took no part in issuing the honors and the clause generally left to the overseer (another local citizen) was occupied by the instructions of the emperor; direct Roman involvement was infringing on the tradition of honorific inscriptions. The addition of the *loggia* to the theater also reflected the changing power dynamics. As has been argued, seating at the theater was a visual representation of social hierarchy.⁷⁵⁵ The *loggia* physically placed a new and different kind of authority above the existing Aphrodisian hierarchy.⁷⁵⁶ Thus, the local elites no longer occupied the highest position of power in the city.

The honorific record also slowly reflected this shift. In addition to more Aphrodisians serving as members of the Roman senate, two Aphrodisians held the title of εἰρηνάρχης, or peace officer, probably in response to the increased unrest in the region.⁷⁵⁷ Three other Aphrodisians were described as κράτιστος (“most distinguished”), a term that otherwise appeared at Aphrodisias only to describe Roman officials in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries.⁷⁵⁸ Moreover, Roman magistrates began to receive honorific monuments at Aphrodisias in the 3rd century, which had not happened since the reign of Augustus. In addition to the *loggia* for Sulpicius Priscus, honors were awarded to a proconsul, two

⁷⁵⁴ *Laph 2007* 12.33. Translation by Reynolds 2007. See also, Reynolds 1982, doc. 47.

⁷⁵⁵ van Nijf 1997, ch. 6.

⁷⁵⁶ Zuiderhoek 2009b, p. 40.

⁷⁵⁷ Appendix B.144 and 150. This office was limited in distribution to Asia Minor, Athens, and Thrace. While the holders of this office seem to have been appointed by provincial governors, their duties were generally confined to individual cities. The earliest attestations were in the late 1st century CE, but the majority of the examples are from the late 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (Dmitriev 2005, pp. 206-213). The honorand of Appendix B.144 also held the title of παραφύλαξ; for more on this title, see Dmitriev 2005, pp. 206-213.

⁷⁵⁸ Aphrodisians: Claudia Antonia Tatiane (Appendix B.81A and B); Carminius Livianus (Appendix B.111); Tib. Cl. Aurelius Mucianus Apollonios Beroneikianos (Appendix B.129). Roman officials: Junius Maximus the Quaestor in 267-8 (*Laph 2007* 8.86); L. Cl. Iberinos Eudaimon, curator of the city in the late 2nd century (*Laph 2007* 13.146); G. Jul. Philippos, curator of the city in the 3rd century (*Laph 2007* 12.536). It was also used to describe the *boule* in some inscriptions.

curators, and two *centurio frumentarius* in the first half of the 3rd century CE, none of whom were local Aphrodisians.⁷⁵⁹

But the greatest impact on the honorific inscriptions at Aphrodisias was the granting of capital status to the city in the 250's. This was the culmination of imperial involvement in the region. With the transition from free and autonomous city to provincial capital and administrative center, the production of honorific inscriptions essentially ceased. A few honorifics for Roman officials date to later in the 3rd century and two athletes received honorific statues in the theater at the end of the century.⁷⁶⁰ The practice of awarding an elite with a portrait statue and honorific inscription after a lifetime of civic achievement was no more. Nor did the city issue honors for the children of elite families who had died young. The honorific inscriptions of late antique Aphrodisias were for governors and other officials, many of whom took over the civic responsibilities of the elite.⁷⁶¹ The fervor for honor that occupied the activities of the local elite in the first 250 years of the Common Era was never again matched. The cessation of honorific monuments for local benefactors occurred across the landscape of Asia Minor. It was not so much a reaction to the promotion to capital status as it was a reflection that the social circumstances that had made euergetism and the associated honorific monuments necessary and advantageous for elites, namely increased social inequality within the ideology of a democratic *polis*, ceased to

⁷⁵⁹ Proconsul: Lucius Egnatius Victor Lollianus, 240-250 CE (*I Aph 2007* 11.414). Curators: Lucius Claudius Iberinos Eudaimon, late 2nd/early 3rd centuries (*I Aph 2007* 13.146) and Gaius Julius Philippos, 3rd century (*I Aph 2007* 12.536). *Centurio Frumentarius*: Aurelius Gaius (*I Aph 2007* 12.931) and an unknown officer (*I Aph 2007* 12.932), both mid-3rd century. M. Aurelius Diogenes received two honorifics between 253-260 CE (*I Aph 2007* 12.644 and 645), one for being a legate and one as governor. There was also a Hieratikos, a legionary centurion, who was honored by Aphrodisias in the 3rd century CE (*I Aph 2007* 1.168). For a discussion of these honors, see Roueché 1981.

⁷⁶⁰ Athletes at the end of the 3rd century CE: *I Aph 2007* 8.87 and 8.88. Roman officials: T. Oppius Aelianus Asklepiodotos from 284-301 CE (*I Aph 2007* 4.309); M. Aur Diogenes from 253-260 CE (*I Aph 2007* 12.644 and 12.645). For more on the honorific inscriptions for these officials, see Roueché 1981.

⁷⁶¹ For more discussion on the honorific inscriptions of late antique Aphrodisias, see Roueché 1989a; see also, Smith 1999.

exist, or at least to function with the same universality in the eastern cities by the mid-3rd century CE.

In summary, the first half of the 3rd century was a period of dramatic changes for the community at Aphrodisias, from the enfranchisement of its population to its conversion to a provincial capital. These historical developments—the distribution of citizenship and increased imperial control—significantly affected the honorific inscriptions. The greatest number of surviving honorific texts were from this period, a reflection of the increasing stratification of the bouleutic order and a response to the mass distribution of citizenship by Caracalla. The sudden leveling of citizenship status caused the upper echelons of society to publicly affirm their place at the top of the local hierarchy by producing more honorifics and integrating more wealthy individuals into the inscribed honors. New methods were also developed for distinguishing the elite from the non-elite, as well as locating elites within the growing aristocratic hierarchy.

In addition to new offices, wealthy Aphrodisians shifted the focus in the honorific inscriptions to their ancestry and pedigree, listing extensive genealogies, providing accomplishments of ancestors, and even co-opting the title of “co-founding” rhetorically to lay claim to honorable and deep roots in the city. The significance given to ancestors in the 3rd-century honors, and especially the reuse of the “co-founding” title, were individual examples of a communal phenomenon in which the Aphrodisian past and local history were advertised to provincial and imperial elites and integrated with imperial interests. These tactics were favored by communities across the region since increased imperial attention resulted in a rise in opportunities for prestige and honor. Local histories became a strategy of communal self-fashioning in the competitions between cities, and Aphrodisias played the game successfully, for the city became a provincial capital in the 3rd century. The subtle hints in the honorific inscriptions of power shifts in the community, such as the

diminishing role of the democratic process for issuing honors, gave way in the second quarter of the century to the near cessation of local honorific practices, which after over 250 years became a restricted tool of Roman officials.

Conclusions

Overall, this dissertation has provided a summary and analysis of the honorific inscriptions from Aphrodisias from the earliest surviving examples in the early 1st century BCE to the dramatic decline in production in the mid-3rd century CE. The honorific database for this dissertation included 206 instances of honors for 183 local Aphrodisians, some of whom received multiple honors from the city.⁷⁶² These honorific monuments for local elites and benefactors dominated the portrait landscape of Aphrodisias, but were also set up alongside of statues for members of the imperial household and Roman magistrates, in addition to representations of divinities, heroes, virtues, and civic institutions.⁷⁶³ As discussed in the Introduction, Aphrodisians were awarded honors for a number of reasons, including their civic contributions, services to the people, personal virtues, familial background and connections, achievements in the provincial or imperial administration, and victories in athletic or artistic competitions. Of the surviving inscriptions for local

⁷⁶² For a full discussion of the database, see Appendix A. Titus Flavius Sallustius Athenagoras received four honorific monuments (Appendix B.71.ii, Smith et al. 2006, H67, 68, and 201). Adrastos, son of Neikoteimos (Appendix B.8A-C), Kallikrates, son of Pythodoris (Appendix B.9A-C), and Tiberius Claudius Attalos and Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, the sons of Dometeinos Diogenes (Appendix B.82A-B, 83, and 84) received three honorific monuments. Gaius Julius Zoilos (Appendix B.15A-B), the athlete, Kallikrates (Appendix B.57A-B), Sallustia Frontina (Appendix B.71.i and Smith et al. 2006, H200), Hosidius Julianos (Appendix B.79A-B), Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes (Appendix B.80A-B), Claudia Antonia Tatiane (Appendix B.81A-B), Aelius Aurelius Menandros (Appendix B.85A-B), the brothers Menippos and Zenon (Smith et al. 2006, H126 and 127), Tiberius Claudius Ktesias (Appendix B.112A.i and B), Aurelia Flavia Messouleia Diogeneia (Appendix B.115A-B) and Publius Hilarianos (Appendix B.128A-B) received two honorific monuments.

⁷⁶³ Smith et al (2006, H1-34) note that there were thirty-four honors for members of the imperial household and fifteen portrait monuments to officials for the Roman government (H35-49), at least three of which date to the latter half of the 3rd century CE (H41-43). Furthermore, only around 30 inscribed bases for divinities and heroes have been recovered (2006, pp. 6-7). While Smith says that the number could be misleading since gods would not have needed labels, it is clear that “attention and expenditure were focused closely on statue honors for leading citizens” (2006, p. 6).

Aphrodisians, thirty-eight were for women (18%), the remaining 168 inscriptions were issued for local male benefactors, twenty of whom were athletes or performers.⁷⁶⁴

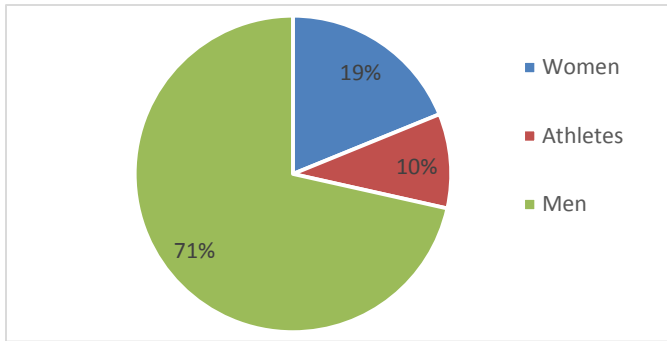


Illustration 25: Percentage of types of honorands who received honorific inscriptions at Aphrodisias from the 1st century BCE to the mid-3rd century CE.

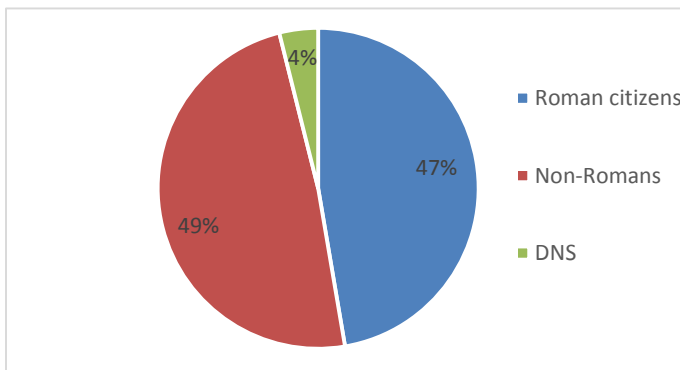


Illustration 26: Percentage of honorands with and without Roman citizenship in the honorific inscriptions from the 1st century BCE to the mid-3rd century CE (DNS stands for “does not survive”).

⁷⁶⁴ Women comprise 25% of the surviving portrait sculpture at Aphrodisias (Smith et al. 2006, p. 6, n. 12 and catalog nos. 80-108 and 200-220). For more on the female benefactress and the role of women in Roman Asia Minor, see van Bremen 1996; see also, Dmitriev 2005, pp. 178-186.

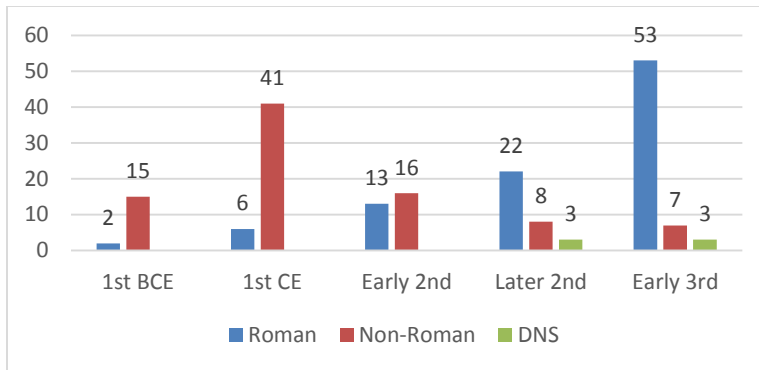


Illustration 27: Distribution of honorific inscriptions for Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship according to date.

Just under half of those honored (97 recipients) had Roman citizenship, but their presence was not evenly distributed over time; rather, the majority of honorands with Roman citizenship (80%) date to the last century of this study (between 150 and 250 CE).⁷⁶⁵

By the time that Aphrodisias became a provincial capital in the mid-3rd century CE, the city center was inundated with honorific monuments of its local benefactors.⁷⁶⁶ Statues of local elites were displayed prominently in the public spaces of the city: in and around the bouleuterion, on the *scaenae frons* of the theater, the colonnades of the Agoras and Civil Basilica, in the bath complexes, the main avenues of the city, and other buildings.⁷⁶⁷ Any visitor or native Aphrodisian interacting in these spaces would have viewed a sculptural record of those Aphrodisians who were most important to the past and present

⁷⁶⁵ Ninety-nine of the honorands did not advertise Roman citizenship and the names of the remaining six honorands do not survive in their inscriptions. The classification process between Roman and non-Roman is discussed in Appendix A. In a recent doctoral thesis, I. Bourtzinakou (2011) categorizes names based on ethnic or cultural affinities, such as Roman, Hellenic, Anatolian, Iranian, and Aphrodisian.

⁷⁶⁶ Smith et al. (2006, p. 13) estimate that Aphrodisias probably produced somewhere between 1,000-2,500 honorific monuments over the 250 year period (from the reign of Augustus to the mid-3rd century), which would be anywhere from 4-10 monuments issued every year.

⁷⁶⁷ While discussion of the location of these monuments has been integrated into the chapters of this dissertation whenever possible, the fullest explanation of findspots for the honorific monuments is Smith et al. 2006. Publications of the honorific monuments of Roman Termessos, many of whose bases remain *in situ* have been discussed by van Nijf (2000 and 2011) and offer a probable comparison to the display of such monuments at Aphrodisias.

state of the community. These monuments (portrait sculpture and inscribed base) were collaborative productions whose full completion involved civic institutions of the city, the honored benefactor, and the family or friends of the honorand. As such they immortalized a social relationship between community and benefactor in stone and embedded that interaction into the landscape of the city to be experienced by future generations.⁷⁶⁸ Their issuance and subsequent display advantageously served all parties involved. As a communitarian effort, the governing bodies of the city (the *boule* and *demos*) asserted their authority and relevance in civic decisions; as a representation of an individual, the monument promoted and legitimized the status of the benefactor and his or her family to the entire populace.⁷⁶⁹ While the repeated issuance of the public honors by the city created and affirmed a communal conception of what a good citizen looked like and the qualities that a good citizen had, the individual commission of any one monument was an opportunity for a specific benefactor to advertise a constructed self-image to his or her audience.⁷⁷⁰ Because of the multiplicity of actors involved in the honorific process, an examination of honorific inscriptions allows for a discussion of identity construction at different scales from the individual honorand and his or her family to an entire civic community.

Scholarship on individuals and cities in the Eastern empire once discussed the concept and construction of identity in terms of a dichotomy between essentialized

⁷⁶⁸Ma's recent publication of honorific monuments from the Hellenistic period repeatedly stresses the communitarian nature of these public productions (2013a). The role of the honorand (and family) in the decision-making process from language to appearance to location, however, should not be disregarded (e.g. Smith 1998). Additionally, other agents participated in the production of honorific monuments, such as the *neoi* issuing honors for Adrastos (Appendix B.8B). For more on the role of organizations in the honorific process, see van Nijf 1997 and 2001.

⁷⁶⁹Zuiderhoek (2009a, pp. 113-153) stresses the role of honorific inscriptions as means for legitimization of individual benefactors and the elite as a social (oligarchic) group.

⁷⁷⁰For the community aspect, see Ma 2013a, p. 304. For the agency of the honorand, van Nijf 2010a, p. 164.

categories, such as ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ or ‘local’ and ‘imperial’, but current approaches to questions of identity politics acknowledge that conceptions of identity—at any level—were negotiations created relationally and in a continuing dialectic.⁷⁷¹ Most effective in nuancing understandings of ancient identity have been those approaches to the topic that have included or focused on material culture, which typically emphasize the importance of the *local* in creating a distinctiveness of identity across the provincial landscape.⁷⁷² Many of these works focus on the creation of communal identities and how these collective constructions were used in matters of diplomacy, rivalry, and appeals for imperial favor.⁷⁷³ Layered identities, however, that mirrored those of the community, were also being constructed publically by individuals for themselves and their families.⁷⁷⁴ In general, studies on individual benefactors highlight the social and political motivations behind constructing composite—Greek, Roman, regional, and local (civic)—identities, most of which were needed for status justification and the pursuit of political ambitions.⁷⁷⁵ Less articulated in these works are (1) how the decisions regarding the presentation of an individual’s (or family’s) identity were influenced by the social context of the community, particularly rivalries and factions among the elite within the *polis*, and (2) how these

⁷⁷¹ This approach to questions of identity in the communities of Asia Minor has been explicitly laid out recently by Whitmarsh (2010). Approaches to Second Sophistic literature often times examines the ancient evidence in terms of a dichotomy between Greek and Roman; e.g. Anderson 1993; Swain 1996; Goldhill 2001.

⁷⁷² E.g. Rogers (1991a) on the inscription of Salutaris from Ephesos; Newby (2003) on the gate of Plancia Magna at Perge; Price (2005) on the appearance of local mythologies on civic coinage from Asia Minor. Some discussions of Greek imperial literature, however, particularly the *Exegesis* of Pausanias, have recognized the importance of local influences in identity construction (Alcock et al. 2001; see also, Bowie 2004).

⁷⁷³ Lindner (1994), Jones (1999a), and Ng (2007) all consider the construction of identity at the communal level and examine how they were used in inter-*polis* rivalries and acts of diplomacy.

⁷⁷⁴ Smith (1998), van Nijf (2010a), and Longfellow (2011) all examine the construction of identities—Greek, Roman, and local—by benefactors in their honorific monuments and other benefactions.

⁷⁷⁵ Van Nijf (2010a) and Longfellow (2011) in particular draw out this point, but similar arguments are put forth by Rogers (1991a) and Newby (2003).

individuals' constructions of identity related and contributed to contemporary public displays of communal identity.

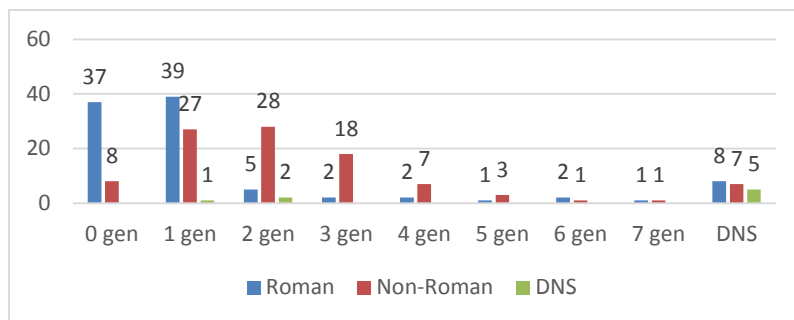
Broadly speaking, this dissertation contributes to the discussion of identity politics of communities and individuals in an urban context of the Eastern Empire.⁷⁷⁶ Over the course of five chapters, arranged roughly chronologically, the construction of composite cultural and political identities, with 'Greek', 'Roman', regional or provincial and 'local' aspects, is investigated through an analysis of the honorific inscriptions from Aphrodisias from the late Hellenistic period to the mid-3rd century CE, with particular attention to their inclusion of references to ancestry and family, and a contextualization of the data into an historical and archaeological framework. While the overall analysis is organized chronologically, the observations made in each chapter are interpreted primarily in terms of the different scales of identity that the honorific inscriptions took part in shaping.

Honorific inscriptions, as biographies that celebrated an individual, represented the cultural identities and affiliations of a specific honorand (Chapter Four). The monuments, however, were often paid for or overseen by family members and the honorand was typically situated in a familial line; as such, the honorific inscriptions illustrate how familial identity was presented in the public sphere (Chapter One). Because the honorific monument was the production of elite culture and the public display of a city's wealthiest citizens, the inscriptions also illustrated the identity of the elite as a whole, as well as the distinctive identities of groups or factions within this group (Chapters One and Two). The monuments, however, were issued by the city and its civic institutions; they were displayed in prominent places to be viewed by all, which entails that as a collective, honorific inscriptions also reflected the cultural and regional identity as well as its civic values

⁷⁷⁶ Whitmarsh 2010.

(Chapters Two and Three). Finally, the individuals honored, and Aphrodisias as whole, were participating in wider communities—the province, the Greek-speaking world, and the entire Roman empire; for this reason, the inscriptions also highlighted provincial, regional, and imperial constructions of identity, and how Aphrodisians and Aphrodisias participated in and contributed to these creations (Chapter Five in particular).

Because ancestry served as a primary marker of identity in the Greek world for individuals and communities alike, the analysis of the inscriptions paid particular attention to how and when the references to an honorand’s ancestors or family were included.⁷⁷⁷ In the surviving epigraphic record, there were a multiplicity of ways that an honorand’s family background could have been referenced, including a genealogical list of forefathers, titles mentioning the status of the family, citations of services of past family members, praise for acting in the tradition of ancestor, or naming the titles of rank of living relatives; most of the inscriptions with familial references consisted of combinations of these inclusions. In providing a genealogical list of ancestors, the Aphrodisian honorands ranged from no such provision (forty-five instances) to up to seven previous generations.⁷⁷⁸



⁷⁷⁷ Woolf (2010, p. 198) notes “that so many microidentities were formed in relation not to an existing place, but to a genealogically constructed ancestry—through founding figures, actual historical figures, through myths of migration and epic journeys of culture heroes.” Moreover, Chaniotis (2014) characterizes the epigraphic record of Aphrodisias as reflective of their citizens’ “obsession” with ancestry.

⁷⁷⁸ Van Nijf (2010a) notes this practice of listing ancestors in the honorific and funerary inscriptions from Termessos, referring to the phenomenon as “genealogical bookkeeping.”

Illustration 28: Number of generations provided by Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship in the honorific inscriptions from the 1st century BCE to the 3rd century CE.

While those with Roman citizenship usually listed only a patronymic or nothing at all, those without Roman citizenship generally ranged from a patronymic to about three generations on average. This tendency changed, however, after the Edict of Caracalla, and the new recipients of Roman citizenship included extensive genealogical lists—at least four went back six generations.⁷⁷⁹

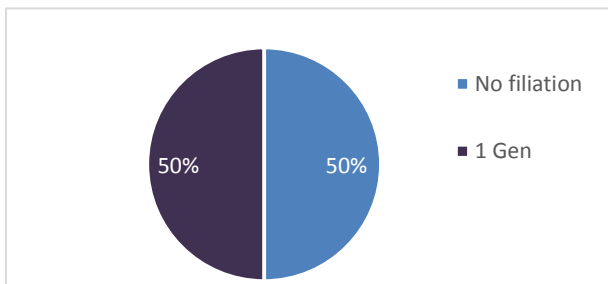


Illustration 29: Percentage of the generations provided in the honorific inscriptions for Aphrodisians with Roman citizenship before the 3rd century CE.

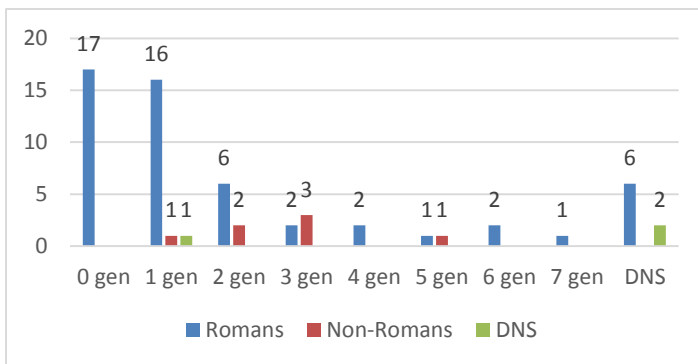


Illustration 30: Number of generations provided by Aphrodisians with and without Roman citizenship in the honorific inscriptions from the first half of the 3rd century CE.

⁷⁷⁹ The shift in practice is discussed in Chapter Five. Overall, about one-third of all Aphrodisians included the name of their grandfather, if not more distant ancestors.

Thirty-one inscriptions of the analyzed honors provided a familial title, such as being a member of a first family (γένους πρώτου), including descent from a “co-founding” families.⁷⁸⁰ In eighteen inscriptions, the ancestors of the honorands were praised for specific contributions, such as holding local magistracies or providing liturgies (ἀπὸ προγόνων ἀρχικῶν καὶ λειτουργῶν), while in twenty-one of the honorific texts the honorand was praised with more generic ancestral accolades, such as for being well-born (εὐγενεΐα) or for acting in the tradition of his or her ancestors (ἀπὸ προγόνων). Finally, twenty-three texts included the accomplishments of living family members who were active in the imperial administration. These instances ranged from Aurelia Flavia Messouleia Diogeneia, the wife of Aemilius Hypsikles, an equestrian and High Priest, to the extensive senatorial and consular relations of Carminius Claudianus discussed in Chapter Four.⁷⁸¹ While only seventeen of the honorifics from the 1st century CE contained references to ancestors (36%) (eight of which were the members of co-founding families), half of the honorifics from the early 3rd century contained such references.⁷⁸²

As discussed in Chapters Two and Five, the preoccupation of individual Aphrodisians with personal ancestry was mirrored by the communal interest in its own past and legendary founders. The analysis demonstrates that ancestry, as a marker of identity, was used as means of distinction as well as integration at both the communal and individual level. But what familial pedigree was promoted in the honorific inscriptions and in the

⁷⁸⁰ Nineteen individuals incorporated a variation of the co-founding title into an inscription, but only seventeen of these individuals were included in the database of this dissertation (Tab. 1). An honorific inscription for Flavia Apphia as a co-founding descendant has not been fully published (Smith et al. 2006, H230) and Julia Paula is described similarly in a funerary text (not honorific) for her son (*IAph 2007* 12.909). Other familial titles include ἐνδόξου and λαμπροῦ. Most of these titles were used in combinations.

⁷⁸¹ Aurelia Flavia: Appendix B. 115B. Carminius Claudianus: Appendix B.72.

⁷⁸² Seventeen of the forty-seven inscriptions from the 1st century CE, twelve of the twenty-nine inscriptions from the early half of the 2nd century CE, fifteen of the thirty-three inscriptions from the latter half of the 2nd century, and thirty-two of the sixty-three honorific inscriptions from the first half of the 3rd century CE all included some sort of reference to family or ancestors.

epigraphic and sculptural program of the city as whole changed over time. The observations drawn from this analysis were situated in an historical and (whenever possible) archaeological framework in order to discern how the symbolic capital associated with the varying facets of identity responded to historical developments, internal elite dynamics, and the physical context in which such representations were displayed. While any one individual, group, or community could portray multiple identities at a given time, the construction of identity was relational and the value of one cultural affiliation over another fluctuated within the context it was portrayed.⁷⁸³

Thus, the chapters of this dissertation have been arranged chronologically so that the fluctuations observed in the honorific inscriptions, particularly their inclusion of ancestry and family, which reflected different scales of identity politics, could be related to the historical developments in the province and empire, as well as the internal dynamics of the city that included the previous and subsequent displays of the honorific monuments. In doing so, this dissertation articulates how the choices that Aphrodisians made concerning familial references fluctuated with changing historical circumstances, the dynamics of the elite within the city, and the personal agenda of the individual honorand.

IDENTITY IN THE HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS OVER TIME

Chapter One introduced the competitive euergetic environment of 1st century CE Aphrodisias that encouraged (and framed) the production and display of honorific monuments for local elites, namely the monumentalization of the city center by a few local families. After summarizing the earliest examples of honorific inscriptions in the city—those for Hermogenes Theodotos, Kallikrates, Gaius Julius Zoilos, and Artemon in the Late Hellenistic and early Augustan periods—the chapter focused on the identity of benefactors

⁷⁸³ Woolf 2010, p. 199.

honored in the 1st century CE, especially in the latter half of the century. This body of texts, combined with contemporary dedicatory inscriptions, revealed two primary groups of families at the top of the social hierarchy of Aphrodisias: (1) those families that funded the public buildings and emphasized their imperial allegiances and (2) those families who claimed descent from the “co-founders” of the community and emphasized their local significance. Competition over claims of status produced an identity divide among the Aphrodisian elite. Members of the established aristocracy—the descendants of the “co-founding” families—created and employed a formulaic title in their honorific inscriptions, which stressed their ancestral longevity in the city as a response to the increasing presence of supralocal (Roman) influences, which had been embedded into the fabric of the cityscape by elite families who chose to emphasize their imperial loyalties in dedications and honorifics.

Chapter Two examined how the rivalries between these two groups of elite families—one with a conscious connection to entities outside the city and the other entrenched in the local history of the community—both contributed to and shaped the collective identity of Aphrodisias, as experienced by its citizens and visitors alike. The foundation legends depicted on the reliefs of the Civil Basilica, a benefaction of Claudia Paulina (and her family), advertised the venerable origins of the city and inserted it into a wider mythological network of other regional and Hellenic communities. Moreover, the mythologized foundation narratives portrayed in this monument, which associated Claudia Paulina with the city’s past and presented her as a caretaker of tradition, omitted and overshadowed the exclusive hereditary claims of original descent made by the “co-founding” families. Thus, one conclusion of this chapter is that the public advertisement of local origins, which was an integral part of the collective identity of a city, was a contentious process, at least at Aphrodisias, and was the result of rivalries among the elite

within the city as much as it was related to diplomatic and competitive interests of the city in a wider region.

The significance of the “co-founding” families, however, was also acknowledged by the city and integrated into its collective identity through the granting and building of an intramural burial for two of the descendants: Adrastos and his granddaughter, Tatia Attalis. The construction of an intramural tomb resulted in the reconfiguration of civic space, a symbolic gesture of the city’s embracing their local benefactor as part of its collective identity. The significance of Adrastos, in particular, was further emphasized by referring to him as a *ktistes* of the demos. The subsequent intramural burial of his granddaughter Tatia Attalis, demonstrates that the importance of Adrastos went beyond him as an individual and was conveyed to his whole family, if not the entire line of “co-founding” families of which Tatia might have been the last representative. The public outcry and interruption of her funeral reflected the intense emotional connection that the populace had with her, her family, and the “co-founding” familial lines. Taken together, the reliefs from the Civil Basilica and the intramural burials of Adrastos and Tatia represented two manifestations of the collective identity: a mythological origin that was applicable to the local population, regardless of personal ancestry, and advantageous in matters of provincial and imperial diplomacy, and a civic foundation of local families, who were dedicated to the community, memorialized by a publically-issued monument in the heart of the city, experienced primarily by locals.

In the 1st century CE, these two groups of families had established themselves as the top-tier of the Aphrodisian hierarchy, but the evidence of Tatia Attalis demonstrated that one group had died out in the 2nd century CE. The remaining inscriptions from the first half of the 2nd century CE, examined in Chapter Three, showed that there was an expansion of the desirable characteristics that qualified an individual to receive public

honors, which resulted in honorific inscriptions for children of elite families, victorious athletes, and Aphrodisians who were admitted into the Roman Senate. These three categories of honorands reflected the different qualities that the community of Aphrodisias celebrated and awarded with public honors. The children of elite families, who had died prematurely, were honored for their good pedigree, the victorious athletes for their success in *agones* in the region and *paideia* (a marker of Greek cultural identity), and the Roman officers for their imperial achievements. These were the characteristics of elite citizens that the Aphrodisian community elected to honor and display publicly for emulation.

The broadening of the honorific pool at Aphrodisias also reflected the increasing amount of wealth that had accumulated in the cities of Asia Minor and resulted in the expansion of city councils and the bouletic order. Titus Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras is one example of the super wealthy Easterners who advanced into the Roman Senate and would have been at the top of his local civic hierarchy. The data from the early 2nd century CE show that the collaborative construction of the Hadrianic Baths by a group of second-tier benefactors was a consequence of internal elite dynamics at Aphrodisias and broader economic trends in the region. On the one hand, the death of some of the major liturgical families in the city coupled with the focus of other prominent families shifting to other ambitions, resulted in an absence of benefactors able or willing to undertake the project. On the other hand, the accumulation of wealth and expansion of city councils in 2nd century Asia Minor, created a group of lower level elite who desired to participate in the euergetic process but had only limited financial means to do so, hence the numerous contributors required to complete the large-scale project.

Chapter Four examined the honorific inscriptions from the latter half of the 2nd century CE and focused on the benefactions and monuments of three Aphrodisians, who were situated at the top of the social hierarchy of the city. The analysis considered how

the language of their honorific inscriptions, especially the inclusion (or omission) of familial references, worked in tandem with their benefactions, portraiture, and monument display as a reflection of their social background and personal agendas. The overview of the inscriptions from this half century, however, also demonstrated the continuing stratification of the urban elite identified in Chapter Three. The most obvious signifier of increased divisions in the second half of the century is the higher number of Aphrodisians who funded the honorific monuments, but were unrelated to the honorand, as recorded in the ἀνάστασις (overseer) clauses at the end of the texts. These actions were potential indicators of patronage networks that functioned outside of the traditional democratic processes of the community.

Of the three benefactors examined in this chapter, Carminius Claudianus, an outsider who married into the Aphrodisian elite, was honored with the longest surviving inscription at Aphrodisias, in which his provincial achievements, the status of his wife, and the imperial successes of his offspring, were stressed, in addition to his contributions to the local community (seating at the theater, decorations in the gymnasium, and cash distributions), all of which were related to public presentations of the local hierarchy. Claudianus' choices served to integrate him into his new community. Tiberius Claudius Zelos, a man whose social background remains elusive, extensively renovated the theater, but preserved the original contributions of Gaius Julius Zoilos, even setting up his own statue alongside that of his predecessor's—acts that presented him as a caretaker of local tradition. Additionally, he sponsored a local festival celebrating an imperial victory; together these acts highlighted Zelos' membership in and commitment to the local community as well as his loyalty to the imperial one. Finally, Dometeios Diogenes and Claudia Antonia Tatiane were descendants from important benefactors in 1st century CE Aphrodisias, but instead of highlighting these ancestral roots in their honorific text, Tatiane

and Dometinos emphasized their participation in the province as high-priests of Asia, and their successful senatorial relations, choices that stressed their imperial importance, which was also reflected in their surviving portrait statues. Overall, the honorific record from this half century, and these benefactors in particular, demonstrate that as Aphrodisias opened up to outsiders and as more Aphrodisians began participating in the province, the local ancestry of the honorand, once a strategic tool for legitimization and distinction—as seen with the co-founding descendants—was replaced in favor of an emphasis on imperial connections and achievements of living relatives. Such shifts in choices of self-fashioning situated the honorand in a wider community as much as his or her statue was situated in the local one.

Finally, Chapter Five analyzed the changes in the honorific inscriptions as almost all Aphrodisians were incorporated into an imperial community by the Edict of Caracalla and the city was brought into the imperial administration as a provincial capital. Overall, the large number of honorific monuments issued in this half century and the higher number of people listed in the inscriptions reflected the increased access to wealth by Aphrodisians; the employment of new titles, such as *boularch*, and the new prominence of organizations, such as *neopoioi*, reflected the resulting need to distinguish between hierarchies within the elite and pressures from sub-elite Aphrodisians who had turned to the funerary sphere for self-representation on their sarcophagi. Most prominent in these inscriptions, however, was the revived importance of ancestry illustrated by the increase in the number of generations listed in an honorand's genealogy, the inclusion of ancestral achievements (as opposed to the connections of living relatives), and the return of familial titles, particularly the *συνεκτικότης* title.

While the resurgence in advertising local ancestry served as a means of distinction for established elite in an honorific landscape that was more and more crowded with

statues, it also related to broader trends in the city and province as a whole, where there was a regionally renewed interest in constructing and advertising local history. At Aphrodisias, this was manifested in the composition of the *Carian History*, the minting of coins with locally-meaningful iconography, and, most clearly, in the creation of the Archive Wall outside of the theater. All of these acts linked the local pasts of Aphrodisias to the provincial and imperial present. The resurgence of ancestry in the honorific inscriptions, especially the reappearance of the ‘co-founding’ title used by Aphrodisians with Roman citizenship, were individual examples of a communal phenomenon in which the Aphrodisian past and local history were promoted to and integrated with imperial interests. By the mid-3rd century CE, the advertisement of local history was successful in portraying Aphrodisias as an important, venerable city since it was awarded the status of capital city in a new province. With the increased presence of Roman officials in the province, the ideology of a democratic society was replaced by an imperially-imposed hierarchy. The democratic ideology was the underlying motivation for the practice of euergetism and the communal production of honorific inscriptions in the post-Classical *polis*, and so with its relinquishment, the practice of issuing honorific inscriptions also ceased. In the mid-3rd century CE, the practice of issuing honorific monuments to local benefactors that had defined the social life of the city for the past two and half centuries ended.

ANCESTRY IN ASIA MINOR

In a recent publication, Chaniotis notes that Aphrodisians were obsessed with their ancestors.⁷⁸⁴ In this dissertation, the study of ancestral references in the honorific inscriptions confirms that ancestors, whether general or specific, were considered a

⁷⁸⁴ Chaniotis 2014.

valuable and strategic tool for the Aphrodisian elite and the community as a whole. Having important ancestors or good pedigree had symbolic capital that legitimized a benefactor's position of authority and distinguished him or her from other elites and non-elites. But the inclusion of ancestry in an honorific inscription was not automatic. Ancestry represented one aspect of a person's (or community's) identity—membership in a specific family and a history in a local context. Because ancestry signified identity its epigraphic inclusion was a choice, and the decision to reference ancestors was entirely dependent upon the honorand and the context which produced that inscription. At Aphrodisias, it was the two moments that Aphrodisians experienced the greatest contact with imperial influences that ancestry was most prominent in the epigraphic record: (1) shortly after the construction of the Sebasteion and formalization of an imperial cult in the city and (2) the construction of the Archive Wall and mass distribution of Roman citizenship.

In addition to the insights that this dissertation has provided about the specific dynamics of Aphrodisian society in the Roman period, particularly its elite honorands, there are broader conclusions that ought to be taken into consideration when examining constructions of identity and community dynamics in the cities of Roman Asia Minor and across the Eastern empire in general. First, because ancestry signified an aspect of identity (membership in a family and reference to local traditions), its inclusion should be considered in relation to other markers of identity, particularly Roman and imperial ones. Are references to ancestors employed in opposition to imperial influences, as they were at Aphrodisias in the 1st century CE, or in conjunction with provincial and Roman connections, as they were in the 3rd century CE? This understanding of the ability of ancestral references to both integrate and distinguish adds to interpretations of individual choices in self-fashioning and highlights conflict and competition within the elite, namely

between aristocratic factions that relied on oppositional status markers for distinction and legitimization.

Second, and related, interest in ancestry at the individual level coincided with and impacted the inclusion of ancestry in the collective identity of the community. Displays of shared histories and civic pasts, that shaped the communal identity of a city, were produced by fractious elite, who manipulated these public memories for their own self-promotion. Finally, the prominence of ancestry in the honorific inscriptions, as a tool for legitimization, reinforced an expectant relationship between the community as a whole and its wealthiest citizens (from good families). The rhetorical use of ancestry encouraged reliance by the city on only those well-established families, the hereditary elite, and that dependence had tangible and psychological consequences when those families died out or shifted their attention away from their native cities. Overall, this dissertation confirms that Aphrodisians were obsessed with their ancestors, but only when that ancestry served their political and social agendas and the exigencies of their present circumstance in relation to the rest of the Hellenic world and Roman authorities.

Tables and Figures

Appx B	Name	Relations	Date	‘Co-founding’ phrase
1	Hermogenes Theodotos	Son of Hephaistion	Mid-1 st c.BCE	τῶν μεγίστων καὶ συνεκτικῶτων τὸν δῆμον
2	Artemon	Son of Andron	Late 1 st c. BCE	συνεκτικῶτων τὸν δῆμον
3.i	Hermias Glykon		50-75 CE	πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πόλιν
3.ii	Apphia	Daughter of Menestheus, son of Eumachos	50-75 CE	πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πόλιν
3.iii	Apphia		50-75 CE	
4	Artisokles Molossos	Aristokles	50-75 CE	πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πατρίδα
5.i	Attalos	Pytheas	75-100 CE	πρώτου καὶ λαμπροῦ καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πατρίδα
5.ii	Tatas	Daughter Diodoros	75-100 CE	πρώτου καὶ λαμπροῦ
5.iii	Diodoros	Adopted son of Diodoros, by birth son of Leon	75-100 CE	πρώτου καὶ λαμπροῦ καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πατρίδα
6	Ammia	Daughter of Attalos, son of Pytheas	75-100 CE	πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πατρίδα
7	Neikoteimos Hierax	Son of Artemidoros, son of Zenon	75-100 CE	πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πατρίδα
8	Adrastos	Son of Neikoteimos, son of Artemidoros, son of Zenon	75-100 CE	πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικός τὴν πατρίδα
54	Myon	Son of Peritas, of Adrastos, adopted son of Peritas, by birth son of Adrastos, Molon, Myon, of Adrastos	100-115 CE	ἀπόγονον τῶν συνεκτικῶτων τὴν πατρίδα

55	Tatia Attalis	Daughter of Hypsikles, son of Adrastos, of Neikoteimos, of Artemidoros, of Zenon	115-125 CE	πρώτων καὶ συνεκτικῶν τὴν πατρίδα
104	M. Aur. Jason Prabaesus	Son of Menodotos, son of Menandros	Ca. 200 CE	γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου καὶ συνεκτικῶς τὴν πατρίδα
105	M. Ant. Popillius Andronikos Flavianus	Son of Agelaos	Late 2 nd /early 3 rd	ἔγγονον τῶν συνκτισάντων τὴν πόλιν
107	Wife of Septimius Chares Aeneas	Daughter of – ianos	2 nd quarter to the 3 rd century CE	τῶν συνκτισάντων τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρώτων πιστευσαμένων δια γένους τὴν ἱερωσύνην τῆς θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτης ἀπόγονον
106	Titus Flavius Apollonarios	Son of Titus Flavius Menippos, of the voting tribe Quirina	Late 2 nd /early 3 rd century	προγόνων...συνεκτικῶν τὴν πατρίδα
108A	Julius Aurelius Charedemos Aurelianos	Son of Zelos, son of Zelos	Early 3 rd century CE	τῶν συγκτισάντων τὴν πατρίδα
108B	Julia Paula	Daughter	Early 3 rd century CE	τῶν συναιτίων τῆ πόλει τῆς αὐτονομίας ἀπόγονος
Un-publ	Flavia Apphia	Daughter of Athenagoras Agathon	Late 2 nd century CE	Ancestors were of a co-founding family

Table 1: Instances of the “co-founding” title appearing in the honorific inscriptions from the mid-Hellenistic period to the early 3rd century CE.

