The Development of Roman Imperial Cults in Asia Minor. A Community-Based Approach

by
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A dissertation
submitted to the Department of Classics,
Royal Holloway, University of London,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
11th March 2022

Declaration of Authorship

I, Dingenis van der Linde, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date: 11th March 2022

Abstract

Why did the development of Roman imperial cults progress in distinct ways, where and when? During the Julio-Claudian period, Roman imperial cults were introduced and accommodated in many *poleis* of Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey). Yet, this did not occur everywhere at the same time, in the same pace, in the same way, nor did it have the same consequences. Imperial cults could, for instance, become the dominant religious institution in an urban community, they could disappear, they could be remodelled after some time, or they could be integrated into, or fused with, other cults. Acknowledging this diversity, this research intends to offer explanations for the multiple pathways along which imperial cults could develop. Based on archaeological material and epigraphic texts from Julio-Claudian Ephesos and Miletos, a comparative-historical study traces the developments of imperial cults and looks for the causes of distinct developmental trajectories in various forms of human and institutional interaction in specific spatial and historical conditions. It accounts for timing of introduction, moments of crisis, inter-city rivalry, movements and networks of people, elite competition, and interactions between various social groups as well as religious institutions. In so doing, this study distinguishes itself from most studies of Roman imperial cults which have approached it primarily as part of cultural and symbolic systems or as the result of interactions between imperial authorities and regional as well as local elites. It also challenges common approaches to social and cultural change in Roman society like globalisation and Romanisation, which are unable to describe or explain such divergent developmental trajectories. Instead, it proposes and explores a community-based approach as an alternative methodological framework for studying religious and socio-political change in the Roman Empire.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is the product of a long journey, during which I engaged with different spaces and different people. Its roots lie in the MA-thesis I wrote as part of my studies at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, its theoretical approach has been formed especially during my time as a PhD-student at Koç University in Istanbul, while its realisation and the study of historical documents took place at Royal Holloway and in the library of the Institute of Classical Studies in London, at the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik in München as a Jacobi-fellow, as well as in Amersfoort and Amsterdam. Part of the research and writing has been carried out during the Covid-19 pandemic. In each space, people have been a source of support, inspiration, criticism, awe, and joy. I have been lucky to have had wonderful people around me, a tremendous supervisor, and a generally stable environment. I also have the privilege of being a white man with a Dutch passport and a supportive family. Without them, this thesis would not have been the same, if it would have been here at all.

My research and writing have often resembled my ideas about approaching historical processes: open-ended and holistic. I have enjoyed a great freedom in my sometimes-pointless explorations. My supervisor, Richard Alston, asked me at times 'Where is all of this heading?', upon which I had to admit I did not know. Fortunately, Richard warned me for dead ends and pointed me toward the most fruitful directions of research. With his help, my endlessly maeandering arguments and long, complicated sentences have been greatly reduced, if possibly not eliminated. I am thankful to Richard for his patience, insights, and our enjoyable conversations. Despite long periods of absence, my family kept on being supportive and provided a home when needed. Many years ago, when I was applying for a doctoral position and receiving many rejections, my mother shook me up by suggesting that, maybe, I should just start looking for a 'real' job. I am happy I did not; and I hope she is too.

My sincere thanks to:

Lidewijde de Jong and Onno van Nijf (Groningen); Arjan Zuiderhoek (Ghent); the late Adrian Saunders, Alessandra Ricci, Bijan Tafazzoli, Bilge Hürmüzlü and the team of the Isparta Archaeological Survey, Burak Gürel, Inge Uytterhoeven, and the staff of the Netherlands Institute in Turkey (Istanbul/Isparta); Aaron Turner, Anna Lucia Furlan, Anna Luisa Vitullo, Evangelos Skoupas, Francesca Mazzilli, Giulia Maltagliati, Jordan Hawkesworth, Katharine Shields, Lacey Giles, Lawrence Calver, Lene Rubinstein, Margaret Scrivner, Marta Martín Díaz, Matthew Ward, Rajiun Nessa, Santiago Diago Lizarralde, Sofia Bongiovanni, Sue Turnbull, Timothy Brady, Valentine Décamps, William Coles, Yiming Zhong, Zena Kamash, as well as other staff members and students of the Department of Classics at Royal Holloway, University of London, and the Institute of Classical Studies, and all people within the PGWiP-community (London); staff and researchers at the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik, in particular Christof Schuler and Rudolf Haensch (München); Arthur de Jager, Bartek Otto, Emily Hemelrijk, Enzo Grijsseels, Gerben Breimer, Hans Spijker, Karst Breimer, Koen Tuinte, and Maral Jefroudi (Amsterdam). I would also like to thank those who shared their work or gave permission to include their research materials: Aitor Blanco-Pérez, Alison Cooley, Marc Müllenhoff, Michael Wörrle, and Stefan Groh.

I am particularly and forever thankful to Roza Kamiloğlu: Yuh Yuh!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AE	*L'année épigraphique*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AM	*Athenische Mitteilungen*
AntCl	*L'antiquité classique*
AP	*Anthologia Palatina*
AS	*Anatolian Studies*
AW	*Antike Welt*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BE	*Bulletin épigraphique*
CGRN	*Collection of Greek Ritual Norms*. Online: http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Berlin, 1825-1877.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin, 1863-.
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
Didyma III.5	Filges, Axel. *Skulpturen und Statuenbasen von der klassischen Epoche bis in die Kaiserzeit*. Didyma III: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1962, Band V. Mainz am Rhein, 2007.
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica*
IAG	Moretti, Luigi. *Iscrizioni agonistische greche*. Roma, 1953.
IAph2007	Reynolds, Joyce, Charlotte Roueché & Gabriel Bodard, eds. *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias (2007)*. London, 2007. Online: https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/
ID	*Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris, 1926-1972.
I.Ephesos	Wankel, Herrmann, Christoph Börker, Reinhold Merkelbach, Helmut Engelmann, Dieter Knibbe, Recep Meriç & Johannes Nollé, eds. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol.I–VIII*. Bonn, 1979-1984.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin, 1877-.
IGR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*. Paris, 1901-1927.
ILS	Dessau, Herrmann, ed. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin, 1892-1916.
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
I.Didyma	Rehm, Albert, ed. *Didyma II: Die Inschriften*. Edited by Richard Harder. Berlin, 1958.
I.Erythrai	Engelmann, Helmut & Reinhold Merkelbach, eds. *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. Bonn, 1972.
I.Iasos	Blümel, Wolfgang, ed. *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. Bonn, 1985.
I.Ilion	Frisch, Peter, ed. *Die Inschriften von Ilion*. Bonn, 1975.
I.Knidos	Blümel, Wolfgang, ed. *Die Inschriften von Knidos*. Bonn, 1992-.
I.Kyme	Engelmann, Helmut, ed. *Die Inschriften von Kyme*. Bonn, 1976.
I.Magnesia	Kern, Otto, ed. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin, 1900.

I.Manisa	Malay, Hasan, ed. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum*. Vienna, 1994.
I.Mylasa	Blümel, Wolfgang, ed. *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*. Bonn, 1987-1988.
I.Olympia	Dittenberger, Wilhelm & Karl Purgold, eds. *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin, 1896.
I.Pergamon II	Fränkel, Max, ed. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon. 2. Römische Zeit*. Berlin, 1895.
I.Priene	Hiller von Gärtringen, Friedrich, Carl Fredrich & Hans von Prott, eds. *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin, 1906.
I.Priene^2	Blümel, Wolfgang, Reinhold Merkelbach & Frank Rumscheid, eds. *Die Inschriften von Priene*. Bonn, 2014.
I.Smyrna II	Petzl, Georg, ed. *Die Inschriften von Smyrna II.* Bonn, 1987.
I.Stratonikeia	Şahin, Mehmet Çetin, ed. *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*. Bonn, 1982-.
I.Thesp.	Roesch, Paul, ed. *Les inscriptions de Thespies*. Lyon, 2007.
I.Tralleis	Poljakov, Fjodor B., ed. *Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa*. Bonn, 1989-.
JHS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖAI	*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*The Journal of Roman Studies*
KST	*Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*
LGPN	*Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Online: http://clas-lgpn5.classics.ox.ac.uk:8080/exist/apps/lgpn1-search/index.html
LSAM	Sokolowski, Franciszek. *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris, 1955.
Milet I.2	Knackfuss, Hubert. *Das Rathaus von Milet. Mit Beiträgen von C. Friedrich, T. Wiegand und H. Winnefeld*. Berlin, 1908.
Milet I.3	Kawerau, Georg & Albert Rehm. *Das Delphinion in Milet. Unter Mitwirkung von F. Hiller von Gaertringen, M. Lidzbarski, T. Wiegand und E. Ziebarth*. Berlin, 1914.
Milet I.6	Von Gerkan, Armin. *Der Nordmarkt und der Hafen an der Löwenbucht. Mit epigraphischem Beitrag von A. Rehm*. Berlin, 1923.
Milet I.7	Knackfuss, Hubert. *Der südliche Markt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen. Mit epigraphischem Beitrag von A. Rehm*. Berlin, 1924.
Milet I.9	Von Gerkan, Armin & Fritz Krischen. *Thermen und Palaestren. Mit Beiträgen von F. Drexel, K.A. Neugebauer, A. Rehm und T. Wiegand*. Berlin, 1928.
Milet VI.1	Herrmann, Peter & Albert Rehm, eds. *Inschriften von Milet. Nachträge und Übersetzungen zu den Inschriften*. Berlin, 1997.
Milet VI.2	Herrmann, Peter, ed. *Inschriften von Milet II*. Berlin, 1998.
Milet VI.3	Herrmann, Peter, Wolfgang Günther & Norbert Ehrhardt, eds. *Inschriften von Milet III. Mit Beiträgen von D. Feissel und P. Weiß*. Berlin, 2006.
OGIS	Dittenberger, Wilhelm, ed. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Leipzig, 1903-1905.
P.Lond.	*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. London, 1893-1917.
P.Lugd.Bat.	*Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*. Leiden, 1941-.
P.Mich.	*Michigan Papyri*. Chico, CA., 1980-.
P.Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London, 1898-.
RDGE	Sherk, Robert K. *Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*. Baltimore, MA, 1969.
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*

RPC	*Roman Provincial Coinage*. Online: https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/
Sardis VII.1	Buckler, William H. & David M. Robinson, eds. *Sardis, VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part 1*. Leiden, 1932.
SB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*. Strassburg, 1915-.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, 1923-.
TAM V.2	Herrmann, Peter, ed. *Tituli Asiae Minoris V. Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti, vol.2*. Bonn, 1978.
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

INTRODUCTION

SOCIAL CHANGE AND CONSTELLATIONS OF IMPERIAL CULTS

> *The smallest intramundane traits would be of relevance to the absolute, for the micrological view cracks the shells of what, measured by the subsuming cover concept, is helplessly isolated and explodes its identity, the delusion that it is but a specimen.*
> (Adorno 1973 [1966]: 408)

> *'How complicated can the internal structure of a subatomic particle be?'*
> *'It depends on the number of dimensions of your observation perspective. From a one-dimensional perspective, it's only a point – that's how ordinary people think of the particles. From a two- or three-dimensional perspective, the particle begins to show internal structure. From a four-dimensional perspective, a fundamental particle is an immense world.'*
> (Liu 2014 [2008]: 398)

This thesis is concerned with two primary questions. The first question asks how Roman imperial cults developed in specific spatial, historical, and sociological conditions. If it is commonly acknowledged that imperial cults were embedded in the social life of urban communities and existed in close interaction with other cult institutions, then this study positions the analysis of this embedded development at its core and traces the developmental trajectories of imperial cults in interaction with the social totalities of which they formed part. The historical reconstruction of these processes feeds into the second question which asks why these imperial cults developed as they did. The explanation for the varied histories of imperial cults should be looked for in the specific conditions in which these cults developed. Since the social actors involved in the developments of these cults in different *poleis* were engaged in particular circumstances in which cult institutions, political pressures, relations with other communities and agents of imperial power, dominant networks of power and

wealth, and socio-economic conditions all varied, it follows that these developments were constitutive and constituted by this variety.

This study, therefore, deploys a detailed examination of the mostly epigraphic and archaeological material to investigate the interactions between institutions and actors involved in, or operating in close relation to, imperial cults. In two case studies in Roman Asia – Ephesos and Miletos under the Julio-Claudian emperors –, the social constellation of imperial cults, i.e. the web of social, religious, political, and economic interactions between the various institutional and human agents is reconstructed and analysed. This reconstruction allows us to understand the developments of imperial cults in connection to the shifting power relations within and between communities. In this introduction, I will position my selection of method and evidence in this study vis-à-vis commonly adopted approaches in studies of social and cultural change in the Roman world as well as of imperial cults. This historiographical account detects a universal-particular pendulum and a problematic tendency of abstracting historical processes. It proposes a community-based approach, in which imperial cults are considered as institutions and their paths of development as part of social constellations. It therefore reads universal phenomena and patterns through the analysis of particular histories.[1]

Beyond the Universal-Particular Pendulum: from Abstractions to Constellations

The historiography of social and cultural change under Roman rule reveals a pendulum-swing between universalism and particularism.[2] Historical studies have focused on either universalist or particularist approaches, or have combined them to perceive two-way processes. This is not to say that scholarship has been going in circles for the last century or so: the particularism of one age did not simply copy the particularism of another. This section summarizes the way change under Roman rule has been approached, described, and explained and discloses foundational similarities of concepts such as Romanisation and globalisation. Following this historiographical synthesis and the conviction that theory and history dialectically constitute one another, I propose a community-based approach which

[1] For this approach, my reading of Theodor Adorno's works has been foundational.
[2] For recent historiographical overviews of Romanisation, post-colonial approaches, and globalisation: Van Oyen 2015; Woolf 2021.

views imperial cults as part of social constellations and which reads the 'universal' through particular histories.

For much of the twentieth century, a universalist and linear pattern of change dominated the discourse of Roman history. Under the name of 'Romanisation', this pattern presented change as the gradual, progressive, unhampered, rather automatic spread of Roman civilisation to the barbaric territories it annexed. Francis Haverfield's pioneering study, *The Romanization of Britain* (1912), described how the Latin language, Roman material culture, Roman cities, Roman forms of administration, and Roman religion gradually and uneventfully became dominant in Britain in the first three centuries AD. Despite sporadic nuances,[3] he claimed that "Romanization extinguished the difference between Roman and provincial" (22) and "the Roman is supreme" (73). The gradual process of cultural dissemination, for Haverfield, proceeded without much difficulty, for "the definite and coherent culture of Rome took hold on uncivilized but intelligent provincials and planted in them the wish to learn its language and share its benefits" (14). The indigenous peoples of conquered territory were, without exception, considered willing receptors of Roman culture. In this view, Romanisation is not just universal and linear, it also resonates solely from the Roman centre. The explanation for this pattern was placed in the natural inclination of 'barbaric' peoples to willingly adopt a more 'civilised' form of society and culture. Even by the end of the twentieth century, a strikingly similar account on the Romanisation of Britain presented, as a singular nuance, native elites as central agents willingly embracing and spreading Roman culture (Millett 1990a; 1990b). Native elites acted primarily as a mouthpiece of Roman rule and, through them, Roman culture gradually trickled down the social ladder to the remainder of the population (Hingley 1996; 1997: 82-86). Similar 'trickle-down' views of Romanisation focused on widespread and gradual emulative processes have had advocates for eastern territories under Roman rule (Waelkens 2002; Eckhardt 2016). The universalist and linear narrative of change was left largely intact.

Under the influence of post-colonial thought, studies like those of Haverfield and Millett have been criticised for their largely positive evaluation of a willingly embraced spread of Roman culture. The counter argument has claimed that the expansion of Roman culture was intrinsically related to imperial domination (Hanson 1997; Whittaker 1997; Mattingly 2006).

[3] Haverfield's nuances appear, for instance, in a sentence like "its [Romanization's] methods of development and its fruits varied with local conditions, with racial and geographical differences" (12-13).

Rejecting Millett's emphasis on native elites eagerly accepting Roman culture, social and cultural change appears as a thoroughly oppressive and enforced project of the imperial state. Studies of this kind emphasised the role of state apparatuses and activities like the army, the imperial administration, urbanisation, and taxation. They so present a similar pattern of linear change, in which the sole actors consist of a repressive imperial state and its collaborative agents. But, in an apparent inversion of Haverfield's Romanisation, the spread of Roman culture has become a matter of external coercion and imposition rather than one of a desire to become Roman and embrace civilisational progress. Some studies of imperial ideology have adapted this narrative into one of an – ill-defined – imperial consent: by means of mass communication (coinage, imperial statues, imperial documents), a bureaucratic and legal system, and the charismatic authority of the imperial office, imperial ideology, it is said, was effective in creating loyal and consenting provincial subjects (Ando 2000), or, alternatively, provincial subjects in their daily activities reproduced the social structures of imperial power and ideology (Revell 2009).[4] In these approaches, imperial power and ideology appear all-pervasive and the Empire's subjects can only comply with, experience, and reproduce the imperial system. Here again, we find change resonating from the imperial state as the whole population, in their daily existence, can only abide by the structures and rules of Empire.

Linear models of change such as Romanisation have received thorough criticism (Woolf 1994; Webster & Cooper 1996; Mattingly 1997; Webster 2001; Sidebottom 2006; Graham 2009). A central problem of such models is their Roman-centric assumption that change as a homogenising force resonates from the imperial centre to its peripheral territories and subjects. When non-Roman actors are allowed agency, they act as willing intermediaries of imperial power contributing to the total dissemination of Roman ideas, social practices, material objects, and the like. Post-colonial critiques have repeatedly pointed to the selective emphasis on the imperial state and elites as active agents and to the problematic assumption that imperial subjects embraced all things Roman through coercion, consent, or their own desires.

[4] Unlike Ando, Louise Revell (2009) does not homogenise the population of the Roman Empire into a single category (i.e. subjects). She turns to the manifold 'discrepant experiences' of Roman power: of women, freedmen, male citizens, and slaves, for instance. Despite this, her study considers them as united in their reproducing imperial structures.

In the period of decolonisation and national liberation movements, anti-colonial narratives presented Romanisation as imperial domination and colonisation and, in another act of inversion, turned their attention to the retraction of, and resistance to, imperial power and Roman culture. Famous among such narratives is Bénabou's monograph *La résistance africaine à la Romanisation* (1976). Its goal was "de tenter d'examiner l'histoire de l'Afrique à l'époque romaine dans une perspective nouvelle: en étudiant les modalités de *la résistance à la Romanisation*, l'on essaye de jeter quelque lumière sur la face obscure, cachée, de cette histoire, de lui restituer en somme et sa specificité et son unité" (15; original italics). For all his comments that he does not want to present a narrative of two opposing homogenous cultures, the core division he made was between people allying with Rome and adopting Roman customs, those fighting against Rome and resisting imperial culture, and an intermediary group of people characterised as "romanisés partiels" (584). Acknowledging the diversity of indigenous peoples yet characterising them according to their degree of compliance with imperial power retains a singular opposition of Roman and native cultures (Thébert 1978: 66, 71-72). Bénabou understood cultural resistance primarily as the survival and continuity of native forms of religion, settlements, languages, and names (Bénabou 1976: 261-578) and, so, as fundamentally traditional and conservative, as an obstacle to change (Sebaï 2005; Van Dommelen 2007; Jimenez 2008). By externalising the sources of change, the agency of indigenous peoples is reduced to mere acceptance or rejection of Roman influence. As argued early on by Yvon Thébert (1978), Bénabou's alternative to Romanisation only consists of either the inverse of Romanisation (deromanisation) or the obstruction of Romanisation (resistance), thereby leaving the very notion of Romanisation and its colonial connotations intact. Nonetheless, Bénabou's work demonstrated that Roman culture did not simply radiate automatically to all provinces and subjects. Cultures distinct from the Roman one existed and imperial subjects in the provinces were selective, not merely emulating, beings and, at times, could actively oppose imperial power and Roman culture.

Following post-colonial discontent with the opposition 'Roman versus Native' and under influence of ideas about globalisation, a new opposition has attracted much attention. Studies of 'the local' abound: local identities (Revell 2009), local cultures (Van Dommelen & Terrenato 2007), local knowledge and microidentities (Whitmarsh 2010a) or local religious life (Kaizer 2008). In its opposition to universalist concepts, 'local' designates cultures and identities as reacting to Romanisation, imperial structures, or global uniformity (Van Dommelen 2007: 58-

61, 66; Revell 2009: 192; Whitmarsh 2010b: 2-8). Strikingly reminiscent of 'native', the conceptualisation of 'local' retains the notion that whatever happens 'locally' only does so by virtue of universalist processes and, thus, that local agents are left either collaborative, reactionary, or idle. Thébert's critical review of Bénabou's monograph is, therefore, as relevant for studies of the 'local' as it was for those of 'native resistance': they fail to account for and examine the internal relations of whatever is designated as 'local'. Narratives of resistance and local cultures have demonstrated that views of gradual Romanisation and an eagerly accepted Roman culture are erroneous and have shifted attention towards people other than state actors and complacent elites. Yet, they preserve Romanisation's assumption of a reactionary indigenous population, whose active involvement in historical change only exists by virtue of universalising processes such as Romanisation and globalisation. Studies of both native resistance and local cultures and communities, thus, present a mirror-image of the universalist concepts they critique, thereby leaving the foundational assumptions of universalist conceptualisations of social change intact. Moreover, in their abstraction and permanence, 'native' and 'local' are rigid and rigidifying concepts applied to peoples, spaces, identities, cultures, and the like, and so unable to account for spatial, historical, and relational aspects of developments.

Scholars have sometimes incorporated narratives of resistance and local communities into universalising concepts like Romanisation and globalisation considering them as two-way processes (Witcher 2000; Keay & Terrenato 2001; Wabersich 2005; Hales & Hodos 2010). Often enough, the 'universal' is still the source of change while the 'particular' is traditional and continuous, or else negotiating its position in a world of change. Titles of articles could, for instance, pose that one could become Roman, while staying Greek (Woolf 1994). Roman values and habits (morality; *humanitas*) were accepted, whereas interest in the Greek past as well as the use of Greek language and religion continued. In this article, Greg Woolf (1994: 135) perceived the Roman-Greek divide as a dynamic tension that structured both cultures. This idea of two differentiated, yet mutually influencing, cultures is most strongly apparent in the concept of acculturation. This concept starts from the premise that contact between cultures involves an exchange of cultural traits resulting in the transformation of both cultures. This transformation may involve acceptance or assimilation of one culture by another, the adaptation of certain cultural traits, or a culture's resistance to assimilation or adaptation (Deppmeyer 2005). Strongly linked to acculturation are concepts like cultural

fusion, syncretism, and creolisation (Webster 1997; 2001; Baliga 2005; Matz 2005; Van Oyen 2015: 216-217). Through the selective combination and entwinement of cultural aspects from both sides of the equation, a new composite culture emerges retaining yet reconfiguring elements of pre-existing cultures. Change is not directed predominantly toward either the universal or the particular but is conceptualised as fusion and intertwinement. Such reasoning has culminated frequently in phrases like Romano-Celtic or Graeco-Roman to account for the presence of elements originating from both cultures. In spite of their criticism of Romanisation and native resistance (Webster 2001: 209-217), such 'two-way' approaches are grounded in a premise of cultural monoliths existing in interaction (Le Roux 2004: 300-303; Matz 2005). Moreover, as this interaction is primarily considered as fusion or exchange, inequalities of power between cultures and peoples are unaccounted for. Acculturation, syncretism, or creolisation, thus, not only retain the premise of a world of Roman, Greek, and other native cultures, but also disconnect those cultures from political, social, and economic relationships (Veyne 1979; Slofstra 1983). Prone to cultural determinism, they can only describe cultural change and lack explanatory potential.

The prevalent cultural determinism in the use of terms like Roman and native has led many scholars to argue for the complete abandonment of such vocabulary (Woolf 1997; Mattingly 1997; Hingley 1997). As posited above, prominent amongst alternatives is the use of terminology related to the concept of globalisation (Hingley 2005; Versluys 2014; Pitts & Versluys 2014). Historical change is stripped of its essentialist division of Roman and non-Roman culture, ethnicity, and power. Instead, globalisation studies emphasise the role of increased connectivity, communication, the movement of ideas, peoples, and goods, the breaking down of territorial boundaries, commodification, and changing consumption patterns (Naerebout 2006/2007; Gardner 2013: 6-9; Pitts & Versluys 2014). As a result, it is said, a widely shared culture – a global or imperial one – emerged under Roman rule. Spaces and agents characterised by a high degree of connectedness are defined as global or globalised. Following the same line of thought, cultures shared by few imperial subjects or people limited to specific spaces are considered local (Woolf 2010: 189-194). Such localism can be due to a lack of connectivity or a deliberate response to globalisation. Globalisation taken as a two-way process accounts for both globalisation of the local and localisation of the global (Hodos 2010: 23-27; Woolf 2010; Whitmarsh 2010b).

In its foundational understanding of the relationship between universal and particular elements of change, globalisation theories are strikingly reminiscent of narratives of Romanisation and native resistance.[5] I think there are at least three problems they share. First, the principal elements in both frameworks are a universal (Roman; imperial; global) and a particular one (native; provincial; local). The constituents of the patterning of change are, therefore, only two. Because any universal can only exist in relationship to its particular(s), the identification of their interaction (Roman and non-Roman; global and local) can only be a logical deduction from the very premise it starts with. The existence of a universal and a particular imply a dynamic relationship between them. Hence, any emphasis laid upon descriptions of such interactions cannot help us in understanding historical processes. Second, both approaches conceive processes developing between universal and particular in both directions; that is, of universalisation and particularisation (Witcher 2000). In this view, change only knows two possible directions. We never get to know in which conditions and for what reasons the direction of change tended to be towards the universal or the particular. Nor *can* we know, because both Romanisation and globalisation account for both the process and outcome of the two directional trajectories they recognise (Mattingly 2010: 285). In brief, Romanisation and globalisation describe processes the outcome of which they predetermine. Description is turned into explanation mixing up the *explanandum* and *explanans* (Rosenberg 2005: 15). Like any 'isation'-concept, they are prone to self-explanation and circular reasoning (Mattingly 2010: 285-287; Woolf 2014: 47). Third, subjects, actors, and spaces of change are all framed with reference to the same abstract concepts. If the universal can only be described in such abstract form – though it is made concrete in particular spaces, by particular actors, at particular moments in time –, reducing the particular element within historical processes to a concept propels all historical evidence *a priori* into an imaginary realm of abstractions. In this way, both frameworks have lost their connection with the historical, empirical evidence they are meant to describe and explain. Theories of social change have been disconnected from the historical realities of social change itself by framing subjects, actors, and spaces as abstractions from the get-go. It is no surprise, therefore, that globalisation can appear as an 'adopted' framework in studies of historical periods from the Neolithic to the present.

[5] For earlier expressions of doubt about the explanatory potential of globalisation for the history of the Roman Empire: Naerebout 2006/2007; Gardner 2013: 9; Woolf 2014: 47.

Post-colonial thought and, paradoxically, ideas of globalisation have turned attention to the study of historical differences, discrepant experiences, hybrid identities, and local variabilities, thereby recognising that the universal is constituted by a multitude of particulars rather than just one.[6] Rejecting the prior limitation of analyses to ethnic and cultural opposites such as Roman and native, post-colonial studies foreground oft-neglected people like women, ethnic minorities, poor people, peasants, soldiers, slaves, freedmen, craftsmen, or children (Van Dommelen 1997; Woolf 1998; Mattingly 2004; Hingley 1997; 2005; Hales & Hodos 2010). Equally, allegedly marginal spaces like the countryside, the household, and so-called peripheral regions of the Roman Empire have received due attention. The subjects of empire are no longer lumped together as a coherent entity of people in opposition to the imperial state and the space of Empire is no longer merely one of centre and periphery. Binaries of universal and particular are replaced by considerations of an abstract universal in relation to differentiated concrete particulars.

We may detect at least two general strands of post-colonial thought distinct in their consideration of this relationship. A first strand takes the fragmentation of the universal to its extreme in questioning, or sometimes bluntly denying, the existence or influence of anything resembling the universal (e.g. Chakrabarty 2000). For the Roman world, Barrett (1997) questioned the ontological existence and universal nature of the Roman Empire perceiving it rather as a social and imaginary construct. A totalising emphasis on historical particularities, the absolute fragmentation of social realities, leaves us with a crumbling down of any notion of an integrated and connected world. Not all scholars have argued deliberately against universalist histories, but in placing individual emphasis on particular identities, local varieties, and historical differences, the interaction of particular histories amongst one another and its constitution of universal histories is simply ignored. Particulars, however, are always already part of universals. In the words of Marc Bloch (1949: 89; quoted in Carlsen 2011: 429):

> "Pas plus qu'un individu, une civilisation n'a rien d'un jeu de patience mécaniquement assemblé; la connaissance des fragments, étudiés

[6] Curiously, globalisation studies emphasise local variabilities and connectivity, but they do so by way of the common abstraction of 'the local' as well as of 'connectivity'. The variability of local particulars and connectivities are co-opted into singular abstractions emptied of historical content.

> successivement, chacun pour soi, ne procurera jamais celle du tout; elle ne procurera même pas celle des fragments eux-mêmes."

Radically deconstructivist perceptions of history have found their share of criticism and have seen a renewed interest in global history and a defense of universalist categories (Chibber 2013; Versluys 2014). The pendulum of universalism and particularism continues to swing (Van Oyen 2015).

A second strand of post-colonial perspectives has been more influential in studies of Roman history and archaeology. In this view, universalist and particularist histories do relate to one another. Greg Woolf, for instance, has repeatedly advanced the notion that the Roman Empire saw the emergence of a new imperial "cultural system structured by systematic differences" (Woolf 1998: 242; also in 1995; 1997). General historical patterns of change such as the convergence into a united imperial culture or ideology existed but were experienced in discrepant ways by people with different identities (Mattingly 1997; 2004; 2010; 2011; Hingley 2005; 2010; Revell 2009). The unification of an imperial culture is, however, quite exclusively considered as the achievement of the combined efforts of the imperial state, Roman and local elites (Woolf 1998; Terrenato 2001; Hingley 2005). The majority of the Empire's population – however diverse – are once again neglected or perceived as social actors passively experiencing or consentingly reproducing universalist, imperial culture. The juxtaposition of Roman or global culture with native or local cultures is replaced by one of imperial elite culture with a heterogenous non-elite culture (James 2001; Alcock 2001). Here too, the universalist-particularist conundrum lingers on in the assumption of a homogenous universal and differentiated particulars.

Instead of differentiating social actors, studies have focused on spatial differences of change. Mattingly (1997) and Alcock (1997), for instance, contrasted the provinces of Greece and Northern Africa to lay bare their distinct pathways of development. Nicola Terrenato (2001) compared developments in three different cities in Roman Italy, framing them as different trajectories of Romanisation. In order not to fall back into the straight-jacket of Romanisation or globalisation, it apparently is not enough to simply differentiate spaces of change. It requires an open mind with respect to variable, multi-directional patterns of change. A central necessity for recognising multi-directional patterns of change is not to start our analysis of change by presuming a universal patterning of change like Romanisation or

globalisation, which limits our conceptual tool-box and restricts the possibility to imagine alternative explanations of change which cannot be covered by these grand narratives. Moreover, spaces are not vacuous givens in which change happens to occur but are socially produced by human ideas and activities and form themselves active elements in the historical developments of social realities (Soja 1980; Lefebvre 1991 [1974]). Differentiating space, therefore, needs to comprise a historical analysis of particular human-space interactions. To account for such interactions, such analysis cannot be other than spatially limited. It is for this reason that the community-based approach of this thesis focuses on two specific social spaces – the *polis*-territories of Ephesos and Miletos.

The recurrent emphasis on the role of state and elite actors in many accounts of change in the Roman Empire has already been pointed out. With respect to the neglect of non-elite actors in studies of Roman Italy, Simon James (2001: 202) has put it as follows:

> "The recent incorporation of provincial elites as active agents in models of the creation of the Roman world, then, does not *remove* the boundary between the active and powerful and the supposedly passively-receptive dominated; it simply shifts it, from the interface between the Roman empire and 'native societies', to the divide between the culturally-convergent Italian and provincial elites, and the mass of the population. This hardly constitutes a 'bottom-up' view to contrast with the top-down, centre-outwards conceptions of the Roman world which prevailed in the past. In class-divided societies like those of the Roman world, active negotiation and conflict between classes, as well as between elites, is an important area to be examined, yet one still largely omitted from current elite-focused models of the empire. It is important to seek a truly holistic view of the societies in question, not least by including truly 'bottom upwards' perspectives."

Twenty years later, it is still rather difficult to find a study of social and cultural change in the Roman Empire, which answers to James' combined criteria of holism, relations between classes and elites, and truly bottom-upward perspectives. Integrating an active population into accounts of a changing Roman society is still wanting. Following the above-identified need to start an analysis of change from specific *polis*-territories, such an integrative and holistic

approach entails an emphasis on developing relations between various social groups and institutions active within a given *polis*-community.

In the past two decades, numerous studies have focused on the presence and role of non-elite social groups in *polis*-communities like merchants as well as professional and religious associations (Van Nijf 1997; Harland 2003; Rathbone 2007; Steinhauer 2014). Meanwhile, the long-lasting contention that Greek *poleis* under Hellenistic and Roman rule witnessed a shift from democratic governance toward oligarchic rule has been challenged by studies highlighting the continued political role of the *demos* in decision-making processes and in the negotiations concerning euergetic activities and grants of civic honours (Zuiderhoek 2008; Fernoux 2011; Salmeri 2011; Brélaz 2016). A bottom-up and holistic perspective integrates the actions of these social and political groups and considers their interactions amongst each other and in relation to elite groups as well as governmental and institutional bodies. Even when the primary spatial unit of analysis is the *polis*, people and their actions relevant to social changes within a *polis* are not confined to it: citizens could move between places for permanent or temporary residence, *polis*-citizens could simultaneously be active in the imperial administration or in regional organisations such as *koina*, and the decisions or actions of imperial agents like governors or the emperor himself could affect the historical processes in a *polis*. Studying historical change in a *polis*, thus, takes into account the actions and interactions of all possible actors exerting an influence on specific developments. These actions and interactions may exceed the spatial boundaries of a *polis*. For this reason, both *intra*- and *inter*-relations of a *polis* need to be considered.[7]

The influence of these actions and interactions exerted on specific forms of social change could be favourable (*benign actions*) or obstructive (*malign actions*). These are not absolute distinctions, as many actions could comprise elements of both. Hence, instead of universalising and fixating on a clash of cultures or class conflict, the proposed approach foregrounds the actions of people and refrains from *a priori* abstracting people's actions as 'pro' or 'anti', determined by a given or produced identity – be it cultural, ethnic, class-related, or otherwise. In this way, conflicting interests and contradictory actions can be recognised for what they are, without identifying people's performances as a direct result of their identities (*contra*: Revell 2009: 7-9; Hodos 2010: 18-19). There are two central advantages of this

[7] Such considerations make it impossible to identify, for instance, 'local elites' or 'provincial elites' as categorical distinctions from the start. People are not absolutely defined by a spatial dimension.

approach: first, actions and interactions are not framed in terms of fixed categories of identity, allowing for instances in which people may act against their own social interests. Second, an individual can – simultaneously or in the course of time – perform acts which are favourable and obstructive to a specific development. Indeed, given that social interactions can be made and broken and can fluctuate between harmonious or conflictual relationships, perpetuating the one or the other in relations between cultures, classes, or other social groups is to dehistoricise social relations. The dynamism of social relationships and the different actors involved in furthering and hampering specific forms of social change produced differentiated patterns of change, the unpredictability and potential discrepancies of which are left intact in this community-based approach.[8]

None of this is to deny the existence of commonalities within the territories of the Roman Empire. Ideological structures, relations of power between state and subjects, or shared ritual practices were evidently widespread and could have a unifying influence on communities and their developments. Ontological descriptions of widespread ideas, practices, or institutions by themselves cannot inform us about modes and causes of historical processes, but their dissemination should not be ignored either in considering social changes. The focus in this thesis on the developmental trajectories of imperial cults and their encapsulation within social totalities, to a degree, prevents us from accounting for the formative role of imperial cults in their own developments and broader social changes. That is to say, it leaves their ritual and ideological contents and day-to-day practices largely out of the picture. The reason for this is exactly the spatio-temporal restriction and the character of the evidence under examination and the related difficulty in tracing changes in specific ritual and ideological formations. As a consequence, in much of the main chapters of this thesis, the ritual and ideological dimensions of imperial cults can only appear, when the historical evidence allows for it. In the concluding chapter, I will make an effort to bridge the gap between these general dimensions and the reconstructed trajectories of imperial cults.

Within this community-based approach, social totalities are considered as 'constellations in motion'. Constellations are formed by particular entities, the character and patterning of which constitute the constellation itself. With every movement or transformation of a particular entity, its relationship to other particulars changes resulting in the transformation

[8] Compare John Ma (2003: 27; cf. 35-37), calling for research studying "the processes of interaction [...] historically."

of the whole constellation. Particulars and their interactions shape the universal they are part of.[9] The notion of social constellations allows for a bottom-up approach to particularist and universalist change, in which the universal and the particular are no longer absolutely distinct yet connected entities: instead, they are always already constituting one another. It is in this way that we can read the universal through the particular. Therefore, in spite of this thesis' study of the developmental trajectories of imperial cults in two specific socio-spatial formations within a restricted historical period, it can still inform us about developments beyond those particular formations. Rather than lapsing into positivist-empiricist readings of historical particularities or imprisoning historical evidence in abstract conceptualisations, it grounds the theorising of change in a detailed analysis of historical evidence. Theory and history are no opposites; they are not external to one another. Like universals and particulars, they constitute one another. As posed in the foreword to Jairus Banaji's *Theory as History: Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation* (2010: xi) written by the social historian Marcel van der Linden:

> "If we are to understand historical processes truly and in depth, then we ought to do full justice to the empirical record. But that is not all. We also have to reveal the abstract determinations which are hidden 'behind' the concrete, and which 'lead towards a reproduction of the concrete by way of thought'. If we disregard this necessary dialectic of the abstract and the concrete, one of two kinds of errors is likely to result. Either we remain entrapped in a descriptive narrative of a mass of empirical details, failing to reach the abstract determinations that identify and convincingly *explain* the real nature of a historical process in its totality. Or, we superimpose 'forced abstractions' on history, which are not grounded in a thorough analysis of its concrete specificities, and which, therefore, are to a large degree arbitrary and superficial, or even purely subjective preferences."[10]

[9] For conceptual constellations, see Adorno 1973 [1966]: 162-166.

[10] Cf. Adorno 2008 [2003]: 192 – "[...] reflection would have the task of uncovering the abstractions hidden in the concrete details, which for their part have been prescribed in a thoroughly concrete fashion, namely by the abstract laws governing society. On the other hand, it must also open itself up wholeheartedly to these concrete details, in the knowledge that whatever goes beyond their mere materiality must inhere in them and not be raised above them."

In this thesis, I will try to do justice to such an approach to social and cultural change: open-ended, holistic, and relational. To realise this, the universal-particular pendulum is left behind and historical particularities are re-membered into the theoretical understanding of historical processes.

The Social Constellations of Imperial Cults

Among studies of Roman imperial cults, especially with respect to eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, Simon Price's monograph *Rituals and Power: the Roman Imperial cult in Asia Minor* (1984) continues to exert a profound influence. There are at least four key elements to his interpretation of such cults. First, religion and politics were intrinsic to the worship of the Roman imperial household. Therefore, Price considered the accommodation of imperial cults into both the political and religious systems of Greek communities (Price 1984a: 15-16, 234-248; cf. Gordon 1990; Harland 2006: 22-28; Rives 2010: 244-251). Second, so-called 'traditional Greek cults' and the imperial cult were entwined in sanctuaries, ritual practices, and festivals. One of Price's central conclusions was that the accommodation of the Roman emperor's authority within traditional religious practices allowed Greek communities to represent imperial power to themselves in familiar terms (Price 1984a: 284). Following from this, a third element constitutes the key role of Greek communities, especially their so-called local elites, in upholding, organising, and initiating imperial cults, thereby arguing against a Roman-centric perspective viewing imperial cults as imposed and as a form of symbolic unification (for the latter: Hopkins 1978: 197-242). Instead, Price recognised a 'system of exchange' between imperial power and Greek communities as foundational for the establishment and running of imperial cults (Price 1984a: 65-77). Fourth, Price focused his attention on ritual practices rather than beliefs (Price 1984a: 7-11; cf. Clauss 1999; Gradel 2002; Cancik & Hitzl 2003). These four elements have frequently reappeared in later scholarship on imperial cults in different regions (e.g. Gradel 2002; Kantiréa 2007; Camia 2011; Fujii 2013).

A curious contradiction exists between the general emphasis placed on the central role of Greek *poleis* and their elites and the lack of specific attention to these communities. To a large

extent, this contradiction is a result of the adopted regional unit of analysis.[11] This unit of analysis entails the decontextualisation of historical evidence so that archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic sources are not studied in relation to the specific communities which produced them, but primarily serve as positive examples to describe generalised phenomena and tendencies common to all communities. In this way, any examination of and conclusion about characteristics or tendencies of imperial cults is reliant on the lifting of evidence out of its immediate context. Historical evidence thus informs conclusions of a decontextualised and abstract character. Potential historical particularities, differences, or contradictions are methodically flattened out through a process of subsuming into a generalised regional or super-regional narrative. It is, therefore, no surprise that, for instance, in Price's own conclusion, one encounters numerous homogenising terms like 'the Greeks', 'Greek cities', 'local elites', 'traditional religious system', and 'cults of the traditional gods' (Price 1984a: 247-248). The reader may recognise here a close connection with the vocabulary characteristic of the discourses of Romanisation and globalisation discussed in the previous section. Nor is it a surprise that, in spite of all the different regions and communities under examination, conclusions about imperial cults have been strikingly alike. It is my contention that this seemingly coherent picture of imperial cults is a result of the adopted method of analysis rather than of the examination of historical evidence. This thesis will therefore take issue with the view that "the cities reacted simultaneously and uniformly to external stimuli" and that "geographical variations were no barrier to cultural unity" (Price 1984a: 80).

A central aim of this thesis is to explore and follow through the developmental trajectories of imperial cults as part of their idiosyncratic social totalities and to extract potential explanations for these social processes from the historical evidence. This mode of analysis fundamentally differs from Simon Price's work, which closely adhered to the work of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, known for his systemic approach to religious and cultural practices (Geertz 1973). As argued by Talal Asad (1983), such a systemic emphasis entails a thoroughly dehistoricising procedure. Many studies of imperial cults present historical processes as abstract phenomena. We commonly find such 'isation'-terminology as Romanisation (Kantiréa 2007; Frija 2012; Fujii 2013), homogenisation through emulation (Frija

[11] Greece or Achaia (Kantiréa 2007; Camia 2011); Cyprus (Fujii 2013); Asia (Witulski 2007; Frija 2012); Lycia (Reitzenstein 2011); Syria (Bru 2011). Studies focusing on *polis*-communities are few: Friesen 1993; Burrell 2004; Kantiréa 2011.

2012: 218; 2016; Holler 2016); institutionalisation (Frija 2012: 75-76), or Price's own routinisation of charisma (Price 1984a: 57-59). Even the central concepts of accommodation or integration of imperial cults into Greek communities leave the particular modes and causes of these historical processes understudied. In contrast, this thesis carries out a study of developments of imperial cults in Ephesos and Miletos during the Julio-Claudian period. These two *poleis* on the west coast of Asia Minor are selected because they have yielded much archaeological and epigraphic evidence providing information about imperial cults, other cults, urban geographies, social relations, and power dynamics. The spatio-temporal concentration of evidence allows an examination of specific imperial cults as part of their idiosyncratic social constellations. Both city-states had a long-lasting relationship with an extra-urban sanctuary: the Artemision in Ephesos and the Didymeion in Miletos. They belonged to the *koina* of Ionia and Asia, became part of the province of Asia, and shared a location on the Aegean coast, so that their politico-geographical positions were broadly similar. Therefore, Ephesos and Miletos have sufficient common ground in their geographical, topographical, and political positioning that any potentially distinct developmental trajectories cannot be the result of a comparison of typologically different social forms: we are not comparing apples and oranges.[12]

The evidence for daily practices and habits of emperor worship such as sacrifices, prayers, hymns, oath-taking, or dedications of images has been preserved sporadically in time and dispersed in space in such a way that a study of their particular developmental trajectories is impossible. This thesis, therefore, considers imperial cults primarily as social institutions. It focuses on their socio-spatial dimensions, administration, economy, and power dynamics. In this respect, a distinction needs to be made between so-called *koinon* cults and civic cults.[13] The initiation and maintenance of *koinon* cults involved the politics of alliances and conflicts between *poleis* as member-states of such *koina*, the actions of the delegates of member-states, as well as negotiations with the Roman Senate and the emperor himself (Burrell 2004; Heller 2006). As an institution representing multiple *poleis*, there was more at stake – economically, politically, ideologically – than in the case of civic cults. *Koinon*-cults cannot,

[12] Ephesos was made provincial capital of Asia. The thesis will demonstrate that this was one of the elements having profound implications for the developments of its imperial cults and social structure.

[13] For *koinon* cults: Deininger 1965; Price 1984a: 126-132; Burrell 2004; Witulski 2007; Kolb & Vitale 2016. For civic cults: Price 1984a: 78-121; Frija 2012. The use of *koinon* or federal cults rather than provincial cults is argued for in Lozano 2017.

however, be simply catapulted into a regional space hovering somehow over the *poleis* and civic cults. Even though the cult and associated decision-making processes were common to all member-states, a *koinon*-cult was established and run in a specific location, so that its presence was not only a matter of prestige and financial benefits but, in fact, entered location-specific processes of social change. Alternatively, the governing bodies of any *polis* upon communal or private initiative could make their own decisions with respect to the establishment and running of civic cults, even if it happened frequently in communication with agents of imperial power (Price 1984a: 65-77).

The evidence for these institutions pertains to their location and architecture, their organisation and financing, and their cult officials. The identification of a cult place (temple, altar, shrine) dedicated to an imperial figure is not always easy. Buildings harbouring imperial cult institutions did not have their own architectural characteristics. Imperial statuary found in the vicinity of a building as well as dedicatory inscriptions do not, by themselves, testify to a cult institution, only to ritual acts honouring imperial persons (Witschel 2002; Burrell 2006). Statues, dedications, and even priesthoods can be the result of initiatives of individuals or groups of individuals. This does not mean that statues and dedications are irrelevant, because the persons responsible for them may demonstrate a particular affiliation to imperial power and because they give shape to the material and ideological presence of imperial power. The initial distinction between imperial cults as institutions and emperor worship as ritual practice requires a close eye on what counts as evidence for a cult institution. Temple buildings, cult personnel, and festivities attest to at least some degree of institutional organisation and so form the clearest evidence for imperial cults. Ritual practices are, however, not entirely dispelled from this thesis, because some rituals such as public sacrifices, oath-taking, hymn-singing, and processions are activities frequently acted out under the auspices of institutional bodies and, moreover, can be 'acts of institution' themselves (for the latter: Bourdieu 1982). In this thesis, they appear as part of institutional histories rather than for their ethnographic contents.[14]

[14] Philip Harland (2003) has discussed evidence for religious associations devoted to emperor worship. However, his most prominent examples – the Demetriastai in Ephesos and the *hymnoidoi* of Roma and Augustus in Pergamon – were not primarily or at all devoted to the imperial household (Demetriastai) or held an intrinsic relationship to a *koinon*-cult (*hymnoidoi*). There is, thus, no need to identify associations as another form of imperial cult institution. Both groups receive attention in chapter 2.

Koinon and civic cults held close relationships with other cult institutions (cf. Camia 2012). Their temples and shrines could be located in sanctuaries primarily dedicated to other divinities (Price 1984a: 146-156; Burrell 2004: 314). Imperial statuary was placed within temples and public spaces and statues were carried in processions alongside images of other gods and goddesses (Price 1984a: 172-188; Rogers 1991: 80-126). Festival names suggest the organisation of joint celebrations of emperors and other deities (Price 1984a: 103-105; Buraselis 2012). Chief-priesthoods and priesthoods could be in service of emperors and divinities conjointly (Frija 2012: 114-144). The close interaction between cult institutions of deified emperors and other divinities is acknowledged by many but commonly presented as a general phenomenon, thereby considering these sanctuaries and divinities solely as part of an allegedly homogenous 'traditional, Greek religious system'. Sanctuaries were not only diverse, they could also form spaces governed by specific legal regulations and financial administrations. Rights of asylum and sacred treasuries, for instance, differentiated these spaces and institutions from public ones (Rigsby 1996; Dignas 2002). These legal and financial particularities played as important a role within *polis*-communities as in inter-state affairs and power dynamics. Therefore, the spatial and institutional relations between imperial cults and other cult institutions needs to be analysed in detail to understand the developmental trajectories of imperial cults.

Officials of imperial cults were central actors within the cult institutions: chief-priests and chief-priestesses, priests and priestesses, *agonothetai*, *hymnoidoi*, and other cult personnel. Additionally, specific social groups such as *ephebes* were obliged to get involved in imperial cult activities. Chief-priesthoods of *koinon* and civic cults were commonly devoted to the worship of the ruling emperor and annually elected. Priesthoods, on the other hand, were devoted to the worship of a deceased emperor or other members of the imperial household and could be held for life or on a hereditary basis (Campanile 1994; Frija 2012). The latter were frequently honorific positions obtained through financial investments (Giannokopoulos 2017). In addition to the distinction of modes of appointment (election, allotment, inheritance), tenure of office (for life, annually) and of gender roles (Dignas & Trampedach 2008; Horster 2012a; 2012b; Horster & Klöckner 2013), a specific mode of appointment of priestly officials was current for some time in the southwestern part of Asia Minor and adjacent Aegean islands: there, priesthoods were for sale (Dignas 2002: 251-271; Buraselis 2008). As we will

see in chapter 2, the auctioning of imperial priesthoods formed a central element in the developmental trajectories of imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Ephesos.

Talking about cities or *poleis* as actors is rather silly. *Polis*-communities were not homogenous nor were they unitary entities, requiring an analysis of their internal relations (Alston 2002: 128-130). The personnel of imperial cults were simultaneously active as social, economic, and political agents, and had social ties to other community-members. The affairs of social relations within and beyond communities were wide-ranging: for instance, citizenship, migration, family networks, euergetic and honorific activities, office-holding, and the relations between decision-making bodies such as the *boule* and *demos* (e.g. Alston & Van Nijf 2011; Heller & Pont 2012; Zuiderhoek 2017; Cecchet & Busetto 2017). Italians and their freedmen had arrived *en masse* in Aegean regions especially from the second century BC onwards. Diverse migration patterns meant that communities of such Italian settlers were distributed unevenly among the city-states of western Asia. If many of them were financially powerful, they may not have held citizenship of the *polis* where they had settled, thereby lacking the means of political power in governing bodies. Acting as benefactors to a community or marrying into families with members holding *polis*-citizenship were some of the ways of obtaining this citizenship. Conversely, some of the best-connected citizens of *poleis* were awarded with Roman citizenship by Roman emperors or other hegemons, allowing intermarriages without loss of either citizenship. However, up to the reign of Claudius, such imperial grants of Roman citizenship were relatively rare (Ferrary 2005; Raggi 2016; Frija 2017). Until then, the fairly exclusionary character of different citizenships contributed to the formation of social divisions and tendencies to segregate.[15] Additionally, interactions of citizenship, migration, and family networks between city-states come to the fore in the acquisition of citizenships and offices, and arrangements of intermarriages extending beyond the boundaries of a single *polis* (Heller & Pont 2012).

Patronage and *euergetism* constituted prominent forms of socio-political relations in Greek city-states. Patronage of Greek communities was mostly restricted to Roman senators in the first century BC (Eilers 2002). Many of those *polis*-citizens obtaining Roman citizenship and those most prominent among Italian settlers commonly appear to us as benefactors in honorific inscriptions and decrees. Amongst these benefactors, we frequently come across

[15] A recent estimate has suggested that, even by the *constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212, not more than a third of the free population of the Roman Empire had been granted Roman citizenship (Lavan 2016).

personnel of imperial cult institutions. Formative and expressive of power relations, these benefactions and honours provide additional information about the social position and relations of the cult personnel within their respective communities. Once again, studies of patronage and *euergetism* have placed most of their emphasis on structural or systemic patterns extending beyond specific *poleis* (Veyne 1976; Gauthier 1985; Eilers 2002; Zuiderhoek 2009). It is important to consider these relations and individuals involved as encapsulated in their *polis*-specific totalities and processes (Eck 1997: 324). For the same reason, phrases like oligarchisation or democratisation are unhelpful in considering the power dynamics between councils and assemblies. For all these socio-political relations, the recent scholarly tendency has been to acknowledge the active and formative involvement of various social groups and governmental bodies in these relationships (Zuiderhoek 2008; Heller 2009; Salmeri 2011; Verboven 2014; Brélaz 2016). Finally, along with the advent and consolidation of imperial power came a restructuring of dominant networks of power and wealth, which conditioned and shaped the variety of social relations so far discussed.

The developmental trajectories of imperial cults and their primary actors took place within complex social totalities. This complexity means that, while cult personnel would, on the surface, always appear to act in a 'benign' manner towards the development of imperial cults, potential conflicts or discrepancies of social interests may have been formative of activities which turned out to have a malignant effect on progressive developments. The same holds true for other social actors who could be expected to hold a favourable stance towards imperial cults: emperors themselves, governors of Asia, and other citizens or residents of a given *polis* holding beneficial connections with the institutions and agents of imperial power. Overall, then, this thesis reconstructs the social activities and relations of the cult officials of imperial cults and analyses them as part of wider social structures of power and wealth. Taken together, the spatial, socio-economic, and political relationships within and between communities form what I call the 'social constellation of imperial cults.' In this thesis, I argue that only through a community-based approach, which reconstructs and analyses specific imperial cults and their social constellations, can we come to an understanding of how and why imperial cults developed in the way they did.

CHAPTER 1

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CULT OF AUGUSTUS IN EPHESOS

The peculiar character of Ephesos under Roman rule should alert us that the introduction of imperial cults in that city may demonstrate a particular trajectory. The *polis*' connection with the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia and the presence of a considerable community of Roman citizens as well as officials of the imperial administration formed a specific social constellation, in which a cult of Augustus was incorporated and developed. The *polis* was made the provincial capital of Asia housing the governor's residence at least by the mid-first century BC (Haensch 1997: 312-315; Knibbe 1998: 109; Halfmann 2001: 21; Baier 2021). By the third century AD, proconsuls travelling by sea to Asia were required to land at Ephesos before continuing their journey (Ulpian *Dig*. 16.4.5). Its geographical location favoured its development as a major commercial hub attracting settlers, migrants, and visitors from far and wide (Strabo 14.1.24; Halfmann 2001: 8-10; Knitter *et al*. 2013). Already in the first century BC, numerous Italian settlers and freedmen of Roman citizens had found their way into Ephesos (Halfmann 2001: 21-44, 97-100; Kirbihler 2016: 167-265). The coming and going of visitors, traders, and long-term migrants made Ephesos a much-frequented urban centre with a growing population and shifting social structures. The *polis* had been the home of the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia since the eighth century BC and the sanctuary continued to play an important role in the social and institutional space of the city until its destruction in AD 262. In addition to its religious meaning, the sanctuary's economic power based on revenues stemming from the cultivation of large stretches of lands in the Kaystros valley, fishery, horse-breeding, and banking made it not only a core institution for Ephesos and its inhabitants, but also of particular interest to Roman authorities and financial investors.

The historical narrative of Roman imperial cults in Ephesos traditionally starts with a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius as attested in a passage of Cassius Dio. The first section of this chapter discusses this passage and additional epigraphic and numismatic evidence which have recently been associated with this cult. It concludes that the cult was likely of little prominence and did not play a major role in the establishment of a cult of Augustus. The latter

cult is customarily associated with the so-called upper agora of Ephesos. In the second section, I survey the available archaeological and epigraphic evidence and conclude that the evidence is insufficient to support the existence of a cult of Augustus in this area. On the contrary, irrefutable evidence exists for a Sebasteion in the precinct of Artemis Ephesia. The third section discusses the connections between the cult of Augustus and the Artemision as well as the various interventions carried out by emperor Augustus and his allies in the temple administration, rights, and finances of this sanctuary. Finally, section four relates the Augustan cult to contemporary social changes in Ephesos, which demonstrates a segregation between Ephesian citizens and Roman/Italian residents with respect to their *locus* of public activity. Overall, this chapter presents the argument that the Ephesian cult of Augustus was established in the sacred space of the Artemision. The rights of asylum and financial privileges of this space would appear to be beneficial to the cult, but the sanctuary's separation from the *polis* was repeatedly subject to transgressions and alterations. The establishment of a cult of Augustus in this protected yet contested space as well as the division between Ephesian citizens and Roman residents formed central preconditions for the cult's further development.

Roma and Divus Iulius in Ephesos

> Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τά τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ τεμένη τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας, ἔν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφῆκεν· αὗται γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προετετίμηντο. καὶ τούτους μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐποικοῦσι τιμᾶν προσέταξε· τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Ἕλληνάς σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ἑαυτῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ, τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει, ἐγένετο. ἐν γὰρ τοι τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὁποσονοῦν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μεταλλάξασι μέντοι κανταῦθα τοῖς ὀρθῶς αὐταρχήσασιν ἄλλαι τε ἰσόθεοι τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡρῷα ποιεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερόν ὠνομασμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῇ ποιεῖν.
>
> Caesar [i.e. Octavian], in the meantime, carried on his other business and he permitted that there were precincts to Roma and his father Caesar, calling him the hero Iulius, in Ephesos and Nikaia; for, at that time, these were the *poleis* most

> esteemed in Asia and in Bithynia. And he, on the one hand, ordered the Romans resident there to honour them; on the other hand, he entrusted the foreigners, calling them Hellenes, the Asians in Pergamon and the Bithynians in Nikomedia, to consecrate precincts to himself. And from then on, this also happened under other emperors, not only in the case of Greek peoples, but also in the case of other peoples who obey the Romans. For in the city itself and in the rest of Italia, nobody whomsoever, worthy of however great esteem, has dared to do this. Yet there too they give other god-like honours to, and build hero-shrines for, those passed away who had ruled in a just manner. These things happened during the winter, and the Pergamenes also received permission to hold the so-called sacred contest in honour of his temple.
>
> (Cassius Dio 51.20.6-9; own translation)[16]

This notorious passage of Cassius Dio suggests the existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Roma and Divus Iulius in Ephesos in 29 BC and relates it to Romans resident in the city (Whittaker 1996: 93-99; Burrell 2004: 59; McIntyre 2019: 44-49). Most scholars have accepted Cassius Dio's comments and have searched for the sanctuary in the archaeological remains of Ephesos. The podium structure supporting two *prostyloi* or an altar situated in between the *prytaneion* and *bouleuterion* on the northern side of the so-called upper agora has been considered the site of the cult of Roma and Divus Iulius (Plan 2: no.4; Plan 3: no.2; Alzinger 1972-1975: 249-252; 1974: 55-57; Price 1984a: 139-140, 254 (no.27); Hänlein-Schäfer 1985: 101-102, 264-265; Berns 2006: 279). It was believed to perfectly match Cassius Dio's connection between Romans residing in Ephesos and honours offered to Roma and Divus Iulius, because of its Italian appearance, its twin foundations, and its alleged date in the early Augustan period. No direct evidence for a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius has, however, ever been discovered there. Peter Scherrer (1990: 98-101) rejected this identification and suggested, instead, that a temple centrally located on the upper agora was more likely to have been the site of this cult (Plan 3: no.8; Scherrer 1995: 4-5; 2001: 69; Halfmann 2001: 24; Pont 2011: 133).[17] Pottery sherds discovered in the foundation trenches of this temple indicate a construction date in the late Augustan period and, therefore, make its identification as the

[16] I am grateful to Dr. Giulia Maltagliati for helping me with the translation.
[17] He changed his mind a few years later: Scherrer 2007: 69.

temple of Roma and Divus Iulius impossible (Mitsopoulos-Leon 2005; Steuernagel 2020: 93-95). Recently, Kirbihler and Zabrana (2014) proposed a location for a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius in the Artemision (Plan 1: no.8). There too, archaeological evidence is absent.[18] Other archaeologists seem to have become more cautious in identifying building remains with the precinct mentioned in Cassius Dio, while accepting its existence in Ephesos (Raja 2012: 66-68). To explain such slim evidence, several scholars have supposed that the cult of Roma and Divus Iulius lasted only for a short time (Friesen 1993: 11; Gradel 2002: 74; Herz 2003: 133-140; Scherrer 2007: 70). Alternatively, we may consider that the *temenos* was small and architecturally unimpressive, or else it may have been destroyed and never rebuilt.[19] In whatever way we acknowledge the presence of this precinct and a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius in Ephesos (Raja 2012: 58, 66; Koortboijan 2013: 228), it appears to us as to have never been, nor become, a significant and prominent player in the religious topography and larger community of Ephesos.