Benefactor	Contribution	Dedication	Date	Honorific Inscription
Gaius Julius Zoilos	Temple of Aphrodite North Agora Theater	No dedication given Does not survive To Aphrodite and the People	Augustan	Appendix B.15.A and B
Aristokles Molossos, with foster-son Hermas Eumachos	Theater renovations Columns to Temple of Aphrodite	To Aphrodite, the divine Sebastoi, and the People To Aphrodite and the People	Julio-Claudian Tiberian	Appendix B.27
Diogenes and Ammias Olympias	Columns to Temple of Aphrodite	To Aphrodite and the People	Tiberian	Appendix B.22 (Attalis)
Attalos and Attalis	Secondary Bath complex	To the Emperors, the Divine Sebastoi and Olympians, Aphrodite (mother of the Sebastoi)	Flavian	
Tib. Cl. Diogenes, Diogenes, Attalos, and Attalis	Sebasteion: South portico and Temple	To Aphrodite, Divine Augustus, Tiberius Claudius Caesar, and the People	Tiberius-Nero	Appendix B.48 (Tib. Cl. Diogenes)
Diogenes, son of Menandros	Portico of Tiberius	To Aphrodite, the Emperor Caesar of the divine Sebastoi Zeus Patroos, and the emperor Tiberius Caesar, son of the Divine Sebastos and Julia Sebasta, and to the People	Tiberian	Appendix B.26
Eusebes, son of Menandros	Building in Sanctuary of Aphrodite (with brother) Bath complex	To the divine emperor Augustus Caesar, <i>pater patriae</i>	Tiberian	Appendix B.25
Eusebes, Eunikos, Apphia, Tata, Eusebes, Menandros	Sebasteion: North portico and Propylon	Does not survive To Aphrodite, the divine Sebastoi Olympians, and the People	Tiberius-Nero	
Claudia Paulina	Civil Basilica	To Titus Caesar Sebastos	Flavian	

Table 2: Monumental dedications at Aphrodisias from the reign of Augustus to the end of the 1st century CE.

Name	Date	Skill	Honored by	Notable victories	Appx
Adrastos, son of Adrastos	Late 1 st cen.	Musician?	<i>Boule, demos, gerousia</i> and <i>neoi</i>	Sacred victor	B.24
Kallimorphos	117-138	Flautist	<i>Boule</i> and <i>demos</i>	Circuit-victor, international victories	B.56
Kallikrates	117-138	Pancratist	Synod of athletes	Ephesos	B.57A and B
G. Julius Longianos	127	Poet	City of Halikarnassos and Sacred Synod	Education and entertainment	B.58
Andreas	190	Runner	Unknown	3 rd <i>Philemonia</i>	B.76
Son of Artemidoros	190	Boxer	Unknown	3 rd <i>Philemonia</i>	B.77
Anonymous	190	Runner	Unknown	3 rd <i>Philemonia</i>	B.78
Aelius Aurelius Menandros	138-169	Pancratist	Synod of athletes at Antioch, the <i>Boule</i> and <i>demos</i>	International victories	B.85A and B
Son of Apollonios	Late 2 nd century	Sculptor	Unknown	<i>Lysimachea Tatianea</i>	B.96
M. Valerius Epaphrodeitos	2 nd or 3 rd century	Singer to the Kithara	<i>Boule</i> and <i>demos</i> and <i>gerousia</i>	Sacred victor	B.97
Aurelius Achilleus	3 rd cen.	Athlete	City of Ephesos	<i>Olympia</i> at Ephesos	B.127
Antonius Fl. Antiochos	226	Boxer	Unknown	15 th <i>Philemonia</i>	B.130
Zenon Aeneas	Early 3 rd cen.	Wrestler	His kinsmen	Sacred victor	B.134
Zenon	208	Runner	Unknown	9 th <i>Philemonia</i>	B.135
Meliton Agroitas	Early 3 rd cen.	Kitharist	<i>Boule</i> and <i>demos</i> and <i>gerousia</i>	Sacred victor, extensive and international victories	B.136
M. Aurelius	after 212	Long-distance runner	<i>Boule</i> and <i>demos</i> and <i>gerousia</i> and <i>neoi</i>	Sacred victor, extensive and international victories	B. 141
Anonymous	230-240	Pancratist	<i>Boule</i>	<i>Philemonia</i>	B.143
Anonymous	226	Runner	Unknown	15 th <i>Philemonia</i>	B.147
Anonymous	241	Boxer	Unknown	20 th <i>Philemonia</i>	B.148
Anonymous	3 rd cen.	Wrestler	Unknown	<i>Aphrodisiea Adonea</i>	B.152

Table 3: Athletes and performers who received honorific inscriptions at Aphrodisias in the first three centuries CE. All participants in the *Philemonia* were local Aphrodisian boys.

Benefactor	Filiation	Benefaction	Dedication	Reference	Notes
Eudamos Kallias Zenon (Apphion)	...of Zenon, son of Eudamos	A room for bathing and anointing	Aphrodite...Ha drian	<i>I Aph 2007</i> 5.9	Might be same as Appendix B.67 (consolatio n decree)
Peritas Attalos	Zenon, son of Zenon	Lintels of north and south doors	Aphrodite, Hadrian, and the People	<i>I Aph 2007</i> 5.207 and 5.208	
Epigonos	Dioskourides	Captials and entablatures	Aphrodite, Hadrian, and the People	<i>I Aph 2007</i> 5.5	Father of Nestor and Zenon (below)
Nestor Zenon	Epigonos, son of Dioskourides	Fourteen blue marble columns	<i>Demos</i>	<i>I Aph 2007</i> 5.205	Two survive
Artemon	Adrastos, son of Adrastos, son of Dinomachos	Six blue marble columns	<i>Demos</i>	<i>I Aph 2007</i> 5.2	Four survive
Diogenes	Leon, son of Hieron, son of Diogenes	Six blue marble columns	<i>Demos</i>	<i>I Aph 2007</i> 5.3	One survives
Attalos Andron	Peritas, son of Demetrius	One column and capital	<i>Patris</i>	<i>I Aph 2007</i> 5.201	Inscribed on base
Menippos Papias Kodios	Athenagoras, son of Menippos	Four columns and capitals	<i>Demos</i>	<i>I Aph 2007</i> 5.206	Inscribed on base; two survive.

Table 4: List of benefactors for the East Court of the Hadrianic Baths.

#	Donor	Filiation	Titles	To	Ref.*	Notes
1	Attalis	Menodotus, of Nikomachos (HP)	HP of Arete	<i>D</i>	5.7, B25c	Related to no. 13
2	G. Tatia Chresteina	None	HP, DoC	<i>P</i>	5.8, B12	(Ailia Tata Vessetina)
3	Cl. Seleukeia	Apollonios		<i>D</i>	5.209, B18	
4	Julia Paula	Gaius Apollodotos	HP, FB		5.210, B20	Relative of Zoilos?
5	Cl. Apphia Chaeremonis	Aquilinus	HP		5.211, B19	
6	Fl. Attalis Aeliane	Wife of T. Fl. Athenagoras Agathos		<i>D</i>	5.212, B13	Husband set up caryatid
7	DNS	DNS	DoC	<i>P</i>	5.213, B25d	
8	U. Apollonia	Apollonius (primipilarius and camp prefect)		<i>P</i>	B11	Same as no. 19
9	Does not survive	Fl. Athenagoras Agathos		<i>D</i>	B14	Father imp. procurator; daughter of no. 6
10	Fl. Secundilla	Fl. Secundillus, of Apollonios; wife of Tib. Cl. Antiochos, of HP Cl. Antiochos		<i>P</i>	B15	
12	Cl. Paulina	None			B16	stephanephorate, relative of Basilica benefactor
13	Tryphe	Menodotos, son of Nikomachos			B17	Stephanephorate (Appendix B.62)
14	[Cocceia Maxima]	M. Cocceius Antipater Ulpianos, primipilarius		<i>D</i>	B21	Father: <i>IAph</i> 2007 4.3
15	DNS	DNS	PoA, FB, HP, DoC	<i>P</i>	B22	
16	Ammia	DNS	None	<i>D</i>	B23	
17	Cl. Melitine	Wife of Tib. Attalos Agatheinos	None	<i>D</i>	B24	“Andronikos made it”
18	Aelia Stateilia Stratonike	None	None		B25	
19	U. Apollonia	None	None	<i>P</i>	B25a	Same as no. 8
20	DNS	DNS	HP, DoC	<i>P</i>	B25b	

Table 5: Female benefactors for the Hadrianic Baths. Abbreviation for names: DNS= does not survive; for offices and titles: HP=High priestess, DoC= Daughter of the City, FB= Flower-bearer, PoA: Priestess for life of Aphrodite; for dedications: P= *patris*, D= *demos*. References are to publications in *IAph* 2007 and Smith 2007, Appendix B.

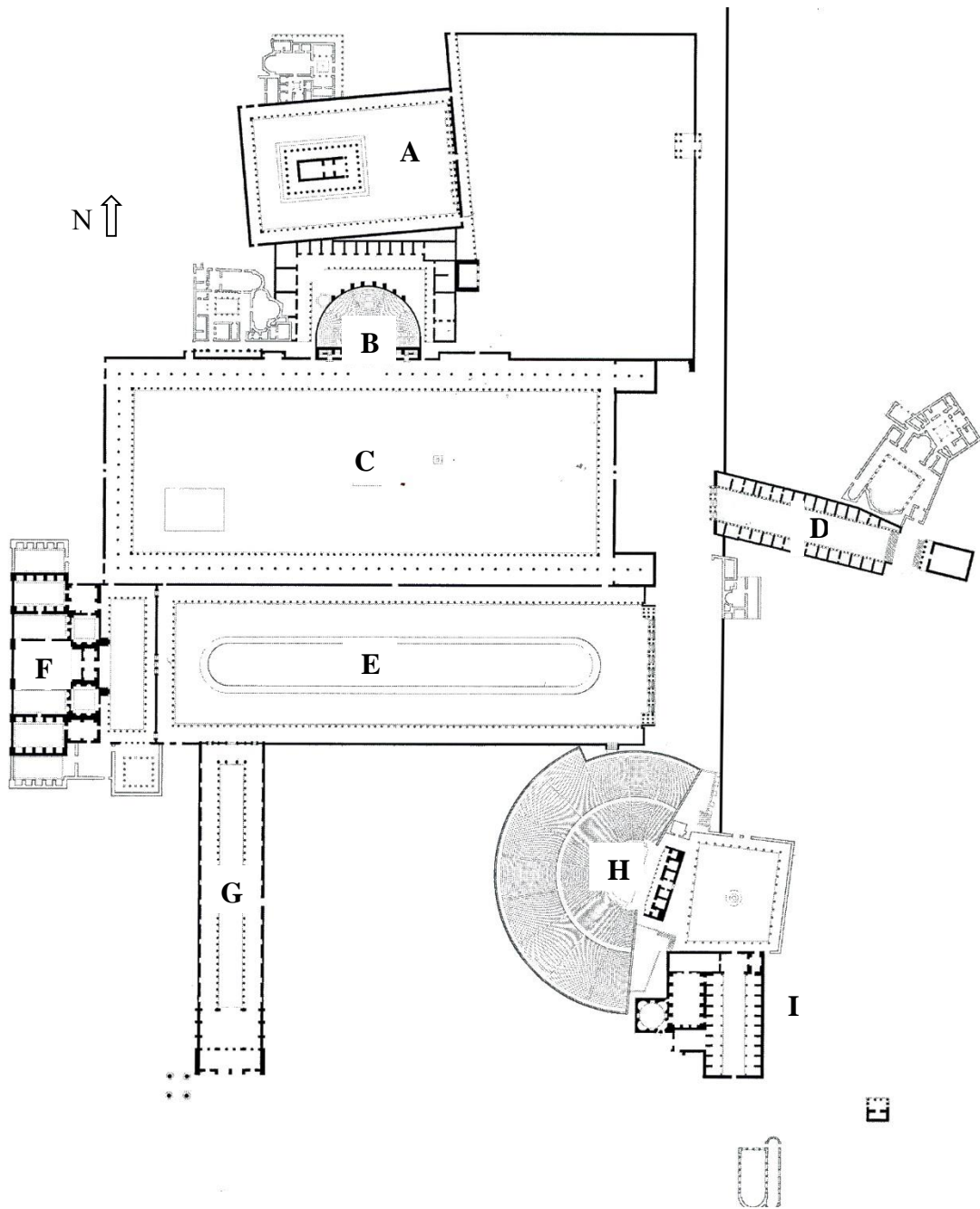


Figure 1: Map of Aphrodisias (after Smith et al. 2006). A: Sanctuary of Aphrodite; B: Bouleuterion; C: North Agora; D: Sebasteion; E: South Agora; F: Hadrianic Baths; G: Civil Basilica; H: Theater.



Figure 2: Portrait sculpture of an Aphrodisian benefactor from the 1st century CE (photo by author).

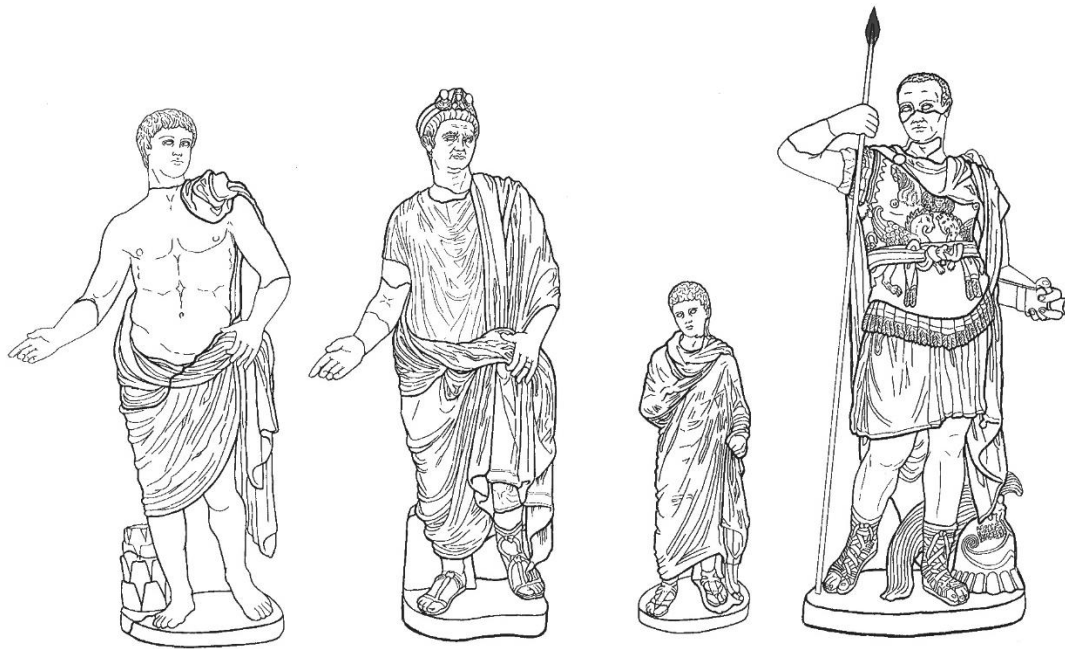


Figure 3: Line drawing of four honorific portrait statues from the 1st century CE, recovered buried on the eastern side of the *bouleuterion* (after Hallett 1998).

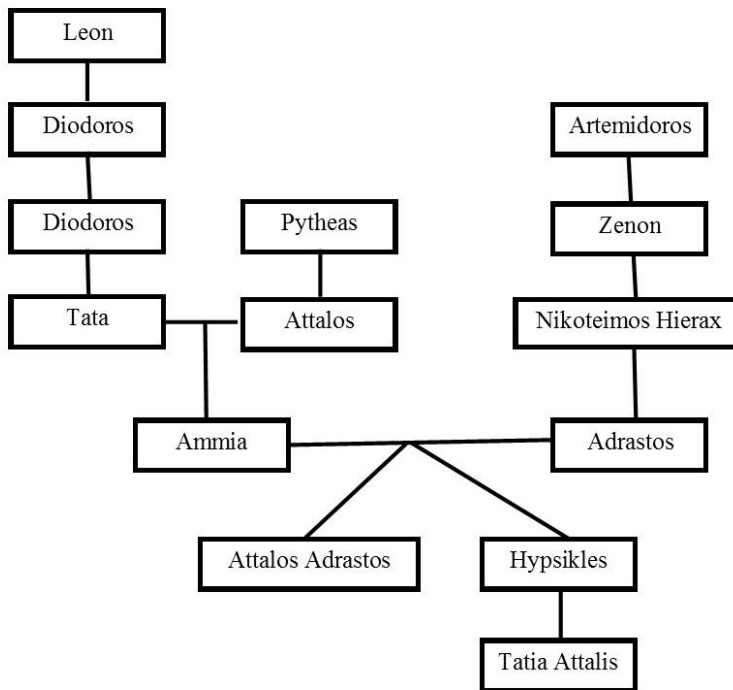


Figure 4: Family tree of the intermarriage of two “co-founding” families, including Adrastos (Appendix B.8) and his granddaughter Tatia Attalis (Appendix B.55).

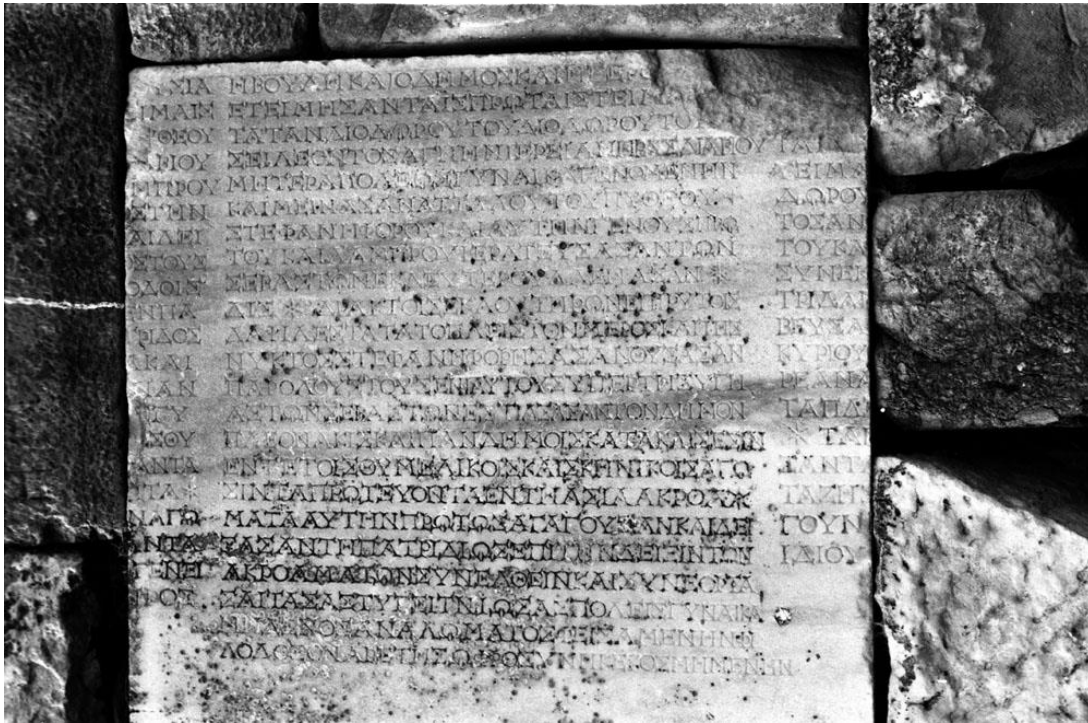


Figure 5: The honorific inscription for Attalos, Tatas, and Diodoros (Appendix B.5.i-iii) reused in the 4th century CE wall of the city (photo from *I Aph2007* 12.29).

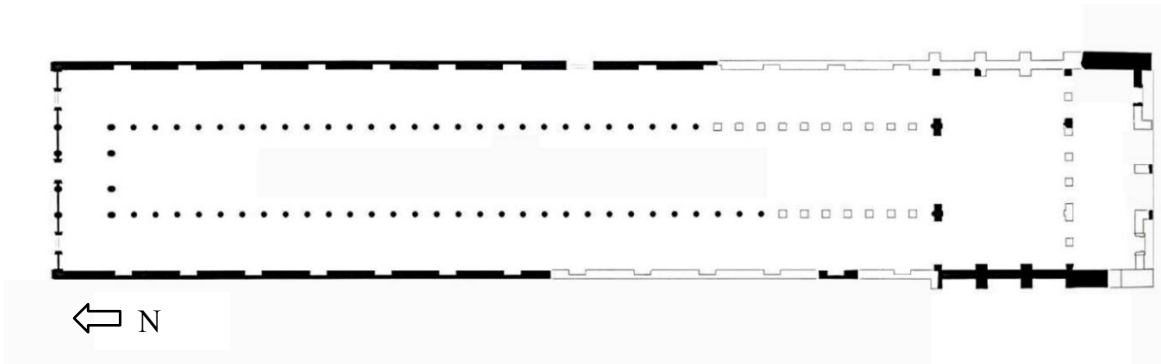


Figure 6: Plan of the Civil Basilica at Aphrodisias (after Stinson 2008).

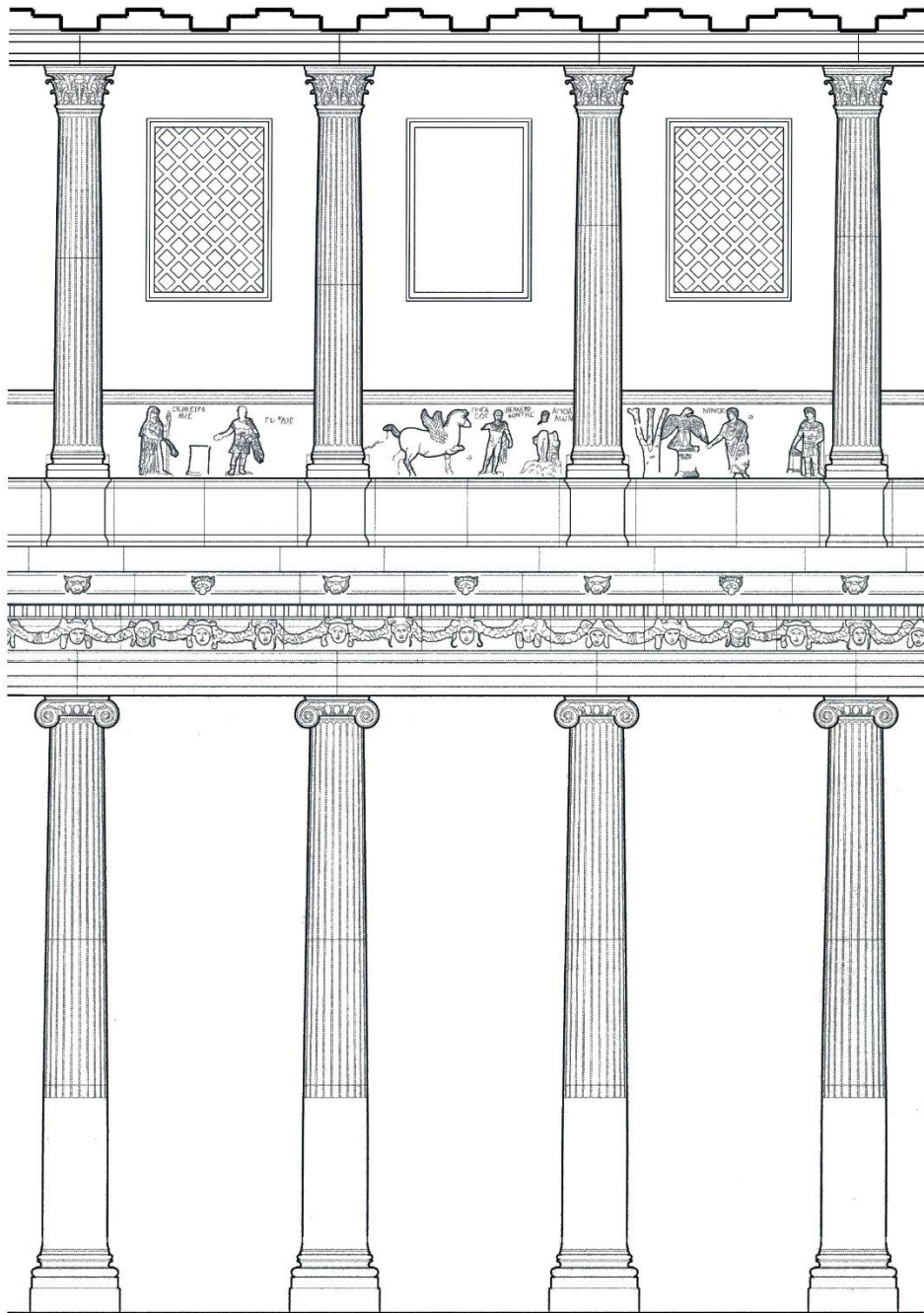


Figure 7: Reconstruction of the placement of the relief panels in the central section of the eastern colonnade of the Civil Basilica (after Yıldırım 2008).



Figure 8: The founder reliefs from the Civil Basilica. Semiramis and Gordi(o)s making a sacrifice (a), Bellerophon and Pegasus visiting Apollo at Delphi (b), and Ninos sacrificing at altar (c) (photos from Yıldırım 2008).

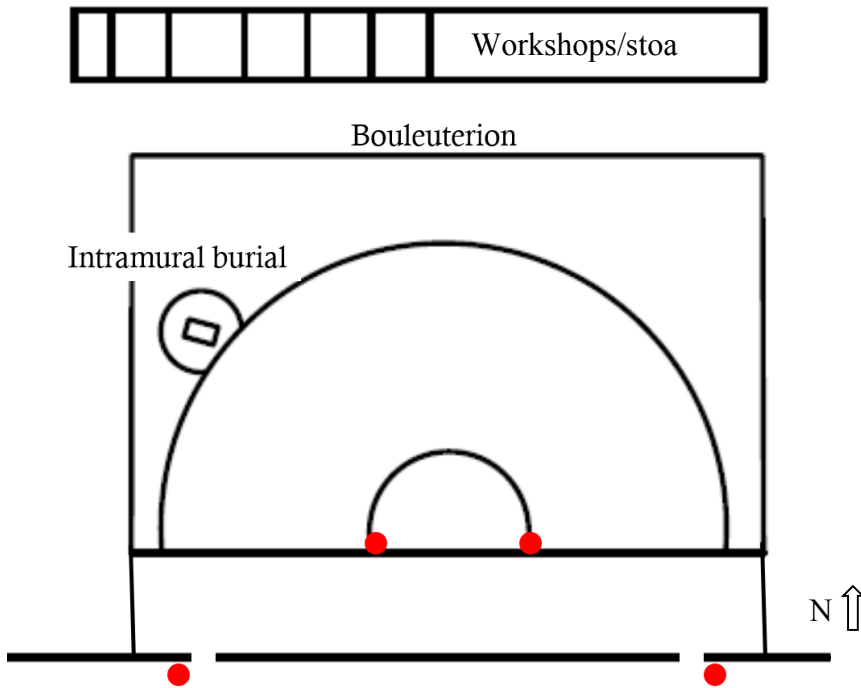


Figure 9: Schematic plan of the *bouleuterion* and the surrounding area in the late 2nd century CE including the location of the intramural burial and the statues for Dometeios Diogenes and his family (red dots) (after Smith et al. 2006).

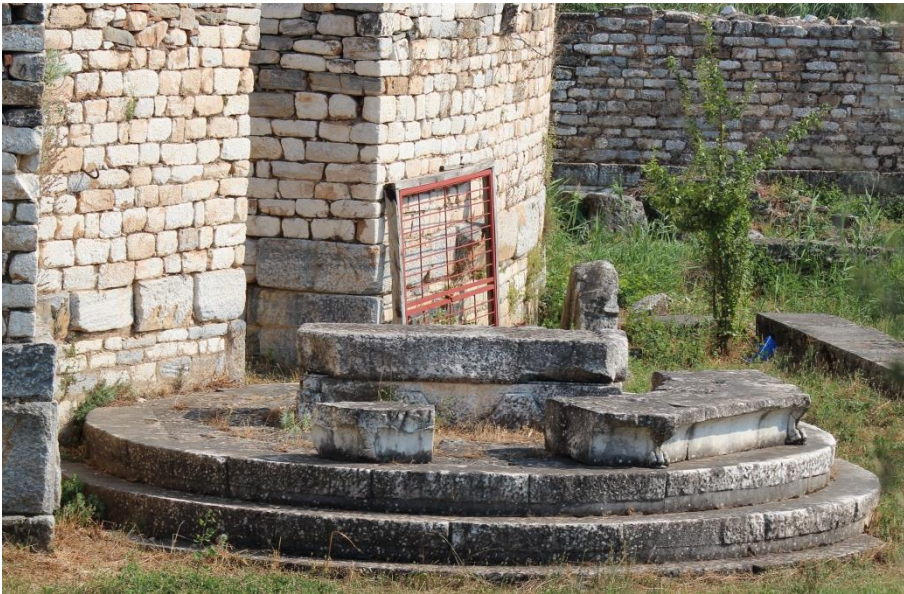


Figure 10: Photo of intramural tomb with benches. The circular platform is encroached upon by the late 2nd century CE expansion of the *bouleuterion* (photo by author).

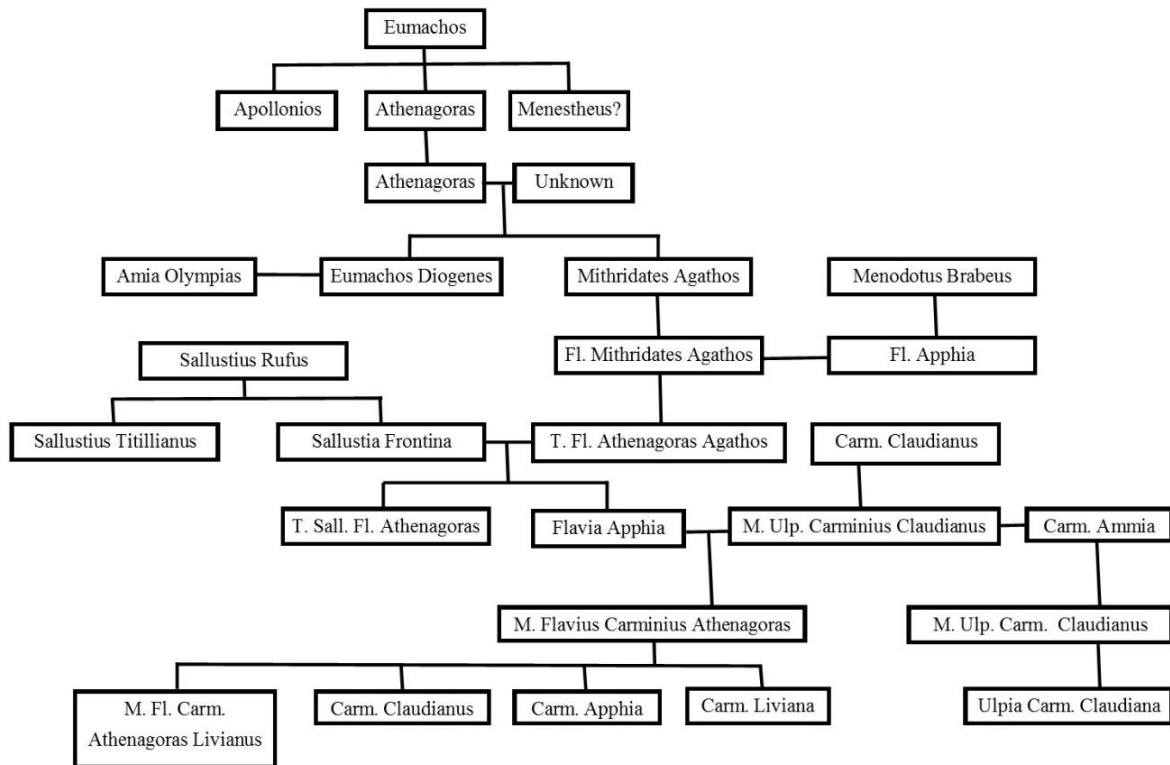


Figure 11: Family tree of Titus Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras and Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus (based on Reynolds 1999).

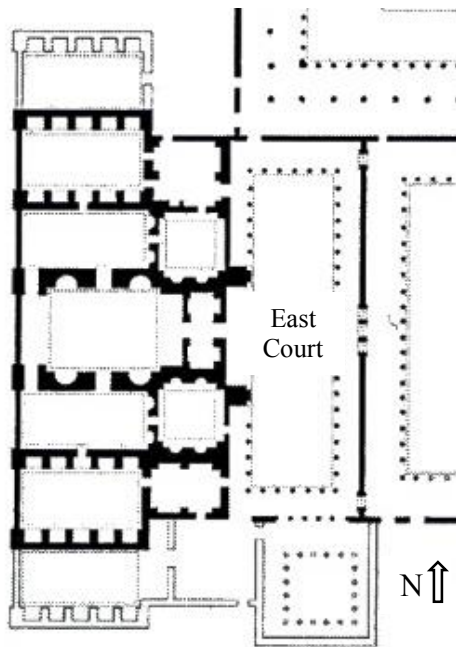


Figure 12: Current plan of the Hadrianic Baths (after Smith et al. 2006).



a)



b)



c)

Figure 13: a) Inscription from architrave of the Portico of Tiberius (*I Aph 2007 4.4*). b) Inscription from architrave of Sebasteion (*I Aph 2007 9.25*). c) Inscription from Temple of Aphrodite column (*I Aph 2007 1.5*) (all photos by author).



a)



b)



c)

Figure 14: a) Inscription from lintel of Hadriatic Baths (*I Aph 2007 5.208*) (photo from *I Aph 2007*). b) Inscription from column base in East Court (*I Aph 2007 5.2*) (photo by author). c) Inscription from column of East Court (*I Aph 2007 5.206*) (photo from *I Aph 2007*).



a)



b)

Figure 15: Honorific portraits of Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes (a) and Claudia Antonia Tatiane (b) (photos by author).

Appendix A: The Database

In order to examine the appearance and purpose of familial references in honorific inscriptions from Aphrodisias, a database was created in which honorific inscriptions were dated, categorized and broken down into pertinent elements. This section introduces the reader to the Aphrodisian epigraphic corpus available for analysis and discusses the process of building the database as well as categorizing the inscriptions.

The site of Aphrodisias is home to a rich epigraphic record with inscriptions dating between the 2nd century BCE and the 7th century CE. These ancient texts were documented in notebooks by numerous European travelers in the 18th and 19th centuries, and more thoroughly by the excavation teams in the 20th century, particularly the project begun under the auspices of Kenan Erim and New York University in 1961.⁷⁸⁵ While many collections of Aphrodisian inscriptions exist in print, two online databases were recently created to consolidate these print publications and present unpublished material, making the Aphrodisian inscriptions accessible to as broad an audience as possible.⁷⁸⁶ The first of these online resources, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, was developed primarily by Charlotte Roueché and contains roughly 250 inscriptions from Aphrodisias that date between 250 CE to around 600 CE.⁷⁸⁷ The second database, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, was created through the efforts of Joyce Reynolds, Charlotte Roueché, and Gabriel Bodard.⁷⁸⁸ This online resource includes over 1500 inscriptions documented or recovered

⁷⁸⁵ For a detailed essay on the history of documentation of the Aphrodisian inscriptions and their subsequent publication, see *I Aph2007*, “History and Bibliography of the Inscriptions”.

⁷⁸⁶ The most comprehensive publications of Aphrodisias inscriptions prior to the databases are Cormack *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* vol. 8 (1962), and Reynolds *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982). Supplemental publications of material recorded earlier and of excavated materials have been produced by L. Robert, J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, and A. Chaniotis, primarily.

⁷⁸⁷ *ALA2004*. As Roueché notes in her online preface, the resource was meant to replace the printed volume of these inscriptions, published in 1989.

⁷⁸⁸ *I Aph2007*.

from Aphrodisias and dating from the Late Republic into Late Antiquity. The corpus includes inscriptions documented in traveler's notebooks as well as those recovered from the modern excavations conducted up to 1994—at least one third of which had not been published previously. The *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* corpus served as the main resource for creating a separate database for honorific inscriptions as used in this dissertation.

Inscriptions of Aphrodisias catalogues 349 inscriptions as honorific, including both public decrees and texts from honorific statue bases.⁷⁸⁹ Of the 349 honors, 90 entries were too fragmentary to provide any discernible information regarding the individual, his or her family, or even any accomplishments. Furthermore, fourteen of the honorific inscriptions were not set up for individuals, but were rather erected to praise other cities or the *Boule* or *Demos* of Aphrodisias. These 104 inscriptions were not included in the honorific database. Another 32 represent honors for emperors and members of the imperial family, and because this dissertation is concerned primarily with the manipulation of family by local elites (Aphrodisians), these inscriptions also were omitted. Likewise, the fifteen inscriptions commissioned for Roman officials (non-Aphrodisians) were not included in the database. This resulted in 198 inscriptions from which to create an honorific database.

This number, however, was narrowed further on account of the date of each inscription. This dissertation is focused on the inclusion of familial references in the Imperial period before Aphrodisias became part of a new province and a provincial capital in the Late Roman period. For this reason, only inscriptions dating from the Late Republic to the mid-3rd century were incorporated into the database. Because the nature and use of inscriptions changed noticeably in the Late Roman Period, it was not problematic to

⁷⁸⁹ For the difference between these two categories of honorific inscriptions, see McLean (2011), ch. 9.

separate the Imperial inscriptions from those belonging to the Late Roman period.⁷⁹⁰ Based on this division, another 31 honorifics were dated to after the mid-3rd century. Thus, 167 inscriptions identified in the online database were included for analysis in this dissertation. Five more inscriptions were added from the online corpus; these inscriptions were categorized as consolation decrees, but their language and public nature was so aligned with the honorific inscriptions that they also were included in the database.⁷⁹¹

A more recent publication by Angelos Chaniotis, includes two new honorific inscriptions which were added to the honorific database.⁷⁹² Additionally, in a publication on the honorific portraiture from Aphrodisias, a table is provided of individuals honored at Aphrodisias.⁷⁹³ This table includes 41 inscriptions that are neither published nor available through the online corpus. Unfortunately, not enough information about the inscriptions, especially the length of the genealogies provided or the language used to refer to ancestors, is given in this publication for all 41 to be included in the honorific database. The publication, however, does supply a photograph of three of these inscriptions, which allows for these inscriptions to be added as well; two of the inscriptions honored a pair of

⁷⁹⁰ Roueché (*ala2004* I.4) discusses the changing nature of inscriptions between these two periods. The separation into these two time periods was based on the dating provided by *I Aph2007*. Inscriptions that dated to the 3rd century, without any more specificity, were included in the honorific database, but there were only two such inscriptions. Otherwise, there was no overlap between the Imperial Period and the Late Roman Period.

⁷⁹¹ Appendix B.48, 51, 55, 67, and 157. For the nature of consolation decrees and their relationship to honorific texts, see Strubbe 1998. For all of the inscriptions from the online database that were considered in this dissertation, see Appendix B.

⁷⁹² Chaniotis (2004), nos. 1 and 4. The publication includes seven total honorific inscriptions, but three of these inscriptions were fragmentary and two more were rediscoveries of inscriptions already documented in the notebooks of earlier travelers.

⁷⁹³ Smith et al. 2006.

brothers.⁷⁹⁴ Four more entries were duplicate honors for benefactors whose other honorific inscription has been published.⁷⁹⁵

From all these sources, this dissertation has included 167 inscriptions. Some inscriptions, however, included honors for multiple individuals—most often a husband and wife, a parent and child, or some combination thereof—and some individuals were honored with more than one inscription. Therefore, from the 167 inscribed stones, there are 206 instances of public honors for 183 different Aphrodisians.⁷⁹⁶ Because this dissertation considers how family and ancestry was employed in public monuments, each instance of honor needs to be considered separately before the results are contextualized as parts of larger monuments and landscapes. Therefore, the database for this dissertation is comprised of 206 entries.

The dating of inscriptions did not merely consist of a simple division between Imperial and Late Roman. Once the inscriptions from the earlier period were identified, each entry was assigned as specific a date as possible (ideally within 25 years) in order to analyze changes in behavior over these few centuries. Regarding epigraphic dating in general, there is a myriad of ways by which a text can be dated.⁷⁹⁷ A scholar can rely on explicit dating information, such as names of emperors or known officials, references to major events, festivals or battles, or instances of individuals or buildings mentioned in other ancient sources. Alternatively, a scholar can rely on context and stylistic comparisons if the inscription is associated with a specific building construction, public work or piece of

⁷⁹⁴ Smith et al. 2006, H56, 126, and 127. These inscriptions remain unpublished, but the relevant date concerning their genealogy and other information, as provided by Smith et al. 2006 has been considered in the database.