In the past decade, however, François Kirbihler has turned to epigraphic and numismatic evidence for further possible clues as to the presence of this cult in Ephesos. He has argued that a cult and sanctuary of Roma and Divus Iulius already existed from approximately 40 BC on and that it was located in the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia (Kirbihler & Zabrana 2014: 114-129; Kirbihler 2016: 359-386; 2020: 196-201). In the paragraphs that follow, I will discuss the evidence and his arguments. A cult of the goddess Roma certainly existed in Ephesos before 29 BC. In a treaty between Sardis and Ephesos dated to around 99-97 BC, a priest of Roma and the *prytanis* of Ephesos are attested as eponymous officials (*I.Ephesos* Ia 7, ll.34-35; Kirbihler 2016: 52-55, 361). Inscribed on the walls of the *skene* of the Ephesian theatre (Plan 1: no.2; Plan 2: no.2), a list of twelve priests of Roma and *agonothetai* of the *Dionysia* between 51/50 BC and 40/39 BC testifies to the continuous presence of a Roma-cult in Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* Ia 9, S ll.1-38; Kirbihler & Zabrana 2014: 119-121; Kirbihler 2016: 104-114, 372-373). Only a single priest in this list, in office in 45/44 BC, carried the *tria nomina*: Lucius Iunius Salvius (*I.Ephesos* Ia 9, S ll.22-23). Clearly, throughout the forties BC, both the priesthood of Roma and the *agonothesia* of the *Dionysia* were held customarily by Ephesian citizens. These

[18] They mention a female head found in the Artemision which is interpreted as part of a double life-size statue of Roma (Kirbihler & Zabrana 2014: 109-110). Nonetheless, as they readily admit, it could equally represent Athena (Muss 2005: 252-253; Kirbihler & Zabrana 2014: 114, esp. n.58).

[19] Madsen (2016) went as far as to suggest that the cult was an invention of Cassius Dio himself.

were annual responsibilities, even though the *agonothesia* was continuously presented as an act of munificence.[20] The list breaks off after the twelfth priest of Roma and continues on another set of inscribed blocks preserved in the same location: here, the Ephesian *prytaneis* have replaced the priests of Roma (*I.Ephesos* Ia 9, N ll.1-52; Nb ll.1-23). Despite some lacunae, it is possible to reconstruct a number of 22 *prytaneis* from 39/38 BC until 18/17 BC. Aratos, son of Aratos, grandson of Artemon, heading the list of *prytaneis*, also appears as *prytanis* in an inscription dated to the tenth year after Iulius Caesar's victory. Interpreted as the victory at Pharsalos, the inscription can be dated to 39/38 BC (*I.Ephesos* IV 1387; *BE* 1972 388). Around 40/39 BC, then, something has changed with respect to the relationship between the priesthood of Roma, the *agonothesia* of the *Dionysia*, and the *prytany*. During the imperial period, two priests of Roma and Publius Servilius Isauricus are known from Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* III 702; cf. *SEG* 39.1179; *I.Ephesos* VII.1 3066). Whether and in what way these priesthoods are connected to the mid-first century BC priesthood of Roma is impossible to say.

The turning point around 40/39 BC is central to Kirbihler's argument for the presence of a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius since 40 BC. Kirbihler (2016: 365-372; Kirbihler & Zabrana 2014: 114-119) adds two other pieces of evidence in support of his interpretation. First, a fragmentary inscription records a Greek translation of a *rogatio*, a legislative bill to be approved by the Roman assembly (*I.Ephesos* VII.2 4324; Price 1984a: 76-77; Kirbihler 2016: 365-369). In this text, several words indicate a connection with a cult of Divus Iulius: god Iulius (*I.Ephesos* VII.2 4324, l.4: θεοῦ Ἰουλίου), a priesthood (l.2: ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἱερωσύνης), a flaminatus (l.3: [ἱερομ]νημονήαν; ll.5-6: ἱερομνημ[ονήαν]), and likely Marcus Antonius (ll.1-2: Μᾶρκος Ἀν[τώνιος]). Marcus Antonius was the first *flamen* of the cult of Divus Iulius in Rome around 40 BC. Kirbihler (2016: 369) surmises that, shortly after Marcus Antonius was inaugurated as *flamen* of Divus Iulius in Rome, the cult was imitated in Ephesos.[21] Most other scholars, however, took this inscription to be a copy of a document relating to the cult in Rome (Price 1984a: 76-77; Burrell 2004: 59 n.2; Kirbihler 2016: 367-369). The Latin legal terminology in Greek translation (l.1: θέλετε κελεύετε- velitis iubeatis) suggests that the text

[20] The inscription clarifies that the various priests of Roma paid for the *agonothesia* at their own expense. The fact that they did so without exception and that the custom was subsequently upheld by the *prytaneis* for over twenty years suggests that financing the *agonothesia* of the *Dionysia* was subject to structural pressures. It shows that not every instance of seemingly private financing of public buildings or events is to be categorised as voluntary acts of *euergetism*; compare Schwarz 2001: 304-313.

[21] Before Kirbihler, Weinstock (1971: 401-404) had interpreted this text as evidence for a cult of Divus Iulius in Ephesos from 40 BC on.

was approved in Rome. Also the reference to Marcus Antonius, *flamen* of Divus Iulius, and the Roman religious terminology in Greek translation (l.3: ἱερομνημονήα – flaminatus) demonstrate a connection with a cult of Divus Iulius in Rome, rather than in Ephesos. A *flamen* of Divus Iulius in Asia is otherwise only attested in the Roman colony of Alexandria Troas (Weinstock 1971: 405; Frija 2012: no.69). In all other cases, the priestly vocabulary associated with such a cult is either *sacerdos* or ἱερεὺς (Frija 2012: 32-33, nos.79-81 (Parion), nos.87-87a (Kyzikos), no.92 (Pergamon), no.242 (Alabanda)). Two contradictions undermine Kirbihler's argument. First, the goddess Roma is not mentioned in this inscription, even though Kirbihler argues for the presence of a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius. Although the inscription is fragmentary, we cannot merely assume that Roma was included in the parts of the inscription that are missing. Second, the idea that the alleged cult of Divus Iulius in Ephesos was organised according to Roman religious offices seems to be contradicted by Kirbihler's final piece of evidence. This evidence entails the mention of a chief-priest (*archiereus*) on Ephesian coins dated to the Triumvirate (possibly 39-36 BC). At once, the ἱερομνημονήα has been replaced by an ἀρχιερατεία. Ἀρχιερεύς is customarily translated as *pontifex*, not as *flamen*.

Those Ephesian coins depict on their obverses Octavian, Marcus Antonius and Lepidus, and on their reverses a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia (*RPC* I 2570-2573; Karwiese 2012: nos.2-7; cf. Kirbihler & Zabrana 2014: 116-119; Kirbihler 2016: 369-372). Another coin issue has a female bust on its obverse. This woman has been identified either as Octavia, sister of Octavian and wife to Marcus Antonius, or as Fulvia, the first wife of Marcus Antonius (*RPC* I 2574; Karwiese 2012: no.19; Kirbihler 2016: 369-370). The reverses carry the following legend: ἀρχιερεὺς (καὶ) γραμ(ματεὺς) Γλαύκων Ἐφε(σιων) followed by another name which is different on each coin (*RPC* I 2570-2573).[22] The mention of Glaukon as *archiereus* connects him to chief-priesthoods of Hellenistic royal cults and later civic chief-priesthoods of the emperors (Müller 2000; Hamon 2004; Frija 2010). Due to this link between the use of ἀρχιερεύς and cults of royal and imperial powers, Kirbihler (2016: 371) interprets Glaukon's chief-priesthood as another indication for the existence of a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius. The estimated dating of the coinage (39-36 BC) nicely correlates to the transition in the organisation of the Roma-priesthoods in 40 BC and to the inauguration of the first *flamen* of Divus Iulius in Rome around the same time.

[22] The other coin has a similar legend (ἀρχιε(ρεὺς) instead of ἀρχιερεὺς) and lacks a name at the end (*RPC* I 2574).

The central problem is that there is no evidence attesting to a chief-priesthood of Roma and Divus Iulius in Ephesos.[23] In fact, there is no evidence of an *archiereus* of Roma and Divus Iulius from Asia at all. *Archiereis* are only attested in relation to a cult of Roma and Augustus or Augustus alone (Frija 2012: 34-35). Cults of Roma had regular priesthoods (also in Ephesos as we have seen) as did cults of Iulius Caesar (Frija 2012: 35).[24] Contemporary examples of this distinction stem from Alabanda, where we find two Augustan inscriptions recording an ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος (Frija 2012: nos.240-241) and another inscription mentioning an ἱερεὺς Καίσαρος (Frija 2012: no.242). In sum, Kirbihler's arguments for the existence of a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius in Ephesos from 40 BC on are unconvincing. The *rogatio* does not deal with developments in Ephesos but in Rome. The list of Roma-priests/*prytaneis* and *agonothetai* of the *Dionysia* only suggests changes in the religious organisations without any reference to a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius. The association of the chief-priesthood of Glaukon with a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius would be one of a kind among all the evidence for chief-priesthoods in Asia, and therefore remains unlikely without better indications to the contrary. Moreover, priesthoods of Roma, a *flaminatus* of Divus Iulius, and an *archiereus* are lumped together as if relating to the same cult. Their different terminology and different divine subjects as well as the fact that none of them explicitly documents a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius leave Kirbihler's argument without foundation.[25]

The transition in the lists from priests of Roma and *agonothetai* of the *Dionysia* to *prytaneis* and *agonothetai* of the *Dionysia* around 40/39 BC can still tell us something about the worship of Roma in Ephesos. The earliest Ephesian evidence for this cult makes a clear distinction between *prytaneis* and priests of Roma. They are recorded both as eponymous offices at the start of the first century BC (*I.Ephesos* Ia 7, ll.34-35) and, in the period 51/50 BC to 40/39 BC, the priests of Roma are listed separately from the *prytaneis* in office (*I.Ephesos* Ia 9, S ll.1-38). After the disappearance of the priests of Roma from the list, the two persons

[23] A statue base set up by the *poleis*, *demoi* and *ethne* of Asia in 48 BC records Iulius Caesar as manifest god, descendent from Ares and Aphrodite, and common saviour of human life (*I.Ephesos* II 251). It was not set up by Ephesian authorities or citizens though.

[24] On Cyprus, we find some *archiereis* of Roma (Fayer 1976, 153-154; Fujii 2013: 167 [Kition no. 6], 170 [Kourion no.1]).

[25] The chief-priesthood of Glaukon in pre-imperial times remains an oddity. Under Augustus and possibly under Tiberius, Ephesian coins had similar legends recording an *archiereus* (Asklas: *RPC* I 2585-2592; Alexandros: *RPC* I 2613-2619; Karwiese 2012: nos.58-64). As on the coins of Glaukon, other names follow the mention of the *archiereis*. Without further evidence, Glaukon's chief-priesthood and its connection with later Ephesian *archiereis* remains impossible to explain. Also in mid-first century BC Pergamon, *archiereis* are attested (Frija 2010: 295-296).

we know as priests of Roma and Publius Servilius Isauricus also held the office of *prytanis* (*I.Ephesos* III 702; *I.Ephesos* VII.1 3066). Without mentioning the goddess Roma explicitly, a sacred law inscribed during the reign of Commodus outlines the duties of the *prytanis* in Ephesos according to ancestral customs. It specifically mentions prayers to the sacred Senate, the Roman people, and the *demos* of the Ephesians (*I.Ephesos* Ia 10, ll.14-16; Kirbihler 2016: 105-106). Given the mention of Persian Darics (l.30: στατῆρας Δαρικοὺς) and the absence of a Roman emperor in the prayer, parts of the law originated from before imperial rule and exhibit the integration of Roman institutions into the state rituals headed by a *prytanis*. We can detect a particular connection between the office and ritual duties of the Ephesian *prytanis* and the worship of institutions of Roman power (Fayer 1976: 91-92; Engelmann 1993: 282 n.17).[26] It is possible that the disappearance of the priests of Roma from the list of *agonothetai* of the *Dionysia* was a result of the inclusion of Roma-worship among the duties of the *prytanis* (Scherrer 1997: 96; 2007: 68).

A Cult of Augustus and the Upper Agora

Scholars have been as eager to identify a temple dedicated to Augustus in the archaeological remains of the upper agora as they have to find a temple of Roma and Divus Iulius. The same remains which have been interpreted as a temple of Roma and Divus Iulius have been associated with a cult of Augustus (Plan 3: nos.2, 8). In addition, scholars have assumed there to have been cultic activities honouring Augustus and later emperors in the Basilike Stoa, specifically in its eastern hall (Plan 3: nos.4-5). The initial impetus for supposing the presence of a temple of Augustus has been the assumption that several buildings around the agora were part of an imperial building programme which transformed this part of Ephesos during the Augustan period (Price 1984a: 140; Scherrer 1995: 4-5; 2001: 69-71; Friesen 2001: 95-101; Kenzler 2006; Thür 2007a; Raja 2012: 65-71; Krinzinger 2012: 124-127; Kirbihler 2016: 387-400; 2020: 202-203). The archaeologist excavating in the area most recently has, however, argued for the need to consider the changes in the built environment of the upper

[26] A freedman of Iulius Caesar or Augustus is frequently believed to have donated money toward sacrifices offered to the goddess (= Artemis Ephesia) as well as Roma at the sacred hearth in the *prytaneion* during the annual *Epheseia* (*I.Ephesos* III 859A; Engelmann 1990: 92-94, no.2; Scherrer 2007: 68). The complete restoration of the goddess Roma in this text is, however, reliant on the doubtful assumption that Romans or imperial freedmen would necessarily wish to include the goddess Roma in the ritual actions they financed.

agora as a process involving various social actors rather than an imposed programmatic project (Steuernagel 2020). Because many of the structures in this area were dismantled in late antiquity or later periods and their building blocks and ornamentation have been reused all over the territory of Ephesos, secure dates can be difficult to establish with few *in situ* finds and a disturbed stratigraphy (Alzinger 1972-1975: 295-296; Scherrer 1997: 94). Yet, after decades of painstaking studies by Austrian and Turkish excavation teams and epigraphic researchers, some buildings have fairly secure dates.

A secure date is available for the dedication of the three-aisled basilica (Basilike Stoa) spanning the northern side of the upper agora (Plan 3: no.4). Based on the titulature of emperor Augustus (IMP XX), the dedicatory inscription can be dated to AD 11-13 (*I.Ephesos* II 404; Knibbe & Büyükkolancı 1989; Knibbe *et al*. 1993: no.80). At both ends of the basilica, spacious halls, often designated as *chalcidica*, were added (Plan 3: nos.5-6). The eastern hall deserves particular attention because of the discovery of two over life-size statues of an enthroned Augustus and Livia. The two statues were found some ten meters west of the hall (Alzinger 1972-1975: 261-262, figs.18-19; Inan & Rosenbaum 1979: nos.3, 5; Lang-Auinger 2006: 7, taf.71). A portrait head of Augustus wearing a *corona civica* was uncovered there too (Inan & Rosenbaum 1979, no.2; Boschung 1993: 186, cat.no.186, taf.175, 224.3). Both the over life-size statues and the portrait head were used as fill of a tiled floor, which can be dated to the second half of the fifth century AD (Alzinger 1972-1975: 260-263; Aurenhammer 2011: 105-106; Aurenhammer & Sokolicek 2011: 46). Two statue bases of a couple, C. Sextilius Pollio and Ofillia Bassa, who together with their (adoptive) son, C. Ofillius Proculus, had dedicated the basilica, were reused as floor slabs in front of the eastern wall of the basilica's east hall (*I.Ephesos* II 407; Alzinger 1972-1975: 261, fig.16; 269-279, figs.20a-b; Aurenhammer & Sokolicek 2011: 47). Taken together, these pieces of evidence have encouraged scholars to designate the hall as the site of an Augusteum/Sebasteion, a place for imperial cult activities, and a portrait gallery (Price 1984a: 255, no.30; Scherrer 1990: 98-101; 1995: 5; 1997: 93; 2001: 71; Halfmann 2001: 26; Von Hesberg 2002: 152; Kenzler 2006: 174; Stinson 2007: 93; Pont 2011: 132-133). Alternatively, the portrait head has been associated with the podium structure between the *prytaneion* and *bouleuterion* (Plan 3: no.2), even though it was found at the same spot as the enthroned Augustus and Livia (Alzinger 1972-1975: 263). Even if we

assume that the statues were found close to their original position,[27] the presence of imperial statuary does not provide sufficient evidence for a cult institution (Witschel 2002: 117).

The halls and the statues of Augustus and Livia do not date to the Augustan period. Pottery finds indicate that the western hall of the basilica was only added several decades after the dedication of the building, possibly during the Claudian or Neronian period (Bammer 1972-1975: 385; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 13, 107; Halfmann 2001: 27; cf. *I.Ephesos* II 410). The close connection of this hall with the adjacent Pollio-monument suggests that this part of the basilica was only built after C. Sextilius Pollio had passed away (Plan 3: no.7; *I.Ephesos* II 405-406; Bammer 1976-1977). The statues of Pollio and his wife Ofillia Bassa in the eastern hall may have been erected by their son after their death (*I.Ephesos* II 407). It suggests that both annexes to the basilica were built decades after the dedication of the central part of the basilica. Statue groups representing the enthroned couple Augustus and Livia were generally set up from the Tiberian period on (Rose 1997: 175, no.115). The Ephesian group has been dated to the reigns of Gaius or Claudius (Boschung 1993: 120, no.26; Aurenhammer 2011: 111; Aurenhammer & Sokolicek 2011: 48). Even though the portrait head of Augustus wearing a *corona civica* probably dates to the Augustan period (Inan & Rosenbaum 1979: no.2; Boschung 1993: cat.no.186), it cannot provide evidence for a cult institution nor of ritual activities.[28] In sum, there is no archaeological evidence indicative of a cult institution in the Basilike Stoa and the statues of Augustus and Livia do not date before the reign of Gaius.

Foundations of a temple were uncovered on the upper agora in 1970 (Plan 3: no.8; Alzinger 1972-1975: 283-294; Fossel 1972-1975). Based on pottery finds in the foundation trenches of the temple, the structure was initially dated to the second half of the first century BC. A black, stone head of Ammon, a so-called Egyptianising terracotta figurine, and a

[27] In most literature, this assumption is taken for granted. The statues and statue bases were reused and may have been moved. It seems that, in the course of time, an excavator's assumption has turned into a widely accepted fact. Note the following expressions about the statues and their find contexts: "Es ist anzunehmen dass die Statuen in der Basilika, am ehesten im östlichen Chalcidicum, aufgestellt waren" (Alzinger 1972-1975: 262); "Diese Annexräume sind aufgrund von spätantiken Umbauten und Zerstörungen leider nur sehr schlecht erhalten" (Thür 2007a: 83 n.72); "At the Basilica Stoa, the portrait of Augustus with the *corona civica* and the enthroned group of Augustus and Livia were used as 5th-c. fill. They may have originally been displayed in the building. The portrait of Augustus with the *corona civica* may belong to the Basilica's primary statuary display, given its Augustan date. The enthroned group was erected later; a position in the E annexe, along with a connection to the imperial cult in the Upper Agora, is often proposed. Neither a base for this group nor an altar have been found, but the area was heavily rebuilt in late antiquity" (Aurenhammer 2011: 110-111).

[28] The *corona civica* does not express a ritual function of the statue nor does it represent Augustus as a divine being. On the *corona civica*: Bergmann 2010: 135-205.

fragment of a statue of Harpokrates along with a water basin on the eastern side of the temple and a deep shaft filled with amphora fragments encouraged an identification of the temple as one of Isis (Alzinger 1972-1975: 288-290, figs.28-30). A portrait head, initially identified as Marcus Antonius, but now differently identified, led to the proposal that the temple was built when Marcus Antonius was in Ephesos (Alzinger 1972-1975: 293, fig.31; alternative identifications: Jobst 1980: 250 n.57; Aurenhammer 2011: 102-104).[29] All these finds were discovered in Byzantine layers on top of the temple foundations (Jobst 1980: 248-249). Other identifications have been proposed: a temple of Dionysos (Hölbl 1978: 27-32; Andreae 1999: 173-174), a Capitolium (Alzinger 1985: 64), and the temple of Roma and Divus Iulius (see above; Scherrer 1995: 4; 2001: 69). A re-examination of the pottery carried out by Veronika Mitsopoulos-Leon (2005) secured a *terminus ante quem* in the late Augustan or Tiberian period: "Ausgeschlossen ist…eine Datierung des Monuments in das 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr." (Mitsopoulos-Leon 2005: 207). All identifications associated with Marcus Antonius or Divus Iulius can be discarded.

Werner Jobst in 1980 proposed identifying this temple as a Sebasteion and the surrounding space as its *temenos*. Several researchers followed him in this interpretation (Price 1984a: no.29; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985: 168-172, A27; Kirbihler 2016: 391-392; 2020: 202). Jobst's (1980: 253-257) core evidence is an inscription, which records Apollonios Passalas as the person who had erected a statue of Augustus and had dedicated a *temenos*, possibly in the twenties BC (*I.Ephesos* III 902). It has been pointed out that the use of *temenos* rather than *naos* in Passalas' inscription does not support Jobst's case (Engelmann 1993: 284; Kenzler 2006: 174). The re-dating of the temple foundations makes any connection between the inscription and the temple impossible. In addition, the statues of Augustus and Livia and the portrait head of Augustus wearing a *corona civica* were taken as supporting evidence as well as an inscription in which Jobst read the celebration of the *Romaia* (*I.Ephesos* III 859A; Jobst 1980: 256-258). The earlier discussion of the find context of these statues clarifies that any connection with the temple on the upper agora is unfounded (cf. Alzinger 1985: 62). The celebration of the *Romaia* relies on a restoration of the epigraphic text which was later convincingly challenged (Engelmann 1990: 92-94). The identification of the temple on the upper agora as a Sebasteion is, therefore, without evidentiary support. Because only the

[29] Alzinger (1972-1975: 294) did, however, explicitly state that his interpretation of the temple was preliminary and could be altered during the very next campaign.

lowest foundation layer of the temple has survived, it is close to impossible to convincingly argue for any identification of the temple (Alzinger 1972-1975: 295-296; Berns 2006: 278 n.26). The most we can make out of the evidence is the temple's temporal and spatial connection with the Basilike Stoa. They were both constructed in the late Augustan or Tiberian period and the temple was located in the exact middle of the open space after the Basilike Stoa had narrowed its width by some ten metres (Mitsopoulos-Leon 2005: 207; Thür 2007a: 85).[30]

The podium structure between the *prytaneion* and the *bouleuterion* has also been considered as the location of a cult of Augustus (Plan 3: no.2). It was built in the early decades of the reign of Augustus (Miltner 1956-1958: 40-49; 1959: 293-294; Alzinger 1972-1975: 249-253; 1974: 55-57; Thür 2007a: 81-82). Alzinger refuted Miltner's identification of this structure as an altar and proposed that it supported two small *prostyloi*-temples. Not everyone seems convinced (Thür 2007a: 81-82). We have already seen that it has been considered a temple of Roma and Divus Iulius. In contrast, Peter Scherrer (1990: 101; 1997: 93-94; 2001: 71; 2007: 66-67) suggested that the space surrounding the podium was a *temenos* dedicated to Artemis and Augustus. The suggestion stems from evidence found in other contexts that connects the worship of Artemis and that of Augustus (see next section). Much of the evidence from the podium itself is difficult to interpret due to disturbances in later periods (Scherrer 1997: 94). Scherrer used the portrait head of Augustus wearing a *corona civica* and the so-called inscription of Apollonios Passalas as evidence for his identification. The find context of the portrait head and the problems with connecting it to an alleged cult of Augustus have been discussed above.

The inscription of Apollonios Passalas is said to have been found in a Byzantine debris layer near the Basilike Stoa (Scherrer 1990: 98 n.50), or west of the *bouleuterion* where it served as a cover of a channel (Vetters 1971: 88; Jobst 1980: 253). It is often misrepresented, so I give the full text (Knibbe 1972-1975: no.6; Engelmann 1986: 34):

1 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ (Ἡρακλείδου)
Πασσαλᾶς, ὃς καὶ προενοήθη τῆς
καθιδρύσεως τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
καὶ τῆς καθιερώσεως
5 τοῦ τεμένους

[30] Before these late Augustan construction works, this open space may have been the location of a *gymnasium*: Engelmann 1993: 288-289; Thür 2007b; Steuernagel 2020: 105.

Πρέσβων Ἀνταίου, ἱερεὺς Διονύσου α΄
Φλέω Ποιμαντρίου,
Περικλῆς Ἡρακλείδου φύσει δὲ Χα-
ροπίνου Χαροπῖνος, ἱερονείκης ἀπ[ὸ]
συνόδου
Ἡρακλείδης Ἀπολλᾶ τοῦ Ζηνοδ[ότου,]
Ἀριστῶναξ Εὔφρονος,
Ἰσίδωρος Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Ἀπο[λ]-
λωνίδου ὁ ἱερεὺς Καρποφόρου Γῆ[ς,]
Πρέσβων Ἀνταίου, ἱερεὺς Διο-
[νύ]σου τὸ β΄καὶ γ΄ [.

Apollonios Passalas, son of Herakleides, grandson of Herakleides, who also provided the foundation of Sebastos and the consecration (5) of the sacred precinct

Presbon, son of Antaios, priest of Dionysos Phleos Poimantrios for the first time

Perikles, son of Herakleides, son of Charopinos, Charopinos' son, by birth, sacred victor (10) of the synod

Herakleides, son of Apollas, grandson of Zenodotos

Aristonax, son of Euphron

Isidoros, son of Apollonides, grandson of Apollonides, the priest of Karpophoros Ge

(15) Presbon, son of Antaios, priest of Dionysos for the second and third time

(*I.Ephesos* III 902; own translation)

The text identifies Apollonios Passalas as the man who provided the ritual foundation of a statue of Augustus and the dedication of a *temenos*. Neither the statue nor the *temenos*, not even Apollonios Passalas and his actions, are the primary subject of the inscription.[31] There is, therefore, no immediate spatial or material connection between this inscription and the actual statue and sacred area. Apollonios Passalas could have consecrated them anywhere (Engelmann 1993: 284; Kenzler 2006: 174; *contra*: Knibbe 1972-1975: no.6; Kirbihler 2016: 396). The inscription presents a list of persons, which besides Apollonios Passalas includes a

[31] Some scholars single out the first lines on Apollonios Passalas without considering the inscription as a whole: e.g. Jobst 1980: 254; Engelmann 1993: 284; Scherrer 2007: 67 n.27. The inscription is probably not complete: "Der Beginn vorliegender Inschrift ist mit dem ursprünglich darüberliegenden Mauerquader verlorengegangen. Durchaus denkbar ist auch eine Fortsetzung des Textes nach unten bzw. in Form einer oder mehrerer Kolumnen in die Breite, so daß wir mit einem verhältnismäßig kleinen Ausschnitt aus einem umfangreichen Namenskatalog zu rechnen haben" (Knibbe 1972-1975: 17).

priest of Dionysos Phleos Poimantrios (Presbon, son of Antaios; ll.6-7, 15-16), a sacred victor of the synod (Perikles, son of Herakleides, son of Charopinos Charopinos' son by birth; ll.8-10), Herakleides, son of Apollas, grandson of Zenodotos (l.9), Aristonax, son of Euphron (l.12), and a priest of Karpophoros Ge (Isidoros, son of Apollonides, grandson of Apollonides, ll.13-14). Why these persons are listed together is not clear. The priest of Dionysos Phleos Poimantrios is mentioned immediately following Apollonios Passalas and, at the end of the list, the same person is recorded as priest of Dionysos for the second and third time.[32] The mention of the same person at different times suggests that additions to the inscribed list were made. This suggestion is supported by the fact that lines 12-14 and 15-16 were written in different hands (editorial commentary on *I.Ephesos* III 902; Knibbe 1972-1975: 17; Kirbihler 2016: 396-397). It therefore lists persons who had been involved in the same kind of activity but at different moments in time. Apollonios Passalas' dedications are introduced with καὶ (*I.Ephesos* III 902, l.2). Apparently, he only set up the statue and *temenos* as an addition or side note to a more important action. It is that unknown act, which is the subject of the inscription and connects the various persons listed.[33] The inscription contains no evidence for an institutionalised cult of Augustus and cannot be used to relate the podium structure or any other building surrounding the upper agora to such a cult.

This survey of buildings, inscribed texts, and statues around the upper agora, their chronology, and their association with an alleged cult of Augustus demonstrates that there is no convincing argument for the presence of such a cult. Most of the arguments for the presence of a cult centre for Augustus in this area rely on unfounded associations between buildings, inscribed blocks, and sculptural fragments without consideration of their precise dates, find spots, and find contexts. Following Christof Berns (2006: 280-281), the most we can possibly make of the available evidence is that some individuals or groups of individuals created places of worship of Augustus, or honoured him with statues, possibly in the vicinity of the upper agora.[34] Two pieces of epigraphic evidence for imperial statues, for instance, are

[32] The inscription certainly dates to after 27 BC because of the mention of Sebastos. In 25/24 BC, Presbon, son of Antaios, was *prytanis* and priest of Dionysos (*I.Ephesos* Ia 9, Nb ll.17-20). It gives an approximate date for the time when his name was recorded (compare Knibbe 1972-1975: 19).

[33] Frija (2012: 38 n.63) regards the inscription as a list of priests, but only two of six persons are characterised as such.

[34] There is evidence from other parts of Ephesos: marble blocks found near the theatre of Ephesos were part of an altar which was dedicated to Augustus, Lucius Caesar, Gaius Caesar, and Agrippa Postumus (Plan 2: no.2; *I.Ephesos* II 253; Eichler 1966). A dedication of an altar to members of the imperial family is, however, not evidence for institutionalised worship (Scherrer 1997: 96).

associated with a father and son – Apollonios Passalas and Herakleides Passalas (*I.Ephesos* II 252; *I.Ephesos* III 902). As a final note, I would like to point to a curiosity in studies arguing for the existence of imperial cults around the upper agora. During excavations of the podium structure in between the *prytaneion* and the *bouleuterion*, a portrait head of Tyche was discovered (Miltner 1956-1958: 44, abb.27). A first-century AD upper torso of Aphrodisian Aphrodite was discovered near the eastern hall of the Basilike Stoa (Aurenhammer & Sokolicek 2011: 48-49). Nobody has ever connected the podium structure with a cult of Tyche, nor is the eastern hall of the Basilike Stoa interpreted as a place for the worship of Aphrodisian Aphrodite. Such neglect of evidence for cults other than imperial cults is remarkable given the general consensus that imperial cults were embedded into the religious life of urban communities. We cannot begin to understand imperial cults within their specific religious landscape if evidence pertaining to other divinities is not considered.

<u>The Sebasteion in the Sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia</u>

1 Imp. Caesar Divi f. Aug. cos. XII tr.pot. XVIII pontifex
maximus ex reditu Dianae fanum et Augusteum muro
muniendum curavit [[C. Asinio Gallo procos.]] curatore
Sex. Lartidio leg.
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς ὕπατος τὸ ιβ΄, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιη΄
5 [ἐκ] τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς θεοῦ προσόδων τὸν νεὼ καὶ τὸ Σεβαστῆον τιχισθῆναι προενοήθη
[[ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γαίου Ἀσινίου Γάλλου]], ἐπιμελήᾳ Σέξτου Λαρτιδίου πρεσβευτοῦ

Imperator Caesar, son of god, Augustus, consul for the twelfth time, holding tribunician power for the eighteenth time, *pontifex maximus*, provided that the temple and the Sebasteion should be surrounded by a wall paid for from the sacred revenues of the goddess, when C. Asinius Gallus was proconsul, under the supervision of the legate Sextus Lartidius

(*I.Ephesos* V 1522; cf. Engelmann 1993: 279; own translation)

This bilingual inscription testifies to a Sebasteion in the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia (Plan 1: no.8).[35] It documents the construction of a wall shared by the temple and the Sebasteion, costs of which were met by the treasury of Artemis as provided by emperor Augustus. The inscription was found in a Byzantine wall made of reused building blocks near the Artemision. This wall was not the *peribolos* of the Artemision nor the wall referred to in the inscription itself, but there is no doubt that this Sebasteion was located within the enceinte of the Artemision (Wood 1877: 132-134; Engelmann 1993: 279-282; Pont 2011: 133-134; Kirbihler & Zabrana 2014: 102-113; Zabrana 2020: 162-164). Five more copies of the inscription have been found in secondary contexts – another one was reused in the same Byzantine wall and four of them were found in the theatre (Engelmann 1993: 279-280). In the same Byzantine wall, proxeny-decrees were discovered stating that the names of the honoured persons had to be inscribed on stones set up in the sanctuary of Artemis (Engelmann 1993: 280 n.5). There too, two boundary steles were found which record the Augustan restoration to Artemis of roads and streams (*I.Ephesos* V 1523-1524). This restoration took place in the same year as the construction of the wall shared by the Sebasteion and the temple of Artemis, when C. Asinius Gallus was proconsul and Sextus Lartidius was supervisor (6/5 BC). The shared find spot of these inscriptions, the connection between the infrastructural projects associated with the sanctuary of Artemis, and the involvement of the very same actors demonstrate that a Sebasteion was present in the Artemision.[36]

This presence entails both a spatial and organisational connection between the Artemision and the cult of Augustus. The wall shared by the temple of Artemis and the Sebasteion was constructed at the expense of the treasury of Artemis (*I.Ephesos* V 1522, ll.2, 6). Over eight decades later, during the reign of the emperor Titus, a wall surrounding the Sebasteion had to be restored. The relevant inscription informs us that the restoration project was paid for from sacred revenues (*I.Ephesos* II 412; Engelmann 1993: 286-287). With respect to the development and maintenance of its immediate architectural environment, the cult of Augustus benefitted financially from its spatial integration into the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia. These benefits extended to the upkeep of cult personnel associated with the

[35] Some scholars have attempted to connect this Sebasteion with the upper agora (Jobst 1980).
[36] Recently, Lilli Zabrana has argued that this Sebasteion should be identified with a structure to the south-west of the temple of Artemis (Kirbihler & Zabrana 2014: 102-113; Zabrana 2020: 162-164; cf. Wood 1877: 152-154). In my opinion, the evidence is insufficient.

Sebasteion (see below). This financial arrangement suggests a (partial) dependence of the cult of Augustus on the treasury of Artemis (Scherrer 1990: 90).

The financial stability of the Artemision appears to have been of central concern during the reign of Augustus (Rogers 2007; Kirbihler 2016: 382-386). In addition to the above-mentioned boundary stones recording the return of roads and streams to Artemis, two more Augustan boundary stones were found in the southern part of the Kaystros-valley (Knibbe *et al*. 1979: nos. 1-2 = *I.Ephesos* VII.2 3501-3502; cf. *SEG* 48.1358 = Içten & Engelmann 1998: no.1). The bilingual inscriptions stipulate that boundary stones were restored to Artemis (fines Dianae restituit; ὅρους Ἀρτέμιδι ἀποκατέστησεν). Further inscriptions document land-surveying and the placement of multiple boundary stones to demarcate the sacred lands of Artemis which included a vineyard (*I.Ephesos* V 1525; *I.Ephesos* VII.2 3513, 3516; Knibbe *et al*. 1989: no.59). The edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus dating to around AD 44-46 refers to the abundance of Artemis' revenues which were restored to the goddess by Augustus (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, ll.5-6: τὴν τῶν προσὸδων ἀφθονίαν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀποκατασταθεισῶν τῇ θεᾷ). It is tempting to date all these restorations in 6/5 BC and so to a single Augustan restructuring of the sacred lands of Artemis. There were, however, earlier interventions in the finances of the temple: a bilingual inscription records the paving of a street, the execution of which was,

> [iud]icio Ca[esaris] Augusti ex rediti[bus] agrorum sacrorum, quos is Dianae de[dit]
>
> [τῆ]ι Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστο[ῦ] [κρίσει] ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν προσό[δων], [ἅ]ς αὐτὸς τῇ θε[ᾷ] ἐχαρ[ίσατο]
>
> upon the decision of Caesar Augustus, paid for from the sacred revenues, which he himself had given the goddess/Diana
>
> (*I.Ephesos* II 459, ll.1-4, 7-9; own translation)[37]

This inscription was found west of the upper agora close to the so-called Domitianic fountain (Plan 3: no.12). The excavator of the stone surmised that the street mentioned in the inscription was the one running between the upper agora and the area where the temple of

[37] For a different restoration of the text: *AE* 1966 425.

the *Sebastoi* would later be constructed (Miltner 1960: 42-49).[38] This infrastructural project at the expense of the revenues of Artemis took place when Sextus Appuleius was proconsul of Asia (23-21 BC). In the edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus, repeated references to earlier regulations of Vedius Pollio ratified by Augustus himself date some of the first interventions of imperial agents in the financial administration of the Artemision to the early years of the reign of Augustus (see below; *I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll.47-48; 18c, ll.10-11; 18d, l.4).[39] From the very first years of the reign of Augustus, landed properties were restored to Artemis, the revenues of which were used for various infrastructural projects associated with the Artemision over the following decades (Dignas 2002: 175-177).

The sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia was a place of refuge and had rights of *asylia* probably since the early Hellenistic period (Rigsby 1996: 385-393; *I.Ephesos* V 1520). Strabo narrated the following about the *asylia* of the Artemision:

> ἄσυλον δὲ μένει τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ νῦν καὶ πρότερον· τῆς δ᾽ ἀσυλίας τοὺς ὅρους ἀλλαγῆναι συνέβη πολλάκις, Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν ἐτὶ στάδιον ἐκτείναντος, Μιθριδάτου δὲ τόξευμα ἀφέντος ἀπὸ τῆς γωνίας τοῦ κεράμου καὶ δόξαντος ὑπερβαλέσθαι μικρὰ τὸ στάδιον, Ἀντωνίου δὲ διπλασιάσαντος τοῦτο καὶ συμπεριλαβόντος τῇ ἀσυλίᾳ μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως· ἐφάνη δὲ τοῦτο βλαβερὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς κακούργοις ποιοῦν τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ᾽ ἠκύρωσεν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ.
>
> The temple remains inviolable, now as before; but the borders of the inviolability have been changed many times: Alexander increased them by a *stadion*; Mithridates shot an arrow from the corner of the roof and reckoned that it had gone somewhat beyond that *stadion*; Antony doubled this and thus encompassed in the right of inviolability a part of the city; but this appeared to be harmful and made the *polis* over to wrongdoers, so Augustus Caesar revoked it.
> (Strabo 14.1.23; slightly modified translation of Rigsby 1996: 389-390)

Augustus' reduction of the territory of *asylia* was not a punishment, but a solution to problems of criminality (Rigsby 1996: 393; Rogers 2012: 116). The decision resulted in a re-demarcation and legal separation of *polis* and sanctuary (Rogers 2012: 116; in general: Rigsby

[38] For other temple treasuries financing maintenance of roads leading to and from a sanctuary, see Slawisch & Wilkinson 2018: 112, with n.64.
[39] On the Roman *eques* Vedius Pollio and his activities in Asia: Syme 1961; Scherrer 1990: 89-90; Kirbihler 2017; Dalla Rosa 2018: 505-507.

1996: 1-29; Dignas 2002: 1-12). Possibly, some of the boundary stones found in the vicinity of the sanctuary were associated with this redemarcation and not just with the restoration of Artemis' estates and revenues. Both interventions demonstrate that the rights and financial assets of the Artemision were subject to protection and reform (Knibbe *et al*. 1979; Rigsby 1996: 385-393; Halfmann 2001: 24; Rogers 2007; 2012: 115-118).

The διατάξις/*constitutio* of Vedius Pollio provides some more detailed information about the financial measures taken as part of this Augustan reform.[40] It is mentioned three times in the Claudian edict of Persicus in connection with three different measures which, apparently, had to be stipulated again in AD 44-46 (Kirbihler 2017: 130, 133). The first measure relates to priestly perquisites:

…ἐπεὶ τὴν ἀ-
πόδοσιν τῶν χρη[μάτων δυσχερέ]α τῇ πόλει ἢ
παντελῶς ἀδύνατον ο[ἶδα, ἐὰν ἀπ]αριθμεῖν νῦν
ἀνανκάζηται, ἃ παρὰ τῶν ὠνησαμένων ἔλαβεν,
οὐδὲν πλέον παρέχεσθαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τὴν πόλιν
ἀρέσκει ἢ ἑκατοστὴν τῆς δεδομένης τότε τειμῆς
κατὰ τὴν Οὐηδίου Πωλλίωνος διάταξιν τὴν καὶ ὑπὸ
τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ συνφυλαχθεῖσαν·

> because I know that the restitution of the money is either difficult or completely impossible for the *polis*, when it is compelled to pay back now that which it received from the buyers [i.e. of priesthoods], it is resolved that the *polis* allows the priests not more than a hundredth of the price originally given, in accordance with the *constitutio* of Vedius Pollio, which was also corroborated by the god Augustus.
>
> (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, ll.4-11; own translation)

[40] Scherrer (1990: 88-90) and Kirbihler (2016: 384-385) related Vedius Pollio's regulation also with a passage in Ulpian's *Diges*t (22.6), which lists the Artemision as one of the sanctuaries which can accept inheritance money. However, an Ephesian inscription ascertains that this 'right of inheritance' was a gift of the emperor Hadrian: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων | τὸν ἴδιον κτίστην καὶ σωτῆρα διὰ | τὰς ἀνυπερβλήτους δωρεὰς Ἀρτέμιδι, διδόντα τῇ θεῷ τῶν κληρο|νομιῶν καὶ βεβληκότων τὰ δίκαια | καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτῆς (*I.Ephesos* II 274, ll.7-12; AD 129; cf. Bowie 2012: 268-269).

Persicus' resolution followed an earlier decision of Vedius Pollio which stipulated that buyers of priesthoods could only receive a share amounting to 1% of the price paid for a priesthood.[41] From this brief passage, we can deduce the following: first, because it received money from the buyers of priesthoods, the *polis* appears in charge of the sale of priesthoods; second, because the edict refers to priests and priesthoods without any further qualification, it is possible that the *polis* sold the priesthoods of Ephesian cults other than that of Artemis;[42] third, in an earlier passage of the edict (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, ll.1-20; see chapter 2), Persicus relates the embezzlement of money through the public auctioning of priesthoods directly to the poor state of Artemis' treasury. It appears, therefore, that the income generated from the priesthood sales was intended for the sacred treasury, not for the public treasury; fourth, in our brief passage, we are nonetheless told that it was the *polis* which was having difficulties in restituting money. We can conclude that *polis*-magistrates were administering the sacred treasury. As Persicus' measures were in line with Vedius Pollio's *constitutio*, the administrative control of the *polis* over the sacred treasury already existed in the early Augustan period. Land and finances, thus, were strictly separated following the distinction between sacred and public (Dignas 2002: 144-156, 170-177; Rogers 2007), but the administrative control over priesthood sales and the sacred treasury was in the hands of *polis* magistrates. Vedius Pollio's decision to limit any priestly perquisites paid to priests to a tiny – or symbolic (Dignas 2002: 152) – proportion of the original price of the priesthood, therefore, was a regulation to secure the solvency of the sacred funds of Artemis Ephesia.

Vedius Pollio's *constitutio* appears again on two other occasions. The first of these two remains difficult to understand, because most of the lines preceding the mention of the *constitutio* have many *lacunae*.[43] Following suggested restorations, it would appear that the

[41] The edict of Persicus is discussed in the following chapter. Atkinson (1962) argued that Pollio's *constitutio* was a private endowment. Most scholars considered it, however, as an official act imposing regulations with regard to the finances of the Artemision: Syme 1961: 28; Herrmann 1980a: 347-348; Price 1984a: 69 n.63; Dignas 2002: 152; Burrell 2004: 370; Pont 2011: 137-138.

[42] This was certainly the case by the reign of emperor Claudius, see chapter 2. The main priest in the Artemision had been the eunuch *megabyxos* for a long time. The last record of a *megabyxos* we have mentions that the Ephesians plead for him with Cleopatra, when Marcus Antonius intended to bring him to court (Appian *BC* 5.1.9). Strabo (14.1.23) already talks about *megabyxoi* as officials of the past. Bremmer (2008: 40-41) suggests that we should connect the abolition of the *megabyxos* to the interventions of Vedius Pollio. Strabo (14.1.23) also tells us that the *megabyxoi* had been accompanied by maiden priestesses. For priestesses of Artemis: Bremmer 2008: 42-47; Kirbihler 2019.

[43] *I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, l.22: ὁμοίως τοὺς ἱερονείκας, ὅσοι ἱεροὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος; *I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll.46-48: [ὁμοίως το]ὺς ἱε[ρονείκας, ὅσοι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱε]ροὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ ὀψω|[νίου λόγον εἶναι λέγονται, τρέφεσθαι οὐκ ἀρέσκει ὑπὸ] τῆς Ἀρτέ[μιδος, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον λαβεῖν, ὅ]σον [κα]τ[ὰ] τὴν Οὐηδίο[υ] | [Π]ω[λλίωνος διάταξιν

constitution of Pollio stipulated that expenditure on banquets in the Artemision, to which sacred victors (ἱερονείκαι) were invited, should not exceed a certain amount of money (Dörner 1935: 46-47; Dignas 2002: 154). The final section of the edict in which Pollio's constitution is referred to is better preserved:

> ὁμοίως εἰς τοὺς πεντα|ετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας μὴ πλεῖον <ἀναλίσκεσθαι δηναρίων> τετρακισχειλίων πεντακοσίων | κατὰ τὴν Οὐεδίου Πωλλίωνος διάταξιν.
>
> In the same way, (I resolve that) no more than 4,500 denarii are to be spent on the penteteric games according to the *constitutio* of Vedius Pollio
>
> (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18d, ll.2-4; own translation)

Apparently, Vedius Pollio had deemed it necessary to set a maximum for expenditure on these cultic celebrations. Here too, the incentive seems to have been to protect the financial solvency of Artemis' treasury. The three occurrences of Vedius Pollio's *constitutio* demonstrate that, apart from rearranging the *asylia*-territory and restoring Artemis' landed estates, specific regulations were set to limit the financial burden of priestly perquisites, contests, and possibly banquets organised for sacred victors on the treasury of Artemis, and to secure the financial well-being of the sanctuary.

In the documents relating to these early Augustan reforms of the rights, landed estates, and expenses associated with the Artemision,[44] we do not find any Ephesian governing bodies or magistrates nor any of the cult officials of the Artemision as active decision-makers. Instead, the central actors are Augustus himself, Vedius Pollio, Sextus Appuleius, C. Asinius Gallus, and Sextus Lartidius. Vedius Pollio was a friend of Octavian and might have been acting in Asia as prefect or procurator of Octavian in the years 31-27 BC (Syme 1961; Kirbihler 2016: 255-263; 2017; Dalla Rosa 2018: 505-507). Sextus Appuleius was a proconsul of Asia and the son of Octavia, the elder sister of Octavian (Syme 1986: 316-317). Some two decades later, C.

ἐψηφί]σθ[η]; *I.Ephesos* Ia 19A VI, ll.6-8: [item non placet hieronicas, qui consecrati] | Dianae in portione opsoni dicuntur esse, diu[tius ex eius deae reditibus ali, sed tantum modo accipere,] | [qu]antum Vedi Pollionis constitutione con[cessum est.]

[44] Some scholars have argued that these reforms also entailed the transfer of a group of religious officials – the *kouretes* – from the Artemision to the *prytaneion* (Knibbe 1981: 75-76; Rogers 2007; 2012: 118-120). The evidence supporting a date for this transfer in the Augustan period is however slight, and it is even questionable that the *kouretes* were officials of the temple administration in the first place (Scherrer 2015: 798-800).

Asinius Gallus and Sextus Lartidius were responsible for infrastructural and land-surveying projects taking place in connection with the Artemision. It has been concluded that building projects in the Artemision under Augustus were primarily realised upon the initiative of imperial agents (Halfmann 2001: 24, 32; Rogers 2007; 2012: 118). Imperial involvement was evidently strong, but it would be wrong to fully neglect the interests and potential involvement of Ephesian magistrates, the cult officials of the Artemision, and the Ephesian political community at large (Pont 2011: esp. 138). The treasury of Artemis Ephesia had occasionally been robbed by *publicani* and Octavian's opponents during the years of the Civil Wars (Knibbe *et al*. 1979: 139; Engelmann 1993: 280; Dignas 2002: 175-177; Rogers 2007: 143; 2012: 118). Some Ephesians may have had good reason in requesting the intervention and support of the new emperor to protect or improve the solvency of the sacred treasury, in the same way as senatorial patronage had been requested in preceding decades (see below). The specific regulations in the *constitutio* of Vedius Pollio were, however, not intended to protect revenues as much as limiting expenditure and it seems that securing proper rules for the financial managing of the sacred treasury was as significant as external threats to the sacred treasury.

Within the context of these Augustan reforms of the Artemision, a Sebasteion was built within the sanctuary's precinct. There is no evidence supporting the belief that Vedius Pollio himself was responsible for the foundation of the Sebasteion (Scherrer 1990: 90, 98, 101; cf. Halfmann 2001: 24; Kirbihler 2019: 58). The specific conditions and actors involved do, however, explain the spatial particularity of the Ephesian cult of Augustus in its location in the sanctuary of Artemis. As a result of this location, the cult of Augustus could benefit from the rights of inviolability and financial means of the Artemision. It is possible that the establishment of the cult of Augustus was, in part, an Ephesian expression of gratitude for the measures ordered by Augustus in response to problems of criminality and robbery of the treasury. Transgressions of the public-sacred division by various actors formed important elements in the development of the Artemision and the incorporation of the cult of Augustus in that sanctuary. Some of these transgressions were not occasional but a structural part of administrative relations between Ephesos and the Artemision: *polis* magistrates were responsible for the sanctuary's financial administration. As we will see in the next chapter, these structural transgressions would come to play a decisive role in the further development of imperial cults in the Artemision.

Social Relations and the Cult of Augustus in Ephesos

From the late republican period on, Roman citizens would become increasingly influential in Ephesos and their influx and influence profoundly altered the social structures of the community. In this section, I trace their presence and activities throughout the first century BC and, then, relate them to the establishment of the cult of Augustus in Ephesos. Of the thirty named *prytaneis* from 51/50 to 18/17 BC, none carries the *tria nomina*. Of the twelve priests of Roma between 51/50 and 40/39 BC, only one carries the *tria nomina* (Lucius Iunius Salvus in 45/44 BC; Kirbihler 2016: 238-239).[45] These state priesthoods were clearly taken up by Ephesian citizens rather than by any Romans or Italians resident or active in Ephesos (Halfmann 2001: 32; Kirbihler 2016: 238-239). It has been suggested, however, that in the late republican and early imperial period, Romans and Italians acted as the main benefactors of building projects and of the Artemision (Halfmann 2001: 32; Scherrer 2007).

In support of this claim, Halfmann (2001: 22-23) gave P. Servilius Isauricus and Q. Caecilius Atticus as examples. The first was consul along with Iulius Caesar in 48 BC and proconsul of Asia from 46 to 44 BC. Halfmann (2001: 22-23) followed the original proposal of Dieter Knibbe that we should connect the early third-century inscriptions recording a stoa of Servilius with the benefactions of this proconsul (Knibbe 1985: 75-76; *I.Ephesos* II 445, 454B). Yet, P. Servilius Isauricus is not the only candidate as the source of the stoa's name (Kirbihler 2011: 257-258). There is, therefore, no immediate evidence for any building project initiated or financed by P. Servilius Isauricus. The second Roman benefactor of the late republican period mentioned by Halfmann (2001: 23) is Q. Caecilius Atticus. He is referred to as τὸν ἔπαρχον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος.[46] It is not clear whether he was *praefectus* under Iulius Caesar or Octavian, or under both as suggested by Jones (1999: 90). The Ephesian inscription does not specify the nature of his benefactions (διὰ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ εὐεργεσίας). Given the characterization of the honorees ("the citizens who anoint themselves in the anointing room"), his benefactions seem to pertain to a gymnasial context. They can range from supplying oil to financial contributions without any direct association with construction works

[45] The *archiereus* Glaukon carries a Greek name, despite the unsupported suggestion by Kirbihler to imagine his name as C. Iulius Glaukon or M. Antonius Glaukon (Kirbihler 2016: 380).

[46] οἱ πολεῖται οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι ἐν τῶι | ἀλειπτηρίωι ἐτίμησαν | Κοΐντον Καικίλιον Ἀττικόν, τὸν ἔ|παρχον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτορος | Καίσαρος διὰ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ εὐεργεσίας (Büyükkolancı & Engelmann 1991: no. 8; *SEG* 41.964).

(Jones 1999: 89). In addition, we have evidence for an Ephesian benefactor dedicating a pavement in the middle of the Tetragonos agora, where he set up a sundial (ὡρολόγιον) and dedicated the 'parastas' to Artemis and the Ephesian *demos* (Plan 1: no.3; Plan 2: no.3; *I.Ephesos* VII.1 3004). This benefactor was the *agoranomos* Timon the Younger, son of Artemidoros, who had also been priest of Roma/*agonothetes* of the *Dionysia* (43/42 BC; *I.Ephesos* Ia 9, S ll.27-29) and *strategos* in 39/38 BC (*I.Ephesos* IV 1387, ll.10-11).

We know about six patrons of Ephesos in the late republican period. An early patron was Quintus Mucius Scaevola, consul in 95 BC and proconsul of Asia probably in the nineties BC, who was recorded as a patron on a statue base of his wife Caelia (*I.Ephesos* III 630A = Eilers 2002: C90; Eilers & Milner 1995: 80-82). Lucius Licinius Lucullus, consul in 74 BC, was *proquaestor* at the time an honorific base was erected on which he is called patron and benefactor (*I.Ephesos* VI 2941 = Eilers 2002: C89; Zoumbaki 2017: 257 n.32). Lucius Calpurnius was honoured as patron of Ephesos in relation to his negotiations in favour of the Ephesian *demos* probably around the mid-first century BC (*I.Ephesos* III 630B = Eilers 2002: C87). Three more patrons are recorded in inscriptions dating to the third quarter of the first century BC: Lucius Antonius was *quaestor pro praetore* in 50 BC when he was patron of Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* III 614A = *SEG* 28.856; Merkelbach 1978b; Eilers 1995; 2002: C86); Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus was patron and benefactor of the city, probably around 43-42 BC (Knibbe *et al.* 1993: no.18 = *SEG* 43.775 = Eilers 2002: C91); Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 32 BC, was ancestral patron of Ephesos, probably because his father – L. Domitius Ahenobarbus – had acted as patron of the city too (mid-30s BC; *I.Ephesos* III 663 = Eilers 2002: C88; Eilers 1999; Carlsen 2009, 373-374; *contra*: Herrmann 1974; Knibbe 1968-1971: no.21).

Two observations are of significance here. First, all of these patrons were senators and imperial officials. Two of them – Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus – are called εὐεργέτης, benefactor, and we can add them to potential financers of building projects in late republican Ephesos. However, for none of these benefactors, do we know anything specific about the character of their benefactions. According to Claude Eilers (2002: 109-113), patron and benefactor denote different social categories and relationships. Patronage concerned political and legal influence in the Roman Senate in order to secure certain rights and privileges. *Euergetism* entailed financial contributions to building projects, organized activities, certain goods (oil, wine, bread) and the like (cf. Zuiderhoek 2009). There is thus more late republican evidence for patronage than for the financing of building projects.

Second, of all the inscriptions recording patrons of Greek *poleis*, the Ephesian inscriptions are the only ones testifying not only to patronage of Ephesos but also to patronage of the sanctuary of Artemis (Eilers 2002: C86, C88, C91; Eilers 1995: 79-80; 1999: 329-330; Carlsen 2009: 375). Eilers (1995: 80) presumed that the patronage of both Ephesos and the Artemision "is yet another illustration of the close relationship that existed between city and temple, and of the importance of the temple in city affairs." But such close relationships existed between numerous *poleis* and sanctuaries in Asia and does not explain why the sanctuary of Artemis remains the only sanctuary we know to have had patrons. Rather, the clear distinction between patronage of city and sanctuary suggests that the sanctuary was considered a separate institutional body worthy of its own patronage (Engelmann 2001: 34). In the case of Lucius Antonius, the inscription appears to specifically record that he has preserved the sacred laws of the goddess (Eilers 2002: C86). Although these laws are not specified, we may connect them to Caesar's restoration of the sanctuary's *asylia* and his actions to protect the temple treasury twice as well as the measures taken by Marcus Antonius to duplicate the extent of the territory of *asylia* (Caes. *BC* 3.33, 105; Strabo 14.1.23; Rigsby 1996: 389-390; Rogers 2012: 116). During the forties and thirties BC, the rights and privileges of the Artemision were the subject of requests for patronage, senatorial support, protection, and intervention, and stimulated subsequent honours bestowed on senatorial patrons. Such protection was especially pertinent in the context of exploitative *publicani* and Romans trying to steal from the sacred treasury during this period (Eilers 2002: 138-144). Even though senatorial patronage of cities in Asia would largely disappear with the advent of imperial rule (Eilers 2002: 161, 172-181), emperors and proconsuls continued to act in a similar vein without crafting long-lasting relations of patronage. Overall, in late republican Ephesos, there is little sign of any direct participation of Roman residents in the religious offices and civic magistracies of Ephesos. Some financial investments in urban development may have existed, but we lack specific information about their character. Throughout the first century BC, Roman senators would agree to defend the interests and rights of Ephesos and the sanctuary of Artemis in the Roman Senate.

With respect to the presence of Roman citizens in Asia and in Ephesos (Kirbihler 2016: 217-356), scholars frequently point toward the evidence for *conventus civium Romanorum* (Scherrer 2007; Kirbihler 2007: 23-28; 2016: 224). Recently, Alison Cooley (2019: 435-453) has published a Latin inscription, which probably dates to 35 BC and lists names of about ninety

Roman citizens and freedmen, many of whose *gentilicia* can be traced back to Delos and Campania.[47] She interpreted the named persons as members of the community of Roman citizens or Italians in Ephesos. In addition, two more late republican inscriptions recording this community survive. First, the *Italicei quei Ephesi negotiantur* honoured L. Agrius Publeianus, son of Lucius (*I.Ephesos* VI 2058; Scherrer 2007: 70, no.2; Kirbihler 2007: 27). This person is frequently identified with a Roman *eques* called Lucius Agrius (Cic. *Flacc.* 31) or with Lucius Agrius Publeianus Bassos, son of Lucius, who was honoured as patron, saviour, and benefactor by the *demos* of Elaia, the port-town of Pergamon (Conze & Schuchhardt 1899, 205, no.12; *IGR* IV 271; Eilers 2002: C70).[48] Second, the *conventus c(ivium) [R(omanorum)] quei Ephesi negotiantu[r]* honoured Marcus Cocceius Nerva, proconsul of Asia in 38 BC and consul in 36 BC (*I.Ephesos* III 658; Knibbe *et al*. 1989: 235, no.B2; Scherrer 200:, 70, no.3). Nerva was benefactor and patron of other *poleis* in Asia.[49] Despite the different terminology used in both inscriptions, the communities of Italians and Roman citizens are generally taken to be identical.[50] The find spot of both inscriptions as well as of later inscriptions recording these communities of Roman or Italian residents closely connects them to the commercial Tetragonos agora of Ephesos (Plan 2: no.3; Scherrer 2007). It suggests their primary involvement in trade and other commercial activities. In Cassius Dio's passage, a direct connection was made between the cult of Roma and Divus Iulius and this community of Roman citizens resident in Ephesos (Herz 2003: 134; Scherrer 2007: 66). Apart from Cassius Dio, however, there is no evidence demonstrating such a connection.

In the Augustan period, Ephesos witnessed a considerable number of building projects (Halfmann 2001: 23-30; Kenzler 2006; Kirbihler 2016: 387-400). Most of the dedicatory inscriptions of these buildings are either in Latin or they are bilingual. Two aqueducts, the *Aqua Iulia* (*I.Ephesos* II 401; Öziş *et al*. 2005: 213) and *Aqua Throessitica* (*I.Ephesos* II 402; AD 4-14), were constructed upon imperial initiative. The construction of the latter was supervised

[47] I am grateful to professor Alison Cooley for sharing her work with me.

[48] Based on such identifications, the inscription is generally dated to 65-45 BC (Scherrer 2007: no.2). Claude Eilers (2002: 224, C70) excludes the possibility that Lucius Agrius, Cicero's *eques*, was the same as the patron of Elaia, because "almost all patrons of Greek cities are senators."

[49] Teos: *SEG* 4.604; *AE* 1927 43; Eilers 2002: C100. Stratonikeia: *I.Stratonikeia* II/1, 509; Eilers 2002: C122.

[50] There is another honorific monument dated to the first century BC or Augustan period and possibly set up by this community honouring as their saviour and benefactor a person whose name only partially survives: Gallus, son of Publius (*I.Ephesos* III 800; Scherrer 2007: no.4). The subject is restored: οἱ ἐν Ἐ[φέσῳ πραγματε]υόμενοι ἔμπο[ροι Ἰταλικοί]. Unlike the other attestations, this inscription is in Greek. Cf. Zoumbaki 2017: 254-262; 266-267.

by C. Sextilius Pollio and his adoptive son C. Ofillius Proculus. The same men, together with Ofillia Bassa, Pollio's wife, dedicated the Basilike Stoa in AD 11-13 (*I.Ephesos* II 404). Around the same time, a temple was constructed south of the Basilike Stoa (Plan 3: no.8). This family was also responsible for the financing and dedication of an aqueduct-bridge (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3092; AD 4-14). C. Sextilius Pollio was from the tribe of Voturnia and his family may have originated from Rome or Ostia (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3092; Kirbihler 2016: 333, no.199). It has been suggested that he was a leading member of the *conventus civium Romanorum*, but this is not attested in the available evidence (Scherrer 2007: 67-68; Kirbihler 2016: 435). Considering the monumentality of the projects which he financed and was involved in, he was surely a person of considerable wealth and standing. In the final decade BC, the *prytaneion* was constructed on the northern side of the upper agora (Steskal 2010: 63-72, 78, 99-100). Because of the exceptional life-long prytany of C. Iulius Nikephoros, *libertus* of emperor Augustus, it is likely that Nikephoros had financially contributed to this building project (*I.Ephesos* III 859; Scherrer 1997: 96; 2001: 71; 2007: 69; Kirbihler 2016: 421-422). Vital infrastructure and the monumentalisation of the urban centre were largely financed by non-Ephesians with capital flowing into Ephesos (Halfmann 2001: 21-33).

Supporting this observation is another bilingual inscription recording the dedication of the south-eastern gate of the Tetragonos agora, which was reformed during the Augustan period (Scherrer & Trinkl 2006: 19, 42; Plan 2: nos. 3, 5):

Imp. Caesari Divi f. Augusto pontifici
Maximo, cos. XII, tribunic. potest. XX et
Liviae Caesaris Augusti
Mazaeus et

M. Agrippae L.f. cos. tert. imb. tribunic.
potest. VI et
Iuliae Caesaris Augusti fil.
Mithridates patronis

Μαζ[αῖο]ς καὶ Μιθριδάτης
[τοῖς] πά[τ]ρωσι καὶ τῶι δή[μωι]

> To Imperator Caesar, son of god, Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, consul for the twelfth time, holding tribunician power for the twentieth time, and to Livia [wife of] Caesar Augustus
>
> To Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consul for the third time, imperator, holding tribunician power for the sixth time, and to Iulia, daughter of Caesar Augustus

Mazaeus and Mithridates (dedicated it) to their patrons

Mazaios and Mithridates (dedicated it) to their patrons and to the *demos*

(I.Ephesos VII.1 3006; own translation)

The titulature of Augustus dates the dedication of the gate to 4/3 BC. The gate consists of three arches: the attic of the left and right arches carried the Latin dedications to Augustus and Livia, and to Marcus Agrippa and Iulia, daughter of Augustus. The central, recessed arch carried the Greek inscription (Burrell 2009: 72). The Latin inscriptions mostly consist of the names and titulature of the dedicatees. Mazaeus and Mithridates are recorded below Augustus and Agrippa respectively, who are characterized as their patrons. A funerary inscription informs us that Mithridates was a freedman of Marcus Agrippa (*I.Ephesos* III 851). Given the symmetry of the architecture and epigraphy of the arches, it is likely that Mazaeus was a freedman of Augustus. The Greek inscription lacks the extensive information about the dedicatees and only records that Mazaeus and Mithridates dedicated the gate to their patrons and – unlike the Latin equivalent – the *demos*. The absence of Artemis Ephesia amongst the dedicatees is striking considering Ephesian standards. The use of Latin on the most prominent parts of the gate, the emphasis on the patrons and their titulature, and the lack of any connection with Ephesian society apart from the mention of the *demos* in the Greek inscription, communicated their connection to imperial authorities and suggests that their primary intended audience were the Romans residing in Ephesos (cf. Blanco-Pérez 2020: 13-14).[51] The statues of members of the Augustan household adorning the gate (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3007: Lucius Caesar) and its reminiscence of Roman triumphal arches suggest the same for the monument's sculptural and architectural outlook (Thür 1997: 73-75; Halfmann 2001: 29-31; Burrell 2009: 72-75).

Similarly, the Latin part of the bilingual dedication of the Basilike Stoa consists of much larger lettering than its Greek equivalent (Knibbe & Büyükkolancı 1989: 44). The bilingualism of these inscriptions, therefore, was clearly favourable to the Latin script and, overall, the monuments materialised, visualised, and symbolised imperial power.[52] The Sextilii's dedication of the Basilike Stoa to Artemis Ephesia, Augustus, Tiberius, and the *demos* of the

[51] I thank Aitor Blanco-Pérez for sharing his article with me.

[52] For interpretations of the architecture of the Basilike Stoa: Von Hesberg 2002; Thür 2007a: 82-84; Stinson 2007: 91-94.

Ephesians appears more in line with Ephesian dedicatory norms than the dedication by Mazaeus and Mithridates. The dedication of the ἀντιγραφῖον to Artemis Ephesia and the *demos* by Themistios (*I.Ephesos* Ia 14) shows that such majestic building projects were not all there was, but the architectural, linguistic, and sculptural program of a number of mid- to late Augustan buildings dedicated and financed by emperors, imperial freedmen, and Roman citizens manifested the imposition of Roman imperial power onto Ephesos. It is no coincidence that the *neoi* referred to Augustus as *ktistes*, founder (*I.Ephesos* II 252, l.3). As we have seen, bilingual inscriptions and actors close to Augustus also feature prominently in the documentary evidence testifying to the Augustan reforms of the Artemision. Whatever the details of decision-making processes looked like, the building projects and their financing by agents of imperial power and Roman citizens reveal their dominance over urban developments which profoundly transformed the city (Halfmann 2001: 32; Kirbihler 2016: 452).

While Italian settlers, imperial freedmen, and imperial authorities financed most infrastructural and monumental projects, Ephesian citizens took care of the administrative, religious, and political running of the city. Contemporary chief-priests, priests of other cults, *prytaneis*, and *grammateis* were all Ephesians without Roman citizenship (Halfmann 2001: 32).[53] Two Ephesian *archiereis* are known from numismatic evidence: Asklas (*RPC* I 2585-2592; Karwiese 2012: nos.10-13, 39-42; Frija 2012: no.112) and Alexandros (*RPC* I 2613-2619; Karwiese 2012: nos.58-64; Frija 2012: no.113).[54] The latter may have been *archiereus* under Tiberius. An exception was the extraordinary prytany for life of the freedman of Augustus, C. Iulius Nikephoros (*I.Ephesos* III 859).[55] Nikephoros' life-long prytany was most probably

[53] Priest of Dionysos Phleos (*I.Ephesos* III 902, ll.6-7, 15-16); priest of Karpophoros Ge (ll.13-14); priest of Dionysos (*I.Ephesos* Ia 9, Nb ll.17-20); priest of Apollo Pythios and priest of Asklepios (ll.21-23). In addition to the *prytaneis* in the above-discussed list (*I.Ephesos* Ia 9), there were a few more *prytaneis* during the Augustan period (Alexandros Passalas: *I.Ephesos* II 257; *I.Ephesos* VI 2018; Hieron Aristogiton: *I.Ephesos* VI 2033; cf. Kirbihler 2016: 408-409). For a list of *grammateis* of the *demos* during the Augustan period: Kirbihler 2016: 411-412; cf. Schulte 1994.

[54] A man called Parale[…] identified by Kirbihler (2016: 398-399) as an *archiereus* was actually a moneyer (Karwiese 2016: 28). Another inscription found south of the upper agora records honours for […Ep]aphras priest for life of mightiest god Augustus: ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεοῦ Σεβαστο[ῦ… | κρ]ατίστου (*I.Ephesos* III 803, ll.2-3; Frija 2012: no.126; Kirbihler 2016: 398-399). The inscription does not give many clues towards its date. Kirbihler (2016: 398) suggests a date after AD 14 while Frija (2012: no.126) cautiously proposes a date during the first century AD.

[55] Kirbihler (2016: 409, 434-435) also mentioned an alleged prytany of C. Sextilius Pollio (*I.Ephesos* II 530: ἐπὶ Πωλλίων[ος πρυτάνεως τὸ ?] | α). There were several men named Pollio in early imperial Ephesos: for instance, the grandson of C. Sextilius Pollio (*SEG* 39.1176a, l.9) or […Tu]ccius Polli[o] (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/8, l.9). Kirbihler's identification of this *prytanis* with C. Sextilius Pollio is, thus, not certain.

awarded to him as an honorific office in return for financial support to the construction of the *prytaneion* in the late first century BC (see above). Its exceptionality shows that Roman residents of Augustan Ephesos were generally not elected to official *polis*-positions.[56] In addition, a freedman of Caesar, only known as Gaius Iulius, donated money to a synod to perform sacrifices to Artemis and possibly another deity at the annual *Epheseia* (*I.Ephesos* III 859A; Engelmann 1990: 92-94). In AD 12/13, Curtius Proculus was ambassador of a financial institution, the *gerousia* (*SEG* 43.759). The distinct activities of Ephesian citizens and Roman residents reveal Ephesos under Augustus as a divided community: one of a group of Ephesian notables holding political and religious offices and one of a group of wealthy Roman residents acting primarily as public investors.

The distinction was not absolute. Some well-networked Ephesian families combined their office-taking with euergetic activities. Especially prominent among them was the family of Herakleides, Apollonios Passalas, Herakleides Passalas, and Alexandros Passalas. They were all politically active in Ephesos from the Triumvirate to at least the reign of emperor Tiberius (Kirbihler 2016: 428-431). Herakleides, son of Herakleides, grandson of Herakleides was one of the *strategoi* during the Triumvirate and remained active under Augustus.[57] When he was in office as *grammateus* of the *demos*, he carried the title *philosebastos*. His son, Apollonios Passalas, was *prytanis* in 19/18 BC (*I.Ephesos* Ia 9, N ll.1-4) and set up a statue of Augustus and dedicated a *temenos* (*I.Ephesos* III 902, post-27 BC). Herakleides Passalas, one of his sons, was gymnasiarch, when he was involved in the setting up of a statue of Augustus by the *neoi* (*I.Ephesos* II 252, late first century BC). He also financed repairs at the *Triodos* to facilitate the flow of water (Plan 2: no.5; *SEG* 43.791 = Knibbe *et al*. 1993: no.13, post-3 BC).[58] In the twenties AD, he appears in a collective subscription donating one of the highest amounts of money (*SEG* 39.1176: no.1). Alexandros Passalas, his brother, was *prytanis* for a second time when those in office as *neopoioi* set up a statue group of Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, and Tiberius Caesar in the Artemision (*I.Ephesos* II 257, AD 4-14; cf. *I.Ephesos* VI 2018). By will of

[56] Kirbihler's conclusion (2016: 452) that between 20 BC and AD 15 "on note une évolution importante d'ordre politique avec l'entrée d'Italiens et citoyens romains affranchise dans la gestion des magistratures, en particulier la prytanie éponyme" is not supported by the evidence. The same holds for Scherrer's (2007: 69) comment that under Augustus "Roman citizens in Ephesos, and especially imperial freedmen, were increasingly involved in the civic administration and cult organisations of Ephesos."

[57] *Strategos* (*I.Ephesos* IV 1387, 39/38 BC); member of an Ephesian embassy to Octavian (*SEG* 43.758, 29 BC); *grammateus* of the *demos* (*I.Ephesos* Ia 14, 27-1 BC).

[58] For the *Triodos*: Scherrer & Trinkl 2006: 55-57.

Alexandros Passalas and out of gratitude, his wife Artemoi, daughter of Artemidoros, erected a statue honouring a certain Quintus Haterius, son of Quintus, as benefactor (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3031). If this Quintus Haterius is the *consul suffectus* of 5 BC (Kirbihler 2016: 430), the inscription should be dated before AD 26, when Quintus Haterius passed away. It shows that Alexandros Passalas had personal connections with this Roman senator who may have married Caecilia Attica, the daughter of Agrippa and grandniece of emperor Augustus (Syme 1986: 145-146).[59] Another Ephesian, Theophilos Glykon, son of Theophilos, grandson of Menekrates served as *grammateus* of the *demos* and privately set up a statue of Drusus addressing him as [τ]ὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην (*SEG* 33.934 = Knibbe & İplikçioğlu 1981/1982: no.144, AD 4-14).

These prominent Ephesians may have had a particular interest in creating, maintaining, and representing bonds with imperial authorities and influential Romans during the reign of Augustus. But we cannot neglect the involvement of other Ephesian groups such as the *demos* (*I.Ephesos* II 255A), the *neoi* (*I.Ephesos* II 252) and the *neopoioi* (*I.Ephesos* II 257) in setting up imperial statues.[60] The only other connection of an Ephesian social group with the cult of Augustus consists of the sacred victors crowned at the great *Sebasta Epheseia* (*I.Ephesos* Ia 14, ll. 25-27). They were given exemption from paying fees for certified copies. Sacred victors may have been offered privileges such as tax exemption already for some decades (Keil 1911*; I.Tralleis* 105).[61] Yet, in this case, the privileges are specifically bestowed upon those who had won their victories at this particular festival. The tax exemption for victors at the great *Sebasta Epheseia* may indicate the privileged treatments of games and athletes associated with the cults of Artemis and Augustus.

The only reliable evidence for a cult of Augustus stems from the *temenos* of Artemis Ephesia – despite indications of scattered acts of emperor worship by individuals or groups of

[59] It is possible that the *archiereus* Alexandros attested on Augustan or Tiberian coins should be identified with Alexandros Passalas (*RPC* I 2613-2619; Karwiese 2012: nos.58-64). Alexandros is a common name, though. Frija (2012: no.113) identifies the chief-priest with Alexandros, son of Memnon, who dedicated a statue of the proconsul of Asia, Marcus Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus, addressing him as his friend and benefactor (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3022; after AD 25/26). In contrast, Kirbihler (2016: 164 n.62) suggests an identification with Alexandros, son of Alexandros, gymnasiarch of all the gymnasia and ambassador in AD 31/32 (*SEG* 43.767).

[60] Two additional references to members of the imperial household appear in bilingual inscriptions; an indication that these monuments were likely initiated by Roman citizens or imperial officials: Germanicus Caesar (*I.Ephesos* II 255, AD 4-19); a dedication (of a statue group?) to Drusus Caesar and Nero Caesar, the sons of Germanicus, and to Agrippina, his wife (*I.Ephesos* II 256; AD 8-19).

[61] Tax exemption for physicians, instructors, and sophists: *I.Ephesos* VII.2 4101 = *SEG* 31.952.

individuals in the city of Ephesos and recurrent scholarly assertions that a cult of Augustus was present near the upper agora. Such assertions seem to derive, partially, from a modern expectation that a cult of Augustus should have been present in a city such as Ephesos and, partially, from the assumption that the building programme transforming the space of the upper agora in the late Augustan period should have entailed the construction of a cult place dedicated to Augustus. There seems to exist a judgement that the presence of a designated cult place for Augustus within the Artemision is somehow not enough.[62] This judgement may be linked to the preconception that a cult of an emperor situated within the sanctuary of another deity signifies the deified emperor's subordination to that deity (Price 1984a: 146-156). That this choice of space for an imperial cult should be understood solely in terms of a cosmological hierarchy has already been challenged (Friesen 1993: 73-75; 146-148). The presumption of a deified emperor subordinated to another divinity paves the way for the notion that a proper imperial cult would need to have its own or a shared *temenos*, temple or altar, preferably in the centre of a city. With these assumptions in mind, it is no wonder that evidence of other gods and goddesses in the vicinity of the upper agora tends to be ignored, and that, even though the recorded Sebasteion in the Artemision is the only solid piece of evidence for a cult of Augustus in Ephesos, discussions of that cult have for a long time paid more attention to the upper agora than to the Artemision.[63] Urban development of the city supported by imperial authorities and Roman citizens took place primarily in the final decades of the reign of Augustus, whereas the reforms of the Artemision date to the very first years under Octavian/Augustus. It demonstrates that this scholarly preference for the *polis* over the sanctuary was not shared by Roman authorities, nor by the inhabitants of Ephesos.

The establishment of the cult of Augustus in the Artemision had important implications. In the late republican period, this sanctuary, like the *polis* of Ephesos itself, received senatorial support, especially during the forties and thirties BC, possibly because of external threats to its sacred rights and treasury. In the early years of his reign, Octavian/Augustus restored landed estates to Artemis which would secure income for her treasury. He also reduced the extent of *asylia* in response to problems of criminality caused by the overlapping legal

[62] Most clearly expressed by Helmut Engelmann (1993: 283): "Es ist undenkbar, dass die ranghochste Metropole der Provinz auf das Augusteum des Artemisions angewiesen gewesen ware, dass die ranghochste Metropole kein eigenes Augusteum innerhalb ihrer Stadtmauern gehabt hatte."

[63] Another possible reason is the relative lack of archaeological research focusing on the Artemision in the Roman period up to very recently; see now Zabrana 2020.

territories of the *polis* and the sanctuary. These measures demonstrate a concern of Augustan authorities with the protection of the legal rights and financial assets of the Artemision, even though these interventions may have taken place upon request of Ephesian citizens. The demarcation of a legal zone and sacred estates reveals the separation of rights and revenues belonging to Artemis and of those belonging to secular bodies like the *polis* or private individuals. The cult of Augustus was given a place in a sacred space governed by its own legal rules and financial revenues. The measures taken with respect to the Artemision as well as the distinctive characteristics of the sanctuary provide an explanation as to why the Sebasteion was built here, and not somewhere else: the reconfirmed recognition of the age-old sanctity of this space and the restoration of the sacred lands and revenues offered religious and economic security. Moreover, to Ephesian citizens, there could possibly be no greater honour than to be associated with the patron goddess of Ephesos (Frija 2012: 118).

Strictly speaking, the cult of Augustus fell beyond *polis*-controlled legal territory and received financial support from the treasury of Artemis rather than from the *polis*. The little we know about the *constitutio* of Vedius Pollio suggests that the separation of sacred and secular was not an absolute division. It demonstrates that the reforms of the Artemision under Octavian/Augustus did not entail only protective measures. Limits were imposed on the expenditure on priestly perquisites, penteteric festivals, and banquets for sacred victors. Some years later, Augustus came up with the idea to use the sacred treasury for the financing of the construction of a wall shared by the Sebasteion and the temple of Artemis Ephesia. Furthermore, I have argued that *polis*-magistrates oversaw the sale of priesthoods and the general administration of the sacred treasury. Officials of the Ephesian *polis* administered both the sacred and public treasury and imperial authorities could, occasionally, intervene in matters of the Artemision.

Despite the clear boundaries distinguishing sacred rights, landed estates, and revenues from their profane counterparts, people transgressed and altered those boundaries. Examples of such transgressions and alterations by a range of actors abound, even before the days of imperial rule. Strabo narrated how Artemis' revenues were continuously prone to abuse. He notes that two inland lakes near the mouth of the Kaystros-river,

> μεγάλας ἔχουσαι προσόδους, ἃς οἱ βασιλεῖς μὲν ἱερὰς οὔσας ἀφείλοντο τὴν θεόν, Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ἀπέδοσαν· πάλιν δ᾽οἱ δημοσιῶναι βιασάμενοι περιέστησαν εἰς

> ἑαυτοὺς τὰ τέλη, πρεσβεύσας δ᾽ ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος, ὥς φησι, τάς τε λίμνας ἀπέλαβε τῇ θεῷ.
>
> yielded substantial revenues which, though sacred, the kings took away from the goddess, but the Romans gave them back; and again the *publicani* forcibly transferred the taxes to themselves; but Artemidoros as ambassador, as they say, returned the lakes to the goddess.[64]
>
> (Strabo 14.1.26; own translation)

Caesar praised himself for putting a stop to the robbery of Artemis' sacred revenues (Caes. *BC* 3.33, 105) and Lucius Antonius was honoured because he had preserved the sacred rights of the goddess (Eilers 2002: C86). The Augustan reforms, thus, stood in a longer tradition of external interferences. The Artemision, its rights and revenues, were subject of tension between the protection of its sanctity and recurrent transgressions of the sacred boundaries. Administrative control of the *polis* over the treasury of Artemis constituted a structural transgression of the *polis*-sanctuary divide. At the time of Augustus, magisterial offices and priesthoods in Ephesos were primarily in the hands of Ephesian citizens. Meanwhile, through financial investments, imperial authorities and Roman settlers started to manifest their presence in the architectural, sculptural, and epigraphic character of the urban and sacred spaces of Ephesos. They signal the beginnings of the increasing involvement of non-Ephesian actors in the life of the city and the sanctuary, which would alter the power dynamics in, and between, both spaces in the following decades. Two divisions were, thus, central in Augustan Ephesos: that of sacred and secular rights and finances, and that of Ephesian citizens and Roman residents. The integration of the cult of Augustus into the sacred space of Artemis Ephesia and in a divided community formed the preconditions for the further development of imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Ephesos.

[64] Artemidoros' embassy has been dated to the years 104-101 BC (Kirbihler 2016: 49-52).

CHAPTER 2

IMPERIAL CULTS IN JULIO-CLAUDIAN EPHESOS

Following on from the assumption of a cult of Augustus in the Basilike Stoa, most scholars have argued for the continuity of imperial cults and emperor worship in that public space throughout the Julio-Claudian period.[65] Corresponding to my arguments against this assumption presented in the previous chapter, the first section of this chapter also shows that the little evidence we have for imperial priesthoods situates them in the space of the Artemision. My examination of Julio-Claudian imperial cults and associated priesthoods focuses our attention again on the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia. In the second section, I discuss parts of the well-known edict of the proconsul of Asia, Paullus Fabius Persicus, which has hitherto hardly figured in studies of imperial cults. The practices of corruption in the Artemision it attests involved the auctioning of an increasing number of priesthoods of imperial family members, the revenues of which were funneled into the pockets of *polis* magistrates and the persons holding said priesthoods. Imperial priesthoods and their sale were instrumentalised for personal gain but jeopardised the solvency of the sacred treasury. Section three discusses the social status of these *polis* magistrates and priests and traces the developing relations between the *boule* and *demos* in Julio-Claudian Ephesos. In general, the *polis* magistrates were Ephesian citizens and the priests were non-citizen residents holding Roman citizenship. The trade of imperial priesthoods allowed Roman citizens access to local positions of status and privilege. Imperial cults offered opportunities for political integration of wealthy Romans resident in Ephesos. Overall, this chapter argues that the development of imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Ephesos was driven by the formal exclusion of Roman citizens from political and legislative influence in the city and a consequent need and opportunity for their integration into the institutionalized operations of the upper echelons of Ephesian society through the purchase of imperial priesthoods, and by the financial benefits that could be attained in exploiting the relationship between imperial cults and the treasury of Artemis

[65] Scherrer 1995: 5; Thür 2007a: 83-84; Kirbihler 2016: 391, 423.

Ephesia. Through a corrupt scheme, *polis* magistrates and the buyers of imperial priesthoods could present themselves as loyal subjects of the Roman Empire, whilst enriching themselves. Dialectical relations between citizenship and non-citizenship, sacred revenues and secular financial control, multiplication and value of priesthoods, as well as political and economic sources of power were central to the development of imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Ephesos. Finally, an epilogue relates the Ephesian history of imperial cults to broader developments in the *koinon* and province of Asia.

Imperial Priests in Julio-Claudian Ephesos

The dedication of the Basilike Stoa in AD 11-13 was not the end of the construction and ornamentation of this building. The enthroned statues of Augustus and Livia, the two halls of the Basilike Stoa, and the so-called Pollio-monument were probably added under Claudius or Nero (Plan 3: nos.5-7; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 13; see chapter 1). Following the identification of the Basilike Stoa and its eastern hall as a place of imperial cult, it has been suggested that, in addition to the statues of Augustus and Livia, various statue bases in honour of Roman emperors originated from this location. Eight Tiberian statue bases characterised by the same formula – ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ὑγιείας καὶ διαμονῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας – were reused in the so-called Church of Mary (Plan 1: no.7; *I.Ephesos* II 510-514A; Keil 1912: 207-210; 1952: 42). Two statue bases with the same formula but addressing the health of emperor Titus prompted Helmut Engelmann to believe that "die Ephesier auch für die übrigen Regenten des ersten Jahrhunderts ähnliche Basen aufgestellt hatten" (Engelmann 1993: 285; cf. Engelmann 2002: 95; *I.Ephesos* II 514B; *SEG* 39.1206; Engelmann 1999: 163). These formulaic phrases were inscribed after previous writing on the statue bases had been erased. Only the names of Hellenistic sculptors of the original art works were left intact.[66] The material similarities of the statue bases, their shared formula, and the ancient art works they (originally?) carried, suggest a shared spatial origin. Engelmann (1993: 285-286) proposed that they stemmed from an Augusteum in the city. Other scholars thought that they

[66] *I.Ephesos* II 510: Agatharchos, son of Pionios from Samos; *I.Ephesos* II 511: Boethos, son of Apollodoros, from Carthage; Paus. 5.17.4; Rumpf 1952; *I.Ephesos* II 512: Silanion, probably from Athens; *I.Ephesos* II 514: a son of Thrason, from Ephesos; Strabo 14.1.23; *SEG* 39.1206: Poseidonios. See now Engelmann *et al*. 2014.

originated from the Basilike Stoa (Scherrer 1995: 5; Thür 2007a: 83-84; Kirbihler 2016: 391, 423).

In this way, the basilica was interpreted as an imperial portrait gallery and place of imperial cult throughout the Julio-Claudian period and beyond. The statue bases and the art works they carried do not, however, in any way suggest a connection with an imperial cult. There is also no convincing argument for their original placement in the Basilike Stoa. Peter Scherrer (1997: 99 n.51) suggested an origin for these statue bases in the Artemision.[67] Nonetheless, he stuck to the idea that the Basilike Stoa likely housed a set of other honorific monuments and statue bases set up for members of the Julio-Claudian household (Scherrer 1997: 96 n.28; *I.Ephesos* II 254-261; Knibbe & İplikçioğlu 1981/1982: no.144; Knibbe *et al*. 1993: no.70). All of these were found in secondary contexts. One of them was discovered in the Artemision (*I.Ephesos* II 257). For the Julio-Claudian period, the only solid piece of evidence for emperor worship in the city itself consists of the enthroned statues of Augustus and Livia. They do not, however, attest to a cult institution. In contrast, an inscription dating to the reign of Titus records repairs of a wall of the Sebasteion testifying to the continuous existence of this building in the Artemision (*I.Ephesos* II 412). The primary space of imperial cults continued to be the Artemision throughout the Julio-Claudian period.

Evidence for these cults exists in the form of recorded priesthoods. After Asklas and Alexandros (see chapter 1), *archiereis* were no longer recorded on Ephesian coinage. An ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, whose name is unfortunately lost, is mentioned in a Tiberian subscription (Scherrer 1997: 97; Frija 2012: no.114; Kirbihler 2016: 398, 437). The documentation consists of a decree, an amendment, and a list of contributors ranked according to the monetary value of their contribution ranging from 2500 to 10 denarii

[67] The Artemision is a more reasonable place of origin for these statue bases for the following reasons. First, the art works were sculpted by Hellenistic artists. We know that the Artemision was a space in which many art works were placed and dedicated in pre-Roman times (Engelmann *et al.* 2014). Many of them were still present in early imperial times (Strabo 14.1.23). Second, the replacement of an older inscription by one addressing the well-being of the emperor and the perpetuity of the rule of the Romans may suggest the re-erection of the art works. They may have been placed in a new context or returned to an older one, or they may have collapsed or suffered from damage. The latter option is supported by a statue base which states that the *demos* set it up again when Lucius Herennius Peregrinus was *grammateus* (Knibbe *et al*. 1989: no.41; *SEG* 39.1206). Peregrinus was *grammateus* for a second time, when the wall surrounding the Sebasteion in the Artemision was restored (*I.Ephesos* II 412, ll.4-5: ἀποκατεστάθη). This inscription starts with a similar formula: ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ [κυρίου ἡμῶν] αὐτοκράτορος Τ[ίτου Καί]σαρος ὑγιήας καὶ διαμονῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας (ll.1-4). Together, this information supports the following reconstruction of events: Hellenistic art works present in the Artemision were damaged, they were restored and set up again along with a new dedication celebrating the reigning emperor. It is tempting to relate the damaging of these statue bases to the earthquake of the twenties AD.

(*I.Ephesos* IV 1396, 1404; *I.Ephesos* V 1687; Engelmann 1987 = *SEG* 37.883; Knibbe *et al*. 1989: no.37 = *SEG* 39.1176; Knibbe *et al*. 1993: no.37 = *SEG* 43.786; Engelmann 2000: 79). Two fragments together formed part of the decree and amendment:

1]θαν[.].ι.[
]ς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναλημφ[θ]έν[τ]ων εἰς [..]πι
]…[ ]..ο.λ.[ ]νύειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντας
περι]έχει· ὃ ψήφισμα ἐκυρώθη ἀρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ γραμματεύοντος τοῦ δήμου
5].ω ἄλλο τοσοῦτον καὶ πασχέτω ἃ δεῖ πάσχειν τοὺς ἀσεβοῦντας· δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι, γενέσθαι καθότι προγέγραπται· ὡμολόγησαν στρατηγοὶ καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου.

…from that which was received…and the annual magistrates…the decree was ratified when the chief-priest of Augustus Tiberius Caesar and the *grammateus* of the *demos*…(5) and he will suffer the things which the impious need to suffer. May the *demos* decide that it should be as written above; the *strategoi* and the *grammateus* of the *demos* were in agreement.

(*I.Ephesos* IV 1396, 1404; Engelmann 1987: no.1; own translation)

Another fragment belongs to the same decree:

1 [--]μμένα αὐτοῖς ἄριστα φρονησα[……] τῆς θεοῦ..[----------]
[--]ἀνατίθεσθε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδ[ος…..].ης γενομένης[----------]
[--ἀ]νάλημψιν αὐτῶν ἵνα <δὲ> διηνεκῆ[ς μένῃ] ἡ μνῆσις αὐτῶν στεφα[ν----------]
[--]νων τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως Ἀρτέμιδος τε Κτησίης καὶ Σεβαστῶ[ν----------]
5 [--]ς ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ γραμματέω[ς τοῦ δήμου]
[--]λαμένων καὶ ἀποδεδωκώτων (sic) ἀναγεγραμμένων ἃ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρι[----------]
[---].ασμένων καὶ τὰς συνεγμεμισθωμένας αὐτοῖς προσόδους ἀνεξαλλ[άκτας]
[-]ψηφισθὲν χρηματισθὲν ἔστω παραχρῆμα ἄκυρον, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ποιησαμ[ένου]
vacat
10 Λυ]σάνδρου Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου νεώτερος
Με]νεμάχου Λεύκιος Πλαιτώριος Γαίου Παλατίνα Μάγνος
Μεν]εκλήους Ἄγριος Τρυφῶσα ἱερῆ, γυνὴ Ἡρᾶ

…you dedicate it in the sanctuary of Artemis…their restoration/recovery in order that their perpetual memory…the profit of the *polis* of both Artemis Ktesie and *Sebastoi*…(5) the chief-priest of Augustus Tiberius Caesar and *grammateus* of the *demos*…and after the things registered had been returned…and the fixed revenues

which had been let out to them…it will be made invalid immediately, concerning what was done…

(10) …son of Lysandros	Herakleides the younger, Herakleides' son, grandson of Herakleides
…son of Menemachos	Lucius Plaetorius Magnus, son of Gaius, from the tribe Palatina
Agrios, son of Menekles	Tryphosa, priestess, wife of Heras

(Knibbe *et al*. 1989: no.37h = *SEG* 39.1176h; own translation)

The list of contributors provides a glimpse into the socio-economic structure of Ephesos under Tiberius (Kirbihler 2016: 436-449). The purpose of the subscription is not easy to understand due to the fragmentation of the text but, given the involvement of over two hundred persons or families, among which were some of the wealthiest Ephesian residents, it is clear that the project was widely supported. Some clues towards its purpose are disclosed by the following line: …[ἀ]νάλημψιν αὐτῶν ἵνα <δὲ>διηνεκῆ[ς μένῃ] ἡ μνῆσις αὐτῶν… (*SEG* 39.1176h, l.3). The project was worthy of perpetual memory and involved an ἀνάλημψις. This word has been understood either as a collection of money (Knibbe *et al*. 1989: 208) or as a renovation or repair (editorial comments in *SEG* 39.1176h; Kirbihler 2016: 437).

Most commentators agreed that a collective subscription on such a grand scale was probably instigated by damages caused by an earthquake which struck Ephesos in the twenties AD (Knibbe *et al*. 1989: 208; Mayer 2003: 79; Scherrer 2007: 67; Kirbihler 2016: 437).[68] The money could have served for the repairs of monuments or a lasting act of gratitude in response to imperial earthquake relief (Knibbe *et al*. 1989: 208).[69] One of the

[68] Various scholars have proposed a specific date for an earthquake in Ephesos: AD 23 (Scherrer 1995: 7; 1997: 97-98; 2001: 73; Scherrer & Trinkl 2006: 19 n.67-68; followed by Rogers 2012: 136-139; Raja 2012: 58, 72) and AD 29 (Murray 2005: 146 n.11; 155 n.44). Kirbihler (2016: 400, 423, 426, 437 n.150) considers both AD 23 and 29 as possible dates for the earthquake. A statue base found in the area of Puteoli and dated to AD 30/31 was dedicated to Tiberius. Fourteen cities were inscribed: Sardis, Magnesia, Philadelphia, Tmolos, Kyme, Temnos, Kibyra, Myrina, Ephesos, Apollonis, Hyrkanis, Mostene, Aegae, and Hierokaisareia (*CIL* X 1624 = *ILS* 156). Twelve of these cities – excluding Ephesos and Kibyra – were struck by a well-recorded earthquake in AD 17 (Tac. *An*. 2.47; Guidoboni 1989: no.82). Another earthquake ruined the city of Kibyra in AD 23 (Tac. *An*. 4.13; Guidoboni 1989: no.85). As a date between AD 17 and 30/31 for an earthquake damaging Ephesos seems reasonable, I will work with a date in the twenties AD. A more specific date is not required for the arguments in this chapter.

[69] The sum of money may have been deposited into the treasury of Artemis, after which annual profits were derived from loan interests (Knibbe *et al*. 1989: 208; cf. Halfmann 2001: 31). This interpretation is supported by a fragmentary line such as καὶ τὰς συνεγμεμισθωμένας αὐτοῖς προσόδους ἀνεξαλλ[άκτας…] (*SEG* 39.1176h, l.7) and the epithet of Artemis addressing her specifically as protectress of property (Ἀρτέμιδος τε Κτησίης: *SEG*

fragments (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/6) was inscribed on the same block as a Hellenistic text concerning the *temenos* of Artemis and the Artemision's *asylia* (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/6; *I.Ephesos* V 1520). It shows that the subscription was likely recorded in the Artemision, possibly on its *peribolos*-wall (Knibbe *et al*. 1989: 198; Mayer 2003: 77-78; Kirbihler 2016: 436).

The chief-priest of emperor Tiberius was simultaneously secretary of the *demos*. He appears three times in the decree. First, the very end of the decree and the amendment stipulate that this person as *grammateus* of the *demos* and the *strategoi* were in agreement (Engelmann 1987: no.1, l.6; Kirbihler 2016: 126-127). Second, the ratification of the decree is conditioned by the office-taking of this person as chief-priest of Tiberius and as *grammateus* of the *demos* (Engelmann 1987: no.1, l.4). Third, as indicated by the use of the nominative, this person appears as a primary actor in the capacity of both chief-priest and secretary: ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ γραμματέω[ς τοῦ δήμου] (*SEG* 39.1176h, l.5).[70] The repeated emphasis on the *grammateus* simultaneously being chief-priest of Tiberius indicates that both offices were of significance to the decision-making. It suggests that the purpose of this subscription was to support a commemorative act in honour of emperor Tiberius. As such, the document demonstrates the continuation of emperor worship within the confines of the Artemision, to which, in this case, a considerable number of Ephesian residents contributed financially.[71]

Three more *archiereis* appear in documentary evidence found in Ephesos. First, an ἀρχιερεὺς appears in a fragmentary inscription (*I.Ephesos* VI 2551C; Schulte 1994: no.152; Frija 2012: no.133). He was also *grammateus* of the *demos*. Only the name Proculus is preserved. A secure dating or identification with any of the persons called Proculus attested in Ephesos is impossible. Second, in AD 30/31, the proconsul of Asia, Publius Petronius, sent a letter to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians, in which he mentions that he had met with his friend Lucius Cusinius.[72] In addition to promoting the interests of the *gerousia* before the proconsul,

39.1176h, l.4). In this light, the amendment is interesting, as it seems to concern the punishment of those who act, impiously, in violation of it: καὶ πασχέτω ἃ δεῖ πάσχειν τοὺς ἀσεβουντας (Engelmann 1987: no.1, l.5). This amendment might have been drafted to discourage people from using the money for other purposes than the one stipulated in the decree.

[70] This line suggests that emperor Tiberius was *grammateus* of the *demos*. Another part of the decree (Engelmann 1987: no.1, l.4) and the mention of καὶ following Καίσαρος demonstrate that we should rather read γραμματε<ὺ>[ς]. See the comments of Harry Pleket in *SEG* 39.1176h; cf. Mayer 2003: 78 n.10. Scherrer (1997: 97) thought emperor Tiberius was secretary of the *demos*.

[71] The subscription was not intended for the establishment of a cult monument for Tiberius in the city of Ephesos (*contra* Scherrer 1997: 97-98).

[72] For Petronius as proconsul of Asia in AD 29-35: Vogel-Weidemann 1982: no.38, 274-280.

Lucius Cusinius was το[---------- ἱερέω]ς [Τιβερίο]υ Κ[αίσαρος] Σεβαστοῦ | καὶ Ἰουλί[ας] Σεβαστῆς καὶ Συνκλήτου καὶ γ[υμνασιάρχ]ου ὑμῶν (Knibbe *et al*. 1993: no.9 = *SEG* 43.766, ll.21-22). The original editors took Lucius Cusinius to be a priest of Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate either of the city of Ephesos or of the *gerousia* (Knibbe *et al*. 1993: 117-118). However, we may equally restore το[ῦ -------- ἀρχιερέω]ς, or possibly το[ῦ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσία]ς.[73] In case of the latter, Cusinius appears as chief-priest of the *koinon* cult of Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate in Smyrna, establishment of which was permitted by Tiberius and the Senate by AD 26 (Tac. *An*. 4.15, 37; Campanile 1998; Burrell 2004: 38-42; Dmitriev 2005: 265). The restoration τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας fits perfectly in the lacuna and a cult of Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate is otherwise only known as *koinon* cult in Smyrna. It is for this reason that I prefer this option. Third, in the edict of Persicus dated to AD 44-46, we encounter an ἀρχιερεὺς whose name started with Gaius Iulius (*I.Ephesos* Ia 17, l.68). This part of the edict was, however, probably an attached decree of the *koinon* of Asia (Dörner 1935: 49). Thus, Gaius Iulius was chief-priest of Asia. In sum, for the Julio-Claudian period, evidence for chief-priests in Ephesos is very limited.[74]

In addition, a priestess of Sebaste Demeter Karpophoros and a priest of the sons of Drusus Caesar as the new Dioskouroi appear in a decree of the Demetriasts (Frija 2012: nos.115-116; Kirbihler 2016: 399). I give the full text:

1]χο.[πάσης ἠξιῶθη?]
[μαρ]τυρίας παρά [τ]ε [ἡμεῖν καὶ τῷ]
[δή]μῳ, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀσμένως χρώ[με]-
νος τῇ ἰδίᾳ {καλο}καλοκαγαθίᾳ μεγα-
5 λοψύχως {ὡς} κα[θ᾽] ἕκαστον ἐνιαυ-
τὸν μετὰ τῶν παίδων μόνος κα[ὶ]
πρῶτος ὑπέμεινεν ἐπ᾽ ἐνιαυτῷ
τὰ δαπανήματα κοσμητήαν τε
καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαν καὶ νυκτερινή-
10 αν καὶ ὑδροπαροχίαν· δι᾽ ὃ οἱ Δημητρι-
ασταὶ θαυμάσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς εὔνουν ἔκρειναν ἀμοιβά-
σασθαι αὐτὸ ταῖς πρεπούσαις τει-

[73] Gabrielle Frija (2012: 42-43; cf. Campanile 1998: 489 n.25) prefered the interpretation of Lucius Cusinius as chief-priest of Asia in Smyrna. François Kirbihler (2005: 154; cf. Fournier & Kirbihler 2012: 522-523; Kirbihler 2016: 398-399) left the option of civic or *koinon* chief-priest undecided.

[74] A fragmentary inscription appears to record a donation of 1000 denarii towards sacrifices and drink-offerings in celebration of the birthday of the divine Augustus (*I.Ephesos* IV 1393). Who the donors and recipients were is not entirely clear: there is mention of multiple chief-priests (l.1) as well as the *koinon* chief-priest of the temple in Pergamon (ll.6-7); the recipients are only known as αὐτοῖς (l.4). Cf. Kirbihler 2016: 399.

μαῖς· ὅπως οὖν ὑπάρχουσιν ἱερεῖς
15 [δ]ιὰ βίου ἐπὶ διμοιρίᾳ καὶ ἀλειτουρ-
[γ]ησίᾳ αὐτὸς μὲν Βᾶσσος τῆς Ἀρ-
τέμιδος, Σερβιλία δὲ Σεκοῦνδα
τῆς Σεβαστῆς Δήμητρος Καρπο-
φόρου, Πρόκλος δὲ νέων Διοσκόρων
20 Δρούσου Καίσαρος υἱῶν· κατασκευ-
ασθῆναι δὲ αὐτῶν εἰκόνας γραπτ-
άς· τεθήσονται δὲ ἐν τῷ εὐθέτῳ το-
πῳ ἐν τῳ δημοσίῳ ἔχουσαι ἐπιγρα-
φὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν· τεθήσονται
25 δὲ γενομένου ψηφίσματος ὑπό τε
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμοῦ· δεδόχθαι
τοῖς πρὸ πόλεως Δημητριασταῖς γε-
νέσθαι καθότι προγέγραπται.

(1) [was deemed worthy of all?] testimonies before [us and the de]mos; and, now, readily making use of his personal nobility in a (5) generous fashion each year together with the children, he, as the only and the first, bore for a whole year the costs of the *kosmetea*, the gymnasiarchy, the night-watch, (10) and the water supply; wherefore the Demetriastai admiring his good-will towards them decided that they will reciprocate it with appropriate honours; thus, the following are to be priests (15) for life with a double share and exemption from mandatory service; first, Bassos himself, (priest) of Artemis; second, Servilia Secunda, (priestess) of Sebaste Demeter Karpophoros; and, third, Proculus, (priest) of the new Dioskouroi, (20) the sons of Drusus Caesar; and (they decided) that painted images of them will be made; and (they decided) that they will place them at a well-chosen spot in public with an appropriate inscription; and (they decided) that they will place (25) them after a decree has been passed by both the *boule* and the *demos*. May the Demetriastai πρὸ πόλεως decide that it should happen as written above. (*I.Ephesos* VII.2 4337; own translation)[75]

The mention of the sons of Drusus Caesar provides a secure date for the document.[76] The birth of the twins Tiberius Iulius Caesar Gemellus and Germanicus Iulius Caesar in AD 19 was

[75] As a Jacobi-fellow, I presented my interpretation of this document in November 2020 at the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik in Munich. I would like to thank all researchers and staff for their hospitality, kindness, and helpful suggestions.

[76] Kirbihler (2016: 399) erroneously refers to a priest "du fils de Tibère, Drusus le Jeune."

celebrated as an extraordinary event for the imperial household (Tac. *An*. 2.84). Alas, Germanicus Iulius Caesar died in AD 23. Therefore, the document can be dated to AD 19-23. It is likely that the priesthood for the imperial twins was initiated briefly after their birth and did not last for a long time (Keil 1929: 65). The dating also secures an identification of 'Sebaste' with Livia. Evidence for priesthoods of Livia is common in Asia where she was assimilated to different goddesses in different places (Frija 2012: 49, 135-139). It may seem attractive to perceive a direct link between her assimilation with Demeter Karpophoros and the Demetriasts but Livia's assimilation with Ceres/Demeter was widespread (Hahn 1994: 44-47, 63-64; Spaeth 1996: 169-173; *contra* Harland 2003: 116-117).

Ever since the brief commentary of Josef Keil (1951: 287), scholars have assumed that the honoured priests were members of the Demetriastai (Robert 1979: 157; Scherrer 1997: 96-99; Frija 2012: 44, nos.115-116). The document does not support this assumption. The end of the document presents a motion formula, identifying it as a decree of the Demetriastai πρὸ πόλεως ('before the city'; ll.26-28). Lines 10 to 26 inform us that the Demetriastai decided to honour three priests for life. The honours consisted of a double share in sacrificial meat (l.15: διμοιρία), exemption from mandatory services (ll.15-16: ἀλειτουργησία), and painted images set up in public spaces after approval by the *boule* and *demos* (ll.20-26). The first ten lines of the preserved text form part of the motivation clause giving the reasons for the awarded honours. Curiously, these reasons focus only on the noble character and generosity of Bassos, the priest of Artemis. The beginning of the decree has not been preserved. It is possible that the benefactions of the other two priests were introduced earlier. In any case, the relationship between the Demetriastai and the three persons was one of benefaction and honour and, therefore, gives no reason to believe that these priests were members of the Demetriastai.

The Demetriastai reciprocated Bassos' good-will towards them (ll.10-14). He is characterised as a generously noble person, but he exceeded himself and everybody else (ll.6-7: μόνος καὶ πρῶτος) by taking upon himself the costs for four different purposes for an entire year. These purposes relate to the organisation of the Artemision. First, the κοσμητήα (l.8) can be related to the young *kosmeteirai* at the Artemision, several of whom were also priestesses of Artemis.[77] The cult statue of Artemis Ephesia was ritually dressed and ornamented with

[77] *I.Ephesos* III 742, l.2; 792, l.3; 875, l.6; 980, ll.12-13; ll. 18-19; 989, ll.8-9; 993, ll.5-6; 994, ll.8-10; *I.Ephesos* V 1655b, ll.3-5; *I.Ephesos* VI 2902, ll.1-2; *I.Aphr 2007* 12.533; cf. Kirbihler 2019: 72. *Kosmeteirai* who were also priestess of Artemis: *I.Ephesos* III 892, ll.7-8; 980, ll.7-9; ll.13-14; ll.15-16; ll.16-18; 983, ll.1-4; 984, ll.2-3; 992b,

golden jewelry. These ornaments were referred to as the *kosmos* of the goddess.[78] It seems, therefore, that Bassos financed the provisions needed for the preservation or production of the various materials making up Artemis' *kosmos*. Second, the νυκτερινήα (ll.9-10) was the commanding office of the night-watch. Inscriptions testify to the existence of a night-guardian (νυκτοφύλαξ: *I.Ephesos* III 957, ll.8-20; 969), temple-guardian (ναοφύλαξ: *I.Ephesos* VII.1 3263, ll.5-9, 14; *I.Ephesos* VII.2 4330, ll.1-6), and an altar-guard (βωμοφυλακία: *I.Ephesos* IV 1387, ll.13-15) in the Artemision. Third, the ὑδροπαροχία (l.10) indicates the water supply. Though the term is uncommon in epigraphic evidence, some Oxyrhynchus-papyri relate this word directly to the irrigation of lands, especially vineyards (e.g. *P.Oxy* IV 729, ll.13-14). Bassos, thus, also covered the expenses of the water provision for the cultivation of the landed estates owned by Artemis Ephesia.[79] Finally, Bassos sponsored the γυμνασιαρχία (l.9). In the light of the above-mentioned sponsorships, this benefaction probably relates to the provision of oil for a gymnasium in the Artemision (*I.Ephesos* III 938, ll.1-6). In normal circumstances, the expenses for these organisational and infrastructural aspects would be covered by the treasury of Artemis. Bassos, thus, exceeded his normal functioning as priest of Artemis and supported the Artemision with several benefactions.[80] As the Demetriastai profited from his good-will too, it seems that their organisational base was in the Artemision. This likelihood is supported by the find spot of the document. The preserved text was engraved on two marble fragments, both of which were found near the narthex of the Church of St John on the Ayasoluk hill (Plan 1: no.9; Sotiriou 1921: 200; Keil 1929: 61-67; 1951: no.37). Many of the building blocks used for the rebuilding and expansion of this Church during the reign of Justinian, for the perimeter wall on the Ayasoluk hill, and for the Byzantine aqueduct were taken from the area of the Artemision (Plan 1: nos.9-10; Plommer 1962: 126-129; Foss 1979: 86-87; Büyükkolancı 1993; Ladstätter 2015: 216; 2019: 43, 55; Kirbihler 2019: 28 n.16).[81]

ll.5-6; 994, ll.2-4; *I.Ephesos* V 1872a, ll.1-2; *I.Ephesos* VII.1 3072: l.15. See also: Kirbihler 2019: nos. 15, 19, 21-22, 25, 27, 34-35, 37, 52, 59.

[78] *I.Ephesos* II 276, ll.7-11: οἱ τὸν | [χρύ]σεον κόσμον βαστά|[ζον]τες τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς | [Ἀρτέ]μιδος πρὸ πόλεως ἱερεῖς | [καὶ] ἱερονεῖκαι; *SEG* 34.1124, ll.10-12: προσήνενκαν τῇ θεῷ | τὸν κόσμον παῖδες καὶ | παρθένοι. For golden objects discovered during excavations of the Artemision: Pülz 2009.

[79] For a vineyard as part of the lands owned by the goddess: *SEG* 39.1175a, l.4.

[80] Studies have concentrated mostly on the virgin priestesses of Artemis (Kirbihler 2019). Despite all negligence, priests of Artemis are well-attested throughout the imperial period: *SEG* 34.1121, ll.3-4; *I.Ephesos* Ia 27, ll.455-457, 474-475; *I.Ephesos* II 276, ll.7-11; *I.Ephesos* V 1602 fr.I, l.13; *I.Ephesos* IV 1265.

[81] For a recent account of the building development of the Church of St John: Karydis 2015.

In addition to the priest of Artemis, the Demetriastai bestowed their honours on Servilia Secunda, priestess of Sebaste Demeter Karpophoros, and Proculus, priest of the new Dioskouroi, the sons of Drusus Caesar. It suggests that their priestly activities were also concentrated in the Artemision, most likely in connection with the attested Sebasteion. It has frequently been suggested that Servilia Secunda and Proculus were relatives of Bassos and that all were of the *gens Servilia* (Robert 1979: 157 n.20; Scherrer 1997: 97; Friesen 2001: 64; Schipporeit 2013: 48-49; Kirbihler 2016: 332). But the inscription does not provide clear evidence for this suggestion (cf. Frija 2012: no.115). Like Bassos, however, they held their priesthood for life. They were probably awarded the life-long tenure as an honour in return for considerable financial investments in these cults.[82]

Evidence dating to the reign of Tiberius, therefore, testifies to both an *archiereus* and a priest and priestess of imperial family members operating in the Artemision.[83] It is difficult to establish whether these priests were subordinated to the authority of an *archiereus*, or that their cults of imperial family members were relatively independent from the cult of the ruling emperor (Frija 2012: 74-76). There is, however, another important distinction between chief-priesthoods and these imperial priesthoods: Servilia Secunda and Proculus held their priesthood for life, while this is never recorded for any *archiereus* in Ephesos. Similarly, a person known as Epaphras was priest for life of the god Sebastos (*I.Ephesos* III 803; Frija 2012: no.126).[84] Because Asklas and Alexandros (?) were *archiereis* under Augustus, his priesthood likely dates after Augustus' death. He was honoured by the *presbyteroi* as a noble man because he had given out a loan of 10.000 denarii possibly to the *gerousia*. In sum, we can observe that priesthoods of imperial family members other than the ruling emperor were established alongside *archiereis* of the ruling emperor. These priesthoods were held for life, likely awarded as honorific offices to reciprocate financial investments, started to appear after the reign of Augustus, and related to the Sebasteion in the Artemision.

[82] For priesthoods and offices διὰ βίου and the connection with financial investments, see Dmitriev 2005: 219-223; Horster 2012b; 2019: 227; Frija 2012: 77-79; Giannakopoulos 2017.

[83] During the reign of Claudius, games of Sebastos were organised: a statue of Agrippina or Messalina was dedicated by the *boule* and *demos* ἐπιμεληθέντος | Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου | Μέμνονος φιλοσεβάστου τοῦ ἀ|γωνοθέτου τῶν τοῦ Σεβασ|τοῦ ἀγώνων καὶ γραμματέως|τοῦ δήμου (*I.Ephesos* II 261, ll.4-9).

[84] Epaphras may have carried the *tria nomina* as there is space for a *praenomen* and *gentilicium* in the lacuna preceeding Epaphras (*I.Ephesos* III 803, ll.1-2).

The Edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus

A well-known edict of the proconsul of Asia, Paullus Fabius Persicus, has survived in various Greek and Latin fragments (*I.Ephesos* Ia 17-19; Dörner 1935). The proconsulate of Persicus has commonly been dated to AD 43/44, but a date during the years AD 44-46 seems more secure (Dörner 1935: 52-53; Vogel-Weidemann 1982: no.46, 334-340; Orth 1989: 51; Dignas 2002: 141; Kirbihler 2005: 160-161). Around fifteen to twenty-five years had passed since the earthquake in Ephesos, the Tiberian subscription, and the decision of the Demetriasts. Little archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence in Ephesos survives from these two decades spanning the final years of the reign of Tiberius and the reign of Gaius. In the aftermath of the earthquake in the twenties AD, it is likely that this period was a difficult one for the population of Ephesos. A few lines of the edict provide a clue towards the context in which we need to position it:

[πολλαὶ γὰρ θεῖαι οἰκίαι ἢ διὰ πυρὸς διεφθαρμέναι ἢ διὰ]-
συμπτώσεως ἀμόρφως εἰσὶν κατερριμμέναι, τό
τε τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος αὐτῆς ἱερόν, ὃ τῆς ἐπαρχείας
ὅλης ἐστὶν κόσμος καὶ {ὃ} διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἔργου μέγεθος
καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ περὶ τὴν θεὸν σεβασμοῦ ἀρχαιότητ<α>
καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν προσόδων ἀφθονίαν τῶν ὑπο τοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ ἀποκατασταθεισῶν τῇ θεᾷ, στέρεται
τῶν ἰδίων χρηματῶν.

[...] are left shapeless either destroyed by fire or overthrown by an accident, and the temple of Artemis herself, which is the ornament of the entire province, because of the magnificence of the building, because of the antiquity of the reverence surrounding the goddess, and because of the abundance of the revenues, which had been restored to the goddess by Augustus, is deprived of its own wealth.

(*I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, ll.0-7; own translation)[85]

[85] Compare the Latin fragments:
I.Ephesos Ia 19A IV, ll.1-3: [multae enim aedes deorum ignibus consumpt]ae aut ruinae | [conlapsae iacent; templum ipsum Dianae, cum sit ornamentum provinciae et operis magnifi]centia et vetus|[tate religionis et abundantiae vectigalium, quae a divo Augusto deo deae restituta sunt, eget su]is opibus.
I.Ephesos Ia 19B b, ll.0-6: [multae enim aedes deo|ru]m ignibus cons[umptae aut] ruinae con[lapsae] | [i]acent templum [ip]sum Dianae cum sit o[rna|m]entum provinciae et operis magnifice[ntia et] | [ve]testate religionis et abundantiae vect[iga|l]ium, quae a divo Augusto deo deae restitu[ta] | [sun]t, eget suis opibus.

The comparison with the Latin fragments allows a restoration of the start of the Greek text, but in all fragments the subject of the first line is missing.[86] It is not certain what exactly was destroyed by fire or overthrown by an accident. Still, as it does not pertain to a single building, the first lines, despite their fragmentation and problematic restoration, paint a picture of several buildings lying in ruins. Even though Persicus does not mention it explicitly, scholars have assumed that the cause of this destruction was an earthquake (Orth 1989: 52 n.9; Dignas 2002: 149). The building projects started in the Augustan period were interrupted by the earthquake of the twenties AD and already realised constructions were damaged. In addition to the earthquake of the twenties AD, Ephesos was hit by a second earthquake in AD 47 or shortly before that date (John Malalas 10.23; Guidoboni 1989: no.91).[87] Much of the Julio-Claudian period was devoted to reconstruction and repairs of the city and possibly the Artemision. Building inscriptions indicate that building activity other than repairs and restorations was only revived during the reign of Nero (Scherrer 1995: 7-9; 2001: 73; Halfmann 2001: 36; Raja 2012: 58, 72, 74-75).[88] It may be indicative of the state of the Ephesian built environment that the rebuilding of a key commercial space near the harbour, the Tetragonos Agora, had only been finished shortly before the edict (Plan 1: no.3; Plan 2: no.3; Kirbihler 2005: 159-164; Scherrer & Trinkl 2006: 42; Raja 2012: 72-74). Within this context of ruins and destruction, Persicus says, the magnificent, ancient, and wealthy temple of Artemis was in jeopardy:

1-2 τό | τε τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος αὐτῆς ἱερόν...
6 ...στέρεται
τῶν ἰδίων χρηματῶν, ἃ καὶ εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ εἰς
κόσμον τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξαρκεῖν ἐδύ<νατο>· περισπᾶ-
ται γὰρ εἰς τῆν ἄδικον ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν οὕτως τοῦ κοι-
10 νοῦ προϊσταμένων, ὡς ἑαυτοῖς λυσιτελεῖν νομίζου-
σιν· ὁσάκις τε γὰρ ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἱλαρωτέρα ἔλθῃ
ἀγγελία, ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποχρῶνται πορισ-
μὸν τό τε σχῆμα τῆς θείας οἰκίας προκάλυμμα

[86] The proposed restoration θεῖαι οἰκίαι of the *I.Ephesos*-editors seems unconvincing, given the way this phrase is used in line 13; see pages 80-81. Dörner (1935: 38) only restored οἰκίαι.
[87] Philostratos (*VA* 4.6) informs us that Smyrna and Miletos as well as the islands of Chios and Samos were struck by an earthquake around the same time. An inscription from Samos, dating to AD 47 (Schede 1912: no.19 = *AE* 1912 216; Freis 1985), records restorations to a temple of Dionysos after an earthquake. Given the proximity of Ephesos to all these places, it seems that Philostratos' account and these inscriptions relate to the same earthquake that hit Ephesos and which can be dated to shortly before AD 47 (Robert 1978: 401).
[88] For instance, a fishery customs house (*I.Ephesos* Ia 20); west hall of the Basilike Stoa (*I.Ephesos* II 410; plan 3: no.6); works in the stadium (*I.Ephesos* II 411; VI 2113; plan 1: no.1); east portico of Tetragonos Agora (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3003; plan 1: no.3).

ποιούμενοι τὰς ἱερωσύνας ὥσπερ ἐν ἀπαρτει-
15 ᾳ πιπράσκουσιν καὶ ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἐπὶ τὴν
ὠνὴν αὐτῶν συνκ<α>λοῦσιν ἀνθρώπους, εἶτα οὐκ ἐγλέ-
γονται τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, ὧν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς
ὁ πρέπων ἐπιτεθήσεται στέφανος· προσόδους
[τε ὁρ]ίζουσιν τοῖς ἱερωμένοις, ὅσας ἂν οἱ λαμβάνον-
20. [τες θε]λήσωσιν, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστον αὐτοὶ νοσφίζωνται

(1-2) and the temple of Artemis herself… (6) is deprived of its own wealth, which could even have sufficed for maintenance and for adornment of the votive offerings. For it is diverted to the unjust desire of those with a leading role (10) over public affairs as they use it to bring profit to themselves; and for each time a more cheerful announcement arrived from Rome, they misuse it for their personal gain, and making the appearance of the divine household their pretext they sell the priesthoods at a public auction, (15) as it were, and they gather together men of every descent for their sale, and then they do not select the ones most deserving, on whose heads the conspicuous wreath should be placed; and they allocate revenues to those holding the priesthoods, as much as the recipients (20) want, so that they themselves can embezzle as much as possible.
(*I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, ll.1-2, 6-20; own translation)

Despite the sanctity of Artemis' revenues, her own income (τὰ ἴδια χρήματα, l.7) was not used for the usual expenses, such as the care for and the ornamentation of votive offerings. Instead, certain people – οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ προϊστάμενοι (ll.9-10) – took money belonging to the goddess for their own benefit. Although the phrase οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ προϊστάμενοι leaves ambiguous who these people were, Persicus introduced the edict posing that the *archontes* of Ephesos and Asia should be concerned with the long-term welfare of their communities and not just with their own year in office (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18a, ll.5-10). These introductory lines suggest that the edict was primarily addressing magistrates in Ephesos and the province. It is also clear that the ones in charge of selling priesthoods were the same as οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ προϊστάμενοι who serve as subject of the main verbs in the passage: ἀποχρῶνται (l.12), πιπράσκουσιν (l.15), συνκαλοῦσιν (l.16), ἐγλέγονται (ll.16-17), ὁρίζουσιν (l.19) (Dignas 2002: 196). The passage demonstrates that these magistrates sought to sell the priesthoods at a maximum price – it was like an auction –, so that they could reserve as much of the purchase price as possible for

their own pockets (Schwarz 2001: 154-155; Dignas 2002: 151-152). In return, they promised the priests to provide them with however much of priestly shares they wanted during their term in office.[89] The treasury of Artemis was, thus, burdened in two ways: income intended for the sacred treasury was appropriated by magistrates and expenditure on priestly shares was increased. Though both magistrates and priests were involved in the corrupt practices, Persicus' reproach seems to focus on the *archontes* – not only because of their embezzlement of money but also for selecting candidates unworthy of the priestly office (Dignas 2002: 151-152, 268; Horster 2012b: 183-184).[90]

The corruption addressed in this edict is well-known. Two clauses in this passage are crucial for situating this corruption. The first is: ὁσάκις τε γὰρ ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἱλαρώτερα ἔλθῃ ἀγγελία (ll.11-12). The clause presents us with a specific condition, in which the revenues of Artemis were misused and priesthoods were sold as if at an auction: "each time a more cheerful announcement came from Rome." Some scholars simply have interpreted the sold priesthoods as the ones of Artemis Ephesia herself (Bremmer 2008: 47-48).[91] But this is to ignore the clause completely. Beate Dignas (2002: 151) listed births, birthdays, marriages, and victories among those cheerful announcements. We may add adoptions, recovery from illness, deifications, or benefactions and privileges awarded to the Ephesian community.[92] It is such events which encouraged the inauguration of new cults and priesthoods associated with the imperial household (Dörner 1935: 44; Price 1984: 103; Scherrer 1990: 89; Dignas 2002: 151 n.201; Buraselis 2008: 129 n.16).