⁷⁹⁵ Smith et al. H67, 68, 200, and 201.

⁷⁹⁶ Twenty-six of the inscriptions included honors for more than one. Moreover, thirteen individuals received more than one honorific monument.

⁷⁹⁷ For a discussion of the different means of dating inscriptions and a relevant bibliography, see McLean (2011), pp. 176-177.

sculpture, or (better still) recovered from an archaeological context. Otherwise, an epigraphist must rely on orthographic and syntactical features or onomastics and prosopography to refine the date of a text. As a last resort, an epigraphist might sight letter form in order to secure a date—a contested option at best. All these methods of dating have been applied in dating the corpus of Aphrodisian inscriptions.⁷⁹⁸

In order to account for the difficulties encountered when dating ancient inscriptions, three different fields were created, allowing each entry to be categorized broadly (by century) and specifically (by dynasty/emperor and by quarter century). When an entry could not be located in any one category, it was catalogued in all categories to which it might correspond. The broad field, divided by century, is comprised of the following categories: 1st century BCE, 1st century CE, 1st century CE-2nd century CE, 2nd century CE, 2nd century CE-3rd century CE, 3rd century CE, and 1st century CE-3rd century CE. The goal of cataloguing the inscriptions using such general dates is to identify broad patterns and shifts over the relevant timespan—patterns which can be nuanced and explored further through more specific dating categories. The two narrower fields were divided by dynasty/emperor and by quarter century. The emperor/dynasty field consists of the following categories: Late Republic (ca.75-30 BCE), Augustan (30 BCE-14 CE), Julio-Claudian (14-69 CE), Flavian (69-98 CE), Trajan to Antoninus Pius (98-161 CE), Aurelian (161-193 CE), Early Severan (193-212 CE), and Post-Antonine Constitution (212 CE). The final dating category is by quarter century (although the division into quarters was not adhered to strictly in the early periods and after the Antonine Constitution).⁷⁹⁹ As

⁷⁹⁸ Those dated by letter form were never more specific than a half century.

⁷⁹⁹ Due to the paucity of inscriptions dating before the Julio-Claudian period (seventeen inscriptions), those entries dating before 14 CE have been labeled either Late Republic or Augustan, as opposed to creating separate quarter centuries and 14 CE to 50 CE is the third category. After 50 CE, all inscriptions are broken down by quarter until the Antonine Constitution, with the final grouping being 212-250 CE.

mentioned above, if an inscription could not be dated exclusively to any one of these categories it was included in all those that were applicable.⁸⁰⁰

Multiple resources were consulted to complete the task of assigning dates to the relevant inscriptions. The process of dating the entries began with the periods provided by Reynolds et al. through *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*. Many of these inscriptions were dated fairly broadly to one or two centuries; these dates were refined by various means. First, a recent dissertation on the prosopography of Aphrodisias in the Imperial period refined the dates of some inscriptions through the articulation of family trees.⁸⁰¹ Second, the publication on portraiture by Smith et al. has re-dated some of the online inscriptions due to their archaeological context, as well as on stylistic grounds.⁸⁰² Finally, the dates of a few of the inscriptions have been refined by the author's personal research, which primarily linked the inscriptions to economic and familial developments evidenced by other inscriptions from the city.

In addition to the date of the inscription, the honorific database contains fields for other external information concerning each inscription, including the online reference number of the entry, what type of monument on which it was inscribed (e.g. statue base, wall panel), where it was located (the original location when possible, or, if not know, its findspot), where it was published (if at all), other inscriptions associated with it, the honorand, or the family, and whether or not there is a photo available. Likewise, the information internal to the inscription—the text—also was divided into categories. First,

⁸⁰⁰ 140 of the 208 entries were dated within one dynastic category and an additional forty-nine were dated to within two dynastic periods, leaving only twenty inscriptions that were not more securely dated. 118 of the 208 entries were dated to within a quarter century and an additional fifty-seven were dated to within a half century, leaving only thirty-four inscriptions located within more than a fifty-year period.

⁸⁰¹ Bourtzinakou (2011). The creation of family trees allows the dates for inscriptions of an entire family to be estimated if one member has a datable inscription and the relationships between individuals are textually preserved.

⁸⁰² Smith et al 2006.

each entry lists the name of the honorand, when available, and that honorand was identified as male or female.⁸⁰³ The names of the honorands were then designated as either Roman or non-Roman. The decision to label an honorand as either Roman or non-Roman was based primarily upon onomastic criteria, namely that those individuals who advertised Roman elements in their inscribed name—most often in the form of the *tria nomina*, but sometimes by means of only a nomen and cognomen—were identified as Roman.⁸⁰⁴ On the other hand, those individuals who were identified by a name without such Roman elements were designated “Non-Roman”. The honorands in this category often consisted of only a single name. These individuals had nomenclature of predominantly Greek origin, but there are also examples of honorands with Anatolian, Iranian, and local (Carian) names.⁸⁰⁵

It should be emphasized once more that the division of Aphrodisian honorands into these two naming categories is not intended to suggest ethnic identity or cultural affiliation. For the purpose of this database, when an individual is honored by means of a name that includes standard Roman elements, it is viewed as an advertisement of Roman citizenship—that is the possession of rights and privileges beyond those granted by local authorities to the rest of the free population within a polis. While the means of acquiring Roman citizenship vary (as discussed in Chapter One), the receipt of such citizenship and

⁸⁰³ In fifteen instances, the inscription is too fragmentary for the name to be discerned.

⁸⁰⁴ The *tria nomina* (praenomen, nomen, and cognomen) was the standard formula of Roman nomenclature in the Late Republic as well as the Early and High Empire. But beginning already in the 2nd century CE, the praenomen began to drop out in favor of a binomial system of nomen and cognomen. This trend increases in popularity after citizenship was extended to the entire free population of the Empire in the early 3rd century (McLean 2011, pp. 123-4). Alongside this development, however, there was also the possibility of name accumulation to indicate adoption or even the nobility of one’s matrilineal pedigree. These names could have multiple elements, sometimes five or six names long (Salway 1994, pp. 131, 141-2). Moreover, the names of Roman women almost always lacked a praenomen and instead consisted of a nomen and cognomen derived from their father’s names (Kajava 1994).

⁸⁰⁵ A full breakdown of the names attested at Aphrodisias and their approximate onomastic origins can be found in the appendix of Bourtzinakou’s dissertation (2011, pp. 423-430).

its subsequent advertisement in public honors portrays an individual as having connections above and beyond the confines of the local community. The formulaic elements of Roman nomenclature locate an individual in an Imperial network, a provincial administration, and a community larger than the *polis* of Aphrodisias. With that being said, it is not assumed that those without Roman elements in their honorific nomenclature participated in activities only at Aphrodisias; in fact, such individuals actually might have possessed Roman citizenship, but chose not to display it in their honorific monuments.

After designating the honorands as Roman or Non-Roman, the next step was to identify the elements of the honorific inscription which related to the family and ancestors of the individual honored. Three fields were created to account for these inclusions: specific ancestry, general ancestry, and present relations. The field of “specific ancestry” refers to the type of genealogical bookkeeping identified in the honorific inscriptions of Termessos and remarked upon by Otto Van Nijf.⁸⁰⁶ Specifically, it consists of the listing of a person’s ancestors by name in a formula of direct descent. For example, one inscription from Aphrodisias honors Adrastos, son of Neikoteimos Hierax, son of Artemidoros, son of Zenon.⁸⁰⁷ The honorand’s name is most often in the accusative case, as the recipient of honor, and the ancestors are in the genitive case. As discussed previously, it was standard Greek practice to include a patronymic (in the genitive case), but the presence of multiple generations within an inscription falls outside standard behavior.⁸⁰⁸ In order to analyze these references, two fields were created: first, the number of preceding generations. For example, Adrastos was given a three since his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were named in the honorific. Second, the names of

⁸⁰⁶ Van Nijf 2011.

⁸⁰⁷ Ἀδραστον Νεικοτείμου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος Ἰέρακος (*MAMA VIII.485; I Aph2007 12.4*).

⁸⁰⁸ McLean 2011, pp. 93-96; Van Nijf 2011.

these ancestors also were designated as Roman or non-Roman based upon the same criteria as the name of the honorand; thus, Adrastos had three generations listed, all of which were labeled non-Roman. When no generations were provided (not even a patronymic) the honorand was labeled with a zero. When too little of the inscription survived or the text was too fragmentary at the place where ancestors would be expected, the entry was labeled “D” for “does not survive.”⁸⁰⁹

The category of “generic ancestry” includes elements of honorific inscriptions discussed by Arjan Zuiderhoek in terms of ancestor clauses.⁸¹⁰ These generic statements include references to the status of the family, employing terminology such as foremost (πρώτου), most worthy (ἐνδοξοτάτου), or even co-founding (συνεκτικότης). Additionally some references were given in terms of the accomplishments of past generations, such as if the honorand was from a family of local office-holders (γένους ἐν γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ στεφανηφορίαις γεγονότης). On the other hand, the honorand might be praised because his or her actions reflected the tradition of his or her ancestors (ἄνδρα ἀπὸ προγόνων φιλότιμον περὶ τὴν πατρίδα). While some of these references seem to be formulaic, such as being from a first and co-founding family of the fatherland (γένους πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικότης τὴν πατρίδα), there was enough variation in the terminology that it was deemed better to include these references in the database as text as opposed to quantifying their presence or absence. The final category of familial references is the “present relations” of the honorand. This category includes references to the honorand’s spouse, siblings, cousins, and children. Most often these references listed such relatives in terms of their position in the Roman administration as either consulars or senators.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁹ Fifteen entries are too fragmentary to identify the number of ancestors listed.

⁸¹⁰ Zuiderhoek 2009, ch. 6.

⁸¹¹ There are a few examples where the honorand is described simply as a “relation” (συνγενής) to consuls or senators without a specific relationship articulated.

Additionally, an ancestry “notes” section was incorporated into the database that lists whether the honorand’s ancestry included adoption or if the honorand’s maternal lineage was provided, among other related information.

After the inscriptions were dissected on the basis of their familial references, the remainder of the honorific was dissected into its constituent elements, first in terms of involvement: who was doing the honoring (most often the *Boule* and/or the *Demos*) and who was overseeing the erection of the monument.⁸¹² Then, because these are honorific inscriptions, the reasons why the individual was honored also are included in the database. Such reasons include offices held by the honorand, virtues possessed, or services rendered, such as establishing a foundation or festival. Finally, the database contains a general “notes” section, which includes information such as whether the honors were posthumous, whether the honorand received other grants, and any additional notations made by other scholars in the publication of the inscription.

⁸¹² These spaces were labeled unknown if the inscription was too fragmentary to provide this information, as opposed to “no one” if no such body or individual is identified.

Appendix B: The Honorific Inscriptions⁸¹³

B.1: Honors for Hermogenes (Chaniotis 2004, no. 1)

Description: Marble Block (H. 0.585 × W. 0.904 × D. 0.39)

Text: No description

Letters: 0.02

Date: 1st century BCE

Findspot: Found during Museum excavations

Bibliography: Chaniotis 2004, no. 1

Text constituted from: This edition Chaniotis (2004)

[Ἐ]δοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμ[ωι—ca. 9-10—]ΤΗ[...Ι] Μα-
[ρσ]ύου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μαρσίου γραμματέως δήμου καὶ
[.]ΑΥ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγοῦ· ἐπεὶ Ἑρμογένης Ἡφαιστίωνος
Θεόδοτος, τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτων πολειτῶν, προγόνων
5 ὑπάρχων τῶν μεγίστων καὶ συνεκτικῶν τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἐν ἀ-
ρετῆι καὶ φιλοδοξίαις καὶ ἐπανγγελίαις πλείσταις καὶ τοῖς καλ-
λίστοις ἔργοις πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα βεβιωκότων, καὶ αὐτὸς γεγο-
νῶς ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόπατρις καὶ κτίστης καὶ εὐερ-
γέτης τῆς πόλεως καὶ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐνόως καὶ σωφρόνως ἀνεσ-
10 τραμμένος πρὸς τε τὸν σύνπαντα δῆμον καὶ τοὺς καθένα τῶν πο-
λειτῶν καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς εὐσεβέστατα διακεῖμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν
[π]ατρίδα, φιλοδοξότατα κοσμήσας αὐτὴν ἐπανγγελίαις καλλίο-
[τ]αις καὶ ἀναθήμασιν, εἰς πολλὰς δὲ πρεσβίας καὶ ἀνανκαιοτάτας
[πρ]οχειρισθεὶς καὶ εἰς ἀγῶνας κατὰ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐτέλεσεν
15 [π]άντα, τὰς τε ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐπιδεξάμενος καὶ χιροτονηθεὶς
πλεονάκις ἐπισήμως ἀνεστράφη δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς, παρά τε
ταῖς ἐξοθσίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις πλείστην γνῶσιν καὶ σύστ-
[α]σιν σχῶν εὐεργέτησεν καὶ διὰ τούτων μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν· αἶρε-
θεὶς δὲ καὶ στεφανηφόρος ἐτέλεσεν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λειτουργίαν
20 [ἰ]εροπρεπῶς καὶ κοσμίως· ἐφ' οἷς πᾶσιν ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ
δῆμος ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῶι τὰς καταξίας χάριτας· τὰ δὲ νῦν με-
τήλλακχεν τὸν βίον, καθήκει δὲ ἐπίσημον καὶ τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν γενέσ-
θαι αὐτοῦ· δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι ἐπηνῆσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ μετηλ-
λαχότα καὶ στεφανωθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου
25 [vacat] στεφάνωι ἀριστήωι ἀπὸ χρθσῶν ἑκατόν·
Ἑρμογένη Ἡφαιστίωνος Θεόδοτε, χαῖρε

⁸¹³ The texts for these inscriptions has been taken from the online database of Aphrodisian inscriptions (*Aph* 2007) compiled by Reynolds, Roueché, and Bodard. The entries on this database also included measurements, descriptions, and a summary of each inscriptions bibliography. The information for two of the inscriptions (Appendix B.1 and B.131) has been copied from Chaniotis 2004.

B.2: Honors for Artemon (IAph2007 12.905)**Description:** Marble block**Text:** No description**Letters:** 0.02; l. 10, 0.04**Date:** Late 1st century BCE**Findspot:** Western walls**Bibliography:** Published by Reinach 1906, no. 39; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 241**Text constituted from:** This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[ή βουλή και ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν]

[Ἀρτέμ]ωνα Ἄνδρωνος γενόμενον ἄνδρα κα-
λὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ φιλόπατριν διὰ προγόνων
ζήσαντα καλῶς καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ ἐπ' ἀρετῆι καὶ
καλοκαγαθίαι καὶ διενένκαντα φιλομαθία καὶ παι-
σδεῖα καὶ τῆι κατὰ πάντα ἀρετῆι καὶ προγόνων ὑπάρ-
χοντα κα[· c. 4 ·]ς καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ πολλὰς καὶ
μεγάλας ε[ὕεργεσί]ας εἰς τὸν δῆμον κατατεθειμέ-
νων καὶ συνεκ[τικ]ότων τὸν δῆμον καὶ [ἐστεφά]νω-
σεν χρυσῶ στεφάνωι ἀπὸ χρυσῶν Ε[·]ON:
10vac. Ἀρτέμων Ἄνδρωνος vac. .

B.3.i-iii: Honors for Hermias Glykon and Family (IAph2007 13.306.i-iii)**Description:** Two adjacent marble blocks (H. 2.10 × W. 0.79 × depth not measurable)**Text:** Inscribed on the face, in three adjacent columns**Letters:** 0.0175-0.02**Date:** mid- to late-1st century CE**Findspot:** Eastern walls**Bibliography:** Published by Reinach 1906, no. 52; *MAMA* 8, no. 469-471; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 425, 426, 485**Text constituted from:** This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

i ἡ βουλή και ὁ δῆμος ἔθαψεν
καὶ ἐτείμησεν ταῖς μεγίσταις
τειμαῖς ν. Ἑρμίαν Ἑρμίου τοῦ
Φανίου Γλύκωνα ν. ἄνδρα καλὸν
καὶ ἀγαθὸν γένους πρώτου καὶ
συνεκτικότητος τὴν πόλιν νν.
γυμνασίαρχον κα[ι] στεφανηφό-
ρον τελέσαντα τὰς λειτουργίας
πολυτελέστατ[α] καὶ λαμπρότατα
10καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς πάσας
ἄρξαντα κατὰ τὸ κάλλιστον (sic) τε-
λέσαντα δὲ καὶ πρεσβείας ἄλλας
τε πλείστας καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ κα-
θόλου πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα πάσης ἀρε-

15τῆς βιώσαντα ν. καθότι καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ
 τούτων διὰ τῶν ἐψηφ[ι]σμένων ἐτειμήθη
 ii ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔθαψεν
 καὶ ἐτείμησεν ν. Ἀφίαν Με-
 νεσθέως τοῦ Εὐμάχου ναι γυναῖκα δὲ
 Ἑρμίου τοῦ Ἑρμίου
 Σγλύκωνος γένους πρώτου
 καὶ ἐπισημοτάτου καὶ συνε-
 κτικότος τὴν πόλιν καὶ αὐ-
 τὴν σωφροσύνη καὶ σε-
 μνότητι διενέγκασαν ν.
 10καὶ ζήσασαν ἀξίως τῶν τε
 προγόνων καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 καθότι πολλάκις διὰ ψηφισμά-
 των ἐτειμήθη
 iii ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔθαψεν
 καὶ ἐτείμησεν Ἀφίαν Ἑρμί-
 ου τοῦ Ἑρμίου Γλύκωνος θυ-
 γατέρα σώφρ[ο]να καὶ κοσμί-
 σαν πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα πάσης ἐζη-
 κυῖαν ἀρετῆς καθότι πολλά-
 κισ καὶ διὰ ψηφισμάτων ἐτειμήθη

B.4: Honors for Aristokles Molossos (IAph2007 12.706)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 0.545 × W. 0.92 × depth not measurable)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.0225

Date: Mid-1st century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Published by Radet 1890, pp. 236-237, no. 11; *MAMA* 8, no. 468; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 239.

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμη-
 σαν ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ με-
 γίσταις τεῖμ [αῖ]ς καὶ μετηλ-
 λακχότ[α Ἀ]ρισ[τοκ]λέα Ἀρισ-
 στοκλέο[υς τ]οῦ Ἀρτεμιδώ-
 ρου Μολο[σσ]ὸν ἵππικόν
 νεανίαν γενόμενον γέ-
 νους τοῦ πρώτου καὶ συν-
 εκτικότος τὴν πατρίδα
 10καὶ ἐν γυμνασ[ι]αρχίαις καὶ
 στεφανηφορ[ίαι]ς γεγονό-

τος τὴν [τειμὴν ἀνα]τε-
θεικνία[ς Ἀμ]μίας τῆς
[Ἀριστοκλέους] τοῦ Ἄρτεμι-
15[δ]ώρο[υ] [γυναικός] τῆς μη-
[τ]ρὸς αὐτοῦ *leaf*

B.5.i-iii: Honors for Attalos, Tatas, and Diodoros (IAph2007 12.29.i-iii)

Description: Marble block from a composite monument (W. 1.12 × H. 1.38 × unknown)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025

Date: Mid- to late-1st century CE

Findspot: Walls, north of stadium

Bibliography: *CIG* 2820; by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1602; by Reinach 1906, pp. 143-144, no. 76; *MAMA* 8, no. 492; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 246, 267, 328

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

i [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερο]υσία
[ἐτείμησαν ταῖς πρώταις τε]ιμαῖς
[· c. 14 · Ἄτταλον Π]υθέου
[· c. 24 · δι]ὰ βίου
5[ἄνδρα γένους πρώτου καὶ λα]μπροῦ
[· c. 12 · καὶ συνεκτικότη]ος τὴν
[?πατρίδα · c. 18 ·] καὶ λει-
[τουργίαις · c. 17 · πρ]ὸς τοὺς
[πολείτας · c. 20 ·] ΟΔΟΙΣ
10[· c. 25 ·] ἐν πᾶ-
[σιν · c. 21 · τῆς πα]τρίδος
[· c. 28 ·]α καὶ
[· c. 18 · ἀργυροτα]μίαν
[· c. 22 · ?σὺν τ]ῇ γυ-
15[ναικὶ Τάτα · c. 18 ·]ς θύ-
[σαντα · c. 21 ·]αντα
[· c. 28 ·]ΥΤΑ *stop*
[· c. 21 · ?πολλῶ]ν ἀγώ-
[νων ἀναθέντα · c. 13 ·]αντα
20[· c. 11 · ἀναλογούντως τῶ] γενεῖ
[· c. 30 ·] πρὸς
[ὑπόδειγμα ?ἀρετῆς] *vac.*

ii ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερο[υσία]
ἐτείμησαν ταῖς πρώταις τειμα[ῖς]
Τάταν Διοδώρου τοῦ Διοδώρου το[ῦ φύ]-
σει Λέοντος ἀγνὴν ἰέρειαν Ἑρας διὰ βίου *v.*
5μητέρα πόλεως γυναῖκα γενομένην
καὶ μείνασαν Ἀττάλου τοῦ Πυθέου *star*

στεφανηφόρου καὶ αὐτὴν γένους πρῶ-
 του καὶ λαμπροῦ ἱερατεύσασαν τῶν
 Σεβαστῶν ἐκ δευτέρου ἀλείψασαν *star*
 10δὶς *star* δρακτοῖς ἐκ λουτήρων ἐπιρύτοις
 δαυιλέστατα τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος καὶ τῆς
 νυκτός στεφανηφορήσασαν θύσασαν
 παρ' ὅλους τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑγῆ-
 ας τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐστίασασαν τὸν δῆμον
 15πλεονάκις καὶ πανδήμοις κατακλίσεσιν
 ἔν τε τοῖς θυμελικοῖς καὶ σκηνικοῖς ἀγῶ-
 σιν τὰ πρωτεύοντα ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀκροά - *star*
 ματα αὐτὴν πρῶτως ἀγαγοῦσαν καὶ δεῖ-
 ξασαν τῇ πατρίδι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν δεῖξιν τῶν
 20ἀκροαμάτων συνελθεῖν καὶ συνεορτά-
 σαι τὰς ἀστυγεινιώσας πόλεις γυναῖκα
 μηδενὸς ἀναλώματος φεισαμένην φι-
 λόδοξον ἀρετῇ σωφροσύνη κεκοσμημένην
iii [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος
 [καὶ ἡ γερουσί]α ἐτεί-
 [μησαν ταῖς κ]αλλίσ-
 ται[ς καὶ μεγί]σταις
 5τειμα[ῖς Διόδω]ρον Διο-
 δώρου [τὸν φύσει] Λέον-
 τος ἄν[δρα γένο]υς π[ρῶ]-
 του κα[ὶ λαμπρ]οῦ [καὶ]
 συνεκ[τικότος τὴν πα]-
 10τρίδα β[ουλευτὴν ἀρχιε]-
 ρεύσα[ντα διὰ βίου τοῦ]
 κυρίου [Σεβαστοῦ δω]-
 ρεάν ἀ[γῶσιν ἀναθέν]-
 τα πλε[ονάκις καὶ θέμα]-
 15*star* τα μ[εγάλα γυμνασιαρχή]-
 σαντα [στρατηγήσαν]-
 τα ζήσ[αντα ἀεὶ ἀναλο]-
 γούν[τως τῷ γένους τοῦ]
 ἰδίου [ἀξιώματι.]

B.6: Honors for Ammia (IAph2007 12.5)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025-0.028

Date: mid-1st century CE

Findspot: Walls, north of the stadium

Bibliography: *CIG* 2814; published by Reinach 1906, pp. 214-215, no. 102; by Cormack 1964, pp. 13-14 and 59 fig. 7; *MAMA* 8, no. 528; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 231
Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτεί-
μησαν ταῖς καλλίσι-
ταις τειμαῖς Ἀμμίαν
Ἰαττάλου τοῦ Πυθέ-
ου γένους πρώτου
καὶ συνεκτικότητος
τὴν πατρίδα ἐν γυ-
μνασιαρχίαις καὶ στε-
φανηφορίαις γεγονό-
τος γυναῖκα γενομέ-
νην Ἀδράστου τοῦ
Νεικοτεῖμου τοῦ Ἀρ-
τεμιδώρου τοῦ Ζήνω
Ἰβνός Ἰέρακος τοῦ στεφ-
ανηφόρου καὶ φιλοδόξου
ζήσασαν σωφρόνως
καὶ πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀ-
ρετῆς *stop* τὰς δὲ τειμὰς
Ἰανέθηκεν Ἰάδραστος
Νεικοτεῖμου ὁ ἀνὴρ
vac. αὐτῆς *vac.*

B.7: Honors for Nikoteimos Hierax (*IAph2007 12.3*)

Description: Fragment from marble base (0.21 × 0.38 × 0.22)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025-0.0275

Date: mid-1st century CE

Findspot: Walls, north of stadium

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, p. 215, no. 103; *MAMA* 8, no. 483; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 310

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμο]ς καὶ
[ἡ γερουσία ἐτεί]μησαν
[ταῖς πρώται]ς τειμαῖς
[Νεικότειμον Ἀρ]τεμιδώ-
5[ρου τοῦ Ζήνων]ος Ἰέρα-
[κα ἄνδρα φιλόδ]οξον κα[ὶ]
[φιλόπολιν γέ]νους πρώ-
[του καὶ συνεκ]τικότητος

[τὴν πατρίδα γυ]μνασιαρ-
10[χήσαντα καὶ] ἐστίασαν-
[τα τὸν δῆμον] καὶτ[· ? ··]
[· ? ··

B.8.A: Honors for Adrastos (IAph2007 12.4)

Description: Fragment from marble base (0.12 × 0.50 × 0.14)

Letters: 0.025

Date: mid-1st century CE

Findspot: Walls, north of the stadium

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, p. 216, no. 105; *MAMA* 8, no. 485; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 223

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ]
[ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμη]-
σαν [Ἄδραστον Νεικο]-
τείμ[ου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρ]-
ρου τ[οῦ Ζήνωνος Ἴερα]-
κος ἄ[νδρα γένους πρῶ]-
5του κ[αὶ συνεκτικότης]
τὴν π[ατρίδα καὶ γενό]-
μεν[ον ·· c. 10 ·· καὶ]
γυμ[νασιαρχήσαντα δρα]-
κτοῖ[ς ἐλαίοις ·· c. 8 ··]
10[··]I[· ? ··]
[· ? ··

8.B: Honors for Adrastos (IAph2007 12.308)

Description: Marble base (W. 0.54 × H. 1.095 × D. 0.54)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: l. 1, 0.0275; ll. 2 ff., 0.015–0.0175

Date: mid-1st century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Leake 1843, pp. 235 and 290-291, no. 6; whence Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1602a; Liermann 1889, pp. 101-102, no. 19; mentioned by Reinach 1906, pp. 113-114, no. 33; *MAMA* 8 no. 484; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 222; by Smith et al. 2006, p.22

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

vac. οἱ νέοι *vac.*

[ἐτεί]μησαν ταῖς καλλίσταις
καὶ μεγίσταις καὶ πρῶταις τειμαῖς
Ἄδραστον Νεικοτείμου τοῦ
5Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος Ἴερακος

υἰὸν νέων ἄνδρα μέγαν φιλόπατριν
 καὶ φιλοπολείτην καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ
 κτίστην γεγονότα διὰ προγόνων
 τοῦ δήμου ἀρχιερατεύσαντα τῶν
 10Σεβαστῶν γυμνασιάρχῃσαντα δις
 δρακτοῖς ἐλαίοις ἐπιρῦτοις ἀνελ-
 λιπῶς στεφανηφορήσαντα δις
 ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τρίς ἀγορα-
 νομήσαντα τετράκις κτίστην
 15πρεσβεύσαντα πλεονάκις ὑπὲρ
 τῆς πατρίδος γενόμενον ἔκδι-
 κὸν δημοσίων πραγμάτων πε-
 ποιημένον ἐστιάσεις καὶ ἐπιδό-
 σεις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πολυτελεῖς διὰ
 20τε τὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα διηνεκῆ
 εὐνοίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς νέ-
 ουσ φιλάγαθον διάθεσιν ζῶντα
 νν. πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς
 τὴν δὲ ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ ἀγάλματος πε-
 25ποιῆσθαι τοὺς νέους ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπι-
 μεληθέντος Ἑρμογένους το[ῦ] Ὑψικλέους
 φύσε[ι] δὲ Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ γραμματεως τῶν
 νέων ἐργεπιστατήσαντος Παμφίλου
 νν. τοῦ Ἀρτέμωνος Κροκίωνος

B.8.C: Honors for Adrastos (IAph2007 11.16)

Description: Marble building block (W. 0.91 x H. 0.37 x D. 0.46); perhaps part of tomb

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.013; ligatured NH in l.7

Date: mid-1st century CE

Findspot: Near theater

Bibliography: Published by Reynolds 1996, pp. 120-126; whence *SEG* 1996.1393, *BullEp* 1999.477

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1996).

.. ? ..]

τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον φιλοτειμίας εὐνοία τῆ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ *vac.*
 κεχρημένος ἐν πᾶσιν ν. τειμῆς ἄξια πάντα παρεσχημένος
 ἐκτενῶς *stop* ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐψηφίσατο
 [ἐ]νταφὴν καὶ κηδείαν ν. ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐν τοῖς ἀντικρυς
 5[τ]οῦ βουλευτηρίου δημοσίοις ἐργαστηρίοις ἀμειβόμενοι
 [α]ὐτοῦ τὴν εὐνοίαν καθὼς τὸ ψήφισμα περιέχει τάδε νῦν
 [ἀ]γομένης βουλῆς προελθὼν ν. Ἄδραστος καὶ ὑπάρχων καὶ
 [ἐ]ν τούτῳ φιλόπατρις καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τῆς πόλεως πρό-

[σ]οδον μειοῦσθαι αἰρούμενος δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὠφέλιμον
10[ἡξ]ίωσεν μετατεθῆναι τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐνταφῆς ἐν τοῖς
[· · ? · ·]οῖς v. ἐργαστηρίοις v. αὐτοῦ *vac.* δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῇ
[καὶ τῶ] δῆμῳ τηρουμένου τοῦ πρώτου τῆς ἐνταφῆς
[ψηφίς]ματος καθὼς ἐκυρώθη ἐπιτεράφθαι αὐτῶ ἐν τοῖς
[· · c. 5 · · ἐργα]στηρίοις κατασκευάσαι τὸ ἡρῶον *vac.*

9.A Honors for Kallikrates (*IAph2007 12.103*)

Description: Marble block

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: Irregular

Date: 1st century BCE

Findspot: Walls, north of stadium

Bibliography: Published by Paris and Holleaux 1885, pp. 74-6, no. 5; whence Liermann 1889, pp. 9-14; by Reinach 1906, p. 79; *SEG* 30, 1980.1245; by Reynolds 1982, doc. 28; whence *SEG* 32, 1982.1097; *Bullep* 1983:387; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 25

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

τοῖς [· · ? · · ἐν τοῖς]
ἀνανκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς διατηρήσαντα [τῶ] κοιν[ῶ] καὶ [· · ? · ·]
καὶ στεφανηφορήσαντα καὶ γυμνασιαρχή[σαντα · · ? · · καὶ]
ἀγορανομήσαντα ἐν τῇ χαλεπωτάτῃ σε[ιτοδεία · · ? · · καὶ τὰς]
5ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρχὰς ἀνυπευθύνους τε[λέσαντα · · ? · · καὶ πρεσ]-
βεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους εἰς Ἴώμ[ην · · ? · ·]-
λοῖς καὶ ἐν παντοδαποῖς κινδύνοις καὶ πρά[γμασιν · · ? · · καὶ καταγω]-
νισάμενον τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ ἐξήκον[τα αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντα · · ? · ·]
καὶ πλείστας ἐγγύας ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἐκτεί[σαντα καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα τῆς Ἐκάτης εὐσε]-
10βῶς συνκεχωρηῆσθαι δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ ἐνταφ[ῆν ἐν τῶ γυμνασίῳ καὶ δίδοσθαι αὐτῶ ἀπό]-
τῶν]
δημοσίᾳ θυομένων γέρα ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους φορεῖν [· · ? · ·]
[οῖς ἐστεφάνωνται ὅταν ?βούληται] *vac.*

9.B: Honors for Kallikrates (*IAph2007 12.402*)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.74 x H. 1.005 x D. 0.34)

Text: inscribed on face

Letters: ll. 1-13, 0.025-0.035; ll. 14-17, 0.02-0.025

Date: ll. 1-13: 1st century BCE; ll. 14-17: 1st century CE

Findspot: South eastern Walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2796; published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1601b; whence Liermann 1889, pp. 17-19, no. 3; published by Reinach, 1906, no. 79; *MAMA* 8, no. 406; mentioned by Reynolds 1980, p.72; whence *SEG* 1980.1245; by Reynolds 1982, doc. 29; whence *SEG* 1982.1097; *Bullep* 1983.387; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 24

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

.ΝΙΑ[· · c. 7 · ·]Σ καὶ [· ·]Κ[· · c. 4 · ·]ΟΤΙΑΙ καὶ κο[ι]-

νῶς πρὸς πάντας καὶ ἰδία πρὸς
ἕκαστον φιλανθρώπως καὶ πλείσ-
τας ἐγγύας ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἐκτε[ί]-
5σαντα καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα πρὸ πό-
λεως τῆς Ἐκάτης ὀσίως καὶ
εὐσεβῶς συνεχωρήθη αὐτῶ
καὶ ἐνταφὴν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ
δίδοσθαι δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ ἀπὸ
10τῶν δημοσίου θυομένων γέρα
ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ τοὺς στε-
φάνους φορεῖν οἷς ἐστεφάνω -
ται ὅταν βούληται

vacat

Καλλικράτης Μολοσσοῦ ἱερεὺς
15Μηνὸς Ἀσκαينوῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Ἀγοραίου
τὰς τῶν προπατόρων τιμὰς
ἐπισκευάσας ἀποκαθέστησεν

9.C Honors for Kallikrates (*IAph2007 12.701*)

Description: Marble block from composite monument (W. 0.68 x H. 0.84 x D. 0.28)

Text: inscribed on one face

Letters: Irregular

Date: 1st century BCE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Published by Reynolds 1982, doc. 30; whence *SEG* 1982.1097; *BullEp* 1983.387; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 26

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην [···]
ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κιν-
δύνων σεσωκότα τὴν πατρ -
[ί]δα πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνστάσι τῇ πα-
5τρίδι πολέμοις ἀγωνισάμε-
νον ἀνδρείως καὶ διαφυλαξαν-
τα τὰ ἐμπιστευθέντα ὀχυρώμα-
τα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πίστεις
ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς
10διατηρήσαντα τῶι κοινῶι καὶ τὰς
ἀρχὰς πάσας τελέσαντα κα-
θαρῶς καὶ δικα<ί>ως καὶ συμφε-
ρόντως τῇ πόλει καὶ στεφανη-
φορήσαντα καὶ γυμνασιάρχῃ -
15σαντα μεγαλομερῶς καὶ πολυδα-
πάνως καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα Ῥώμης

καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα ἐν τῇ χαλε-
πωτάτῃ σιτοδεΐα καὶ σῖτον εὖωνον
παρασχόντα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμα-
20σιν καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρχὰς]
[· ? ·]

B.10: Honors for Agroitas (IAph2007 2.506)

Description: Two joining fragments of marble panel (together H. 0.42 x W. 0.56 x D. 0.16)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: Poorly aligned and unevenly spaced; 0.012

Date: late 2nd or early 1st century BCE

Findspot: Bouleuterion/Odeon, West Area

Bibliography: Published by Erim 1969, 92-93, no. 1; whence Drew-Bear 1971, pp. 286-288, no. II; *BullEp* 1972.413; by Drew-Bear 1972, 435-436; whence *BullEp* 1973.398, McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 1

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ΩΣΑΙ[· ? · ἵνα οὖν]

καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος ὁ Πλυαρέων εὐχάριστος ὦν φαίνη]-
ται καὶ κατα[ξίας χάριτας ἀπονέμων τοῖς ἀγα]-
θοῖς ἀνδράσιν δεδόχ[θαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ]
ἔκυρωθέντος τοῦδε τοῦ ψη[φίσματος ἐπαινέ]-
σαι τε Ἀγροίταν Καλλικράτ[ους ἀρετῆς ἔνε]-
κεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἦν ἔχων δι[ιατελεῖ πρὸς τὸν]
δῆμον τὸν [Πλυ]αρέων δεδό[σθαι δὲ καὶ πολι]-
τείαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνις καὶ με[τουσία]ν πάντων
10ῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιτῶν μετ[έχου]σιν στεφ[α]-
νῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκλ[ησ]ίαι θαλλοῦ στ[ε]-
φάνῳ καλέσ[α]ι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτ[α]-
νεῖον ἵνα δὲ καὶ Γορδιοτειχῆται ε[ι]δήσωσιν ἦν
ποιεῖται σπουδῆν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Πλυαρέων εἰς τοὺς κατ[α]-
15ξίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐλ[έσ]θαι πρεσβευτὴν ἓνα ἐκ πάντων]
τῶν πολ[ι]τῶν ἸΔ [ὁ] δὲ αἰρεθεὶς ἀφικόμενος
εἰς Γορδιο[υ]τειχὸς τό τε ψηφισμα ἀποδ[ότω] κ[αὶ ἐπελ]-
θὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησί[α]ν ἐπαινέτωι Γορ[διο]τειχίτας ἐπὶ
τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἦν ἔχουσιν πρὸς [τὸν δῆμον τὸν Πλυαρέ]-
20ων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρᾷ κ[α]λὸν κάγαθόν · ? ·]
τας ἐξαποστ[εῖλαι · ? · παρα]-
καλεῖτω δ[ὲ · ? ·]

B.11.i-ii: Honors for Dionysios and Hierokles by the Koinon of Asia (IAph2007 2.503)

Description: Marble panel from a composite monument (W. 0.60 x W. 0.58 x H. 0.30)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: Irregular

Date: 1st century BCE

Findspot: Bouleuterion/Odeon, West Area

Bibliography: Published by Erim 1969, pp. 94-95, no. 2; by Drew-Bear, ZPE 8, 1971, 286-287, no. IV; whence *BullEp* 1972.413; by Drew-Bear 1972, pp. 443-445; whence *BullEp* 1973.398-399; published by Reynolds 1982, doc. 5; whence *SEG* 32, 1982.1097; *BullEp* 1983:366; *SEG* 35, 1985.1081; from all these McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 2

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

.. ? ..]

[?ἔδοξεν τῷ κοινῷ ν. γνώμη πρ]οέδρων καὶ γραματέως *vac.* ἐπεὶ, τῶν πόλεω[v]
[καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν θλιβομένων] ὑπὸ τε τῶν δημοσιωνῶν καὶ τῶν γεινομένων
[· c. 17 ·?πανταχ]οῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπόγνωσιν παρ' ἐνίω[v]
[?καθεστηκότων, τὸ κοινὸν] τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνελθὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔκρινε[v]
[?ἐν συνκλήτῳ ?συνεδρί]ᾳ ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσίων πόλει πέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς
[τὴν τε σύνκλητον καὶ το]ῦς ἡγουμένους ἐκ τῶν πρώτων καὶ μάλιστα τιμω-
[μένων τοὺς ?δείξοντας αὐτ]οῖς περὶ τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων το[?ῦ]
[?κοινοῦ ?πραγμάτων καὶ αὐτ]οὺς ἀξιόσοντας ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ ὑ[?περ]
10[?ασπίζειν φθειρομέ]νην αὐτήν, καὶ αἰρεθέντων πρεσβευτῶν ἐν οἷς καὶ *vac.*
[Διονυσίου καὶ Ἱερ]οκλέους τῶν Ἰάσονος τοῦ Σκύμνου τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων, πολ[ι]-
[?τευομένων δὲ ἀμ]ὰ ἐν Τράλλεσιν, ὧν καὶ μὴ ἐπιδημούντων ἔπεμψαν οἱ πρόεδρο[ι]
[?περὶ ?τούτων π]αρ' Ἀφροδισιέων δῆμον γράμ[μ]ατα περὶ τε τοῦ εἰρήσθαι αὐτοῦ[ς]
15[?συμπρεσβεῦ]σοντας διὰ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, γινωσκομένης
[?παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλη]σιν τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ διαλήψεως καθότι τὰ κατὰ μέρος
[?ἐπληγμένα διὰ] τῶν ἐξαπεσταλμένων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γραμμάτων δηλοῦ-
[ται ?διὸ ?παρόντε]ς καὶ κληθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συναχθείσης ἐκκλησίας
20[?ἀνεδέξαντο] τελέσειν τὴν πρεσβίαν *stop* δι' ἣν καὶ πρεσβίαν πολλοὺς
[καὶ μεγάλους] κινδύνους ὑπομείναντες καὶ ἀναδόντες τὰ ψηφίσματα
[τῇ τε συνκλή]τῳ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις καὶ και προσεδρεύσαντες ἐν παν -
[τὶ καιρῷ τοῖς] ἡγουμένοις καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας [ἀ]ναδεξάμε -
25[νοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ παρατυχόντες πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ ποι-
[ήσαντες τῇ]ν πρεσβίαν καλὴν καὶ εὐτυχῇ καὶ ἀξίαν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
[καὶ τῆς περι] αὐτῶν διαλήψεως, κατωρθώσαντο τὰ μέγιστα καὶ συμφέροντα τοῖς
[ἐν ?τῇ] Ἀσίᾳ [π]ᾶσιν δήμοις τε καὶ ἔθνεσιν *stop* δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσί-
[ας Ἑλλήνων]]ν ἐπληρῆσθαι τοὺς προγεγραμμένους ἄνδρας καὶ ἐστεφαν<ῶ>σθαι χρυσῷ
[στεφάνῳ ἐκά]τερον αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἧ εἰσηνέγκαντο ἀνδρῆα τε καὶ σπουδῇ *vac.*
[καὶ καταστήσ]αι αὐτῶν καὶ ἰκόνας χαλκᾶς παρ' ᾧ ἂν βούλωνται δῆμῳ ἢ ἔθνει γεγ-
[ομένης ἐπιγρα]φῆς ν. οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐτίμησαν Διονύσιον καὶ Ἱεροκλῆν
[τοὺς Ἰάσονο]]ς τοῦ Σκύμνου κατορθωσαμένους τὰ μέ<γ>ιστα
ἀρετῆς [[ενεκ]]] *vac.* ἔνεκεν. *vac.*

B.12.i-ii: Funerary honors for Geis and Heraios (IAph2007 12.602.i-ii)

Description: Marble architrave block (H. 1.22 × W. 0.42 × depth not measurable)

Text: Inscribed on a single line

Letters: 0.055-0.065

Date: 1st century BCE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: *CIG 2809*; Reinach 1906, p. 121, no. 47; *MAMA 8*, no. 465; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias 277*.

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

I *vacat*

[ή βουλὴ κ]αί ὁ δῆ-
[?μος ?·· ? ··] [ἐτ]εῖμη-
[σε]ν Ἡραῖ-
[οῦ] *vac.*

II *vacat*

ή βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
εἰμίμησεν Γειν Ἀτ-
τάλου γυναικα *vac.*
vac. Ἡραίου *vac.*

B.13: Honors for Solon (IAph2007 4.101)

Description: Marble block

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.05

Date: Late 1st century BCE

Findspot: South agora

Bibliography: Published by Reynolds, 1982, doc. 41; whence *SEG 1982.1097*; *BullEp 1983.390*; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias 326*

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

[γ]ενόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀστυνόμος καὶ νεωπο[ι]ῶς καὶ στρατηγὸς
ἐπὶ χώρας ὡ στρατηγῆσας δὲ πλεονάκις τῆς πόλεως πρεσβευ-
[σ]ας δὲ πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας πρεσβῆας ἐπιτυχῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατ-
[ρί]δος ὡ ἀγωνισάμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν
5[?] *vac.*] νόμων καὶ τῆς ἀσυλίας ν. καὶ τῶν δεδομένων *vac.*
[φι]λανθρώπων ὡ καὶ ἐνὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις τοῖς γενομένοις
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τ[αῖς ἀρχ]αῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις τιμηθεῖς [?] *vac.*]

B.14: Honors for Epainetos (IAph2007 12.502)

Description: Marble block (H. 1.37 × W. 0.59 × D. 0.39)

Text: Inscribed in a prepared area with a roughly dressed border approximately in the centre

Letters: 0.03

Date: Late 1st century BCE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Kubitschek and Reichel 1893, p. 102, no. 10; Reinach 1906, p. 123, no. 50; *MAMA 8*, no. 464; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias 473*

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ή βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔθαπεν
Ἐπαίνετον Φιλοδήμου γε-
νόμενον ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ

διενέγκαντα εὐταξία καὶ
ἑταίρη ἔτι παντάπασι ν. ὄν
τα νέον ἐστεφάνωσεν
δὲ καὶ χρυσῶ στεφάνω

B.15.A: Honors for Gaius Julius Zoilos (IAph2007 8.203)

Description: Marble upper statue base (W. 0.55 × H. 0.25 × D. 0.54)

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.03

Date: Late 1st century BCE (early Augustan)

Findspot: Theatre

Bibliography: Published by Reynolds 1982, doc. 38; whence *SEG* 1982.1097; *BullEp* 1983.388; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 258; Smith 1993, T.7

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

[ν. ὁ] δῆμος *vac.* [?ἐτείμησεν]

Γάιον Ἰούλιον Ζοίλ[ον· ? ··]

15.B: Honors for Gaius Julius Zoilos (IAph2007 5.101)

Description: Marble block

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.02

Date: Late 1st century BCE (Augustan)

Findspot: Hadrianic Baths

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, 127-128, no. 54; by Reynolds 1982, doc. 33; whence *SEG* 1982.1097; *BullEp* 1983.388; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 284; Smith 1993, T.6

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

[ῆ] βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτ[ε]ίμησεν

[Γά]ϊον Ἰούλιον Ζοίλον τὸν

[ιερ]έα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆς

[Ἐλε]υθερίας διὰ βίου

B.16: Decree of honors for Pereitas (IAph 2007 12.201)

Description: Marble block (W. 0.41 × H. 0.33 x c. 0.12)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.017

Date: late 1st century BCE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Reynolds 1997, pp. 423-8; whence *BullEp* 1999.92; *SEG* 1997.1553

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1997).

·· ? ··]

[·· c. 5 ··εἰκόνα χα]λκὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κ[αὶ]

[·· c. 11 ··] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐ-
[χοῦσαν ἐ]πιγραφὴν τήνδε ὁ δῆμος ἐτιμ-
[ησε Περε]ίταν Ἀδράστου ἱερῆ Ἄρεως ἄνδρα
5[καλὸν] καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐπαίνῳ χρυσοῦ στεφά-
[νω εἰκ]όνι χαλκῆ καὶ ἄλλῃ γραπτῇ προεδρ-
[ία ἐν τ]οῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὖν-
[οίας] ἦν ἔχων διετέλεσεν εἰς τὸν σύμ-
[παν]τα δῆμον ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ στηλὴν
10[λευκ]ολίθου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ η̄-
[φ' ὅς ἐ]πιγραφήσεται τόδε τὸ ψήφισ - *vac.*
vv. μα vac.

B.17: Statue dedication for Demos and honors for Artemidoros by Kotas (IAph 2007 8.4)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.72 × H. 1.55 × D. 0.51)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.03-0.04

Date: Late 1st century BCE

Findspot: Theatre (near original location)

Bibliography: Published by Reynolds 1982, doc. 27; whence *SEG* 1982.1097; *BullEp* 1983.386; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* [240](#)

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

scroll Ἀρτεμίδωρος
Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πε-
ρείτου *stop* στεφανηφορή
σας Κότας ἀνέθηκεν
5τῷ Δήμῳ τὴν εἰκόνα *scroll*
Vacat

B.18: Honors for Sokrates son of Theophrastos (IAph 2007 12.1102)

Description: Marble block (W. 1.005 x H. 0.39 x depth not measurable)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025

Date: Late 1st century BCE

Findspot: Northwest walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2780; *MAMA* 8, no. 461; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 325

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν
Σωκράτην Θεοφράστου ἄνδρα
γενόμενον καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθ[όν]
vac.

B.19: Posthumous honors for Apphia daughter of Theodoros (IAph 2007 12.609)

Description: Marble block (H. 0.78 × W. 0.54 × D. 0.49)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, pp. 116-117, no. 38; *MAMA* 8, no. 478; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 237; Reynolds 1999, pp. 327-334, no. C.2

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1999).

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί-
μησεν ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ
καλλίσταις τειμαῖς Ἀπ-
φίαν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ἀττί-
5νου Μελίτωνος ἀρχιέρι-
αν διὰ βίου θεῶν Σεβαστῶν
καὶ ἰέρειαν Ἀρτέμιδος γυναι-
κα δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου τ[οῦ Ἀθη]-
[ν]αγόρου τοῦ Εὐ[μάχου] [· · ? · ·]
10[· · ? · ·] τὴν κα[ἰ · · ? · ·]

B.20.i-ii: Funerary honors for Neaira and Metrodoros (IAph 2007 13.301.i-ii)

Description: Marble block (H. 2.06 × W. 0.59 × depth not measurable)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: i. 0.03-0.035; ii. 0.02-0.025

Date: i. early 1st century CE; ii. Mid- to late-1st century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2816 and 2779; published by Reinach 1906, pp. 125-127, nos. 65 and 67; *MAMA* 8, nos. 472 and 473; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 305 and 309

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

i ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμη-
σεν καὶ μετηλλακχ[ῖαν]
ταῖς ἀξίαις καὶ πρεπού-
σαις τειμαῖς Νέαιραν Με-
νεκλέους Ἀμμίαν γυναῖ-
5κα γενομένην Μητροδώ-
ρου τοῦ Μητροδώρου Δημη-
τρίου ζήσασαν κοσμίως
καὶ σωφρόνως *vac.*

vacat

ii ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν
καὶ μετηλλαχχότα (sic) Μητρόδωρον
Μητροδώρου Δημήτριον ζήσαν-
τα κοσμίως ἄνδρα περὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς
5πόλεως φιλότειμον ἔν τε ἀρχαῖς
καὶ ὑποσχέσεσιν καὶ ἐργεπιστασίαις
καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα *scroll*
ὑπηρεσίαις πρόθυμον γενόμενον

vacat

B.21.i-iii: Honors for Molossos, Ammia and Phantias (IAph 2007 12.1002.i-iii)

Description: Marble block

Text: Inscribed in three columns

Letters: 0.036 (l.1) and 0.03

Date: mid-1st century CE

Findspot: Western walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2815; published by Reinach 1906, no. 35; whence *SEG* 30, 1244; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 306

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[ἡ βουλή καὶ ἡ γ]ε[ρ]ουσία καὶ ὁ σύνπας δῆ[μος]

i [··· Διοδ]ώρου Μολοσ-
[σὸν φιλό]πολιν ἱερα-
[τεύσαντα Καίσ]αρος διὰ
βίου

[?ὸς πο]λλὰς λει-
5[τουργίας κ]αὶ ἐστιάσεις

[··]η παρέσχηκε

[καταλι]πόντα δὲ καὶ

[χρήματα εἶ]ς τε κατασ-

[κευὰς ἀν]αθημάτων

10[καὶ κλήρο]υς διηνεκῶς

ii Ἀμμίαν Φανίου
τοῦ Μύωνος ἱερα-

τεύσασαν θεᾶς

Ἰουλίας νέας

5Δήμητρος συνφι-

λοδοξήσασαν

ἐν πᾶσιν Μολοσ-

σῶ τῶ ἀνδρί

iii Φαν[ίαν ··· Μολοσ]-
σοῦ κ[αὶ Ἀμμίας ἱερα]-

τεύσ[αντα Σεβαστοῦ]

Καίσα[ρος··]

B.22: Honors for Attalis Apphion (*I Aph* 2007 15.260)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.73 × H. 0.58 × D. 0.50)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.03-0.04

Date: mid- to late-1st century CE

Findspot: Stray find

Bibliography: Reynolds 1981, pp. 317-27, no. 3; whence *SEG* 1981.900; *Bullep* 1982.356; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 243

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1981).

[Ἄ]τταλίδα Μενεκράτ[ους]

τοῦ Ἄνδρωνος Ἄπφιο[ν]

ἀρχιέρειαν καὶ ἱέρειαν

B.23.i-iii: Funerary honors for Kallippos, Athenagoras and unknown (*I Aph* 2007 13.302)

Description: Marble block (H. 0.335 × W. 0.475 × depth not measurable)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02-0.025

Date: mid- to late-1st century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls, incorporated into gate

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, p. 135, nos. 34, 58, 82; *MAMA* 8, nos. 474-476; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 287, 242, 243; Reynolds 1999, pp. 327-334, B.1-3

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1999).

i ἡ β[ουλή καὶ ὁ δῆ]-
μος [ἐτείμη]σεν

ii ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆ-
μος ἐτείμησεν

iii [ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆ]-
[μος ἐτείμησεν]

ταῖς κ[αλλίσ]ταις
τειμαῖς Κάλλιπον
Ἐενοκράτους γυ-
μνασιαρχήσαν-
τα καὶ στεφανη-
φορήσαντα καὶ
ἀγωνοθετήσαν-
10τα καὶ ἐν πάσαις
ταῖς λι[το]υργίαις
καὶ φιλ[οδο]ξίαις
[· · ? · ·]

Ἀθηναγόραν Ἀ-
θηναγόρου τοῦ
Ἐεὐμάχου ἄνδρα
καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν
καὶ φιλόπατριν
καὶ γυμνασίαρ-
χ[ι]ον καὶ στεφανη-
10φόρον καὶ ἀγωνο-
θέτην γενόμε-
νον καὶ πρεσβεύσαν-
[τα · · ? · ·]

[· · c. 7 · · γυ]να[ῖ]
[κα Ἀθην]αγόρο[υ
[τ]οῦ Ἀθηναγ[όρου]
σεμνήν καὶ φί[λαν]
Ἐδρον καὶ φι[λότε]
κνον πά[ση] διὰ]
παντὸς [τοῦ βί]
ου δόξ[η] διαφέρου]
σαν ν.

B.24: Honors for Adrastus son of Adrastus, sacred victor (IAph 2007 12.202)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 1.24 x W. 0.63-W. 0.64 x D. 0.65)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.03

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Paris and Holleaux 1885, no.4; whence Liermann 1889 36; Roueché 1996, no. 66

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[ῆ] βουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος]
καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ
νέοι *star* ἐτείμησαν *vac.*
ταῖς καλλίσταις τει-
5μαῖς Ἀδραστον Ἀδράσ-
του πέμπτον ἱερονε[ῖ]-
κην ἀπὸ συνόδου ἄν-
δρα γένους πρώτου
ζήσαντα πρὸς ἀρετῆ[ν]
10*vac.* καὶ εὐδοξίαν *vac.*

B.25: Honors for Eusebes, son of Menandros (IAph2007 11.17)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.45 x H. 0.42 x D. 0.40)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.0275-0.035

Date: mid- to late-1st century CE

Findspot: City

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, p. 127, no. 53; *MAMA* 8, no. 489; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 276

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[?(e.g.) ἡ βουλῆ]

ἐτίμησεν
stop Εὐσεβῆι ν.
Μενάνδρου
τοῦ Εὐνίκου
ἑφιλόπατριν
Vacat

B.26: Honors for Diogenes, son of Menandros (IAph2007 15.261)

Description: No description

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: mid- to late-1st century CE

Findspot: Unknown

Bibliography: *CIG* 2778; whence Liermann 1889, pp. 63-65, no. 11; *SEG* 30, 1244; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 270

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν καὶ
μετηλλαχота ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ
καλλίσταις τείμαις Διογένην Μενάν-
δρου τοῦ Διογένους ἱερέα γενόμενον Θε-
ῶς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ Θεῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀμε-
ριμνίας γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ στεφα-
νηφορήσαντα καὶ ἱερεύσαντα τῶν Σεβασ-
τῶν ὑπερβαλλούσαις φιλοδοξίαις καὶ
πανδήμοις ἐστίασε[σ]ιν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τε-
10λέσαντα φιλοδόξως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ εὐσε-
βῶς [...]

B.27: Decree of honors for Aristokles Molossos (IAph 2007 12.803)

Description: A text in four parts on three blocks. (H. 0.53 x W. 0.78 x D. 0.19)

Text: Inscribed on the face in columns.

Letters: 0.015-0.02

Date: mid-1st century CE

Findspot: Southwestern walls

Bibliography: Published by Leake 1843, no. 14; Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1611; Cormack 1964, fig. 13; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* [32](#); *BullEp* 1953.187; *SEG* 1980.1244

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

α ἐπὶ Ζήωνος τοῦ Ὑψικλέους
εἰσηγησαμένου Ἑρμᾶ τοῦ Ἀριστο-
κλέους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μολοσσοῦ
ἑφιλοκαίσαρος ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ γνώμη στρατηγῶν καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώ-

ρου τοῦ Μύωνος Παπίωνος ἱερέως θε-
 ᾶς Σεβαστῆς Ἰουλίας γραμματέως δή-
 μου καὶ Περίτου τοῦ Διονυσίου φύσει
 10δὲ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ζή-
 νωνος τοῦ Ἄνδρωνος φύσει δὲ Ἀττά-
 λου Καλλίππου τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας
 στρατηγῶν ἐπεὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀρτεμι-
 δώρου Μολοσσὸς ἐκτενεστάτας μὲν
b καὶ λαμπροτάτας φιλοδοξίας κα[ὶ διαδόσεις]
 καὶ λειτουργίας ἐποίησατο εἰς τὴν πόλιν (sic)
 ἡμῶν ὃν ἔζη χρόνον *dash* τὸ δὲ περὶ αὐ-
 τὸν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα φιλότιμον ἐνδει-
 20κνύμενος καὶ προκρεῖνων παντὸς οὐδὲ
 ἐν τοῖς τῆς μεταλλαγῆς χρόνοις ἥλλα -
 ξεν τὸ φιλόπατρι βούλημα ἔγραψεν δὲ
 {δὲ} διαθήκας σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς εἰς τὴν
 πατρίδα ἀπέλιπεν διατασσόμενος καὶ ἀρ-
 25γυρικὰς διαδόσεις τοῖς πολεῖταις καθ' ἕ-
 καστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν προσόδων ὧν ἀπέ-
 λιπεν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὸ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς οἷ<ς> ἐφι-
 λοδόξησεν ζῶν καὶ φιλοδοξεῖται διὰ τῶν
 κατασκευαζομένων ἐκ τοῦ βίου αὐ -
 30τοῦ ἀναθημάτων ἀειμνημόνευτον
 καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἶναι τὸ φιλόπολι αὐτοῦ
 βούλημα *vac.* ἀνανκαῖον δὲ ἐστὶν ὡς ὄτ[ι]
 μάλιστα φυλ[ά]σσεσθαι τὰς ἐν πᾶσι
c 35διαταγὰς αὐτοῦ *vac.* διὸ δεδόχθαι τῇ βου-
 λῇ καὶ τῇ δήμῳ τελεῖσθαι ἐπ' ἀνανκεσ
 ἀεὶ ὑφ' ὧν ἡ διαθήκη αὐτοῦ περιέχει τὰς ἀρ-
 γυρικὰς διαδόσεις ἐν αἷς ὥρισεν προθεσ-
 μίαις τῆς μὲν ἀναγραφῆς γεινομένης
 40τῶν κατακλιθέντων ἐν ταῖς προθεσμίαις
 τῶν δὲ διαδόσεων ἀεὶ τῇ ἐχομένη ἡμέ-
 ρα ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς ἀποδιδόμενων
 ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ὀφειλόντων πρᾶξαι τὸ ἀρ-
 γύριον μὴ πράξῃ ἢ μὴ ποιήσῃται τὴν
 45διάδοσιν ὡς προγέγραπται, ἀποτείσα-
 τω ἱερα Ἀφροδείτῃ δη(νάρια) τρισχειλια ᾧ καὶ
 πράσσεσθαι ἐπ' ἀνανκεσ ὑπὸ τοῦ βου-
 λομένου τῶν πολειτῶν ἐπὶ τρίτῳ
 μέρει· ὁμοίως δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέστω μή-
 50τε ἄρχοντι μήτε γραμματεῖ μήτε
d [ιδιώτ]ῃ μ[ετα]γαγεῖν εἰς ἕτερον [πρᾶ]-

[γμα τὸ] τῶνδε δόσεων ἀργύριον μή[τ]-
 ε μέρος χωρεῖν δὲ αὐτὸ εἰς [τὰς]
 55[δός]εις καθὼς ἢ Μολοσσοῦ διαθήκ[η περι]-
 ἔχει *vac.* ἐὰν δέ τις μεταγάγη ᾧτινι
 [τ]ρόπῳ ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς ὠρισμέ[νοισ]
 [δ]ιὰ τῆς Μολοσσοῦ διαθήκης προσ[τείμ]-
 οῖς ἅ ἐστιν δη(νάρια) μ(υρία) αἰ δὲ προθεσμῖαι τῶν
 60[δ]όσεων [ἢ] α' μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ἰθ' ἢ β' [ἐπι]
 [τ]ῶν θερινῶν πρώτων θεωριῶν ἢ γ'
vac. μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου ἰθ'

B.28: Decree of honors for Dionysios son of Papylos (IAph 2007 12.612)

Description: Marble block (W. 1.29 × H. 0.68 × D. 0.28)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02-0.03

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, no. 8; *MAMA* 8, no. 410; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 33

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

leaf ψήφισμα *leaf scroll scroll* ἐπεὶ

Διονύσιος Παπύλου τοῦ Παπύλου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Νινευδίου Διὸς ἀνὴρ
 πατὴρ καὶ προγόνων ὑπάρχων καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ
 φιλοδοξίαις γεγονότων καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας βίον σεμνὸν
 5καὶ ἐνάρετον ἐλόμενος ἱερατείαν τε τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἢ καὶ ἀγῶν ἢ νοθεσί-
 αν καὶ πρεσβείας καὶ ἐφηβάρχίαν καὶ στρατηγίαν καὶ γραμματήαν καὶ τὰς
 λοιπὰς πάσας ἀρχὰς σεμνῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως
 τελέσας καὶ ζῶν βίον πάση καλοκαγαθία κοσμούμενον καθὼς δι-
 ἄ πλείστων ἤδη ψηφισμάτων μεμαρτύρηται αὐτῷ τὰ νῦν ἐπικλη-
 10[θ]εῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αἰρεθεῖς ἀρχινεοποιὸς κεχειροτόνηται ἐ-
 [φ' οἷς] ὁ δῆμος ἀποδεχόμενος τὴν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φιλόπολιν σπου-
 [δὴν ἀ]γομένων ἀρχαιρ[εσιῶ]ν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπηνέχθη πάλιν τειμη-
 [σαι αὐτὸν ·· ? ··]

B.29: Honors for Ateimetos Petignas (IAph 2007 11.404)

Description: Columnar marble statue base (H. c. 1.12, diam. W. c. 0.48)

Text: Inscribed on two sides with almost identical texts, each within a raised tabella ansata

Letters: 0.02-0.022

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: I southwestern section of the city; ii-west of Hadrianic Baths

Bibliography: Published by Reinach, 1906, nos. 41 (i), 42 (ii); whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* [432](#) and [433](#)

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007)

i ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμη-
σεν Ἀτείμητον Χα-
ριδήμου Πετινγαν
γενόμενον καὶ
σήμετερον πολεί-
την καὶ ζήσαν-
τα εὐτάκτως

ii ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν
Ἀτίμητον Χαριδή-
μου Πετινγαν γενό-
μενον καὶ ἡμέτε
ρον πολείτην καὶ
ζήσαντα εὐκτως (sic)

B.30: Honors for Menekrates (IAph 2007 12.1202)

Description: Marble block from a composite monument (W. 0.42 × H. 0.99 × D. 0.65)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02-0.025

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1595; Liermann 1889, pp. 14-16, no. 2; Cormack 1962, no. 460; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* [303](#)

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[· · ? · · ἐτείμησεν] Μενεκρά-
[την · · τοῦ Δι]ονυσίου Με ν-
[· · c. 7 · · [χρ]υσῶ στεφάνω
[εἰκόνι χαλκ]ῆ γραπτῆ προεδρί-
5[α ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς] ἀγῶσιν σιτή-
[σει δημοσίᾳ ἀρε]τῆς ἔνεκεν
[? vac. τῆς εἰς ἐ]αυτόν vac.

B.31: Funerary inscription and honors for Attalos son of Attalos (IAph 2007 12.311)

Description: Marble block (visible W. 1.13 x H. 0.38 x W. 0.62)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: ave. 0.018

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ὁ δῆμος ἔθαψεν [Ἄτ]-
ταλον Ἀττάλου [τοῦ]
Ἀττάλου τοῦ Ἑρμολά-
ου παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν
5καὶ ἐστεφάνωσεν χρυ-
σῶ στεφάνωι vac.
vac.

B.32: Posthumous honors for Epicharmos son of Chrysaor (IAph 2007 13.701)

Description: Marble sarcophagus

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.023

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: Necropolis

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, no. 51; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* [475](#)

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμησαν καὶ με-
τηλλαχότα *stop* Ἐπί
χαρμον Χρυσάορος
στοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ
Χρυσίππου ἀνδρα
φιλότειμον γενό-
μενον εἰς τὴν πα-
vac. τρίδα *vac.*

B.33: Funerary honors for Kastor son of Menekrates (IAph 2007 2.508)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.46 × H. 0.77 × D. 0.39)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: Bouleuterion/Odeon, West area

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007)

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος] ἐτεί-
[μησεν ταῖς] καλλίστα[ις]
[τειμαῖς] Κάστορα υἱὸν Με-
[νεκ]ράτους τοῦ Κάστο-
5[ρος] τοῦ Μενεκράτους
Ἰάσονος ἥρωα νεανε
αν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ν.
[ζ]ήσαντα πρὸς πᾶσαν
[τέ]λειαν ἀρετὴν τὴν τει-
10[μῆ]ν ἀναθέντος Ἰουλίου
[·]ου Κάστορι τῷ ἑαυ-
vac. [το]ῦ γνωρίμῳ *vac. scroll*
vacat

B.34: Honors for Menogenes Glykon (IAph 2007 15.263)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: No location given

Bibliography: Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1614; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* [304](#)

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ὁ δῆμος [ἐτεί]μησε
Μηνογένην Μηνο-
γένους Γλύκωνα
Ἄσκ[- ...]

B.35: Honors for Myon Menandros (*I Aph* 2007 12.519)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: No description

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: Southwestern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2772; by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1613; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* [308](#)

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ὁ δῆμος
Μύωνα Ἀγελάου
φύσει δὲ Εὐσέβους
Μένανδρον

B.36: Honors for Papias (*I Aph* 2007 12.705)

Description: Marble block (W. 0.315 × H. 0.28 × D. 0.305)

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.02

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

.. ? ..]
[.. ? ..]ΝΘΕ
[.. ? ..]ωνος τοῦ
[.. ? .. Π]απίαν τὸν καὶ
[.. ? ..]ππον ἀνέσστη
5[σεν .. ? .. Ἀθ]ηναγορας Ἀθηνα-
[γόρου τοῦ Εὐμάχου [τ]οῦ Διογένους ν.
[τοῦ .. ? .. τ]οῦ [..]ωνος
[.. ? .. vac.

B.37: Honors for Papylos (*I Aph* 2007 11.5)

Description: Two marble blocks from a composite monument (H. 0.195 x W. 0.81 x D. 0.34)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: ll. 1-4, 0.025

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Stray find in the city

Bibliography: Roueché 1993, no. 48

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[· · ? · ·]

[στεφαν]ηφορήσαντα δῖς *stop* καὶ ἀγ[ωνο]θετή[?σαντα ?δῖς ?τοῦς]
[τῶν Σε]βαστῶν ἀγῶνας *stop* καὶ ἐστίασαντα τ[ῆν βουλὴν καὶ]
[τὸν δῆ]μον καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἐγδεύτε[ρον*stop* ?καὶ ἀγορα]-
[νομήσ]αντα πολυδαπάν[ω]ς *stop* τὴν δὲ ἀνάστα[σιν ?τῆς τείμης ἐ]-
5[ποιήσα]το *stop* Ἰέραξ κατὰ τὴν Παπύλου [δια]θή[κην] ?*vac.*

B.38: Posthumous honours for Papylos son of Iason (IAph 2007 11.6)

Description: Marble block (0.57 × 0.285 × 0.33)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025-0.03

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Theater

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, p. 136, no. 68; *MAMA* 8, no. 488; *BullEp* 1966:400; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* [316](#)

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ν. ἡ γερουσία καὶ ἡ βουλ[ῆ]
καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησα[ν]
Παπύλον Ἰάσονος τοῦ
Κάστορος γυμνασιάρχ[ῆ]-
5σαντα ἐκ{κ} τῶν ἰδίων δι-
[ετ]ίαν λανπρότατα ΚΛΕ [· ·]
[· · ? · ·]

B.39: Honors for Panphilos Krokion (IAph 2007 11.4)

Description: Marble base (W. 0.42 × H. 0.66 × D. 0.39)

Text: Inscribed on the lower fascia

Letters: 0.025-0.03

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: City—stray find

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[ῆ] βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δ[ῆ]-
μος καὶ οἱ νέοι
ἐτείμησαν *vac. stop*

Πάνφιλον Ἀρτέ-
5μωνος Κροκίων[α]
ζήσαντα κ[αλῶς]
καὶ κοσμίω[ς ···]
Ἀρτέμων Ἀρ[τέμω]-
νος Βάκχιος Κρο[κί]-
10ωνα τὸν ἀδελ[φόν]
Vacat

B.40: Posthumous honours for Attinas son of Theodoros (IAph 2007 12.203)

Description: Marble block (H. 0.82 × W. 0.75 × depth not measurable)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1599; mentioned by Reinach 1906, p. 120, no. 45; *MAMA* 8, no. 477; *BullEp* 1966.398; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 247

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[ἡ β]ουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γε-
[ρο]υσία ἐτείμησαν καὶ μετηλλακ-
χότα ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγί-
σταις τειμαῖς Ἀττίαν Θεοδώ-
5ρου ἄνδρα γένους πρώτου καὶ
ἐνδοξοτάτου ζήσαντα βίον
ἀρετῆ καὶ καλοκαγαθία διαφέ-
ροντα καὶ πάσας παρασχόμενον
τῇ πατρίδι φιλοδόξους καὶ
10λαμπροτάτας λειτουργίας *vac.*
καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν πρὸς αὐτὴν εὐνου-
στάτην διάθεσιν ἀθανάτοις ἐαυ-
τὸν προεντυπωσάμενος τοῦ
βίου ὑπομνήσεσιν δι' ὧν πλου-
15σίως καὶ φιλοτείμως παρέσχετο
[τ]ῇ πόλει ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ
[εὐν]οίας τῆς [εἰ]ς τὸν δῆμον
[?.. ? ..]

B.41: Posthumous honours for Attalos son of Makedon (IAph 2007 12.312)

Description: Marble block (W. 0.60 × H. 1.21 × D. 0.44)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02–0.0225

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls, near southeastern gate

Bibliography: *CIG* 2781; published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no.1600; mentioned by Reinach 1906, p. 120, no. 43; *MAMA* 8, no. 479; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 245; discussed by Reynolds 1999, pp. 327-334, Appendix C, no 2

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ
ἡ γερουσία *v.* καὶ οἱ νέοι *v.*
ἐτείμησαν Ἄτταλον
Μακεδόνοιο τοῦ Ἀριστέ-
σου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου *v.*
Ἀπολλωνίδου διὰ τε
τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν καὶ *v.*
τὴν τῶν προγόνων διὰ
τε φιλοδοξῶν καὶ ἀνα-
10θημάτων πρὸς τὸν δῆ - *v.*
μον εὐνοίαν *vac.*

vacat

B.42: Decree of honors for Attinas Meliton (IAph 2007 12.206)

Description: Marble block (H. H. 0.87, W W. 0.74)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.015

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1594; by Reinach 1906, no. 14; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 29

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[·· c. 8 ··] στεφ[αν]ηφορία ΜΕΝ [·· c. 9 ··]
[·· c. 8 ··] ἀεὶ εὐσεβῆ διάθεσιν τετέλεκεν καὶ ταῦτα
[διὰ φιλο]δοσίας λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτείμως μάλιστα δ[ἐ]
[τὴν γ]υμνασιαρχίαν πρὸς τὸν γενόμενον καιρὸν ἀψε[γ]-
5[?έως] ἀρχιερατεύων τε ἐν τῇ στεφανηφορία τῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν]
[πᾶ]σαν εὐσεβῆ θρησκειαν εἰσενήνεκται καὶ τέθυκεν το[ῖς]
[πα]τρῖοις θεοῖς εὐχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑγείας καὶ
[σω]τηρίας καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῶν
[τε]τέλεκεν δὲ καὶ τὰς θεωρίας φιλοδόξως καθήκει δὲ τὰς
10[τῶ]ν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν γνώμας τειμῆς καὶ μαρτυρίας τῆς
[πρ]επούσης ἀξιοῦσθαι *stop* διὸ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή-
[μῳ] ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις πάλιν τετειμηῆσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα ταῖς κ[αλ]-
[λί]σταις καὶ μεγίσταις καὶ πρεπούσαις τειμαῖς Ἀττίαν Ἀτ-
[τινο]ῦ τοῦ [Θ]εοδώρου Μελίτωνα τὸν στεφανηφόρον καὶ ἀρ-
15[χιερ]έα τῶν Σεβαστῶν σε[μνὸ]ν καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ καλοκαγαθία
[διαφ]έροντα καὶ εὐνοῦν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν παντὶ και-

[ρῶ ἐ]νδεδειγμένον πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα εὖνοϊαν δεδόσθαι
[δὲ] αὐτῶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν εἰς τὸ μέλλον
[ἀλ]ειτουργησίαν ὡς ἀνεῖσθαι αὐτὸν πάσης ἀκουσίου ὑπη-
20[ρυσία]ς ἅμα τεθῆναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ἐνόπλους ἐπι-
[χρύσου]ς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐν ἱεροῖς ἢ δημοσί-
[οις τό]ποις ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται ἐφ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἀναλο -
[γουμέν]ας τῆ τε εὐγενείᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆ περι τὸν βίον *scroll*
[σεμ]νότητι καὶ σωφροσύνη ἐπιγραφὰς γενέσθαι *star scroll*

B.43: Honors for Mithridates son of Athenagoras (IAph 2007 12.410)

Description: Marble building block (H. 0.34 × W. 0.47 × D. 0.34)

Text: The inscription is cut on the face

Letters: 0.02-0.025

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Part of Southeastern gate (original location: nearby tomb monument)

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, p. 135, no. 66; *MAMA* 8, no. 462; whence Robert 1983, 505-506; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 510; by Reynolds 1999, pp. 327-334, Appendix B.5.

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1999).

vacat

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ-
μος ἐτείμησεν
Μιθραδάτην Ἀθη-
ναγόρου ἄνδρα
5καλὸν καὶ ἀγα-
θὸν καὶ πάση κοσ-
μηθέντα ἀρετῇ

B.44.i-ii: honors for C. Jul. Potitianos and Antonia Flaviane (IAph 2007 12.105.i-ii)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: Lines 1-16, 0.027; ll.17 ff., 0.025

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: Northeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2786; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* [283](#); published by Reinach 1906, nos. 94-99, 101, and 121; Cormack 1964, no. 11 and 57, fig. 5; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 317

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γε]
ρουσία κ]αὶ οἱ νέοι ἐτε[ί]μησα[ν]
καὶ μετηλλακχότα *stop* [? *vac.*]
Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Ἀδράστου υἱόν
5Ποτειτιανόν ἄνδρα φιλόπα-

τρὶν πᾶσαν λειτουργίαν καὶ ὑ-
πηρεσίαν *stop* ἐκτετελεκότα τ[ῆ]
πατρίδι καὶ πεπρεσβευκότα {υ}
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος προῖκα πλε-
10ονάκις πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοκράτο-
ρας πράξαντα ἀεὶ τὰ συμφέρον-
τα τῶ δήμῳ ταῖς ἀξίαις καὶ ἀναλο-
γούσαις αὐτῶ τειμαῖς γενόμε-
νον περὶ πάντα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν
15τετειμημένον ψηφίσμασιν καὶ
πολιτεία[ι]ς καὶ ὑπὸ ἐτέρων πόλε-
vac. ων πολλῶν *vac.*

τὴν δὲ τειμὴν ἀνέστησεν σὺν
καὶ τῶ βωμῶ Ἰουλί *stop* α *stop* Ἀντωνία ἡ θ[υ]-
20γάτηρ αὐτοῦ καθὼς διετάξατ[ο]
ὁμοίως ἐτείμησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ
ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία ταῖς καλ-
λίσταις καὶ πρεπούσαις τειμαῖς
καὶ Ἀντωνίαν Λ(ουκίου) Ἀντωνίου Φλαβι-
25ανοῦ θυγατέρα Φλαβιανὴν ἰέρει-
αν Ἀρετῆς τὴν Ποτειτιανοῦ
γυναῖκα φίλανδρον φιλότεκνον
ζῶσαν κοσμίως ὡς μαρτυρεῖσθα[ι]
ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ σωφροσύνῃ
30τὴν δὲ τειμὴν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνέσ-
τησεν ἑαυτῇ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
vac. ζῶσα *leaf*

B.45: Honors for unknown and Tiberius Claudius Hierokles (IAph 2007 12.613)

Description: Marble block from a composite monument (W. 0.69 x H. c. 0.34 x unknown)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: i. 0.03; ii. 1.1, 0.04; II. 2, 3, 0.03; 1.4, 0.025; 1.5, 0.02

Date: Late 1st century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

i [· ? ·] Γαίον
[· ? ·ο]υς υἰὸν
[· ? ·] λεγιῶ-
[νος · ? ·] *vac.*

ii ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμησαν *star* Τιβέρι-
ον Κλαύδιον Ἀριστο-
κλέους υἰὸν Κυρίνα *vac.*
5vac. Ἱεροκ[λέα] *vac.*

B.46: Honours for Lucius Antonius Ze... (IAph 2007 8.235)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.705 x H. 0.325 x D. 0.65)

Text: Inscribed on two upper fasciae (lines 1 and 2) and on the face below

Letters: 0.02

Date: 1st century CE

Findspot: Theatre

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ψηφισαμένης τῆς κρατίστης

[β]ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Λούκιον

(---) Ἀντώνιον Τίτου Φλα-

(---)βίου Πάπου υἱὸν Ζη

[· · ? · ·]

B.47: Honors for Tiberius Claudius Diogenes (IAph2007 8.23)

Description: Two marble frieze blocks: first (W. 0.685 long); second (W. 0.97)

Text: Inscribed in 3 lines on the fascia. The text began on a third, missing, block to the left

Letters: 0.026-0.027

Date: mid- to late-1st century CE

Findspot: Theatre: stage area

Original Location: "Theatre proskenion frieze. Inscribed on the blocks which make up the cornice, of the Doric order, above the inscription of Zoilos, across the back of the Theatre stage." (IAph 2007)

Bibliography: Published by Reynolds 1981, pp. 317-27, no.4; whence *SEG* 31, 1981.901; *BullEp* 1982.356; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 296

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1981).