The sale of these priesthoods is characterised by another clause: τό τε σχῆμα τῆς θεῖας οἰκίας προκάλυμμα ποιούμενοι (ll.13-14). The *I.Ephesos*-editors translated θεῖας οἰκίας as 'des Hauses der Göttin', that is her temple (cf. Schwarz 2001: 153). Yet, it seems most probable

[89] For the granting of more privileges the higher the purchase price of a priesthood, compare: *LSAM* 37, ll.24-30 (Priene, second century BC); Dignas 2002: 260.

[90] Buraselis (2008: 129) noted that "the main issue as stated by the governor was that the system of sale had developed in such a way as to result in a negative financial balance to the city" and that "the system had simply ceased to be sufficiently remunerative for the financial organism of the city which employed it." The relevant lines clearly relate to the treasury of Artemis. Moreover, the problem was not that a system had developed or ceased to be remunerative, but that magistrates had taken advantage of their control of the sacred treasury and the sale of priesthoods.

[91] Cf. Kirbihler 2019: 23 n.6: "Il existait de toute manière au sein de l'Artémision des auxiliaires du culte masculins appelés parfois prêtres qui sont mentionnés dans l'édit de Paullus Fabius Persicus (IvE 17-19)."

[92] Compare Maria Kantiréa's list (2007: 14): "Tous les événements de sa vie [i.e. of the emperor] civique, privée et familiale, ainsi des naissances, adoptions, mariages, maladies, décès, divinisation, et les étapes de sa carrière civile et militaire, comme l'ascension au pouvoir, l'accès à différentes fonctions, victoires, salutations, triomphes, devenaient, selon le cas, des occasions de joie ou de deuil pour tous les sujets."

to me that θεῖα οἰκία translates the Latin *domus divina* (cf. Price 1984a: 103; Dignas 2002: 150 n.198; Buraselis 2008: 129). As an indication of the imperial household, *domus divina* became especially common by the end of the second century AD. It had, however, a longer history stretching back to the reign of Tiberius (Fishwick 1991: 423-435, esp. 423-424; Hekster 2015: 25, 176-177). Its use in the edict of Persicus is, therefore, not unlikely.[93] Together with the more cheerful announcements coming from Rome introduced directly before, it seems to me that imperial familial celebrations were used as pretexts and that the passage associates corruption in the Artemision with priesthoods in honour of emperors or imperial family members.

We have seen that the priesthood for life of the twin sons of Drusus was likely instigated to celebrate their birth in AD 19. Following the same line of thought, Epaphras' priesthood for life of the god Augustus may have been associated with the deification of Augustus in AD 14. The priesthood for life of Sebaste Demeter Karpophoros held by Servilia Secunda is more difficult to connect with a specific event. Life-long tenures suggest financial transactions.[94] The epigraphic record of Ephesos only provides us with these three examples dating approximately to the two decades before Persicus' edict. But the observation that Persicus addressed these corrupt practices as the core problem jeopardising the solvency of Artemis' treasury – it is the first problem discussed and at considerable length – suggests the recurrent creation of such priesthoods in the Artemision. It seems likely that priesthoods of individual emperors and members of the imperial household had multiplied in the Artemision and that these profited the magistrates selling them as well as the people buying them at the expense of the Artemision.[95]

After this passage, several lines or an entire block seem to be missing. The next preserved fragment gives a directive in response to the corruption involving imperial priesthoods:

[93] Further in the edict (see pages 107-108), the Greek translation of *domus divina* is θεῖος οἶκος. Οἰκία and οἶκος were, however, very close in meaning: 'house' or 'household'. I thank professor Lene Rubinstein for directing me towards the usage of οἰκία and οἶκος.

[94] For the connection between life tenure of priesthoods and various financial transactions (sale of priesthood; private foundations; benefactions): Schwarz 2001: 305, 308; Dignas 2002: 256, 265; Horster 2012a: 9; 2012b; Frija 2012: 77-79; Wörrle 2014: 446 n.23; Giannakopoulos 2017.

[95] Beate Dignas (152-153) conluded that "from the governor's words it is clear that the sums derived from the sales of priesthoods were easily diverted by certain individuals and were lost to the sacred funds. Apparently, it was the city that profited from the auction-type sale. We can draw the conclusion that the profit went into public funds as opposed to sacred funds." Persicus seems quite clear, however, that Ephesian officials profited from the sale, not the *polis* treasury: ὡς ἑαυτοῖς λυσιτελεῖν νομίζουσιν (ll.10-11); πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον…πορισμὸν (ll.12-13).

[οὐ γὰρ χρὴ τοὺς τὰς ἱερωσύνας ὠνοῦντας τοιαῦτα ὑ]-
πομένειν ἀναλώ[ματα, ὅπως ἀξιωθή]σεται τῆς
παρὰ τοῦ δήμου [τειμῆς ἀεὶ ὁ εἰς αὐτ]ὴν ἐπιτηδείο-
τατος· ὑπέρμε[γα δὲ πόλεως χρέος διὰ τ]οῦ ἐπικρίμα-
τος τούτου πε[ρικόπτειν προσῆκο]ν· ἐπεὶ τὴν ἀ-
πόδοσιν τῶν χρη[μάτων δυσχερέ]α τῇ πόλει ἢ
παντελῶς ἀδύνατον ο[ἶδα, ἐὰν ἀπ]αριθμεῖν νῦν
ἀνανκάζηται, ἃ παρὰ τῶν ὠνησαμένων ἔλαβεν,
οὐδὲν πλέον παρέχεσθαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τὴν πόλιν
ἀρέσκει ἢ ἑκατοστὴν τῆς δεδομένης τότε τειμῆς
κατὰ τὴν Οὐηδίου Πωλλίωνος διάταξιν τὴν καὶ ὑπὸ
τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ συνφυλαχθεῖσαν·

[..] bear such cost[s,

(1) [in order that] it should always be the most suitable person [for it ...] from the *demos*; [it is, nonetheless, proper that the] immensely [great debt of the *polis* is eliminated] by this edict. Because [I know] that (5) the restitution of the mon[ey is either difficult] or completely impossible for the *polis*, [if] it is compelled to pay back now that which it received from the buyers, it is resolved that the *polis* allows the priests not more than a hundredth of the price originally given, (10) in accordance with the decree of Vedius Pollio which was also corroborated by the god Augustus.

(*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, ll.0-11; own translation)

As the first four lines are relatively fragmentary, it is best to initially focus on lines 5 to 11. If the emphasis in describing the problem was clearly on individuals' actions, Persicus' solution stressed the responsibility of the *polis*. Persicus acknowledges that not only was the treasury of Artemis in a deplorable state, but the *polis* was unable to provide restitution. A fragment of the edict preserving part of another directive provides a clue as to why this was the case:

[ὁμοίως μηδένα τῶν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέων ἢ τῶν ἐτησίων
ἀρχόν]τω[ν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀρέσκει]
χρήματα δανεί[ζεσθαι, εἰ] μὴ ὅσα ἐκ τῆς προσ[όδ]ου τ[ῆ]ς το[ῦ ἔ]το[υς
τούτ]ου ἀποδοῦνα[ι δύναται·] ἐὰν δέ τι[ς] τὴν τοῦ [ἐπ]ιό[ντ]ος
ἐ[νιαυ]-
τοῦ πρόσοδον ὑπο[θῆτ]αι, τὴν τοῦ διδομένου χ[ρ]ήματος πρᾶξι[ν]
δίδοσθαι τῷ δανιστῇ [ἀρέσκει.]

(48) [likewise I resolve that none of the priests of Artemis nor of the annual *archontes* on behalf of the public treasury] (49) borrow money, unless it can be paid back from the revenue of the running year; but if somebody pledges the

revenue of the year to come, I resolve that (50) the exaction of the given money is permitted to the creditor.
(*I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll.48-50; own translation)

Even though the identification of the subjects relies on a restoration, the preserved parts document Persicus' decision that it is not allowed to borrow any amount of money which exceeds the annual income, or else the magistrate is personally liable for the debts which can be reclaimed by the creditor (Dörner 1935: 23-24, 32, 47). In the directive that follows (*I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll.51-53; 18d, ll.1-2), Persicus addresses budgetary rules for the *polis*. It is thus likely that the restrictions on borrowing money also applied to *polis* magistrates. His intervention suggests that those in charge of the *polis* administration had been borrowing money, perhaps even pledging the income of the *polis* for following years (Schwarz 2001: 56).[96] Hence, Ephesian magistrates had not just embezzled money from the treasury of Artemis but had also put the public treasury into difficulties.[97]

While it is not explicitly stated to whom the *polis* should pay back the money received from the buyers of priesthoods, the only rightful owner of the money imaginable is the treasury of Artemis, which – as we have seen in the previous fragment – was emptied by *polis* magistrates. Persicus was aware that the amounts of money stemming from the sale of priesthoods and appropriated by *polis* magistrates could not simply be returned through a monetary transfer from the public treasury to the one of Artemis. It is for this reason that Persicus turned to a solution in relation to the other practice by which the sacred treasury was burdened: excessive expenditure on priestly perquisites. Buraselis (2008: 130 with n.20) has rightly pointed out that lines 8-9 have often been misread: παρέχεσθαι is translated as 'to pay back', but its actual meaning is 'to grant', 'to allow', or 'to promise', 'to offer'. The misreading

[96] This is in line with Persicus' introductory remarks that *archontes* should not only care about their own year in office, but about the long-term prosperity of their *polis* and province (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18a, ll.5-10; see pages 116-117).
[97] The restoration of *I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, ll.3-4, then, would make sense. Hertha Schwarz (2001: 155-160) argued against an interpretation of the edict, which sees Ephesos as a city in financial trouble or in debt (χρέος: *I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, l.3). Her arguments, however, seem to rely on a false juxtaposition of a city in financial trouble and a city governed by corrupt administrators (Schwarz 2001: 156: "Es drängt sich hier die Frage auf, ob Paullus Persicus nur sparen und den Haushalt sanieren will oder ob er allgemein die in Ephesos auftretende Korruption zu bekämpfen trachtet"). I do not see the two options as mutually exclusive. Schwarz's view does not do justice to the lines of the edict informing us that the *polis* was unable to make financial restitutions and that future revenues were being spent during annual magistracies. These lines indicate the existence of problems with the public budget of the *polis* exactly because of both maladministration and corruption.

may have been the reason for interpretations ranging from the complete abolition of the practice of selling priesthoods (Woolf 1994: 124; cf. Graf 2015: 53) to the removal of the priests from office accompanied by a severance pay amounting to one percent of the purchase price (Dörner 1935: 45; Dignas 2002: 152). Translating παρέχεσθαι as 'to promise' or 'to offer' helps to understand that Persicus put a limit on the amount of money the *polis* could offer the priests as priestly perquisites. This decision was a direct response to the corruption of the magistrates who had excessively allocated revenues to the priests, even as much as the priests wanted (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, ll.18-20; Müller 2016: 90). By referring to the decree of Vedius Pollio, Persicus made it clear that limitlessly allocating revenues to priests was against the regulations from the very start. The limit of a 1% allowance was set to make sure that expenditure on priestly perquisites would not burden the sacred treasury of Artemis again.[98] This directive fits well with the following directives presented in *I.Ephesos* Ia 18c-d, which are all budgetary rules to reduce and limit expenditure rather than repayment orders.

These passages of the edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus present a grim picture of Ephesos in the mid-first century AD. The accumulation of priesthoods of emperors and imperial family members formed a pretext for appropriation of sacred funds by magistrates. This practice was part of a general malaise of municipal government and financial administration. It appears that the treasury of Artemis was as much the victim of corruption and financial maladministration as the finances of the *polis*. The multiplication of priesthoods in honour of the imperial household was built on the bankruptcy of the *polis* and the embezzlement of the sacred revenues of Ephesos' patron goddess. The apparent success and flourishing of imperial cults – at least quantitatively speaking – masked a city in financial trouble and governed by corrupt magistrates.

Persicus' edict had specific implications for the development of imperial cults. In her study of civic priesthoods of emperors in Asia, Gabrielle Frija (2012: 45-52) observed a transformation from a multiplicity of priesthoods devoted to individual emperors and

[98] Buraselis (2008: 130) mistakenly thought that Persicus' measures would relieve the financial burden of the *polis*. His identification of *polis* and public treasury resulted in conclusions about civic finances, whilst the revenues stemming from the sale of priesthoods were supposed to go into the treasury of Artemis. Contrastingly, Beate Dignas (2002: 195-198) presents the sanctuary of Artemis and its administration as autonomous and independent from the *polis*: "Artemis ran her own credit institute" (199). The edict of Persicus, however, suggests that *polis* magistrates were in control of the sale of priesthoods and could allocate income to priests operating in the Artemision. There was thus a sacred-secular division in terms of budget and treasury; but both were under administrative control of *polis* officials.

members of the imperial household to chief-priesthoods of the collective *Sebastoi* and dated this transformation to the reigns of Claudius or Nero.[99] In another section, she attributes this transformation to an abstract process of institutionalisation: "[l]e développement des grandes-prêtrises s'explique par l'institutionnalisation du culte impérial, de moins en moins lié aux qualités particulières de tel ou tel empereur et de plus en plus indissociable du pouvoir impérial lui-même; au départ lié à la personne et au charisme personnel d'Auguste, le culte impérial s'est stabilisé en devenant un culte collectif des empereurs, ce qu'exprime la diffusion du titre de grand-prêtre" (Frija 2012: 75-76; compare Price 1984: 57-59). The seemingly gradual shift towards chief-priests of collective *Sebastoi* is understood as a mechanic and teleological process of institutionalisation or as accompanying "a predictable routinization" (Price 1984: 57). In these explanations, there is no room for human and institutional agents nor for individual decision-making.[100]

The mechanical explanation is insufficient for two reasons. First, the emphasis on the personality and charisma of Augustus and its routinisation under later Julio-Claudian emperors does not explain why a whole range of members of the imperial household – even babies – were honoured with their own cults and priesthoods. Second, routinisation of charisma and institutionalisation do not explain why, for instance, in another *polis* of the same province, Aizanoi, priests for life of individual emperors and members of the imperial household are recorded during the reigns of Claudius and Commodus but *archiereis* only appear in the epigraphic record toward the end of the second century AD.[101] Additionally, in following chapters, we will see that in Julio-Claudian Miletos there were no priesthoods of imperial individuals, but several *archiereis*. The mechanical explanation obscures both human and institutional agency and the variety of developmental trajectories of imperial cults.

[99] Individual priesthoods of imperial family members during the Julio-Claudian period: Frija 2012: nos.2-14, 22, 25, 28, 30, 52, 58-59, 67-69, 73, 75, 79-81, 86, 90-92, 94-95, 111, 115-116, 135b, 138-139, 142, 203-204, 208-209, 224-225, 242-243, 245-248, 250, 309, 315-317, 320, 322, 333-336, 341, 398-399, 407, 412-413, 420. Individual priesthoods of imperial family members in later periods did exist, however: Frija 2012: nos.16, 26, 53, 55-56, 76, 101, 118, 175, 220, 260-261, 314, 329, 370-371, 374, 400, 414, 423, 439. Apart from chief-priesthoods, there are also examples of priesthoods of collective *Sebastoi*: Frija 2012: nos.22, 44, 51, 57, 70-71, 78, 85, 102, 109, 197, 206, 243-244, 257, 269, 319, 330-331, 344, 348, 430, 436-437.

[100] In addition to institutionalisation or routinisation of charisma, studies have framed developments of imperial cults as homogenisation (Frija 2016: 161-164; Holler 2016) or unification (Kirbihler 2016: 399: "il est permis de supposer qu'après Tibère le culte municipal est devenu unifié.").

[101] See my interpretation of the developments of imperial cults in Aizanoi: Van der Linde 2021; cf. Frija 2012: nos. 412-417.

In Ephesos itself, the cults of individual members of the imperial household were hosted in the sanctuary of Artemis. The character of these cults – intrinsically linked to events involving the imperial dynasty – made them especially suitable for 'priesthood accumulation'. The increasing number of priests, all awarded with priestly shares, burdened the treasury of Artemis. In normal circumstances, the growth in expenditure could, however, have been compensated for by revenues from priesthood sales or the increase of their purchase price. But the money never reached the treasury. The edict of Persicus does not contain any evidence for the abolition of such sales, nor of the abolition of such priesthoods. It only provides a directive reinstating a maximum limit for the priestly perquisites. The priesthoods could continue to exist, as did their sale – only according to appropriate rules securing the solvency of the sacred treasury. However, if the unrestricted access to the treasury of Artemis was what allowed and motivated magistrates to sell numerous priesthoods at excessive prices and their fellow residents to buy them in the first place, the decision of a 1% limit on priestly perquisites made the purchase of such priesthoods much less attractive – even if their purchase price was simultaneously normalised.

This discussion grounds itself in an economic reading of the motives for acquiring and taking up priestly offices. This is exactly what the edict seems to suggest: it tells us that the ones buying the priesthoods were far from suitable candidates for these sacred offices, probably because they were unreliable or incapable of being given responsiblity for the sacred tasks expected from priests. Instead, they were primarily attracted by the revenues they were promised while holding positions with a high degree of social status and privilege. Given the relative lack of such priesthoods in the Ephesian evidence of later periods,[102] I propose that the financial limitations in the Persicus-edict resulted in their disappearance from the Artemision. Persicus thus limited the proliferation of imperial cults largely to current emperors. He must have felt politically empowered to do so.

[102] I am aware of two such priesthoods in the second century AD. An imperial priest appears in an honorific inscription set up by οἱ θύοντες τῷ Προπάτορι Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς for Titus Statilius Kriton, personal doctor and *epitropos* of emperor Trajan, who was ἱερέα Ἀνακτόρων καὶ Ἀλεξάν|δρου βασιλέως καὶ Γαίου καὶ Λουκίου | τῶν ἐκγόνων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (*I.Ephesos* III 719, ll.8-10; Frija 2012: no.118; on Titus Statilius Kriton and his family, see Thonemann 2011: 218-227). The curious combination of ἀνακτόρες, Alexander the Great, and Gaius and Lucius Caesar suggests that Kriton was priest of an individually initiated cult. In addition, a Latin dedication to Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus and the *domus divina* records an imperial freedman, [Ae]lius Aurelius A[.....], as *sacerdos Mat[idiae]* (Knibbe & İplikçioğlu 1984: 108). For both, there is no evidence connecting them with the Artemision.

In addition to providing an explanation for the disappearance of 'individual' cults in Ephesos, the edict suggests that the proliferation of such cults had nothing to do with the charisma of Augustus or of other members of the imperial family. The recurrent creation of priesthoods was primarily a smokescreen for personal gains and may have provided those priests with potential other privileges, such as exemption from public services and a double share as in the document of the Demetriasts, and with an opportunity to present themselves as loyal devotees of Rome and the imperial dynasty. Self-aggrandisment served as the primary catalyst for the multiplication of cults. Meanwhile, the famous treasury of Artemis was deprived of its contents.

The Augustan-period decision to locate the cult of Augustus in the Artemision and connect it with the treasury of Artemis Ephesia had developed into a crisis that turned imperial priests and magistrates against the Artemision. This was not because imperial cults were necessarily antagonistic towards other cults or specifically the cult of Artemis Ephesia. Nor was it because imperial cults were considered more important than traditional cults. The Sebasteion in the Artemision – that monument of Augustus' divine power – in combination with cults of individual family members weakened the sanctuary and its finances which Augustus had restored decades before. The pattern of priesthood accumulation in Julio-Claudian Ephesos threatened the abundant but not limitless treasury of Artemis . The edict of Persicus, however, ensured that the treasury was not emptied. Imperial cults – famously perceived as stabilising "the religious order of the world" and as constructing "the reality of the Roman empire" (Price 1984: 248) – were used in Julio-Claudian Ephesos as a veil to mask corruption, self-aggrandisement, and budgetary gymnastics which brought disorder to both the Ephesian community and the sanctuary of Artemis. Rather than offering stability and continuity, the practices associated with imperial cults could jeopardise the stability and continuity of those cults themselves. In the case of Julio-Claudian Ephesos, this happened as a result of the actions of people purporting to be the staunchest supporters of imperial power: the leading magistrates of Ephesos and the very priests of imperial cults. The ideological construction of imperial order offered the instruments for its own devaluation by the imperial order's professed supporters.

Social Relations and Imperial Cults in Julio-Claudian Ephesos

During the Augustan period, imperial agents, Roman citizens, and Italian settlers primarily appeared in Ephesos as sponsors of building projects and they were largely absent from magisterial and religious offices which were held by Ephesian citizens. In the previous section, we witnessed *polis* magistrates and priests of imperial family members playing a decisive role in the multiplication of imperial cults in the decades before the edict of Persicus. This section focuses on these *polis* magistrates and priests, their social role and relations in Julio-Claudian Ephesos, and the development of political institutions throughout this period. Given the significance of the Persicus-edict in the development of imperial cults in Ephesos and the scarcity of evidence for Julio-Claudian imperial cults after this edict, the section primarily concentrates on the evidence dating prior to this edict.

We do not know much about Julio-Claudian *archiereis*. The name of the ἀρχιερεύς in the Tiberian subscription is unknown. Another chief-priest, [...]ius Proculus likely carried the *tria nomina* but the date of the inscription is uncertain (*I.Ephesos* VI 2551c). Additionally, a woman of the *gens Servilia* was priestess for life in a document of the Demetriasts dating to around AD 19 (for Servilii in Ephesos: Kirbihler 2016: 332, no.198). The other two priests for life, Bassos and Proculus, may have been her relatives. Contemporary to the document of the Demetriasts, we find several men called Bassos in the Tiberian subscription-list: Publius Carvilius Ba[ssos] (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/2a, l.3), [Ba]ssos (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/4, l.7), Aulus Gerillanus Bassos (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/7, l.11), Lucius Cornelius Bassos, whose son was called Bassos as well (*SEG* 39.1176d, ll.9-10). In the early imperial period, Proculus too was a common name: apart from C. Ofillius Proculus – later C. Sextilius Proculus – the adoptive son of C. Sextilius Pollio (*SEG* 39.1176a, l.7; *I.Ephesos* II 402, l.6; 405a-b; 406; 407a-b; *I.Ephesos* VII.1 3092), a [Cu]rtius Proculus acted as ambassador of the *gerousia* to Tiberius Caesar in AD 12/13 (*SEG* 43.759, l.19). Additionally, we may mention […]ius Proculus as *archiereus* and *grammateus* of the *demos* (*I.Ephesos* VI 2551c). It is impossible to identify Bassos and Proculus with any of these men, but both were Latin names (Solin 2001: 192, 197). Moreover, all men with these *cognomina* held Roman citizenship and, as many of their non-imperial *gentilicia* suggest, were recent arrivals or descendants of Italians who had migrated to Ephesos.[103] Also [Ep]aphras,

[103] See Kirbihler 2016: 276-345, nos.51 (Carvilii), 64 (Cornelii), 69 (Curtii), 94 (Gerillani), 199 (Sextilii)). For Gerillani: Kirbihler 2016: 242-243; for Curtii: Kirbihler 2016: 247-255. Bassos and Proculus are recorded without

the priest for life of the god Augustus, probably had a *tria nomina* (*I.Ephesos* III 803).[104] It seems, therefore, that the only *archiereis*, for whom a date in the Julio-Claudian period and a name are certain, were Ephesian citizens. In contrast, priesthoods of imperial family members in the Artemision started to be held by Roman citizens between the end of the reign of Augustus and the edict of Persicus. During the early imperial period, we can recognise a similar tendency in the case of priests and priestesses of Artemis.[105] In addition, Roman citizens acted as ambassadors and gymnasiarchs of the *gerousia* – [Cu]rtius Proculus in AD 12/13 (*SEG* 43.759, l.19) and Lucius Cusinius in AD 30/31 (*SEG* 43.766, ll.20-22). Contemporarily, these offices were held by people of Greek descent such as Tiberius Iulius Heras in AD 29/30 (*SEG* 43.765) and Alexandros, son of Alexandros, in AD 31/32 (*SEG* 43.767).

The two most prestigious offices in Julio-Claudian Ephesos were the eponymous *prytany* and the *grammateia* of the *demos*. Few *prytaneis* are known from the period between the end of the reign of Augustus and the edict of Persicus and their dating is often uncertain. Despite uncertainties, the list of *prytaneis* between 17/16 BC and AD 48-50 provided by Kirbihler (2016: 408-409) shows that *prytaneis* with *tria nomina* were very rare before the edict of Persicus.[106] The evidence for *grammateis* of the *demos* during this period is even more

any indication of filiation in the document of the Demetriasts. It is possible that the *praenomina* and *gentilicia* of Bassos and Proculus were omitted or had been mentioned at the beginning of the document which is lost to us. This possibility is supported by the almost two hundred named persons in the Tiberian subscription which include no use of Latin names as *nomina simplicia* except for [Ἀ]λφηνός whose father was called Γάϊος (*SEG* 39.1176c, l.3; *LGPN* Va, s.v. Ἀλφηνός). Note that father and son used a Latin *praenomen* and *gentilicium* as individual names rather than a *cognomen*. Recently on Greeks and Latin names: Solin 2001, 2018; Rizakis 2019; on *nomina simplicia*: Rizakis 1996: 21-23; 2019: 247-250.

[104] *Praenomen* and *gentilicium* may have been lost on the stone. The length of the lines inscribed is uncertain: οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐτείμησαν [..]λ[- - -]|[Ἐπ]αφρᾶν… (*I.Ephesos* III 803, ll.1-2). It seems, however, likely to me that the man had a *tria nomina*, because no filiation follows his name. Compare Γάϊος Σορνάτιος Ἐπαφρᾶς, known from an undated fragment of a sarcophagus or urn (*SEG* 34.1149 = Knibbe & Engelmann 1984: 147). This is the only occurrence of the rare *nomen* Sornatius in Ephesos (Kirbihler 2016: 333, no.200).

[105] Of course, not all priests and priestesses of Artemis were Roman citizens. E.g. Apollonios Politicus the Younger (*SEG* 34.1121, l.4; *LGPN* Va, s.v. Πολιτικός); C. Iulius Atticus was ἱερεὺς Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτείρας Σεβαστοῦ γένους (*I.Ephesos* V 1265). In the Tiberian subscription-list, two priestesses are on record: one had a Latin name (Clodia: SEG 39.1176a, l.3; *LGPN* Va, s.v. Κλωδία), the other a Greek name (Tryphosa: *SEG* 39.1176h, l.11; *LGPN* Va, s.v. Τρυφῶσα); cf. Kirbihler 2019: 34.

[106] Kirbihler includes two prytanies of Roman citizens which appear in lists of *kouretes*. For the prytany of Curtia Postuma (*I.Ephesos* IV 1004), the mention of two *kouretes* – Tiberius Claudius Chryseros and Tiberius Claudius Apollonios (ll.4-5) – ascertains a date after AD 41. The dating of the prytany of Lucius Staedius Attalos is more difficult because no information about *kouretes* or cult attendants survives (*I.Ephesos* IV 1002A = Knibbe 1981: B46). The inscription appears below another list of *kouretes* (*I.Ephesos* IV 1002 = Knibbe 1981: B2), which could indicate a chronological proximity. This list is commonly dated to the Tiberian reign (*I.Ephesos* IV 1002; Rogers 2012: appendix 3; Kirbihler 2016: 409). It records Alexandros as *spondaules*, who also appears in *I.Ephesos* IV 1001 which includes a person called Tiberius Claudius Theogenes (*I.Ephesos* IV 1001, l.7). These indications for an approximate date suggest, therefore, again a *terminus post quem* of AD 41.

striking: no Roman citizens are recorded at all (Kirbihler 2016: 411-412). Also Claudia Schulte (1994: 15, 93) stated that Italian settlers and Roman citizens did not regularly appear as Ephesian magistrates before the Flavian period. The evidence for *prytaneis* and secretaries of the *demos* indicates that the regular appearance of Italian settlers and Roman citizens as *prytaneis* or *grammateis* of the *demos* dates to the reign of Claudius at the earliest.[107] In sum, on the one hand, *polis* magistracies in the same way as chief-priesthoods were primarily held by Ephesian citizens.[108] On the other hand, Italian settlers and Roman citizens were getting themselves involved with the cult of Artemis Ephesia, imperial cults in the Artemision, and with financial institutions such as the *gerousia*.[109]

Roman citizens and Ephesian families contributed together to the collective subscription under Tiberius. Its various fragments present us with 266 contributors, sometimes accompanied with their spouses and/or children. The value of their monetary contributions ranged from 2500 to 10 denarii (Kirbihler 2016: 438-447). Although we have no idea about the original number of contributors, the parts of the subscription that survive give us an insight into the social background of the contributors and the social structure of Ephesos under Tiberius. For about seventy contributors there is no indication of their identities. Kirbihler (2016: 241) has counted 104 *tria nomina* leaving us with 92 contributors with Greek names.[110] There are no men with imperial *praenomina* and *gentilicia*,[111] but the list includes two women called Iulia Ag[…] (*SEG* 39.1176c) and Iulia Atta (Engelmann 2000: 79, col.II). Notably, the former was an independent contributor, while Iulia Atta is mentioned as the primary contributor rather than her husband. Kirbihler (2016: 241-242) counted about thirty to forty individuals with the *tria nomina* who were certainly of Italian descent, because they did not

[107] Cf. Claudia Schulte (1994: 93; also p.15): "Grundsätzlich ist darüberhinaus festzuhalten, daß die römischen Bürger in der ephesischen Administration sowieso erst seit flavischer Zeit wirklich eine Rolle spielten, daß sie vorher also kaum die Gelegenheit dazu hatten, sich durch ähnliche spektakuläre Ämterlaufbahnen hervorzutun wie ihre peregrinen Kollegen."

[108] *Contra* Kirbihler (2016: 452): "Un changement se fait jour entre 20-15 a.C. et 15 p.C.: on note une évolution importante d'ordre politique avec l'entrée d'Italiens et citoyens romains affranchis dans la gestion des magistratures, en particulier la prytanie éponyme. Il n'y eut peut-être pas encore de secrétaire du Peuple originaire d'Italie jusqu'à Tibère." He made a similar statement on p.264.

[109] A sceptical reader might find that this conclusion is reliant on a rather narrow sample of priesthoods. The argument is, however, based on evidence for *archiereis*, imperial priests, *prytaneis*, and *grammateis* of the *demos*. Altogether, the sample amounts to about thirty magistracies and religious offices, amongst which Roman citizens only appear as priests and, exceptionally, as *prytaneis*.

[110] Two of them, [As]chlas and Hermas, were imperial slaves in service as *symbolarii* of the customs station in Ephesos: *I.Ephesos* V 1687/2a, ll.2-3; cf. Van Nijf 2008: 290, 308 (no.5d).

[111] In the list of Roman citizens and freedmen dating to 35 BC, we already find a C. Iulius C.l. Epaphroditos (Cooley 2019: 443).

carry a Greek *cognomen* or their recorded father was a Roman citizen. Following on from this, he suggested that the remaining sixty of the persons with the *tria nomina* were freedmen of Italian settlers or their descendants. However, in several cases, only part of the name survives, so that many of the *tria nomina* cannot with certainty be connected to either an Italian family or manumitted individuals. Only twenty-five to thirty persons appear with the *tria nomina* and a Greek *cognomen*.[112]

The number of 104 *tria nomina* out of 196 known names indicates a substantial contribution on the part of Italian settlers and freedmen to the subscription. Of eight families or individuals contributing the highest amounts five were likely holders of Roman citizenship (Table 1; *SEG* 39.1176a; Kirbihler 2016: 438). Together, these five families donated 14.000 denarii. If Kirbihler's (2016: 448) estimate of a total amount of circa 30.000 denarii is correct, they contributed close to half of the entire subscription.[113] The total contribution of the three Greek families donating the most amounted to 5000 denarii. Even though the total for these eight families is distorted by the overrepresentation of the Sextilii, the overall picture suggests that a few families were willing and able to contribute large amounts. Amongst these families, we find several people holding Roman citizenship – be they Italians, their descendants, or their freedmen (Kirbihler 2016: 449; *contra*: Knibbe *et al*. 1989: 208-209).

François Kirbihler (2016: 242) took the list of names as demonstrating the gradual integration of Italian settlers into Ephesian society.[114] The collective subscription shows

[112] The list of Roman citizens and freedmen of 35 BC demonstrates the presence of a considerable body of freedmen in late republican Ephesos. Parts of over ninety names have been preserved, of which 42 are specifically recorded as *libertus*, nine belonged to free-born Roman citizens, and two names lacked a filiation or status indicator (Cooley 2019: 439-449).

[113] Due to the fragmentary state of the inscription, we do not know how many donations are missing. But it seems certain that missing individual donations would not exceed the amount of 1500 denarii. Even if the total amount of the subscription was closer to 40.000 denarii, the five Italian families were still good for 35% of the subscription.

[114] This integration was, however, obstructed by marital laws. Elsewhere, Kirbihler (2009: 65) concluded that "des obstacles démographiques – la présence insuffisante d'Italiennes –, et juridique – le status pérégrin des Éphésiennes –, expliquent les unions avec des affranchies, phénomène semble-t-il assez fréquent à l'époque triumvirale et durant le premier siècle de l'Empire" (cf. Blanco-Pérez 2020: 7 n.20). Also in the subscription, there is very little evidence for intermarriages between Italian and Ephesian families: Q. Horte(n)sius Ampudianus Rufus married Horte(n)sia Procula, possibly his former slave (*SEG* 39.1176a, ll.13-14); Gaius Caesellius Seleukos married Caesellia, possibly his former slave (*SEG* 37.883b, ll.7-8). P. Vedius Cosmus married Avidia Tertia (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/1, col.I, ll.5-6); Cn. Cornel[ius] married Posilla (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/1, col.II, ll.10-11); M. Gerillanus Eros married Polla (*SEG* 37.883b, l.6); [.] Lollius Philomousos married Seia Prima (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/2, col. I, l.10). Another Philomousos whose *praenomen* and *gentilicium* are lost, married Gellia Prima (Engelmann 2000: 79 col.I, l.9) There are some exceptions: Lucius Cornelius Bassos married Zosime (*SEG* 39.1176d, ll.9-10); Iulia Atta had a Greek husband: Apol[l…] (Engelmann 2000: 79 col.II, l.1). Greek men also married Greek women: Metron, son of Menophilos, married Melitine (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/1, col.I, l.9); Kleandros, son of A[rtemidor]os,

Italians, freedmen, and Ephesian citizens together involved in a public act. What is noteworthy, however, is the specific character of this act. The subscription shows Italian settlers once again as financial sponsors. As we have seen, under Tiberius, residents with Roman citizenship started purchasing priesthoods in the Artemision and acting as ambassadors and gymnasiarchs of the *gerousia*. In the latter guise, they contacted imperial authorities to secure and increase privileges including ones benefitting the *gerousia*'s position vis-à-vis its debtors (Knibbe *et al*. 1993: nos.1-11, 113-122; Lewis 2000: 99-100). The notable change of the late Augustan and Tiberian reign was not the appearance of Italian settlers and Roman citizens as magistrates, but the expansion of their financial activities and influence into Ephesian institutions which, amongst other things, acted as credit institutions such as the *gerousia* and the Artemision.[115]

This expansion of the financial activity of Italian families contrasts with their relative absence from magisterial offices and chief-priesthoods. This seeming contrast opens up questions about Ephesian citizenship and rights of access to office as well as the relationship between Roman and Ephesian citizenship (Fröhlich & Müller 2005; Heller & Pont 2012; Cecchet 2017). The Ephesian epigraphic record does not reference the relative status of Ῥωμαῖοι among other groups of resident non-citizens.[116] By the start of the reign of Claudius, the *conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur* and the *qui in statario negotiantur* represented themselves as distinct groups in Ephesos using the Latin language (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3019, AD 43/44; 3025, AD 42/43; possibly *I.Ephesos* II 409, AD 44; *I.Ephesos* VII.1 3026, AD 42/43). The recent publication of an Ephesian list of Roman citizens dating to 35 BC (Cooley 2019: 439-449) and the fairly frequent occurrence of *tria nomina* with a Greek *cognomen* in the Tiberian subscription give the impression that most of the *conventus*-members in Ephesos

married [Ch]reste (*SEG* 39.1176d, ll.3-4); the husband of Isidote was called Straton, son of Epigonos (*SEG* 39.1176d, ll.7-8). Another exception: Menokritos, son of Aratos, married Paula (*SEG* 39.1176a, l.15). This couple donated one of the highest amounts: 1500 denarii.

[115] For the commercial and financial activities of Italian settlers in the second and first centuries BC: Kirbihler 2016: 169-215.

[116] A decree of 86/85 BC presents the grant of Ephesian citizenship to all ἰσοτελεῖς, πάροικοι, ἱεροὶ, ἐξελευθεροὶ and ξένοι who had taken up arms in defense of the city during the First Mithridatic War (*I.Ephesos* Ia 8, ll.43-48; Kirbihler 2016: 66-68). In the decree, we find Ῥωμαῖοι only as external actors, not as co-residents (*I.Ephesos* Ia 8, ll.1, 4, 9-10). Inscriptions from other Greek *poleis* do, however, record resident Romans among citizens and non-citizens: e.g. in first-century BC Priene (*I.Priene* 113, ll.37-39, 76-78; cf. Kirbihler 2016: 218-226; Zoumbaki 2017: 258-259, table 9.2).

were manumitted slaves of Italian families.[117] Since about the mid-first century BC, Roman citizens were allowed to hold double citizenship without losing the rights and privileges associated with Roman citizenship (Ferrary 2005: 68-70; Heller & Pont 2012: 13).[118] Nevertheless, it appears that freedmen of Roman citizens in Greek *poleis* were not so much considered Ῥωμαῖοι as being 'non-enfranchised resident foreigners' (Kantor 2015: 12-13). Active participation in municipal politics was even forbidden for freedmen according to the Visellian Law of AD 24 (Blanco-Pérez 2020: 14). For imperial freedmen or freedmen of Italian settlers resident in Ephesos, it would thus be close to impossible to acquire Ephesian citizenship or to hold magisterial offices and priesthoods.

Grants of *polis* citizenship depended on the approval of the local assembly (and council?) and could be exclusive – even for free-born Roman citizens (Gauthier 1974; Heller & Pont 2012; Cecchet 2017). But, for the fortunate, there were always exceptions. Christel Müller (2016: 283-284) has recently pointed out that the increasing appearance of Roman citizens as magistrates, *ephebes*, and members of a *gene* in early imperial Athens coincided with the (re-) emergence of the sale of Athenian citizenship and magistracies. These sales were not always represented as such:

> "En Orient, on a parfois du mal à faire le départ entre ventes à proprement parler, seuils censitaires et actes évergétiques résultant d'une promesse faite par l'intéressé à la collectivité qui l'honore. L'idéologie évergétique y est si prégnante qu'elle en est invasive, au point de masquer ce qui relève assurément de transactions financières pour des communautés toujours à la recherche de ressources et de particuliers en quête d'investissements lucratifs."
> (Müller 2016: 293)

Müller's observations go a long way to understand the exceptional prytany of C. Iulius Nikephoros, the freedman of emperor Augustus (*I.Ephesos* III 859A), and possibly that of C.

[117] François Kirbihler (2007) already noted the substantial presence of freedmen of Italian families in Ephesos. In contrast, Peter Scherrer (2001: 69-70; 2007) thought that imperial freedmen were the most influential members of the *conventus civium Romanorum* in Ephesos. Alternatively, Peter Herz (2003: 147-148) included Greeks who had been granted Roman citizenship in the *conventus*, but the Ephesian evidence provides very few attestations of imperial *gentilicia* other than the ones of imperial freedmen.
[118] Illustrating the former incompatibility: Cic. *Pro Caecina* 100; *Pro Balbo* 28-30; Nepos *Att.* 3.1-2.

Sextilius Pollio (*I.Ephesos* II 530). The prytany for life of the former suggests a financial investment, possibly in the form of a trust fund, likely in connection with the construction of the *prytaneion*. Equally, should we accept the identification of the *prytanis* named Pollio with C. Sextilius Pollio, his financing of major building projects would explain his exceptional prytany (see chapter 1).

It is in this context of restricted access to *polis* citizenship that we can understand both the infrequency of Roman citizens as Ephesian magistrates and the purchase of imperial priesthoods in the Artemision by individuals holding Roman citizenship. The infrequency of Roman citizens as magistrates and their contemporary appearance as imperial priests do not form a contradiction but the consequence of a common cause. The creation of cults and the installation of priesthoods in celebration of the imperial household in the Artemision was one of the few ways that Roman citizens could obtain Ephesian citizenship, expand their power and influence, and participate in Ephesian civic life other than through commerce and finance.[119] These imperial cults and priesthoods provided Roman citizens with opportunities of integration and positions of status and prestige, which were otherwise denied to them.[120]

The edict of Persicus narrates a flipside to the trade in imperial priesthoods: *polis* magistrates sold the priesthoods and would do so in a way which brought them personal gain. From the first century BC on, the most significant magistracy of the Ephesian *polis* was the *grammateia* of the *demos* (Schulte 1994: 45-47, 65-67; Dmitriev 2005: 275-280; Kirbihler 2016: 120-137). In her study of this magistracy, Claudia Schulte (1994: 40-47; cf. Kirbihler 2016: 115) distinguished four functions of the *grammateus* of the *demos*: 1) financial and administrative control over the *polis*; 2) erection of honorific monuments; 3) responsibility for public building projects; 4) political and legislative role as intermediary between the *boule* and *demos*. In light of the corruption and maladministration attested in the edict of Persicus, the financial responsibilities are of great significance. Unfortunately, Schulte's (1994: 40-41) sole piece of evidence consists of a passage in the Salutaris-foundation dating to AD 104 (*I.Ephesos*

[119] It is not possible to make any more specific identifications of what kind of Roman citizens we are dealing with, if any particular kind. However, it seems to me that freedmen could have been especially attracted to the purchase of priesthoods: they held Roman citizenship and were regularly involved in commercial activities, but lacked political and civic rights and, despite their Roman citizenship, their social status was comparatively low. In sum, they had all the motives to buy these priesthoods and to display their loyalty to the imperial household. Compare on freedmen in Ephesos and their efforts to improve their status: Blanco-Pérez 2020.

[120] Cf. Kantiréa 2011: 532: "Les nouveaux venus d'origine italienne, qui étaient encore à cette époque-là exclus de l'administration municipale, purent manifester leur presence dans la ville grecque en se lançant dans un secteur en pleine expansion et très à la mode: le culte impérial."

Ia 27, ll.297-304).[121] Given the exceptionality of that foundation, it seems warranted to be cautious as to making generalisations from it. Nevertheless, a striking parallel comes from mid-second century BC Miletos, where the secretary was responsible for arranging the sale of the priesthood of Eumenes II (*Milet* VI.3 1040, ll.3-6; Herrmann 1965: 99). It is, therefore, possible that in mid-first century AD Ephesos, the *grammateis* of the *demos* oversaw the sale of imperial priesthoods. Additionally, following the fourth of his functions, the secretary held magisterial control over decision-making processes; he could act as gatekeeper of proposals and motions of individual citizens (Kirbihler 2016: 120-137).[122] The combination of these functions made the *grammateus* of the *demos* the main protagonist in Ephesian public affairs. As such, he formed the natural correspondent and likely ally of Roman authorities, especially of the proconsul of Asia residing in Ephesos (Schulte 1994: 56-67). It was to the benefit of this official to keep the Roman authorities content and present Ephesos as well as himself as loyal and compliant subjects of the Empire.

In the epigraphic record of Julio-Claudian Ephesos, the loyalty of various *grammateis* of the *demos* to imperial power and its representatives is manifested in various ways. First, a few secretaries of the *demos* are recorded as simultaneously holding chief-priesthoods or other offices associated with imperial cults. Although the secretariat and the chief-priesthood do not appear to have been institutionalised double-offices,[123] two out of four Julio-Claudian *archiereis* known to us were at the same time *grammateus* of the *demos*.[124] In addition, a honorific monument possibly set up for a relative (wife?) of emperor Claudius records Alexandros Memnon as both secretary of the *demos* and *agonothetes* of the games of Sebastos (*I.Ephesos* II 261).[125] The observation that a single person acted simultaneously as

[121] In it, the *grammateus* of the *demos* is given 10.275 denarii, which was supposed to be used for distributions to Ephesian citizens by lot among the *ephebes*, *neopoioi*, staff-bearers (σκηπτούχοι) and 'purifiers' (καθαρσίοι).
[122] From the first century BC on, individual Ephesian citizens as initiators of proposals or motions were no longer mentioned in Ephesian decrees. Instead, the *grammateus* of the *demos* and the *strategoi* informed, or revealed information to, the *boule* and *demos* (εἰσφέρω or ἐνφαίνω: Rhodes & Lewis 1997: 366; Kirbihler 2016: 120-127). Kirbihler (2016: esp. 134, 136-137) characterised the secretary's mediating role primarily as one of targeted rejection of proposals which betrayed anti-Roman sentiments among the citizenry. There is, however, no support for this in the evidence.
[123] As may have been true in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander especially from the reign of Nerva on; see Frija 2012: 93, 152-153; nos.137, 141, 143-153, 155-161.
[124] Alexandros: *RPC* I 2618-2619; the anonymous *archiereus* in the Tiberian subscription: Engelmann 1987, no.1, ll.4-5; *SEG* 39.1176h, l.5. See also […]ius Proculus but the date of his office is uncertain: *I.Ephesos* VI 2551c; Frija 2012: no.133. Before imperial rule, Glaukon was both *grammateus* of the *demos* and chief-priest (*RPC* I 2570-2574).
[125] In late Augustan times, another *grammateus* of the *demos*, a son or grandson of Sopatros, is recorded as *basileus*. This 'kingship' may refer to a prestigious position in the *koinon*-organisation of Ionia (Herrmann 2002:

grammateus and imperial cult official could be the result of the available epigraphic evidence from Julio-Claudian Ephesos. Given his official responsibility, mention of the secretary is to be expected on honorific monuments, in public decrees, and on coins. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that imperial cult offices were the *only* other offices recorded alongside their secretariat. It is equally clear that both offices were held simultaneously rather than at various moments in a person's career. Even though this combination of offices was only on record for a few individuals, their very occurrence demonstrates the occasionally realised potential for a single individual to act as the most powerful official in both the *polis* administration and the organisation of imperial cults in the Artemision. Second, one of the functions of the *grammateis* of the *demos* entailed their responsibility for setting up statues, especially of emperors, imperial family members, and imperial officials (Schulte 1994: 41-43). In one case, however, the secretary of the *demos* Theophylos Glykon, son of Theophylos, grandson of Menekrates, erected a statue of Drusus Caesar in AD 4-14 on his own initiative whilst addressing the honorand as τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην (*SEG* 33.934). Finally, three Julio-Claudian *grammateis* of the *demos* were given the title of *philosebastos*.[126] Anna Heller (2017: 1, 15) has recently shown that there was no direct relationship between imperial priesthoods and this title. For Ephesos in particular, she observed that throughout the Roman imperial period only one out of 24 civic chief-priests was *philosebastos* (Heller 2017: 5).[127] Individuals with the title of *philosebastos* could have manifested their good-will, loyalty, and pious devotion towards the Roman emperor(s) by other means than an imperial priesthood: for instance, by providing for the establishment and maintenance of imperial cults through the financing of cult buildings, festivals, statues, processions, sacrifices, or other ritual activities, or through their personal connections with imperial power (Buraselis 2000: 101-108; Veligianni 2001: 68-76; Frija 2012: 204-208).

None of these expressions of loyalty vis-à-vis imperial power – holding the office of *archiereus*, setting up statues in honour of representatives of imperial power, or carrying the

esp. 695-702). Alternatively, the descendant of Sopatros was amongst the descendants of the heroic founder of Ephesos, Androklos: his descendants were called *basileus* and they were responsible for the sacrifices to Eleusinian Demeter (Strabo 14.1.3; Clinton 2014: 123-124, with n.33).

[126] Herakleides, son of Herakleides, grandson of Herakleides (*I.Ephesos* Ia 14, ll.9-12; last decade of first century BC); Apollonios, son of Menogenes (*I.Ephesos* III 614c; AD 35-45); Alexandros Memnon, son of Artemidoros (*I.Ephesos* III 261; AD 41-54).

[127] In contrast, numerous *asiarchai* in Ephesos are recorded as *philosebastos* (Heller 2017: 5, 16-17). These *koinon* officials, commonly though somewhat controversially identified with the chief-priests of the *koinon* of Asia, do naturally only appear after the first *koinon* cult was established in Ephesos around AD 88/89.

title of *philosebastos* – was a monopoly of *grammateis* of the *demos*.[128] Nonetheless, at least six of the thirteen attested Julio-Claudian secretaries of the *demos* expressed their loyalty to the imperial dynasty in one or more of these ways.[129] Four secretaries are known from Augustan coins, on which there is little space to record anything in addition to the *grammateia* apart from the abbreviated mention of their chief-priesthood (Aristeas: *RPC* I 2575-2580; Memnon: *RPC* I 2581-2584A; Aristion: *RPC* I 2599-2602; Alexandros: *RPC* I 2613-2619). Equally, some of the inscriptions are fragmentary, and expressions of devotion or loyalty may have been recorded in the lacunae.[130] The number of six secretaries of the *demos* representing almost half of the attested Julio-Claudian *grammateis* is only a bare minimum.

Overall, we can deduce a close relationship between the most prominent *polis* magistracy and imperial cults in Ephesos. During the Julio-Claudian period, several secretaries of the *demos*, as leading officials overseeing political and legislative decision-making, were, simultaneously, directly involved in the imperial cults of the Artemision as *archiereus* or manifested their loyalty to imperial power through honorific statues and taking the title of *philosebastos*.[131] These magistrates had good reasons to allow and the official opportunity to become involved in the creation of new imperial cults and the sale of associated priesthoods. These magistrates and the buyers of priesthoods likely recognised that their shared interest in these religious manifestations of loyalty to imperial power could provide financial benefits.

Such acts of self-aggrandisement could be viewed as indicative of a general process of oligarchisation during the Julio-Claudian period. Although François Kirbihler (2016: 103-149) has argued that this process was actively supported by occasional imperial interventions, the

[128] Lucius Cusinius as *philosebastos* and *philokaisar* (*I.Ephesos* III 716, ll.7-10; Kirbihler 2005); the *prytanis* Hieron Aristogiton as *philosebastos* (*I.Ephesos* VI 2033). Also Ephesian collective bodies such as the *boule*, *demos*, *gerousia*, and the *Kouretes* presented themselves in public as *philosebastos/philosebastoi*. Understanding the title as reward or appreciation of continuous expressions of honour towards the imperial household make sense of the use of *philosebastos* for such bodies. For the earliest examples of *boule* and *demos* as *philosebastos/-oi* (*I.Ephesos* III 614b-c; *I.Ephesos* II 449; *I.Ephesos* IV 1024, l.1; *I.Ephesos* Ia 27, l.4); for the *Kouretes* as *philosebastoi*: Rogers 2012: 158-162.

[129] I have used the list of Ephesian *grammateis* of the *demos* as published by Kirbihler (2016: 411-412). Asklepiades Tryphon is, however, not recorded as secretary of the *demos* (*I.Ephesos* V 1574). C. Iulius Didymus was secretary twice, but I have counted him only once (*SEG* 34.1121).

[130] In *I.Ephesos* VI 2018, l.4, for instance, *philosebastos* is restored as a title for the son or grandson of Sopatros. I have not included him in the number of secretaries known to have carried this title.

[131] One might object that the honorary title of *philosebastos* was bestowed upon an individual by the *boule* and *demos* and, therefore, does not constitute evidence for the deliberate representation of the secretaries. Even so, given the range of possible honorary titles attested in inscriptions in Ephesos and throughout Asia, the very grant of this specific title to a selection of individuals indicates that these secretaries of the *demos* had proven their loyalty to imperial power in one way or another. The bestowal of *philosebastos* may not have been an individual's choice but acting in a manner deserving of this title surely was.

examples of public decrees given by Kirbihler in which the *grammateus* of the *demos* and the *strategoi* inform, or reveal information to, the *boule* and *demos* do not provide convincing evidence.[132] Kirbihler (2016: 137-141) also suggested that the *boule* appropriated the legislative and political power from the popular assembly, especially from the end of the reign of Tiberius on. This view is primarily supported by the increasing mention of both the *boule* and *demos* – instead of the *demos* alone – in the largely formulaic language of honorific monuments.[133] Table 2 shows that the *boule* became more frequently represented on honorific monuments from roughly the the reign of Tiberius on. Public decrees from the same period, however, record the *demos* as the active body ratifying decrees and *probouleumata* or approving motions.[134] The earliest Ephesian enactment and motion formulae which include the *boule* appear on the funerary monument of Laevia Paula and M. Antonius Albus, which can be dated to around AD 35-45.[135] However, with these inscriptions, we are still in the

[132] "La reprise de tous les témoignages semble prouver q'il y eut une politique constante ou dominante des Romains de diminution du pouvoir populaire, qu'il s'agisse de la Thessalie, de la Macédonie, de l'Achaïe, de la Crète, de la Bithynie, enfin de l'Asie et de la Lycie. L'introduction dans la cité d'Éphèse de critères censitaires pour l'accès aux fonctions, mais aussi d'un principe de restriction du droit de proposition des décrets favorise l'idée d'un certain interventionnisme romain" (148). I will not discuss the alleged introduction of census criteria, as Kirbihler (2016: 129-133) supports this view only with reference to a passage in Cicero's *Pro Flacco* (18.42-44) concerning the *polis* of Temnos and to a passage in Appian's *Mithridates* (38.150) presenting measures taken by Sulla in Athens. I do not see any reason to take such information as applicable to Ephesos.

[133] In addition, Kirbihler (2016: 138) pointed towards the characterisation of two *kouretes* – Alexandros, son of Isidoros, and one whose name has not been preserved – specifically as *bouleutai* and proposes that they were members of the *boule* for life (*I.Ephesos* IV 1003-1004). *I.Ephesos* IV 1003 is too fragmentary to date properly. The mention of Tiberius Claudius Chryseros and Tiberius Claudius Apollonios in *I.Ephesos* IV 1004 provides a *terminus post quem* in AD 41. Kirbihler (2016: 139) also suggested that Ephesian magistrates were no longer simply elected but, instead, had to pay a sum of money à la Roman *summa honoraria*. The evidence he cites concerns, however, priestesses of Artemis, and therefore has nothing to do with the way *polis* magistrates were appointed.

[134] ἐκ τοῦ κυρωθέντος ψη[φί]σματος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ (*I.Ephesos* Ia 14, ll.7-8, late first century BC); [π]ροκεκυρω[μέν]α ψηφίσματα ὑπὸ τοῦ δή[μου] (*I.Ephesos* VI 2018, ll.8-9; AD 4-14); δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι γενέσθαι καθότι προγέγραπται (Engelmann 1987, no.1, l.5; twenties AD). In *I.Ephesos* IV 1383, l.1, roughly dated to the early imperial period, the subjects have been restored as the *boule* and *demos*: [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δ]ήμῳ (Mayer 2003: 79). However, the suggested length of the inscribed lines is based on exactly this restoration: a restoration as [ἔδοξεν τῷ δ]ήμῳ seems equally possible to me.

[135] Δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ φιλοσεβάστοις (*I.Ephesos* III 614B, ll.21-22); ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ (*I.Ephesos* III 614C, l.2); δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ (*I.Ephesos* III 614 C, ll.26-27). In the inscription documenting the funerary honours for Albus, it is stated that he is to be buried in the tomb of his wife: τεθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ προεψηφισμένῃ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτου ἐνταφῇ (*I.Ephesos* III 614C, ll.24-26). His wife had deceased at an earlier time, when Dionysios, son of Menandros, grandson of Poseidonios was prytanis (*I.Ephesos* III 614B, ll.6-7). The same Dionysios was *prytanis* of the *polis* when he set up a statue in honour of his own benefactor, the former proconsul of Asia, C. Vibius Rufinus (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3023). Rufinus was proconsul of Asia in AD 36/37 (Vogel-Weidemann 1982b: 290-291; Syme 1983: 195-196; *contra*: Vogel-Weidemann 1982a: no.49, 362-369). Therefore, the funerary honours for Laevia Paula approximately date to AD 36/37, while those for her husband date to the period thereafter: Kirbihler (2016: 409) suggests a date of AD 35-45 for the commemorative inscription honouring Albus.

honorary sphere: the first non-honorific decree in which the *boule* appears together with the *demos* in enactment and motion formulae dates to the end of the first century AD (*I.Ephesos* II 449; cf. *I.Ephesos* Ia 27, ll.1-8; *I.Ephesos* V 1024, ll.1-2). Julio-Claudian decrees do not attest a general "diminution du pouvoir populaire" (Kirbihler 2016: 148). They do, however, demonstrate an increasing involvement of the Ephesian *boule* in the bestowal of honours on imperial officials, especially proconsuls of Asia, and prominent Ephesian benefactors and dignitaries (Table 2). The enactment and motion formulae in the decrees honouring Laevia Paula and M. Antonius Albus also present the first application of *philosebastos/-oi* to both the *boule* and *demos*. In the years running up to the mid-first century AD, the Ephesian council, if not controlling decision-making processes, appears to be increasingly deferential to the representatives of imperial power, and high-status men and women of Ephesos.

Although the various decrees and honorific inscriptions provide hardly any direct evidence with respect to imperial cults, these political developments relate to the contemporary development of imperial cults. Under Tiberius, a few statue bases of imperial family members and a collective subscription possibly intended for emperor worship were accepted by the *demos*. They do not mention the *boule* and there is little to suggest that emperor worship was rooted in an increasingly oligarchic society in which the citizen assembly was losing influence and power. The edict of Persicus itself provides a seemingly contrary perspective. In the directive in which Persicus introduced the 1%-limitation imposed on priestly perquisites (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, ll.0-11), he states:

> διδόναι δὲ τι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἢ πάλιν ἐν μέρει παρ᾽ αὐτῆς λαμβάνειν οὐκ ἀρέσκει μοι.
>
> But I resolve that the priests do not give anything to the *boule* nor that, in their turn, they receive anything from it.
>
> (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, ll.11-13; own translation)

This decision of Persicus must be read in relation to the problems surrounding the sale of priesthoods and the allocation of excessive amounts of priestly perquisites as well as his decision to reinstate a limit to those priestly shares.[136] Given this relationship, the decision

[136] Throughout the edict, Persicus introduces new directives after a vacant space with ὁμοίως: for example, immediately after the decision concerning the *boule* and priests (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, l.13; cf *I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll. 46,

must have been intended to stop corrupt practices. The measure itself suggests that money had been passing between priests and the council – or particular council-members (Orth 1989: 54). It appears, then, that, along with *polis* magistrates, members of the *boule* had contributed to the corruption and unjust appointment of priests. It is possible that they received money in return for their influence in appointing those candidates who had offered the highest fees.[137]

We have seen before that Persicus complained about the appointment of imperial priests who were unworthy of the responsibilities of the priesthoods: εἶτα οὐκ ἐγλέγονται τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, ὧν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὁ πρέπων ἐπιτεθήσεται στέφανος (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, ll.16-18; see above). In the fragmentary lines preceding Persicus' decision to limit priestly perquisites (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, ll.0-4), we find the same word for 'most deserving' in the nominative singular - ἐπιτηδειότατος (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, ll.2-3). The same line starts with παρὰ τοῦ δήμου (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, l.2). Whether the proposed restoration of the lines is correct or not, these words suggest that in presenting his solutions to the problem of corruption, Persicus associated the most deserving person with the *demos*. In combination with the restrictions imposed on transactions between the *boule* and the priests, a picture emerges in which Persicus restored the role of the *demos* in the selection-process of imperial priests to ensure that the best candidates were selected (Dörner 1935: 45; Orth 1989: 55).[138] These lines of the edict suggest that the *demos* had been bypassed in the selection-process of imperial priests in the Artemision. This process had been monopolised by the *boule* and *polis* magistrates.

The edict of Persicus presents solid evidence that individual residents used their power and wealth for the benefit of a tiny segment of the Ephesian community. Such practices may be considered as truly oligarchic. Because it is the only such piece of evidence, it seems warranted not to absorb these practices of corruption into a universal and teleological narrative of oligarchisation. Instead, I will try to understand these practices on their own terms. Three observations may be helpful in this respect. First, the edict of Persicus shows that the *demos* appears to have lost its voting power in the specific case of the selection of imperial

48, 51, 66; 18c, ll.18, 22; 18d, ll. 2, 4; Schwarz 2001: 158). Furthermore, these lines are connected with the previous lines by δὲ (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, l.11). It is, therefore, clear that they do not present a new directive but a measure that formed part of the directive responding to the corruption involving the sale of priesthoods.

[137] There was, of course, considerable overlap between *polis* magistrates and *boule*-members.

[138] This picture also suggests that the sale of priesthoods and democratic selection were not, by definition, mutually exclusive.

priests – not even of chief-priests. It does not testify to an all-encompassing reduction of the political and legislative influence of the Ephesian assembly. Second, the *demos* had already presented itself as favourable to imperial power in its erecting imperial statuary, in its approval of an Augustan cult, and in its concern with violations of the Tiberian subscription, which was likely in support of a memorable act of emperor worship in the twenties AD. The rationale to bypass the *demos*, therefore, had little to do with an anti-imperial sentiment on the part of the citizen assembly. As such, it supports my earlier interpretation that the regular sale of imperial priesthoods was mostly driven by motives of personal economic profit, self-aggrandisement, and favourable connections with imperial authorities. The social background of the people selling and buying those priesthoods demonstrates that these sales of imperial priesthoods enabled Roman citizens, resident in Ephesos and lacking Ephesian citizenship, to acquire prestigious positions increasing their rights, privileges, and status in the Ephesian *polis*. Third, the directive of Persicus, in which he supports the restoration of voting power to the *demos* with respect to the selection of these priests, was not a sign of imperial support for direct democracy under emperor Claudius (*contra*: Orth 1989: esp. 55-59), nor was it an imposition of "Roman ideas of good practice" (Woolf 1994: 124). Rather, it was a measure contributing to the financial solvency and recovery of the Artemision and the *polis* and to the restoration of social order in the capital of *provincia Asia*. That the empowerment of the *demos* would be instrumental in achieving this may best be understood as a side-effect or possible concession to the Ephesian assembly rather than as the primary concern of Paullus Fabius Persicus or imperial authorities.