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Τι(βέριον) ?Κλαύ] | διον Διογένην ἀρχιερέα τῆς | Ἀσίας
καὶ σεβαστοφάντην καὶ ἀγωνοθέ -[?την · · c. 27 · ·] | εὐεργέτην δίκαιον φιλόανθ[ρ]ωπον
φιλοπολείτην *stop* νομοθέτην δις γυ-[μνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς λοι]πὰς
ἀνυπερθέτως πεπλη|ρωκότα πάσας *vac.*

B. 48: Consolatory Decree for Titus Antonius Lysimachos Grypos (IAph 2007 12.207)

Description: Two adjacent marble blocks (A: W. 1.11; B: W. 1.32; both H. 0.77; unknown)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.0175-0.025

Date: 41-54 CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2767; published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1604; by Reinach 1906, no. 15; *MAMA* 8, no. 408; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 12

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἔδοξεν τῆ βουλῇ κ|αὶ τῷ δήμῳ γνώμη ἀρχόντων καὶ Ὑψικλέους [τ]οῦ Ὑ[ψικλέ]-
ους τοῦ Μενάνδρου γραμματέως δήμου καὶ Μενίππου τοῦ Τειμοκλέους τοῦ Π[ο]-
λεμάρχου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς χ|ώρας στρατηγοῦ ἐπεὶ Τίτος Ἀντώνιος Ἀδράστου υἱὸς Κυρε[ί]-
να Λυσίμαχος Γρύπος ἀ|νήρ τῆς πρώτης τάξεως καὶ γένους πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐν πᾶσ[ι]
5παρεσχημένου τῆ πατρίδι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας νεικήσας πάντα ἠθῶν τε -
σεμνότητι καὶ ἐναρέτου βίου ἀγωγῇ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν κατὰ ἔργα κοσμήσας τὴν τοῦ
γένους Γ δόξαν 7

καὶ ἐν αἷς ἐτέλεσεν ἀρχα | [ἴ]ς καὶ ὑπηρεσίαις καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ ἀγορανομίαις
πολυτελέσιν

καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν καὶ λιτο | υργίαις μεγαλοψύχοις καὶ ἀρχιερωσύνη πολυτελεστάτη τὰ
νῦν μετήλλακχεν ὁ | [δ]ὲ δῆμος ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐπηνέχθη τειμῆ-
10σαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μετη[[λ]λακχότα ταῖς τειμαῖς καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν τῷ τῆς ἀρ[ε]-
τῆς στεφάνῳ παραμυθήσασθαι δὲ <κ>αὶ Ἀντωνίαν Νεικοτείμου θυγατέρα Τατίαν τὴν
μητέρα αὐτο[ῦ]

δεδοχθαι τῆ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ | δήμῳ τετειμῆσθαι καὶ μετηλλακχότα Ἀντωνίον Λυσίμαχον
ἄν-

δρα πάσης ἄξιον τειμῆς τα[[ἴ]ς καλλίσταις τειμαῖς ἐστεφανῶσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ
ἀρετῆς στεφάνῳ παρηγορη|σθαι δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίαν Νεικοτείμου θυγατέρα Τατίαν τὴν
μητέ-

15ρα αὐτοῦ εὐθαρσῶς τὸ σ|υνβεβηκὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐνε[κε]ῖν

B. 49: Posthumous honours for Claudia Tryphosa Paulina (IAph 2007 12.518)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: Ligatures

Date: 1st or 2nd centuries CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: CIG 2819; by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1607; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 494

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί-
μησαν καὶ μετηλλαχῶ-
αν Κλαυδίαν Κλαυδίου Ἀπολ-
λωνίου ἀρχιερέως θυγατέρα
5Τρυφῶσαν Παυλεῖναν ἀρχι-
έρειαν διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτῆς εἰς
τὴν πατρίδα ἐν πᾶσι φιλοτει-
μείαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς κοσ-
10μιότητα κάλλει διενενκοῦ-
σαν καὶ τελευτήσασαν παρ-
vac. θένον ἔτι *leaf*

B.50.i-ii: Honors for Calpurnius Pauleinos and Flavia Pythodoris (IAph 2007 15.269)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: Ligatures

Date: 1st or 2nd centuries CE

Findspot: No location given

Bibliography: Published by Leake 1843, no. 17; by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1612; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 288

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

vac. ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν *vac.*

Καλπούρνιον Παυλεῖνον καὶ Φλαβία[ν]

Πυθοδορίδα τοὺς στεφανηφόρου[ς]

B.51: Consolatory decree, on death of Apphia daughter of Timotheos (IAph 2007 12.309)

Description: Marble block (W. 1.56 × H. 0.51 × D. 0.60)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02-0.025

Date: 1st to 2nd centuries CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Cormack 1964, no. 407; whence Robert 1965, p. 229; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 13

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[ἔδ]οξεν τῇ βουλῇ γν[ώμη]

[στ]ρατηγῶν καὶ γραμματέ[ω]ς

[δῆ]μου Δημέου τοῦ Μενε-

[κρά]του νν. ἐπεὶ Ἀφριάς Τιμο-

5[θέ]ου τῶν πολιτίδων

[γυ]νῆ δὲ Ἀγέλαου τοῦ Με-

[νε]σθέως τὰ νῦν μετήλλα-

[κχε] τὸν βίον ν. δεδόχθαι ἐ-

[πην]ῆσθαι αὐτὴν καὶ μετηλ-

10[λακ]χυῖαν καὶ ἐπικηδεῦσαι

[δημ]οσίᾳ καὶ ἐσστεφανῶσ-

[θαι ὑ]πὸ τοῦ δήμου χρυσῶ

[στεφ]άνῳ ζήσασαν εὐτά-

[κτωσ κ]αὶ κοσμίως καὶ ἐνα-

15[ρέτωσ παρηγ]ορῆσθαι δὲ]

[καὶ Ἀγέλαον Μενεσθέως

[τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς]

B.52: Honors for Timokles (IAph 2007 12.512)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: No description

Date: 1st to 2nd centuries CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2766; whence Liermann 1889, p. 19; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 329

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος [ἐτεί]-
μησαν ταῖς καλλίσταις
καὶ μεγίσταις τειμαῖς *star*
Τειμοκλέα Ἀπολλωνίου
στοῦ Ὑψικλέους ἄνδρα σοφὸν
καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν γένους
πρώτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου
γυμνασιάρχισαντα καὶ
στεφανοφηρήσαντα με-
λογαλοψύχως καὶ φιλοδόξως
καὶ ἀρχιερατεύσαντα τοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀγνο-
θετήσαντα καὶ δις ἐστιάσ-
αντα τὸν δῆμον καὶ πάν-
τα ποιήσαντα μεγαλομε-
ρῶς λάμπρότατα καὶ πολυ-
τελέστατα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀξίως
καὶ ἀναλογούντως τῇ πατρί-
vac. δι καὶ τῷ γένει *leaf*

B.53: Honors for anonymous (*I Aph* 2007 12.413)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: ll. 1-18, 0.025; ll. 19ff, 0.02

Date: 1st to 2nd centuries CE

Findspot: South east gate of the walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2789; whence Liermann 1889, pp. 45-47, no. 7; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 299

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[·· c. 4 ··]

ιερατε[ύσαντα]

[δ]ιὰ βίου γυμνασ-

[ι]αρχήσαντα δις

στεφανοφορήσαν-

τα δις ἀγνοθέτη-

σαντα τρίς ἐστιά-

σαντα τὸν δῆμον
τετρακίς πρεσβεύ-
10σαντα πολλάκις
ἄρξαντα τὰς ἐν
τῇ πόλει ἀρχὰς ἀ-
πάσας διὰ παν-
τὸς λέγοντα καὶ
15πράσσοντα καὶ ψη-
φίζόμενον ἀεὶ τὰ
συνφέροντα τῷ δή-
μῳ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὖ-
νουν τῇ πατρίδι
20*vac.*
τῆς δὲ κατασκευ-
ῆς τοῦ τε ἀνδρι-
άντος καὶ τῆς ἀ-
ναστάσεως αὐ-
25[το]ῦ ἐπεμελήθη
[Τι]βέριος Κλαύδιος
Μαρίωνος υἱὸς Κυ-
ρίνα Μένανδρος
ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ

B.54.i-ii: Posthumous honors for Myon and Peritas (IAph 2007 11.508)

Description: No description (maybe from a tomb monument)

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 98-117 CE

Findspot: Northwest part of the city

Bibliography: CIG 2771; whence Liermann 1889, p.47ff; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 511 (i) and 522 (ii)

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἰ Μύωνα Περίτου τοῦ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ Περίτου
τοῦ φύσει Ἀδράστου Μόλωνος Μύων[ος Ἀδ]ράστου ἄνδρα
[το]ῦ πατρὸς καὶ προγόνων ἐνδόξων γένους πρώτου καὶ πολλὰς γυ-
5μνασιαρχίας καὶ στεφανοφορίας πεποικηκός καὶ ἐν πρεσ-
βείαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις πάσαις γεγονότος *scroll* ἀνδρῶν
ἀπόγονο[ν] τῶν συνεκτικώτων τὴν πατρίδα *scroll* καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ
παιδὸς ἡλικίας *star* ζήσαντα καλῶς καὶ ἐναρέτως καὶ ἀναλο-
γούντως τῇ τοῦ γένο[υ]ς ἀξία ἀσκήσαντα παιδε[ίαν] καὶ ἐ-
10ν αἷς ἐφιλοτιμήσατο πρώταις πρεσβείαις τε καὶ ἱερατεία θεοῦ
Νέρβα παράσχοντα χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν τῇ πατρίδι εἰκόνων
τε ἐνόπλις ἐπιχρῦσοις ἀναθέσεσιν καὶ ἀγαλμάτων

καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσί[ο]ις τόποις ἐχόντων
ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς ἀναλογούσας τῇ τοῦ γένους ἀξία
15εἰς τὴν ἐπικειμένην σορὸν τοῦτω τῷ μνημείῳ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐξεῖναι
τεθῆναι ἢ μόνῳ Περίτῳ τῷ κατεσκευακῶτι τὸ μνημεῖον ἐπεὶ ὁ θεὸς
[ἔ]τερόν τινα ἀπιτισάτω τὰ δηλούμενα πρόστειμα ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ τῇ
Περίτου Ζῆ.

ii 20Περείταγ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Διονυσ[ί]ου τοῦ
Περίτου τοῦ φύσει Ἀδράστου τοῦ Μόλω-
νος Μύωνα ἀνδρα γένους λαμπροῦ καὶ ἐν-
δόξου καὶ γεγ[ο]νότος ἐν τε γυμνασιαρχίαις
καὶ στεφανοφορίαις καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κατασκευ-
25αῖς ἔργων καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ λιτουργίαις πάσαις καὶ
αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας κατακολουθο[ῦ]ντα
τῷ τοῦ γένους ἀξιώματι ζῶντα φιλοτίμως
πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐνχειρισθεισας αὐτῷ
ἀρχὰς καὶ πρεσβείας καὶ ἐγδικίας τετελεκοτα ἱ-
30σως καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀξίως τῶν προγόνων τελο[υ]μ-
[έ]νης τε γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ στεφανηφορίας ἐν-
δεκάτης καὶ αὐτῆς κα[θα]πε[ρ] Μύων ὁ προπαπ-
πος αὐτοῦ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐκτενῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῶν
προγόνων τὰ καθήκοντα αὐτῷ τῆς γυμνασιαρχίας
35καὶ στεφανηφορίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τετελεκότα ἱερα-
τεύσαντα δὲ καὶ θεοῦ Τίτου

B. 55: Consolatory decree for Tatia Attalis (IAph 2007 12.205)

Description: Two white marble blocks, one complete (a) (0.67 × 0.415), one in two pieces; left side b (W. 0.42 × H. 0.40 × D. 0.455); right side c (W. 0.25 × H. 0.415 × D. 0.46)

Text: Inscribed on the face, in two columns

Letters: column I: 0.012-0.013; column II: 0.13 - 0.15

Date: Early 2nd century CE (Hadrianic?)

Findspot: a: Eastern walls; b: City; c: a stray find

Bibliography: a: published by Reinach 1906, no. 9; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 20; whole text published by Reynolds and Roueché 1996; whence *Bullep* 1997.523; *SEG* 1995.1502; comments by C. P. Jones 1999, pp. 597-600; whence *SEG* 50 2000.1097

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1996).

i [εἰσησαγ]αμένης τῆς βουλῆς [ἔ]δοξε [τῇ βούλῃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ? *vac.* γνώμη]
ἀρχόντων καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ὑψικλέους το[ῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ὑψικλέ]-
ους τοῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος γραμμα[τέως δήμου τὸ δεύ]-
5τερον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Δ[· c. 7 · τοῦ Δημη]-
τρίου καὶ Διογένους τοῦ Διογένους τοῦ Μενά[νδρου] [· c. 6 · τῶν]
ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγῶν *bar* ἐπεὶ Τατία Ὑψικλέ[ους τοῦ Ἀδράσ]-

του τοῦ Νεικοτείου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου το[ῦ Ζήνωνος] [Ἱέρα]-
 κος Ἀτταλῖς γενομένη ἱερεία Σεβαστῶν π[άτρος καὶ προγό]-
 10νων ὑπάρχουσα τῶν πρώτων καὶ συνεκτικ[ότων τὴν ?πατρίδα]
 καὶ ἐν γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ στεφανηφορίαις [καὶ ?ἀγωνοθεσίαις]
 καὶ ἀρχιερωσύναις καὶ ἔργων ἀναθέσεσιν κ[αὶ ·· c. 9 ·· ἐκ τῶν]
 ἰδίων γεγονότων ζήσασα βίον σώφρονα κ[αὶ ?κοσμίων καὶ ἀναλο]-
 γοῦντα τῇ τοῦ γένους σεμνότητι προμοί[ρως νῦν μεθίσταται]
 15τοῦ βίου ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ δημόσιον ἢ πόλι[ς ·· c. 16 ··]
 ἀρπάσασά τε τὸ πτῶμα ὁμοθυμαδὸν [·· c. 19 ··]

vac. vac. [·· ? ·· ? vac. ·· ? ··]

ii [·· c. 7 ·· ἐν τῇ π]όλει ἀπέθετο

20[·· c. 5 ··]ΕΞΕΣ [·· c. 24 ··]ΕΣ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας

ΟΤΗ[·· c. 18 ··] τὴν πατρίδα *v.*

[·· c. 11 ··] *stop* ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆ[μος ·· c. 8 ··]Σ τε τὴν ἠρωίδα

καὶ ΠΡΟΗΚΑΤΟΦΛ[··]ΑΣ[·· c. 13 ·· ?ἀναλο]γοῦσας *scroll v.*

δεδοχθαι τῇ βούλῃ καὶ τ[ῶ] δῆμῳ ? *bar* τετειμή[σθαι μὲν καὶ με-

25τηλλακχυῖαν *bar* Τατίαν Ἀ[τταλῖν ταῖς καλλι]στῆς καὶ με-

γίσταις τειμαῖς *stop* ἐντεθά[φθαι δὲ ?αὐτὴν ἐν] τῇ πόλει ἐν τῷ

Ἀδράστου τοῦ πάππου [αὐτῆς ?μνημείῳ ?τοῦ π]ολλὰ καὶ μεγά<λ>α

καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς τὴν πόλιν [εὐεργετηκότος ἀγορ]εῦεσθαι δὲ αὐτῆ[ν]

καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐν [ταῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνια]υτὸν ἀγομέ-

30ναις ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἀμ[ᾶ ·· c. 17 ·· κ]αὶ τειμαῖσ[θαι ἀν-

δριάντων καὶ ἀγαλμ[άτων καὶ εἰκόνων ἐπιχρ]ύσεων ἐ[ν ἱεροῖς]

ἢ δημοσίοις τόποις [ἀναθέσεσιν ·· c. 10 ·· ἐ]ν τῇ πόλ[ει*vac.*]

vac. [vac.] vac.

B.56: Honors for Kallimorphos, flautist (IAph 2007 12.716)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 0.315 x W. 0.205 x D. 0.11)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.03; diairetic dots flanking Y in l.1

Date: 117-38 CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2810; published by Roueché 1993, no. 67

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[*e.g.*:] ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτειμήσαν]

[Τιβ(έριον) Κλαύδιον Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυ]-

δίου Ἀγαθαγγέλου υἱὸν Καλ-

λίμορφον ἱερέα *stop* διὰ βίου θε-

ᾶς Νίκης περιοδονίκην πρῶ-

τον καὶ μόνον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶ-

5νος κυκλίων ἀγλητῶν νική-

σαντα ἱεροῦς ἀγῶνας τοῦς

leaf ὑπογεγραμμένους *leaf*

vac.

Πύθια Ἴακτια τὴν ἐξ Ἴαργους
ἀσπίδα δις Βαρβίλληα ἐν Ἐ-
10φέσῳ τετράκις κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς
καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων Πέργα-
μον τρίς κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς καὶ τὸν
κατὰ πάντων κοινὸν Συρίας ἐν
Ἄντιοχεῖα δις κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς
15κοινὸν <Κι>λικίας ἐν Ταρσῶ δις
κατὰ <τὸ> ἐξῆς Κύζικον Ὀλύμπια
καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων Ἀδριανὰ Ὀ-
λύμπια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ *stop* ταλαντιαί
ους δὲ καὶ ἡμιταλαντια<ί>ους ἐνί-
20κα ἅπαντας οὖς ἠγωνίσασατο *leaf*

B.57A: Decree of honors for Kallikrates, pancratiast (IAph 2007 12.719)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 0.84 x W. 0.465 x D. 0.50)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.015; diaeresis on last I, 1.5; ligatures

Date: 117-138 CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1620; by Liermann 1889, no.96; by Cormack 1964, no. 417; revised by Robert 1965, pp. 134-47; by Roueché 1993, no. 89

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[· c. 12 ·]ΙΤΟ[·]Ξ[· c. 5 ·]
[· c. 9 ·]Ι *stop* ἔδοξεν τῇ ἱερᾷ ξ[υστικῇ πε]-
ριπολιστικῇ εὐσεβεῖ σεβαστῇ [συνόδῳ καὶ]
τῷ σύνπαντι ξυστῷ τῶν περὶ τ[ὸν Ἡρακλέα]
5καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραιαν[ὸν Ἀδρι]-
ανὸν Σεβαστὸν διαπέμψασθαι [τόδε τὸ ψήφισ]-
μα τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ Ἀφροδεισιέων βο[υλῇ καὶ]
τῷ δήμῳ *stop* ἐπεὶ Καλλικράτης Διογέν[ους Ἀφρο] -
Ω πανκρατιαστῆς ἱερονείκη[ς πλεισ]-
10[τ]ονείκης ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας ε[ἰς τὰς ὀ]-
δοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς τραπεῖς ἰδρῶσι [καὶ πό]-
νοις ἐκτήσατο τὴν εὐκλεῆ δόξαν [· c. 5 ·] -
τητός τε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καθ' [ὅλης τῆς]
οἰκουμένης γείνεται διὰ τε τὴν ὀλόκλ[ηρον]
15αὐτῷ πεφιλοπονημένην σοφίαν σωματι γὰρ ὑ-
περβάλων ἅπαντας ἀρχαίους ἐθαυμάσθη [τὴν]
[φύ]σιν ψυχῆς τε ἐπιμελούμενος ἐμακαρί-
ζετο τὸν τρόπον ὧν ἔνεκα ἀπάντων πρὸς

τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς δόξης ἐρπύσας ὁ βάσκα
 20νος φθόνος τὸ κοινὸν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν νεμεσή-
 σας ἀπήνεγκεν ἐνειρείσας εἰς μέρη τοῦ σώμα-
 τος τὰ εὐχρηστότατα πανκρατιασταῖς τοὺς-
 μους διὸ ἔδοξεν τύχη τῇ ἀγαθῇ αἰτήσασ-
 θαι τὴν Ἀφροδεισιέων πόλιν τόπους ἐπιτη -
 25δεῖους ὅπως ποιησώμεθα τοῦ μεγάλου ἱερο-
 νεῖκου εἰκόνων ἀναθέσεις καὶ ἀνδρειάν-
 τος ἀνάστασιν καθὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει
 τῆς Ἀσίας Ἐφέσῳ *stpr* ἔχουσῶν τῶν τειμῶν
 ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς προσηκούσας τῷ Καλλικράτει,
 30ῖνα διὰ τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ βαρύθυμον
 πρὸς εἰμαρμένην ἀπαραίτητον αἰ τῶν τει-
 μῶν χάριτες εὐπαρηγόρητον ἡμεῖν τὸν συν -
vac. ἀθλητὴν καταστήσωσιν *vac.*

57B: Second decree of the synod of athletes in honor of Kallikrates (IAph 2007 15.327)

Description: Fragment of marble block from composite monument (H. 0.22 x W. 0.36 x D. 0.18)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.015

Date: 117-138 CE

Findspot: Stray

Bibliography: by Roueché 1993, no. 90

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[· ? · ἔδοξεν τῇ ἱε]ρῷ ξυστικ[ῆ περιπολιστικῆ κτλ · ? ·]
 [· ? · καὶ αὐ]τοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραιαν[ὸν Ἀδριανὸν κτλ · ? ·]
 [· ? · καὶ τ]ῷ δήμῳ *stpr* ἐπεὶ Καλλι[κράτης κτλ · ? ·]
 [- εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τ]ῆς ἀρετῆς τραπεῖς ἰδ[ρῶσι κτλ [· ? ·]
 5[· ? · τῆς οἰκ]ουμένης γαίνεται [διὰ τε τὴν ὀλόκληρον κτλ [· ? ·]
 [· ? · ἅπαντας ἀρ]χαίους ἐθαυμάσθη τ[ὴν φύσιν κτλ [· ? ·]
 [· ? · πρὸς τὸ] ὑπερβάλλον τῆς δ[όξης ἐρπύσας κτλ [· ? ·]
 [· ? · ἐν]ειρείσας εἰς μέρη τοῦ [σώματος κτλ [· ? ·]
 [· ? · αἰτήσα]σθαι [τῆ]ν Ἀφρο[δεισιέων πόλιν κτλ [· ? ·]

B. 58: Honors for C. Julius Longianos, poet (IAph 2007 12.27)

Description: Three texts, all inscribed on a single marble block (H. 0.81 x W. 0.77). Perhaps from the wall of a building

Text: “The texts of i and ii must have started on the blocks above, and most of i, with much of iii was inscribed on a block to the left” (IAph 2007)

Letters: 0.01; dot for stops

Date: 127 CE

Findspot: Walls north of stadium

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, nos. 1618 (i and ii), 1619 (iii); by Reinach 1906, no. 10; *MAMA* 8, no. 418; by Roueché 1993, no. 88

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

i · · ? · ·]
[· · ? · ·] ΟΣΑΠΑ
[· · ? · · ?διὰ τὰς ἀκρό-
[ασεις · · ? · ·] Α τε τῆς
[· · ? · ·]ΙΤΟΥΣ
5[· · c. 6 · ·]ΑΝ εισφερ-
[· · c. 6 · ·]Ι ἐν πλει-
[στοις · · c. 6 · ·]ΑΣΤΟΥΣ
[· · c. 6 · ·]ΔΕΝΟΣ
[· · c. 6 · ·]πολλάκις
10[· · c. 6 · ·]τήν τε αὐ-
[τ· · ? · · πρ]οσηκου -
[· · c. 6 · ·]ΔΗΣΘΑΙ
[· · ? · · Γάιον Ἰούλιον] Λονγια-
[νὸν · · c. 6 · ·]Ν καὶ κατα
15[· · c. 6 · ·]ΟΝ καὶ τῶν
[· · c. 6 · ·]ΤΛΩ καὶ ΔΕ
[· · c. 4 · · π]ολιτείαν
[· · c. 6 · ·]ΔΑ καὶ ΧΕΙ
[· · c. 6 · ·]ΝΑΙ δὲ αὐ-
20[τ· · c. 6 · ·] πόλεως
[· · c. 6 · ·]ΜΑΣΕΦΗΣ
[· · c. 6 · ·]ΡΟΣ δὲ το
[· · ? · · ?Αλικαρνασ]σέων πο-
[λ· · c. 6 · ·] ΟΣ αὐτὸν
25[· · c. 6 · ·] ἀντίγρα-
[φον · · ? · · σημανθὲν τῆ
δημοσία σφραγεῖ]δι *stop leaf*

ii · · ? · ·]
τῆ ἄλλῃ ἐπιδημία καὶ ἐτείμησεν καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ἡ-
μᾶς καὶ ποιημάτων παντοδαπῶν ἐπιδείξεις ποι-
κίλας ἐποίησατο δι' ὧν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους
εὐφρα-
νεν καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὠφέλησεν ἐπὶ τε τούτοις
5ἅπασιν ἠσθεῖς ὁ δῆμος τειμᾶς αὐτῶ προσέταξε
τὰς προσηκούσας ψηφίσασθαι *stop* δεδόχθαι Γάιον
Ἰού-
λιον Λογγιανὸν προῖκα πεπολιτεῦσθαι παρ'
ἡμεῖν *vac.*
ὄντα καὶ ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον
τῶν κα-
θ' ἡμᾶς ταῖς τε ἄλλαις πολιτεαῖς καὶ τειμαῖς τετει-
10μῆσθαι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων μεγίσταις καὶ
εἰκόσιν *vac.*
χαλκαῖς ἅς ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνασταθῆναι τοῖς ἐπι-
σημοτάτοις τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Μου-
σῶν τεμένει καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῶν ἐφήβων παρὰ
τὸν παλαιὸν Ἡρόδοτον *stop* ἐψηφίσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς
βυβλί -
1515 οἰς αὐτοῦ δημοσίαν ἀνάθεσιν ἐν τε
βυβλιοθήκαις
ταῖς παρ' ἡμεῖν ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτοις οἱ νέοι παιδεύων-
ται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὃν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν
συ[v]-
γράμμασιν ὅπως δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν συγγενῶν
Ἄφρο-
δεισιέων φανερὰ γένηται ἢ ἡμετέρα περὶ τὸν
πολε[ί]-
20την αὐτῶν εὐνοια καὶ σπουδὴ *stop* δεδόχθαι καὶ
ἀντίγρα-

φον τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος πεμφθῆναι διὰ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ
Ἰουλίου τοῖς Ἀφροδισιεῦσιν τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγεῖδι
ση-
μανθὲν ἐξ οὗ κάκεινο(ι) μαθήσονται τό τε ἡμέτερον
ἦ-νν.
θος ᾧ περὶ πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς πεπαιδευμένοις
25χρώμενοι διατελοῦμεν καὶ αἷς τὸν ἄνδρα τειμαῖς
ὡς
διενηνοχότα τῶν ἄλλων
τετειμήκαμεν *stop ? leaf vac.*

iii *stop leaf* (at end of i) *stop* ψήφισμα ἱερᾶς συνόδου *vac.*

[ἔδοξεν τῇ ἱερᾷ συνόδῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἴκου]μένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα
Τραιανὸ(ν) Καίσαρος θεοῦ *vac.*

[Τραιανοῦ Δακικοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸν θεοῦ Ν]έρουα υἱώνον Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν
νέον Διόνυσον τεχνε[ι]-

[τῶν ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν καὶ τῶν σ]υναγωνιστῶν*vac.* εἰσηγησαμένου Θεοφράστου
τοῦ Εὐβιότου Τρύφωνος*vac.*

5[κωμφοδοῦ Λαοδικέως ἐπιψηφισαμένου Ε]ὐτύχους τοῦ Εὐτύχους κωμφοδοῦ Ἀσιονεῖκου
Ἱεραπολείτου *vac.*

[ἐπεὶ Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἡ]γιανὸς ἀγαθὸς ἀτελής τραγωδίων ποιήτης ἀνὴρ πάντος
λόγου καὶ πάσης

[· c. 30 ··]ΣΙΑΝ οὐ μόνον κοσμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ συναύξων διὰ τῆς ἐναρέτου παιδείας

[· c. 27 ·· ἡ]μεγαλοφουεῖ δόξῃ λογιότητα, τὴν ἀδιάλειπτον εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ σπουδὴν EN ν.

[· c. 30 ··]ΥΤΑΙ ὡς πληθύνει ἡμῶν τὴν σύνοδον καὶ συναύξειν δι' ὃ ἄθροον τὸ τῆς ΕΙΘ
10[· c. 30 ··]ΤΑΙ καὶ προτροπὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐτείμησεν αὐτὸν εἰκόνι γραπτῇ *vac.*

[· c. 25 ·· ἐν ᾧ] τὸ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὸς προέληται, εἶναί τε προήγορον διὰ βίου τῆς
[συνόδου · c. 24 ··]ΟΧΗΤῆς ἀξίας ἀνδρας ταῖς πρεπούσαις τειμαῖς

ἀμείβεσθαι *stop* ἐτετέλεσθη

[ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Μάρκου Γαουίου Σκουίλλα Γ]αλλικανοῦ καὶ Τίτου Ἀτειλίου Ῥούφου

Τιτιανοῦ πρὸς C' καλανδῶν Ἀπριλίων

[· c. 12 ·· Θεοφράστου τοῦ Εὐβιότου]ν Τρύφωνος τοῦ καλουμένου Θεοφράστου

Ῥεῖωνος Λαοδικέως κωμφο-

15[δοῦ · c. 28 ··]Σ καὶ γυμνασιάρχου γραμματεύοντος δὲ Αἰλίου Κλαυδίου

Διογένους *vac.*

[· c. 31 ··]ΝΤΟΣ Ἀπελλα Χάρητος Ἀφροδισιεῖ[ς κι]θαρω[δο]ν [· c. 7 ··] ΟΥ *vac.*

B. 59: Honours for Marcus Antonius Popillios Agelaos (IAph 2007 12.807)

Description: Upper part of a marble statue base (H. c. 0.030)

Text: Inscribed (I.1) on the upper fascia and (II.2 ff.) on the face

Letters: c. 0.015

Date: 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southwestern walls.

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

vac. Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη *vac.*

Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ποπίλ-

[λ]ιος Ἀγέλαος σοφιστ[ῆ]ς

[πρω]τονεωποιοῦς [· · c. 6 · ·]ς

B. 60: Fragmentary honours for Chaireas (IAph 2007 12.529)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: No description

Date: 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: CIG 2798; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 264

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[· · ·]

Χαιρέαν σοφισ-

τήν καθὼς Κλαυ-

δία Καλλικρατεί-

5α διετάξατο *stop leaf*

B. 61: Posthumous honors for Lykidas Zenon (IAph 2007 7.8)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.60 × H. 1.68 × D. 0.52)

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.025

Date: 2nd century CE

Findspot: Martyrion

Bibliography: Published by Kubitschek and Reichel 1893, p. 103, no. 14; by Reinach 1906, no. 62; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 503

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ

ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ νέοι

ἐτείμησαν καὶ μετηλ-

ν. λακχότα *vacat*

5Λυκίδαν Διογένους τοῦ

Λυκίδου Ζήνωνα ταῖς

καλλίσταις τειμαῖς ζή-

σαντα ἐν παιδείᾳ κοσ-

μίως καὶ ἐναρέτως *vac.*

10τὴν δὲ ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ ἀν-

δριάντος ἐποίησαντο

Διογένης Λυκίδου τοῦ Διο-

γένους νεοποιὸς κα[ὶ]
Ἀμμία Ἑρμογένους τοῦ Ἀ-
15πολλωνίου τοῦ Δημητρί-
ου οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ *scroll*

B. 62: Honors for Tryphe (IAph 2007 12.707)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.39 × H. 0.90 × D. 0.37)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.03; ligatured NH in l. 3

Date: Early 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Published by Doublet and Deschamps 1890, no. 11; *MAMA* 8, no. 467; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 331

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[?· ? ··]

Τρύφην Μη
νοδότου στε-
φανηφόρον

B. 63: Honors for Julia Faustina (IAph 2007 4.118)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.55 × H. 0.45 × D. 0.26)

Text: Inscribed on the statue base

Letters: 0.055-0.07

Date: 2nd century CE

Findspot: South Agora

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[· ? ··]

Ἰουλίαν Φαυ[- ν.]
στεῖναν τῆ[v]
γυναῖκα-
vac. αὐτοῦ *vac.*
[· ? ··]

B.64: Honors for Zenon (IAph 2007 15.288)

Description: Right side of a marble statue base (W. 0.32 × H. 0.37 × D. 0.50)

Text: Inscribed on fasciae of upper and lower mouldings

Letters: Lightly cut; ave. 0.02

Date: 2nd century CE

Findspot: Stray find from fortification area

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[τῆ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐ[τ]εῖ - ν.

[μησαν ?Ζήνω]να Αττάλου
[τοῦ ·· c. 7 ··]τοῦ Δημέου
[?ἄνδρα γενό]μενον γέ- ν.
5[νους ἐνδό]ξου τὴν δὲ τει-
[μὴν ·· c. 6 ··]ατο γένεσθαι.Ι
[·· c. 8 ·· ὁ υ]ἰὸς αὐτοῦ ΟΚΑ ν.
[·· c. 8 ··] ἐκ μέρους τὴν ν.
[·· c. 8 ··] γ κρήνην *leaf vac.*

B. 65: Posthumous honors for Theodotos son of Andronikos (IAph 2007 12.104)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.55 × D. 0.77)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.0275–0.035

Date: Early 2nd century CE

Findspot: Northeastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, pp. 128-129, no. 56 (part); *MAMA* 8, no. 490; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 536

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[ή] βουλή και ὁ δῆμος και
[ή γ]ερουσία ἐτείμησαν τα[ῖς]
[κα]λλίσταις και μεγίσταις
[τ]ειμαῖς Θεόδοτον Ἄνδρ[ο]-
5νίκου τοῦ Παρδαλᾶ τοῦ
[Π]απίου ἥρωα ἀνδρεῖον ἀ[γα]-
[θ]ὸν γενόμενον ἀπὸ π[α]-
[τ]ρὸς και προγόνων λειτου[ρ]-
[γ]ῶν και ζήσαντα κοσμίως
10[κα]ὶ αἰδημόνως και πρὸς ὑπό-
δειγμα ἀρε[τῆ]ς
[τὴν ἀ]νάστασιν τ[ο]ῦ ἀνδρ[ι]-
[ἀν]τος ποησαμέν[ο]ν Ἄν-
[δρ]ονεῖκου τοῦ Π[αρ]δαλᾶ
15[τοῦ Παπίου τοῦ π[α]τρὸς
vac. αὐτοῦ vac.

B. 66.i-ii: Honors for Julianos and Flavia Apphia Juliane (IAph 2007 13.401)

Description: Marble block or statue base (W. 0.44 × H. 0.67 × D. 0.44)

Text: The inscription impinges on the right edge

Letters: 0.0225-0.25; phi 0.36

Date: Early 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southern necropolis

Bibliography: *MAMA* 8, no. 510; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 489

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

.. ? ..]-

[· c. 5 ·] υἰὸν [?Ιουλια]
νὸν ἥρωα καὶ Φλαβ[ί]-
αν Σέξστου Φλαβ[ί]-
ου Ἰουλιανοῦ Διογ[έ]-
5νους θυγατέρα Ἀπφ[ί]-
αν Ἰουλιανὴν ἥρω-
vac. ἶδα vac.

τὰς δὲ τειμὰς

ἀνέθεσαν Σέξ-

10στος Φλάβιος stop Σέξ(στου)

Φλ(αβίου) υἱὸς Ἰουλιανὸς Δι-

ογένης καὶ Φλαβία stop Τί(του)

Φλ(αβίου) Γαληνοῦ θυγά-

τηρ Ἀπφία οἱ γονεῖς

15αὐτῶν scroll vac.

B. 67.i-iii: Consolatory decree for three brothers (*I Aph 2007 12.704*)

Description: Two adjoining marble blocks; left, W. 1.90 × H. 0.85 x unknown; right, W. 1.42 × H. 0.85 x unknown

Text: Inscribed in three recessed panels

Letters: a and b 0.015-0.02; c 0.025

Date: 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2775b, 2775c, 2775d; published by Leake 1843, no. 20a, 20b, 20c; *MAMA* 8, no. 412; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 21

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

a · · ? · ·]

[·]ως καὶ ἀνελλιπῶς πλεῖστα παρεσχη-
[μ]ένον τῆ π ατρίδι φ[έ]ρειν ἀνθρωπίνως
τὴν συνβεβηκυῖαν συνφορὰν ἐπὶ τῶ
τέκνω αὐτοῦ stop δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ καὶ
5τῶ δήμῳ τετειμῆσθαι μὲν Ζήνω να
Καλλίου τοῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Εὐδάμου
καὶ μετηλλακχότα ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀγάλματα
καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν ἱεροῖς ἢ δημοσίοις τό-
10ποις ὑπὸ Καλλίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
παραμεμυθῆσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἀπφίαν Εὐ-
δάμου τοῦ Μητροδώρου τὴν μη-
τέρα τοῦ Ζήνωνος scroll leaf star leaf leaf
vacat

c · · ? · ·]

b · · ? · ·]

καὶ μετῆλλακχότα καὶ στεφανῶσ θαι scroll
Καλλίαν υἱὸν Κ αλλίου τοῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ
Εὐδάμου νεανίαν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν
τὴν ἀναστροφὴν πεποιημένον ἐνάρετον
5καὶ παντὸς ἐπαίνου ἀξίαν ταῖς καλλίσ-
ταις καὶ μεγίσταις τειμαῖς ἀνατεθῆναι
δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀγάλματα
καὶ εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπιχρύ-
σοις ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τόποις ἐφ' ὧν
10καὶ ἐπιγραφῆναι καὶ τὰς ἀξίας καὶ πρεπού-
σας καὶ ἀναλογούσας τῶ γένει καὶ τῆ περι-
τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἀναστροφῆ τειμὰς ἐπι-
γραφῆναι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μνημείου ἐν ᾧ τέ-
θαπται καὶ Ζήνων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ scroll
15τὰς ἀξίας ἐπιγραφὰς αὐτῶ παραμεμυθῆσ-

[··· και με]-
 τη λλακχότα δεδό χθαι τῆ βουλιῆ και
 τῶ δήμῳ τετειμηῆσθαι και μετηλλακ-
 χότα Εὐδαμον Καλλιῦ τοῦ Ζήνω *scroll*
 νος τοῦ Εὐδάμου νεανίαν καλὸν
 5 και ἀγαθὸν ζήσαντα κοσμίως και σω-
 φρόνως και πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς
 ταῖς καλλίσταις και μεγίσταις και ἀξί-
 αῖς τειμαῖς ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ και
 εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπιχρύ-
 10 σοις και ἀνδριάντας και ἀγάλματα
 ἐν ἱεροῖς και δημοσίοις τόποις ἐ-
 φ' ὧν και ἐπιγραφῆναι τὰς ἀξίας και ἀ-
 ναλογούσας τῶ γένει αὐτοῦ τειμὰς
 ἐπιγραφῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς τειμὰς
 15 και ἐπὶ τοῦ μνημείου ἐν ᾧ κεκήδευ- *scroll*
 ται παραμεμυθῆσθαι δὲ Καλλιῦ Ζή-
 νωνος τοῦ Εὐδάμου και Ἀφρίαν Εὐδά-
 μου τοῦ Μητροδώρου τοὺς γονεῖς αὐ-
 τοῦ φέρειν ἀνθρωπίνως τὰς συμβεβη-
 20 κνίας αὐτοῖς συμφορὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς τέ-
 20 κνο[ις αὐτῶ]ν τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα ἐπιδε-
 δόσθα[ι εἰς]ηγησαμένου Μητροδώ- *leaf*
 ρου τοῦ Μητροδώρου τοῦ Διονυσίδου

θαι δὲ Καλλιῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Εὐδάμου
 και Ἀφρίαν Εὐδάμου τοῦ Μητροδώρου *leaf*
 τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ και Εὐδαμον Καλλι-
 ου τοῦ Ζήνωνος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ *scroll*
 20 φέρειν ἀνθρωπίνως τὸ συμβεβηκὸς
scroll ἀτύχημα *scroll*

B. 68: Decree of honors for Praxiteles (IAph 2007 12.319)

Description: Marble block (W. 0.68 × H. 0.74 × D. 0.48)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02-0.025

Date: Early 2nd century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls, near the East gate

Bibliography: Published by Kubitschek and Reichel 1893, no. 7; by Reinach 1906, no. 7; *MAMA* 8, no. 414; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 14

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἔδοξεν [τῆ βουλιῆ κ]αι τῶ δήμ[ω]
 γνώμη ἀ[ρχόντων] και Ἀρτεμι-
 δώρου τοῦ Ἀ[ρ]τεμιδώρου τοῦ
 Νεικοτεῖμου γραμματέως δή-
 5 μου και Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώ-
 ρου [π]αραφύλακος ν. ἐπεὶ Πραξιτέ-
 λης Ἀριστέου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου νε-
 10 ανίας ἀγαθὸς ζήσας βίον αἰδήμο-
 να και κόσμιον και ἀξιὸν ἐπαίνου τὰ

10νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ὑπέιλη-
πται καθήκει δὲ τοῖς οὕτως ζή-
σασιν καὶ μετηλλαχόσι τὰς ἐπὶ
τῇ κοσμίῳ ἀναστροφῇ μαρτυρί-
ας κ' α' ἵ τειμὰς ἀποδιδόναι δε-
15δόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶ δήμῳ
τετειμηῆσθαι ταῖς ἀξίαις καὶ
πρεπούσαις τειμαῖς καὶ μετηλ-
λαχότα Πραξιτέλην Ἀριστέου
τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου νεανίαν γε-
20[νόμ]ενον ἀγαθὸν καὶ παντὸς
[ἐπ]αίνου καὶ μαρτυρίας ἄξιον ἐ-
[ξε]ῖναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς προσήκουσιν
αὐτοῦ ἀναθεῖναι ἰκόνα ἐν
ὄπλῳ ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιγραφῆναι
25τὰς οἰκείας τειμὰς *vac.*

B. 69: Posthumous honors for Dionysios (IAph 2007 12.307)

Description: Marble statue base (0.57 × 0.86 measurable x 0.47)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025–0.035

Date: 2nd century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2769; published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1608; *MAMA* 8, no. 480; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 272

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτειμησεν ταῖς καλλίσ-
ταις τειμαῖς Διονύ-
σιον Ἀρτεμιδώρου
στοῦ Μενίππου τοῦ
Διονυσίου τοῦ Δη-
μητρίου ζήσαντα
κοσμίως καὶ πρὸς ἡ [[[· ? ·]]]
ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς
vacat

B. 70: Honors for Molossos, a child (IAph 2007 12.528)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2770; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 307

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμη-
σαν ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις
τειμαῖς Μολοσσὸν Περεΐτου
τοῦ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου
Ἐγγύπου γενόμενον ἱερέα Ἑρμοῦ
Ἀγοραίου παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν

B.71.i-iii: Honors for Sallustius family (*IAPH* 200712.646)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.80 and W. 0.86 × H. 1.16 × D. 0.54)

Text: Inscribed in three columns on the face

Letters: 0.025-0.03

Date: Mid-2nd century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Published *MAMA* 8, no. 517; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 323, 324, 320. Published by Reynolds 1999, pp. 327-334, Appendix A; whence *SEG* 491999.1417

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

i Σαλλουστί-
[α]ν Φροντεΐναν
Σαλλουστίου
Ῥούφου συνκλη-
5 τικοῦ θυγατέ-
ρα Σαλλουστί-
ου Τιτλλια-
νοῦ συνκλητι-
κοῦ ἀδελφὴν
10 Φλαβίου Ἀθη-
ναγόρου συν-
κλητικοῦ μη-
τέρα Φλαβίου Ἀ-
θηναγόρου Ἀγα-
15 θοῦ ἐπιτρόπου
Σεβαστοῦ γυ-
ναῖκα *vac.*

vacat

Μίλων τρις τοῦ
[Ἑ]ρμίου τοῦ Μί-
20 *vac.* λωνος *vac*

ii Τίτον [Σ]αλ-
λούστιον Φλα-
βιον Φλ[αβί]ου
Ἀθηνα[γ]όρου
5 ἐπιτρ[όπ]ο[υ]
Σεβασ[το]ῦ υἱ-
ὸν Ἀθ[ην]αγό-
ραν συ[νκ]λη-
τικόν *vac.*

vacat

10 Μίλων τρις
τοῦ Ἑρμίου
τοῦ Μίλωνος

iii Τ[ίτον] Φλ[άβ]ιον
[Φ]λαβί-
ο[υ] Μιθριδάτου υἱὸν
Ἀθηναγόραν Ἀγαθὸν
Τίτου Σαλλουστίου
5 Τίτου Φλαβίου Ἀθηνα-
γόρ[ου] συνκλητικοῦ
πατέρα καὶ Τίτου Φλα-
βίου Ἀθηναγόρου Κλαυ-
διανοῦ συνκλητικοῦ
10 πάππον Φλαβίας
Ἀπφίας Ἀσίας ἀρχιε-
ρείας πατέρα ἐπίτρο-
πον Σεβαστοῦ

vacat

Μίλων τρις τοῦ Ἑρμίου
15 τοῦ Μίλωνος τὸν ἑαυ-
τοῦ [φί]λον καὶ εὐεργέτην

B.72: Honors for M. Ulpius Carminius Klaudianos (*IAPH* 2007 12.1111)

Description: No description

Text: No description

Letters: No measurements

Date: Third quarter of the 2nd century CE

Findspot: Northern walls, northwest corner of stadium

Bibliography: *CIG* 2782, and p. 1112; Liermann 1889, pp. 73-86, no. 14; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 315; *Bull.Ep.* 1939.358, 1973.475 (ll. 25-26), 1980.472; A. D. Macro 1979, pp. 94-8, (ll. 9-10); *SEG* 29, 1068

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀφροδισιέων καὶ ἡ γερουσία
Μᾶρ(κος) Οὐλ(πιος) Καρ(μίνιος) Κλαυδιανὸν υἱὸν Καρ(μινίου) Κλαυδιανοῦ
Ἀσίας ἀρχιερέως πάππου καὶ προπάππου συν-
κλητικῶν τεμιηθέντα ἐν πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν
αὐτοκρατόρων ἄνδρα Φλ(αβίας) Ἀπφίας ἀρχιερείας
5 Ἀσίας μητρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῆς καὶ μάμμης συνκλη-
τικῶν φιλοπάτριδος θυγατρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ
Φλ(αβίου) Ἀθηναγόρου ἐπιτρόπου Σεβαστοῦ πατρὸς καὶ
πάππου καὶ προπάππου συνκλητικῶν αὐτὸν ἀρχι-
ερέως τῆς Ἀσίας υἱὸν πατέρα Καρ(μινίου) Ἀθηναγόρου συν-
10 κλητικοῦ πάππον Καρμινίων Ἀθηναγόρου καὶ
Κλαυδιανοῦ καὶ Ἀπφίας καὶ Λειβιανῆς συνκλη-
τικῶν ἀργυροταμίαν τῆς Ἀσίας λογιστὴν μετὰ
ὑπατικοῦς δοθέντα τῆς Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως
ἀρχιερέα ταμίαν ἀρχινεοποιὸν ἱερέα διὰ βίου
15 θεᾶς Ἀφροδίτης ἣ ἀνέθηκεν χρήματα εἰς ἀρχιερ<έ>-
ων ἀναθημάτων κατασκευὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἱερατικόν
χρῦσεον στέφανον καὶ τῇ πόλει δὲ μυριάδας δέκα [ἦ]-
μισυ ἀναθέντα εἰς αἰωνίων ἔργων κατασκευὰς ἀπὸ
ᾧ ἤδη δέδοται εἰς μὲν τὰ θεωρητήρια τοῦ θεάτρου
20 (δηνάρια) μύρια καὶ τὸ ἔργον δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τῆς πλατείας ἐ-
ξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μέρων ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους
ἐκ θεμελίων μέχρι γείσους εὐτυχῶς γέγονε καὶ γε-
νήσεται καὶ ἐν τῷ Διογενιανῷ δὲ γυμνασίῳ ἀπὸ ἐ-
τέρων ἰδίων χρημάτων τὸ ἀλιπτήριον καὶ τὸν ἐμβασι-
25 λικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους μετὰ τῆς
γυναικὸς Ἀπφίας σκουτλώσαντα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα πάν-
τα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας οἴκοθεν
κατεσκευακότα καὶ τὰς λευκολίθους παραστά[δ]ας
καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν εἶλημα μετὰ τῆς γλυφῆς αὐτῶν καὶ
30 τοὺς κείονας μετὰ τῶν βωμοσπειρῶν καὶ κεφαλῶν
κατασκευακότα καὶ τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ δὲ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἱε-
ρωτάτῃ γερουσίᾳ ἀνατεθεικότα χρήματα εἰς αἰωνίων
κλήρων διανομὰς καὶ ἄλλας δὲ πολλὰς πολλάκις
διανομὰς δεδωκότα τοῖς τε τὴν πόλιν κατοικοῦσιν
35 πολεῖταις καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐτέρας δὲ διανο-

μὰς δεδωκότα πολλάκις τῆ τε βουλῆ πάση καὶ τῆ γε-
 ρουσία ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιδόσεις πολλάκις ἐν πάντι καιρῷ πε-
 ποιημένον κατὰ τὴν τῆς πόλεως γνώμην πολεΐταις
 τε καὶ ξένοις καὶ ἔλαια δρακτοῖς πολλάκις τεθεικότα
 40 ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τοῦ Τιμέλου ποταμοῦ εἰσαγωγῆς
 καὶ πρεσβείας δὲ πολλάκις εὐτυχῶς ἐκτετελεκότα
 καὶ παρ' ὄλον τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ εὐεργέτην καὶ φιλόπατριν
 [ἐ]ν ἰδίοις ἔργοις ἀνέστησεν προσανατεθεικότα δὲ
 [πρ]όσφατον καὶ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ ἔργον (δηνάρια) ,ε πρὸς τὸ εἶναι
 45 *vac.* ἀ[ρ]χαίας μύ(ρια) ια' *leaf*

B.73: Honors for Flavius Carminius Klaudianos (IAph 2007 8.709)

Description: Two adjoining fragments of a marble statue base (W. 0.90 × H. 0.31 × D. 0.45)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 1.1, 0.022, 1.2, 0.02, 1.3, 0.018, 1.4, 0.02, 1.5, 0.024, 1.6, 0.022

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Theatre Baths

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007)

ἡ βουλὴ *stop* καὶ ὁ δῆμος *stop* ἐτείμησαν Φλάβιον Καρ-
 μίνιον Ἀθηναγόραν *stop* συνκλητικὸν ὄν (sic)

Φλαβίας *stop* Ἀπφίας *stop* Ἀσίας *stop* ἀρχιερείας *stop* καὶ Καρμι-
 νίου Κλαυδιανοῦ *stop* νεωτέρου *stop* τὴν δὲ *stop* ἀνά

5 στασιν ν. τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐποίησατο Φλα-
 βία Ἀφφία καθὼς ὑπέσχετο *leaf vac.*

B.74: Honors for Claudius Zelos (IAph 2007 8.84)

Description: Six fragments of four marble frieze blocks. Length—a, W. 0.965, b W. 0.78, c. (two fragments) W. 1.12, d W. 1.27. Total approximately, W. 4.14

Text: Inscribed in two lines; height of inscribed area H. 0.12

Letters: 0.032-0.035

Date: 139-161 CE

Findspot: Theatre: stage area

Original Location: “Theatre proskeneion frieze. Inscribed on the blocks which make up the cornice, of the Doric order, above the inscription of Zoilos, across the back of the Theatre stage.” (IAph 2007)

Bibliography: Published by D. Macdonald, *Coins*, p. 20; whence *Bullep* 1977.459 (l. 1); *SEG* 1976.1219; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 300

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερο|υσία καὶ οἱ νέοι ἐτείμησα|ν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Ζῆλον
 ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ ν.