This section has shown that Ephesian citizenship and the right of access to political influence and magistracies played a crucial role in the development of imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Ephesos. Prestigious positions such as the prytany, the *grammateia* of the *demos*, and the *archiereia* were annually appointed by vote. Only in exceptional cases was it possible to grant Ephesian citizenship and access to the prytany to non-citizen benefactors such as C. Iulius Nikephoros, freedman of emperor Augustus, and possibly C. Sextilius Pollio.[139] Most of the considerable population of non-citizen residents holding Roman citizenship were excluded from the community of *politai* and lacked basic citizen rights and privileges. The accumulation of imperial priesthoods in the Artemision developed from this considerable body of affluent

[139] The prytany of Tiberius Caesar also suggests that the award of the eponymous magistracy to non-citizens was a reciprocal act in thanks for covering the costs of the office (*SEG* 48.1374).

residents holding Roman citizenship eager to enhance their status and power in the Ephesian community. The institutionalisation of those priesthoods and the *polis* control of the sacred budget enabled a corrupt scheme in which the sale of priesthoods celebrating the imperial household became a means to funnel Artemis' revenues into the pockets of private individuals. This collaboration between a political class of influential citizens selling priesthoods and an economic class of affluent non-citizens buying priesthoods constitutes a concrete example of oligarchic practice. Some Roman citizens came to hold newly created imperial priesthoods and may have been awarded Ephesian citizenship. Still, they do not appear as secretaries of the *demos*, key to the running of the Ephesian *polis*, until the Flavian period. Thus, in Julio-Claudian Ephesos, the multiplication of imperial cults was not so much resulting from oligarchies-in-being as it was instrumental in, and symptomatic of, the efforts of residents holding Roman citizenship to establish themselves as respected and influential figures in Ephesian society. The purchase of imperial priesthoods was as much enabled by the wealth of these residents as encouraged by their exclusion from the citizen community and sources of political power.[140]

The epigraphic evidence for priesthoods of imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Ephesos is relatively scarce yet informs us about two key developments. First, following the establishment of a cult of Augustus, imperial cults continued to be based in the precinct of Artemis Ephesia. Second, in addition to the chief-priests, who held primary responsibility for cultic activities venerating the ruling Roman emperor, priesthoods of former emperors or members of the imperial household became part of the priestly community operative in the *temenos* of Artemis. These priesthoods differed from the chief-priesthood not only in their subjects of veneration: their tenure was for life, their mode of appointment involved financial investments, and their holders included Roman citizens. These priesthoods played an important role in the interactions of the leading Ephesian *politai* and affluent Roman residents.

[140] It is possible that it was during and after the reign of Claudius that this segregation of, and collaboration between, a political and economic class could be undone and different forms of power could converge and concentrate into the hands of few individuals and families; for instance, through legitimate mixed marriages under both Roman and Ephesian law the children from which could inherit both Roman and Ephesian citizenship. The increased frequency of grants of Roman citizenship to Ephesian notables under Claudius contributed to this possibility.

Much of our information regarding these priesthoods stems from the edict of Persicus. It is an historical document which is relatively exceptional among the evidence for imperial cults for at least two reasons. First, it constitutes a rare piece of epigraphic evidence seemingly countering conventional ideological narratives of honour, privilege, philanthropia, loyalty, order, and harmony advertised by *polis* communities, their administrations, and imperial authorities. Such narratives frequently conceal more than they reveal. Its exceptionality, however, does not mean that its contents attest exceptional events.[141] The proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus ordered the inscription and its display.[142] It served as a reminder to the Ephesian community of the misconduct and maladministration of Ephesos' leading figures and, at the same time, of imperial justice and authority restoring order, harmony, and stability.[143] The edict never explicitly specifies the priesthoods forming part of the corruption. This lack of specificity is easily explained since the problems Persicus dealt with entailed a general practice involving the sale of imperial priesthoods regardless of the specific member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty venerated.

In the edict, we find that the administrative control of Ephesian *polis* magistrates over public and sacred finances enabled them to breach the legal and financial borders protecting the sanctity of the Artemision and its treasury. While the presence of non-citizen foreigners as cult officials in the Artemision went back a long time,[144] the sale of imperial priesthoods to the highest bidders and the siphoning off of Artemis' income to the buyers of those priesthoods and the *polis* magistrates themselves certainly did not. The enterprise of expanding the number of imperial cults would – following the axiom *the more, the better* – appear as benign actions vis-à-vis the development of imperial cults. Yet, once the foundations of this enterprise came to depend on the profane robbery of the treasury of Artemis Ephesia

[141] A similar argument is presented by Hertha Schwarz (2001: 24-27, 363; cf. Zuiderhoek 2009: 45-47). She discussed the relative absence of epigraphic evidence for the financial administrations of Greek *poleis* under Roman rule and argued against the view that autonomous municipal finances did not exist. Indications for corruption and financial maladministration in Bithynian *poleis* can also be found in some of the letters of Pliny the Younger: e.g. Pliny *Ep*. X.17a (Prusa), 18 (problems with financial accounting), 37 (Nikomedia), 39 (Nikaia), 43 (Byzantion), 116 (cash distributions).

[142] *I.Ephesos* Ia 18a, ll.3-4: ὃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ προέθηκ[εν καὶ πρὸ ε᾽ Καλ.]| Ἀπρειλίων ἀναγραφῆναι ἐν στήλλῃ προε[νοήθη·]. Fragments of at least three copies, two in Latin and one in Greek, have been discovered in the theatre of Ephesos (plan 1: no.2). This may have been the original location of the inscribed steles.

[143] Persicus stressed that his decision is a difficult but necessary one: διόπερ φορτικὴν μὲν ἐπίγνωσιν ἀνεδεξάμην, | ἀναγκαίαν δὲ τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Ἐφεσίων πόλει (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18a, ll.18-19). The proconsul almost seems to apologise for his edict.

[144] For non-Ephesian *megabyxoi*, see Strabo 14.1.23: ἱερέας δ᾽ εὐνούχους εἶχον οὓς ἐκάλουν Μεγαβύζους, καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν μετιόντες ἀεί τινας ἀξίους τῆς τοιαύτης προστασίας, καὶ ἦγον ἐν τιμῇ μεγάλῃ.

at the behest of self-aggrandisement, not only did it create intrinsic financial limitations to those benign actions – because of the impoverishment of the sacred treasury –, but it also turned itself into a practice malignant vis-à-vis the same imperial cults – because of the selection of undeserving priestly candidates. The quantitative growth of imperial priesthoods encompassed their qualitative devaluation. The corrupt individuals involved in the trade of imperial priesthoods made "the appearance of the divine household their pretext",[145] and, in doing so, besmirched the imperial household and the religious celebrations of it. Persicus ordered the alteration of the financial structure on which the multiplication of imperial priesthoods in the Artemision depended. As a representative of imperial power, he intervened to cut back on acts of reverence for and loyalty to imperial power in order to restore the image of the imperial household and maintain the financial stability of the Artemision.

The moment of crisis to which the edict attests came as a result of the development of imperial cults and their priesthoods in the Artemision in combination with the influx of Italian settlers and freedmen. The imperial priesthoods allowed resident Roman citizens to 'buy' their way into influential and prestigious positions in one of the core institutions of the Ephesian community, while at the same time presenting themselves as loyal to imperial power. In their turn, Ephesian citizens in the upper echelons of the *polis* administration used this demand for such priesthoods for their self-enrichment while keeping those Roman citizens away from their political and legislative institutions. Acting in their own interests, the differentiated political and economic classes found an opportunity in allowing each other a bit of their own source of power: leading Ephesian citizens could appropriate the revenues of the sales of imperial priesthoods and affluent Roman citizens could obtain positions of status and influence. The imperial priesthoods in the Artemision were, thus, instrumental in and symptomatic of a collaboration between separated yet converging political and economic classes. They demonstrate not only the integration of Greek communities and elites into the structures of the Roman Empire (Herz 2011), but also, in the specific context of Julio-Claudian Ephesos, the integration of rich Roman residents into the upper strata of Ephesian society. I stress the particularity of 'Julio-Claudian Ephesos': the city was unusual, though perhaps not exceptional, in the presence of a considerable community of Roman residents; secondly, the Julio-Claudian period was unusual since later, once the different wealthy classes had

[145] *I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, ll.13-14: τό τε σχῆμα τῆς θείας οἰκίας προκάλυμμα | ποιούμενοι.

converged into an established ruling group, the proliferation of imperial priesthoods was no longer necessary. The integral connection between the structural yet temporary exclusion of Roman residents from Ephesian citizenship and the accumulation of imperial priesthoods in the Artemision provides another explanation – beyond the measures of Persicus – why this accumulation was bound to come to a halt once the obstacles to Ephesian citizenship were lifted. The further multiplication of imperial cults would be played out not so much – or at least not only – on the level of Ephesian society but increasingly on the level of the *koinon* of Asia (see Epilogue).

So far, the concluding remarks have largely been a history of citizen and non-citizen upper classes. We have seen, however, that the citizen assembly initiated statues of imperial family members, decreed a collective act of emperor worship, and likely voted for who was to become *archiereus*. It is possible that the *demos* commonly had a say in the selection of the other imperial priests too, but that its voting power was bypassed as the corrupt practices became established. The presence and development of imperial cults in the Artemision were, therefore, not solely a consequence of upper-class convergence. While the latter was mostly influential on the temporary phenomenon of priesthood accumulation, the chief-priesthood would continue to exist in Ephesos for decades to come (Frija 2012: nos. 117, 119-125, 127-135). A sceptical reader could point out that this view links the dynamic part of the development of imperial cults to those other priesthoods and supports the notion that historical change comes primarily as a consequence of the actions of local elites. But such a point fails to recognise the 'negative' element apparent in the influence of the *demos*. First, if the imperial priesthoods were instruments and symptoms of the integration of non-citizen Roman residents, then the need to devise alternative ways of integration resulted from the Ephesian citizen community excluding them from citizenship and magistracies. Second, if the imperial priesthoods came to be the subject of an upper-class scheme of corruption, then it was exactly the democratic control and involvement of the citizen assembly in the selection-process, which created the need for creating priesthoods beyond its control.

The history of imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Ephesos is not merely local history. It highlights a potential of the phenomenon 'Roman imperial cult', distinct from other cults prevalent in the Roman Empire. The cults' direct connection with imperial power is their most distinctive element. But as the people holding imperial power were living beings who were born, had a birthday, were adopted, became victorious, got married, begot children and

grandchildren, got sick and recovered, ascended to the imperial throne, offered benefactions and tax-exemptions, took away privileges, were forced into exile or murdered, and passed away, there was an almost endless stream of possible reasons for inventing, adapting, and cancelling religious celebrations – an almost endless stream of liminal and transitional moments, to which religious significance could be attributed. This is markedly different from traditional cults which were characterised by long ingrained and routinised ritual practices. Not surprisingly, some of the imperial cults and priesthoods are unlikely to have lasted for a long time – we never hear from the sons of Drusus as new Dioskouroi again. More so than any other cults, the imperial cults in honour of the imperial household, therefore, offered the possibility for religious turn-over. Such a flow of opportunities could easily result in the instrumentalisation of imperial cults that carried the potential of religious devaluation. The realisation of this potential in Julio-Claudian Ephesos required an imperial response, which, as I argue in the Epilogue, had repercussions in the developments of imperial cults beyond Ephesos.

Epilogue: *Hymnoidoi* and *Koinon* Cults of Asia

After Persicus' treatment of the imperial priesthoods, his edict issues several more directives intended to limit the expenditure of the *polis* and to protect the sacred treasury (*I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll.46-51; 18c, ll.13-22; 18d, ll.1-4). Most directives cover a few lines, but one stands out due to its length. This directive is concerned with *hymnoidoi*:[146]

…ὁμοίως τοὺς ὑ-
μνῳδοὺς ἀρέσκει, εἰς οὓς οὐκ ὀλίγον μέρος τῶν τῆς πόλεως
ἀναλίσκεται προσόδων, τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ταύτης ἀπολυθῆ-
ναι, τοὺς ἐφήβους δέ, ὧν καὶ ἡ ἡλικία καὶ ἡ ἀξία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ
μαθεῖν ἐπιτηδειότης τοιαύτηι ἁρμόζει μᾶλλον λειτουρ-
[γ]ίᾳ, ταύτην χωρὶς ἀργυρίου παρέχεσθαι τὴν χρείαν. ἵνα
[μ]έντοι <μὴ> δόξω πᾶσιν τοῖς πανταχοῦ ὑμνῳδοῖς τοῦτο πε-
[π]οιηκέναι τὸ πρόκριμα, ὑπεξαιροῦμαι τοὺς ἐν Περγάμωι
αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν Σεβαστὸν ὑμνοῦντας ἐν τῶι ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσ[ί]-
ας καθιερωμένωι τεμένει, ὧν ἡ πρώτη σύνοδος οὐκ ἐπίμισθ[ος]
συνήχθη, ἀλλὰ ἐθελούσιος καὶ χωρὶς ἀργυρίου· διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς
Σεβαστὸς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ψηφισθέντα φιλάνθρωπα αὐτοῖς
εἰς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνων γεννωμένων ἐτήρησε, ἐξο-

[146] For consistency, I use ὑμνῳδός/*hymnoidos* throughout, even when editors/authors wrote ὑμνωδός/*hymnodos*.

διάζεσθαι τε τὸ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνάλωμα οὐχ ὑπὸ μόνων Περγα-
μηνῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ὅλης ἐκέλευσεν, λογισάμενος
βαρεῖαν ἔσεσθαι μιᾷ πόλει τὴν τοιαύτην εἰσφοράν. ἠλευθερωμέ-
20 νην μέντοι τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν τοῦ δαπανήματος τούτου
καὶ μετενηνεγμένης τῆς ὑπηρεσίας κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώ-
μην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους προνοεῖν δεήσει, ὅπως ἐπιμελῶς
καὶ μετὰ τῆς καθηκούσης φροντίδος οἱ ἔφηβοι τελῶσιν τὴν χρεί-
αν, ὡς πρέπει τοὺς τὸν θεῖον οἶκον ὑμνοῦντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ
25 ἡ πάλαι ὀφειλομένη ἰσουράνιος τειμὴ Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ[147]
64 [διὰ τοῦ] Σ[εβαστοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν καὶ
κρατίστου] ἡγεμόν[ος ἀπεδόθη, ἀνανκαῖόν ἐστιν ἀξιοῦσθαι]
65 τοὺς ἐκείνης ὑμνῳδοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν δικαίων, [ὧν καὶ τ]οὺς θεοὺς
Σεβαστοὺς [ὑμνοῦντας, ἐπε]ὶ νόμοις τ[ε ἱεροῖ]ς [τειμηθείσ]αν [πρὸ] τῆς
ἀθανασίας
66 καὶ θεότητος ἠ[ξ]ί[ω]σεν καὶ ἀπεθέωσεν [α]ὐτ[ὴν ἥ τε σὐνκλητος κ]αὶ
θεὸς Σεβαστ[ὸς]

Likewise I resolve that the (5) *hymnoidoi*, on whom are spent not a small part of the revenues of the *polis*, are discharged from this service; that, instead, the *ephebes*, whose age, dignity, and learning ability are more in harmony with such a liturgy, are offered this task without payment. In order, however, (10) that it will not seem as if this judgement (*praejudicium*) was made for all *hymnoidoi* everywhere, I exempt those in Pergamon who sing of the god Augustus himself in the precinct consecrated by Asia, whose first meeting had been gathered not by contract, but voluntarily and without payment. For that reason did the god (15) Augustus maintain for them the privileges, which were later decreed, in regard to the succession of their offspring, and he ordered the expenditure on them to be defrayed not only by Pergamenes, but by the whole of Asia, as he calculated that such a levy would be a heavy burden for a single *polis*. However, it will (20) be necessary that the *polis* of the Ephesians, freed of this expense and of the service, once it has been transferred to the *ephebes* in accordance with their own motion, takes care that the *ephebes* carry out the task carefully and with dutiful attention, as befits those who sing of the imperial household. But because (25) the long-overdue heavenly honour to Iulia Sebaste

(64) [is rendered by Sebastos, our most pious *imperator* and strongest] leader, [it is only natural that] (65) her *hymnoidoi* [are worthy] of the same rights [as] those

[147] I have conflated the lines *I.Ephesos* Ia 18, l.25 and *I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll.63-64. They have the same content, but with different parts of the sentence preserved.

> who [sing of] the gods *Sebastoi*, because both [the Senate] and the god Sebastos…esteemed her divinity and deified her, [who had been honoured according to sacred] customs [before] her immortality.
> (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18d, ll.4-25 = 17, ll.53-64; *I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll.64-66; own translation)

The first sentence of this directive makes it clear that *hymnoidoi* were paid from the revenues of the *polis*, not from those of the goddess. In this light, it is a surprise that some commentators, without further explanation, have taken the *hymnoidoi* to be the hymn-singers of Artemis Ephesia herself (Price 1984: 70; Friesen 2001: 106-107; Heller 2006: 184 n.66; Zabrana 2011: 347; 2018: 19-20). Others have thought that these *hymnoidoi* were those who sing of Artemis and the emperors (Picard 1922: 252-253; Graf 2015: 28), or all the Ephesian *hymnoidoi* singing of whichever deity (Halfmann 1990: 24; Burrell 2004: 22). In addition to the likelihood that the sacred treasury would pay the goddess' own *hymnoidoi*,[148] the directive is clear about the character of the hymns sung: Persicus pressured the Ephesian *polis* to make sure that the *ephebes* replacing the *hymnoidoi* would carry out the task carefully and with dutiful attention, "as befits those who sing of the imperial household" (l.24). The phrase τὸν θεῖον οἶκον is, as I have suggested, best understood as a translation of *domus divina* (see pages 80-81).[149] Persicus' main concern, then, was with *hymnoidoi* and hymns sung in the Ephesian celebrations honouring the imperial household (cf. Keil 1908: 106-107).

Persicus stated that *hymnoidoi* were discharged because they placed a considerable burden on the *polis* budget. Yet, the proconsul was quick to remark that he makes an exception for the *hymnoidoi* of the god Augustus in Pergamon, who sing hymns in the *temenos* consecrated by Asia. He indicates that Ephesos, on the one hand, was no longer allowed to use public funds for the *hymnoidoi* singing of the imperial household, but that, on the other hand, it was still required to pay its contribution towards the *hymnoidoi* associated with the

[148] There are numerous Ephesian inscriptions recording people simply as *hymnoidos* without specification (see *I.Ephesos* VIII.1, s.v. ὑμνῳδός). Three inscriptions of a later date demonstrate that the Artemision had its own *hymnoidoi* – either as cult officials or as contracted professionals: ὑμνῳδοῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (*I.Ephesos* Ia 34, ll.23-24, AD 104). By the third century AD, the *hymnoidoi* had formed a *synhedrion* together with the *theologoi* and *thesmoidoi* "dearest to the holiest goddess Artemis": [τ]ὸ προσφιλέ|[στ]ατον τ[ῇ] ἁγιωτάτῃ | [θ]εῷ Ἀρτέμιδι | συνέδριον | [τ]ῶν ὑμνῳδῶν | [κ]αὶ θεολόγων | [κ]αὶ θεσμῳδῶν (*I.Ephesos* III 645, ll.1-7). See also the *hymnoidos* of Artemis in Almoura, a *katoikia* in the *chora* of Ephesos: ὑμνῳδοῦ τῆς | ἁγιωτάτης Ἀρτέμιδος τοῦ προεστῶ|[το]ς τῆς κατοικίας (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3247, ll.8-10).

[149] Earlier in the edict, *domus divina* was translated as θεία οἰκία (τῆς θείας οἰκίας, *I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, l.13). Rather than seeking for different meanings, I think it shows that the phrase *domus divina* in Greek may not have been established as formulaic language and that the scribe saw no problem to use either οἶκος or οἰκία.

koinon cult of (Roma and) Augustus in Pergamon. Finally, Persicus added that the *hymnoidoi* of the recently deified Iulia Sebaste (τοὺς ἐκείνης ὑμνῳδοὺς, l.65), should get the same rights as those singing of the gods *Sebastoi* (τοὺς θεοὺς Σεβαστοὺς, l.65). Amongst others, these rights included the right of payment. It suggests that, by this time, the *koinon* cults of Asia included *hymnoidoi* of Augustus in Pergamon and those of Livia (in Smyrna?), who were paid by the member-states of the Asian *koinon*.

The exemption of the *hymnoidoi* of Augustus in Pergamon seems, however, to serve another purpose. Persicus narrated that the first meeting of these hymn-singers had happened entirely voluntarily and without pay (ἐθελούσιος καὶ χωρὶς ἀργυρίου, l.14), and continued by stressing that this was the reason (διὸ καὶ, l.14) that Augustus had permitted them to keep their privilege of hereditary membership-succession and had ordered the whole of Asia to cover their expenses.[150] The emphasis on the unconditional devotion of the hymn-singers in Pergamon, unsullied by monetary motivations, highlights Persicus' apparent conviction that a person, first, needed to show one's worth before receiving the honour and monetary reward for such a prestigious position and activity associated with the worship of the *domus divina*. It is no surprise, therefore, that he is happy to accept the proposal of the Ephesians themselves (κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην, ll.21-22) to have unpaid *ephebes* as replacements for the *hymnoidoi*, so that hymns could continue to be sung in praise of the imperial household without burdening the public treasury. Nonetheless, he worried whether these young men would do a proper job. Persicus' concern with imperial hymns being sung in a dignified manner by persons intrinsically devoted to the imperial dynasty corresponds to his notion that imperial priests should be appropriately worthy men (τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, ὧν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὁ πρέπων ἐπιτεθήσεται στέφανος, *I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, ll.17-18).[151]

It appears that the processes of multiplication and specialisation we have observed for imperial priests in the Artemision may have been accompanied by an equivalent increase either in the number of *hymnoidoi* or the frequency of their performances,[152] and that, in both

[150] Decades later, during the reign of Hadrian, the *hymnoidoi* of Roma and Augustus set up an altar in Pergamon, which records that the entry fees for the sons of members were considerably less demanding than for outsiders (ἐξωτικοὶ): *I.Pergamon* II 374C, ll.12-13; D, ll.11-20. Over a century ago, Josef Keil (1908: 107) already characterised these *hymnoidoi* as a "vornehme exklusive Klub" (cf. Belayche 2013: 34-35).

[151] This concern of the proconsul with the piety of priests and hymn-singers may not be surprising coming from a man who introduced himself at the very start of the edict, exceptionally for a proconsul, as *pontifex, frater Arvalis,* and *sodalis Augustalis* (*I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll.1-3; cf. Scherrer 1990: 88).

[152] On the growing popularity of hymns and *hymnoidoi* in the imperial period: Belayche 2013; Graf 2015: 28-30; Herz 2016: 124-126.

cases, the manner, in which these positions and activities associated with imperial cults were financed, contributed to the financial issues with which Persicus was concerned. After a brief reference to this passage, Nicole Belayche (2013: 32) noted that

> "le culte impérial, qu'il fût local ou provincial, a évolué à l'unisson du mouvement général de diversification et spécialisation des fonctions rituelles, imposé par la splendeur accrue des manifestations résultant des compétitions d'image entre notables et entre cités."

Persicus' directive concerning *hymnoidoi* gives, indeed, reason to put the excessive expenditure and corruption in connection with imperial cults in Ephesos into a supra-local perspective. But rather than thinking about it in terms of general tendencies of diversification and specialisation in ritual practices, we would do well to keep close to the particularity of the edict and the contemporary situation in Asia, Ephesos, and the Artemision.

In about AD 88/89, a *koinon* temple of the *Sebastoi* was dedicated in Ephesos (Plan 1: no.6; Plan 3: no.9; Friesen 1993: 29-49; Scherrer 1997: 101-106; Burrell 2004: 61-66; Witulski 2007: 53-77; Ladstätter 2020). It was the third of its kind among the member-states of the *koinon* of Asia. Over a century had passed since Octavian had granted permission to Pergamon to build a temple dedicated to Roma and himself, which was common to the *koinon* of Asia (see chapter 1; Cassius Dio 51.20.7-9). For over fifty years, Pergamon was the only *polis* to host such a temple. In AD 22/23, the *koinon* of Asia voted to honour emperor Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate with a temple in gratitude of favourable decisions in recent court cases against Roman magistrates (Tac. *An.* 3.66-69; 4.15, 37). Permission was granted, but the *poleis* of Asia could not agree on the location of the temple. As narrated by Tacitus in a well-known passage (*An*. 4.55-56), eleven *poleis* sent embassies to Rome to present their arguments before the emperor himself and the Roman Senate as to why their *polis* should receive the honour. Eventually, Smyrna was chosen. Under emperor Gaius, the honour of a *koinon* temple was bestowed on Miletos, but due to his *damnatio memoriae*, this honour did not last (Cassius Dio 59.28.1; see chapter 4). This narrative of *koinon* cults in Julio-Claudian Asia has been told numerous times (Friesen 1993: 7-28; 2001: 36-41; Campanile 1998; Burrell 2004: 17-22, 38-42, 55-57, 59-60, 275-277; Heller 2006: 211-215; Witulski 2010: 9-51). The focus has normally been on the Roman authorities, the general development of the *koinon* cults in Asia, the *poleis*

receiving the honours, the arguments used by the embassies to persuade the emperor and the Senate, and the arguments considered by the emperor and the Senate in making their decision. For this chapter, it is significant that Ephesos lacked, and was denied, the privilege of hosting a *koinon* temple.[153] The *polis* was losing out in the competition for the privilege of hosting a *koinon* temple dedicated to a ruling emperor.[154] The rivalry over *koinon* temples was, however, not merely a matter of honour, prestige, and imperial approval. Member-states of the Asian *koinon* contributed to the upkeep of the *koinon* cults and district-centres (*conventus*) such as Ephesos may have paid the highest amounts (Burrell 2004: 21-22, 312-314; Heller 2006: 180-185; Edelmann-Singer 2012: 171-174).[155] Thus, not only was the *polis* of the Ephesians denied the benefits, honours, and privileges accompanying the hosting of a *koinon* temple, it also had to support temples hosted by its rivals, Pergamon and Smyrna.

Before the emergence of the *koinon* temples, powerful sanctuaries and their rights of inviolability played an important role in inter-*polis* relations (Rigsby 1996). Documents of Iulius Caesar from Aphrodisias and Sardis indicate that the *asylia* of the Artemision was referred to as a legal precedent with respect to rights of *asylia* of other sanctuaries (Reynolds 1982: no.8, ll.55-58; Herrmann 1989: 143-144, 154-155; Rigsby 1996: 389; Dignas 2002: 296-297). In AD 22/23, a major review of *asylia*-rights was undertaken by the Roman Senate and the consuls (Tac. *An*. 3.60-63, 4.14; Rigsby 1996: 580-586; Dignas 2002: 288-299; Heller 2006: 165-169;

[153] Barbara Burrell (2004: 60-61) has posited the possibility that permission was granted to Ephesos to build a *koinon* temple around AD 65/66. Burrell's suggestion is based on three Neronian coin-types recording, on the reverse, Ephesos as *neokoros* along with a depiction of a temple (*RPC* I 2626-2628A; Karwiese 2012: nos.75-79). In the same year, several coin types were issued displaying busts of Roma on the reverse. Numismatists have, likewise, suggested that these coin issues testify to (permission for) a *koinon* temple in Ephesos during the reign of Nero (*RPC* I: p.433; Karwiese 2016: 42-44). Others have been more sceptical and have adhered to the commonly offered alternative interpretation, which relates the *neokoros* and the depicted temple to Artemis Ephesia (Friesen 1993: 53-54; Heller 2006: 244-245). Recently, archaeologists seem to have become more welcoming to the suggestion, as it has been proposed that the terrace, on which the Domitianic temple of the *Sebastoi* would later be constructed, may have been built quite some time before the Domitianic era (Zabrana 2018: 204 n.486;). Nonetheless, confirmatory evidence is difficult to find. As Sabine Ladstätter (2020: 22) informs us, "the substructures were built on top of accumulations of soil that in the 1960s, based on the state of research at the time, were dated to the early imperial period; however, the material has been lost in the intervening years and can therefore no longer be examined. The temple area was so fundamentally robbed out that no secure statements are possible on the basis of the architectural decoration, the sculptural installations, or the epigraphic evidence." Nero's death and *damnatio memoriae* only a few years after the coins were issued would, in any case, not have resulted in much more evidence.

[154] This is, of course, part of the structure of inequality inherent to imperial rule: "[a] favourable verdict for one group or individual inevitably meant a rejection or a penalty for another" (Millar 1977: 10).

[155] For an impressionistic overview of the forms of financial income and expenditure in connection with *koinon* cults: Herz 2011.

Kantiréa 2014). Introducing this review, Tacitus describes some of the problems related to these *asylia*-rights from the Roman point of view:

> *complebantur templa pessimis servitiorum; eodem subsidio obaerati adversum creditores suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur, nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi flagitia hominum ut caerimonias deum protegentis*.
>
> The temples were being filled with the worst of slaves; under the same protection debtors were being received against their creditors, and suspects in capital crimes, and there was not any authority strong enough to control the disorders of a nation who protect the misconduct of men as they do the rites of the gods.
> (Tac. *An*. 3.60; translation in Rigsby 1996: 582)[156]

Numerous *poleis* of Asia as well as the Cretans and Cyprians sent their embassies to the Senate to protect the *asylia*-rights of their sanctuaries. Tacitus narrated the various arguments of different *poleis* (Kantiréa 2014). Notably, he mentioned that the embassy of the Ephesians was allowed to speak first and Tacitus reserved an entire chapter for their case (Tac. *An*. 3.61). It seems that, when it came to *asylia*-rights, the Artemision and, by extension, Ephesos held pole position.[157] These rights were now set in stone (or, rather, in bronze) by senatorial decrees:

> *factaque senatus consulta quis multo cum honore modes tamen praescribebatur, iussique ipsis in templis figere area sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberentur*.

[156] Strabo (14.1.23) noted the protection *asylia* could offer to wrong-doers. Persicus prohibited public slaves to leave their own children in the Artemision, so as not to have to finance their upbringing, and orders them to pay for it themselves (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18c, ll.18-22). On the different understandings of *asylia* from a Roman and Greek point of view, see Herrmann 1989: 155-156; Rigsby 1996: 2, 18-19, 21-22, 28-29; Dignas 2002: 288-299; Heller 2006: 166-167. Cf. Thonemann (2011: 332): "Dedicating lucrative industrial sites to the local deity may well have been a recognised tax-dodge; early in the reign of Tiberius, the Senate cracked down on a similar strategy relating to the right of asylum, which was harming credit relations in the Eastern provinces."

[157] Compare the words of Persicus about the Artemision: *I.Ephesos* Ia 18b, ll.1-6; see page 77.

> Senatorial decrees were passed which, together with much honor, still imposed limits, ordering them to attach bronzes to the temples themselves so as to make the record sacred, and lest under the guise of religion they lapse into self-seeking. (Tac. *An.* 3.63; translation in Rigsby 1996: 583)

Only a few years later, the grandeur of the Artemision was held against the Ephesians, when they made their case to become host of the second *koinon* temple in AD 26.[158] Gaius denied Ephesos the privilege of a *koinon* temple since they were supposedly preoccupied by Artemis.[159] As noted by Anna Heller,

> les deux épisodes-clés du règne de Tibère – la révision des asylies et le choix de la cité destinée à accueilir le nouveaux sanctuaire du culte impérial provincial – illustrent les deux aspects fondamentaux et complémentaires de cette régulation: dans le premier cas, le pouvoir romain soumet la reconnaissance d'un privilège coutumier à une procédure légale, ce qui en formalise et en limite l'attribution; dans l'autre cas, il ouvre l'attribution d'un privilège créé par lui à de nouveaux bénéficiaires potentiels. La fonction impériale se caractérise par cette tension entre la nécessité d'édicter des lois et celle d'accorder des faveurs, qui génère la compétition autour de statuts prestigieux (Heller 2006: 347).[160]

The final sentence seems an apt description of the general character of imperial rule, but this transitional phase, in which the primary source of benefits, privileges, and prestige shifted from *asylia*-rights of sanctuaries to the hosting of *koinon* temples and became dependent on the approval of the highest Roman authority, formed a source of tension for the Ephesian community too. The foundation of its prestige as well as its leverage in the rivalry with other *poleis* – the Artemision and its *asylia* – lost some of its competitive capacity. At the same time,

[158] *Ephesii Milesiique, hi Apollinis, illi Dianae caerimonia occupavisse civitates visi* (Tac. *An*. 4.55).
[159] ταύτην γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐπελέξατο, λόγῳ μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν μὲν Ἔφεσον ἡ Ἄρτεμις τὴν δὲ Πέργαμον ὁ Αὔγουστος τὴν δὲ Σμύρναν ὁ Τιβέριος προκατειλήφασι (Cassius Dio 59.28.1).
[160] Cf. Kantiréa 2014: 437 – "L'inviolabilité sacrée complétait traditionellement l'indépendance politique qui, avec l'expansion de Rome, donna lieu à une montée de la fierté locale et, par conséquent, à des rivalités entre les cités…[l]e débat sur l'asile annonçait les luttes acharnées des cités grecques pour des titres et des privilèges – néocore, métropole, première de la province – qui marqueraient leurs relations entre elles et leurs rapports avec Rome de la fin du Ier au IIIe s. apr. J.-C."

the benefits and privileges associated with the *koinon* temples had opened up a whole new field of competition. The source of its glory, on which most of Ephesos' pride and rhetoric had for long been dependent, formed an obstacle to regaining its pole position in this new field of competition.[161] It is during this transitional phase, in which Ephesos could no longer use its traditional rights of *asylia* to maintain its prime position in Asia and was barred from acquiring a *koinon* temple to regain that position, that its leading citizens and Roman residents made efforts to compensate for these obstacles and outdo the other *poleis* of Asia by accumulating imperial cults and spending resources from both the public and sacred treasury on celebrations of the imperial household.[162] To paraphrase Antonio Gramsci, with respect to the foundations of Ephesos' prime position within the hierarchy of Asian *poleis*, the old was dying and the new could not be born.[163]

Tacitus' mention of eleven *poleis* vying for permission from Rome demonstrates that it was not just Ephesos in which, possibly, the old was dying and the new could not be born. By the time of the edict of Persicus, only Pergamon and Smyrna hosted a *koinon* temple. The period of over forty years during the reigns of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, and Titus has yielded no evidence for *koinon* temples (Friesen 1993: 27-28; Witulski 2010: 46-51). Given the remarkable interest in such *koinon* temples during the reign of Tiberius and their undeniable prestige and benefits, it seems unlikely that the *poleis* of Asia had lost interest. In the context of a halt to imperial permissions for new *koinon* temples in Asia thwarting the rivalry amongst the Asian *poleis*, we find the emergence of an alternative outlet for this rivalry: the festivals known as *Koinon Asias* or *Koina Asias*.[164]

Following the arguments first laid out by Luigi Moretti (1954), it has by now become common to accept that such festivals celebrating the imperial household under the auspices of the *koinon* of Asia were not an automatic addition to the imperial grant of a *koinon* temple but a separate initiative of the *koinon* and its member-states (Friesen 1993: 114-116; 2001: 52; Burrell 2004: 335-336; Heller 2006: 185-188; Witulski 2010: 21-24; *contra:* Deininger 1965:

[161] Only over two hundred years later, during the reigns of Philip I and Trajan Decius, a few coin-types display, on their reverse, the legend ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΑ ΑΣΥΛΟΣ (Karwiese 2012: nos.951, 960, 1004; the latter is *RPC* IX 619). By this time, this right and privilege no longer formed the main source of competition amongst the *poleis* of Asia.

[162] See the section 'The Edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus' in this chapter.

[163] "The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear" (Gramsci 1971: 276).

[164] During most of the first century AD, *Koinon Asias* rather than *Koina Asias* is used.

38; Merkelbach 1978). This was true also for the *Romaia Sebasta*, the festival organised by the *koinon* of Asia, which was added to the *koinon* temple of Roma and Augustus in Pergamon (Cassius Dio 51.20.9).[165] As proclaimed in its inscriptions and on its coinage dating to the mid-third century AD, the first *polis*, in which a festival called the κοινὰ Ἀσίας was organised, was, however, Smyrna (Moretti 1954: 282-283).[166] At least by AD 60, an athlete called Tiberius Claudius Patrobius listed his victories in various festivals, among which were the *Koinon Asias* in Pergamon, Sardis, and Laodikeia (*IAG* 65 = *SEG* 14.613, ll.6-7, 12-14; Moretti 1954: 276 n.1).[167] Another victorious athlete, Demokrates, son of Demokrates, recorded that he had won the κοινὸν Ἀσιάς twice, without specifying in which *polis*. Although the date of this inscription is hard to establish with much precision, it seems likely that it does not date long after AD 25 (*IAG* 62 = *I.Magnesia* 149b = *SEG* 14.736, ll. 6-7).[168] Because the *polis* in which this festival was organised is not specified, it might be that, at the time, Smyrna was still the only one organising a festival of that name. The close contemporaneity of this inscription with the permission granted to construct the temple of Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate is suggestive. These inscriptions reveal that between AD 26 and 60 the organisation of fesivals called *Koinon Asias* had spread to at least two other *poleis*.[169] One inscription shows that Ephesos, too, had achieved to get the privilege of organising such a festival: Phanias, son of Damas, from Iasos, had been crowned in the boy contest for kithara-players: στεφανωθέντα παϊδας κιθαρῳδοὺς τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἱερὸν ἀγῶνα (*I.Iasos* 110, ll. 5-8; Heller 2006: 381-382). The mention of the Klaudeia at Kos amongst his victories ascertains a date after AD 41, and Wolfgang Blümel, editor of *Die Inschriften von Iasos I*, dated the inscription to the mid-first century AD. The alternative language – τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἱερὸν ἀγῶνα rather

[165] As confirmed in two inscriptions: τὰ Σεβαστὰ Ῥωμαῖα τὰ τιθέμενα | [ὑ]πὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας (*IAG* 59 = *Milet* I.9 368, ll.12-13; Miletos, ca. 20 BC); [Ῥ]ω|μαῖα Σεβαστὰ τὰ τιθέμενα ὑπὸ | τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Περγάμωι (*IAG* 60 = *IGR* IV 1064, ll.5-6; Kos, ca. AD 5).

[166] *I.Smyrna* II 635, ll.11-14: ἀγωνοθέτην | τῶν πρώτων κοινῶν | τῆς Ἀσίας ἀγώνων | ἐν Σμύρνῃ (after AD 245); *IGR* IV 824, ll.2-3: πρῶτα κωινὰ Ἀσίας Σμύρνα(ν) (third century AD); *BMC Ionia* 368-371 (reign of Septimius Severus): ΠΡΩΤΑ ΚΟΙΝΑ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ; 440, 443 (reign of Maximinus): ΠΡΩΤΑ ΚΟΙΝΑ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΗ; 473 (reign of Gallienus): ΠΡΩΤΑ ΚΟΙΝΑ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΗ. For the rhetoric of being 'first', see Heller 2006: 334-341.

[167] For the date, ca. AD 43-60: Farrington 2012: 1.143, with n.427. See also: http://www.connectedcontests.org/database/persons/301 (accessed on 29-09-2020).

[168] For the date: Farrington 2012: 1.139, with n.420: "It is possible that our inscription is nearer AD 25 than AD 90, as the *Aktia* occupy second position in the list of victories in the *periodos* contests, immediately after the *Olympia* and before all the others, suggesting that their prestige is still immense." See also: http://www.connectedcontests.org/database/persons/293 (accessed on 29-09-2020). Otto Kern attributed the inscription to the Augustan period: *I.Magnesia* 149b, p.120.

[169] It is possible that Pergamon used *Koinon Asias* for the *Romaia Sebasta*, see Heller 2006: 185.

than simply κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ or κοινὸν Ἀσίας Ἔφεσον – might be indicative of a date before AD 60, when Pergamon, Laodikeia, and Sardis all used the more formulaic variant.[170]

Anna Heller (2006: 187-188, 209-210, 348-349) interpreted the *Koinon Asias* as a less prestigious element in the hierarchy of benefits and privileges, subordinate to the *koinon* temple and the title of *metropolis*. It allowed *poleis* without a *koinon* temple an opportunity to host imperial cult celebrations organised by the *koinon* of Asia. The contemporaneity of the absence of new *koinon* temples and the multiplication of festivals called *Koinon Asias* during the reigns of Claudius and Nero suggests that the latter were a response to the former: in the absence of imperial permission for the construction of *koinon* temples, the *poleis* of Asia turned to the organisation of *koinon* festivals to celebrate the imperial household and to distribute that privilege amongst those most prominent amongst them (Heller 2006: 349). The *Koinon Asias* offered a new outlet for the rivalry amongst Asia's *poleis* and so formed an alternative for many a *polis* to the dying old (*asylia*) and the unborn new (*koinon* temple). The fact that there was no need for imperial approval allowed a multiplication of such festivals without limits imposed by parties external to the *koinon*. At the same time, it meant that these festivals could never reach the prestige and glory associated with the imperially approved hosting of a *koinon* temple.

The reigns of Claudius and Nero appear to us as a significant transitional period with respect to the organisation of cultic celebrations of the imperial household on the level of the Asian *koinon*.[171] The contemporary edict of Persicus contains indications which suggest that its directives were not only relevant to the situation in Ephesos. In his preface, Persicus explicitly stated that his ἐπίκριμα regards both the *polis* of the Ephesians and the entire

[170] A recent study of the Odeion in the Artemision dated its construction to the second half of the first century AD and associated it with musical contests, which formed part of the *Artemisia* (Zabrana 2018: 204, 216-217, 232). Anna Heller posited that *Koinon Asias* held in *poleis* without a *koinon* temple may have been organised in extant sanctuaries: "Les cités sièges de *koina Asias* ou *Bithynias*, tant qu'elles n'avaient pas reçu le privilège de la néocorie, devaient faire jouer ponctuellement à quelque sanctuaire local le rôle d'un centre du culte impérial provincial" (Heller 2006: 187). It is possible that the Odeion could have formed the scene of the *Koinon Asias* in Ephesos.

[171] Alterations were also introduced with respect to the chief-priests of the *koinon* temples in Pergamon and Smyrna. The titulature of these chief-priests did no longer specify the recipients of the cultic honours – Roma and Augustus in Pergamon and Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate in Smyrna – but rather the ones offering those cultic honours: ἀρχιερεύς τῆς Ἀσίας. Like the festivals *Koinon Asias*, the naming does no longer focus on a specific connection with individual emperors, but rather with the *koinon* and sometimes the specific *polis* hosting the temple, priesthood, or festival.

province (*I.Ephesos* Ia 18a, ll.2-3: ἐπίκριμα συμφέρον τῆι [τε Ἐφεσίων πόλει καὶ] | ὅλῃ τῆι ἐπαρχείαι). Thereafter, Persicus started off his edict as follows:

ἐν ταύτῃ διὰ παντὸς τῇ ὑπολήψει ὑπάρχων [πρὸ πάντων]
τοὺς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν προεστῶτας ἄρχοντα[ς μετὰ πάσης]
εὐσταθείας καὶ πίστεως δεῖν ἐπιμελέσθα[ι τῆς ἐγκεχει-]
ρισμένης αὐτοῖς ἀρχῆς, ὥστε τοῦ διηνεκῶς κ[αὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ]
τὸν βίον χρησίμου τοῦ τε καθ᾽ ὅλην τὴν ἐπαρχεί[αν τοῦ τε]
κατὰ πόλιν προνοεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐνιαυτοῦ μό[νον]

as I am always of this opinion that, above all, the leaders who stand at the apex of the provinces need, with all vigour and reliability, to take care of the magistracy appointed to them, so as to provide what is useful continuously and for a lifetime with respect to both the entire province and a *polis*, and not just [what is useful] for one's own year [in office].
(*I.Ephesos* Ia 18a, ll.5-10; own translation)

This chapter has shown what Persicus is alluding to here. But, strikingly, his introduction does not even mention the Artemision. Instead, he is giving his opinion about the proper behaviour of the magistrates of the province.[172] The directive concerning the *hymnoidoi* holds an explicit indication of how all Persicus' decisions concerning the public and sacred finances in Ephesos relate to the entire province. Introducing his exemption of the *hymnoidoi* of Augustus in Pergamon, Persicus explicitly noted that his judgement (*praejudicium*) did not pertain to "all the hymn-singers everywhere" (πᾶσιν τοῖς πανταχοῦ ὑμνῳδοῖς, l.10). The use of *praejudicium*/πρόκριμα immediately followed by this exemption suggests that "he was aware that his letter to the Ephesians could and would be used as a legal precedent all over the province of Asia" (Graf 2015: 28; cf. Ulpian *Dig.* 1.16.7.72; 1.16.8). While Persicus had good reason to refer to his legal document as a πρόκριμα/*praejudicium* in particular connection with the *hymnoidoi*, for us, there is no reason to restrict this characterisation of the document to this specific directive, and not to see it as applicable to the entire edict.

Understood in this way, all directives in the edict of Persicus could be used as legal precedents in other *poleis* of Asia. The effects of the edict for *hymnoidoi* and imperial priests

[172] The end of the edict is, unfortunately, quite fragmentary, but what is left of it, has led its editors to reconstruct an appended decision of the *koinon* of Asia (*I.Ephesos* Ia 17, ll.66-68; Dörner 1935: 49-50).

in Asia are visible in the post-Julio-Claudian evidence. First, evidence dating after the edict of Persicus suggests that *hymnoidoi* could still be specifically associated with the *koinon* of Asia, a specific sanctuary, or an organised group. These were institutional or collective bodies, which kept their own finances distinct from the public treasury of the *polis*.[173] Meanwhile, the Ephesian *ephebes* sang hymns in the theatre to emperor Hadrian himself, when he visited Ephesos (in AD 124 or 129).[174] Frequently, *ephebes* sang regularly of gods and goddesses as a public duty (Chaniotis 2003: 12-14; 2009: 22-23; 2013: 181-182; Belayche 2013: 31-35; Graf 2015: 29).[175] Numerous *poleis* sent boy choirs, or mixed choirs, to the sanctuary of Apollo Klarios (Ferrary 2014: 115-122). This evidence gives the general impression of a distinction between (upper-class) adolescents required to sing hymns of gods and goddesses, including the *domus divina*, as a public duty and professional *hymnoidoi* hired by financially powerful institutions, but not by the *polis*.[176] Persicus' replacement of *hymnoidoi* by *ephebes* to relieve the public budget seems to have been effective throughout the province.[177]

Second, along with Simon Price and Gabrielle Frija, we can observe a general transition from priests of individual members of the imperial household to chief-priests of the *Sebastoi* as a collective. This transition took place during the reigns of Claudius and Nero (Price 1984a:

[173] The only *hymnoidoi* displaying a connection with imperial cults were those specifically attached to a *koinon* temple (Burrell 2004: 349; Heller 2006: 184; Ferrary 2014: 120 n.115; Herz 2016: 126-128). A decree of the *koinon* of Asia concerning *hymnoidoi* found in Ödemiş (ancient Hypaipa) dates to AD 41, only about three years before the edict of Persicus (*I.Ephesos* VII.2 3801; Keil 1908; Friesen 2001: 105-106). The other side of the stone records that the *hymnoidoi* in Hypaipa set up a statue of emperor Claudius in accordance with a decree passed in Pergamon by the sacred *synodos*, on which their rights and privileges were to be engraved (*I.Ephesos* VII.2 3801/I, ll.10-13). In addition to the *hymnoidoi* related to the temple of (Roma and) Augustus in Pergamon, the *koinon* temple of Hadrian in Ephesos had its own hymn-singers: [ὑμ]νῳδὸν ναοῦ θεο[ῦ Ἁδριανου] (*I.Ephesos* III 742, l.1); ὑμνῳδὸς θεοῦ|[Ἁδρια]νοῦ ναοῦ (*I.Ephesos* III 921, ll.3-4). When Smyrna was granted its second *neokoria* for Hadrian in AD 124, the *koinon* temple received its own 24 *hymnoidoi* (Keil 1908: 108-110; *I.Smyrna* II 594, esp. l.3; *I.Smyrna* II 697, ll.33-43; cf. *I.Smyrna* II 595, ll.15-18: τοῖς γνησίοις | συνυμνῳδοῖς | θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ | τὸν βωμὸν. During the reign of Severus Alexander, several men are attested as ὑμνῳδὸς Ἀσίας (Halfmann 1990). Also the Artemision had its own *hymnoidoi* (see page 108 n.149). Other examples: οἱ ὑμνῳδοὶ τῆς γερουσίας (*I.Smyrna* II 644, ll.17-18); οἱ ὑμνῳδοὶ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν (*TAM* V.2 955, Thyateira).

[174] ἐπιδημήσ[αντος] | [τοῦ κυρίου Αὐ]τοκράτορος Τραιανοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ Καί[σα]|[ρος Σεβαστοῦ] τῇ πόλει ὕμνησαν οἱ ἔφηβ[ο]ι ἐν τῷ θ[εά]|[τρῳ εὐμενῶς ἀ]κούοντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα (*I.Ephesos* IV 1145, ll.2-5). For Hadrian's journeys and visits to Ephesos, see Bowie 2012: esp. 267; Halfmann 2019: esp. 238-239.

[175] For instance, in Teos (*LSAM* 28 = SEG 15.718, reign of Tiberius); Stratonikeia: *LSAM* 69 = *I.Stratonikeia* 1101, end of second century AD).

[176] Helmut Halfmann (1990: 24-26) proposed that, in the time after the edict, *hymnoidoi* were recruited from the *ephebes*.

[177] Cf. Keil 1908: 106-107; Halfmann 1990: 24: "Der Wetteifer um prestigebeladene und glanzvolle Kultfeste führte jedoch bald zu einem für die Städte nicht mehr tragbaren Aufwand an Kultpersonal, namentlich für die vielen Hymnodenvereine, so daß derselbe Kaiser Claudius schon kurze Zeit später [after AD 41] den – nicht nur für den Kaiser, sondern alle Kultempfänger zuständigen – Hymnodenvereinen ein neues Aufnahmeverfahren verordnete […]."

57-59; Frija 2012: 45-52, 75-76).[178] The contemporaneity of this transition with the measures taken by Persicus suggests that, in the aftermath of his edict, priests of individual members of the imperial household in *poleis* of Asia were no longer allowed to receive excessive perquisites from public and sacred treasuries. Together, the effects of Persicus' edict on *hymnoidoi* and imperial priests converge into the idea that his edict restricted public expenditure on personnel of imperial cults throughout the province of Asia. The edict testifies, therefore, to a concrete moment of crisis and its resolution in the provincial capital, which notably influenced the developments and organisation of imperial cults in the *poleis* of Asia. The transition from 'individual' to 'collective' priesthoods, commonly described in terms of teleological abstractions (institutionalisation, routinisation, homogenisation, unification), had its material base in the socio-economic relations and imperial cults of Ephesos.

[178] Around the reign of Nero, the same transition took place in the province of Achaia (Kantiréa 2007: 76-78, 198). It is not possible in this thesis to examine the relationship between the similar developments in Asia and Achaia.

CHAPTER 3

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CULT OF AUGUSTUS IN MILETOS

Miletos was located at the northwestern tip of a peninsula projecting westward into the Aegean seas (Maps 1-2). With most of its territory under its control having limited agricultural potential, the *polis* depended heavily on its maritime networks. It has been suggested that the roots of the numerous Milesian colonies lay primarily in the lack and loss of land (Greaves 2007). Much of Milesian political history can be understood as either maintaining peaceful and favourable relationships with maritime hegemons to secure agricultural imports and Miletos' trading position or expanding its *polis* territory to increase Miletos' own agricultural production and improve its trading position. However successful Miletos may have been at times, its success was always fragile. Its location was the foundation of its success as a trading *polis* and, at the same time, the reason for its structural dependency on its maritime networks. In this chapter, I approach the establishment of a cult of Augustus in Miletos through the lens of Milesian networks and their precarious balance between strength and vulnerability.

The first section explores the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the location of a cult of Augustus in Miletos. It demonstrates that such a cult most likely found a place in the sanctuaries of Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Delphinios (Plans 4-5: 'Delphinion'). These sacred spaces housed multiple ritual, material, and textual manifestations of Miletos' politico-religious relations: the cult of Augustus was a cult amongst many. The two following sections present a close-up study of the people involved in the cult of Augustus as well as the networks and conditions, in which they were active. Section two shows that for most of the Augustan period C. Iulius Epikrates was the sole chief-priest. Epikrates dominated many other communication channels between Miletos and Augustus, governors of Asia, as well as Romans and Italians resident around the Aegean. As such, he played a pivotal role in Milesian-Roman relations. This role was conditioned by the arrival of Roman hegemony in the Aegean region and the subsequent reconfiguration of trade and communication routes, which largely excluded Miletos. Section three begins with C. Iulius Epikrates as chief-priest for life of the

Ionians. This chief-priesthood demonstrates Epikrates' influence beyond Miletos as well as the growing leverage of Miletos vis-à-vis other Ionian *poleis*, in particular Priene. The cult of Augustus in the Ionian *koinon* provided the opportunity for the Milesian state, through Epikrates, to enhance its regional position of power. The increasing influence of Miletos in the region was, however, equally facilitated by the progradation of the Maeander delta, which left Priene landlocked and carried the river mouth closer to Miletos. Miletos' rise to prominence within the region was accompanied by a concentration of power and wealth within the *polis* itself. The overall argument of the chapter is that the Milesian and Ionian cults of Augustus were instrument and symptom of the restructuring of Miletos' position within hegemonic networks and the consequential dominance of C. Iulius Epikrates.

Politico-Religious Constellations in Sacred Spaces and the Cult of Augustus in Miletos

Considering the role of ruler cults and divine emperors, scholars have sometimes turned to answers of a theological and cosmological kind, most notably by positioning divine rulers somewhere in the liminal space between mortal and immortal beings.[179] As such, divine rulers could be conceived as universally subordinated to so-called 'traditional Greek deities' (Price 1984a: 146-156). In contrast, Steven Friesen (1993: 73-75) argued that a deity's significance was primarily a situational, not an ontological, matter. The primary divine inhabitants of a sacred space would tower above deified *Sebastoi*, just as they did above any other divinity in that particular space (summarising this debate: Witulski 2010: 32-35). Ittai Gradel (2002), too, argued against an ontological understanding of (non-)divinity and showed that the honour-benefaction relationship was essentially the same for both mortals and immortals. 'Mortal' and 'immortal' were distinctions of degree, not of kind. Following such situational and relative understandings of divine rulers, the conundrum of positioning deified emperors in the world of mortals and immortals seems best to be addressed through careful attention to specific spaces, their character and inhabitants, and the place of the emperor within them. Therefore, this section focuses on the specific Milesian spaces in which a cult of Augustus was accommodated. It demonstrates that the Milesian cult of Augustus was most likely based in

[179] Reflected, for instance, in, the titles of an article of Simon Price and an edited volume: 'Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult' (Price 1980); 'More than Men, less than Gods. Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship' (Iossif *et al*. 2011).

the sacred spaces devoted to the Milesian state divinities, Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Delphinios, and it explores the spatial, institutional, and sculptural constellations of which the cult of Augustus was to form a part.

With respect to locating a cult of Augustus in Miletos, the area around the Milesian *bouleuterion* has long been scholars' preferred space of attention. This preference largely depended on a set of inscriptions found during the early twentieth-century excavations of the *bouleuterion*, its porticoed courtyard, and the associated propylon (Plans 4-5: 'Bouleuterion'). One of these inscriptions was published as a dedication to Augustus, Apollo Didymeus, and the *demos* engraved on a fragment of a cornice (*Milet* I.2 5). The fragment was later identified with a dedication, which had already been found during explorations of the theatre in 1872 (Haussoullier 1902: 260). Its rediscovery out of its original find context and Peter Herrmann's reinterpretation as the dedicatory inscription of the mid-first century AD *scaenae frons* of the theatre have established that it has nothing to do with either the *bouleuterion* or a Sebasteion (Tuchelt 1975: 96-97, with n.27a; Herrmann 1986: 180-181; *Milet* VI.1, p.156).[180] Two other inscriptions mentioned in support of locating a cult of Augustus in the vicinity of the *bouleuterion* are both concerned with C. Iulius Epikrates (*Milet* I.2 6-7; cf. *Milet* VI.1, p.156). In both inscriptions, he is recorded as an *archiereus* (*Milet* I.2 6d-e; *Milet* VI.1:, p.156; *SEG* 44.942 = Herrmann 1994: 231-232; *Milet* I.2 7, l.4). One of them is a dedication by the *demos*; the other is a civic decree honouring him and dated to 6/5 BC. The latter praises his noble character and several of his benefactions, among which is the following:

> κεκοσμῆσθαι ἀναθήμασι τόν τε ν[ε]|ὼ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμέως καθὼς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ κ[αὶ] | τὴν πόλιν
>
> both the temple of Apollo Didymeus just like (the one?) of Augustus and the *polis* were decorated with dedications
> (*Milet* I.2 7, ll.18-20; own translation)

The dedication and decree, in recording a chief-priesthood and a temple of Augustus (see below), provide evidence for a cult of Augustus in or before 6/5 BC, but neither of them testifies to a location in the area of the *bouleuterion* (Herrmann 1994: 230; Emme 2014: 174). The reason for the inscriptions' shared findspot is not the cult of Augustus, but their

[180] Such dedications are, by themselves, anyhow no indication for imperial cults: Burrell 2006.

honouring C. Iulius Epikrates, who is discussed extensively later. Also the suggestion that the bare foundations of a temple or a small *aedicula*, – both in the area bordering the *bouleuterion*-complex to its north – as spaces serving a cult of Augustus are left without evidentiary support (Plan 5: 'Temenos mit Tempel & Säulenhalle / Sebasteion?'; *Milet* I.2, p.108, 111-112; *Milet* I.6, p.51-52; *Milet* I.9, p.162; *Milet* VI.1, p.156; cf. Tuchelt 1975: 97-98).

In this light, Klaus Tuchelt's (1975) identification of the early imperial foundations of a quadrangular structure in the courtyard of the *bouleuterion* as an *ara Augusti* loses much of its rationale.[181] The character and style of the motifs of *boukrania,* garlands, and heads of lions as well as the reliefs depicting scenes of Milesian foundation myths associated with the foundations allow for a date in the early decades of the first century AD, but they do not demonstrate any connection with the worship of emperor Augustus (Emme 2014: 166-167; for the architectural elements and reliefs: *Milet* I.2, p.73-79, 87-90; Tuchelt 1975: 121-127; Köster 2004: 15-31). Building upon Tuchelt's interpretation, Alexander Herda (2013: 77-80) proposed to identify the foundations with an altar dedicated to Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Boulaia, and Zeus Boulaios. Augustus and Livia, he suggested, could have been assimilated to Zeus Boulaios and Artemis Boulaia respectively. This interpretation is supported with documentation that lacks any direct relation with the archaeological remains in the courtyard of the *bouleuterion*.[182] A recent analysis of the foundation blocks, the positioning and direction of dowel holes, the architectural elements of the building's superstructure, and the inscribed stones found in the vicinity challenged Tuchelt's interpretation and favoured an identification as a monumental tomb (Emme 2014).[183] In sum, all arguments for associating

[181] In an article published in 1981, Klaus Tuchelt himself already modified his interpretation in a footnote: "Denkbar ist, daß der Altar im Rathaushof nicht für Augustus allein bestimmt gewesen ist, sondern ihm zusammen mit den im Rathaus verehrten Gottheiten Apollon Didymeus und Hestia Bulaia errichtet wurde" (Tuchelt 1981: 180 n.75). This alternative was, however, hardly ever picked up, and, up to very recently, the structure was commonly accepted as an *ara Augusti* (Price 1984a: 138, 257 (no.39); Günther 1989: 176; Friesen 2001: 68-71; Berns 2006: 282; Blum 2009: 45-46; Cain & Pfanner 2009: 94).

[182] The proposal relies on the epithets of Artemis and Zeus. Herda (2013: 78-79) referred to a statue base of Iulia Artemo, daughter of Antipatros, who was priestess for life of Artemis Boulaia (*I.Didyma* 330; Riemann 1877: no.64). A cult of Artemis Boulaia existed but there is no evidence for any relationship with the foundations in front of the *bouleuterion*. For Zeus Boulaios, Herda (2013: 79-80) referred to the statue of Boulaios near the *propylon* on record in a second century BC epigram found close to the *propylon* of the *bouleuterion* (*Milet* I.2 12a; *Milet* VI.1, p.158) as well as to a third century BC decree granting citizenship to Cretan soldiers, which orders sacrifices to be offered to Hestia Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios (*Milet* I.3 37c, ll.42-44). Any connection with the early imperial foundations is absent. Finally, Herda's (2013: 80) assimilation of emperor Augustus with Zeus Boulaios and Livia with Artemis Boulaia is based on Athenian evidence and without any supporting arguments for the assumption that such assimilations took place in Miletos too.

[183] This alternative identification is not new: *Milet* I.2, p.49-59; Robert 1966: 421; Herrmann 1994: 229-234; 1995a: 197. A recent archaeological guide of Miletos leaves the matter undecided: "Im Zentrum des Hofs

the worship of emperor Augustus with the area of the *bouleuterion*, and specifically with the foundations in its courtyard, have been proven unfounded.