τοῦ Δήμου, τὸν κτίστην καὶ εὐεργέτην ἐν πᾶσιν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιμεληθέντος Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Καλλικράτους τοῦ πρωτολόγου ἄρχοντος

B.75: Posthumous honors for M. Fl. Antonius Lysimachos (IAph 2007 12.325)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.48 × H. 0.42 × D. 0.38)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.03-0.325

Date: Late 2nd century CE, after 181 CE

Findspot: Eastern walls, north of Southeast Gate

Bibliography: *CIG* 2785; whence Liermann 1889, pp. 116-117, no. 20b; mentioned by Reinach 1906, p. 134, no. 64; *MAMA* 8, no. 501; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 318; by Roueché 1993, no. 54

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[(e.g.) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν]

Μ(ἄρκον) Φλ(άβιον) Ἀντώνιον

Λυσίμαχον σο-
φιστὴν ἀρχιερέα
γυμνασίαρχον

5 στεφανηφόρον
νεοποιὸν ἀγωνο-
θέτην δι' αἰῶνος

Λυσιμαχῶν

v. ἀγώνων v.

vacat

10 v. ἀγωνοθεσίας v.

Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου

v. Ἐπινείκου v.

B.76: Honors for Andreas, boy-runner (IAph 2007 11.222)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 1.00 x W. 0.365 x D. 0.335)

Text: Inscribed (A) on the face, and (B) on the right side

Letters: A: 0.03; the cutter has overrun the limits of the raised panel in ll.6-9, 11

Date: 190 CE

Findspot: City, near the water channel

Bibliography: Roueché 1993, no. 80

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

.. ? ..]

Ἄνδρονεικι-
ανοῦ *stop* υἱὸν

Ἄνδρέαν *vac.*

νεικήσαν-

5τα παίδων

στάδιον τῶ

ἐπιτελεσθέν-
τι ἀγῶνι τῆς
τρίτης τετραε-
10τηρίδος Ἀφρο-
vac. δεισιήων vac.

Φιλημονιῶν

Λ

Ο

vac.

Φίλι -

πος ΕΥ

5 KA [· c. 4 ·] ΣΣΙ

ΣΘΕ v. ΜΟΝΟΣΙ

B.77: Honors for anonymus, son of Artemidoros, boy boxer (*I Aph 2007 11.223*)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.35 x H. 0.965 x D. 0.33)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: av. 0.02

Date: 190 CE

Findspot: City, near water channel

Bibliography: Published by Paris and Holleaux 1885, no. 2; whence Liermann 1889, no. 22; by Reinach 1906, no. 144; *MAMA* 8, no. 505; published by Reynolds 1982, doc. 58; whence *BullEp* 1983.392; published by Roueché 1993, no. 79

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

· ? ·]

[· c. 9 · ? Ζήωνα ? Ἀρτ]εμιδώρου

[τοῦ Δ]ημοφάντου νει-

[κήσα]ντα παίδων πυ-

[γμῆν τῶ] ἐπιτελεσθέν -

5[τι ἀγ]ῶνι τῆς τρίτης

[τε]τραετηρίδος vac.

Ἀφροδισιῶν Φιλη-

μονιῶν ἀγωνο-

θετοῦντος Τίτου

10 Αἰλίου Ἀδράστου

τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν

τοῦ ἀνδριάντος πο[ι]-

ησαμένου Ἀρτεμιδώ-

ρου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐ vac.

15 του λαβόντος τὸ θέ-

μα παρὰ τῶν κληρονό-

μων τοῦ Φιλήμονος κα-

τὰ τὴν Οὐλπίου Εὐρυ-

κλέους τοῦ λογισ-
20 vac. τοῦ κέλευσιν vac.

B.78: Honors for anonymous, boy runner (IAph 2007 11.224)

Description: Marble statue base (h. 0.65, w. 0.335, d. 0.335)

Text: Inscribed on the face. The inscription was apparently left unfinished.

Letters: 0.025. Ligatures: HM, NH, 1.5; NN, 1.7; HN, 1.10

Date: 196 CE

Findspot: City, near the water channel

Bibliography: Published by Paris and Holleaux 1885, no. 3; whence Liermann 1889, no. 23; published by Reinach 1906, no.145; *MAMA* 8, no. 506; whence *BullEp* 1972.414; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 344; by Roueché 1993, no. 81

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

.. ? ..]

[.. c. 4 .. νεικήσαν]-

[τα παίδων στάδι]-

ον τῷ [ἐπιτελεσ]-

5θέντι stop ἀγῶνι τῆς

τρίτης τετραε-

τηρίδος stop Ἀφροδισι

ῆων Φιλημονήων stop ἀ

γωνοθετούντων

10 τῶν νεοποιῶν τῶν

περὶ Μάρκον Ἄντω-

νιον Ἀπελλᾶν Σε-

βηρεῖνον stop τὴν δὲ Α

vac.

B.79A: Honors for Hosidius Julianos (IAph 2007 8.38)

Description: Two blocks: a (in two pieces) W. 0.98; b W. 1.27

Text: Inscribed in two lines on the fascia

Letters: 0.025-0.03

Date: Mid-2nd century CE

Findspot: Theater, stage area

Original Location: “Theatre proskenion frieze. Inscribed on the blocks which make up the cornice, of the Doric order, above the inscription of Zoilos, across the back of the Theatre stage.” (IAph 2007)

Bibliography: Roueché 1993, no. 55a

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

Ἡ γερουσία ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Γάιον Ὀσίδιον Ἰουλιανὸ | ν ἀναθέντα τῇ πατρίδι ἀγῶνα

εἰμιταλαντιαῖον stop καὶ τῇ θεῷ ἀναθήματα

ἐπιμεληθῆ[ν]τος Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδ[ώρ]ου | [το]ῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου

Κικιννᾶ γραμματέω[ς τ]ὸ β´ leaf

79B: Honors for Hosidius Julianos (IAph 2007 8.39)

Description: Three frieze blocks: a, in two fragments (length, together, W. 0.78); b, broken to the left, is W. c. 0.75; c, broken at the right, is W. 0.47

Text: Inscribed in three lines on the fascia

Letters: 0.025-0.03

Date: Mid-2nd century CE

Findspot: Theater, stage area

Original Location: “Theatre proskenion frieze. Inscribed on the blocks which make up the cornice, of the Doric order, above the inscription of Zoilos, across the back of the Theatre stage.” (IAph 2007)

Bibliography: Roueché 1993, no. 55b

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Γ | [άιον] Ὅσιδιο[ν Ἰουλι]ανὸν φιλόπατριν καὶ
εὐεργέτην ἀναθέντα χρήματα εἰς ἀγῶν[ας ·· c. 5 ··ε]
τηρικοὺς καὶ τῆ [θ]ε<α> Ἀφροδίτη κατ[αλιπ] | ὄν[τα ἀρ]γύρεα χρυσένπαιστα δηλούμενα
διὰ τῆς διαθηκῆς αὐτοῦ stop τὸ δὲ [εἰς τὴν ?τεῖ]-
μην τοῦ ΑΝΛΟ[·]Ο[·] ΕΓΗΓ | [·· c. 12 ··] ὧν προσόδων ἐργεπισ[τα]τήσαντος Ἄνδρο |
[ν]εῖκου τοῦ Παρδαλᾶ τ[οῦ ?Παπίου]

B.80A: Honors for L. Ant. Cl. Dometeinos Diogenes (IAph 2007 2.17)

Description: Marble statue base in three elements (W. 0.95 × H. 0.35 × D. 0.85)

Text: Inscribed on one fascia of the upper plinth (l.1) and on the shaft

Letters: 0.035

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Bouleuterion, south face of south portico wall, west of entrance (original location)

Bibliography: SEG 1985.1082; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 233; published by Smith et al. 2006, no. 48

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

vac. ἡ πατρίς *vac.*

Λ(ούκιον) Ἀντ(ώνιον) Κλ(αύδιον) Δο-
μετεῖνον

Διογένην

5 τὸν νομοθέ-

την πατέρα

καὶ πάππον

συνκλητι-

vac. κῶν *vac.*

vacat

10 τῆς ἀναστάσε-

ως τοῦ ἀνδριάν-

τος προνοησα-

μένου Τιβ(ερίου) Κλ(αυδίου)
Κτησίου πρεσβυ-
15τέρου ποιησαμέ-
νου δὲ καὶ τὸν *vac.*
βωμὸν αὐτῶ καὶ
τὰ λοιπὰ παρ' ἐ-
αυτοῦ *vac.*

80B: Honors for Dometeinos Diogenes (IAph 2007 12.416)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Near the southeast gate

Bibliography: *CIG* 2777; whence Liermann 1889, pp. 58-63; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 271

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

αμ[·· c. 6 ··]
[··]τεινον Διογέ-
νην Ἀσίας ἀρχ-
ιερῆ νομοθέ-
5την γυμνασί-
αρχον δι' αἰῶνος
τὸν εὐεργέτην
ἢ πατρίς *scroll*
ἐπιμεληθεν-
10τος τῆς ἀναστά-
σεως τοῦ ἀνδρι-
αντος Ἡφαιστι-
ωνος β' τοῦ Δη-
μητρίου τοῦ
15 πρωτολόγου ἄρ-
χοντος *scroll leaf*

B.81A: Honors for Claudia Antonia Tatiane (IAph 2007 2.13)

Description: Marble statue base in three elements (W. 0.88 × H. 0.41 × D. 0.88)

Text: a. Inscribed on the shaft; b. inscribed on the plinth of the statue

Letters: a. 0.035 (ll. 1-14); 0.025 (ll.15-17); b. 0.02

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Bouleuterion, south face of southportico, east of the entrance (original location)

Bibliography: a. Published by Erim 1967, pp. 22-24; by Reynolds 1968, pp. 21-23, no. 5; whence *BullEp* 1969.541; whence *SEG* 1982.1100; *SEG* 1985.10828; McCabe *PHI*

Aphrodisias 290. B: by Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, p. 214, no. 187; whence *SEG* 1982.1103; *SEG* 1982.1082; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 585; by Smith et al. 2006, no. 96

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

α ἡ βουλὴ καὶ
ὁ δῆμος
Κλαυδίαν
Ἀντωνίαν
5 Τατιανὴν
τὴν κρατίσ-
την ἐκ προ-
γόνων εὐ-
εργέτιν ἄ-
Ιονεψιᾶν Κλ.
Διογένους
καὶ Ἀττάλου
συνκλητι-
vac. κῶν vac.
15 ἐπιμεληθέν-
τος Τι(ιβερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Καπε-
τωλεινοῦ
b Ἀλέξανδρος Ζήνωνος ἐποί[ει]

81B: Honors for Claudia Antonia Tatiane (*I Aph* 2007 12.323)

Description: Marble statue base shaft (H. 0.87 x W. 0.38 x D. 0.08)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.05; ll. 17-21 in a smaller hand

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Leake 1843, no. 10; *CIG* 2819b; by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1597; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 289

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

Κλαυδίαν
Ἀντωνίαν
Τατιανὴν
τὴν κρατίσ-
5 τὴν ἀνεψι-
ᾶν Κλαυδί-
ων Διογέ-
νους καὶ Ἀτ-
τάλου συν-
10 κλητικῶν
τὴν ἐν πᾶ-
σιν ἐκ προ-

γόνων εὐ-
εργέτην τῆς
15 πόλεως
vacat
της ἀναστά-
σεως τοῦ ἀν-
δριάντος ἐπι-
μεληθέντος
20 Τι(βερίου) stop Κλ(αυδίου) stop Κα
πετωλείνου

B.82A.i-ii: Honors for Attalos and Diogenes, brothers (IAph 2007 2.16)

Description: Two matching marble bases; a: complete (W. 0.625 × H. 0.90 × D. 0.615).

Text: Inscribed on the face; b: inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.04-0.045

Date: Severan; late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Bouleuterion, concluding the end balustrades at either side of the *cavea*: a to the east and b to the west (original location)

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

a

[Τιβ(έριος) Κλαύ]
[δ]ιος Ἄττα-
λος συνκλη-
ν. τικός ν.

b

[?Τιβ(έριος) Κλαύδιος]
Ἄττα[λ]ος
Διογένην
τὸν ἀδε[λ]-
ν. φόν ν.

82B.i-ii: Honors for Diogenes and Attalos (IAph 2007 12.530)

Description: Probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: Ligatures: NHN i.1; NHΣ, ii.2

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southeast Walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2805 a & b; i and ii by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1615; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 269 (i), 244 (ii)

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

Translation (by Reynolds):

- i. Attalos (set up a statue of) Diogenes his brother
- ii. Diogenes (set up a statue of) Attalos his brother

B.83: Honors for [Tiberius Claudius Dioge]nes (IAph 2007 11.15)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.287-W. 0.23 x H. 0.695 x depth not measurable)

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.023

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: City, east of museum

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, no. 49; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 295

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

.. ? ..]

[Τι(βέριον) Κλαύ]διου

[Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀ]ττάλου υἱ-

[ὸν Διογέ]νην Ἡφαισ-

[τίων Δι]ογένους

5 [?στεφαν]ηφορικός

[· c. 6 ·]οντος ἀδελ-

[? *vacat* φ]ον *vacat*

B.84: Honors for [Tiber]ius Claudius Attalos (*I Aph* 2007 12.520)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.575 × H. 1.325 × D. 0.51)

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.03-0.04; ligatures: THN, I. 9

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Last recorded location: Findspot (1973)

Bibliography: *CIG* 2781b; published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1596; by Reinach 1906, p. 120, no. 44; *MAMA* 8, no. 502; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 293

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[(e.g.) ἡ βούλη καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν]

[Τιβέρ]ιον Κλαύδιον

Λουκίου Ἀντωνίου

Κλαυδίου Δομετε[ί]-

νου Διογένους Ἀσ-

5[ί]ας ἀρχιερέως καὶ

νομοθέτου υἱὸν

Ἄτταλον συνκλη-

τικὸν τὸν εὐεργέ-

την τῆς πατρίδος

B.85A: Honors for Aelius Aurelius Menandros (*I Aph* 2007 12.920)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 0.25 x W. 0.25 x D. 0.22)

Text: Inscribed on three faces

Letters: 0.01-0.015; ll.1-2, 5-6, 0.015; ll.3-4, 0.02

Date: 138-169 CE

Findspot: Western walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2811b, 2810b; a, b, and c published by Leake 1843, nos. 12 and 13a & 13b; by Liermann 1889, nos. 15 and 16; *MAMA* 8, no. 421; by Robert 1965, pp. 147-54; by Roueché 1993, no. 91

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

i: a. [ἔδοξ]ε τῆ ἱερᾷ ξυστικῆ ἢ ?περιπολιστικῆ
 συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν
 [Ἡρα]κλέα καὶ τὸν ἀγῶ[νιον καὶ αὐτοκράτορας
 Μ(ἄρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἄντ]
 [ω]γεῖνον *stop* καὶ *stop* Λ(ούκιον) *stop*
 Αὐ[ρ(ήλιον) Οὐ]ῆρον]
 [ἀ]πὸ τῆς οἰκουμέ[νης ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν
 ἐν ?Ἄντιοχείᾳ]
 5 Καισαρεία *stop* Κο[λωνεῖα (e.g)ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα]
 ταλαντιαῖ[ον ·· ? ··]
 [·· ? ··A ?εἰσηγ]ησαμένου Τ(ίτου) Αἰλ[ί]ου Μ[·]
 [·· ? ··]ΚΑ[·· c. 7 ·· π]αλαιστοῦ παραδόξο[υ]
 [ἐπει] Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος Μένανδρος
 10 παράδοξος καὶ διὰ βίου ξυστάρχης
 τῶν ἐν κολωνεῖα Ἄντιοχείᾳ ἀγῶνων
 ἀθλήσας ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἐπὶ το-
 σοῦτον δόξης προέβη ὡς πρῶτον μὲν
 [ἀ]νελέσθαι εὐτυχῶς τοσοῦτους ἀγῶ-
 15[ν]ας καὶ δοξάσαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀγῶνα τῆν
 [λ]αμπροτάτην πατρίδα αὐτοῦ κηρυγμα-
 [σ]ιν καὶ στεφάνοις μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
 [θ]εοῦ Ἄντωνεῖνου ὡς οὐ μόνον στε[φαν]-
 [ω]θῆναι ταῖς ἐκείνου χειρσὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 20 [τει]μαῖς ἐξαίρετοις τειμηθῆναι μεταξὺ
 [δὲ γ]ενόμενος ξυστάρχης τοσαύτη προ-
 νοία καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀπά-
 σης κήδετα τῶν ἡμεῖν διαφερόν-
 των τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα πολειτευ-
 25όμενος ἐν ἡμεῖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλο-
 τε μὲν πολλάκις καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐπαινοῦν-
 [τ]ες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μαρτυροῦντες αὐτῷ
 ψηφίσματα τοῖς κυρίοις Αὐτοκράτορ-
 [σ]ιν πεπόμφαμεν ἠγοούμενοι μεγίσ-
 30[τ]ας καὶ ἀνταξίας ἀμοιβὰς αὐτῷ γενεσ-
 [θ]αι ἀντὶ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ ὅτι δα-
 [π]ανήμασιν ἱκανοῖς καὶ κόπῳ πολλῶ περι-
 εγένετο καὶ διεπράξατο ἀχθῆναι τὸν ἔναγ-
 χος ἀγῶνα παρὰ τοῖς Ἄντιοχεῦσιν ὡς νομί-
 35ζειν ἡμᾶς οἰκόθεν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνηρῆσθαι

ii: b. [?(e.g)ή βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
 ἐτείμησαν τα[ῖς καλλίσταις]
 καὶ μεγίσταις τ[ειμαῖς ·· c. 5 ··]
 Αἴλιον *stop* Αὐρήλιον [*stop* Μένανδρον]
 ἀθλήσαντα ἐνδόξως [καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πλει]-
 5στονείκην *stop* πανκρατια[σ]τὴν παρά]-
 δοξον ξυστάρχην *stop* γ[ένους πρῶ]-
 του καὶ ἐνδόξου *stop* πρῶ[τον καὶ μό]-
 νον τῶν *stop* ἀπ' αἰῶνος *stop* ἀγ[ωνισάμε]-
 νον *stop* τριετία τὰς τρεῖς κρίσεις παῖδα]
 10 ἀγένειον *stop* ἄνδρα *stop* καὶ νεική[σαντα]
 ἱεροῦς *stop* καὶ ταλαντιαίους *stop* κ[αὶ πλείσ]-
 τους ἄλλους ἀγῶνας *vac.*
 Νέαν πόλιν Σεβαστὰ παίδων Κλαυ-
 διανῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Νέμεια παίδων
 15 πανκράτιν *stop* Ἴσθμια ἀγενείων πανκρά-
 τιν *stop* Ἐφεσον Βαλβιλληα ἀγενείων
 πανκράτιν *stop* ἱερὰν Πέργαμον κοινὸν
 Ἀσίας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Ἐφεσον
 Βαλβιλληα ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Συμρ
 20ναν κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν *stop*
 ἐβδόμη Παναθηναίδι Παναθήναια
 ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν πρῶτον *stop* Ἀφροδει
 σιέων *stop* Νέμεια ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
 καὶ τὰ *stop* ἐξῆς Νέμεια ἀνδρῶν πανκρά-
 25τιν *stop* ἱερὰν Ὀλύμπεια ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀν-
 δρῶν πανκράτιν πρῶτον Ἀφροδεισι-
 εῶν *stop* Πύθια ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
 Ῥώμην Καπετώλεια Ὀλύμπια *stop* ἀν-
 δρῶν πανκράτιν πρῶτον Ἀφροδεισι-
 30 *scroll* εἰων *leaf*
c [·· c. 22 ··] EN
 [·· c. 21 ··] ON ἀ-
 [νδρῶν πανκράτιν πρῶτον Ἀφ]ροδει -
 [σιέων ·· c. 15 ·· κοί]νον Ἀσί-
 35[ας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτι]ν Μιτυλή-
 [νην ἀνδρῶν παν]κράτιν *stop* Ἄδρα
 [μύττιον ἀνδρῶ]ν πανκράτιν *stop*
 [·· c. 8 ·· ἀνδ]ρῶν πανκράτιν

τὰ θέματα διὰ ταῦτα δεδόχθαι τύχη ἀγαθῆ
εὐχαριστήσαι τῷ Μενάνδρῳ ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἱερω-
τάτης βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου δήμου
Ἀφροδεισιέων περὶ τῶν προηγορευμένων
40 τειμῆσαί τε αὐτὸν ἀνδριάντων ἀναστάσει καὶ
εἰκόνων ἀναθέσει ἐν τῷ ἐπισημοτάτῳ
τῆς πατρίδος τόπῳ ἐπιγραφησομένων
τῶν τειμῶν τῇ προγραφῇ τοῦδε τοῦ ψη-
φίσματος πρὸς τὸ αἰδίους ὑπάρξαι αὐ-
45 τῷ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν τειμάς *leaf*

vacat

ἔστιν δὲ καὶ πολείτης πόλεων τῶν ὑπο-
γεγραμμένων *stop* Περγαμηνῶν Ἀντιοχέ-
ων Καισαρέων Κολωνῶν καὶ βουλευτῆς
Θηβαίων καὶ βουλευτῆς *stop* Ἀπολλωνιατῶν
50 Λυκίων Θρακῶν καὶ βουλευτῆς *stop* Μειλι-
σίων *stop* Πεσσινουντίων *stop* Κλαυδιοπολιτῶν
55 ἐπιμεληθέντος τῶν τειμῶν Ζήνωνος
τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ
scroll ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ *scroll*

[·· c. 8 ··] ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
40 [·· c. 7 ··] Α ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
[?Νεικομήδ]ειαν ἀνδρῶν παν-
[κράτιν ? *stop*] Νεικέαν ἀνδρῶν παν
[κράτ]ιν *stop* Προυσιάδα ἀνδρῶν
[πα]νκράτιν *stop* Κλαυδιόπολιν *stop* β'
45 [ἀ]νδρῶν πανκράτιν Ἄγκυραν
τῆς Γαλατίας ἀνδρῶν πανκρά-
τιν *stop* Πεσσινουῦντα ἀνδρῶν
πανκράτιν *stop* Δαμασκὸν *stop* β' *stop* ἀν-
δρῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Βηρυτὸν ἀν-
50 δρῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Τύρον ἀν-
δρῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Καισαρείαν
τῆς Στράτωνος ἀνδρῶν παν-
κράτιν *stop* Νεάπολιν τῆς Σαμαρί-
ας ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Σκυ-
55 θόπολιν *stop* ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν
Γάζαν ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Και-
σάρειαν Πανιάδα *stop* β' *stop* ἀνδρῶν παν-
κράτιν *stop* Ἱερόπολιν ἀνδρῶν *stop* παν-
κράτιν *stop* Ἀναζαρβὸν ἀνδρῶν παν-
60 κράτιν *stop* Μοψουεστίαν ἀνδρῶν
πανκράτιν *stop* Τρίπολιν τῆς Συρίας
ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Φιλαδέλφει
αντῆς Ἀραβίας *stop* ἀνδρῶν πανκρά-
τιν *stop* Ζεῦγμα πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ
65 ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν *stop* Κιβύραν
vac. ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν *vac.*

85B: Honors for T. Aelius Aurelius Menandros (IAph 2007 12.214)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 138-169 CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: by Roueché 1993, no. 92

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

·· ? ··]

Προυσιάδα ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιν, Κλαυδιόπολιν
Ἄγκυραν τῆς Γαλατίας, Πεσσινουῦντα, Δαμασκὸν β',
Βηρυτὸν, Τύρον, Καισαρείαν τῆς Στράτωνος,
Νεάπολιν τῆς Σαμαρίας, Σκυθόπολιν, Γάζαν,
5 Καισάρειαν Πανιάδα β', Ἱερόπολιν, Ἀναζαρβὸν, Μοψ -

ουεστίαν, Τρίπολιντῆς Συρίας, Φιλαδέλφειαντῆς
Ἀραβίας, Ζεῦγμαπρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, Κιβύραν

B.86: Posthumous honors for Demetrios son of Pyrrhos Papias (IAph 2007 13.5)

Description: Marble statue base shaft (W. 0.52 × H. 0.84 × D. 0.52)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025–0.0275; ligatured MH in l. 5; NH in l. 14

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Northern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2775; published by Reinach 1906, p. 121, no. 48; *MAMA* 8, no. 482; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 265

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτεί-
μησαν ταῖς πρώταις
καὶ μεγίσταις τειμαῖς
5 Δημήτριον Πύρρου
τοῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ
Πύρρου τοῦ Ζήνω - ν.
νος Παπίου γένους
πρώτου καὶ ἐνδόξου
10 καὶ τὰς μεγίστας λι - ν.
τουργίας λειτουργ-
γηκότος ζήσαντα
ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ σωφρο-
σύνη τελευτήσαν-
15 τα ἔτι νέον οὗ καὶ ἡ ν.
οὔσια πᾶσα ἐλήλυ-
θε εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς
[αἰ]ωνίους κ[?λήρους]
δό[γμαεισηγη]σαμένου Μητροδώ
20 ρο[υ τοῦ Μη]τροδώρου του Διονυσίου (?)

B.87: Posthumous honors for Pyrrhos son of Pyrrhos (IAph 2007 13.6)

Description: Two pieces from the left side of a marble statue base shaft; a: lines 1-13, (W. 0.29 × H. 0.65 × D. 0.14); b: lines 11-27, (W. 0.29 × H. 0.80 × D. 0.12)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025-0.03. Ligatures: HM, l.18; HN, ll.23, 24; NM, l.25

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: North walls, north of stadium

Bibliography: *MAMA* 8, no. 481; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 322b; published by Reinach 1906, pp. 140-141, no. 74; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 580.

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

?.. ? ..]
 ἡ βουλὴ [καὶ ὁ δῆ]-
 μος καὶ ἡ [γερουσί]-
 α ἐτείμη[σαν ταῖς]
 πρώταις κα[ὶ ?μεγίσ]-
 5[τ]αῖς τειμα[ῖς ? vac.]
 Πύρρον Π[ύρρου τοῦ]
 Ζήνωνο[ς τοῦ Πύρ]-
 [ρ]ου Παπία[ν γένους]
 πρώτου κα[ὶ ἐνδόξου]
 10[κ]αὶ τὰς με[γίστας λι]-
 τουργί[ας λελιτοῦρ]-
 [γ]ηκό[τος] ζήσαν-
 [τ]α ἐν πα[ιδεία]
 [σ]φροσύνη τελευ-
 15[τ]ήσαντα [ἐτι νέον]
 οὔ καὶ ἡ οὐ[σία πᾶσα]
 ἐλήλυθεν [εἰς τὸν]
 δῆμον εἰς [αἰωνί]-
 ους γυμ[νασιαρχί]-
 20ας καὶ στεφ[ανηφορί]-
 [ας] κατὰ τὴν γενο[μένην]
 [τ]οῦ πατρὸ[ς αὐτοῦ δια]-
 θήκην *stop* τὴν [δὲ ἀναθή]-
 [κη]ν ταύτην ἀ[νέστησεν]
 25[Τ]άτιον Μενίπ[που τοῦ [Με]-
 νίππου τετ[ράκις Δημη]-
 τρίου ἢ μήτ[ηρ αὐτοῦ]
 [?.. ? ..]

B.88: Posthumous honors for Pyrrhos Papias son of Zenon (IAph 2007 13.7)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.028

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Northeastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, p. 141, no. 73; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 530

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[ἡ βουλὴ] καὶ ὁ δ[ῆ]-
 [μος καὶ] ἡ γερου-
 [σία ἐτει]μησαν
 [ταῖς πρώ]ταις καὶ
 5[μεγίστ]αῖς τει-

[μαῖς Πυ]ρρον Ζή-
[νωνος τοῦ Πύρ-
[ρου Παπί]αν φιλο-
[?πολίτη]ν γένους
Ιο[πρώτου] καὶ ἐνδό-
[ξου τελ]ευτήσαν-
[τα ·· c. 7 ··] ἡλικι-
[·· ? ··]

B.89: Honors for Chaireas (*I Aph 2007 11.409*)

Description: Marble block (H. 0.515 × W. 0.75 × D. 0.46)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.04

Date: 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southwest part of the city

Bibliography: *MAMA* 8, no. 466; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 263

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

?·· ? ··]

[ἐ]τ[εῖμησεν]

[X]αιρέαν

τὸν στε-

φανηφό-

ρον.

B.90: Posthumous honors for Tiberius Cl. Antonius [Am]mianos (*I Aph 2007 12.1019*)

Description: Marble statue base W. 0.66, H. 0.92, D. 0.60)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.035-0.04

Date: Mid- to late-2nd century CE

Findspot: Walls near the west gate

Bibliography: *CIG* 2781c; *MAMA* 8, no. 496; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 292

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[?ἡ βουλή καὶ]

ν. ὁ δῆμ[ος ν.]

[Τι]βέριον Κλ[αύδιον]

[Α]ντώνιον Δ[?ιογένην]-

[Α]μμιανὸν *stop* υ[ῖὸν ν.]

5[Τι]βερίου Κλα[υδίου]

[Α]ντωνίου Δο[?μετι]-

[ν.] *leaf stop* νοῦ Ἑρμίου[?υ]

B.91: Posthumous honors for Aelius Claudius (*I Aph 2007 12.30*)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.28 × H. 0.30 × D. 0.30)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02-0.025; from l. 4 letters get smaller and more closely squeezed together

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Northern walls, north of the stadium

Bibliography: *MAMA* 8, no. 494; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 413

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[?ή βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]

[καὶ ἡ γε]ρουσία ἐτε[ί]-

[μησεν] καὶ μετηλ - ν.

[λακχότ]α stop Αἴλιον stop Κλ(αύδιον) stop

[· c. 6 · Α]γαθημέρου

5[υῖὸν · c. 18 ·] · ζήσαντα

[?κοσμίως καὶ ἐ]γαρέτως

[· c. 14 ·] · ΥΠΟΤΕ

[· c. 18 ·] ΠΙ ν.

[· ? ·]

B.92: Honors for Claudia Paulina (IAph 2007 11.50)

Description: Marble base. Broken above and below (W. 0.505 × H. 0.83 × D. 0.57)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.035–0.04

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: City, stray find

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[ή βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ]-

μο[ς ἐτείμησαν]

Κλαυδία[ν Τιβ(ερίου)]

Κλαυδίου Ἴσε[· c. 4 ·]

καὶ τῆς πόλεω[ς]

5θυγατέρα Παυλε[ί]-

ναν γυναῖκα νν.

Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου

Παυλείνου ἀρχιε-

ρέως ζήσασαν

10κοσμίως καὶ σω-

[φ]ρόνως καὶ πρὸς

παράδειγμα ἀ-

[ν.] scroll ρετῆς leaf

B.93: Honors for Diogeneia (IAph 2007 12.513)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: No description

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2818; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 268

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[...]

Διογένειαν ἀρ-

χιέρειαν τὴν

ἀξιολογωτά-

5την γυναῖκα

Τιβερίου Κλαυ-

δίου Ἀπολλωνί-

ου Βερονεικία-

νοῦ ἀρχιερέως

10 καὶ ἱερέως τοῦ

Διονύσου σω-

φροσύνης ἔνε-

κεν καὶ τῆς

ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρετῆς

15 *vac.*

τὴν ἀνάστασιν

τῆς τειμῆς πε-

ποιημένου Τιβ.