The earlier mentioned lines in the civic decree offer a potential clue as to the location of the Sebasteion (see above; *Milet* I.2 7, ll.18-20). The curiosity of καθὼς connecting Apollo Didymeus and Augustus has resulted in doubts whether the lines refer to a single 'temple of Apollo Didymeus as well as Augustus,' in which Augustus was included as *synnaos theos*, or to two separate temples – 'the temple of Apollo Didymeus as well as (that of) Augustus' (Herrmann 1985: 313 n.18; 1994: 204 n.7; 1996b: 14; Günther 1989: 175).[184] It seems to me that the clause can tell us something about the temple's location, not so much because of the meaning of καθὼς itself as because of its context and the curious choice of usage. If Augustus and another deity shared a sacred space, this could be expressed by connecting their names in the genitive through 'καὶ'.[185] The reason for the odd word-selection may be explained in context of the clause as a whole: in it, the temple and *polis* are bonded as two separate entities by 'τε' and 'καὶ' (τόν τε ν[ε]|ὼ…κ[αὶ] τὴν πόλιν). This formula of connecting yet separating a sacred and secular institution is commonly encountered in the first century BC. We have seen it already in Ephesian inscriptions honouring late republican patrons of both the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia and the *polis* (see pages 55-56). In Miletos, a statue base of Iason, son of Demetrios, also used this formula but in reversed order: διὰ ἀναθημάτων | κοσμησάντων τήν τε | πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ | θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Διδυ|μέως (*Milet* I.3 309, ll.7-11; cf. *Milet* VI.1 309).[186] Returning to our honorific decree, the same institutional divide

befindet sich ein rechteckiges Fundament, das zu einem architektonisch aufwendigen, in seiner Deutung allerdings umstrittenen Monument gehörte. Es wurde im ersten Drittel des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. errichtet und dürfte am ehesten als Altar oder Memorialbau gedient haben" (Niewöhner 2016: 100). Note that the connection with emperor worship has been left out completely.

[184] The cautious stance can be traced back to the article of Klaus Tuchelt (1975: 97 n.33) on the *ara Augusti*, in which he cited the authority of Michael Wörrle: "Zu meiner Anfrage, ob es sich nicht um ein und denselben Tempel handeln könnte, teilte mir M. Wörrle dankswerterweise mit, er glaube, 'daß es sich um zwei verschiedene Heiligtümer, eben das des Apollon und das des Augustus, handelt,' man jedoch in dieser Frage 'nicht zu einer eindeutigen Lösung kommen kann'."

[185] A decree of the Hellenes of Asia marked the birthday of Augustus as the starting point of the new year and, engraved on a stone stele, had to be placed in the *temenos* of Roma and Augustus in Pergamon (9 BC): ἵν καὶ τεθῆναι ἐν τῶι τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τεμένει (*I.Priene* 14, ll.63-64; cf. *CIG* 3902b, l.8 (Eumeneia); compare *SEG* 4.201, ll.41-42, Halikarnassos, ca. 1 BC). Also in a decree stipulating honours for Attalos III (138-133 BC), a procession was to head to the *temenos* of Asklepios and the king: εἰς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως (*OGIS* 332, l.16).

[186] Set up by Iason's mother, Tryphaina, daughter of Sotades, the statue (base) can be dated to the later first century BC, as Iason's daughter, Nannion, was *hydrophoros* of Artemis Pythie, when emperor Augustus took over the Milesian *stephanephoria* a second time in 7/6 BC (*I.Didyma* 346; for the *stephanephoria*: *Milet* I.3 127, l.13; Table 4).

is manifested in financial terms in the clause immediately preceding the one we are concerned with: εὐξῆσθαι μὲν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου προσό|δους ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ (*Milet* I.2 7, ll.17-18). Would the decree have read another 'καὶ' instead of 'καθὼς', this sacred-secular connected divide, grammatically signaled by the pair 'τε' and 'καὶ', would no longer be clear. In the Milesian context, the divide was not just an institutional one, but also a spatial one: the Didymeion is situated about sixteen kilometres south of the city of Miletos (Map 1). Immediately following the lines 18 to 20, the spatial specificity of the temple is highlighted: τοῦ ν[εὼ]| τοῦ ἐν Διδύμοις (*Milet* I.2 7, ll.21-22). The addition of 'καθὼς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ' to the temple of Apollo Didymeus rather than 'καὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ' may have been intended to maintain and clarify the formulaic temple/sanctuary-*polis* divide, whilst integrating a reference to a cult of Augustus. In this way, it likewise reflects a spatial and institutional affiliation of this cult with the temple of Apollo Didymeus rather than with the *polis*. The choice of words appears to point towards a location of the cult of Augustus at Didyma.

This potential localisation does not resolve the doubts as to whether the god Augustus shared a temple with Apollo Didymeus or had his own temple. Researchers who contemplated the positioning of a cult of Augustus in the Didymeion tended to prefer the former, in spite of Wörrle's preference for the latter and without giving any arguments in favour.[187] Currently, archaeological evidence does not offer any help: no building can be identified as a Sebasteion, nor have any statues or statue bases of Augustus or his household been found in the area of the Didymeion.[188] Epigraphic documents of the Augustan period do, however, record an *archiereus* (Frija 2012: no.162),[189] who held the office for life (*SEG* 44.942, l.5; Herrmann 1994: 231-232). Contemporaneously, the cult of Apollo Didymeus was headed by an annually selected *prophetes*: the cult of Augustus and the cult of Apollo Didymeus, at least, had their own priests.

[187] "Trotz Fehlens jeglicher Zeugnisse in Didyma erschiene es nicht als ungewöhnlich, wenn im dortigen Apollon-Tempel die Verehrung des Augustus Aufnahme gefunden hätte" (Tuchelt 1975: 97 n.33); "The Milesian *Sebasteion* for Augustus was most probably located in the temple of Apollo in Didyma, where Augustus was *synnaos theos*, 'a god sharing the temple' (with Apollo)" (Herda 2013: 78 n.36).

[188] In the past decade, archaeological investigations have brought to light a temple foundation to the north of the temple of Apollo Didymeus and another foundation – possibly of a temple – in the area of the later Church of Hagios Georgios, south-east of Apollo's temple (Bumke 2015: 335-337; Bumke *et al.* 2015: 112-124, 146-155; Bumke & Breder 2016: 53-58; Bumke *et al.* 2018: 411-413; Bumke *et al.* 2019: 445-447). No connections with a specific deity can (yet) be made, though. For the statues and statue bases in the Didymeion, see *Didyma* III.5.

[189] *Milet* I.2 7, l.4, with revisions in *Milet* VI.1, p.156 (cf. Herrmann 1994: 221-222 = *SEG* 44.940); *SEG* 39.1255 = Günther 1989: esp. 177 (cf. *Milet* VI.3 1130); *IGR* IV 998 = *IG* XII.7 418, ll.17-20.

Several other cults were present in the sacred precinct of Apollo Didymeus (Strabo 14.1.5; Tuchelt 1976: 213-214; Fontenrose 1988: 123-171; Bumke *et al.* 2015: 109-112). Best attested is the cult of Artemis Pythie between the third century BC and the third century AD. Her *hydrophoroi*, like the *prophetai* of Apollo Didymeus, commemorated their year in office with personal inscriptions on architectural fragments, marble slabs, and blocks, or they were honoured with statues (*I.Didyma* 307-388; Marcellesi 2005; Busine 2006: 284; Bumke 2006). Even though the precise location of her temple is not known,[190] inscriptions ascertain that Artemis Pythie did have her own temple and cult statue (Bumke 2006: 227-229; Breder *et al*. 2012: 182).[191] In addition, a first century BC decree of the *synedroi* gave permission to set up a stele carrying the names of the successive *boegoi* ('ox-drivers') near the temple of Zeus Soter. Further it specifies that this temple was located in Didyma (ἐν τῶι ἱε[ρ]ῶι τῶι ἐν Δι|δύμοι<ς>: *I.Didyma* 199, ll.10-17; Schehl 1954: 20-21).[192] The cultic presence of the father and twin-sister of Apollo at Didyma was architecturally and organisationally manifested in separate temples and cult personnel in the same sacred space.[193] This manner of construing the specific cultic constellation at Didyma may have established a model for the later

[190] The recent excavations of the temple foundation north of the temple of Apollo Didymeus have led the archaeologists to raise the possibility that these foundations are what is left of the temple of Artemis Pythie (Bumke *et al.* 2015: 119; Bumke & Breder 2016: 55). So far, supporting evidence seems to be lacking. Cf. Slawisch & Wilkinson 2018: 107: "the substantial foundations under the modern mosque...may or may not represent those of a temple of Artemis."

[191] *I.Didyma* 432, ll.17-19 (271/270 BC): ὑπομηλὶς χρυσῆ, ἣν ἀνέθηκεν | Αἰσχυλὶς Ἀναξιθέμιος Ἀρτέμιδι, ἡμιχρύσου· | αὕτη προσεκοσμήθη πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα; *I.Didyma* 118; *Didyma* III.5 150; Peek 1971: no.3 (second century BC), l.3: [π]ρὸ παρθενίου τοῦδε δόμοιο [θεῆ]ς; *I.Didyma* 312, ll.26-28 (second century AD): [τετει]|μῆσθαι εἰκόνι γραπτῆ ἣν καὶ ἀνατεθῆ[ναι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς] | Πυθίης Ἀρτέμιδος; *I.Didyma* 360, ll.8-10 (early second century AD): ἀνέθηκε δὲ | τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὑδροφοροῦσα τὸ | παραπέτασμα (for *parapetasma* as a screen (un)hiding a cult statue: Robert 1960: 470-471); *I.Didyma* 381, ll.7-10 (early second century AD): ἀναθεῖσα δὲ | [ἐκ τῶ]ν ἰδίων καὶ τὰς χαλκᾶς θύρας τοῦ | [ναοῦ τ]ῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὰ λίθινα | σταθμὰ [σ]ὺν ὑπερθύρῳ καὶ ὀδῷ; cf. *SEG* 35.1097, ll.2-3 (third century AD?): τὸν νεωκόρον τῆς | Πυθίης Ἀρτέμιδος.

[192] The decree has been dated to 39/38 BC (Schehl 1954), 17/16 BC (Fontenrose 1988: 138 n.30) or 16/15 BC (*I.Didyma* 199).

[193] The close links between the cults of Apollo and Artemis and their parents, Zeus and Leto, are frequently manifested. In the 180s BC, to solemnify the *isopoliteia* of Miletos and its neighbouring *polis*, Herakleia under Latmos, the *prophetes* and *tamias* would lead sacrificial animals in procession and sacrifice them to Apollo Didymeus, Artemis, Leto, Athena, and Zeus Soter (*Milet* I.3 150, ll.19-22). Apollo, Artemis, and Leto appear on the fragmentary figurative reliefs, which originally belonged to the early imperial structure in the courtyard of the *bouleuterion* (*Milet* I.2, p.87-90, taf. XVI.1, XVII.1; Tuchelt 1975: 126-127, taf.28-30). A Hadrianic dedication on an architrave addressed Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Pythie, Leto, Zeus, Hadrian, and the *demos* of the Milesians and is now thought to belong to the *scaenae frons* of the theatre in the Didymeion (*I.Didyma* 58; Breder *et al*. 2012: 184; Bumke *et al*. 2015: 134-135). At the end of the third century AD, emperors Diocletian and Maximian dedicated statues of Zeus and Leto together with the twin gods (τοῖς διδυμοῖς θεοῖς) in the Didymeion (*I.Didyma* 89-90; *Didyma* III.5, no.137; Bumke 2009: 76).

installation of a cult of Augustus in the Didymeion – with its own temple and priestly official.[194]

In spite of its later date, a motivation clause in a decree passed under Nero offers some additional light on the location of a cult of Augustus:

> ἐπεὶ ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν | τὴν ἐκ προγόνων εἰσφερόμενος | εὐσέβειαν εἴς τε τὸν προκαθη|γεμόνα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν Ἀπόλ|λωνα Διδυμέα καὶ εἰς τὸν Δελφεί|νιον καὶ εἰς τοὺς συνκαθειδρυμέ|νους αὐτοῖς Σεβαστοὺς
>
> since our *demos* carries on the reverence inherited from our forefathers towards the guide of our *polis*, Apollo Didymeus, and to Delphinios, and to the *Sebastoi* who are founded with them
>
> (*Milet* I.3 134, ll.4-10; cf. *LSAM* 53; own translation)

The key phrase for our purposes – τοὺς συνκαθειδρυμένους αὐτοῖς Σεβαστοὺς – has mostly been taken to indicate that the *Sebastoi* accompanied the state divinities of Miletos as *synnaoi theoi* in their temples (generally on *synnaoi theoi*: Nock 1930; Price 1984a: 146-156; Steuernagel 2010).[195] The passage and its interpretation invite some further consideration of the use of σύνναος and its relation to συνκαθειδρυμένος,[196] the sculptural arrangements in sacred spaces, and the mention of Delphinios.

Statues of divinities and rulers set up alongside the primary occupant(s) of a sacred place were a common sight, but their presence did not necessarily produce joint cults nor allowed for their signification as *synnaoi theoi*. The appeal to the term σύνναος in translations and commentaries of our phrase may surprise, as the inscription itself gives συνκαθειδρυμένος.

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[194] Two more structures for divine beings are attested in the Didymeion: a Phosphorion (*I.Didyma* 29, l.15, third century BC) and a *peribolos* of the *Angelos* (*I.Didyma* 406; Horsley & Luxford 2016: 144-145; first century AD).

[195] *Milet* VI.1, p.176 (Herrmann): "den mit ihnen als Tempelgenossen verehrten Kaisern"; Chaniotis 2003b: 180: "the deified emperors who were worshipped as their synnaoi" (though, in what is largely a German version of the same text, it reads only "den vergöttlichten Kaisern" (Chaniotis 2004: 292); Harris & Carbon (2015: no.53) leave it at "the Sebastoi who are set up next to him (sic)," but missed the mention of Delphinios; Sokolowski commented: "à l'époque impériale les divinités principales des villes étaient souvent liées aux empereurs dans un culte commun" (*LSAM* 53, on p.139). We have seen Augustus considered as sharing a temple with Apollo Didymeus before: page 125 n.188; Augustus possibly as σύνναος θεός (Günther 1989: 176).

[196] I understand συνκαθειδρύομαι in correspondence with the studies of Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge (2008; 2010: 126-130). The verb ἱδρύομαι and its derivatives were used to indicate the ritual foundation of a sacred space, altar, statue, or another object (cf. Patera 2016). For an example of the use of καθειδρύω in relation to an εἰκών of Augustus (*IG* XII.4.2 1142, ll.14-16, Haleis on Kos): καθειέρωισαν δὲ τὰν̣ | στάλαν <π>αρὰ τὰν καθειδρυμέναν εἰ̣|κόνα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. See also the foundation of a statue of Augustus in Ephesos: τῆς | καθιδρύσεως τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (*I.Ephesos* III 902, ll.2-3; see chapter 1).

Arthur Nock's (1930) classic article on the subject argued that *synnaoi theoi* were primarily a phenomenon of Ptolemaic Egypt and joint cults of Roman emperors and other divinities were, in fact, a rare sight in Asia Minor (see especially: p.37-40; cf. Frija 2012: 115-119).[197] A basic query of συνναο* and συνναω* in the epigraphic database of the Packard Humanities Institute resulted in a majority of occurrences around Egypt.[198] Many of the instances found outside Egypt appear in relation to the deities Serapis, Isis, Anubis, and/or Harpokrates. In these inscriptions, the deities are collectively called θεοὶ συννάοι and, sometimes, θεοὶ συμβώμοι.[199] This characterisation seems rather different from our συνκαθειδρυμένοι: 'consecrated or ritually founded with'. It indicates a spatial and ritual relationship between the *Sebastoi* and Apollo Didymeus as well as Apollo Delphinios, but not to a collective of gods. We are, therefore, well-advised to refrain from conflating σύνναοι θεοί with συνκαθειδρυμένοι Σεβαστοί.[200]

A second consideration concerns the relationship between sacred spaces and their sculptural arrangements (Montel 2014). A well-known decree from Akraiphia dated to AD 66/67 illustrates well the point I would like to make. It stipulates that statues of Nero and Messalina were to be founded with the ancestral gods in the temple of Apollo Ptoios, the principal god of the Boeotian *koinon*: καὶ ἀγάλμα|τα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωΐου συνκαθει|δρύοντας τοῖς [ἡμῶν] πατρίοις θεοῖς [[Νέρωνος]] Διὸς | Ἐλευθερίου καὶ Θεᾶς

[197] Nock (1930: 57) even continued to suggest that these joint cults did not exist in Asia Minor, because "the honour of a joint temple might not please the citizens and equally it was not too acceptable to kings."

[198] I carried out these queries on 24th June 2021: συνναο* (n=157): Egypt, Nubia and Cyrenaica (54.1%); Aegean Islands (10.2%); Asia Minor (9.6%); συνναω* (n=26): Egypt, Nubia and Cyrenaica (84.6%); Asia Minor (7.6%). Strabo (7.7.12) used the term in reference to Dione at Dodona: ἐπειδὴ καὶ σύνναος τῷ Διὶ προσαπεδείχθη καὶ ἡ Διώνη. The only explicit use of σύνναος for a ruler or emperor that I am aware of concerns the statue of Attalos III (138-133 BC), which was dedicated in the temple of Asklepios Soter at Pergamon: καθιερῶσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμα πεντάπηχυ τεθωρακισμέ|νον καὶ βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ σκύλων ἐν τῶι ναῶι τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ἵνα ᾖι | σύνναος τῶι θεῶι (*OGIS* 332, ll.7-9; cf. Robert 1984: 472-489; Hamon 2004). In Knidos, a golden statue of Artemidoros, likely the son of C. Iulius Theopompos, was *synnaos* of Artemis Hyakynthotrophos and Epiphanes (*I.Knidos* 59, ll.12-14; Thériault 2003: 243-244).

[199] For instance: Στράτων Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδ[ι], | Ἀνούβιδι, Ἁρποκράτει, | θεοῖς συννάοις καὶ συ|[ν]βώμοις ν χαριστήριον, | ἐφ᾽ ἱερέως Λυκίσκου | τοῦ Παυσανίου Ἀ[χ]αρνέως (*ID* 2146, Delos, 127/126 BC); Σαράπ[ιδι,] Ἴσιδι, | Ἀνούβιδι | θεοῖς συννάοις | ὑπὲρ Μανίτου | τοῦ Κορράγου | τὴν [ἀ]πο[β]άσμωσιν | Κεφάλων | κατὰ πρόσταγμα (*I.Ephesos* IV 1231, Ephesos, third century BC); καὶ Ἀρετὼ Κλέωνος | Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι | θεοῖς συννάοις | καὶ συνβώμοις χαριστήριον (*IG* XII.7 255, Minoa on Amorgos, second century BC).

[200] A recent chapter title reads '*Synnaos Theos*. Images of Roman emperors in Greek temples' (Steuernagel 2010). It discusses the presence of imperial images in the temples of other divinities as well as their varied spatial arrangements. The first example given – the temple of Artemis in Sardis – hardly fits the term *synnaoi theoi* as the cult statues of the emperors stood in a *separate cella* facing in the opposite direction and having its own entrance (cf. Price 1984a: 151-152). It is hard to find a clearer visualisation of the separation of statues and cults, which nonetheless shared the same building. The term σύνναος is not textually attested for any of the chapter's three case studies.

Σεβαστῆς [[Μεσσαλίνης]] (*IG* VII 2713, ll.49-52; cf. Kantiréa 2007: appendix Ib, no.5).[201] Multiple ancestral deities were present in the temple of a single divinity and nothing indicates here that the imperial statues were to particularly stand out from the other statues. Nor did the statues of Nero and Messalina change the attribution of the sanctuary to Apollo Ptoios. At the end of the decree, it is stated that the *psephisma* was to be engraved on a stele near (the statue of) Zeus Soter on the agora as well as in the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλω|νος τοῦ Πτωΐου, ll.57-58). Similarly, the decree of our Milesian motivation clause ends with the stipulation that two *stelai* carrying the text were to be placed in the sanctuary of Apollo Didymeus and in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios (*Milet* I.3 134, ll.35-40). There is no further mention of any *Sebastoi*.[202]

Furthermore, a set of inscriptions from Amyklai, a town in the region of Sparta, shows that the use of συνκαθιδρύομαι does not necessarily imply a temple setting – an implicit assumption in the interpretation of the *Sebastoi* as *synnaoi theoi*. Two of them mention the following priests:

> ἱερέως κατὰ γέ|νος Καρνείου Βοικέτα | καὶ Καρνείου Δρομαίου | καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Δωματείτα | καὶ Ἡρακλέους Γενάρχα | καὶ Κόρας καὶ Τεμενίου | τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἤλει καὶ τῶν συν|καθειδρυμένων θεῶν | ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμέ|νοις ἱεροῖς
>
> hereditary priest of Karneios Boiketes, Karneios Dromaios, Poseidon Domatites, Herakles Genarches, Kore, and Temenios, and the gods in Elis who are founded together in the aforementioned sanctuaries
> (*IG* V.1 497, ll.11-20, ca. AD 130; own translation)
>
> ἱερέα κατὰ | [γ]ένος Ποσιδῶνος Ἀσφα|[λ]ίου, Ἀθηνᾶς Χαλκιοίκο[υ], | [Ἀ]θηνᾶς Πολιάχου καὶ τ[ῶν] | [συ]νκαθιδρυμένων ἐν [τῷ] | [τε]μένει θεῶν

[201] The erection of statues of Nero and Messalina formed part of a campaign of Epaminondas as ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ βίου καὶ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ to revive the Boeotian cult, which had lapsed into relative neglect, and took place in the particular context of Nero's proclaiming the liberty of Achaia – hence, Nero as Zeus Eleutherios (Kantiréa 2007: 81-84, 178-180).

[202] Compare the Pergamene decree honouring Attalos III: some lines after the mention of the statue of Attalos III, which was to be installed as *synnaos* in the temple of Asklepios Soter, the decree states that the priest of Asklepios needs to lead a procession every year from the prytaneion to the *temenos* of Asklepios and the king (ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανεί|ου εἰς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, *OGIS* 332, ll.15-16). Further it orders the decree to be inscribed on a marble stele and placed in the sanctuary of Asklepios in front of the temple: ἀναγρ[άψαι τ]ὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην μαρμαρίνην καὶ στῆσαι | ἐν τῶι το[ῦ] Ἀσκ[λ]ηπιοῦ ἱερῶι πρὸ τοῦ ν[α]οῦ (*OGIS* 332, ll.59-60).

> hereditary priest of Poseidon Asphalios, Athena Chalkioikos, Athena Poliachos, and the gods who are founded together in the sacred precinct
> (*IG* V.1 559, ll.13-18, late second or third century AD; own translation)

Both honorific inscriptions specify that these men were priests of divinities founded with earlier named gods and goddesses in the aforementioned sanctuaries (ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἱεροῖς) or in the sacred precinct (ἐν [τῷ τε]μένει).[203] The various spaces (τό ἱερόν; τό τέμενος; ὁ ναός), in which statues and altars could be established with those of the primary divinity/-ies, should thus not be reduced to temples alone (Nock 1930: 44-47). The precise spatial relationship of the συνκαθειδρυμένοι Σεβαστοί in the sanctuaries of Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Delphinios is, therefore, not clear.

Back in Didyma, Damianos, a *prophetes* originating from Kyzikos, consulted the oracle of Apollo Didymeus. He asked whether he was permitted to found an altar of his patron goddess, Soteira Kore, next to the altar of Demeter Karpophoros, in Apollo's 'altar-enceinte', which was holy and common to all the gods (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ σου καὶ πανθέῳ | περιβωμισμῷ: *I.Didyma* 504, ll.3-4; cf. Robert 1968b: 583-584; 1978: 471-472; Herrmann 1980b: 233 n.35; Fontenrose 1988: 162-163, with nos.30-31; Habicht 2010: 318-321). Agathon, another *prophetes*, asked the oracle whether the *Horai* would appreciate hearing hymns in accompaniment with the rituals carried out at their altar or would rather prefer silence (Weber 2008). Hermias, at the time *tamias* of the temple of Apollo Didymeus, observed that an altar of Tyche in the Didymeion was no longer visible due to surrounding buildings and inquired at the oracle whether Tyche would appreciate it should her altar be founded amongst the other altars in the περιβωμισμός (Fontenrose 1988: no.27). These oracular texts mostly date to the (late) third century AD. The 'altar-enceinte' and some of its altars were certainly in existence before these texts were inscribed, but we do not know for how long.[204] In spite of the chronological

[203] Compare *LSAM* 13, ll.7-10 (Pergamon, late (?) second century BC): τὴν μὲν ἱερωσύνη | τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν ἐν τῶι | Ἀσκληπιείωι ἱδρυμένων εἶναι Ἀσκληπιάδου | τοῦ Ἀ[ρχί]ου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἀσκληπιάδου; cf. *CGRN* 206 'Decree concerning the priesthood of Asclepius at Pergamon', http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/206/ (accessed 13-02-2021), with brief comment by Pirenne-Delforge (2008: 106).

[204] The *tamias* Andronikos Potamon's son dedicated a stone altar to Poseidon Asphaleos in the late second century BC (*I.Didyma* 132; Fontenrose 1988: no.14). Fontenrose (1988: 162-163) seemed eager to place all attested altars in the 'altar-enceinte'. This cannot be concluded from the evidence. Nonetheless, several altars of divinities other than Apollo Didymeus dating to earlier periods have been found: for instance, an altar of Artemis Lykeia (*I.Didyma* 120, third century BC), of Asklepios Soter (*I.Didyma* 121; late Hellenistic), of Aphrodite (*I.Didyma* 122, Hellenistic period) and of the Kouretes (*I.Didyma* 131, third century BC).

gap, what is significant is the possibility of a designated (open?) space for rituals and altars in honour of a range of relatively minor divinities within the sanctuary of Apollo Didymeus and taken care of by the highest officials of the sanctuary.[205] Within such a context of what appears as a cacophony of ritual expressions in various spaces to different divinities, it is not so easy, with few scattered clues and no indication of spatial particularities, to make sense of the precise spatial and cultic configuration and significance of sculpted emperors founded with Apollo Didymeus.

For a third consideration, we move to the centre of Miletos, because, in our motivation clause, the *Sebastoi* are said to be established not only with Apollo Didymeus, but also with (Apollo) Delphinios. The Delphinion was the central cultic and political space of Miletos in the city proper (Plans 4-5: 'Delphinion'). For all its repairs, renovations, enlargements, and modifications ever since its original construction in the sixth century BC, the sanctuary kept its fundamental character as an open space surrounded by stoas (*Milet* I.3, p.125-161, 407-412; Herda 2005; Niewöhner 2016: 62-66). The state cult of Apollo Delphinios was centred on an altar facing towards an arrangement of three exedrae, the eastern one of which was turned into the direction of the altar. In later times, a round building raised on a four-stepped *krepidoma* replaced the latter exedra (*Milet* I.3, p.147-153). Such circular structures allowed for free-standing statues to be circumambulated and viewed from all sides (Montel 2010). It has been proposed that this building housed the cult statue of Apollo Delphinios from the first century BC onwards (*Milet* I.3, p.221: 409-411; Herda 2005: 289, with n.225; 2011: 77, with n.125; Niewöhner 2016: 65).[206] Should this proposal be correct, the visual intentions and

[205] For the *tamiai* and their assistance in cultic and administrative activities in the Didymeion, see Fontenrose 1988: 56-59.

[206] This proposal is based on the inscription of Nannion, daughter of Iason Demetrios' son (see page 125 n.187), who, in commemorating her *hydrophoria* of Artemis Pythie in 7/6 BC, states the following about one of her forefathers, Demetrios Glaukon's son: προφητεύων ἀ|νέθηκε τοὺς λαμπαδηφόρους ἀνδρι|άντας καὶ περιραντήρια δύο ἐν τῷ να|ῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμέως, | στεφανηφορῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν | Δελφείνιον καὶ τὸν αἰθίοπα τὸν χάλκηον | καὶ ἐν τῷ θηάτρῳ λαμπαδηφόρους ἀν|δριάντας δύο (*I.Didyma* 346, ll.9-17). The recorded statue of Apollo Delphinios (ll.14-15) is taken to be the one placed in the round building at the Delphinion. The same Demetrios appears as sculptor of a statue of Apollonios, son of Epikrates, which together with a statue of his father, Epikrates Pylon's son, was erected by the *demos* of the Milesians (*Milet* I.9 331-332; *Milet* VI.1 331-332). The political activity of these persons has been dated to the late second century BC (compare *Milet* I.3 107) and they may have been the ancestors of the later C. Iulius Epikrates (*Milet* I.7, p.326; *Milet* I.9, p.160-161; cf. Günther 1989: 174-175; Herrmann 1994: 205 n.10). All of this is understood to offer a date for both the round building and the statue of Apollo Delphinios, allegedly placed within it. An impression of the cult statue is offered on the reverse of various Milesian coins: *RPC* I 2712 (reign of Nero); *RPC* VI.2 1077, 1158, 3027 (online; reign of Marcus Aurelius); *RPC* VI 5309 (online; reign of Elagabalus); also on a Hadrianic *cistophorus*: *RPC* III 1350.

spatial limitations of such a round building make it unlikely that any imperial statuary was set up immediately adjacent to Apollo Delphinios in this round building.

In the space surrounding the monumental altar of Apollo Delphinios, five archaic, round altars were placed. They included an altar of Hekate, one of Zeus Soter, and one of Artemis (*Milet* I.3 129-131). In the ritual regulations of the *molpoi* (a body of officials associated with the Milesian state and the cult of Apollo Delphinios) engraved around 200 BC, we find the mention of sacrifices to Hestia and cake-offerings to Hekate (*Milet* I.3 133, ll.12-13, 36-37).[207] Ritual activities within the Delphinion, thus, addressed a number of divinities beyond Apollo Delphinios himself. This is supported by a set of inscriptions, which refer to Apollo Delphinios in combination with οἱ ἐντεμένιοι θεοὶ - the gods in the *temenos* (*Milet* I.3 159, ca. 300 BC; *Milet* VI.3 1050, ll.2-3, third century BC; *Milet* VI.3 1221, ll.3-4, ca. 300-275 BC). One of them stipulates that the priest of Apollo Delphinios is responsible for the other gods in the *temenos* (καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν | [ἐν]τεμενίων ὅσων ἱερᾶται ὁ ἱέρεως, *Milet* VI.3 1221, ll.3-4).[208] Some researchers have substantially lengthened the list of cults in the Delphinion by including any possible divinity mentioned in dedications or represented by a statue set up by whichever person (Herda 2005: 247-248; 2011: 67-68). In this way, a statue of Seleukos I Nikator (312-280 BC) set up by the *demos* of the Milesians is taken to indicate a cult of this Hellenistic ruler. The statue was, however, a votive object dedicated to Apollo (*Milet* I.3 158).[209] In the same way, it is alleged that a cult of Zeus Dushara had its place in the cultic centre of the Milesian state. In fact, Zeus – assimilated to Dushara, one of the state deities of the Nabataean kingdom – occurs only as the addressee in a Greek and Semitic dedicatory text accompanying an offering made in the sanctuary by Syllaios, who, at the time, was the primary governmental

[207] For an extensive commentary and discussion of this inscription: Herda 2006, with the reviews of Parker (2008) and Chaniotis (2010), as well as Herda's later article (Herda 2011). Text, translation, commentary, and additional information is available online: *CGRN* 201 'Dossier of Regulations of the Molpoi at Miletos', http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/201/ (last accessed: 30-01-2021).

[208] See also *CGRN* 100 'Contract (?) for the priest of Apollo (Delphinios) at Miletos', http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/100/ (accessed 01-02-2021). The use of the term was not restricted to the third century BC nor to Apollo Delphinios. In a public advertisement dating to the late first century AD, a priesthood is put up for sale: ἱεροσύνην Ἀσκληπιοῦ πρὸ πόλε|ως καὶ τῶν ἐντεμενίων αὐτοῦ θεῶν πάν|των (*Milet* I.7 204, ll.6-8; cf. *Milet* VI.1 204; *LSAM* 52 = *SEG* 15.694).

[209] On the statue base, Seleukos I is only characterised as *basileus*. Also Ptolemaios I was represented by a statue set up in the Delphinion. This statue is mentioned in a decree of Miletos responding to his successor, Ptolemaios II, which orders the decree and the letter to be inscribed on a stele set up next to the statue of his father (*Milet* I.3 139, ll.52-54, ca. 262-260 BC):
ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε κα[ὶ | τὴ]ν̣ ἐπιστολὴν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι εἰς τὸ ἱερ[ὸ]ν̣ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ τὴ[ν | εἰκόν]α τὴμ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος.

official of the Nabataean king, Obodas II (Milet I.3 165, 10/9 BC; for Syllaios: Strabo 14.4.22-24; Josephus *AJ* XVI.220-225, 275-281; Barkay 2017).

A cult of the Roman emperors is also included in this list of cults in the Delphinion (*Milet* I.3, p.412; Herda 2005: 247-248, with n.32; 2011: 68, with n.58). Apart from referencing our Neronian decree, the evidence cited is a marble statue base, on which is engraved an imperial letter of the emperor Claudius communicating the extension of privileges to those *hieroneikai* and *technitai* around Dionysos (τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερονείκαις καὶ τεχνεί|ταις; *Milet* I.3 156, ll.4-5; AD 48). Even if the assumption that the statue represented this emperor is reasonable enough, it does not qualify for evidence of cultic honours. The engraving of a letter, addressed to the Dionysian *hieroneikai* and *technitai*, does not particularly communicate the message that the statue was intended to be receiving cultic honours. It may be a good reminder to note here that, apart from the wild variety of stone copies of state documents (treaties, citizenship and proxeny decrees, lists of *stephanephoroi*), the Delphinion housed a multiplicity of honorific statues of exemplary Milesian citizens as well as officials of the Roman state – none of whom received cultic honours (*Milet* I.3 164, 166-171, 173, 175-176).

In my view more convincing evidence for the inclusion of a cult of Augustus in the Delphinion is the discovery of a round, marble altar carrying the following inscription:

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

of Imperator Caesar, son of god, god Augustus
(*Milet* I.9 335; *Milet* VI.1 335; own translation)

Originally erroneously identified as statue base, this altar was found on the northern side of the quadriporticus encircling the *palaestra* of the so-called Capito-gymnasium (Plan 5: 'Capito-Thermen'; *Milet* I.9, p.162; corrected in *Milet* VI.1, p.212). The synchronous use of both θεός and υἱὸς θεοῦ for Augustus is not necessarily an indication for a date after his death in AD 14 (*contra*: *Milet* I.9, p.162; cf. *Milet* VI.1, p.212; Price 1984b: 79-85, esp. 84). On the contrary, Augustus was infrequently called 'son of god' after AD 14, when it was no longer his adoptive

father but Augustus himself who served as the primary model of divine leadership.[210] It seems, thus, most likely that this altar dates to the reign of Augustus himself. At the time, the Capito-gymnasium did not exist.[211] As no archaeological research has been carried out in the area to test for any potential predecessors to the gymnasium, the character of this specific part of town under Augustus is unclear (Plan 4: '???'). The altar was obviously found out of its original context. Yet, it is striking that the northern part of the Capito-gymnasium bordered directly – save a narrow alley – onto the southern stoa of the Delphinion (Plan 5: 'Delphinion'; 'Capito-Thermen'). It would seem, therefore, to me as a reasonable suggestion that this altar originated from the *temenos* of Apollo Delphinios and that Augustus had indeed been welcomed there as one of the θεοὶ ἐντεμένιοι (cf. Herda 2013: 78 n.38).

Direct evidence for the localisation of a cult of Augustus in Miletos is scarce. The reconsideration of the available archaeological and epigraphic evidence has demonstrated that this cult was most probably situated within the *temenos* of Apollo Didymeus. It may have been there that a temple of Augustus was situated, and that the attested *archiereus* had its institutional base. At the same time, an altar of Augustus had likely been set up in the Delphinion, the cultic centre in Miletos itself. By the time of the reign of emperor Nero, an official decree of the *demos* could refer to the *Sebastoi* as having been founded with both Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Delphinios. Processions and roads led from Miletos to Didyma, from the Delphinion to the Didymeion, symbolically and ritually connecting the city and the sanctuary, Apollo Delphinios and Apollo Didymeus (Slawisch & Wilkinson 2018). With cultic representations of Augustus and later emperors present both in the Delphinion and the Didymeion, deified emperors were incorporated into cultic and political spaces and rituals, so defining for the Milesian state and community.

[210] I am only aware of epigraphic records from Asia Minor, recording Augustus as simultaneously θεός and υἱὸς θεοῦ, which date to the time of his own reign. For instance: Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα | θεοῦ υἱὸν θεὸν Σεβαστὸν | τὸν κτίστην (*I.Ephesos* II 252, ll.1-3, 27 BC-AD 14); Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱὸν θεὸν Σε[βα]στὸν (*I.Ilion* 81, 12/11 BC); Αὐτοκράτορα Καί|σαρα θεοῦ υἱὸν θεὸν (*SEG* 54.752, ca. 25-23 BC, Halasarna on Kos); ἐπὶ ἱερέος τᾶς Ῥώμας καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος | Καίσαρος θεῶ υἱῶ θεῶ Σεβαστῶ (*I.Kyme* 19, ll.55-56, 2 BC -AD 14); Αὐτοκράτορι Καί|σαρι θεῶι θεοῦ υἱ|ῶι Σεβαστῶι (*TAM* V.2 902, ll.1-3, 27BC-AD 14, Thyateira; cf. *TAM* V.2 903, ll.10-12); Αὐτοκράτορι | Καίσαρι θεῶι | Σεβαστῶι θεοῦ υἱῶι (Dreyer & Engelmann 2006: 173). Augustus as θεός and υἱὸς θεοῦ also appears on the statue base of C. Iulius Epikrates, which was re-erected in the mid-first century AD after its destruction by fire (*Milet* VI.3 1131, ll.3-4; see pages 155-156). The vocabulary may reflect the originally inscribed text of the statue base, and so cannot form a definitive argument for its use decades after the reign of Augustus.

[211] On Cn. Vergilius Capito, his benefactions, and his role in the development of imperial cults in Miletos, see chapter 4.

The evidence of the Delphinion and Didymeion demonstrates that the cult of Augustus was integrated into a continuously developing forest of enceintes, temples, shrines, altars, statues, festivities, and rituals. In addition, public memorials and documents such as honorific statues, treaties, and citizenship- and proxeny decrees were on display there. These sacred spaces manifested a specifically Milesian constellation of immortal and mortal benefactors. Considered as part of such a constellation, Augustus was only one in a long line of gods and people with which the Milesian state engaged, which it petitioned for favours, privileges, and support, and which it thanked and honoured in response to benign actions. In order to understand the position of the deified Augustus and his cult within this politico-religious constellation, it is necessary to relate this constellation to the wider social constellation of Augustan Miletos and the primary actors involved in the cult of Augustus.

C. Iulius Epikrates and the Cult of Augustus at Miletos

In discussing evidentiary clues for the spatial positioning of a cult of Augustus at Miletos in the previous section, we have come across C. Iulius Epikrates. Peter Herrmann's 1994 article 'Milet unter Augustus. C. Iulius Epikrates und die Anfänge des Kaiserkults' has fundamentally advanced our understanding of this person, his role in Augustan Miletos, and his connection to the Milesian cult of Augustus.[212] In his article, Herrmann discussed a round column which functioned as a statue base of Epikrates and took the opportunity to revisit the entire epigraphic dossier concerning Epikrates and his family (Table 3; Stemma 1; for the statue base: *Milet* VI.3 1131). A key result was the recognition that Eukrates, an alleged brother of Epikrates, had never existed; that it was, in fact, Epikrates himself.

As one of the leading citizens in Miletos and the province of Asia with friendly connections to the Roman *hegemones* (*Milet* I.2 7, l.12; friend of emperor Augustus: *Milet* VI.3 1131, ll.1-4), and amongst the first to hold a chief-priesthood of Augustus in Miletos, Ionia, and Asia, C. Iulius Epikrates often figures in treatises on the late republican and Augustan 'provincial' or 'local' elites of Asia acting as bridges between their respective *poleis* and *koina*, and the centre of imperial power. Characteristically, these elites acquired a range of privileges and benefactions for their hometowns and, in return, were hailed as fatherland-loving

[212] Two years later, a slightly adapted version of this article was published in a volume presented to Harry Pleket: Herrmann 1996b.

benefactors, founders, and saviours whilst being showered with honours, which, apart from statues, prominent seats, and privileged official positions, could comprise lavish funerary monuments at prominent intra-mural locations (e.g. Robert 1966: 420; Gauthier 1985; Strubbe 2004; Rizakis 2007; 2015; Zuiderhoek 2009; Henry 2013; Heller & Van Nijf 2017; for Epikrates in particular: Herrmann 1994: esp. 224-234; Günther 1989; 2006: 168-170; Frija 2012: no.162).[213] C. Iulius Epikrates is primarily understood as an example of 'provincial' and 'local' elites operating as intermediaries between their respective communities and the Roman *hegemones* and, as such, fits the modelling of imperial cults and priests in Roman Asia as a 'system of exchange' (Price 1984a: 65-77; Frija 2012: 36-38). In the remainder of this chapter, I will consider this 'system of exchange' more specifically in relation to Epikrates and the historical conditions in which he was active. I, therefore, view Epikrates not as one of the Greeks but as a Milesian citizen, involved in cults of Augustus on various organisational levels and active in the Milesian community and the wider Aegean (this section) as well as the *koinon* of Ionia and the Maeander delta (next section).

C. Iulius Epikrates is recorded three times as *archiereus* and once as *archiereus* for life. The latter title appears on a wall-fragment found near the *bouleuterion*, which carried the text of a dedication of the *demos* to Epikrates (Herrmann 1994: 231-232, with abb.2; *Milet* VI.1, p.156; revised edition of *Milet* I.2 6). He is also referred to as *philopatris* and son of Iulius Apollonios, *heros*. I give Herrmann's edition:

Ὁ δῆμ[ος]
Γαΐ̈ωι Ἰουλίωι Ἰουλ[ίου Ἀπολ]-
λωνίο[υ] ἥ̣ρωος [υἱῶι ?]
Ἐπικρά[τει φιλο]πά[τριδι]
τῶι δι[ὰ βί]ου ἀρχιερεῖ
[κ]αθιέρωσεν

[213] In this chapter, I limit references to studies of Epikrates and his family that predate Herrmann's article. In scholarly publications, C. Iulius Epikrates appears frequently in the company of other leading aristocrats of Asia during the late republican and Augustan period, who were amongst the first to obtain Roman citizenship (Ferrary 2005; Günther 2006: 168-169; Frija 2012: 176-179; 2017); e.g. (Cn. Pompeius) Theophanes and Potamon of Mytilene (Parker 1991), (C. Iulius) Theopompos of Knidos (Thériault 2003; Bruns-Özgan 2009), (C. Iulius) Xenon of Thyateira (e.g. *TAM* V.2 1098) as well as his compatriot (M. Antonius) Attalos Lepidas (*TAM* V.2 934; Frija 2012: no.223), (C. Iulius) Hybreas of Mylasa (Delrieux & Ferriès 2004), and (C. Iulius) Seleukos of Rhosos (Raggi 2004). C. Iulius Zoilos of Aphrodisias is often included, but he was in fact an imperial freedman (Robert 1966: 413-432; Reynolds 1982: 156-164, nos.33-40; Quatember 2019: 49-53).

The *demos* dedicated (it) to Gaius Iulius Epikrates, son of Iulius Apollonios *heros*, devoted to the fatherland, chief-priest for life
(*Milet* VI.1, p.156; own translation)

In place of the question-mark, Herrmann (1994: 232) considered ἥρωι or a relatively short tribe such as Φαβία. In favour of the former possibility is the observation that Epikrates, like his father, was posthumously venerated as *heros* (*Milet* VI.3 1131, l.1; *IG* XII.6/1 318 II, ll.2-3), while a tribe is never recorded. The wall-fragment was paired with another wall-fragment found near the *bouleuterion*, which carried a similar dedication of the *demos* to Epikrates' father (*SEG* 44.942; Herrmann 1994: 231, with abb.1; *Milet* VI.1, p.159; revised edition of *Milet* I.2 15):

[Ὁ δῆμος]
[Γαΐωι Ἰου]λίωι Ἐπι[κράτους]
[υἱῶι Ἀπο]λλων[ίωι ἥρωι]
[καθι]έρωσ[εν]

The *demos* dedicated (it) to Gaius Iulius Apollonios *heros*, son of Epikrates
(*Milet* VI.1, p.159; own translation)

In his commentary, Herrmann (1994: 233-234) suggested that the fragments originally belonged to the walls of a funerary monument and pointed to the similarities with the dedication of the *Xenoneon* to C. Iulius Xenon *heros* at Thyateira (*TAM* V.2 1098). Burkhard Emme (2014: 173-177) has made it seem plausible that these fragments belonged to the monument in the courtyard of the *bouleuterion* (see above; for contemporary 'Memorialbauten': Berns 2003: 20-52). In any case, in combination with the other inscriptions recording Epikrates as *archiereus* without life-long tenure, this dedication demonstrates that he received the honour of the chief-priesthood for life at a later stage in his life.[214] Given that the honorific decree for Epikrates as *archiereus* dates to 6/5 BC (*SEG* 44.940; Herrmann 1994: 219-223) and Nikophon Tryphon's son is attested as *archiereus* in AD 11/12 (*Milet* I.3 127, l.34), we can deduce not only that this honour was granted to Epikrates in the period between

[214] Compare, for instance, M. Ulpius Appuleianus Flavianus who on the same statue base in Aizanoi is recorded as having been priest of Zeus (*SEG* 35.1365, l.11: ἱερατεύσαντα τοῦ Διὸς) and as priest of Zeus for life (*SEG* 35.1365, l.16: ἱερέα τοῦ Διὸς διὰ βίου).

those dates, but also that Epikrates was no longer chief-priest by AD 11/12.[215] Noteworthy, too, is the observation that, of all the possible ways of commemorating Epikrates, the *demos* chose to engrave his devotion to his fatherland and his chief-priesthood for life.[216] While *archiereis* for life do occasionally occur in other *poleis* of the province of Asia (Herrmann 1994: 225, with n.99),[217] the office of *archiereus* was generally held only for one year (Frija 2012: 76-77).[218] The honour of life-long tenure as *archiereus* awarded to Epikrates was, thus, not just exceptional for Miletos but for the province.

The emphasis on Epikrates as *archiereus* appears in three further inscriptions. A statue base erected by the *demos* of the Milesians carried the following inscription:

[vac. ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησί]ων Γάϊον Ἰούλιον vac.
[Ἰουλίου Ἀπολλωνίου ἥ]ρωος υἱὸν Ἐπικρατέα vac.
[- - - - - - - - - - -]ον ἀρχιερέα γενόμεν[ον][219]

> The *demos* of the Milesians dedicated (it) to Gaius Iulius Epikrates, son of Iulius Apollonios *heros*, [...] former chief-priest
> (*SEG* 39.1255; *Milet* VI.3 1130; own translation)

A second recording of Epikrates as *archiereus* comes from Aegiale on the island of Amorgos (*IGR* IV 998 = *IG* XII.7 418; Herrmann 1994: 205 n.11; 1996b: 11 n.24). The first seventeen lines

[215] It does not necessarily mean that Epikrates had died by then, as he could have chosen to retire from office. However, a date of death in the early decades AD would fit the dating of the architectural elements of the monument in the courtyard of the *bouleuterion* (Köster 2004: 29) and corresponds to Epikrates' *stephanephoria* in 40/39 BC (*Milet* I.3 126, l.20), which he likely held when he was in his twenties. He would then have reached the age of about seventy years.

[216] Note that the dedication to his father on the same monument lacks any honorific titles or particular offices.

[217] For the early decades of imperial rule, we can mention M. Antonius Attalos Lepidas at Thyateira (*TAM* V.2 934; Frija 2012: no.223) and C. Claudius Diaphenes at Mytilene (*IG* XII.2 656 = *IGR* IV 95; Frija 2012b: no.29). Other examples date to later periods, and stem only from Thyateira and Aphrodisias (Frija 2012b: 79-81, with no.227, 233, Thyateira; no.263 and possibly no.253, Aphrodisias). C. Iulius Hybreas of Mylasa was chief-priest διὰ γένους (*I.Mylasa* 534-536; Delrieux & Ferriès 2004: 509-511; Frija 2012: no.332).

[218] The infrequency of a life-long chief-priesthood was not acknowledged as such by Peter Herrmann (1994: 225): "Die Amtsausübung διὰ βίου ist bei städtischen Priestertümern verbreitet, und wohl von daher ist es auch zu erklären, daß sie schon von den Anfängen an nicht selten auch im Bereich des munizipalen Kaiserkults begegnet in der Figur eines ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου."

[219] Wolfgang Günther (1989: 177) proposed to restore [τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ πρῶτ]ον ἀρχιερεά γενόμεν[ον] (cf. *Milet* VI.3 1130; Herrmann 1996b: 11-12). Peter Herrmann (1994: 226 n.104) found little support for the alternative [τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας πρῶτ]ον ἀρχιερέα γενόμενον, because, in the Augustan period, the chief-priest of Asia in Pergamon was commonly known with its more elaborate titulature (ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ: *Sardis* VII.1 8, ll.75, 83-84, 89-90, 99-100; ἀρχιερεῖ τοῦ | [Σ]ε[βαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ θεᾶς Ῥώ|μης]: *TAM* V.2 1098). It is likely that we are dealing here with the *archiereia* in Miletos (Frija 2012: no.162). Compare a statue base from Eleusis: ἀρχιερέα πρῶτον γενόμε|νον τῶν Σεβαστῶν (*IG* II^2 3562, ll.3-4).

of the inscription list a number of people: Aristeas, whose office is unknown, Diokles Aristeas' son as *stephanephoros*, and nine *molpoi*, amongst whom is one Roman citizen (Marcus Babullius, Lucius' son) and an Epicurean philosopher (...okritos, Aristeas' son). The appearance of a *stephanephoros* and *molpoi* makes it likely that the community of Aegiale had modelled their political organisation after that of the Milesians by the time of the reign of Augustus.[220] This group made a dedication to the gods (l.24: [θε]οῖς) and, as lines 17 to 22 inform us,

> [ὑπὲ]ρ τῆς σωτηρί|[ας τοῦ ἀ]ρχιερέως Γαί|[ου Ἰουλί]ου Γαΐου Ἀπολ|[λωνίου] ἥρωος υἱοῦ | [Ἐπικράτ]ους φιλο|[πάτριδ]ος
>
> for the well-being of the chief-priest Gaius Iulius Epikrates, son of Gaius Apollonios *heros*, devoted to the fatherland

C. Iulius Epikrates is recorded as *archiereus* and *philopatris*.[221] This particular combination appears in the above dedication of the Milesian *demos* to C. Iulius Epikrates and in a decree of 6/5 BC honouring Epikrates (*SEG* 44.940, ll.4-6: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Γά[ϊος Ἰο]ύλιος [Ἰ]ουλίου Ἀπολ|λωνίου ἥρωος υἱὸς Ἐ[πι]κράτης [φιλ]όπατρ[ι]ς). Epikrates had been *stephanephoros* and, possibly, *prophetes* (*Milet* I.3 126, l.20; *I.Didyma* 202 II; 205, l.1), and on the posthumously erected statue base, he is recorded as gymnasiarch of all the gymnasia and as having fulfilled all liturgies (*Milet* VI.3 1131, ll.10-13). None of these alternative offices and liturgies appear, however, in the honorific inscriptions dating to the Augustan period. It seems, therefore, that, under Augustus, the Milesian community as well as Milesians on the island of Amorgos valued Epikrates as a man devoted to the fatherland and as *archiereus*.

The preserved fragments of the decree of the *synhedroi* dated to 6/5 BC provide us with additional information about Epikrates. The start of the decree gives a general character sketch presenting Epikrates as a man devoted to the fatherland, who in other respects too

[220] Diokles, Aristeas' son, does not appear in the Milesian lists of *stephanephoroi*, certainly not during the time C. Iulius Epikrates was alive. It is, thus, clear that Aegiale had an autonomous government. The inscriptions listing 'Milesians residing in Aegiale of Amorgos' mostly date to the second and third centuries AD (*IG* XII.7 395-396; 399-410). Milesian settlement may have had its origins, however, in the third century BC, contemporary with the settlement of Samians in Minoa on the same island (Constantakopoulou 2007: 183-184, 231; 2014; Le Quéré 2015: 204-205).

[221] Also Epikrates' father appears as *heros*. The only difference with the Milesian inscriptions is that the *nomen gentile* of Apollonios, Iulius, is replaced by his *praenomen*; compare *SEG* 44.942, ll.2-3; *Milet* I.2 7a, ll.4-5; *Milet* VI.3 1409 (restored in *Milet* VI.3 1130; *Milet* I.7 256, *Milet* VI.1 256).

was a virtuous and good man, decorated with noble birth, splendour, and dignity, who was valued both because of his excellent merit as one of the first not only in his fatherland but also in entire Asia, and because of his zeal apparent ever since his early youth.[222] We can trace the text again more fully on another fragment of the decree, which runs as follows:

οὐδὲ οι.....
[τ]ῆς κοινῆς ὑποστά[σεως, ἃ μὲν τούτ]ων παρ᾽ ἀτου προ[δα]-
[νε]ίζων ἄτοκα, ἃ δὲ χαρ̣[ιζόμενος ἀν]απόδοτα· ἔτι δὲ
[τ]ὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιχρῶν ἐν [ταῖς διεγγυήσ]εσιν πίστιν, δι᾽ὧ[ν]
[π]ολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα συμβαίνει καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἕκα[σ]-
[τ]ον συναίσθησιν λαμβάνειν τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεινομένω[ν]
[ε]ὐεργεσιῶν, ταῖς τε τῶν ἡγουμένων φιλίαις τε καὶ ξενία[ις]
[κα]ταχρώμενος εἰς τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα, καθότι
[ἕ]ν ἕκαστον τῶν πρασσομένων ἐπ᾽ εὐποίᾳ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ συμβαί-
νει ἑκάστοτε τῶι δήμωι φανερὰ καθίστασθαι, δι᾽ὧν τε τε-
λεῖ ἀδιαλείπτως πρεσβειῶν τε καὶ ἐγδικιῶν, ἐξ ὧν συμβαί-
νει εὐξῆσθαι μὲν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου προσό-
δους ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ κεκοσμῆσθαι ἀναθήμασι τόν τε ν[ε]-
ὼ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμέως καθὼς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ κ[αὶ]
τὴν πόλιν, δι᾽ὧν τε πεποίηται ἐκ το̣[ῦ ἰδίου] βίου ἀναθη[μά]-
των κεκοσμημένης ε[.....]υτου καὶ τοῦ ν[εὼ]
τοῦ ἐν Διδύμοις ἄτινα…

(6) …and not…out of the common reserves (?)...[money],[223] which he, in part, advanced by himself without charging interest, and, in part, offered unconditionally.[224] Moreover, he made use of his personal credit in the [provisioning of securit]ies, which (10), in great measure, is why each of the benefactions originating from him seizes the consciousness, collectively and privately; and he utilises his relations of friendship and hospitality with the *hegemones* for the benefit of the fatherland, so much so that, each time, every single one of the negotiations for beneficence carried out by him (15) is rendered manifest to the *demos*, both because of embassies and public advocacies, which he performed incessantly, due to which the revenues of the god and of the *demos* were increased by him and both the temple of Apollo Didymeus just like (the one?) of Augustus and (20) the *polis* were decorated with dedications; and because of

[222] *SEG* 44.940a, ll.5-12: [φιλ]όπατρ[ι]ς | ἀνὴρ καὶ τἆλλα καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθ[ὸς] ὑπάρχων, | εὐγενήᾳ τε καὶ λαμπρότητ[ι καὶ δό]ξῃ κεκοσ|μημένος, διὰ πᾶσάν τε ἀρε[τὴν τί]μιος, οὐ | μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς πα[τρ]ίδος ἀλλ[ὰ καὶ ἐ]π[ὶ] τῆς | συνπάσης Ἀσίας πρωτεύω[ν, ἄμα δὲ? Δι]ά | [τ]ε τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡ[λικίας γενόμε|νον ζ]ῆλον.
[223] Compare: [χρ]ημάτων ποιούμ[ενος] (*SEG* 44.940b, l.5).
[224] Literally, ἀναπόδοτος means ‘not returned’, ‘not given back’.

dedications which he had made at his own costs, as he himself (?) had adorned...and of the temple in Didyma whichever...
(*SEG* 44.940b, ll.6-22; Herrmann 1994: 221-223; slight revision of *Milet* I.2 7b, ll.6-22; own translation)

The passage gives a relatively detailed picture of the ways in which Epikrates assisted the *polis* of Miletos (Herrmann 1994: 223-224). Epikrates used his own credit to provide interest-free loans and gifts directly to the *polis* (ll.7-8); to stand surety for third-party loans to the *polis* (ll.8-9); to cover the costs of the production of votive objects (ll.20-21). As ambassador and public advocate, he successfully negotiated and secured benefactions from those governing the province, and likely Augustus himself (*Milet* VI.3 1131, ll.1-4), which resulted in increased sacred and public revenues as well as the adornment of the Didymeion and the *polis* (ll.12-20). Concrete examples of these benefactions appear in the posthumously erected statue base: renewal or extension of *asylia* of the Didymeion; a grant of reclaimed lands in the Maeander delta; tax-exemption of the *Didymeia*; tax-exemption for transport between Miletos and the islands forming part of its territory (*Milet* VI.3 1131, ll.4-8; Herrmann 1994: 210-215). The decree of the *synhedroi* also puts stress on the consequences of Epikrates' actions for the community: his benefactions planted themselves into the collective and private consciousness (ll.9-12) and his successful negotiations were perceptible to the *demos* (ll.13-15). Aside from the financial aspects of Epikrates' devotion to his fatherland, the emphasis on consciousness (συναίσθησιν) and public visibility (τῶι δήμωι φανερὰ) signals a concern with public recognition and awareness. To better understand how C. Iulius Epikrates arrived at this exceptional position within the Milesian community and its connection with his chief-priesthood, I will now turn to the perceptibility and performance of power relations, his family relations, and the socio-economic conditions prevalent in late republican and Augustan Miletos.

Viviane Pirenne-Delforge (2010) has recently noted the shared role of priests and statues as intermediaries in the communication between divine and human agents. In the case of divine emperors and imperial power, ambassadors played a similar intermediary role linking a community with imperial authorities (Millar 1977: 375-385, 410-420; Eilers 2009). For all three – priests, statues, and ambassadors –, engagements in words (rhetoric, prayers, praise) and deeds (gifts, sacrifices) were intended to secure favours and benefits for a community or

person. Gabrielle Frija (2012: 105-111) observed no essential overlap between imperial priests and ambassadors. When such priests were active as ambassadors, she suggested, this was because priests and ambassadors originated from the same social circles, not from an institutional relationship. The annual tenure of *archiereis* in office, I think, goes a long way to explain this apparent disjunction. C. Iulius Epikrates, however, did not only incessantly (ἀδιαλείπτως, l.16) act as ambassador but he was *archiereus* throughout the Augustan period. Both intermediary roles were entwined with his friendship with the *hegemones* and Augustus himself. C. Iulius Epikrates was the essential link between imperial power and the Milesian community: his offices and beneficiary actions were both instruments in upholding, and symptoms resulting from, this link.

Priestly and sculptural mediators were important in the perceptible representation of the divine (Pirenne-Delforge 2010). Ritual customs such as the crowning and dressing of statues, the opening and closing of temple doors, the veiling and unveiling of statues through the use of barriers and curtains, the careful placement of statues at a most visible spot (e.g. ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανεστάτωι τόπωι, *OGIS* 332, l.12) as well as the dressing up of priests in the guise of the divinities they represent, all signal the attention paid to the (in)visibility and visualisation of divine beings (Pirenne-Delforge 2010: 130-139; Mylonopoulos 2010: 12-19; 2011; Rüpke 2016). The curiosity of the divine emperor and the imperial household is that they could also appear face-to-face with a community or person. Some of the most elaborate documents about the installation of cultic celebrations of rulers stem exactly from such direct visual interactions with rulers. In the decree concerning the placement of a statue of Attalos III in the Asklepieion, the Pergamene community of citizens and residents, wreathed and dressed in white, came to the Asklepieion to escort the victorious king in procession to the Attalid capital (*OGIS* 332, ll.33-38; Robert 1984: 479-486). Likewise, in the decree honouring Antiochos III and Laodike at Teos, a bronze statue of the king was placed in the *bouleuterion* at the very spot where the king had announced his benefactions (*SEG* 41.1003, ll.29-33; Ma 1999: 220-222; Chaniotis 2007: 161-162).[225] In 48 BC, Iulius Caesar passed through Ephesos and announced to the Hellenes of Asia the remission of a third of their taxes (Plut. *Caes*. 48.1). The *poleis*, *demoi*, and *ethne* of Asia honoured him with a statue, the base of which commemorates Caesar explicitly as 'manifest god' (Dobesch 1996: 62-64; Delrieux 2010: 505;

[225] In his article, Chaniotis (2007: 170) also points to "le besoin d'une présence visible du pouvoir divin (épiphanie)."

Kirbihler 2012: 141).[226] Encounters with rulers and their entourage were occassions for grants of benefactions and privileges as well as cultic celebrations (Millar 1977: 28-40; Halfmann 1986: 111-142). The finds of dozens of altars of Hadrian in both Athens and Miletos attest to exactly such imperial visits (Miletos: *Milet* I.7 290-297, 301-302; *Milet* VI.3 1324-1349, p.200-207; Athens: Benjamin 1963). At Miletos, the day of Hadrian's visit in AD 129 was designated a holy day (*I.Didyma* 254: ll.9-11; cf. *I.Didyma* 356, ll.10-11; Halfmann 1986: 204).

Octavian/Augustus is not known to have visited Miletos.[227] He sojourned in Asia and Ephesos in 31 and 30/29 BC (Cassius Dio 51.4.1, 18.1; *RDGE* 58, l.78; cf. Kirbihler 2012: 126). Twice, in 21/20 and 20/19 BC, Augustus established winter quarters on the nearby island of Samos. In 23/22 BC and frequently between 17 and 14 BC, Agrippa resided on Lesbos during the winter (Halfmann 1986: 157-166). Although these imperial stays in Miletos' vicinity offered opportunities for an ambassador like C. Iulius Epikrates to negotiate favours for his fatherland, most Milesian citizens may never have gotten any closer to Augustus than a glimpse on the imperial fleet moored off the coast of Samos. In general, the major land routes through Asia bypassed Miletos and its peninsula (French 2016: map 1).[228] Miletos is, however, recorded as a *conventus*-centre in the fifties BC and again in 17 BC (*Milet* I.2 3; *RDGE* 52 (ca. 56-50 BC); Cottier *et al.* 2008: §39, l.90 (17 BC); cf. Heller 2006: 379, tableau 1). Epikrates' acts of hospitality towards the *hegemones* (ταῖς τε τῶν ἡγουμένων φιλίαις τε καὶ ξενία[ις], l.12) as well as his public advocacies may be related to gubernatorial visits to the Asian *conventus* (Burton 1975; Heller 2006: 125-162). But without direct visual interactions between the Milesian community and Augustus, Epikrates dominated most communication channels between Miletos and Augustus. The visual and performative mediation of imperial power was, thus, frequently embodied and acted out by Epikrates, when wearing his priestly dress and

[226] Αἱ πόλεις αἱ ἐν τῆι Ἀσίαι καὶ οἱ δῆμοι | καὶ τὰ ἔθνη Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Γαΐου υἱ|ὸν Καίσαρα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ αὐτο|κράτορα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὕπα|τον, τὸν ἀπὸ Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀφροδεί|της θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ | ἀνθρωπίνου βίου σωτῆρα (*I.Ephesos* II 251).

[227] The only possible indication for a visit of Augustus and his household to Miletos is a statue base of Marcella Minor, a niece of Augustus (*Milet* I.7 254; *Milet* VI.1 254). Although portrait statues and statue bases are no immediate evidence for imperial visits (Høyte 2000; 2005: 159-165), the statue base of a relatively insignificant member of the imperial family like Marcella Minor seems to me a good indication for direct interaction between the community setting up the statue and the respective family member. Albert Rehm suggested that Marcella Minor joined Augustus on his travels between 21 and 19 BC and visited Miletos from the island of Samos (*Milet* I.7 254). Even if true, it does not mean that Augustus himself visited Miletos: the 19-year old niece could, for instance, have stayed behind on Samos as Augustus travelled to eastern provinces in the summer of 20 BC (Halfmann 1986: 160-161). For Marcella Minor, see Syme 1986: 141-154.

[228] Compare Greaves 2002: 12 – "In terms of land communications, Miletos was effectively almost an island, as it was separated from the interior by high mountains and could not easily be approached by land."

crown, acting as public advocate at the *conventus* in Miletos, or upon his return from a diplomatic mission reporting to the *boule* and *demos*. Epikrates was the central node in Milesian relations with imperial power, representing the Milesian state before Augustus and representing Augustus before the Milesian community.

Epikrates' family relations and the socio-economic conditions and networks of late republican and Augustan Miletos shed light on how Epikrates came to hold this pivotal position and, consequently, through which processes the Milesian cult of Augustus came to be dominated by a single citizen. For the period from 89/88 BC to AD 31/32, all Milesian *stephanephoroi* or *aisymnetai* – the annual eponymous magistrates of the Milesian state – are known from lists inscribed on steles found in the Delphinion (Table 4; *Milet* I.3 125-128; Rehm 1939; Sherk 1992: 229-232). As several contemporary *prophetai* and *hydrophoroi* in Didyma can be connected with these lists of *stephanephoroi*, it is possible to get a relatively detailed picture of the leading strata of Miletos. Six families, including that of Epikrates, are strongly represented in the list of *stephanephoroi* (Table 4: 1-6; Stemmata 1-6). Leaving out the years, in which Apollo or a ruler is listed as eponymous magistrate (Table 4: A, R), these families had a *stephanephoros* in 55 of 108 years (51%). Members of the same families are also frequently recorded as *prophetai* and *hydrophoroi* in Didyma and four of the families may have been connected through adoptions or intermarriages (Stemmata 2-5). A close-knit aristocracy appears to have headed Miletos in the late republican and Augustan periods. Beginning with these lists of *stephanephoroi*, I will make a couple of observations with respect to the family of Epikrates, the economic conjuncture in mid-Augustan Miletos, the relative absence of Romans as well as the dominant maritime networks in the Aegean and the position of late republican and Augustan Miletos therein.

Epikrates (II) and his brother Apollonios III were *stephanephoroi* in the years 40/39 and 39/38 BC (Table 3-4; Stemma 1).[229] These were the years in which Labienus was defeated and Miletos was rewarded for its support to Rome with free status and autonomy (*Milet* I.3, p.252-

[229] A fragment of the tympanon of the prophets' residence at Didyma mentions Epikrates as *stephanephoros* (*I.Didyma* 202 II). Rehm identified this Epikrates with Epikrates II, the later C. Iulius Epikrates, because he assumed the same stonecutter who engraved Epikrates' name in the list of *stephanephoroi* based on the execution of the Π (*I.Didyma*: p.157; *Milet* I.3 126, l.20). The *abakoi* topping the column drums of the prophets' residence record Epikrates, son of Apollonios, together with another son of Apollonios, both as *prophetai* (*I.Didyma* 205, l.1-2). Rehm supposed an identification with Epikrates II without giving any reasons for excluding Epikrates I (*I.Didyma*, p.159). Rehm's identifications have generally been followed without discussion (Herrmann 1996b: 8 n.16; Günther 2006: 179; Frija 2012: no.162). Given the absence or slightness of argument, I have left the identifications undecided in Stemma 1.

253; Preuner 1920: 177-178; Rehm 1939: 11-14; Günther 2006: 168).[230] Although their precise involvement in this episode is unknown,[231] the return of autonomy doubtless reflected well on those in charge during those years. Their father was *stephanephoros* in 58/57 BC and, like Epikrates II, received Roman citizenship and was hailed as a *heros* (Table 4; Herrmann 1994: 234). Most commentators concluded that he was the person who was originally granted Roman citizenship (Günther 1989: 174 n.11, 13; 2006: 169; Herrmann 1994: 205 n.10; 1996b: 3-4).[232] At the time of their *stephanephoria* in 40/39 and 39/38 BC, the brothers Epikrates II and Apollonios III were without Roman citizenship. In fact, Apollonios III is not known to have received Roman citizenship ever – not by the time he was *stephanephoros* in 39/38 BC, nor when he was *prophetes* and held a number of magistracies (*I.Didyma* 250; Table 4). Jean-Louis Ferrary (2005: 59-60) remarked that citizenship could have been bestowed primarily on Epikrates II and consequently on his father.[233] This reconstruction suggests that it was Epikrates II who brought his family to the apex of Milesian society.

Close relations between the Iulii and the family of Epikrates II may date as far back as the youth of his grandfather. As the story goes, Iulius Caesar, when still in his twenties, was captured by so-called pirates near the island of Pharmakoussa, opposite the southwestern promontory of the Milesian peninsula (Map 2). A ransom was paid for his release with help from the Milesian community, and, once free, Iulius defeated and punished the pirates (Suet. *Div. Iul.* 4; Plut. *Caes.* 1.8-2.5; Vell. Pat. 2.41.3-42.3; Polyainos 8.23.1; Val. Max. 6.9.15). While the dating of these events is contested (Osgood 2010; Tozan 2016),[234] the location of the kidnapping, the role of the Milesians in Iulius' rescue, and their subsequent assistance appear in most versions.[235] Polyainos (8.23.1) adds the detail that Iulius dispatched a Milesian called

[230] *Milet* I.3 126, ll.23-25: ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ πόλις ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο; *I.Didyma* 218 II, ll.3-5: πρεσβεύσας δὲ καὶ εἰς Ῥώ|[μην καὶ ἀπὸ]καταστήσας τήν τε πρό|[τερον ἐκκ]λησίαν τῶι δήμωι καὶ τοὺς νόμους; *I.Didyma* 342, ll.6-8: ἐπὶ ταύ[της ὁ δ]ῆμος τὰ[ς] | πατρίους ἀρχὰς καὶ νόμους | [ἐ]κομίσατο.

[231] Cf. Herrmann (1996b: 4): "Aus der Tatsache, daß Milet im Jahre 39/38 seine seit Sulla wegen der Parteinahme für Mithridates stark dezimierten politischen Rechte zurückerhielt, hat man mit Recht geschlossen, daß die Stadt sich gegen Labienus zur Wehr gesetzt hatte und dafür belohnt wurde. Dabei könnte auch der als Eponym fungierende Epikrates sich Verdienste erworben haben."

[232] Fredrich (*Milet* I.2, p.111) even considered the grandfather Epikrates I as the original recipient of Roman citizenship, but this is highly unlikely and without evidentiary support.

[233] Similarly, Octavian is known to have granted citizenship to Seleukos of Rhosos and his descendants as well as to his parents (Raggi 2004: esp. ll.19-22).

[234] Linda-Marie Günther (1999; *non vidi*) and Murat Tozan (2016) argued in favour of placing the events around 80/79 BC. A later date has more commonly been accepted (Herrmann 1994: 204 n.5; 1996b: 4, "76 oder 75 v. Chr."; Günther 2006: 166, "um die Mitte der 70er Jahre"; Osgood 2010: 334-336, 74 BC).

[235] Pharmakoussa: Suet. *Div. Iul.* 4; Plut. *Caes.* 1.8; Val. Max. 6.9.15; Polyainos, instead, mentions Malea, possibly the settlement on Lesbos rather than the southeastern cape of the Pelopponnese; rescue and assistance of

Epikrates to his hometown to ask for assistance.[236] An identification with Epikrates I, *stephanephoros* in 83/82 BC, is commonly accepted (Günther 1989: 174; 2006: 166; Herrmann 1994: 204; 1996b: 4; Osgood 2010: 331-332). The episode suggests that the Milesian community, after its support for Mithridates VI Eupator a few years earlier, turned its loyalties toward Rome.[237] More specifically, it might suggest that Epikrates I had bonded with a young Iulius Caesar perhaps before he reached out to the Milesian community for assistance. This assistance surely strengthened the family bonds. A pre-existing familial relationship may explain why Epikrates II was able to benefit from the hegemony of Octavian.

The list of Milesian *stephanephoroi* also provides clues as to economic developments in mid-Augustan Miletos. In seven years, Apollo, son of Zeus, is on record as *stephanephoros* (Table 4: A; Sherk 1992: 231). In those years, the eponymous magistracy of Miletos was financed at the expense of Apollo's treasury (Sherk 1993: 283-285; Horster 2004: 331-332). This treasury was the state treasury, safeguarded by Apollo Delphinios, rather than the temple treasury at Didyma (Günther 2006: 165).[238] The entries of Apollo indicate that no Milesian citizen was willing, financially able, or available to take on the costs of the *stephanephoria*. These entries appear in two clusters. Such clustering is itself a sign that we should understand them in the context of general difficulties for the Milesian community. A first cluster in the eighties BC (89/88, 87/86, 84/83, 82/81 BC) may be understood in the context of the First Mithridatic War and its aftermath (Sherk 1992: 231; Günther 2006: 165). The second cluster

Milesians: Plut. *Caes.* 2.3; Polyainos 8.23.1. Velleius Paterculus (2.42.2) states that the ransom was paid by the cities of Asia; Suetonius does not note any detail about this.

[236] Polyainos refers to Epikrates as Iulius' servant (οἰκέτης), but it has been suggested that the relevant word must have been companion (οἰκεῖος) (*Milet* I.2, p.111; Herrmann 1994: 204; 1996b: 4; Osgood 2010: 331 n.46). Suetonius' version also mentions Iulius' dispatch of servants and accompanying friends to raise money for the ransom. He does not give names though.

[237] During the proconsulship of Murena (84-81 BC), Miletos had to contribute ten warships to the governor's fleet (Cic. *II Verr.* 89-90). In 79 BC, Verres ordered a Milesian warship to escort him to Myndos. Upon arrival, however, he sent off the Milesians and sold the warship to two Roman citizens (Cic. *II Verr.* 1.86-87). As documented in the Senatus Consultum de Asclepiade of 78 BC, a Milesian captain was honoured for his services to Rome (Raggi 2001: esp. ll.6, 10). Later, during the Third Mithridatic War, the Milesian crew on board two biremes – the *Parthenos* and the *Athena* – helped with the construction of embankments on Delos, which were dedicated to the *legatus* C. Valerius Triarius (ID 1855-1856). Cf. Osgood 2010: 330; Tozan 2016: 139-142.

[238] Given that the eponymous magistracy was in office at the Delphinion and all the lists of *stephanephoroi* were found there, Apollo Delphinios is the most probable candidate. His treasury is identifiable with the *polis* treasury. In an inscription from Didyma, Apollo Didymeus is recorded as *stephanephoros* (*I.Didyma* 281, ll.27-28, AD post-32). Since Apollo Didymeus is explicitly spelled out here – not Apollo, son of Zeus, or 'god' –, we can deduce that the temple treasury was not normally paying for the eponymous magistracy.

consists of the years 15/14, 12/11, and 10/9 BC. This cluster has not received much attention.[239]

In 17/16 and 7/6 BC, emperor Augustus is recorded as *stephanephoros* (Table 4). The specific years of these eponymous magistracies have been associated with the celebration of the *ludi saeculares* and the decennial celebrations of Augustan rule (*Milet* I.3, p.250; Günther 2006: 171-172). The significance of the first is emphasised by the placement of Augustus' *stephanephoria* at the top of a new stele, communicating the start of a new era.[240] Wolfgang Günther (2006: 171) considered it a sign of Augustan ideology permeating the state documents of Miletos. This is possible, but only gives the imperial side of events. In nearby Herakleia under Latmos, Augustus appears as *stephanephoros* for a third and fourth time and Gaius Caesar twice (*OGIS* 459, ll.12, 17, 20-21; Sherk 1991: 255). The third eponymous magistracy of Augustus in Herakleia under Latmos dates to the same year as his second *stephanephoria* in Miletos: 7/6 BC (*Milet* I.3, p.250). Gaius Caesar was only once *stephanephoros* in Miletos (Table 4: AD 1/2). Because the frequency of imperial eponymous magistracies in the neighbouring *poleis* does not correspond, imperial celebrations cannot offer a reason for all occasions.[241] Additionally, the final entry in the Ephesian list of *prytaneis* dates to 18/17 BC (*I.Ephesos* Ia 9; Kirbihler 2012: 136). As we have seen in chapter 1, it is likely at this time that C. Iulius Nikephoros, a freedman of Augustus, financed the construction of a new *prytaneion* and became *prytanis* for life (*I.Ephesos* III 859). The dates of the take-over of eponymous magistracies in different *poleis* suggests that the imperial celebrations in 17/16 BC and 7/6 BC were significant in at least three Ionian *poleis*, but the differences in frequency, extent, and mode of imperial sponsorship shows that specific circumstances of these city-states have to be taken into account. The eponymous magistracies of Augustus may best be

[239] Robert Sherk (1992: 231) does not attempt to offer any contextualisation for this cluster as he does for some other clusters. François Kirbihler (2012: 136) suggests that Miletos was struck by an earthquake in 12/11 BC. This alleged earthquake cannot explain Apollo's *stephanephoria* in 15/14 BC.

[240] The listing of *stephanephoroi* on steles started in the year that Alexander the Great was *stephanephoros* in 334/333 BC (*Milet* I.3 122, p.254; Sherk 1992: 230). A new stele started with the return of Miletos' freedom and autonomy in 313/312 BC (*Milet* I.3 123, ll.2-4, p.260; Sherk 1992: 230). New steles could signal significant transitional episodes for the Milesian community. A new stele was, however, not erected when Miletos regained free status and autonomy in 40/39 BC nor at the beginning of the reign of Augustus. Transitional episodes were not the sole motive for starting a new list.

[241] In addition, while eponymous magistracies of Tiberius Caesar are more frequently attested in various places in the area (Miletos, Ephesos, Priene, Eresos on Lesbos; cf. Horster 2004: 353), only in Priene did Tiberius Caesar sponsor the magistracy at least a second time, and possibly a third time. Germanicus Caesar financed the Prienian eponymous magistracy (*I.Priene* 317/II, ll.7, 9, 23), but he is not attested in the Milesian lists of *stephanephoroi*.

understood as part of a benefaction-honour relationship in the same way as any other non-citizen office-sponsoring (by gods, other rulers, women, foreigners). The honorific rewards of eponymous magistracies were directly linked with non-citizen financing of the magistracy as an act of euergetism to a *polis*-community (Horster 2004: 334). The Augustan celebrations in 17/16 BC and 7/6 BC were, it seems, suitable occasions for extending imperial support to the *poleis*.[242]

Returning to the Milesian list of *stephanephoroi*, we can observe that between 17/16 and 7/6 BC, the official rituals of the Milesian state were financed five times with capital derived from either the imperial (17/16 and 7/6 BC) or the state treasury (15/14, 12/11, 10/9 BC). During the period preceding 17/16 BC no citizen had undertaken the office of *boegos* to Zeus nor financed associated sacrifices and religious services for a long time (*I.Didyma* 199, ll.4-10). The Milesian documentation of the late twenties and tens BC demonstrates that some of the most significant cults of Miletos had difficulty attracting sponsors from its own body of citizens.[243] At the end of this episode, in 6/5 BC, C. Iulius Epikrates was hailed for his financial, legal, and diplomatic assistance to the community. The rising star of Epikrates grounded itself in his family's and his personal networks, and, simultaneously, in a Milesian community in financial difficulties during the mid-Augustan period. The gap in fortunes between Epikrates and Miletos likely increased his significance in the community.

The list of *stephanephoroi* can also tell us something about the presence of Romans in Miletos and, relatedly, the position of Miletos vis-à-vis dominant trade networks. Persons holding Roman citizenship only started to regularly hold the eponymous magistracy of Miletos by the twenties AD (Table 4).[244] The first *stephanephoria* of a Roman citizen, Aulus Popillius Rufus, dates to AD 2/3. This low number of Romans acting as magistrates may reflect a relatively low Roman population in the city: there are no Latin inscriptions from late republican and Augustan Miletos;[245] no *conventus civium Romanorum* nor any other group of Italians or

[242] For a table listing evidence, see Horster 2004: 353-355 (appendix 2). Horster does not mention Ephesos, but Tiberius Caesar is recorded there as *prytanis*: *SEG* 48.1374.

[243] François Kirbihler (2012: 136; cf. 143-144) remarked that "l'Asie connut en effet une conjoncture difficile vers le milieu du règne d'Auguste."

[244] The list includes four persons holding Roman citizenship: Aulus Popillius Rufus, son of Marcus (AD 2/3; *Milet* I.3 127, ll.23-24), Gaius Seius Athiktos (AD 24/25; *Milet* I.3 128, l.5), Marcus Cornelius Capito, son of Marcus, tribe of Collina (AD 26/27; *Milet* I.3 128, ll.7-8), and Iulia Glykonis, daughter of Gaius Iulius [...] (AD 32/33; *Milet* I.3 128, ll.17-18).

[245] In fact, Latin and bilingual (Latin-Greek) inscriptions form less than 1% of the total epigraphic record of Miletos and Didyma. Without claims to comprehensiveness: officials of the XXXX portuum Asiae (*Milet* VI.2 563, 667); imperial letters (*Milet* I.9 337; *Milet* VI.3 1075); imperial works on the Via Sacra under Trajan (*Milet* II.3 402;

Roman citizens is attested at Miletos, whereas in neighbouring ports (Ephesos, Samos, Teos, Iasos, Halikarnassos, Kos) and in the *poleis* of the Maeander valley (Priene, Tralles, Antiochia-on-the-Maeander, Apameia) such organised collectives of Roman citizens are attested (Kirbihler 2016: 222, fig.1; 226, fig.2); the only Milesian honours for Romans during the late republican and Augustan period are those awarded to Roman senators and governors hailed as patrons and benefactors.[246]

The relative invisibility of Roman citizens in late republican and Augustan Miletos contrasts sharply with the situation in contemporary Ephesos (see chapter 1). This is unsurprising since Ephesos was the provincial capital, but we find a similar contrast with neighbouring Priene. There, probably in the first half of the first century BC, three honorific decrees for Aulus Aemilius Zosimos, son of Sextus, were elaborately presented in the sacred stoa (*I.Priene*^{2} 68-70; Rumscheid 2002: 80-82; Kah 2012: 62-68).[247] The presence of Roman residents is attested from the late second century BC on (Kirbihler 2016: 222, fig.1; 226, fig.2). The *stephanephoroi* in the decrees concerning Zosimos include C. Sextius Heliodoros (*I.Priene*^{2} 68, l.1), a man whose *praenomen* was Publius (*I.Priene*^{2} 69, l.10), and Publius Laberius (*I.Priene*^{2} 70, l.1). Zosimos himself had been *stephanephoros* (*I.Priene*^{2} 69, l.36), gymnasiarch of the *neoi* (*I.Priene*^{2} 68, ll.5-6, 143-144), and secretary of the *boule* and *demos* twice (*I.Priene*^{2} 69, ll.15-16; 70, ll.28-29). Several Roman citizens, thus, had already held the eponymous magistracy and other key offices in Priene (Kah 2012: 60-62; Gray 2018: 81-82). At only fifteen kilometres from Miletos, the role of Roman citizens in Priene seems very different from the Milesian situation. The absence of Roman citizens is notable because many of them had found their

I.Didyma 55-57); fourth-century AD milestones (*Milet* VI.3 1387-1388); fragmentary text on an architrave (*Milet* I.6 195); monument of C. Grattius (*Milet* I.6 190).

[246] Legatus M. Pupius Piso Frugi as patron and benefactor of the *polis* (ca. 63 BC; *Milet* I.3 173; Eilers 2002: C96); Cn. Pompeius Magnus as patron and benefactor (ca. 63 BC; *Milet* I.7 253; Eilers 2002: C95); L. Domitius Ahenobarbus as patron of the *polis* (54 BC; *Milet* I.2 12b; Eilers 2002: C93); Messala Potitus as patron of the *polis* and benefactor, when he was governor of Asia in the twenties BC (*I.Didyma* 147; *Didyma* III.5, 169-170; Eilers 2002: C97); C. Marcius Censorinus as patron and benefactor, when he was governor of Asia in ca. 3 BC (*Milet* I.7 255; Eilers 2002: C94). A fragmentary inscription may have recorded a patron and benefactor (*I.Didyma* 145; Eilers 2002: C98). To Eilers' list, we may add two Arrii, who were honoured as patrons and benefactors if the restoration is correct (first century BC; *Milet* VI.3 1124; compare *Milet* VI.2 831). P. Vedius Pollio was only honoured as benefactor (*I.Didyma* 146). Other Roman officials honoured by the *demos* of the Milesians during the late republican and Augustan period include the *legatus pro praetore* L. Manlius L.f. Torquatus (late eighties or late sixties BC; *Milet* VI.3 1121), the governor L. Valerius L.f. Flaccus (62/61 BC; *Milet* VI.3 1122), Marcus Appuleius, likely the uncle of Sextus Appuleius (44 BC?; *Milet* VI.3 1123). The Milesian *demos* also honoured Marcella, niece of Augustus (21-19 BC; *Milet* I.7 254).

[247] The name Aulus Aemilius Laelius is on record on a Milesian gravestone (*Milet* VI.2 485). No precise date can be given.

way into the Aegean since the second century BC (Müller & Hasenohr 2002; Kirbihler 2007; Zoumbaki 2014, 2017; Ramgopal 2017).

A possible explanation lies in the city's relationship to the pre-eminent long-distance routes in the eastern Mediterranean. Major sea routes had passed along the Ionian coast on a north-south axis to involve Miletos (Maps 2, 5; Archibald 2007; Reger 2007; Bouras 2016: 216-219). Long-lasting connections with its former colonies in the Propontis, Black Sea-region, and Egypt as well as with Seleucid dynasts and Antiochia, their capital, are reflected in the origins of people granted Milesian citizenship (Map 3), the kings and communities offering to Apollo Didymeus (Map 4), foreign members of a funerary association as well as the distribution of tetradrachms and drachms with Alexander-types struck in Miletos.[248] With the increasing importance of trade with Rome and Italy, the key routes for maritime traffic shifted away from Miletos to Ephesos and to an east-west axis (Map 5; Strabo 14.1.24; Thonemann 2011: 99-109; Kirbihler 2016: 169-216).[249] This reconfiguration of dominant long-distance trade routes in the course of the second and first centuries BC appears to have been unfavourable for Miletos.

One of the benefactions and privileges C. Iulius Epikrates secured helped to manoeuver Miletos into a better position vis-à-vis sea routes in the Aegean. On the posthumously erected statue base, the engraving records that he had successfully petitioned for tax-exemption of the islands (*Milet* VI.3 1131, ll.7-8: τὴν ἀ[τ]έλειαν…| τῶν νήσων). These islands – Leros, Lepsia, and Patmos – had been part of Milesian territory for centuries (Map 2; Piérart 1985: 276-283; Constantakopoulou 2007: 228-231; Thonemann 2011: 283-286; Radloff 2019: 101-106). With the *lex portorii Asiae* in mind and the recognition that Miletos was one of the customs posts, Peter Herrmann (1994: 215) offered the following hypothesis:

[248] For Miletos' colonies: Strabo 14.1.6; Ehrhardt 1983; Greaves 2002: 104-109; 2007; Herda 2008; 2011: 74-81; for *isopoliteia*-treaties with former colonies: Olbia: *Milet* I.3 136; Kyzikos: *Milet* I.3 137; Kios: *Milet* I.3 141; Istros: *Milet* VI.3 1051; cf. Gorman 2002; Habicht 2010: 318-321; for public records of Miletos in the mid-second century AD as *metropolis* of many and great *poleis* in Pontus, Egypt, and many places in the world: *Milet* I.7 233-236, 240, 260, 262; VI.3 1104, 1106-1107, 1111, 1140, 1184-1202; cf. Heller 2006: 297-301; for connections with Seleucid dynasties: Herrmann 1987; Marcellesi 2004b; for foreign members of a funerary association, many of which were Antiochenes: *Milet* VI.2 796; 798: ll.2-3, discussion of such member-lists: Herrmann 1980b; Günther 1995; Bresson 1997: 501-505; Ehrhardt & Günther 2010: 401-402; for distribution of tetradrachms and drachms with Alexander-types: Marcellesi 2004a: 90-94, 131-140, carte 3-4, 6; Reger 2011: 378-383.

[249] Cf. Bouras 2016: 216: "The majority of routes that are mentioned as such by Strabo...and the anonymous author of the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, go in an east-west direction, perhaps suggesting that at least a majority of movements go that way."

> "Eine mögliche Erklärung für die Erwirkung der ἀτέλεια τῶν νήσων durch Epikrates ist dann vielleicht der vorausgehende Versuch der Steuerpächter, den Warenverkehr zwischen dem Festland und den Inseln, nach dem Verständnis der Milesier ein binnenländischer Transfer, der Abgabenpflicht zu unterwerfen."

The tax-exemption implies a pre-existing tax on the transport of goods between the islands and Miletos.[250] It allowed tax-free transportation and repositioned the fiscal borders of the Milesian state from the Ionian coastline to encompass these islands. Maritime routes recorded in the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* demonstrate the strategic position of Leros and Patmos along important sea routes connecting Rhodos and Kos with Delos and Athens (Map 2; Bouras 2016: figs.1, 8). In effect, the tax-privilege granted to Miletos repositioned its fiscal territory along much frequented sailing routes.[251]

The island of Amorgos was not Milesian territory. Nonetheless, the dedication for the well-being of C. Iulius Epikrates demonstrates that Epikrates had established close connections with the officials of Aegiale (see above). Located on the northeastern tip of the island, Aegiale like Leros and Patmos was well-positioned within the maritime networks of the Aegean (Map 2).[252] Unlike Miletos, Leros and Patmos, Aegiale has yielded evidence for a Roman presence already in the late second and first century BC. A decree dating to the late second century BC records a foundation of Kritolaos established in honour of his deceased son (*IG* XII.7 515). It stipulates that the funerary banquet was open to all citizens present in Aegiale as well as to resident and sojourning foreigners. It specifies that Romans and their sons (?) should be seated at a separate table for a group of nine persons (κατὰ ἐννέα), in compliance with their own customs (*IG* XII.7 515, ll.55-59; Gauthier 1980: 210-218; Zoumbaki 2014: 319; Ramgopal 2017: 416). In addition, a late republican or Augustan list of *ephebes* records Curtius Rufus, son of Curtius, as well as Lucius Babullius, son of Lucius (*IG* XII.7 425, ll.5-6). The latter was a relative

[250] Stephen Mitchell (2008: 193) suggested the existence of such a tax for the original customs law as drafted in the 120s BC: "it may have been more economical simply to disregard the islands for customs purposes. The *publicani* would have collected no tolls on the islands themselves, but they would have compensated for this by imposing dues on all goods carried from the islands to the mainland [...]."

[251] We do not know when Augustus granted this tax-exemption to Miletos. It is possible that it is a concrete result of Epikrates' embassies and public advocacies which had helped to increase the revenues of the god and the *demos* as recorded in the honorific decree of 6/5 BC (see above; Herrmann 1994: 224; Günther 2006: 169, with n.51).

[252] Amorgos appears on the route from Myndos to Attica (?) and may appear in the description of the sea route from Rhodos to Skyllaion, a promontory in the Argolid (*Stadiasmus Maris Magni* §273, 281; Bouras 2016: 217, fig.1).

of Marcus Babullius, son of Lucius, who is listed first of the *molpoi* in the dedication for Epikrates' well-being (*IG* XII.7 418, ll.5-6). The *gens Babullia* is well-attested first on Delos until 93 BC and then on Naxos and especially Paros throughout the first century BC and first century AD (Zoumbaki 2014: 329 n.63, fig.2; Le Quéré 2015: 199-200). Relations with Aegiale provided Epikrates, thus, not only potential access to long-distance sea routes and the Cycladic networks but also to Roman entrepreneurs in the Aegean.[253] His networks included not just the Iulii and the *hegemones* in Asia but also Roman businessmen in the Aegean; precisely the kind of networks which are otherwise unattested in the Milesian record.

Milesian connections with the Cyclades and the Greek mainland were no novelty. The third and second century BC citizenship decrees record several people from Cycladic islands as well as from Achaia and Boiotia (Map 3).[254] With the arrival of Roman hegemony in the Aegean, the pre-existing Milesian relations and communication routes with its island territories and the western Aegean grew in importance.[255] Epikrates' advocacy for the *ateleia* of the islands and his involvement with the Milesians on Amorgos constitute possible indicators of this tendency. The clearest indication of a more general westward movement of Milesian interests is the quickly expanding Milesian diaspora in Athens. In the aftermath of the opening up of the Athenian *ephebeia* to foreigners, ephebic lists of the late second century BC registered a growing body of non-Athenian *ephebes* (Follet 1988; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: 250-253, table 13). Éric Perrin-Saminadayar (2007: 449-478, esp. 463-465) observed that among 106 foreign *ephebes* registered between 167 and 88 BC about a third originated from cities in Phoenicia and Syria, and circa 18% were recorded as 'Roman'. Compared to sixteen Romans and thirteen Antiochenes, the fourteen Milesians recorded in these lists demonstrate a significant proportion of Milesians among foreign *ephebes* already in late second and early first century BC Athens (Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: 461-462, carte 1). Documentation of *ephebes* in Athens for the first century BC is sparse, but one list dated to 38/37 BC is telling: out of a probable total of 66 foreign *ephebes*, the origins for 34 *ephebes* have been preserved, fifteen of whom

[253] Erona le Quéré (2015: 199) noted the following about the *gens Babullia*: "Les activités de cette famille ne sont pas connus, mais il est tout à fait possible que ses membres aient mis en place un réseau commercial entre les différents îles de l'Archipel."

[254] It may not be a coincidence that, among the origins of sailors, who engraved their wishes or gratitude for a safe voyage in the bay of Grammata on the north-west coast of Syros between Hellenistic and Byzantine times, Miletos is the most common one on record (*IG* XII.5 712/25; *IG* XII.5 712/26; *IG* XII.5 712/33; Horden & Purcell 2000: 438-440; Bouras 2016: 217-218).

[255] For Miletos' maritime territory in the Hellenistic period, see Radloff 2019.

originated from Miletos, while only five were Romans and one came from Antiochia (*IG* II^2 1043, ll.110-132, 155-176, 199-220; Follet 1988: 28-29; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: 253; Lambert & Schneider 2019). From the late first century BC, public lists of *ephebes* became less common and we know of *ephebes* mainly from records of financial contributions (Perrin-Saminadayar 2007: 256-259; cf. Kennell 2009: 325-326). In one exceptional list dated to AD 111/112, Milesians outnumbered Athenians 79 to 24 and were recorded as a distinct category as opposed to the general category of *xenoi* in use during the second and first centuries BC (*IG* II^2 2024, ll.14-38 (Athenians), 40-119 (Milesians)).

A study of Athenian tombstones has signaled a strikingly similar large proportion of Milesians, "especially in the period around 100 BC until c. AD 200" (Vestergaard 2000: 82, 87, 89-92).[256] Torben Vestergaard (2000: 90-91) registered a sharp rise in the number of Milesians relative to recorded foreigners from the second century BC (7.4%) and the first century BC (20.4%), to the following two centuries AD (35.3 and 76.36%). Likewise, Milesians constitute 42% of all foreigners commemorated on tombstones in Roman Piraeus (Grigoropoulos 2009: figure 5, 177-181).[257] In explaining the remarkably consistent rise of Milesians in Attica, Vestergaard (2000: 97-103) pointed to the traditionally close ties between Miletos and Athens, the admission of foreigners to the Athenian *ephebeia* and the decline of the local *ephebeia* in Miletos, and the lifting of the ban on intermarriage between Athenians and foreigners.[258] The latter two factors may better be understood as dependent on the first one, once Vestergaard's belief that there was no *isopoliteia*-agreement between Athens and Miletos is recognised as false (Vestergaard 2000: 96). In fact, leading up to the intensification of diplomatic ties between Miletos and Athens during the second century BC (Vestergaard 2000: 99), an *isopoliteia*-agreement was renewed around 200 BC (*Milet* VI.3 1032 = *SEG* 48.1415; cf. Günther 1998). The close ties and political agreements between Athens and Miletos created conditions, in which it was easier and more attractive for Milesian migrants to move to and settle in Athens, enter the *ephebeia*, and marry Athenians.[259] However, considering the numerous *isopoliteia*-agreements Miletos forged with various *poleis* during

[256] Milesians make up 25% of all recorded foreigners on Athenian tombstones (n=3300). In the imperial period, they even constitute more than 50% (Vestergaard 2000: 86-87).
[257] The sample from Piraeus (n=63) is, of course, negligible compared to that of Athens, but the considerable proportion of Milesians is no less obvious.
[258] For relations between Miletos and Athens, see Herrmann 1970; Habicht 1991; Günther 1992. For the Milesian *ephebeia*, see Chankowski 2010: 500-503, nos.252-267.
[259] For women from Miletos in Athens, see Günther 2012b.

the late third and early second centuries BC, such an agreement can only be a partial explanation.

Perrin-Saminadayar (2007: 464-465) argued that the influx of foreigners into Athens, including its *ephebeia*, related to the increasing dominance of Athens and Delos as central nodes in the maritime trade networks during the second half of the second century BC. Given the other prominent groups in the Athenian *ephebeia* and on Delos during the late second century BC (especially Romans and Antiochenes), Athens appears as the cosmopolitan meeting ground for people from all over the Mediterranean. But while Romans, in the course of the first century BC, increasingly spread over the Aegean and beyond, many Milesians continued to move to Athens. I would suggest that the reconfiguration of dominant long-distance trade routes unfavourable to Miletos and the imperially sponsored creation of Ephesos as capital and commercial hub on the Asian coast make sense of that movement.[260] This suggestion corresponds well with the historical starting point of the steep increase of Milesians migrating to Athens in the course of the first century BC.

The geographical location of Miletos made the *polis* heavily dependent on its maritime networks. These networks were both its strengths and its weaknesses. It required Miletos to maintain favourable relations with whichever power controlled the Aegean seas and the eastern Mediterranean. Under Hellenistic rule, we find Milesian benefactors who fostered close relations with the royal dynasties, acted as intermediaries between the *polis* and those in power, and, through their mediation, brought favours and privileges to the Milesian community (Haussoullier 1902: 14-15, 27-31, 34-41; Herrmann 1965; 1987). C. Iulius Epikrates was the late republican and Augustan equivalent of such benefactors and intermediaries. But despite similarities, Epikrates acted in specific historical circumstances.

In the course of the first century BC, Roman hegemony in the Aegean and in Asia reconfigured the dominant trade networks and communication routes. Within these networks, Miletos occupied a position unfavourable for its economic developments. Some of Epikrates' efforts helped to negotiate a better place for Miletos into those networks, whether through his close relations with Augustus and the governors of Asia or the Roman merchants

[260] Vestergaard (2000: 97-98) noted as another of his explanations the decline of the Milesian port due to the silting up of its harbours. Greaves (2000) already showed that this cannot have been the case, because Miletos continued to be a port-city for centuries. More recent studies of the progradation of the Maeander delta demonstrate that Miletos' harbours were only severely affected by the late imperial period (Brückner *et al*. 2014).

and entrepreneurs whose social and commercial networks extended to the new dominant markets in Rome and Italy. Due to his pivotal position in such relations, Epikrates monopolised the communication channels between Miletos and imperial power which, in turn, facilitated his rise within the Milesian aristocracy under Augustus. To a large extent, the Milesian community seems to have become reliant on benefactions, privileges, and favours on the successful negotiations and benefactions of C. Iulius Epikrates. These were reciprocated with appropriate honours.

The cult of Augustus was one such way of connecting to Augustus and of securing his goodwill and favour. C. Iulius Epikrates held the chief-priesthood of this cult for life and was likely its founder. His central position within relations between Miletos and imperial/divine power was thereby represented. In organising the cult of Augustus and securing imperial benefactions and financial privileges, the establishment of a cult of Augustus in Miletos went hand in hand with Epikrates' rise to power. The following section explores this process further from a different perspective.

C. Iulius Epikrates, the Ionian *Koinon*, and the Maeander delta

The posthumously erected base carrying the statue of C. Iulius Epikrates demonstrates that his prominence and influence extended beyond Miletos. The full text on the base runs as follows:

[Γ]άϊον Ἰούλιον Ἐπικράτη ἥρωα φιλόπατριν, πατέρα
[Ἰ]ουλίας [τῆς θε]ίης Γν. Οὐεργιλίου Καπίτωνος,
φίλον [5–7]ον γενόμενον Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσα[ρος θε]οῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ αἰτη-
σάμεν[ον τή]ν τε ἀσυλίαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ
τὴν ἀπ[ο]γ̣α̣ι̣[ου]μένην χώραν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου
καὶ τοὺς γ̣α̣ι̣ε̣ῶνας καὶ τὴν ἀ̣[τ]ε̣̣λ̣είαν τῶν Διδυ-
μείων καὶ τῶ̣̣ν̣ νήσων, ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν
Ἰώνων διὰ βίου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου καὶ
γυμνασίαρχον πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων
καὶ πάσας τὰς λειτουργίας ἐπιτελέσαν-
τα καὶ διά τε λόγων καὶ ἔργων καὶ ἀναθη-
μάτων καὶ δωρεῶν κοσμήσαντα τὴν πα-
τρίδα καὶ ἐπιχ[ορηγή]σαντα, εὐεργέτην
τῆς πόλεως κ[αθὼ]ς τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ψη-
φίσματα περιέχει

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Διαδούμενος

τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐμπρησμῷ διαφορη-
θέντα ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπισκευάσας
20 ἀποκατέστησε
αἰτησάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψήφισμα
περὶ τούτου.

C. Iulius Epikrates *heros*, *philopatris*, father of Iulia, Cn. Vergilius Capito's aunt (?), who was a [.....] friend of Imperator Caesar, son of god, god Augustus, and who (5) petitioned for the *asylia* of Apollo, for the land turned to earth by the Maeander as well as the sandbanks, and for the tax-exemption of the *Didymeia* as well as the islands, chief-priest of Asia and of the Ionians for life, *agonothetes* for life, (10) gymnasiarch of all gymnasia, who carried out all liturgies and who supplied and ornamented the fatherland through his words and deeds, his dedications and gifts, *euergetes* (15) of the *polis* as is contained in the decrees concerning him.

C. Iulius Diadoumenos had the statue, destroyed by fire, reerected (20) in the gymnasium, after petitioning for a conciliary decree about it.
(*Milet* VI.3 1131; *SEG* 44.938; own translation)

In the course of this chapter, we have encountered several of the privileges Epikrates obtained for Miletos and the offices he held as recorded on this statue base. The final six lines clarify that the inscription was not the original one accompanying the statue. The mention of Epikrates' relationship to Cn. Vergilius Capito indicates that the reerection of the statue took place around the mid-first century AD (Herrmann 1994: 208).[261] Whichever part of the engraving was original or modified, it provides an insight in the activities for which C. Iulius Epikrates was remembered after his death. In his detailed commentary, Peter Herrmann (1994: 206-219) repeatedly remarked on the summary character of the text.[262]

Compiled after Epikrates' death, the text offers a selection of his honours and deeds. Yet, the *archiereia* in Miletos, so frequently documented during his life as well as in the *demos*'

[261] The use of 'son of god' in the titulature for Augustus might be a remnant of the original text. A date for the original erection of the statue during or shortly after the reign of Augustus suits this vocabulary best (see page 133 n.211). For Cn. Vergilius Capito, see chapter 4.
[262] For instance, on p.210: "nur sehr summarisch", "resümierenden Charakter unserer Inschrift"; p.215: "Es folgen Angaben über von ihm wahrgenommene Funktionen, möglicherweise auch nur in Auswahl und in sprachlich knapper Fassung." Similarly, Günther (2006: 169): "In knappster Zusammenfassung führt sie stichwortartig nur die bedeutendsten Leistungen und Verdienste des Epikrates auf…"

dedication, is not amongst them. Instead, the inscription documents four privileges secured by Epikrates to the benefit of the Milesian community, his gymnasiarchy, and his responsibilities for the ritual and festive activities of the *koina* of Asia and of Ionia. In this section, I pay special attention to the chief-priesthood of Ionia and the land grant and discuss their implications for Miletos.

Lines 8 and 9 inform us that Epikrates had been ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων διὰ βίου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου. The *koina* of Asia and Ionia were separate institutions. Epikrates' chief-priesthoods in both institutions testifies to the fact that prominent citizens could act as priests and representatives of their *poleis* in different *koina*. Similarly, many chief-priests of Asia are simultaneously on record as chief-priests within their respective *polis*-communities. As Gabrielle Frija (2012: 209-212) has argued for those occasions, the reason is that chief-priests generally came from the same social milieu, not because there was a direct institutional connection. In addition to his life-long tenure as *archiereus* in Miletos, Epikrates had, thus, held the chief-priesthood for both the *koinon* of Asia as well as the one of Ionia.[263] In relation to which institution Epikrates held the *agonothesia* for life is not clear, but chief-priests of Asia acted more frequently as *agonothetai* for life (Herrmann 1994: 217-218).[264]

C. Iulius Epikrates is the only attested person to have held the chief-priesthood of the Ionians for life.[265] It seems likely that he played a fundamental role in the foundation of a cult

[263] Peter Herrmann (1994: 215-217, 225-227; 1996b: 7-10; 2002: 236-238) pointed to a close entwinement of both chief-priesthoods. He argued that 'for life' pertained not only to the *archiereia* of the Ionians, but also to the one of Asia, and assigned to Epikrates a pioneering role in the development of the cult of Roma and Augustus in Pergamon. Cf. Günther 2006: 170 – "Epikrates' Rolle im Kaiserkult, nicht nur auf munizipaler Ebene, sondern auch auf der höheren des provinzialen, vom Landtag von Asia eingerichteten Kultes. Möglicherweise stand er hier ganz am Anfang, so daß er bei dieser Institution eine Pionierrolle gespielt hätte."

When discussing the line καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ βασιλέων ἀνὰ πάτρην τῆς Ἰωνίας (*IG* XII.6/1 331, l.6), Herrmann (2002: 234, 236) cautioned for uncritically associating τῆς Ἰωνίας not only with βασιλέων but also with ἀρχιερέων. Similarly, I think that the function of 'καὶ' in line 9 is to connect ἀρχιερέα to both Ἀσίας and τῶν Ἰώνων. It is, therefore, doubtful that διὰ βίου characterises Epikrates' chief-priesthood of Asia. It would be the only attestation of life-long tenure for the chief-priesthood of Asia. An honorific decree records Eukles, Aischrion's son, of Magnesia on the Maeander as the Asian chief-priest of Roma and Augustus in 17/16 BC (Herrmann† & Malay 2007: no.58 = *SEG* 57.1198, ll.1-4), adding to the unlikelihood of Herrmann's interpretation.

[264] E.g. Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Μάρ|κου υἱὸν Λέπιδον, τὸν ἀρ|χιερέα τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἀ|γωνοθέτην διὰ βίου (*TAM* V.2 968, ll.3-6, Thyateira); γνώμη Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Λεπίδου Θυατιρηνοῦ, τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ | ἀγωνοθέτου διὰ βίου τῶν μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν Καισαρήων θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου καὶ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους (*Sardis* VII.1 8, ll.99-102; Campanile 1994a: no.1; 2/1 BC).

[265] For general discussions of Ionia and the *koinon* of the Ionians, see Willamowitz-Moellendorf 1906; Caspari 1915; Kleiner *et al*. 1967: 6-18; Herrmann 2002; Rubinstein 2004: 1053-1058. Other chief-priests of Ionia (Herrmann 2002: 235-236): M. Ulpius Flavianus Damas and his wife Flaviane Glaphyra: ἀρχιερέων τῆς Ἰωνίας (*I.Didyma* 279a, l.13; second century AD); Poseidonios: ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς [Ἰ]ωνί[ας] (*I.Didyma* 281, l.9; after AD 32); T. Flavius Dionysodoros: ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων (*I.Didyma* 287, l.6; second century AD), and his

of Augustus within the *koinon* of the Ionians. In a fragmentary document, which has been interpreted as a decree of the Ionians, we find mention of Epikrates and his services to his fatherland, to Ionia, and to the entire province: ὠφελίην δὲ τῆι τε πα|[τρίδι καὶ τῆι Ἰω]νίῃ τῆι τε ξυμπάσῃ ἐπαρ|[χείᾳ] (*Milet* VI.3 1045, ll.7-9; Herrmann 1994: 228-229).[266] Epikrates had established himself among the leading aristocratic figures of Ionia. As chief-priest, he offered Miletos a powerful voice in the Ionian *koinon*. In fact, all subsequent chief-priests of Ionia were Milesians (Herrmann 1994: 216; 2002: 235-236).[267] The concentration of chief-priests in Miletos contrasts with evidence for other officials of the Ionian *koinon*: *basileis* and *basilissai* of the Ionians are attested in Miletos, Samos, Phokaia, Chios, and Ephesos;[268] in the third century AD, two priests of Ionia are attested in Erythrai and Kolophon (Erythrai: I.Erythrai 64, l.9; Kolophon: Gillespie 1956: no.31; cf. Herrmann 2002: 228-229, 239). In the second century AD, feasts and games of the Ionian *koinon* were not exclusively celebrated at the Panionion but in its different member-states (Smyrna: Philostratos *VA* 4.5; Phokaia: *VS* 2.25.6; cf. Herrmann 2002: 228).[269] *Agonothetai* of these *koinon* festivals are infrequently attested.[270] The evidence for other *koinon*-officials from various member-states shows that the concentration of the Ionian chief-priesthoods in Miletos is not due to mere 'chance of

father T. Flavius Andreas: ἀρχιερέως τῶν Ἰώνων (*I.Didyma* 287, l.13; second century AD); [anonymous man]: ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνίας β΄ (I.Didyma 301, l.5; late second/early third century AD); Flavia [...]: ἠρχι[ερα]τευκυίας τῆς τρισκαιδε[καπό]λιτιδος τῶν Ἰώνων (*I.Didyma* 356, ll.6-8; AD 129); [anonymous woman]: τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀρχιερατεύσασαν καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων (*Milet* I.7 265, ll.4-5; cf. *Milet* VI.1, p.336-338; late second/ early third century AD).

[266] *Milet* VI.3, p.27 adds the suggestion that the honours in this decree reciprocated a monetary fund set up by Epikrates.

[267] See the evidence listed in footnote 266. Herrmann (2002: 236) adds an example from Sardis: an honorific statue for L. Iulius Libonianus, in which he is recorded amongst other offices as ἀρχιερέα τῶν τρισ<καίδεκ>α πόλεων (*Sardis* VII.1 47, ll.3-4, second century AD). I think the *koinon* of the thirteen *poleis* should not be identified with the *koinon* of the Ionians. The identification is never substantiated more convincingly than that both *koina* have the same number of member-states. Cf. Hallmannsecker 2020 (*non vidi*).

[268] Miletos: ἀγων[ο]θετησάντων τοῦ | κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰών[ων] καὶ βασιλευσά[ν]|των (*I.Didyma* 339, ll.12-14, mid-first century AD); Phokaia: βασιλέα Ἰ|ώνων (*OGIS* 489, ll.15-16; ca. AD 89-132); Chios: βασιλεύσα|[σαν τοῦ τρισκα]ιδεκαπολειτικοῦ τῶν Ἰώνων | [κοινοῦ] (*SEG* 15.532, ll.6-8, mid-first century AD); Ephesos: τῆς βασιλείας τῶν | Ἰώνων (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3072, ll.26-27, late second/third century AD). Samos: τὴν ἀπόγονον…ἀρχιερέων καὶ β[ασιλέ]|ων τῆς τρισκαιδεκ[από]|λεως Ἰωνίας (*IG* XII.6/1 326, ll.4-8; third century AD); ancestors of Flavia Skribonia: θυγα|τέρα καὶ ἐκγόνην καὶ | ἀπογόνην…ἀρχιερέων καὶ βασιλέων ἀνὰ πάτρην τῆς Ἰωνίας (*IG* XII.6/1 331, ll.5-9, late second century AD).

[269] As appears to have been the case in mid-second century BC, when the *panegyris* of the Ionians took place in Miletos (*Milet* I.9 306, ll.61-62; *Milet* VI.1, p.209-210).

[270] All attestations come from Miletos: ἀγων[ο]θετησάντων τοῦ | κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰών[ων] καὶ βασιλευσά[ν]|των (*I.Didyma* 339, ll.12-14, mid-first century AD); ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πυθίων Πανιωνίων (*I.Didyma* 252, l.6, third century AD); [ἀγωνοθετήσας τῶν…Μεγάλω]ν Πανιωνίων (*I.Didyma* 305, ll.4-6, third century AD). Compare an embassy to obtain *ateleia* for the *Panionia Pythia* after the restorations of Louis Robert: ὑπὲ[ρ] τῆς ἀτε|[λείας τοῦ ἐ]ν[δοξ]οτάτου ἀγῶνος | [τῶν Πανιωνίω]ν Πυθίων (*I.Didyma* 332, ll.7-19; Robert 1960: 469-470). The *Pythia Panionia* were celebrated only in Miletos: Herrmann 2002: 231, with n.35.

survival'. Rather, the office appears to have been exclusive to Milesians. Milesian citizens were, thus, responsible for the mediation with the divine emperors on behalf of the Ionian *koinon*. This Milesian monopoly may have had its origins in Epikrates' exceptional life-long tenure of the office under Augustus. It would be another benefit and privilege brought to Miletos by Epikrates.

Whereas Miletos had always been a significant member-state, at one time or another, various states had enjoyed special prominence in the Ionian *koinon*.[271] Pride of place goes to Priene between the late fourth and first century BC. The refoundation of Priene around the mid-fourth century BC has been connected to the contemporary revitalisation of the Ionian *koinon* at the Panionion. This pan-Ionian sanctuary was located in Prienean territory, on the northern side of mount Mykale (Map 1). Writing about the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios (i.e. the Panionion), Strabo remarked that the Ionians to his day honour the god and make sacrificial offerings there at the *Panionia*.[272] He also remarked that the Ionian priesthoods of Poseidon Helikonios were held by Prienean citizens:

> τῆς Πανιωνικῆς θυσίας ἣν ἐν τῇ Πριηνέων χώρᾳ συντελοῦσιν Ἴωνες τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι· ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Πριηνεῖς ἐξ Ἑλίκης εἶναι λέγονται, καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην βασιλέα καθιστᾶσιν ἄνδρα νέον Πριηνέα τὸν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελησόμενον.
>
> [t]he Panionian sacrifice, which Ionians perform in honour of Poseidon Helikonios in the *chora* of the Prieneans; for the Prieneans themselves are also said to be from Helike, and for this sacrifice they appoint as *basileus* a young Prienean man to take care of the sacred rites.
>
> (Strabo 8.7.2; own translation)

[271] For some time in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC, the Ionian *koinon* may have celebrated its festival near Ephesos, not at the Panionion (Diodorus Siculus 15.49.1; Thucydides III.104.3; Hornblower 1982). In mid-fourth century BC regulations of the *koinon*, the Ephesian *basileus* received specific attention (*I.Priene*^{2} 399, l.22; Kleiner *et al*. 1967: 62). A festival in honour of Alexander, the *Alexandreia*, organised by the Ionians, took place at the border between Erythrai and Teos (Strabo 14.1.31; Herrmann 2002: 231-232). Also the sanctuary of Apollo Klarios at Kolophon may have served as special location for the activities of the Ionian *koinon* during the Hellenistic period (Müller & Prost 2013: 99-100).

[272] Strabo 8.7.2: τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου Ποσειδῶνος, ὃν καὶ νῦν ἔτι τιμῶσιν Ἴωνες, καὶ θύουσιν ἐκεῖ τὰ Πανιώνια. Cf. Strabo 14.1.20: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σάμιον πορθμὸν τὸν πρὸς Μυκάλῃ πλέουσιν εἰς Ἔφεσον ἐν δέξιᾷ ἐστὶν ἡ Ἐφεσίων παραλία· μέρος δέ τι ἔχουσιν αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ Σάμιοι. πρῶτον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τὸ Πανιώνιον, τρισὶ σταδίοις ὑπερκείμενον τῆς θαλάττης; cf. Herodotos 1.148; Diodorus Siculus 15.49.1. For archaeological research and the discovery of mid-fourth century BC regulations of the *koinon*, which confirm this location: *I.Priene*^{2} 399; Kleiner *et al*. 1967.

Further on, Strabo makes the same observation in a different context:

> πρῶτον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τὸ Πανιώνιον, τρισὶ σταδίοις ὑπερκείμενον τῆς θαλλάττης, ὅπου τὰ Πανιώνια, κοινὴ πανήγυρις τῶν Ἰώνων, συντελεῖται τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ θυσία· ἱερῶνται δὲ Πριηνεῖς.
>
> First along the seacoast is the Panionion, which lies three *stadia* above the sea; where the *Panionia*, the common *panegyris* of the Ionians, are held and sacrifices are performed in honour of Poseidon Helikonios; and Prieneans serve as priests. (Strabo 14.1.20; own translation)

Strabo's remarks find support in three early second-century BC Prienean copies of contracts of sale (διαγραφαί) for the priesthood of Poseidon Helikonios (*I.Priene*^{2} 146-148; Wiemer & Kah 2011: 38-48; Horster 2013: 198-203).[273] The copies inform us that this priesthood was sold to Prienean citizens and held for life. The central priesthood of the Ionian *koinon* was reserved for Prienean citizens during the Augustan period and had been so in the early second century BC as well.[274] Given this prior Prienean monopoly, the sudden appearance of C. Iulius Epikrates as chief-priest of the Ionians for life and the attestations of Milesians holding this office throughout the imperial period reflect a shift in power and representation within the Ionian *koinon*. If not replacing a Priene-controlled priesthood of Poseidon Helikonios, then the chief-priesthood at least institutionalised a rival Miletos-dominated priesthood. The Ionian cult of emperor Augustus, thus, offered Miletos, through Epikrates, a prominent and privileged

[273] See for text, translation, and commentary *CGRN* 177: http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/177/ (accessed: 22-05-2021).

[274] Peter Herrmann (2002: 235) suggested that the passage supports the widespread assumption that the responsibility of the *basileus* was to offer sacrifices. Alternatively, Hans-Ulrich Wiemer and Daniel Kah (2011: 46-47) detected a discrepancy between the priests of Poseidon Helikonios in the epigraphic testimonies and the *basileus* in Strabo's remark. Observing that the priest and *basileus* fulfilled the same cultic function, they hypothesised that organisational changes had taken place between the early second century BC and Strabo's time. In both cases, Strabo's additional statement that Prieneans served as priests (14.1.20) appears to be neglected. In my view, a combination of Strabo's two passages and the epigraphic testimonies indicates that the collective body of Ionian delegates had selected the Prienean *basileus* as their priest of Poseidon Helikonios. The Prienean authorities put this priesthood up for sale to their citizens. This interpretation removes the apparent discrepancy and corresponds well with the notion that *basileis* were the appointed delegates of their respective *poleis* (Kleiner *et al*. 1967: 17, 54, 60; Rubinstein 2004: 1057). Thus, the priest of Poseidon Helikonios and the Prienean *basileus* were the same person.

position within the federal organisation and challenged the long-lasting priestly privilege awarded to its neighbouring state.[275]

The late first century BC appears as a critical turning point in Miletos-Priene relations and Epikrates and his chief-priesthood for life fulfilled an important role in this shift of power within the Ionian *koinon*. The causes for this shift were, however, not simply Epikrates' prominence and his relations to hegemonic networks. Environmental transformations fundamentally changed the fate of both Priene and Miletos during the first century BC. In a Prienean honorific decree set up shortly after 129 BC, Romans were not amongst the various social groups that were invited to the distribution of sweet wine (γλυκισμός).[276] If Romans were resident in Priene at this time, they were not distinguished from other foreign inhabitants. An otherwise comparable honorific decree of the early first century BC, however, records that the anonymous honorand supplied oil throughout the year to all citizens, those *paroikoi* in the *ephebeia*, as well as all Romans.[277] Two decrees honouring Aulus Aemilius Zosimos distinguished Romans from other foreign residents.[278] The same decrees demonstrate that Aulus Aemilius Zosimos and other Roman citizens held Prienean magistracies.[279] Together with a statue of Titus Annius, Titus' son, set up by the Prienean

[275] To my knowledge, Strabo's passages are the last attestations for the priesthood of Poseidon Helikonios. A Kolophonian coin issued under Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251-253) as well as a third-century AD document honouring T. Flavius Aurelius Alexandros record a priest of the Ionians (*RPC* IX 600) and a priest of Ionia respectively (*I.Erythrai* 64, l.9; cf. Herrmann 2002: 239). By this time, the priesthood was clearly not monopolised by Priene or any other member-state.

[276] *I.Priene*^{2} 64, ll.257-259: ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ γλυκισμὸν τούς τε τῶν | [πεσόν]των υἱοὺς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας πάντας καὶ παροίκους καὶ | [ξένο]υς καὶ ἐξελευθέρους καὶ οἰκέτας. Herodes, son of Herodes, Hegesios' son by birth, equally did not invite Romans to public distributions: [ἔ]πεμψεν | [εἰς τὴν οἰ]κίαν πάντας τοὺς πολίτας καὶ παρο[ίκους μ]ετὰ τέ|[κνων καὶ] ξένους καὶ ἐξελευθέρους καὶ οἰ[κέτας] (*I.Priene*^{2} 65, ll.177-179); [ἐκάλεσεν] | εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὸ<γ> γλυκισ[μὸν πάντας τοὺς πολίτας καὶ] πα|ροίκους μετὰ τέκνων καὶ ξένους κα[ὶ ἐξελευθέρους καὶ οἰκέτ]ας (*I.Priene*^{2} 65, ll.193-194).

[277] *I.Priene*^{2} 41, ll.6-8: ἀλείψειν δι᾽ ἐνιαυτοῦ | πολίτας ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐφηβευκότας τῶν παροίκων καὶ | [Ῥ]ωμαίους ἅπαντας.

[278] *I.Priene*^{2} 68, ll.77-81: παρ[ατιθεὶς] δὲ καὶ λουτρὸν | δωρεὰν δι᾽ ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῖς τε ἐφήβο[ις καὶ π]αιδευταῖς καὶ τοῖς συνλουομένοις μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων νέοι[ς, ἐν δ]ὲ ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τοῖς πολείταις πᾶσιν καὶ παροίκοις [καὶ κα]τοίκοις καὶ ξένοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις; *I.Priene*^{2} 69, ll.37-39: παρα|καλέσειν ἐν τῆι τῆς εἰσόδου ἡμέραι τούς τε πολίτας πάντας καὶ πα|ροίκους καὶ κατοίκους καὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ ξένους καὶ δούλους; I.Priene^2 69, ll.76-78: παρέχων λουτρόν τε δωρέαν ἐν αὐταῖς τοῖς τε πολίταις | [πᾶσι]ν καὶ παροίκοις καὶ κατοίκοις καὶ ξένοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς τούτων οἰκέ|[ταις]; *I.Priene*^{2} 69, ll.80-83: τοῦ τε μηνὸς τοῦ | Ἀρτεμισιῶνος τῆι δωδεκάτηι παραστήσας τὴν εἰθισμένην γείνεσθαι τῶι Διὶ | τῶι Κεραυνίωι θυσίαν μετέδωκεν μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς τε πολίταις καὶ παροί|κοις καὶ κατοίκοις καὶ ξένοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δούλοις.