Κλ. Ἀπολλωνίου

20 ἀρχιερέως τοῦ

ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς *scroll*

B.94: Posthumous honors for Dionysios (*I Aph* 2007 1.160)

Description: Marble base. a: right side fragment (W. 0.28 × H. 0.58 × D. 0.25); b: lower left corner fragment (W. 0.25 × H. 0.34 × D. 0.34)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: In the vicinity of the Temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: *MAMA* 8, no. 520; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 273; published by Erism and Reynolds 1991, no. 18; whence *SEG* 1990.941

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[(e.g.) ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος]

[ἐτείμησαν Διονύσιον

[· ? ··υ τοῦ Τα-

[· ? ··] τοῦ Δημη-

[τρίου] τοῦ Πε-

5[· ? ·] παῖδα τῶν
 [εὖ γεγο]νότων τε-
 [λευτήσαντα προ-
 [μοίρως ἀσύνκρι-
 [τον γενόμενον
 10[περὶ τήν] πλαστι-
 [κὴν τέχνην· τοῦ
 [· ? ·]υ τοῦ Ζω-
 [· ? · ἀν]ατεθει-
 [κότος τῆ] κρατίστη
 15[βουλῆ εἰ]ς αἰωνί -
 [ους κλή]ρους ΚΑΙ
 [· ? · ἀ]ργυρίου (δηνάρια) ΡΙ
 [ποιησαμέ]νου δὲ
 [τὴν κατ]ασκευ-
 20ὴν καὶ [ἀνάστασιν
 τοῦ ἀνδ[ριάν]τος
leaf παρ' ἐ[αυτο]ῦ *leaf*

B.95: Honors for Tib. Cl. [Apollonios] Aurelianos (IAph 2007 15.319)

Description: Marble panel (W. 0.38 × H. 0.35 × D. 0.26)

Text: inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.03

Date: Late 2nd century Ce

Findspot: Stray find

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ἡ [?βουλῆ ἐτείμησεν ···]

Τιβέριον Κλ[αύδιον ?Ἀπολλώνιον]

Ἀὐρηλιανὸ[ν ···]

τὸν ἱερέα [?διὰ βίου θεοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἐν]

5πᾶσιν [···]

vac. [···]

B.96: Honors for anonymous, son of Apollonios (IAph 2007 12.31)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 1.06 x W. 0.58)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.03-0.35

Date: Late 2nd century CE

Findspot: Northern walls, north of stadium

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, no. 147; *MAMA* 8, no. 519; by Erim and Reynolds 1991, pp. 529-31, no. 17; by Roueché 1993, no. 76; *BullÉp* 1997.94

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[·· c. 6 ·· ?Ἀπολλω]-
νίου τοῦ Ἀθηναγό-
ρου νεικήσας τὸν
ἀγῶνα τῶν ἀγαλμα-
στοποιῶν τῶν Λυσιμα-
χίων Τατιανῆων τῶ
ἀγάλματι τῆς α΄ τετρα-
ετηρίδος κατὰ τὸ γενά-
μενον ψήφισμα ὑπὸ
10 τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ
δήμου ἀνέσ {σ}τησεν
ἀγωνοθετοῦντος
Μίλωνος δ΄ τοῦ Ἑρμίου

B.97: Honors for M. Valerius Epaphrodeitos (*I Aph* 2007 12.623)

Description: Marble statue base shaft without moulding (H. 1.24 x W. 0.63-0.61 x D. 0.65)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025; ligatures, KHN (1.6) HN (1.7)

Date: 2nd or 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2813; by Roueché 1993, no. 68

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[?ἡ βουλή ?καὶ ?ὁ δῆμος]

καὶ ἡ γερουσία

ἔτειμήσαν

Μᾶρκον Οὐαλέριον

5 Ἐπαφρόδε ιτον

γένει καὶ παι-

δεία διαφέρον-

τα κιθαρωδὸν ἰ-

ερονεΐκην πλει-

10στονεΐκην παρά-

δοξον υἱὸν Μάρ-

κου Οὐαλερίου

Ναρκίσσου πο-

λείτου καὶ βο υ

15 λευτοῦ ἀπὸ π ρο-

γόνων καὶ ἐν

πολλ οἷς τὴν π α-

τριδ α εὐεργε

τοῦντος

20 τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασ-

ιν τοῦ ἀνδρι ἀν-
τος πεποιῆσθαι
Οὐαλέριον Νάρκισ -
σον τὸν πατέρα *stop leaf*

B.98: Honors for Zenon son of Menippos (IAph 2007 12.1011)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.545 × H. 1.27 × D. 0.54)

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: ll. 1-3, 0.03; ll. 5 ff, 0.025

Date: 2nd or 3rd century CE

Findspot: Near the West Gate

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[(e.g.) ἡ πόλις καλλίσταις καὶ πρεπού]-

σαῖς τειμαῖς ἐτείμησεν

Ζήνωνα Μενίππου τοῦ

Ζήνωνος τοῦ Καλλίου

τὸν Μενίππου καὶ Ζήνω-

5νος πατέρα ἀρχιερέα τα-

μίαν νεοποιὸν καὶ τὰς

ἀλλὰς ἅπασας ἀρχὰς τε

καὶ λειτουργίας φιλοτεί-

μως ἐπιτέλεσαντα τῇ

10 πατρίδι *stop* θαυμασθέντα

ἐπὶ τε σωφροσύνη καὶ ἐπι-

εικείᾳ βίου *stop* καὶ ἐπὶ εὐνοίᾳ

τῇ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα

vacat

ἐπιμεληθέντος Ζηνοβίου

15 *vac.* δ' Ἐπαφροδείτου *vac.*

B.99: Honors for Eunostos (IAph 2007 12.20)

Description: Marble statue base (W W. 0.54, D D. 0.44)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025

Date: 2nd or 3rd century CE

Findspot: Northern walls

Bibliography: Published by Cormack 1964, pp. 17-19, no. 8; Robert 1966, pp. 398-399 (ll. 2, 10); *BullEp* 1967:549; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 477

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος

[ἐτείμησαν τῷ στεφάνῳ] καὶ τῷ ἀνδρι-

[ἀντι ··· Εὔ]νοστον Ἀπολ-

[λωνίου τοῦ ···] τοῦ Εὐνόστου
5 [ἄνδρα γενόμενον κα]λὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν
[γένους πρώτου καὶ] ἐνδόξου ζή[σαντα]
[αἰδημόνως καὶ κοσ]μίως καὶ σω[φρόνως]
[··· καὶ ἐν]αρέτως [···]
10[··· π]άσης Μ[···]
[···] παιδευ[θέντα ···]
[···]ΟΥΣ[···]

B.100: Honors for M. Antonius Zenon Ulpianos (IAph 2007 12.708)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.50 × H. 0.59 × D. c. 0.47)

Text: Inscribed on upper (l. 1) and lower (ll. 2-3) fasciae

Letters: 0.03; stops for abbreviations; ligatured HN, l. 2

Date: 2nd or 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ὁ δῆμος

Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον Ζήωνα

v. Οὐλπιανόν v.

vacat

B.101: Honors for Hypsikleia Apphia (IAph 2007 12.919)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 0.74, W. 0.58, D. 0.27)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02

Date: 2nd or 3rd century CE

Findspot: Western walls

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, no. 107; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 488

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ΙΑ [· c. 13 ·]

καὶ μ[εγίσταις καὶ]

πρεπ[ούσαις τειμαῖς]

Ἵψικλ[?ειαν · c. 6 ·]

5 τοῦ Ν[?εικοτείμου]

Ἀφρία[ν ζήσασαν ?κοσ]-

μίως κ[?αὶ · c. 4 ·]

καὶ πρὸ[ς ὑπόδει]-

scroll γμ[α ἀρετῆς]

B.102: Posthumous honors for Zenon, son of Zenon (IAph 2007 11.22)

Description: Marble statue base shaft (W. 0.20 × H. 0.47 × D. 0.36)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.02-0.025; MN in ligature, 1.9

Date: 2nd or 3rd century CE

Findspot: City

Bibliography: *MAMA* 8, no. 500; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 334

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ
ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν
[Ζήνω]να τετρά-
[κισ Ὑ]ψικλέους
[τοῦ Ὑψ]ικλέους
[τοῦ Με]νάνδρου
5[τοῦ Ζή]νωνος
[νν. Ὑψι]κλέα νν.
[· c. 5 ·]ΟΥ καὶ
[· c. 5 ·]ΙΩΝΑΙ-
[· c. 7 ·] γυμνα-
10[σίαρχ· σ]τεφα-
[νηφόρ· ? ·]
[· ? ·]

B.103: Posthumous honors for -nios (*Iaph* 2007 11.23)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.36 × H. 0.79 x D. 0.365)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.075-0.0225

Date: 2nd or 3rd century CE

Findspot: City

Bibliography: *MAMA* 8, no. 525; whence Robert 1965, p. 210 (ll. 6-7); *BullEp* 1966.403; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 336

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

· ? ·]
νιο[v · c. 10 ·]
ΔΑΤ[· c. 11 ·]
ΤΩΝΑ[· c. 10 ·]
λιτουρ[γίας τελέ]-
5σαντα Τ[· c. 9 ·]
[·]ΙΝΤ[· c. 9 ·]
[·]ΝΙΑ διετ[ίαν τετε]-
λεκότα τῆ π[ατρίδι]
πάσας ἀρχὰς [καὶ]
10 λιτουργίας πρεσ-
βεύσαντα πρὸς
τὸν Σεβαστὸν

προϊκα ν. ἀνατε
θεικότα τῆ ἱερω-
15τάτη βουλῆ (δηνάρια) ,β
καὶ τῆ γερουσία (δηνάρια) ,β
καὶ τοῖς νεοποι-
οῖς χρυσοφόροις
(δηνάρια) ,β εἰς αἰώνιων
20κλήρων νομάς
vacat

B.104: Posthumous honors for Iason son of Menodotos (IAph 2007 12.1006)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 1.12 high; W. 1.00 x D. 0.48)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.025

Date: early 3rd century CE

Findspot: Western walls, near west gate

Bibliography: Published by Kubitschek & Reichel 1893, pp. 100-101, no. 1; lines 16-31 published by Reinach 1906, pp. 98-100, no. 13; *MAMA* 8, no. 498; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 279

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν [? *vac.*]
Ἰάσωνα Μηνოდότου τοῦ Μενάνδρ[ου ? ν.]
Πραβρέα ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν γέ[νους]
πρώτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου καὶ συνεκτ[ικό]-
5τος τὴν πατρίδα γυμνασιάρχῃσαντα [καὶ]
στεφανηφορήσαντα μεγαλοψύχως κα[ὶ ἐν]
δόξῳ καὶ ἀρχιερατεύσαντα τῶν Σεβαστῶν [καὶ]
ἀγωνοθετήσαντα δῖς τετελειωκότα [δὲ καὶ]
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τοῦ γραμματοφυλακίου [?σὺν]
10καὶ Ἰουλία Παύλα τῆ γυναικὶ τοῦ περ[ιστώ]-
ου στοᾶς μεσημβρινῆς ἀπὸ θεμελίων τὸ [·· c. 4 ··]-
κὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ οἶκον σὺν περιφλι[ώμασιν]
καὶ βιβλιοθήκαις καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν ἐργαστη[ρίοις]
διστέγοις δυσὶν καὶ στοᾶς ἀνατολικῆς ἀπὸ θ[εμε]-
15λίων διάστυλα ὀκτώ μετενηνοχότα δὲ [εἰς]
ταύτη ν καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς στοᾶς κατὰ τὸ γενόμε[νον]
ψήφισμα διάσ τυλα ὀκτώ· καὶ στοᾶς δυσμικῆ[ς διά]-
στυλον ἓν τοῖς τε κείοσιν τῆς στοᾶς ταύτ[ης προσ]-
επιθεικέναι τὰς κεφαλὰς πᾶσιν τὰ τεπίστυ[λια]
20καὶ ζωφόρους καὶ γείση τοῖς κείοσιν ἐπιθεικέναι]
πᾶσιν κείοσιν τε αὐτῆς πεντε ἔχουσιν τοὺς [·· c. 4 ··]-
αἰοὺς μόνους ἐπιθεικέναι τοὺς λοιποὺ[ς σφον]-
δύλους πάντας· τοῦ δὲ οἴκου τοῦ βορινοῦ [τῆς τε]

ἐξέδρας τὰ λεί ποντα λευκόλ ιθα πεποιηκότ[α πάν]-
25τα σὺν ὀροφαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κείουσιν καὶ β[ιβλιοθή]-
καις καὶ τοῖς φυραμ ατικοῖς καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶ[σιν ἐρ]-
γαστήριά τε σὺν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ τετελειωκ[ότα δέκα]
ἐννέα τὸ δὲ περιστῶον ὅλον δεδοκῶσ[θαι καὶ]
κεκεραμῶσθαι καὶ ὠροφῶσθαι καὶ συντε[τελει]-
30ῶσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ σὺν [καὶ τοῖς]
scroll ἐφεστῶσιν θυρώμασιν πᾶσιν *vacat*

vacat

(Below, apparently a graffito) ΤΓΙΟΛ

Vacat

B.105: Honors for Marcus Antonius Popillius Andronikos (*I Aph 2007 5.10*)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.57 × H. 1.20 × D. 0.55)

Text: Inscribed on the front panel

Letters: 0.025. Ligatures: l. 1, NT; 1.9, NK; 1. 12, HN; 1. 14, TH; 1. 16, HN

Date: Early 3rd century CE

Findspot: Hadrianic Baths

Original Location: Hadrianic Baths

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, no. 71; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias 71*

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

.. ? ..]

Μάρκον Ἀντώνι-
ον Ποπίλλιον
Ἀγελάου ἀρχιε-
ρέως υἱὸν Ἀνδρό-
5νεικον Φλαβια-
νὸν ἔγγονον
Ἀσίας ἀρχιερέ-
ων καὶ ἀρχιερέων
ἀνεπιὸν συνκλη-
10τικῶν καὶ ὑπατι-
κῶν καὶ τῶν συν-
κτισάντων τὴν
πόλιν τὸν ἀρχι-
νεωποιὸν τῆς θε-
15οῦ Ἀφροδείτης
καὶ εὐεργέτην

B.106: Posthumous honors for Titus Flavius Apollinarios (*I Aph 2007 15.262*)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: Early 3rd century CE

Findspot: No description

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1601a; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 319

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[Ἡ βουλ]ῆ καὶ ὁ δ[ῆμος καὶ ἡ γε]-
ρουσία καὶ οἱ νέοι ἐτεί[μῃσαν]
καὶ μετηλλακχότα τα[ῖς καλ]-
λίσταις καὶ πρεπούσαι[ς τει]-
5μαῖς Τίτον Φλαύιον Τίτου Φλ[αυ]-
ίου Μενίππου υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα
Ἀπολλινάριον ἄνδρα γένους
πρώτου πατρὸς καὶ προγόνων
γυμνασιάρχων καὶ στεφανηφό-
10ρων γεγονότων ἐν τε ἀρχαῖς
καὶ λειτουργίαις καὶ ἀγωνοθε-
σίαις καὶ ἐπιδόσεσι πάσαις
εὐεργετηκότων καὶ συνεκτ[ι]-
κότων τὴν πατρίδα καὶ αὐ-
15τὸν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας γυ-
μνασιαρχήσαντα πολυτελῶ[ς]
καὶ πάντα ποιήσαντα κα[λῶς] ?

B. 107: Honors for an anonymous female (IAph 2007 1.187)

Description: Marble statue base (together 0.51 × 1.38 × 0.47)

Text: Inscribed within the front panel

Letters: 0.02-0.0225

Date: Early 3rd century CE

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, pp. 147-149, no. 80; *MAMA* 8, no. 514; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 342

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

.. ? ..]-
λιανοῦ γυναῖκα
Σεπτιμίου Χάρη-
τος Αἰνείου ἀξι-
ώματι καὶ γένει
5διενενκοῦσαν
προγόνων ἀρχιε-
ρέων πολλῶν γυ-
μνασιάρχων στεφ[α]-
νηφόρων καὶ τῶν
10συνκτισάντων[ν τῆ]ν
πόλιν καὶ πρώτων

πιστευσα μένων δι-
α γένους τ ἠν ἱερωσ ύ-
[νη]ν τῆς θεοῦ Ἀφροδεί-
15της ἀ[π]όγονον Φλ(αοῦίου) Δι-
ογένους Ὑψήλου ἀρ-
χειρέω ς καὶ ἱερέωϲ
[τῆ]ς θεοῦ ἀρετῆ καὶ σε-
[μν]ότητι καὶ φιλανδρί-
20α τὸ προγονικὸν ἐ-
πικοσμήσασαν ἀξι-
ωμα θυγατέρα πό-
λεωϲ ἀνθηφόρον
τῆς θεοῦ διὰ τὸ με-
25γαλεῖον τοῦ γένους
καὶ τὴν ἀνυπέρ-
βλητον τοῦ βίου
σεμνότητα τει-
μηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ θε-
30οῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
ματρώνης [[στολῆ]

B. 108A: Honors for [Julius] Aurelius Charidemos (IAph 2007 13.205)

Description: Marble statue base (H. H. 0.48, W. W. 0.19)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.026

Date: Early 3rd century CE

Findspot: Necropolis

Bibliography: Published by Cormack 1964, no. 35; discussed by Robert 1966, pp. 395-8; *BullEp* 1967.549; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 281

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

[ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν]
[?Ἰούλιον] Αὐρήλι-
[ον Χαρίδημον τὸν σ]οφιστήν,
[ιερέα διὰ βίου θεοῦ Διο]γύσου,
5[ἔκγονον ·· ? ·· ἀρχι]ερέων
[καὶ ·· c. 6 ··ων καὶ σ]τεφανη -
[φόρων καὶ τῶν συγκτισά]ντων τὴν
[πατρίδα τὰς μεγίστας ἀρ]χὰς καὶ λει-
[τουργίας φιλοτεί]μωϲ ἐκτε-
10[λέσαντα ?καὶ κατορθωσα]ντα πολλὰ
[?τῆ πόλει ·· c. 6 ·· χ]ρήματα
[·· c. 15 ··ν]τα δὲ αὐτῆ
[·· c. 12 ·· τὸν ἐ]ν πᾶσιν

[?εὐεργέτην τῆς πατρίδος]

108B: Funerary inscription for Julius Aurelius Charidemos Julianos (*I Aph 2007 12.909*)

Description: Fragments of a marble block (W. 0.94 × H. 0.745 × D. 0.36)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.04

Date: Early 3rd century CE

Findspot: Western walls

Original Location: Necropolis

Bibliography: *CIG* 2845; published by Liermann 1889, p. 144, n. 3; by Reinach 1906, p. 279 no. 173 and p. 291, no. 197; *MAMA* 8, no. 564; whence McCabe *PHI*

Aphrodisias 490; discussed by Reynolds 1982, doc. 40

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (1982).

τὸ μνημεῖον Ἰουλίου Αὐρηλίου Ζήλου ἀρχιερ<έ>ως υἱοῦ Χαρι-
δήμου Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐν τῇ σορῶ τέθαιπται Κλαύδιος Αὐρήλι-
ος Ζήλος ἀρχιερεὺς σοφιστῆς κτίστης τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων
ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἰουλία Παῦλα ἀρχιέρεια στεφανηφόρων καὶ
ἑαρχιερέων καὶ τῶν συναιτίων τῇ πόλει τῆς αὐτονομίας
ἀπόγονος καὶ Αὐρήλιος Χαρίδημος ὁ ἕκγονος αὐτῶν
οὐδεὶς δὲ ἄλλος ἐξουσίαν ἔξει κηδευθῆναι ἐν τῇ σορ[ῶ]
ἢ Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Χαρίδημος ὁ παῖς Ζήλου καὶ Παύλης
μεθ' ὃν ἀφηρωῖσθήσεται ἢ σορὸς καὶ ἀνενόχλητος τὸν ἄ-
10[παντα χρόνον ἔσται···]

B.109: Honors for T. Cl. Aur. Zelos (*I Aph 2007 14.18*)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.48 × H. 1.16 × D. 0.10)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.025. Ligatures: HN II.2, 5; MH, I. 20; HN I.21

Date: Early 3rd century CE

Findspot: Neighbouring Settlement, Pirlibey

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington, 1870, no. 1598bis; McCabe *PHI*
Aphrodisias 260

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[?ἡ πόλις Τιβ(έριον) Κλ(αύδιον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ζήλον]

τὸν ῥήτορα
καὶ σοφιστὴν
ἀρχιερέα τα-
μίαν νεωποι-
σόν κτίστην
πολλὰ καὶ
διὰ συνηγο-
ριῶν κατορ-

θώσαντα τῆ
10πατρίδι
υῖον Τιβ(ερίου) Κλ(αυδίου)
Ζήλου ἀρχι-
ερέως καὶ ἱε-
ρέως τῆς
15Ἀφροδίτης
τοῦ πολλοῖς
καὶ μεγάλοις
ἔργοις
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
20κοσμήσαντος
τὴν πόλιν

B.110: Honors for Ulpia Carminia Claudiana (IAph 2007 12.1020)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.55 × H. 1.32 × D. 0.485)

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: ll. 1-17, 0.03; ll. 18-22, 0.025

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Western walls

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[?·· ? ··] [Οὐλ(πίαν) Καρ(μινίαν)]

Κλαυδιανὴν θυγα-
τέρα πόλεως μητέ-
ρα συνκλητικῶν *stop* Ἀ-
σίας ἀρχιερείαν θυ-
5γατέρα *stop* Μ(άρκου) Οὐλ(πίου) Καρ(μινίου)
Κλαυδιανοῦ *stop* Ἀσίας
ἀρχιερέως *stop* καὶ *stop* ἀρχιε-
ρέως καὶ Οὐ *stop* λ(πίας) Κλ(αυδίας) Καρ(μινίας)
Προκλῆς θυγατρὸς
10πόλεως *stop* Ἀσίας ἀρχιε-
ρείας δις ἀρχιερείας
ἱερέων διὰ βίου *stop* τῆς
θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτης
προγόνων Ἀσίας ἀρ-
15χιερέων *stop* καὶ ἀρχιερέ-
ων ἀνεψίαν συνκλη-
τικῶν καὶ ὑπατικῶν
vacat

vv. ἐπιμεληθέντος vv.

Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ζηνοβίου τετράκις

20 τοῦ Ζηνοβίου τοῦ Ἀρτεμι-
δώρου Ἐπαφροδείτου ἱε-
ρεῶς διὰ βίου Θεῶν Ἐρώτων

B.111: Honors for M. Fl. Karminios Athenagoras Livianos (IAph 2007 12.1018)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: Ligatures: 1.2, HN; 1.4, HK, HT; 1.5, NK

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Western walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2783; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 321

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

Μᾶρ(κον) Φλ(άβιον) Καρμ(ίνιον)

Ἀθηναγόραν

Λειουιανόν

συνκλητικόν

ἑτὸν κράτιστον

τόν ἑαυτῆς

εὐεργέτην

ἐν πᾶσιν Καρ(μινίου)

Ἀθηναγόρου

Ἰούπατικοῦ υἱ-

vac. ὄν vac.

προνοησαμένου τῆς

τειμῆς Φλαβιανοῦ

τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ

15 Καρ(μινίου) Ἀθηναγόρου

B.112A: Posthumous honors for Tiberius Claudius Ktesias (IAph 2007 12.28):

Description: Marble block (W. 0.90 × H. 1.32 x depth not measurable)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.03-0.035

Date: Early 3rd century CE

Findspot: Northern walls, north of stadium

Bibliography: Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1603; published by Reinach 1906, pp.

131-132, no. 60; *MAMA* 8, no. 497; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 298

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[ἡ βουλῆ ?καὶ ὁ δῆμος κ]αὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησαν *star*

[· c. 5 · ?ἀναστάσεσιν ἀ]νδριάντων Τιβ(έριον) Κλ(αύδιον) Κτησίαν

[καὶ · c. 14 ·]ίαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ

Τιβ(έριον) Κλ(αύδιον) [· c. 8 · τὸν] υἱὸν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν τοῦ βί-

5[ου · c. 13 · σεμν]ότητα ἀναθέντας εἰς δια-

[νομάς ?αἰωνίους καὶ σ]τεφανώσεις τῇ τε Βουλῇ

[καὶ ·· c. 11 ·· καὶ ταῖς Φυλαῖς καὶ Προκλήροις
[? τὸν κατ' ἔτος τόκον ? ἀ]πὸ (δηνάρια) μυρίων χειλίων

112B: Honors for T. Cl. Kapitoleinos (IAph 2007 12.324)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: No description

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2797; published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1598; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 294

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

Ἡ πατρις
Τιβέριον Κλ(αύδιον)
Αὐρήλιον
Τιβερίου
5Κλαυδίου
Καπιτωλεί-
νου ὑὸν
Κτησίαν
τὸν ῥήτορα

B.113: Fragmentary honors for Chaireas (IAph 2007 12.529)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: No description

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2798; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 264

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

Χαιρέαν σοφισ-
τὴν καθὼς Κλαυ-
δία Καλλικρατεί-
σα διετάξατο

B.114: Honors for Tiberius Claudius Capitolinus (IAph 2007 14.13)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.52 × H. 1.36 × D. 0.51)

Text: Inscribed on one face

Letters: 0.06

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Re-used in Karaçasu

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ἡ πατρίς
Τιβέριον
Κλαύδιον
Τιβερίου
5[Κ]λαυδίου
[Σ]μαράγδου
[υί]ὸν Καπι-
τωλεῖνον

B.115A: Honors for daughter of Hephaestion (IAph 2007 1.159)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.47 × H. 0.89 × D. 0.29)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: 0.03

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: In the area of the temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, pp. 208-210, no. 88; *MAMA* 8, no. 516; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 250

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[· ? ·]

[ἀ]νθη[φόρον]

ἀρχιέρε[ιαν θυ]-

γατέρα *star* Φ[λ(αβίους)]

Ἐφαιστίωνο[ς]

5καὶ Μεσσοῦλη-

ίας Σατορνεί-

λης ἀρχιερέων

γυναῖκα Αἰμι-

λίου Ἐψικλέους

10ἀρχιερέως ἱππ[ι]-

κοῦ ἱερέως διὰ

βίου θεοῦ Ἡλίου

115B: Honors for Aurelia Flavia Messouleia (IAph 2007 12.532)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: Ligatures: TH 1.8

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2822; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 249

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

Αὐρ. Φλαβίαν

Μεσσοῦληίαν

Ἐφαιστίωνος

ἀρχιερέως καὶ
5τῆς πόλεως
ν. θυγατέρα ν.
Διογενείαν
ἀνθηφόρον τῆς
Ἀφροδείτης
10καὶ ἀρχιέριαν
τῆς πατρίδος
τὴν ἀξιολογω-
τάτην ματρῶ-
ναν γυναῖκα
15Αἰμιλίου
Ἵψικλέους ἱπ-
πικοῦ ἀρχιερέ-
leaf ως *leaf*

B.116: Honors for Aurelia Messouleia Satorneila (IAph 2007 12.531)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: Ligatures: NE 1.2; HN II.5, 6, MN 1. 6, TH 1.9, 10

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: CIG 2821; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 248

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

Αὐρηλίαν *stop* Μεσσοῦ
ληίαν Σατορνεῖλαν
Διονυσίου τρις τοῦ
Διογένους Χρυσά-
5ορίδα τὴν ἀξιολογω-
τάτην καὶ σεμνοτάτην
ἀνθηφόρον τῆς θεοῦ
Ἀφροδείτης καὶ ἀρχι-
έριαν τῆς πατρίδος
10ποιησαμένου τὴν
ἀνάστασιν τοῦ ἀν-
δριάντος Αὐρηλίου
Φλ. Ἡφαιστίωνος ἀρ-
χιερέως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
15*vac.* αὐτῆς *leaf*

B.117: Honors for Aurelia Kelesteina (IAph 2007 1.183)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.0275-0.03

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: In the area of the Temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, p. 208, no. 87; *MAMA* 8, no. 515; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 251

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλῆ κ[αὶ ὁ]
δῆμος ἐτεί-
μησαν ταῖς καλ-
λίσταις καὶ π[ρε]-
σπούσαις τε[ι]-
μαῖς Αὐρηλίαν
[Κ]ελε[στειναν
γυναῖκα Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)
Γαιτ[υλικοῦ
10[ἄ]πελ[ευθέρου]
[κ]αὶ ἐπιτρ[όπου]
[τ]ῶν Σεβασ[τῶν]
[τ]ῆν ἀξιολογω-
[τ]άτην ἀνθηφό-
15ρον καὶ θυγατέ-
ρα τῆς πό[λεως

B.118: Honors for Aurelia Ammia Myrton (*IAph* 2007 15.333)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: Ligatures: l. 3, NHN; l. 6, NT (twice); l. 7, NE, TE; l.10, MN; l.12, TE; l.16, NH, TH; l.18, NH; l.19, ME; l.24, TE; l. 25, ME; l. 26, TE; l.27, THN (twice), HN; l. 31, THN; l. 32, MHN, HN; l.34, MH; l.35, MH

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: East side

Bibliography: *CIG* 2817; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 435

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[· · ? · · τει]-
μαῖς Αὐρ(ῆλιον) Ἀμμιᾶν Δημέου
τοῦ Χρησίμου Μύρτον γε-
νομένην γυναῖκα Μάρ(κου)
Αὐρ(ηλίου) Διογένους τοῦ Διο-
σγένους τοῦ Καλλίου ἀνδρὸς
πρωτεύσαντος ἐν τῇ πόλει
ἡμῶν γένει τε καὶ ἀξιώματ[ι]
ἐκτελέσαντος πάσας ἀρ-
χὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἧτις

10 Μύρτον ἐβίω σεμνῶς πρὸς
 ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς καὶ τε-
 λευτῶσα κατέλιπε τῇ ἱερω-
 τάτῃ βουλῇ εἰς αἰωνίους
 κλήρους ἐν παραταγῇ χρε-
 15 στῶν ἀργυρίου (δηνάρια) ,βφμε´ τ[ῆ]
 γενομένη ὑπὸ αὐτῆς κα-
 ταλείψει καὶ Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Διο-
 γένης γ´ τοῦ Καλλίου τοῦ
 Διογένους τοῦ Μενίππου
 20 τοῦ Ζήνωνος Ὑψικλέ[ους ὁ]
 υἱὸς αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὸ[ς ὄν]
 τοῦ πρώτου ἀξιόμ[ατος]
 ἐκτετελεκῶς π[άσας]
 ἀρχάς [τ]ε καὶ λειτουργί[ας καὶ]
 25 ἀργυροταμείαν τῷ δή[μῳ φι]-
 λοτείμως διακείμενο[ς πρὸς]
 τὴν ἱερωτάτην βουλὴν π[αρέ]-
 ταξε καὶ ἀνέθηκε καὶ α[?ὕτος]
 ἀργυρίου (δηνάρια) ,αφ´ κατὰ τὰ [δό]-
 30 ξαντα τῇ βουλῇ πρ[?ότερον]
 πλὴν ἢ ὑπάρχειν τὴν [...]
 γνώμην ἣν ἡ Μύρτον [διε]-
 τάξατο δεδόσθαι καθ' ἕκα-
 στον ἔτος *scroll* μηνὸς ζ´ ιβ´
 35 καὶ μηνὸς θ´ ιη´ *scroll*

B.119: Honors for Aurelia Apphia daughter of Epiktetos (IAph 2007 1.186)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.52 × H. 1.24 × D. 0.49)

Text: Inscribed on front panel

Letters: 0.025; ligatures THN, 1.7; HN, 1.9; TH, 1.12

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: In the area of the Temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[?ῆ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν]

νν. Αὐρηλίαν νν.

Ἀπφίαν Ἐπικτή -

του τοῦ Τειθω - ν.

νου τοῦ Ἐρμογέ -

δους τοῦ Ζήνω -

νος Γανυμή -

δους τὴν ἰέρειαν

τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
ἐπὶ τῆ περὶ τὴν
10θεὸν ἐξαιρέτω
θρησκεία καὶ ἐ -
πὶ τῆ τοῦ βίου σε -
μνῆ τε καὶ ἀγα -
θη προαιρέσει

B.120: Honors for Aelia Julia Apphia (IAph 2007 12.1210)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Walls

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1606; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 224

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
Αἰλίαν Ἰουλίαν Ἀπφίαν
ματρώναν στολάταν

B.121: Honors for Aurelia Phrontiniane (IAph 2007 15.329)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: No description

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1610; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 441

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

καὶ διὰ ψη[φίς]-
ματος Α[ὕρ(ηλίαν) [?Φρον]-
τεινιαν[ῆν ...]
ζήσασα[ν κοσ]-
μίως κα[ῖ σω]-
φρόνως [καὶ πρὸς]
ὑπόδειγ[μα]
ἀρετῆς τῆ[ν]
ἀνάστασι[ν]
10τοῦ ἀνδριά[ντος]
ἐποίησατο [Μ.]
Αὕρ(ῆλιος) *stop* Ζωίλος [Ζω]-
ίλου τοῦ Ζή-

νωνος ὁ υἱὸς
15vac. αὐτῆς vac.
ἐπιμελησα[μέ]-
νου M. stop Αὐρ. stop Ζω[ί]-
λου τοῦ ἀνδ[ρὸς]
vac. αὐτῆς vac.
20συνζήσασαν
ἀνδρὶ ἀμεμφῶς
vac. ἔτη μδ' vac.

B.122: Posthumous honors for M. Quintilius Pedukaios (IAph 2007 11.18)

Description: Marble panel (W. 0.47 × H. 0.52 × D. 0.13)

Text: Inscribed on the face

Letters: l.1, 0.035; ll.2-9, 0.02; ll.10 ff. 0.15

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: City—near the stadium

Bibliography: Published by Paris and Holleaux 1885, pp. 77-78 no. 7; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 501

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

vac. χαῖρ[ε v. ·]

vacat

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ [δῆμος ἐτεί]-
μησεν καὶ με[τηλλακχότα]
M[ἄρκον Κυιντίλιον Α[· c. 7 ··
Σὺδὸν Πωμεντίν[α ·· c. 6 ··α]-
νον Πεδο[?υ]καῖον [ἄνδρα γένους]
λάμπρου καὶ ἐνδό[ξου ζή]-
σαντα κοσμίως κ[αὶ πρὸς ὑ]-
ποδειγμα ἀρετ[ῆς ? stop ἐτεί]-
10μησαν δὲ αὐτὸν κ[αὶ ·· c. 6 ··]
IAN Φλαουίαν [γυναῖκα αὐ]
τοῦ μητέρα δὲ K[υιντ· c. 6 ··]-
ανοῦ νεωτέρου [·· c. 7 ··]
κὲ φιλοτεί[μ]ως [·· c. 7 ··]
15ΩΣΝΕΜΕΙ[·· c. 13 ··]
KNIAI[·· c. 13 ··]

B.123i-ii: Funerary honors for Peritas Kallimedes and his wife Tatia (IAph 2007 13.105.i-iii)

Description: Marble sarcophagus (W. 2.66 × H. 1.19 × D. 1.36)

Text: The texts are inscribed on the face to the left of the male bust (i); between the two (ii) and to the right of the female bust (iii)

Letters: i: 0.03; ii: 0.0225-0.025; iii: 0.02-0.025

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Northeast Necropolis

Bibliography: Published by Kubitschek and Reichel 1893, p. 102, no. 8; by Reinach 1906, pp. 137-139, no. 70, a-c; *MAMA* 8, no. 499, a-c; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 523, 446, 534; Smith et al. 2006, Sarcophagus 10

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

i ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμη-
σαν καὶ μετηλλακχότα ταῖς
καλλίσταις καὶ πρεπούσαις
τειμαῖς Περεΐταν Διογένους
5 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Καλλιμήδην
ἄνδρα ἐνάρετον ζήσαντα
ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς καὶ
κοσμίως γενόμενον ἐν τε
λειτουργίαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ
10 πρεσβείαις νεωποιήσαντά
τε μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ κοσμί-
ως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς καὶ πάντα
ποιήσαντα ἀναλογούντως
τῷ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ἀξιώματι
15 ἐφ' οἷς ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐπεβό-
scroll ἦσαν τειμηθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ
scroll μετηλλακχότα *leaf*

ii Μᾶρ(κον)
Αὐρήλιον
Διόδωρον Καλ-
λιμήδην ἄνδρα
ἐνάρετον ζή-
5 σαντα ἐνδόξως
καὶ ἐπιφανῶς
καὶ κοσμίως γε-
νόμενον ἐν λει-
τουργίαις καὶ ἀρ-
10 χαῖς καὶ πρεσβεί-
αις καὶ πάντα ποι-
ήσαντα ἀναλο-
γούντως τῷ τοῦ
γένους αὐτοῦ ἀξι-
15 ῶματι τὸν ὄντως
v. φιλόσοφον v.

iii ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
vac. ἐτείμησεν *vac.*
Τατίαν Διογένους τοῦ
Διογένους τοῦ Δημητρί-
5 ου Φιλήμονος σώφρονα
καὶ φίλανδρον καὶ φιλότε-
κνον καὶ πάση διὰ παν-
τὸς τοῦ βίου κοσμηθεῖ-
σαν σεμνότητι καὶ ἀρετῇ
10 γυναιῖκα δὲ γενομένην
Περεΐτου τοῦ Διογένους
τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Καλλιμή-
δους ἀνδρὸς ἐν τε ἀρχαῖς
καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ
λειτουργί-
15 αῖς γεγονότος καὶ
νεωποιή-
σαντος εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλο-
scroll τείμως *leaf*

B.124: Honors for [Lucius] Antonius Zosas (*Iaph* 2007 12.317)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.53 × H. 1.11 × D. 0.53)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: ll. 1-18, 0.025 - 0.0275; 1.1 19-22, 0.02

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Eastern walls, near Southeast Gate

Bibliography: Published Doublet Deschamps 1890, pp. 610-611, no. 6; by Reinach 1906, p. 128, no. 55; *MAMA* 8, no. 524; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 236

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[(e.g.) ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος]

[ἐτεί]μησ[ενΛ]ο[ύκι]ο[v]

Ἀντώνιον Λουκίου

Ἀντωνίου Ζωσᾶ υἱὸν

Ζωσᾶν *stop* ἄνδρα καλὸν

5 καὶ ἀγαθὸν βίῳ κεχη-

μένον καὶ χρώμενον
πράω καὶ ἐπιεικεῖ ἀρ-
χικὸν καὶ λειτουργὸν
καὶ ἀνατεθεικότα τῷ
10ἱερωτάτῳ συνεδρίῳ
τῆς βουλῆς εἰς αἰωνί-
ους κλήρους (δηνάρια) ,γ
καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ (δηνάρια) ,γ
τετειμημένον ὑπὸ τῆς
15βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου
καὶ διὰ ψηφισμάτων
ν. καὶ ἀναστάσεως ν.]
vac. ἀνδριάων *vac.*]
vacat
ἐπιμελησαμένου τῆς ἀνα-
20στάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος
Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Φλ(αοῦίου) Μενιππιανοῦ
vac. Γλαυκίππου *vac.*
vacat

B.125: Honors for Aelius Aurelius Ammianus Papias (IAph 2007 12.21)

Description: No description; probably statue base

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: No measurements

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: North walls

Bibliography: CIG 2787; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 226; published by Smith et al. 2006, p. 23

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα καὶ
διὰ ψηφίσματος Αἴλ(ιον) Α
Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀμμιανὸν Παπί-
αν υἱὸν Μ. Αἴλ(ιον) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀμ-
5μμιανοῦ τοῦ Παπίου
τοῦ Παπίου τοῦ Μαρί-
ωνος τοῦ Δημητρί-
ου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου Γλύ-
κωνος ἄνδρα ἀπὸ
10προγόνων φιλότει-
μον περὶ τὴν πατρί-
δα νομικὸν ἄρισ-
τον ἐκτελέσαντα
τὰς πρώτας ἀρχάς

15καὶ λειτουργίας πρὸ
ἡλικίας ἐν αἴς καὶ
τὴν ἀργυροταμείαν
τοῦ δήμου ν. ζήσαν
τα κοσμίως καὶ αἰ-
20δημόνως πρὸς ὑ-
πόδειγμα ἀρετῆς
ἐπαινεθέντα ἐπὶ
ἤθους πραότητι καὶ
ἐπιεικείᾳ βίου
25*vac.*

προνοησαμένου
τῆς ἀναστάσεως
Αἰλ(ίου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Παπίου Τα-
τιανοῦ τοῦ ἀδελ-
30φοῦ αὐτοῦ *leaf*

B.126: Honors for Aelius Aurelius Ammianus Paulinos (IAph 2007 12.22)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Northern walls

Bibliography: CIG 2788; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 227

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

κατ[ᾶ] τὰ δόξαντα καὶ
διὰ ψηφίσμα-
τος τειμητικοῦ
τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῶ
5*vac.* δήμῳ *vac.*
Αἴλιον Αὐρήλιον
Αμμιανὸν Παυλεῖ-
νον υἱὸν Αιλίου
Αὐρηλίου Παπίου
10Τατιανοῦ ἄνδρα
ἀπὸ προγόνων
φιλότειμον περὶ
τὴν πατρίδα νομι-
κὸν ἄριστον ἐκτε-
15λέσαντα τὰς πρώ-
τας ἀρχὰς καὶ λι-
τουργίας πρὸ ἡλι-
κίας [ζ]ήσαντα

κοσμίως πρὸς ὑ-
20πόδειγμα ἀρετῆς
καὶ ἐπαινεθέντα
ἐπὶ ἦθους πραύτη-
τι καὶ ἐπιεικεία
vac. βίου vac.
25vac. leaf
τὴν ἀνάστασιν
τοῦ ἀνδριάντος
[ποι]ησαμένης ΠΑ
[· · c. 4 · ·]ΤΗΣ ΠΟΠΛΙ[· ·]

B.127: Honors for Aurelius Achilles (IAph 2007 5.214)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 1.28 x W. 0.55 x D. 0.53)

Text: Inscribed on two adjoining faces, i to the right, ii to the left

Letters: i. av. 0.01; ii. av. 0.02

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: East court of the Hadrianic Baths (original location)

Bibliography: Published by Jones 1981; *SEG* 1981.903 (i) and *SEG* 1981.904 (ii); *Bull Ép.* 1984.410 and 1984.411; whence *SEG* 1984.1045; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 11; Roueché 1993, no. 72

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

i · · ? · ·]

[· · ? · ·] ἐσπουδακότας ἀποδεχο[μέ]-
[νης] ἀεὶ ταῖς πρεπούσαις καὶ δικα[ί? νν.]
[αις] πρὸς ἀξίαν μαρτυρίαις τῆς λαμ -
[πρ]οτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἐφεσίων καὶ vac.
5[συ]νηδομένης ὡς οἰκείοις τοῖς παν -
[τῶ]ν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ἄλλαις πο -
[λ]ευσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν τῶν ἀν -
[δρ]ῶν ὑπάρχει πρὸς εὐδοκίμησιν
[ἐ]ξάιρετα ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν εὐτυχί -
10[μ]ατα πλεῖον δέ τι τῆς περὶ τὴν εὐνοί -
[α]ν ροπῆς ἀπονεμούσης τῆ λαμ -
προτάτη πόλει τῶν Ἀφροδεισιέων
[π]ρὸς τὴν πολλὰ καὶ ἐξάιρετα περὶ
[τ]ῆν ἀντίδοσιν τῆς φιλοστοργίας
15ἐστὶν αὐτῇ δίκαια καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ν.
Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἀχιλλέα σώματος μὲν ἄσκη -
σιν ἐπανελόμενον ἀθλήσεως δὲ
τὸν γενναϊότατον βίου δὲ καὶ προ -
αιρέσεως τὸν σεμνότατον ὡς ἐν αὐ -
20τῶ πᾶσαν κεκρᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅσην

ii · · ? · ·]

εἴτε δὲ Βαριανοῖο Π·Ο [· · c. 7 · ·]
vac. ἀγορεύσεις vac.
μέτροις νεικήσας τοῦτο[ν ἔχω]
vac. κότινον vac.
5εἴτ' ἐπιφημίξης τὸν ἔφη[βον Ἀ]-
vac. ρείονα φωτῶν vac.
καὶ κατὰ τούτου [[Ζεύ]]ς ὄπα[σε]
vac. μοι κότινον vac.
ἐν πᾶσιν δὲ ἐθνέων ΕΙΡ[· · ? · ·]
10vac. σταδίοις τόσος εἰμί [vac.]
ὅσσον μήτις ἐμῶν ἀστὸς ἔ[φω]
vac. προφέρειν vac.
πλήθος δὲ στεφάνων ἀγορεύ -
vac. εἰ σοι κλέος ἄλλων vac.
15εἰκόνι λαινῆ καὶ τύπῳ ἡμετέρῳ
πόλλακι γὰρ δὴ [[Πύθια]] [[ἔ]]χῳ καὶ Ὀ -
vac. [[λύμπια]] δεῖα vac.
ἀντιπάλους νεικῶν κυδίμ(φ)
vac. εὐκλείη vac.
20οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δηρεῖ-

ψυχῆς ἐστὶν καὶ σώματος ἀποδε -
 ξαμένης μὲν πολλάκις καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 φθάνουσιν ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἐκόσμησεν
 διαπρεπῶς καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀγω -
 25νισάμενος 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 -
 30δρῶν μετελθεῖν ὑπακούσας κα[ι]
 πεισθεὶς τῇ προτροπῇ τοὺς τε ἀν -
 τιπάλους κατηγωνίσαστο καὶ μετὰ
 τοσαύτης δόξης τὸν κότινον ἀνε-
 δήσαστο ὡς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν
 35εὐδοκιμησάντων ἀγωνισμάτων
 καταριθμεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐ -
 τοῦ καὶ προθυμίαν *scroll* διὰ ταῦτα ἔ -
 δοξεν μὴ μέχρις ἰππικῆς τῆς γνώ -
 σεως τῶν παρόντων μηδὲ τῶν ἀ -
 40παντησάντων κατὰ καιρὸν τῷ στα -
 δίῳ στήναι τὴν περὶ τούτων μαρτυρί -
 αν ἀ[λλ]ὰ γὰρ καὶ παρακαταθέσθ[αι]
 δι[ὰ]
 τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἔτι μᾶ[λ]-
 λον αὐτὸν τῇ πατρίδι

vac. σαμένου περὶ νείκης *vac.*
 [ε]ἰς ἔριν ἐκλήτου δεύτερον ἀν-
vacat τιάσαι *vacat*

B.128A: Honors for Publius Aelius Hilarianos (IAph 2007 12.535)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.30 × H. 0.24 × D. 0.13)

Text: Inscribed within a moulded front panel

Letters: 0.03; ligatures: HTHP l. 19; MH l. 20; NK ll. 13, 20; MMH l. 20; circle for stop

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2793; published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no 595; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 230; *SEG* 1981.902; *BullEp* 1981.517

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

Πόπλιον Αἴ-
 λιον Ἰλαρια-
 νὸν ἰππικὸν
 Ποπλίου Αἰ-
 5λίου Ἀπολλω-
 νιανοῦ πρει-
 μιπειλαρίου
 υἱὸν Ποπλί-

ου Αιλίου
10 Ἰλαριανοῦ ὑ-
πατικοῦ ἔκ-
γονον *stop* πολ-
λῶν συνκλη-
τικῶν καὶ ὑ-
15 πατικῶν συν-
ν. γενῆ *vac.*
Τιβερία Ἰουλί-
α *stop* Ἀντωνία Λη-
τωῖς *stop* μητῆρ καὶ
20 μάμμη συνκλη-
τικῶν *star* τὸν
γλυκύτετον *stop*
υῖόν *leaf*

128B: Honors for Publius Aelius Hilarianos (IAph 2007 12.17)

Description: Marble Statue Base

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.03

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Northern walls, north of stadium

Bibliography: *CIG* 2792; published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1617; by Reinach 1906, p. 129, no. 57; *MAMA* 8, no. 518; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 229; whence *SEG* 1981.902, *Bullep* 1981.517

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[Πόπλιον Αἴλιον]
[Ι]λαριανὸν ἱππ[ι]-
κὸν Ποπλίου Αἰ-
λίου Ἀπολλων-
[ι]ανοῦ πρειμο-
5 πειλαρίου υῖὸν -
Ποπλίου Αἴλιου
Ἰλαριανοῦ ὑπα-
τικοῦ ἔκγονον
πολλῶν ὑπατι-
10 κῶν καὶ συνκλη-
τικῶν συνγεν[ῆ]
vacat

Πόπλιος Αἴλιος
Ἀπολλωνιανὸς
scroll ὁ πατήρ *leaf*

B.129: Honors for Tib. Cl. Apollonios Markianos (*I Aph 2007 8.83*)

Description: Marble cornice blocks edging the stage front

Text: Inscribed on one fascia at the north end

Letters: 0.026

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Theatre: inscribed on front cornice of stage (original location)

Bibliography: Published by Reynolds 1991, no.B.2; whence *SEG* 1991.917

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

ἡ πατρις Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀπολλώνιον Μαρκιανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα

B.130: Honors for Antonius Antiochos (*I Aph 2007 12.35*)

Description: No description, probably a statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 226 CE (contests)

Findspot: Northern walls, north of stadium

Bibliography: *CIG* 2812; whence Liermann 1884, no. 24; published by Roueché 1993, no. 84

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

.. ? ..]

Ἀντώνιον Φλάβ(ιον)

Μητροδώρου υἱὸ[ν]

Ἀντίοχον νική-

σαντα παίδων πυ-

5γμῆν τῷ ἐπιτελε-

σθέντι ἀγῶνι τῆς

πεντεκαίδεκά-

της τετραετηρί-

δος Ἀφροδεισιή-

10ων Φιλημονιῶν

ἀγωνοθετούν-

των τῶν περὶ Ἰού-

λιον Αὐρήλιον Ζή-

λου υἱὸν Χαρίδη-

15μον καὶ Ζήλου ἔ[κ]-

γονον ἀρχιερέων

κτιστῶν σοφιστῆν

vac. νεοποιῶν *vac.*

τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν

20τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ποι-

ησαμένου Ἀντωνί-

ου Φλαβίου Μητρο-

δώρου τοῦ πατρὸς

vac. αὐτοῦ *vac.*

B.131: Alexander the Philosopher (Chaniotis 2004, no. 4)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 1.14 × W. 0.485 × D. 0.525)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.04

Date: 3rd century CE (ca. 200)

Findspot: Karacaşu

Bibliography: Chaniotis 2004, no. 4

Text constituted from: This edition Chaniotis (2004).

Ψηφισαμένης
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ
τοῦ δήμου
Τίτος Αὐρήλιος
Ἀλέξανδρος, φι-
Λόσοφος, τῶν Ἀθή-
Νησιν διαδόχων,
Τ. Αὐήλιον Ἀλέ-
Ξανδρον, φιλόσο-
Φον, τὸν πατέρα

B.132: Honors for Lucius Antonius Karpion Aurelianos (IAph 2007 1.171)

Description: Marble statue base in two large joining fragments (together W. 0.49 × H. 1.125 × D. 0.49) and one small fragment of ll. 14-16 (W. 0.165 × H. 0.21 × D. 0.10)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: a: 0.02; b: 0.025

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: In the vicinity of the Temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: Published by Leake 1843, no. 8; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 948

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

a [(e.g.) ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος]	b προθεσμία
ἐτείμησαν ταῖς	κλήρου μηνὶ
καλλίσταις καὶ	ἰ' νν. ι' ΠΙ
μεγίσταις τει -	<i>vacat</i>
μας Λούκιον Ἄν -	
Στόνιον Ἑρμοῦ υἱ -	
ὸν Καρπιώνα Αὐ -	
[ρ]ηλιανὸν ἄνδρα	
[ἀ]πὸ προγόνων εὐ -	
[γε]νῶν καὶ λειτουρ -	
10[γῶ]ν <i>stop</i> λειτουργήσαν	
[τα] δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πα -	
[σα]ς τὰς κατὰ δυνα -	

[μιν] ἀρχάς τε καὶ λι -
[το]υργίας ζήσαντα
15[κο]σμίως καὶ αἰδημό -
[ν]ως *stop* ἀναθέντα δὲ
[τῆ ἱερ]ωτάτη βουλῇ
[εἰς αἰών]ιον κληῖρον
[τὰ δη]λούμενα διὰ
20[τῆς] γεγονυίας ὑπὸ
[αὐτ]ου ἀναθέσεως
[γε]νομένης ἐπὶ στε -
[φα]νηφόρου τὸ C´ Λου -
[κίου]ν Ἀντωνίου Δομε -
25[τε]ίνου Διογένους
[? *scroll*] μνηνὸς Δείου *scroll*

B. 133: Honors for Pyrron, son of Itharos (IAph 2007 5.204)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.56 × H. 1.24 × D. 0.50)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.02

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: East court of the Hadrianic Baths (original location)

Bibliography: Published by Robert 1937, p. 299, no. 2; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 275

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

ἰ [· c. 7 · ?καὶ οἱ χρυ]
σοφόροι νεοποιοὶ
τῆς ἀγιωτάτης
θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτης
παρὰ τῆ ἀσύλω
5θεῶ *stop* κατὰ τὰ δο-
ξαντα διὰ τε ν. ψη
φισμάτων καὶ ὑπο-
μνημάτων τῆς κρα-
τίστης βουλῆς τὸν
10ἀγνότατον νεωκο-
ρον τῆς θεοῦ Ἀφρο-
δείτης καὶ πιστότα-
τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς
πόλεως Πύρρωνα
15Ἰθάρου τοῦ Ἰθάρου
τρὶς τοῦ Μενιπ *scroll*
που εὐνοίας καὶ
πίστεως καὶ εἰλι-

κρινείας καὶ εὐσε-
20βείας τῆς περὶ τὴν
ν. θεὸν εἵνεκα ν.
ἐπιμελησαμένου
τῆς ἀναστάσεως
τοῦ ἀνδριάντος
25Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίου
Βενουσεῖνου Διογέ-
νους τοῦ Σολωνος
τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς κρα-
30τίστης βουλῆς *scroll*

B.134: Honors for Zenon, son of Zenon (IAph 2007 1.177)

Description: Marble statue base (h. not measured, W. 0.45 x D. 0.45)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: av. 0.02

Date: 3rd century CE, early (contests)

Findspot: In the area of the Temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: Published by Leake 1843, no. 11; whence Liermann 1889, no. 27; by Reinach 1906, nos 91, 92, 112, 115, 118, 143; *MAMA* 8, p. 63, fig.12 and no. 513; by Roueché 1993, no. 78

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[Ζήν]ωνα Ζήν[ωνος]
[τ]οῦ Χάρητος το [ῦ]
[Ζ]ήνωνος Αἰνεΐαν
γένους καὶ ἀξιώ -
5μ ατος τοῦ πρώ-
τε ὑοντ ος ἐν τῇ
πατρίδι ἱερο -
νεΐκην πλ ειστο-
νεΐκην παράδο-
10ξον παλαιστὴν
vac. πα ἰ δα vac.
Μενεσθεὺς Ἀ -
πολ λωνίου το[ῦ]
Με νεσθέως Πα-
15π [ί]ου Ἰσόβουνος
ἀρχινεοποιὸς
θεᾶς Ἀφροδεί-
της *vac. τὸν συν-*
γενῆ ἐκ τῶν ἰδί -
20ων καθὼς ἀγω-

νοθετῶν ὑπέ-
star σχετο *star*

B.135: Honors for Zenon, son of Zenon (IAph 2007 13.152)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 1.09 x W. 0.34 x D. 0.34)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.025

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Northeast necropolis

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, no. 146; by Roueché 1993, no. 82

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

.. ? ..]

Ζήνωνα Ζήνω-
νος τοῦ Ἑρμεί-
ου νεικήσαντα
5παίδων στάδι-
ον τῷ ἐπιτελεσ-
θέντι ἀγῶνι *star*
τῆς ἐνάτης τε-
τραετηρίδος
10Ἀφροδεισιτήων
Φιλημονιῶν
ἀγωνοθετούν-
[τ]ων τῶν περὶ
[Τι]βέριον *stop* Κλ(αύδιον) *stop*
15Ἀπολλώνιον
Βερoneικια-
νὸν Ἀκασσῶ-
να νεοποιῶν *stop*
τὴν δὲ ἀνάστα-
20σιν τοῦ ἀνδρι-
άντος ἐποιή-
σατο Τυχικός
Φιλήτου τοῦ
Ἀπολλωνίου
25ἐκ τοῦ θέματος *stop*

B.136: Honors for Meliton, kitharist (IAph 2007 1.182)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 1.14, W. 0.55, D. 0.55)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.025-0.027

Date: 3rd century CE, early (contests)

Findspot: In the are of the Temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: Published by Reinach, 1906 no. 148bis; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 301; by Roueché 1993, no. 69

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

a [(e.g) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ]
[γερουσία] ἐτείμη[?σαν ·· c. 5 ··]
Μελίτωνα Μελίτωνος
τὸν καὶ Ἀγροίταν
πυθικὸν καὶ κύκλιον
ἑκθαριστὴν ἱερονεΐ-
κην πλειστονεΐκην
παράδοξον ἄνδρα
εὐγενεῖα καὶ ν. τρό- ν.
που σεμνὸν ὅτι δια-
10 φέροντα καὶ ἐπὶ τού-
τω μάλιστα θαυμα-
σθέντα καὶ [ἰ]τεμνη-
θεντα ὑ [πὸ το]ῦ κυρί-
ου ἡ[μῶν αὐτ]οκρά-
15 τ[ορος ·· c. 6 ··]ου ν.
[·· c. 11 ··]ΑΙ ν.
[·· c. 12 ··]Υ
[·· c. 12 ··]Υ
[·· c. 12 ··]Υ
20 [·· c. 12 ··]Υ
Μ[·· c. 11 ··]Ι
ΤΩΙ [·· c. 4 ··]ΣΙ [ν]ει-
κήσα[ντα] stop [Ἄ]κτια
ἐν Νεικοπόλει vac.
Ἐφέσηα ἐν Ἐ[φέσ]ῳ

b Πύ[θια ἐν Ἰε]ραπόλει
Ἄκτι[α ἐν Ἰερα]πόλει
30 Ἄκτι[α ἐν ·· c. 6 ··] vac.
Ἄκτι[α ἐν ·· ? ·· Δα]μα-
σκῶ stop [?Ἄκτια ἐν] Και-
[σ]αρεία τῆς Στρ]άτω-
[νο]ς stop Π[ύθια ἐν] Λαο-
35 [δικε]ία [?Συρία]ς stop κοι
[νὰ Κ]αππ[αδο]κῶν
[ἐν Κ]αισα[ρεί]α ? stop] Ἡρα
[κλ]εῖα stop Κομ[μὸδ]εῖα
ἐν Τύρω stop κοινὰ Βει-
40 θυνίας ἐν Νεικομη -
δεῖα stop Αὐγούστεια
ἐν Τράλλεσι stop κοι
νὰ Ἀσ[ί]ας β' stop ἐν Τράλ-
λεσι[ν ? stop] Δεῖα [Ἄλ]εῖα β' ἐν
45 Φιλα[δ]ελ[φεί]α stop κοι-
νὰ Ἀσίας [stop ἐν Φι]λα-
δε[λφ]εῖα ν. Ι[·· c. 4 ··]ΕΙ
[·] ΟΜ [·· c. 10 ··]Α
ΜΥ [·] ΙΙ [··]Ι [·· c. 4 ··]Α
50 vac. πολ[ε]ιτεῖα ? vac.]
πόλεων vac. ἐ[ν δό]-
ξων κα[ὶ] ΝΑΙΙ[·· βου]-
λή stop καὶ π[ρ]οεδρία]
vac. τειμηθ[έ]ντα vac.]

B.137: Honors for Marcus Aurelius Gaitulikos (IAph 2007 12.912)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.20 × H. 0.50 × D. 0.20)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.03

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Western walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2800; published by Reynolds 1982, doc. 56; whence *SEG* 1982.1097; *BullEp* 1983.391; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 257

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

·· ? ··]

κατὰ τὰ ψηφι-
σθέντα ἐτεί-

μησεν Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον)
Γαιτυλικὸν
Σάπελεύθερον
καὶ ἐπίτροπον
τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
πρῶτονεοποι-
ὸν τῆς θεοῦ
10 Ἀφροδείτης

B.138: Honors for M. Aurelius Ariston (IAph 2007 12.534)

Description: i: Lines 1-2 are on a large statue base capital (W. 0.55 x H. 0.43 x D. 0.625)

ii: marble statue base, at least 1 m. high, of which three fragments survive

Text: i. inscribed in two lines along the lower fascia. ii. inscribed on one face

Letters: l. 1, 0.03; l. 2, 0.025; ll.3 ff., 0.02-0.025

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2774; whence Liermann 1889, no. 53; *MAMA* 8, no. 491; Cormack 1964, no. 10; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 340

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[?(e.g.) κατὰ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα]

[?ὐπὸ τῆς βουλῆς]

καὶ τοῦ δήμου

Μᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀρίστωνα

πεντάκι τοῦ Ἀρτεμι -

δώρου Μεγίππου ἄν -

5 δρα τῶν ἐν τέλει πα -

τρός καὶ προγόνων

ἀρχικῶν καὶ λειτουργῶν

ἔκγονον Ἀρίστωνος

τρὶς τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου

10 Μεγίππου γυμνασιάρ -

χου ζήσαντα κοσμί -

ως καὶ αἰδημόνως

πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα

ἀρέτης ἐπαινεθέν -

15 τα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ αἴς ἐ -

ποιήσατο ἀρχαῖς

τε καὶ λειτουργίαις

Αὐρηλία Ἀμμία Ζή-

νωνος δ' τοῦ Χρυσίπ-

20 που τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱ -

ὸν ἦτις καὶ ἀνέθη -

κεν τῇ ἱερῶ τά τη

βουλῆ εἰς αἰωνίους
κλήρους ἀργυρίου
25 βτο´ καθὼς διὰ τῆς
γενομένης ὑπὸ
αὐτῆς ἀναθέσε -
ως δηλοῦται

B.139: Posthumous honors for M. Aur. Attalos (*I Aph 2007 15.321*)

Description: No description; probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: No description

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: No location given

Bibliography: Published by Leake 1843, no. 7; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 253

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[···κατὰ]

τὰ ἐ[ψηφισμ]ένα ὑ-
πὸ τῆ[ς β]ουλῆς καὶ
τοῦ δήμου Μάρκον
5 Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἄτταλον Ἄρτε-
μιδώρου πεντάκ[ις
τοῦ Μενίππου Ἄτ-
τάλου ἄνδρα τῶν ε[ῦ]
γεγονότων ἀπὸ
10 προγόνων ἀρχικῶν
καὶ λειτουργῶν τε-
λευτήσαντα νέον
τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν
δὲ ἀνάστασιν τοῦ
15 ἀνδριάντος ἐποι-
ήσατο Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀμμία ἡ
μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀνα-
θεῖσα τῇ κρατίστῃ
βουλῇ εἰς αἰωνίους
20 διανομὰς ἀργύρι-
ον καθὼς διὰ τῆς ἀ-
ναθέσεως δη-
λοῦται

B.140: Honors for M. Aurelius Statonos, also called Argyrios (*I Aph 2007 12.923*)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Western walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2799; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 259

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
Μ(ἄρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) ΣΤΑΤΩΝΟΝ
τὸν καὶ Ἀργύριον τὸν
{τον} εὐεργέτην ἐν πᾶσιν
5vac.

ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν περὶ
Μ(ἄρκον) Ἀντώνιον Νεικόμαχον Βλάσ-
τον ἄρξαντα τρις τὴν πρῶ-
vac. τὴν ἀρχὴν *vac.*

B.141: Honors for M. Aurelius --os (*IAph* 2007 12.215)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 1.18 x W. 0.545 x D. 0.67)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.018-0.02

Date: 211 CE (contests)

Findspot: Eastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Paris and Holleaux 1885, no. 1; whence Liermann 1889, no. 28; *MAMA* 8, no. 521; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 261; by Roueché 1993, no. 70

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[?(e.g.) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ νέοι]

[έτείμη]σαν Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον)

[· ? ·]ΟΝ Τειμοκλέους [τοῦ

[Αγ]αθόποδος τοῦ Ἀρτε[μι]-

5[δῶ]ρου Ἀφροδισιέα *stor* καὶ

[Ν]εικομηδέα καὶ Ἀγκυρ[α]-

[ν]ὸν βουλευτὴν δολιχαδ[ρό]-

μον ἱερoneίκτην πύθιον[εἰ]-

κτην, Ἀκτιονεἰκτην παράδ[ο]-

10[ξ]ιον νεικήσαντα δὲ κα[ἰ]

ἄλλους ἀγῶνας τοὺς ὑ-

πογεγραμμένους *vac.* ἐν Ἀ[ν]-

κύρα τῆς Γαλατίας Εἰς[·]

[Α]σκήπειον παίδων δόλιχ ο[ν]

15 ἐν Ἀδριανῆα τῆς Βειθυνία[ς ?ιερ]-

ὸν Ἀδριάνειον Ἀντινόειο[ν]

παίδων δόλιχον ἐν Ἡρακλε[ἰ]-

α τῆ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Ἀδρι(ά)νηο[ν]

Ἡράκλειον ἰσάκτ(ι)ον πα[ἰ]-

20δων δόλιχον ἐν Χαλκηδ[ό]-

νι παίδων δόλιχον κατὰ
 [τ]ὸ ἐξῆς ἀνδρῶν δόλιχο ν
 ἐν Νεικομηδεῖα Αὐγούστ[ει]-
 α Σεβήρεια ἀνδρῶν δόλ[ι]-
 25χον τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα διά[υ]-
 λον ὄπλον ἐν Νεικέα Α[ὕ]-
 γούστειον ἀνδρῶν δόλ[ι]-
 χον ἐν {N} Ἡρακλείατῆπρὸ[ς]
 τῶΠόντω Ἀδριάνειον Ἡ-
 30ρ ἀκλειον ισάκτιον ἀν-
 δρῶν δόλιχον τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέ-
 [ρ]α ὄπλον ἐν Νεικέα Αὐ-
 γούστειον ἀνδρῶν δόλ[ι]-
 χον τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα διάυλον
 35ὄπλον ἐν Φιλαδελφεία κο[ι]-
 νὸν Ἀσίας ἀνδρῶν δόλ[ι]-
 vac. χον vac.
 προνοησαμένου τῆς ἀνα-
 στάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος
 40Ἀντιδωρίδου τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 {ἱεροῦ} θεᾶς Ἀφροδείτης
 τοῦ συντρόφου αὐτοῦ

B.142: Honors for Marcus Aurelius –nus, son of Artemon (IAph 2007 12.639)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.465–W. 0.425 × H. 1.17 × D. 0.44)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.017

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southern walls

Bibliography: Published by Erim and Reynolds 1991, no.19; whence *SEG* 40 1990.942

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[M]ᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον [...]

[·]νον Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ

[K]αλλικλέους ἐπίκλην

Κωλώτην ἀγαλματ Ἰοπι-

5ὸν ζήσαντα ἐδημόνως

καὶ σωφρόνως πρὸς ὑπό -

δειγμα ἀρετῆς *scroll*

vacat

τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν τοῦ

ἀνδρείαντος ἐποιήσατο

10*leaf* Ζηναῖς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ *leaf*

B.143: Honors for anonymus, son of Menandros, athlete (IAph 2007 15.364)

Description: Marble block, probably a statue base

Text: Inscribed on face within panel

Letters: Ligatures: TH, NE, 1.17.; NH, ME, 1.22; NH, 1.23; TH, 1.24; HN, 1.30

Date: 230-240 CE (Contests)

Findspot: Unknown

Bibliography: *CIG* 2811; whence Liermann 1889, no 26; published by Roueché 1993, no. 85

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[ῆ βουλή ἐτείμησεν ?Μεν]-

[αν]δρο[ν ··] ΤΟΥ[·] Μ[·· c. 6 ··]

υῖον Μενάν-

δρου τοῦ οἰκο-

νόμου αὐτῆς

ἀγωνισάμενον

παίδων παν -

κράτιον

ἐνδόξως τὸν ἐ-

10πιτελεσμέ-

νον ἀγῶνα Φι-

λημονίηον ὑ-

πὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν

ἀξιολογώτατον

15Ἄντ(ώνιον) Καρ(μίνιον) Πο(πίλιον) Ἀγέ-

λαον ἀρχινεω-

ποιὸν νεωποι-

ῶν τῆς ἐπιφανε-

στάτης θεοῦ

20*scroll* Ἀφροδείτης

τῆς ἀναστάσε-

ως τοῦ ἀνδριάν-

τος γεγενημέ-

νης ἐκ τῶν προσ-

25όδων πάσης τῆς

βουλῆς

δι' Ἄντ(ωνίου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐ -

ελπίστου τοῦ

βουλάρχου

30ὄστις Μένανδρος

ἐστέφθη νεικήσας

καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καθῶς

καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀν-

δριάντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ

35πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐστῶτος
δ[ηλ]οῦται

B.144: Honors for Zenas, descendent of Apollonios (IAph 2007 12.521)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.38 × H. 0.36 × D. 0.22)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.03

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2768; published by Cormack 1964, fig. 1; *MAMA* 8, no. 520; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 332

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

.. ? ..]

τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου

Ζηναῖν γενάμενον

νεοποιὸν δις τῆς

θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτης ἄ[ρ]-

5ξαντα καὶ τὴν πρῶ-

την ἀρχὴν ἐνδόξως

καὶ εἰρηναρχήσαντα

καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λιτουρ-

γίας φιλοτείμως ἐκ-

10τελέσαντα καὶ πα-

ρασχόντα ἑαυτὸν

χρήσιμον τῇ πατρί-

δι καὶ εἰς σ]υνδικίας

δημοσίων πραγμά-

15*vac.* των *vac.*

τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν

τοῦ ἀνδριάντος [ἐ]-

ποίησατο Ἀὐρηλία

Ἀμαζονίς ἢ γυνή

20αὐτοῦ παρ' ἑαυτῆς *stop v. leaf*

B.145: Honors for Marcus Aurelius Zenas (IAph 2007 1.179)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.51 × H. 1.135 × D. 0.51)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.02

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: In the vicinity of the Temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: Published by Reinach 1906, nos. 109, 116, 117; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 378, 580

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

παῖδα τῶν εὐ γε-
γονότων ἄνδρα
εὐγενεῖα καὶ ἤ-
θει σεμνῶ διε-
σθένκοντα ζή-
σαντα κοσμίως
καὶ αἰδημόνως
πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα
ἀρετῆς *stop* καὶ ἐπαι-
10νεθέντα ἐφ' αἷς
μεγαλοψύχως
ἐξετέλεσε *stop* ἄρ-
χαῖς καὶ λιτουρ-
γίαις [*stop* ἄ]ναθέν - ν.
15τα δὲ [Μᾶρ]κον Αὐ-
ρήλιο[ν] Ζηνᾶν
Ζηνᾶ τοῦ Διονυ-
σίου τὸν πατέρα
αὐτοῦ τῆ ἱερωτ-
20άτη βουλῆ *stop* εἰς αἰω-
νίους κλήρους
ἀργυρίου ἀρχαῖα
scroll (δηνάρια) ,βφ' *scroll*
καθῶς διὰ τῆς γε
25νομένης αὐτοῦ
ἀναθέσεως δη-
leaf λοῦται

B.146: Honors for anonymous (IAph 2007 11.57)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: No measurements

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: City

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 1596bis; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 349

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[...]

τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον
πρῶτον ἄρχοντα δις
ταμίαν γραμματέα
5δῆμου δις ἀρχινεω-
ποιὸν τῆς θεοῦ Ἄφρο-

δείτης πολλάκις ἀγορά-
νομον καὶ πάσας τὰς
μεγίστας ἀρχὰς [ἐκ]-
10τελέσαντα [κ]αὶ ἐ[ν]
ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπ[ι]-
δόσεσιν χρήσιμ[α π]ρ[α]-
ξαντα τῇ πατρίδι [σ]υν-
γ[ε]νῇ Τιβερίου Κλ[αυ]-
15δίου Αὐρηλ[ίου] Κ[απ]ε-
τωλείνο[υ···]

B.147: Honors for anonymous, athlete (IAph 2007 11.58)

Description: Marble statue base (H. 0.99 x W. 0.40 x D. 0.37)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.02

Date: 226 CE (Contests)

Findspot: City, east of Tetrapylon

Bibliography: Published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, no. 596; whence Liermann 1889, no. 25; by Roueché, 1993, no. 83

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[τὸν δεῖνα ·· ? ·· στ]-

[εφ]ανωθέν[τα]

παίδων στάδι-

ον τῷ ἐπιτελε-

5σθέντι ἀγῶνι

τῆς πεντε-

καιδεκάτης

τετραετηρίδος

Ἀφροδεισιῶν

10Φιλημονιῶν

ἀγωνοθετούν-

των τῶν περὶ

Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλι-

ον Ζήλου ἀρχι-

15ερέως υἱὸν Χα-

ρίδημον νεο-

ποιῶν *stop* τὴν δὲ ἀ-

νάστασιν τοῦ

ἀνδριάντος

20ποιησαμένου

Ἰουλίου Κρατε-

ρου τοῦ πατρὸς

αὐτοῦ

B.148: Honors for anonymus, athlete (IAph 2007 11.60)

Description: Marble statue base(H. 0.69 x W. 0.22)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.18

Date: 241 CE (Contests)

Findspot: City

Bibliography: published by Cormack 1964; by Roueché 1993, no. 86

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

.. ? ..]

[.. ? ..]παῖδα τῶν [?εὔ γεγονότων]

[.. ? ..] νείκησαν[τα ?ἐνδόξως .. c. 4 ..]

[παί]δων πυγ[μῆν ?ἐν ἀγῶνι]

5[τῆς] Ἀφροδεῖσι[ήων Φίλημον]-

5 [ιήω]ν εἰκοστῆ[ς τετραετηρίδος]

[ἀγω]νοθετου[ντος Τιβερί]-

[ου] Κλαυδίου [.. ? .. υίου]

[Ἀπολ]λωνίου Μα[ρκιανοῦ .. ? ..]

10[.. ? ..] Ἀσιαρχου [?καὶ ἀρχιερέως]

[τῆς] πατρίδος *stop* [?προνοησαμένων]

[τῶν] τῆς ἐπιφα[νεστάτης θεᾶς]

vac. [Ἀ]φροδείτης υ[εοποιῶν τῶν περὶ]

[Τιβέ]ριον Κλαύ[διον Ἰούλιον Κάνδ]-

15[ιδον Ἡγεμονέ[α Ἀσίας ἀρχιε]-

[ρέων] καὶ ἀρχιερ[έων υἷον καὶ ἔκ]-

[γονον] συγγενη Α [.. c. 9 .. ἀρχ]-

[ινε]ωποιὸν Ι[.. c. 13 ..]

[...]χόμενο Ι[.. c. 13 ..]

20[...] ΕΝ κεφαλ[... c. 13 ..]

[?καθώ]ς καὶ ΤΟΙ[... c. 13 ..]

[τοῦ ἀ]ξιολογοῦ[άτου .. c. 9 ..]

[.. ? ..] Αἰλίου ΑΙ[... c. 13 ..]

[.. ? ..] *leaf* ΠΡΕ[... c. 15 ..]

B.149: Honors for anonymous (IAph 2007 12.36)

Description: No description

Text: No description

Letters: No measurements

Date: 3rd century CE, after 238 CE

Findspot: North walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2801; whence Liermann 1889, no. 29; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 578; by Roueché 1993, no. 56; *Bull.Ep.* 1978.491

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

[· · ? · ·]
[?συγκλητι]-
κὸν [· · υῖόν]
ὑπατικοῦ
5τὸν ἀγωνα-
θέτην διὰ βίου
τῶν μεγάλων
Γορδιανῶν
Ἀτταλῶν
10[τῆς] λαμπρο-
[τάτ]ης Ἀφροδε[ι]-
[σιέ]ων πόλεως
[?τετ]ελευτη[κ]ό -
τα ἐπὶ τῆς β[ασ]-
15ειλίδος Ῥώμη[ς]
διακομίσας
τὸ πτωμάτι-
ον αὐτοῦ κα-
τέθετο τὸν
20φίλον Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος)
Εὐτυχιανὸς [?καὶ]
τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ *leaf*

B.150: Honors for the father of Marcus Aurelius Polychronios (IAph 2007 11.110)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: No description

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Northeastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Paris and Holleaux 1885, pp. 76-7, no. 6; *BullEp* 1969.542; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 27

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[· · c. 10 · ·]ΙΣΔ
[· · δαπα]νήσαντα
ἀπὸ (δηνάρια) μυρίων εἰ-
ρηναρχήσαντα πα-
5ραφυλάξαντα καὶ
τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς
καὶ λειτουργίας *scroll*
καὶ συνεισδόσεις
τῇ πατρίδι καὶ πα-
10ρὰ δύναμιν πλη-
ρώσαντα ὑπέρ τε

αὐτοῦ καὶ *stop* Μ(άρκου) *stop* Αὐρ(ηλίου)
Πολυχρονίου τοῦ
υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνα-
15θέντα δὲ καὶ τῆ
κρατίστη βουλῆ
εἰς αἰωνίους κλή-
ρους (δηνάρια) ,αχο´ γει-
νομένου τοῦ
20κλήρου πρὸς τῷ
ἀνδριάντι αὐ-
τοῦ ἐκάστου ἔ-
τους μηνὶ ἰ´ ὀνο-
μάτων σ´ λαμβα-
25νοντος ἐκάστ[ου]
τῶν λαχόντων[ν (δηνάρια)]
ς´ κατθὰ κα[ὶ διὰ]
τῆς ἀνα[θέσε]-
ως δηλ[οῦται ···]
30TEIM[· c. 8 ··]

B.151: Posthumous honors for anonymous, son of Tryphon (*IAph 2007 12.537*)

Description: Marble statue base

Text: No description

Letters: No description

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: *CIG* 2794; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 546

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[···]

Τρύφωνος τοῦ Τρύ-
φωνος τοῦ Ζήνω-
νος γ´ τοῦ Χρυσίπ-
5που τοῦ Αἰνείου
ἄνδρα εὐγενεῖα
καὶ ἦθει σεμνῶ
διενεκόντα ζή-
σαντα κοσμίως
10καὶ αἰδημόνως
πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα
ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐπαι-
νεθέντα ἐφ'αῖς
μεγαλοψύχως ἐ-
15ξετέλεσε ἀρχαῖς

καὶ λειτου<ρ>γίαις
vac.
ἔστησε Αὐρ(ήλιος)
Τρύφων ὁ πατήρ *leaf*

B.152: Honors for anonymous, athlete (IAph 2007 13.616)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.38 x D. 0.35)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.02

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Western necropolis

Bibliography: Published by Kubitschek and Reichel 1893, no. 11; by Roueché 1993, no. 77

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

.. ? ..]
π[α]λαιστὴν
νεικήσαντα
Ἀφροδεισίηα
5 Ἀδώνηα Τιβέ-
ριος Κλαύδι-
ος Αὐρήλιος
Μουκιανὸς
Ἀπολλώνιος
10 Βερονεικια-
νος ὁ κράτι-
στος ἀντινε-
οποιὸς Τιβε-
ρίου Κλαυδί-
15 ου Ἀπολλωνί-
ου Βερονεικι-
ανοῦ Ἀκάσσω-
νος ἀρχιερέ-
ως πάππου
20 ἰδίου ἐν τῇ πρώ-
τῃ περιόδῳ τῆς
ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπολεί-
ψει τοῦ Ἀπολ-
λωνίου ἀρχι -
25 νεοποιίας πα-
ρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέ-
νν. στησεν *vac.*

B.153: Honors for Apollonios (IAph 2007 12.417)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.56 × H. 1.18 × D. 0.48)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: ll. 1-18, 0.0275; ll. 19ff, 0.03. Ligatures: 1.3, NE; 1.6, MM; 1.15, HK; 1.18, 20, HN

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Southeastern walls

Bibliography: Published by Kubitschek and Reichel 1893, no. 9; by Reinach 1906, no. 77; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 338

Text constituted from: This edition Reynolds (2007).

[?ή βουλή και ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν]

νν. Ἀπολλωνίου νν.

vac. ἀρχιερέα vac.

ταμίαν πρωτονε-

οποιὸν πρῶτον

ἑξήκοντα δις ν.

γραμματέα τοῦ

δήμου δις βού-

λαρχον καὶ τὰς

ἄλλας πάσας

10 ἀρχὰς καὶ λει-

τουργίας ἐνδό-

ξως ἀπὸ προγό-

νων ἐκτετελε-

κότα ἄνδρα πρᾶ-

15ον καὶ ἐπ<ι>εικῆ καὶ

ἐν πᾶσιν φιλό-

τειμον περὶ ν.

τὴν πατρίδα

vacat

vacat

ἐπιμελησαμένου

20 Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ζηνοβίου

Εἰάσονος ἀρχιε -

ρέως τοῦ γαμ-

βροῦ αὐτοῦ *scroll*

B.154: Honors for anonymous (*I Aph* 2007 1.158)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.52, D. 0.42)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: lines 1-14, 00.015-0.02; lines 15 ff., 0.02

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: In the are of the Temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: *MAMA* 8, no. 511; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 337; published by Cormack 1964, p. 29, no. 45; by Robert 1966, p. 424, n. 3; whence *BullEp* 1967.552; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 378

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

.. ? ..]

[.. c. 6 .. πρ]ωταρχουντ..]

[...] Δατέως ΑΔ[... c. 4 ...]

[...] ἀρχιερέω[ν καὶ]

[στε]φανηφόρω[ν ἐκ]-

5γονον ἀνδρῶ[ν ?πρωτ]-

τευσάντων [ἐν τῇ ?πόλει]

ταῖς κορυφαι[οτάτ]αῖς

ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουρ-

[γί]αις ἐξετασθέν-

10των *stop* ζήσαντα κοσ-

μίως καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ

σεμνότητι καὶ ἐ - ν.

πικεῖα *stop* ἐπιλαμ

πρύναντα τ[ῆ]ν τ[οῦ]

15γένους ἀξίαν *stop* ἀ

πολίποντα τῇ ἱερω-

τάτη βουλῇ εἰς αἰ-

ωνίους διανομάς

ἀργυρίου ἀρχαῖα

20*scroll* (δηνάρια) ,ε *scroll*

ἐπιμελησαμέ-

νων τῆς ἀναστά-

σενς τοῦ ἀνδρι-

άντος *stop* Οὐλ(πίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)

25Μενίππου Ἀετί-

ου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ

καὶ Οὐλπίων Κλ(αυδίων)

Αὐρ(ηλίων) Ζηνᾶ Φωσφο-

ρίου καὶ Μενίπ-

30που Ἀετίου καὶ Ἀτ-

ταλίδος τῶν ἀδελ-

φοτεκνίων αὐτοῦ

καθὼς αὐτὸς δι-

scroll ἐτάξατο *scroll*

B.155: Honors for anonymous (*IAph* 2007 1.161)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.55 × W. 0.54 × D. 0.36)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: 0.02; ligatures: NT, 1.2; TH 1. 3; ME 1.10; THN 1.12; NH 1.12

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: In the area around the Temple of Aphrodite

Bibliography: published by Reinach 1906, p. 208, no. 86; *MAMA* 8, no. 523; whence McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 362

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

.. ? ..]

[(e.g.) πάσας ἀρχὰς καὶ λει]-

τουρχίας [.. ? .. ?ἐκτελέ]-

σαντος *stop* ἀναθ[έντος]

δὲ καὶ τῆ κρατί[στη]

βουλῆ καὶ τῷ σ[ε]-

5μνοτάτῳ καὶ ἀρχ[αι]-

στάτῳ συνεδρίῳ

τῶν χρυσοφόρων

νεοποιῶν εἰς αἰῶ-

νίους κλήρους ἀρ-

10γύριον γεγόμενον

καὶ αὐτὸν βουλευ-

τήν *stop* ἐλεωνήσαντα

καὶ νεοπυήσαντα

φιλοτείμως *star* καὶ

15[παραφυλ]άξαντα

B.156: Honors for anonymous (IAph 2007 15.322)

Description: Marble statue base (W. 0.30 × H. 0.23 × D. 0.10)

Text: Inscribed on face

Letters: No measurements

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Stray find

Bibliography: published by Leake 1843, pp. 234, 288, no. 3

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché (2007).

.. ? ..]

ΛΑΙΑΣΔΙΑΙ[.. ? ..]

πρώτου γένους [? *stop* παι]-

δείαι καὶ ἤθει χρηστ[ῶ]

κεκοσμημένον *stop* λέ-

5γοντα καὶ πράσσοντα

ἀεὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῆ

vac. πατρίδι *vac.*

B.157: a: Funerary inscription and b: consolatory decree (IAph 2007 12.19)

Description: Marble block (W. 1.37 × H. 0.60 × D. 1.37)

Text: a: inscribed at the left side of the stone, and must have continued from an adjacent block; b: inscribed to the right and must have continued onto the next block

Letters: a: 0.02-0.025; b: 0.02-0.025

Date: 3rd century CE

Findspot: Northern walls, west end of stadium

Bibliography: *CIG* 2836 and 2776; published by Le Bas and Waddington 1870, nos. 1633a and 1633b; by Reinach 1906, no. 11a and 11b; *MAMA* 8, nos. 541 (a) and 409 (b); whence L. Robert 1965, pp. 208, 231 (b ll. 3-4, 9); *BullEp* 1966.383; McCabe *PHI Aphrodisias* 427 and 22

Text constituted from: This edition Roueché and Bodard (2007).

[· c. 14 ·] ΟΥΚΑΙΘΟΙΝΙΑ κατὰ τὰς δοθείσας
[αὐτῶ ὑπὸ · c. 10 · τετράκι] τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τῶν τόπων συνχω-
[ρήσεις διὰ τοῦ χρεοφυλακίου] ὧν ἐν μὲν τῇ σορῶ τέθαιπται Ἀρισ-
[τοκλῆς Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ] Ζήνωνος τοῦ Θεαιτήτου ὁ υἱὸς αὐ-
5[τοῦ ταφήσονται δὲ Ἀρι]στοκλῆς ὁ καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Ἄφριον Ἀ-
[· c. 15 · τοῦ] Ἡρώδου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν δὲ ταῖς
[εἰσώσταις ταφήσονται Μέ]νιπὸς τε Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Ζή-
[νωνος τοῦ Θεαιτήτου] καὶ οὗς ἂν Ζήνων ὁ καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς
[καὶ Μένιππος ὁ προδ]ηλούμενος βουληθῶσιν *leaf*
10[ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀπετέθη ἀντίγραφον εἰς τὸ
[χρεοφυλάκιον ἐπὶ στε]φανηφόρου τὸ δ' Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Ὑψικλέ-
[ους · c. 14 · μ]ηνὸς Ἰουλιῶ *vac.*
vac.

· ? ·]

τοῦ Γορτυνίου τοῦ Ἀριστοκ[λέους
ἦθει καὶ σεμνότητι βίου ὑπε[ρβεβληκῶς πρὸ ὥρας ἄρτι]
τετελεύτηκεν προσήκει δ[ὲ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ? τῶν τετε]-
λευτηκότων παραμυθεῖσθαι [· · ·]
5φιλιτάτων ἀποβολῆς *stop* διὰ ταῦτ[α δεδόχθαι τετειμησ]-
θαι μὲν καὶ μετηλλακχότα τα[ῖς πρώταις τειμαῖς Ἀριστο]-
κ<λέ>α Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ [Ζήνωνος τοῦ Θεαιτήτου] [παραμυ]-
θήσασθαι δὲ τὸν πατέρα αὐ[τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς]
τῆς τύχης συμφοραῖς ταῖς τελ[?εσθείσαις]
10Γονεὺς Μητροδόρου τοῦ Γο[νέως] [πρῶτος ἄρχων]
Μ(ἄρκος) Ἰούλιος Πύρρου γραμμα[τεὺς δήμου ·]

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