[279] The date of these decrees is generally taken to be 'after 84 BC', based on the identification of the war referred to in two decrees as the first Mithridatic War (*I.Priene*^{2} 69, ll.41-42, 60-61; 70, ll.18, 25). Recently, Daniel Kah (2012: 63-66) has argued that a date later in the first century BC, even early Augustan, cannot be excluded. This may be so, but, as Kah (2012: 65, 68) observes, does not alter the remarkable concentration of several Roman citizens active as Prienean eponymous magistrates already in the first century BC; a concentration not seen in any other *polis* on the Ionian coast during this period.

demos, and the dedication of the uppermost step at the entrance to the temple of Athena to Athena Polias and Augustus by Marcus Antonius Rusticus,[280] these documents show that first century BC Priene had a significant population of Roman citizens, who were visible in public life. Romans were not the only foreigners frequenting Priene, as indicated by the following passage from one of the decrees for Aulus Aemilius Zosimos:

> δειπνεῖν γὰρ τοὺς πολίτας πάντας κατὰ φυ-
> λὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐφηβευκότας τῶν παροίκων καὶ κατοίκων καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας καὶ τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Μιλησίων καὶ Μαγνήτων καὶ Σαμίων καὶ Ἐφεσίων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Τραλλιανῶν.
>
> for [Aulus Aemilius Zosimus] organised a banquet for all citizens according to *phyle*, those of the *paroikoi* and *katoikoi* in the *ephebeia*, all the Romans, and those sojourning Athenians, Thebans, Rhodians, Milesians, Magnetes, Samians, Ephesians, and even Trallians.
>
> (*I.Priene*^{2} 69, ll.42-45; own translation)

In addition to people from neighbouring *poleis* (Miletos, Magnesia, Samos, Ephesos, Tralles), Priene was frequented by Athenians, Thebans, and Rhodians. In the first part of the customs law of Asia, originally drafted in the 120s BC, a list of seaports, where customs stations were located, calls Priene 'Priene by (the mouth of) the Maeander' (for the early date, Mitchell 2008: 198-201).[281] The only other *polis* similarly characterised was Apollonia by (the mouth of) the Rhyndakos.[282] These specifications did not distinguish these *poleis* from others carrying the same name but inform us that, at the time, Apollonia and Priene were river-ports, possibly located somewhat upstream.[283] It suggests that already by the late second century BC the Prienean port was connected with the sea by the lower reaches of the Maeander.[284]

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[280] *I.Priene*^{2} 245 (early second century BC): ὁ δῆμος | Τίτον Ἄννιον | Τίτου; I.Priene^2 156 (Augustan period): Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Μάρκου υἱὸς Σεργία Ῥουστικὸς τὸ τρίβασμον | Ἀθην[ᾶι Πολίαδι καὶ] Α<ὐ>τοκράτο[ρ]ι [Καίσαρι] θεοῦ υἱῶι θεῷ Σεβαστῶι. The hundreds of names scribbled in the lower gymnasium include Roman names but cannot be dated any more precisely than the first century BC or first century AD. See *I.Priene*^{2} 354: Publius (720); Marcus (722); Titus, son of Gnaeus (725); Lucius, son of Varius (725); Curtius, son of Gaius (726); Mucius (727); Bassos, son of Faustus (731); Marcus Antonius Venustus (742); Publius Patulcius Bassos (743).

[281] Cottier *et al*. 2008: l.25, §9: Πριήνηι πρὸς τῶι Μαιάνδρου στόματι/Priene ad Maeandrum.

[282] Cottier *et al*. 2008: l.23, §9: Ἀπολλωνίαι πρὸς τῶι Ῥυνδάκου στόματι/Apollonia ad Rhyndacum.

[283] There was to be at least one guard-post on the river Rhyndakos: παρὰ ποταμῶι δὲ Ῥυνδάκωι μίαν παραφυλακήν/custodias habento, unamque ad Rhyndacum (Cottier *et al*. 2008: l.31, §12; cf. Van Nijf 2008: 288).

[284] Thonemann (2011: 334) suggested as much for the early first century BC (cf. Müllenhoff 2005: 66-72).

The Maeander was a central route of travel and trade. Strabo characterised inland Apamea, at the source of the Maeander, as a great *emporion* of Asia, second only to Ephesos, serving as entrepot for those from Italy and Greece (Thonemann 2011: 99-109).[285] The growth of Apamea as a transit hub had its roots in the late second century BC. Peter Thonemann (2011: 106-107) attributed this growth to the shift in dominant axes of long-distance trade: from north-south to east-west. The Maeander together with the 'Southern Highway' on its northern banks became the central communication route connecting the inner parts of Asia to the Aegean (Map 2). About the same time, inland *poleis* along the Maeander valley like Laodikeia and Hierapolis started to prosper and develop into major hubs within the Asian textile supply chain (Strabo 12.8.16; Thonemann 2011: 186-190; Flohr 2016: 33-36). The growth of these *poleis* in the Maeander valley coincides with the increasing expansion of Italian landownership, their appropriation of primary production, and the circulation of goods from Greece, the Aegean, and Asia to Italy and Rome during the second and first centuries BC (Tran 2014; Flohr 2016: 37-39; Eberle & Le Quéré 2017). Organised groups of Italian *negotiatores* and Roman citizens are attested in late republican Tralles, Antiochia-on-the-Maeander, and possibly Magnesia-on-the-Maeander as well as Hierapolis (Kirbihler 2016: 222, 226, figs 1-2). It is in this context that we should view the customs station in Priene 'at the mouth of the Maeander' in the late second century BC as well as the Romans and other groups of foreigners sojourning at Priene in the first century BC.

Priene's favourable position at the mouth of the Maeander would, however, not last forever. In the nineties BC, Priene ended up in conflict with both *publicani* and the Milesian state (Heller 2006: 28-34; Thonemann 2011: 329-334; Wallace 2014: 39-56). As specified in the relevant decree, the latter conflict was about the right for ships to sail in: [τὸ ἀμφισβήτημ]α τὸ κατὰ [τὸ]ν | εἴσπλουν (*I.Priene*^{2} 67, ll.128-129).[286] For a long time, the Milesian state had owned territories on the southern banks of the Maeander, especially the area of the former *polis* Myous (Herrmann 1965: 93-96, 101-103; Heller 2006: 34-38; Thonemann 2011: 334).[287] The southwestern direction of the Maeander's progradation

[285] Strabo 12.8.15: Ἀπάμεια δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον μέγα τῆς ἰδίως λεγομένης Ἀσίας, δευτερεῦον μετὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον· αὕτη γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποδοχεῖον κοινόν ἐστιν.
[286] See also: [κατ]ὰ τὸν εἴσπλουν (*I.Priene*^{2} 67, l.146).
[287] By the time of Strabo (14.1.10), Myous was sparsely populated and could only be reached by rowboats. It was fully abandoned due to malarial mosquitoes attracted by the freshwater lake (Pausanias 7.2.11). The inhabitants had moved to Miletos. A list of new citizens may attest to migrants from Myous: Günther 2009: 173-177, no.3.

brought the mouth of the Maeander increasingly close to Miletos and further removed from Priene (Map 1; Müllenhoff 2005: 113-120, 196-199). More and more, Miletos came into a position of control over the mouth of the Maeander. It is likely that, during the conflict, Miletos blocked entrance to the mouth of the Maeander, and, effectively, the river port of Priene (Thonemann 2011: 333).[288]

The political geography of the mouth of the Maeander brings us back to one of Epikrates' successful petitions for which he was remembered on the posthumous statue base (*Milet* VI.3 1131, ll.6-7; see above):

τὴν ἀπ[ο]γ̣α̣ι̣[ου]μένην χώραν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου καὶ τοὺς γαι̣ε̣ῶνας

the land turned to earth by the Maeander as well as the sandbanks

The grant of emperor Augustus was probably a final decision in response to claims of both Miletos and Priene to these newly formed lands and sandbanks (Herrmann 1994: 211-213; Heller 2006: 33-34). The stakes were high because the Maeander delta offered a wealth of exploitable resources. Apart from potential agricultural lands, the sandbanks protecting coastal lagoons offered suitable places for fisheries (Thonemann 2011: 322-323). These were now practically given over to Milesian control. The imperial grant of these lands and sandbanks implied a strengthening grip of Miletos on the mouth of the Maeander. Under Augustus, the tables were turning in favour of Miletos.[289]

It would appear, then, that by the end of the reign of Augustus the Milesian community found itself in a more favourable position within dominant networks of power and trade than during much of the first century BC, largely thanks to the interventions and negotiations of C. Iulius Epikrates. Contemporary developments in rural settlement, land use, and land ownership in the territory of Miletos and the Maeander delta demonstrate, however, that this favourable position disproportionately benefitted a tiny group of Milesians. Archaeological surveys and analyses of satellite imagery of the Milesian peninsula have detected a considerable expansion of rural settlement (hamlets, farmsteads) and agricultural enclosures

[288] For slightly different interpretations, see Heller 2006: 32-33; Wallace 2014: 48-49.
[289] After the Augustan period, urban development of Priene appears to have come to a halt, building projects were limited mostly to repairs and renovations, Prienean coins were few until the third century AD, and inscribed stones were scarce (Rumscheid 2002: 82-84).

dating to the early Hellenistic period (Lohmann 2004: 346; Wilkinson & Slawisch 2020; cf. Thonemann 2011: 242-259). By the late Hellenistic and early Roman period, however, rural settlement of Milesian territory decreased rapidly (Lohmann 2004: 346-350).[290] In addition, sedimentological analysis of a core taken from Bafa Gölü registered a sedimentation acceleration rate which was 4 to 5.6 times higher than in the periods preceding and succeeding the late Hellenistic and Roman periods (Müllenhoff 2005: 230-231, 239; Knipping *et al*. 2008: 369-371; Herda *et al*. 2019: 50-51, 55-60, fig.17). Corings from the city of Miletos suggest comparable increases in acceleration rates (Müllenhoff 2005: 92-93). Indicative of quickening soil erosion in the vicinity, this acceleration has been associated, on the one hand, with intensified limestone and marble quarrying near Ioniapolis, and, on the other hand, with intensified land use. The latter is supported by palynological analysis of the same core from Bafa Gölü, which registered rising pollen values for *Olea*, *Juglans*, *Castanea*, *Vitis*, and *Juniperus* indicative of olive groves, fruit and nut trees, and vines as well as of pastoral farming (Müllenhoff 2005: 233-238; Knipping *et al*. 2008: 374-377; Herda *et al*. 2019: 53-54; Wilkinson & Slawisch 2020: 202). The simultaneous decrease in rural settlement and intensified land exploitation crystallise a third development: concentration of private land ownership (Lohmann 2004: 346-350; Thonemann 2011: 242-251, 293). In the previous section, I have already observed that more than half of the Milesian eponymous magistrates between 89 BC and AD 32 were members of only six networked families (see page 144). In fact, during the first sixty years (89-30 BC) 22 men holding the annual magistracy were from these families, but during the following sixty years (29 BC – AD 32) 33 magistrates were from five of the same families and the *stephanephoria* was sponsored by non-citizen parties ten times (Table 4). The eponymous magistracy of Miletos was, thus, financed either by a very limited number of Milesian families or by external capital. These developments in office-holding and landownership give the impression that Miletos' territorial expansion and reintegration into dominant trade and communication networks primarily benefitted a select group of Milesians. In the words of Peter Thonemann (2011: 336):

> "The opening up of major new economic opportunities in the Maeander delta fortuitously coincided with this explosion in private landed wealth. For the first

[290] Intensive surveys in the area of Panormos included, nonetheless, high numbers of Roman pottery finds (Wilkinson & Slawisch 2017: 32; 2020: fig.14). As a harbour-town, Panormos cannot be representative though.

> time, lagoonal environments and alluvial marshland started to develop in the immediate vicinity of the city of Miletus itself. Individual landowners of extraordinary private wealth and power could (...) afford the necessary initial outlay to turn these potential assets into real and profitable ones."

The Augustan land grant, presented as a gift to the Milesian community, primarily benefitted members of the Milesian ruling class like Epikrates himself. During the late republican and Augustan periods, Miletos and its territory were characterised by intensified concentration of power and wealth.[291] The pivotal role of C. Iulius Epikrates and his control over the cult of Augustus in Miletos and Ionia are a most manifest epitome of this process. Epikrates' involvement in the foundation of cults of Augustus in Miletos and Ionia and his subsequent life-long chief-priesthoods in both institutions were the instruments and symptoms of this concentration of power and wealth, as played out in Milesian society, the Maeander delta, and the Ionian *koinon.*

The history of Miletos was strongly influenced by its maritime networks. Its position within networks of trade and power was the *polis*' strength and vulnerability. For a long time, the ports of Miletos had held a strategic position within the dominant communication routes traversing the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. The coming of Roman hegemony in the region, making routes along the east-west axis the dominant ones, posed difficulties for the *polis*. The late republican and Augustan restructuring of these routes required Miletos to adapt to a new configuration of power relations and capital flows. The Milesian state and citizens sought to ameliorate their position by integrating themselves into the hegemonic networks – through petitioning for replacement of fiscal borders, through migrating to central hubs of those networks, and through establishing favourable relations with the *hegemones* and Roman entrepreneurs dominating those networks. These efforts were manifested within and through established Milesian networked spaces: the sanctuaries of Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Delphinios, the Miletos-controlled island of Leros, the *isopoliteia*-ally of Athens, the *koinon* of the Ionians, the delta of the Maeander. The Milesian cult of Augustus constituted one of these efforts and was accommodated in some of those networked spaces.

[291] Although a causal relationship cannot be established, it is tempting to relate this process of concentration with the contemporary mass migration of Milesians to Athens (see pages 152-154).

With few Romans present in Augustan Miletos and limited possibilities of direct interaction with agents of imperial power, favourable and profitable relations could be co-opted and controlled by those who managed to act as a bridge between Miletos and those networks. Amongst few other leading families of Miletos, the family of C. Iulius Epikrates was particularly successful in doing so. Through friendly relations with the Iulii and the concentration of power and resources in Milesian territory, Epikrates could eventually manoeuver himself in the position of a 'weak tie' forming a micro-macro connection (Granovetter 1973). To a large extent, Miletos had access to hegemonic networks through Epikrates. Contemporary environmental changes offered the opportunity to further expand this pivotal role and concentration of resources into the delta of the Maeander and the *koinon* of Ionia, mostly at the expense of Priene. Several of the favours and privileges secured by Epikrates were beneficial to the wider Milesian community, but it disproportionately benefitted a small number of families. Epikrates' dominance in the Milesian cult of Augustus made the establishment, visibility, and performativity of this cult a showcase of his profitable relations and the associated concentration of power and wealth: the cult of Augustus and the honours and *hero*-cult of Epikrates were distinguishable, yet inseparable.

This inseparability of the Milesian-Roman relations, including the cult of Augustus, and Miletos' primary citizen benefactor assured it of financial support and Miletos' representation before imperial authorities and in the *koina* of Asia and Ionia. For much of its exchanges of benefactions and honours and its advanced position within regional power relations, the Milesian community was, thus, reliant on the actions and interactions of an individual citizen or, at most, a small group of citizens. The strong representation of the Minnion-Thrasonides and Chionis-Sophanes families, members of which would later receive Roman citizenship, and the appearance of Roman citizens amongst the Milesian *stephanephoroi* in the tens and twenties AD may be signs of the successful process of reintegration and Miletos' improved position initiated by Epikrates (Table 4; Stemmata 5-6). The reintegration of the *polis* and the concentration of power and wealth epitomised by the rise of Epikrates himself were attracting new people into the leading Milesian strata. But, as we will see in the next chapter, the relation of dependency between the Milesian community and a small group of its citizens continued to be influential for the developments of imperial cults after the death of Epikrates.

Economic difficulties and the associated rise of prominent and well-networked citizen benefactors awarded with Roman citizenship in the first century BC are phenomena that have

been recognised in several other *poleis* of Asia (Thériault 2003). But not all those *poleis* have yielded evidence for such persons dominating a cult of Augustus and other means of communication with imperial power the way Epikrates did. For Knidos, for instance, no chief-priests or priests of imperial cults are recorded in the catalogue of Gabrielle Frija (2012), but the family of C. Iulius Theopompos, their benefactions and honours, and their relations with the Roman *hegemones* closely resembled those of C. Iulius Epikrates. Even greater is the contrast with Ephesos, where benefactions primarily originated from parties external to the citizen community (see chapter 1). What these varieties indicate is that the processes of integration into the hegemonic networks and, thus, the way power relations between Rome and Greek *poleis* were played out, were different in the various communities of Asia in the late first century BC. This diversity contributed to distinct social constellations and internal dynamics of power, which influenced the modes of establishment, organisation, and further development of the imperial cults present in those communities.

CHAPTER 4

IMPERIAL CULTS IN JULIO-CLAUDIAN MILETOS

During the reign of Gaius, Miletos was the third Asian *polis* to be selected to host a *koinon*-temple. With the assassination and subsequent *damnatio memoriae* of the emperor, this project was cancelled. This episode has entered the historical narratives about Miletos paradoxically as either without major consequences or as a turning point introducing a period of decline.[292] This chapter shows that neither was exactly true. The first section of this chapter addresses and studies the project of Gaius' *koinon*-temple with particular attention to the relationship between the Milesian state and other Asian *poleis*. It argues that the choice to locate the *koinon*-cult in the Didymeion caused controversy and gave rise to oppositional factions demanding a direct order of the emperor to be realised. At the time, the central figure in the relationship between Miletos and the imperial household was the *eques Romanus* Cn. Vergilius Capito and he continued to be the primary benefactor of Miletos during the reigns of Claudius and Nero. Given that he had married into the family of C. Iulius Epikrates, the section points to the continuing influence of this family in Milesian connections with imperial power throughout the Julio-Claudian period. The second section discusses the Julio-Claudian evidence for the chief-priests in Miletos and demonstrates that all of them were members of a distinct, well-connected, and wealthy group within Miletos and its ruling class. The Milesian community became heavily reliant on this group for the continuity and maintenance of its religious institutions. Overall, the chapter shows that after the failed project of Gaius' *koinon*-cult Miletos was further integrated into networks of imperial power and that this integration disproportionately benefitted a tiny portion of Milesian society.

[292] Herrmann 1989a: 196 – "Freilich spricht alles dafür, daß der anspruchsvolle Plan des jungen Autokraten für Didyma durchaus eine Episode ohne bemerkenswerte Nachwirkungen geblieben ist"; *Milet* VI.3, p.63 – "So war der Regierungswechsel des Jahres 41 für Milet eine Zäsur und bedeutete einen Rückschlag in den bislang so erfolgreichen Bemühungen um erstrangige Kontakte zum Kaiserhaus"; Heller 2006: 215 – "Milet, qui sous Tibère apparaît comme l'une des cités les plus importantes d'Asie, pourrait acquérir, avec la faveur que lui octroie Caligula, une influence de tout premier ordre, mais la *damnatio memoriae* de l'empereur fou tue le nouveau culte dans l'oeuf et la cité semble connaître un certain déclin (...)."

Imperial cults were as much symptom as instrument in the production of socio-economic inequality and relations of dependency.

Cn. Vergilius Capito and the *Koinon*-cult of Gaius in Miletos

On the posthumously erected statue base of C. Iulius Epikrates, his daughter Iulia is related to Gnaeus Vergilius Capito. Capito was a well-known figure and prominent benefactor in mid-first century AD Miletos. Around AD 40, he became the first chief-priest of the temple of Gaius in Miletos and chief-priest of Asia for a third time.[293] His chief-priesthood was linked to the establishment of a *koinon*-cult of Asia in Miletos as well as contemporary construction works on the temple of Apollo Didymeus. The assassination of the emperor and his subsequent reputation meant that the project was cancelled and the *koinon*-cult of Gaius in Miletos would only have a very short existence. In scholarship and literary sources, this episode is often discussed with reference to the emperor's alleged megalomania, his attempt to appropriate the temple of Apollo Didymeus, and its implication for the general chronological development of *koinon*-cults in Asia (Price 1984a: 68-69, 257 (no.40); Friesen 1993: 21-26; 2001: 39-41; Burrell 2004: 55; Witulski 2010: 42-45). In this section, I will consider the evidence for this episode with particular attention to the role and position of the Milesian state amongst the *poleis* of Asia and Cn. Vergilius Capito in Miletos and beyond.

For the year AD 40, Cassius Dio tells us the following:

> Γάιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνει τέμενός τι ἑαυτῷ ἐν Μιλήτῳ τεμενίσαι ἐκέλευσε· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐπελέξατο, λόγῳ μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν μὲν Ἔφεσον ἡ Ἄρτεμις τὴν δὲ Πέργαμον ὁ Αὔγουστος τὴν δὲ Σμύρναν ὁ Τιβέριος προκατειλήφασι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ὅτι τὸν νεὼν ὃν οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ μέγαν καὶ ὑπερκαλλῆ ἐποίουν ἰδιώσασθαι ἐπεθύμησε.
>
> Gaius gave the people in Asia the order that a *temenos* be consecrated to himself in Miletos;[294] for he chose that *polis* giving as reason that Artemis preoccupied Ephesos, Augustus Pergamon, and Tiberius Smyrna, but the truth was that he

[293] [Αὐτοκράτορα Γάϊον Κ]αίσαρα Γερμανικὸν | [Γερμανικοῦ υἱ]ὸν θεὸν Σεβαστὸν νεοπο|ιοὶ οἱ πρώτως νεοποιήσαντες αὐτοῦ | ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Γναίου Οὐεργιλίου Καπίτωνος | τοῦ μὲν ἐν Μειλήτωι ναοῦ Γαΐου Καίσαρος τὸ πρῶ|τον, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὸ τρίτον (*I.Didyma* 148, ll.1-6; cf. *Didyma* III.5 135).

[294] Cf. Zonaras, *An.* 11.7: οὕτω δ΄ἐξεμάνη ὁ Γάϊος ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τέμενος ἑαυτῷ ἀνεγεῖραι κελεῦσαι κατὰ τὴν Μίλητον.

> desired to make the great and exceedingly beautiful temple which the Milesians were building for Apollo his own.
> (Cassius Dio 59.28.1; own translation)

If Cassius Dio's claim to know the desires of emperor Gaius cannot be taken for granted, the connection he makes between the emperor's selection of Miletos as the location for a sacred precinct to himself and the construction of the temple of Apollo Didymeus finds confirmation in epigraphic documentation from the Didymeion.[295] In the Didymeion, a statue base of emperor and god Gaius was dedicated at their own expense by a group of men, who are characterised as the first of the emperor's *neopoioi*.[296] These *neopoioi* whose names, patronymics, and places of origin are listed further down the inscription represented the thirteen *conventus* of the province of Asia, so that they can be identified as officials sent by the *koinon* of Asia (Robert 1949). Another statue base was set up by the construction workers from Asia working on the temple at Didyma.[297] It seems clear that the project of Gaius' *koinon*-cult took place at Didyma (Haussoullier 1902: 272-273; Robert 1949: 208 n.4; Herrmann 1989a; Burrell 2004: 55-56; Heller 2006: 180-181; Günther 2012: 108; *contra*: Friesen 1993: 25; 2001: 40-41). Friesen's remark that *koinon*-cults were customarily accompanied by a new temple does not challenge this interpretation but rather demonstrates the specific character of the establishment of Gaius' *koinon*-cult in Miletos. Indeed, while it may not be clear whether Gaius was supposed to become *synnaos theos* in the temple of Apollo Didymeus or to receive a sacred precinct of his own in Apollo's sanctuary, the revived construction works on the temple of Apollo Didymeus and the establishment of a *koinon*-cult of Gaius were inseparable.[298]

The connection between a deified emperor and other divinities can be seen as a variation from the norm of imperial cults rather than an extraordinary project of a megalomaniac

[295] Cf. Suetonius, *Gaius* 21: *destinaverat…Mileti Didymeum peragere*.
[296] See footnote 294.
[297] οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τεχνεῖται | οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἐν Διδύ|μοις ναὸν (*I.Didyma* 107, ll.1-3; cf. *Didyma* III.5 128). The statue was set up in honour of Meniskos, who had been ambassador to the emperor concerning the *asylia*-rights of Apollo Didymeus and the rights of the *polis*: πρεσ|βεύσαντα πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν | ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσυλίας τοῦ Διδυ|μέως Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν τῆς | πόλεως δικαίων (ll.9-13). This embassy is associated with the embassies of various *poleis* sent to emperor Tiberius to secure their *asylia*-rights in AD 22 (Tac. *An.* 3.60-63; Haussoullier 1902: 263-271.; see epilogue to chapter 4).
[298] The columns on the eastern front of the temple of Apollo Didymeus may have been erected as part of these construction works: Gliwitzky 2005.

emperor.[299] Such connections existed for preceding *koinon*-cults to Roma and Augustus in Pergamon and Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate in Smyrna (see epilogue to chapter 4). Gaius' *koinon*-cult was, however, associated with an extant and famous sanctuary belonging to a patron deity of a specific *polis* rather than with other representations of imperial power. Though unprecedented for Asian *koinon*-cults, such associations were commonplace for civic cults in honour of the imperial household in Augustan and Tiberian Asia.[300] Similarly, the reference to Gaius as θεός on his statue base set up by the *neopoioi* was in accordance with language commonly used for emperors in Greek *poleis* (Price 1984b).[301] These aspects of Gaius' cult were therefore in accord with common religious practices in Greek communities. The deviation from the norm consisted precisely in the relationship established between a *koinon*-cult and an extant sanctuary, and it was this deviation which proved to be controversial.

Here, we are dealing with a controversial decision juxtaposing factions of supporters and opponents,[302] which entered the narrative of Cassius Dio as the emperor ordering the construction of his own *temenos* and making Apollo's temple his own. Gaius' order is frequently contrasted with Octavian giving permission for a temple in Pergamon and the various *polis*-representatives trying to convince Tiberius to select their *polis* as the site for his *koinon*-cult and associated temple.[303] These precedents demonstrate that the *koinon* and its member-states were positive about the establishment of *koinon*-cults. They could, however, quarrel over which *polis* was to receive the honour of hosting the temple. The presence of

[299] For the idea of Gaius as megalomaniac emperor in relation to the Milesian *koinon*-cult: Habicht 1973: 56, 85; Price 1984a: 68-69; Friesen 1993: 21-26; 2001: 39-41; Burrell 2004: 55; Witulski 2010: 42-45.

[300] See chapters 1 and 2 for the shrine of Augustus in the Artemision at Ephesos. In Teos, the local priest of Tiberius Caesar was responsible for the opening and closing of the temple of Dionysos *Prokathegemon* (*LSAM* 28, ll.10-12). Civic priests could also be in charge of cults of a location-specific divinity and members of the imperial household: ἱερέα Ἀγρίππα Καίσαρος | Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ (*I.Iasos* 90, ll.3-4; Frija 2012: no.322; Iasos, late Augustan). Of a slightly later date: τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς ἀρχηγέτιδος Ἥρας καὶ θε|ᾶς Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς (*IG* XII.6 330, ll.2-3; Frija 2012: no.59; Samos, reign of Claudius); ἱερέα γενόμενον θε|ᾶς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ θεῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἀμε|ριμνίας (*Iaph2007* 15.261, ll.4-6; Frija 2012: no.243; Aphrodisias, probably reign of Claudius).

[301] The text on this statue base was presumably composed by the *neopoioi* under supervision of the temple-officials and not a decision of the emperor as assumed by some reseachers (e.g. Friesen 1993: 22-23; 2001: 40; Witulski 2010: 42-45).

[302] It may not be accidental that the *neopoios* from the Ephesian *conventus* is represented by a citizen of Tralles/Kaisareia, not of Ephesos itself: Ἱεροκλῆς | Ἀρτεμιδώρου Καισαρεύς (*I.Didyma* 148, ll.16-17; cf. Heller 2006: 379). The Senate's personification on Milesian coins issued under Gaius suggests that the Senate had been favourable to the Milesian community (*RPC* I 2706-2707).

[303] There is reason for caution, see Burrell 2004: 55 – "The terminology that Dio used in this instance differs sharply from his previous treatments of the events of 29 BCE, where Augustus 'gave permission' to the Greeks of Asia to build a temple at Pergamon; here Gaius 'commands', but one cannot place too much faith in the wording of a passage that is only known in epitome."

workers and *neopoioi* from Asia shows that the *koinon*-treasury contributed to the building project at Didyma (Price 1984a: 129-130; Heller 2006: 180-181; Edelmann-Singer 2012: 173). In this case, the *koinon's* contribution was not only to a new religious institution, but also to the completion of the magnificent temple of Apollo Didymeus.[304] Thus, other member-states of the Asian *koinon* had to support the completion of a rival's most distinguished temple. In the competition for the second *koinon*-temple in the twenties AD, Miletos had been denied the privilege of hosting the Tiberian *koinon*-cult precisely because of the presence of Apollo's cult and temple (Tac. *An.* 4.55). Gaius' choice of Miletos is presented by Cassius Dio as following a similar logic: Pergamon and Smyrna had *koinon*-temples already and Ephesos was devoted to Artemis Ephesia. Within a few years, the temple of Apollo Didymeus had changed from being an obstacle to a Milesian *koinon*-cult to the reason for its selection. It is likely that it was exactly the temple's unfinished state that provided the opportunity for its selection.[305] Given the financial implications for members of the Asian *koinon*, it seems probable that Gaius overruled regional oppositional voices.

The choice for Miletos and the emperor's support for the completion of Apollo Didymeus' temple is associated with an apparent enthusiasm in Miletos for the imperial household. The first *neopoioi* of Gaius' temple responsible for setting up the emperor's statue in the Didymeion were collectively recorded as *philosebastoi*, but the Milesian *neopoios*, Neon son of Artemon, was additionally characterised as *philogaios*.[306] This was an honorary title conferred on Neon by a vote in the Milesian assembly.[307] The temple project was initiated after a period during which construction works on the Didymeion and generally in Miletos had slumped (Gliwitzky 2005). Apart from the benefactions of C. Iulius Epikrates, very little evidence survives for any major building projects in Miletos or Didyma during the later first century BC and the first half of the first century AD. Overviews of urban development in Miletos take as the first attested building of the imperial period the so-called Capito-gymnasium dedicated during the reigns of Claudius or Nero (Blum 2009: 46-49; Niewöhner

[304] Already Strabo (14.1.5) characterised, albeit erroneously (Burrell 2004: 56), the temple of Apollo Didymeus as the largest of all temples: ὕστερον δ᾽οἱ Μιλήσιοι μέγιστον νεὼν τὼν πάντων κατεσκεύασαν.
[305] Cf. Herrmann 1989a: 194 – "Man hat den Eindruck, daß die damals geäußerten Argumente bei der Entscheidung Caligulas noch nachwirkten, daß aber gerade der im Jahre 26 gegen Milet ins Feld geführte Ablehnungsgrund jetzt den Ausschlag dafür gab, daß sich der Kaiser für diesen Ort als Sitz des Provincialtempels entschied: weil sich dort der halbfertige Apollon-Tempel als Ansatzpunkt für den geplanten Ausbau anbot."
[306] οἱ φιλοσέβαστοι | γραφέντων τῶν ὀνομάτων κατὰ κλῆρον (*I.Didyma* 148, ll.21-22); Νέων Ἀρτέμω|νος Μειλήσιος φιλογάϊος (ll.12-13).
[307] Cf. Buraselis (2000: 101-108); on p.106-107, he erroneously refers to Neon as an Ephesian.

2016: 71-75; cf. Cain & Pfanner 2009: 88). Furthermore, while under Augustus and Tiberius Miletos did not issue its own coins, Gaius' project was accompanied by a revival of the Milesian mint. In combination with the emperor's image on the obverse, the images and legends on the coin reverses focus on (the cult statue of) Apollo Didymeus (*RPC* I 2702-2703), the deified Drusilla (*RPC* I 2704-2704A), the Roman Senate (*RPC* I 2705-2706), and a temple with six columns (*RPC* I 2707; cf. Günther 2012: 105-107).[308] Contemporaneously, the *demos* erected a statue of Gaius' sister Iulia Drusilla celebrating her as 'new Aphrodite'.[309]

The selected officials of Gaius' temple numbered the chief-priest Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, the *neokoros* Tiberius Iulius Menogenes, and the *archineopoios*, *sebastoneos*, and *sebastologos* Protomachos, son of Glykon, from Iulia in Phrygia.[310] Given the need for influential intermediaries, it is probable that some of these officials had played a key role in securing the privilege of the *koinon*-cult for Miletos.[311] In this light, Cn. Vergilius Capito is the more interesting figure.[312] He is the first *archiereus* of Asia known to have held this chief-priesthood more than once (Campanile 1994: no.28). By the time of his chief-priesthood of Asia in Miletos, he had already been chief-priest of Asia twice (in Pergamon and/or Smyrna), attesting to his prominence during the reign of Tiberius. The absence of any indication of origin for Capito – in contrast to Protomachos – has led many to follow Louis Robert (1949: 209) in assuming that Capito was a Milesian citizen at least by AD 40/41.[313] Nonetheless, as

[308] Architectural representations on coinage do not always correspond exactly to architectural reality. Therefore, the number of columns on the coin issue – six instead of ten – is not a viable argument to discard the idea that this temple represented that of Apollo Didymeus (Price & Trell 1977: 19; Herrmann 1989a: 195 n.26). Given the context of revived construction works on the temple under Gaius, I think there can be little doubt that the temple of Apollo Didymeus is represented (*RPC* I, p.449; *contra* Price 1984a: no.40; Burrell 2004: 56-57).

[309] ὁ δῆ[μος] | Ἰουλίαν Δρού[σιλλαν] | νέαν Ἀφροδεί[την] (*Milet* VI.3 1095).

[310] ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Γναίου Οὐεργιλίου Καπίτωνος | τοῦ μὲν ἐν Μειλήτωι ναοῦ Γάϊου Καίσαρος τὸ πρῶ|τον, τὴς δὲ Ἀσίας τὸ τρίτον καὶ Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Δη|μητρίου νομοθέτου υἱοῦ Μηνογένους ἀρχιερέως | τὸ δεύτερον καὶ νεωκόρου τοῦ ἐν Μειλήτωι ναοῦ καὶ | Πρωτομάχου τοῦ Γλύκωνος Ἰουλιέως τοῦ ἀρχινεοποι|οῦ καὶ σεβαστόνεω<ι> καὶ σεβαστολόγου (*I.Didyma* 148, ll.4-10; cf. Robert 1949: 209-210).

[311] For the importance of such intermediaries, or 'brokers of beneficence', in securing a *koinon*-cult for a specific *polis*, see Burrell 2004: 333-335.

[312] For Tiberius Iulius Menogenes, see pages 181-182.

[313] *Didyma* III.5, p.147, 153; Demougin 1992: no.679; Campanile 1994: no.28; Ehrhardt & Günther 2008: 103-104. In the fourth century AD, an estate on the territory of neighbouring Magnesia on the Maiandros was called after *Vergilii* (*I.Magnesia* 122e, l.13). Thonemann (2011: 252 n.40) took the relative rarity of this *gentilicium* in Asia Minor as sufficient evidence that it had once been in the possession of Capito's family. However, a man called Vergilius Eutyches is known from Ephesos in the second or third centuries AD (*SEG* 43.816; Kirbihler 2016: 341, no.231). As it happens, the owner of the estate in the fourth century AD was documented as Eutychis of Ephesos. It is therefore not possible to connect this property directly to Vergilius Capito and his family.

his patronymic and *tribus* suggest,[314] he was a member of an Italian family, probably originating from Campania.[315] His father or Capito himself had married into the family of C. Iulius Epikrates, Miletos' most illustrious citizen in Augustan times (Stemma 1; Thonemann 2011: 252). We are thus dealing with an Italian settler rapidly integrating himself into the highest echelons of Miletos and Asia in the first decades of the first century AD.

Capito's prominence was not limited to Miletos or Asia. He followed an equestrian career under Claudius as *tribunus militum*, *praefectus* in Rome,[316] *epitropos* of Asia of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, and *praefectus Aegypti* (Table 5; Demougin 1992: no.679; Ricl & Akat 2007; Ehrhardt & Günther 2008). Capito was prefect in Egypt from 47 to ca. AD 52. This office is generally considered to have come after his time as procurator of Asia at some point in the period between AD 41 and 47. The addition of emperor Claudius in his procuratorial title may indicate that he was personally appointed by the emperor (Devijver 1999: 251-252).[317] His office-holding as *praefectus* and *tribunus militum* has been associated with Claudius' campaign in Britannia in AD 43 (Faoro 2016: 217; cf. Buraselis 2000: 68-73). Davide Faoro (2016) has recognised similarities with the contemporary career of Tiberius Claudius Balbillus, an astrologer, who in AD 41 appears in Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians not only as first ambassador of the Alexandrians but also as a highly valued friend of the emperor. Balbillus had joined Claudius on his expedition to Britannia in AD 43 and was prefect of Egypt between AD 55 and 60 (*P.Lond* VI 1912, ll. 16, 35-38, 105-107; cf. Demougin 1992: no.538; Kokkinia 2012: 499-503).[318] In the letter, we find a close acquaintance of Claudius prominently involved in the offering of divine honours to the emperor. Another similar career

[314] Name and *tribus* are recorded on two Milesian statue bases: Γναῖον Οὐεργίλιον Γναίου | υἱὸν Φαλέρνα Καπίτωνα (*I.Didyma* 149, ll.3-4); Γναῖον Οὐεργίλιον Γναίου υἱὸν Φα|λέρνα Καπίτωνα (*SEG* 57.1109bis, ll.2-3).

[315] In relation to the turbulence of AD 69, Tacitus (*An.* 3.77; 4.3) records a slave of Vergilius Capito near Tarracina in Campania. It is not possible to establish for certain whether Capito had left Miletos for Campania, remained in Miletos but still owned lands and slaves in Campania, or was regularly on the move between various places of residence. A close connection with Miletos is, however, suggested by the numerous attested *Vergilii* in Miletos throughout the second and third centuries AD (for a list: Ehrhardt & Günther 2008: 108).

[316] There exist different interpretations of this abbreviated form of a prefect in Rome. Marijana Ricl and Sevgiser Akat (2007: 30) opted for the *praefectus fabrum* (cf. Faoro 2016: 216). Norbert Ehrhardt and Wolfgang Günther (2008: 113) preferred, however, the *praefectus vigilum*. Another Milesian, Claudius Chionis, is also attested as prefect in Rome in the mid-first century AD, see pages 186-187.

[317] τὸν ἐπίτροπον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου | Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ (*I.Didyma* 149, ll.5-6); ἐπίτροπον Ἀσίας Τιβε|ρίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερ|μανικοῦ (*SEG* 57.1109bis, ll.4-6).

[318] The identification of the prefect of Egypt with the ambassador mentioned in Claudius' letter is not always accepted. Yet, its refutation, for instance by Demougin (1992: 449), is supported with the argument that the father of the prefect was born in Asia, while the ambassador was a citizen of Alexandria. Given the high mobility of these equestrian men moving between imperial centres like Rome, Alexandria, and Ephesos as well as the possibility of citizenship in multiple *poleis*, I think this argument is unconvincing.

can be reconstructed for C. Stertinius Xenophon of Kos, doctor of the emperors Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius, the latter's friend, equally a *tribunus militum* and *praefectus fabrum*, who had joined emperor Claudius on his expedition to Britannia and was later responsible for imperial correspondence (*ad responsa Graeca*; *IG* XII.4.2 952; cf. Demougin 1992: no.487; Buraselis 2000: 66-75, 95-96, 107 n.198; Faoro 2016: 216). Numerous documents from Kos testify to Xenophon's leading role in the establishment, financing, and priestly responsibilities of imperial cults in Claudian and Neronian Kos and his associated honorary titles of *philokaisar, philosebastos, philoklaudios*, and *philoneron* (Buraselis 2000: 97-108; Frija 2012: no.8). The close parallels suggest that Capito was likely close to the imperial household under both Gaius and Claudius and, thus, a key intermediary in the negotiations concerning the *koinon*-cult in Miletos and the construction works on the temple of Apollo Didymeus (cf. Günther 2012: 116-119).

In the years after his chief-priesthood and the cancellation of Gaius' *koinon*-cult, Capito was primarily to be found in places other than Miletos. The Milesian documents concerning Capito do not mention any Milesian magistracies or priesthoods but focus on his equestrian career. Most documents record him as procurator of Asia and prefect of Egypt and date to the period after AD 47 (Table 5). Two statue bases honour him as *euergetes* of the *demos* as well as *soter* and *euergetes* of the *demos* respectively.[319] Capito's *euergetism* is attested in two Milesian building dedications. One of them, preserved on two architrave blocks belonging to the northern part of the Ionic stoa, documents him as dedicator of a bath complex under Claudius or Nero (Plan 5: 'Ionische Halle'; *Milet* I.9 328; *Milet* VI.1 328; McCabe 1986). Over a century later, the complex behind the Ionic stoa consisting of baths and an adjoining palaestra was still identified with its benefactor (Plan 5: 'Capito-Thermen'; *Milet* I.9, p.23-36; Köster 2004: 33-49; Niewöhner 2016: 71-77).[320] The other dedication to Nero belongs to the first *diazoma* of the Milesian theatre (*Milet* VI.2 928; Herrmann 1986; McCabe 1986). Capito's attested benefactions to the Milesian community date to the period between AD 47 and 68.

[319] τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην (*I.Didyma* 149, l.2); [τ]ὸν | ἑαυτοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην (*SEG* 57.1109bis, ll.6-7).
[320] προστάτης το|ῦ μεγάλου γυμνασίου ἔτεσι δυσίν | καὶ τοῦ Καπίτωνος ἔτεσι δυσίν (*I.Didyma* 84, ll.17-19). A block originating from the eastern façade of the gymnasium's palaestra recorded the start of the name Vergil[ius]. Due to its estimated date late in the first century AD, it is now believed it may not refer to Capito himself but rather to one of his descendants or freedmen (*Milet* VI.1 329; Ehrhardt & Günther 2008: 106). A homonymous descendant was, for instance, *archiprytanis* in AD 135/136 (*Milet* I.2 20, l.13).

Christian Habicht (1960: 162-163) proposed to associate Capito's financing of these building projects with an earthquake in AD 47 (see page 78).[321] Although neither the dedications nor the archaeological evidence provide explicit support for such an association, the title of σωτήρ demonstrates that he was not an ordinary benefactor (Ehrhardt & Günther 2008: 113-114).[322] It was commonly used as an epithet for divinities and divine rulers who rescued individuals or communities from an existential threat (Graf 2017). Amongst such threats were earthquakes: in Didyma itself, an altar and sacrifices were offered to Poseidon Asphaleios Soter in the late second century BC (*I.Didyma* 132; Fontenrose 1988: R14; Graf 2017: 242 n.16) and, in Byblos, Apollodoros, son of Nikon, made a dedication to Zeus (?) Soter after being saved from an earthquake (ἀπὸ σεισμοῦ διασωθεὶς; Dussaud 1896: 299; Graf 2017: 252). It therefore seems plausible that Capito did aid the Milesian community after the earthquake of AD 47, as did the imperial treasury.[323] Over a century later, a festival called the *Kapitoneia* was celebrated in Miletos and a calendar listed sacrifices to Vergilius Capito.[324] Capito's cultic honours were likely in gratitude for his generosity to the Milesian community during difficult times (Robert & Robert 1983: 267; Thériault 2012: 382-384).[325] The chief-priest of the *koinon*-cult of Gaius continued to act as benefactor and intermediary with the imperial household for a long time after the assassination of Gaius.

Cn. Vergilius Capito played a role closely resembling that of C. Iulius Epikrates. But while Epikrates was a Milesian by birth who happened to be in close contact with Augustus, Capito came from an Italian settler-family, pursued an equestrian career in imperial service away from Miletos for several years, and was a landowner in Campania. His position within networks of imperial power and capital flows was a solid one, but one which placed him at some distance from the Milesian community. In spite of the absence of any indication that he held a Milesian magistracy or priesthood, Capito's connection with Iulia, the daughter of C.

[321] Followed in Robert 1977; Robert & Robert 1983: 267; Ricl & Akat 2007: 32; doubts in McCabe 1986: 188 n.30; Ehrhardt & Günther 2008: 106.

[322] Capito may not have been the only σωτήρ of his time in Miletos: Claudia Laodameia claims she was the descendant of *soteres*: ἔγγο|[νος] προφητῶν ἀπὸ εὐ|[εργε]τῶν σωτήρων φιλο|[πατρί]δων (*I.Didyma* 334, ll.6-9; Ehrhardt & Günther 2008: 113 n.61).

[323] Based on the observation that several cities temporarily styled themselves *Kaisareia* in gratitude for imperial support in the aftermath of earthquakes, Louis Robert (1977) interpreted the record of *Kaisareia Miletos* in a funerary inscription from Attica as an indication for such imperial support in AD 47 or shortly thereafter (*IG* II^2 9475: Γλαυκίας Τατᾶ Καισαρεὺς Μιλήσιος).

[324] [ἀγω]νοθέτης Καπιτω|νείων (*I.Didyma* 278, ll.5-6); μη(νὸς) ια΄ ιγ΄Οὐεργιλ(ίου) Καπίτωνος (*SEG* 34.1186a).

[325] Christian Habicht (1973: 96-97) suggested that the use of σωτήρ always implied cultic honours bestowed on 'the saviour'.

Iulius Epikrates, placed him at the heart of the Milesian ruling class. In turn, Capito's intermediary role continued the family's key position in relations between imperial power and the Milesian community and through his career and socio-political connections realised the further integration of Epikrates' descendants into networks of power. In contrast to Epikrates, Capito is not known to have been awarded the title of *philopatris*, nor did he become *archiereus* of the Milesian cult of the emperors. But if in person he might not have been as closely involved in Milesian affairs, his consolidation within networks of power – including the imperial household and men of equestrian and senatorial rank – turned out to be useful for the Milesian community and likely for some other leading Milesians too. As we will see in the next section, two more Milesian citizens were active in the imperial administration during the reigns of Claudius and Nero and one Milesian even entered the Roman Senate by the end of the first century AD. Unlike Capito, though, these Milesians were chief-priests in Miletos.

For Miletos, the forties AD were a turbulent period: one year, it was granted a *koinon*-cult, third of its kind in Asia, and the promise of the completion of its Apollo-temple; the following year the entire project had to be abandoned. A few years later, the city was struck by an earthquake only to be followed by a revival of construction works in subsequent years with support of the imperial treasury and Cn. Vergilius Capito, its own saviour. The central actor in this period was the *eques Romanus* Cn. Vergilius Capito who, like C. Iulius Epikrates decades before, was the key mediator in relations between Miletos and imperial power. In addition to his well-attested benefactions of public buildings and his probable acts of 'salvation' after the earthquake of AD 47, I have proposed that he was a key actor in bringing Miletos and the temple of Apollo Didymeus under the attention of emperor Gaius. Considering the imperial rhetoric of Tiberius and Gaius that *poleis* already hosting important temples would not be granted the privilege of a(nother) *koinon*-temple, the enduring incapacity of Miletos to complete the temple in Didyma turned into its advantage vis-à-vis rival *poleis*. It was the nexus of the temple's incompleteness, Capito's influence in imperial circles, and possibly Gaius' interest in being worshipped in association with the majestic temple of Apollo Didymeus, which resulted in the controversial effort to establish an imperial cult common to Asia in a sanctuary central to the collective identity of the Milesians. Opposition in the *koinon* to this effort created the need for an imperial order for the project.

Despite the disappointment of the project's cancellation and the disaster of the earthquake, Miletos came out of the forties AD with a working mint, with public buildings in the city under construction or restoration, and, through Cn. Vergilius Capito, with a favourable position in networks of imperial power reaching up to the highest authority. The starting point of this process of revived construction works and consolidation of its position appears to be the episode of AD 40, suggesting that, however disappointing, the cancelled *koinon*-project did not lead to a critical loss of status nor was it without consequences (see page 169). Instead, the influence and wealth of Cn. Vergilius Capito saw money from the imperial treasury, the treasury of the *koinon*, and his own treasury contributing to the city's development. While the episode involving the *koinon*-cult of Gaius and its chief-priest lasted not much longer than a year, it signified the culmination of the integration of a specific Milesian family into imperial networks of power, which had started over a century earlier. As such, there was a direct line from grandfather Epikrates up to Cn. Vergilius Capito. Although Capito may not have held the Milesian chief-priesthood, he influenced the development of Miletos and its civic cults of the emperors, to which I will turn in the following section.

Imperial Chief-Priests in Julio-Claudian Miletos

Iulia, the daughter of C. Iulius Epikrates, was honoured by the *boule* and *demos* of Samos with a statue in the Heraion (*IG* XII.6/1: 318 II; Herrmann 1960: no.52).[326] Cn. Vergilius Capito as member of an Italian settler-family became part of her family likely through intermarriage. Iulia and Capito exemplify a general development in Milesian society during the post-Augustan period: some Milesian citizens and residents became increasingly influential regionally as well as in the imperial administration. In the same period, Roman citizens and

[326] Several Iulii are known from the Julio-Claudian period, for whom we cannot be sure whether they held any relationship to Epikrates. The name of the *prophetes* in the year 5/4 BC was Γάϊος Ἰού[λιος Ἐρ]ατόσ[θενης] (*I.Didyma* 197, ll.8-9). The man initiating the restoration of the statue of Epikrates in the mid-first century AD carried the name C. Iulius Diadoumenos (*Milet* VI.3 1131, l.17). Also female members of the *gens Iulia* have been identified as potential relatives of Epikrates: Iulia Glykonis, the first female *stephanephoros* in AD 31/32 (Table 4; *Milet* I.3 128, ll.17-18; Günther 1989: 178); Iulia Artemo, daughter of Antipater, and mother of Sexti Caelii (*I.Didyma* 330; Herda 2013: 79); Iulia Bassa, who married Claudius Dionysios, son of Claudius Menophilos (*I.Didyma* 334; Stemma 5; Ehrhardt & Günther 2008: 113 n.61). That not all Iulii reached the absolute top ranks of Milesian society is suggested by the *hydrophoros*-inscription of Iulia [...]la, whose father's magistracies are limited to gymnasiarch of the *neoi* and *agoranomos* (*I.Didyma* 331, ll.2-4). In her discussion of C. Iulii in Caria, Gabrielle Frija (2017) has pointed to the many C. Iulii whom we only know from a single piece of evidence and who may have never been the most prominent citizens of a *polis*.

people from other major *poleis* found their way to Miletos where they achieved sufficient prominence to be attested in the epigraphic record. By the end of the Augustan period, Miletos and especially some of its residents had become well integrated into imperial networks of power and capital. In the ensuing period this development changed the face of Milesian society. The formation of a well-networked group within Milesian society and its ruling class gave shape to a relationship of dependency between this group and the rest of Miletos, with repercussions for the stability of its religious institutions including its imperial cults. In this section, I will discuss the evidence for imperial chief-priests in Julio-Claudian Miletos and consider it in light of contemporary social changes. I do this to understand the developmental trajectory of imperial cults after Epikrates' dominance.

Table 6 lists the available evidence for imperial priests in Julio-Claudian Miletos, whose names are known to us. All of them are chief-priests (*archiereis*) and none of the chief-priesthoods were hereditary or held for life. The first *archiereus* after C. Iulius Epikrates appears in the list of *stephanephoroi* in the year AD 11/12 (Table 4). In the list, Nikophon, Tryphon's son, is recorded as *olympionikes* and *archiereus* (*Milet* I.3 127, l.34; Frija 2012: no.163). The entry for Nikophon constitutes the only one in all lists of Milesian *stephanephoroi*, which mentions other personal titles and offices of a *stephanephoros*. The rarity of this occurrence in a state document signals a special significance for the Milesian state and community, and undoubtedly for Nikophon himself. Two other documents record Nikophon's athletic victory at the *Olympia*.[327] An epigram of Nikophon's contemporary, Antipater of Thessaloniki, informs us that his Olympian victory was in the men's boxing contest and extols his extraordinary physique (*AP* VI.256; Robert 1968a: 268-273). Decades later, his son Tiberius Claudius Nikophon as *stephanephoros* dedicated a statue to Apollo Didymeus and the *Sebastoi* (*I.Didyma* 108; *Didyma* III.5 136). In it, he records his father as *olympionikes* but not as *archiereus*.

Nikophon was first and foremost identified and remembered as victor at the Olympic games. While his Olympian victory is consistently recorded, Nikophon's chief-priesthood is only mentioned in the list of *stephanephoroi*. The most likely explanation for this mention is the contemporaneity of his *stephanephoria* and *archiereia*. Double office-holding in the same year, as we will see, happened more frequently in Julio-Claudian Miletos; it was a particularly

[327] Luigi Moretti (1957: no.735) suggested that this victory took place in 8 BC.

honourable act. The recording of it displayed the public appreciation for such responsibility and justifies the rare addition of the *archiereia* in the list of *stephanephoroi*. Nikophon's offspring soon acquired close connections with the imperial household: his son was a gymnastic trainer of an emperor, possibly Claudius (ἀλείπτης Καίσαρος: *I.Didyma* 108, ll.5-6; *Didyma* III.5 136). A letter of Marcus Antonius to the *koinon* of Hellenes of Asia referred to Marcus Antonius Artemidoros as his friend and trainer.[328] Personal trainers of emperors may equally have been recruited from the emperor's social circle. In any case, Nikophon's son obtained Roman citizenship from emperor Claudius and had close connections to the imperial household. Whether his father had enabled such a connection cannot be established, but his chief-priesthood, which was one of the first after Epikrates' dominance, suggests a keen interest in relations with imperial power.

In AD 40, a statue of emperor Gaius was erected by a group of *neopoioi* responsible for the construction of his *koinon*-temple in Miletos (*I.Didyma 148*; *Didyma* III.5 135; see previous section). One of the recorded eponymous officials (ἐπὶ, l.4) was Tiberius Iulius Menogenes, *archiereus* for a second time and *neokoros* of the temple in Miletos (Frija 2012: no.164).[329] Menogenes' second term as *archiereus* shows that the tenure of office was time-limited, probably annual. His father, Demetrios, was a *nomothetes*. The concrete responsibilities of a 'lawgiver' remain uncertain, though it has been suggested that such a man was involved in the revision of a civic constitution (Robert 1949: 207-208; 1969: 271; Reynolds 1981: 322; Herrmann 1996a: 60-61). The evidence for *nomothetai* shows that all were men of high status within their respective communities and that the office of *nomothetes* was consistently and prominently recorded indicating its significance.[330] An engraved *osthoteke* from Sardis records the same Menogenes as *stephanephoros* and his father Demetrios as *nomothetes*

[328] ἐντυχόντος μοι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ ἐμοῦ φίλου καὶ ἀλείπτου (*P.Lond.* 137, ll.5-7; cf. Keil 1911; Robert 1959: 662-663).

[329] Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Δη|μητρίου νομοθέτου υἱοῦ Μηνογένους ἀρχιερέως | τὸ δεύτερον καὶ νεωκόρου τοῦ ἐν Μειλήτωι ναοῦ (*I.Didyma* 148, ll.6-8).

[330] Potamon: *IG* XII.2 255, ll.5-6 (Mytilene, reign of Augustus), on Potamon: Parker 1991; Tiberius Claudius Novius: *IG* II^2 1990, ll.3-6; 3277, ll.4-6 (revised: *SEG* 32.251, ll.2-3; Athens; reign of Nero), on Novius: Kantiréa 2007: 175-178; Schmalz 2009: 290-292; Krateros: *RPC* I 2919 (Laodikeia, reign of Nero); cf. Robert 1969: 271; Tiberius Claudius Diogenes: *Iaph2007* 8.23 (Aphrodisias, mid-first century AD), cf. Reynolds 1981: no.4; L. Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes: *Iaph2007* 2.17; 12.416, ll.1-7; 12.520, ll.3-6 (Aphrodisias, late second/early third century AD); M. Annius Pythodoros: *ID* 2535, ll.31-52; 2536 (Delos, AD 118/119-124/125). In Megara, a statue base records emperor Hadrian as Megara's own founder and lawgiver (*IG* VII 72, ll.3-4: τὸν ἑαυτῶν κτίστην καὶ νο|μοθέτην; cf. *IG* VII 70). In Thespiai, the same emperor is called τὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ | δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλανθρω|πίας νομοθέτην (*I.Thesp.* 437).

(Herrmann 1996a: 57-61).[331] Menogenes held prominent offices in Sardis and Miletos, obtained Roman citizenship during the reign of Tiberius and got himself involved in the organisation of the *koinon*-cult of Gaius, indicating that he was a well-connected member of the leading families of Asia.[332]

An inscription from the Didymeion commemorates the *hydrophoria* of a woman, whose name has only survived as Claudia [- - -]ane. Much of the inscription documents the achievements and offices of her father Claudius Menophilos and grandfather Minnion (Stemma 5), among which was the *archiereia* (l.14; Frija 2012: nos.165-166):

[ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου…]νου τοῦ Σ[….]ου
[ὑδροφόρος Ἀρτέμιδ]ος Πυθίης Κλαυδία
[…..]ΙΛ̣ΑΙ[…ca.7….]ανή, θυγάτ[ηρ] .ν̣[- -]
[..] Κλαυδίου Μη[νοφ]ίλου εὐε[ρ]γ̣έτ[ου τοῦ]
Μιννίωνος, μη[τρὸ]ς δὲ Γε[ρ]έλ̣[λανης..] λιε̣[..]
Βάσσης, στεφα[νηφ]όρου ἐν Σ̣ά̣μ̣ῳ, αὖτ̣[η]
ὑδροφόρησεν [πα]τρὸς καὶ πάππου προ-
φητευσάντω[ν], ἑκάστου ἀνὰ δίς,
στεφανηφορη[σάν]των, ἀγωνοθετ[η]-
<σάντων> Διδυμείων κα[ὶ Κα]ισαρείων καὶ Ῥωμ[αί]-
ων, ἀγωνοθετ[ησ]άντων Νέων Σ̣[ε]-
βαστῶν, ἀγων[ο]θετησάντων τοῦ
κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰ̣ών[ων] καὶ βασιλευσά[ν]-
των, ἀρχιερατ[ευσάντων, γυμνασι]-
αρχησάντων, Γ̣[……]σάν τῶν πρε[σ]-
βυτῶν, τῶν π̣[ατέρ]ων, π[αιδ]ον[ο]-
μησάντω̣[ν, πρεσβ]ε̣υσ[άντων?, χο]-
ρηγησ[άντων - - - -]

When [...]nos, son of S[... was *stephanephoros*; *hydrophoros* of Artemis] Pythie was Claudia [...]ane, daughter of [...] Claudius Menophilos, *euergetes*, son of Minnion; her mother is Ge[r]el[lane...][333] Bassa, *stephanephoros* in Samos; she herself was *hydrophoros* when her father and grandfather were *prophetai*, each

[331] *I.Manisa* 438, ll.1-2: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Μηνογένου τοῦ Δημη|τρίου νομοθέτου.

[332] Peter Herrmann (1996a: 59-60) has suggested that Tiberius Iulius Menogenes was related to Menogenes, son of Isidoros, Menogenes' son known from twelve mid-Augustan documents, in which he is praised by the *koinon* of Asia as well as the *boule*, *demos* and *gerousia* of Sardis. This Menogenes had been an ambassador to Rome representing both *koinon* and *polis* at the time Gaius Caesar assumed his *toga virilis* in 6/5 BC and functioned for several years as the legal representative (*ekdikos*) of the Asian *koinon* (*Sardis* VII.1 8; Herrmann 1995b: 23-24). The collection of documents may originate from the attested *Menogeneion*, a *heroon* of Menogenes (*Sardis* VII.1 17, l.15).

[333] Peter Herrmann (1960: 156 n.308) identified the wife of Claudius Menophilos with the attested *demiourgos* on Samos, Gerillane/Gerellane Bassa; hence the mother's *gentilicium* as Gerellane rather than the originally proposed Gemella. Gemella is still used in a recent *stemma* (Ehrhardt & Günther 2010: 406).

> for a second time; they have been *stephanephoroi*, *agonothetai* of the *Didymeia* and *Kaisareia* and *Romaia*, *agonothetai* of the *Nea Sebasta*, *agonothetai* of the *koinon* of the Ionians and *basileis*, *archiereis*, [gymnasi]archs [...]
> (*I.Didyma* 339; own translation)

The listed offices of Minnion and Claudius Menophilos are identical and presented together. In addition to the chief-priesthoods, other priesthoods, and magistracies (*stephanephoros*, *prophetes*, gymnasiarch), father and son were *agonothetai* of two festivals associated with Milesian cults of the emperors. The first was the festival of Apollo Didymeus to which the *Kaisareia* and *Romaia* were appended, probably through the addition of (a) special day(s) for celebrations of the emperor and the goddess Roma (Buraselis 2012).[334] The sale of a priesthood of the *Populus Romanus* and Roma, the establishment of the *Romaia*, and a yet unfinished temple of Roma in Miletos are recorded in a document generally dated to about 130 BC (*Milet* I.7 203 = *LSAM* 49).[335] It would seem that the formerly independent *Romaia* had been appended to the *Didymeia* and associated with the *Kaisareia* at some point in the early imperial period. Documents dating to the early first century AD were, however, not consistent in recording such appended festivals: on record are, for instance, an *agonothetes* of the *Didymeia*, a threefold victor at the *Didymeia* as well as an *agonothetes* of the *Didymeia* and *Kaisareia*.[336] This inconsistency may suggest that the appending of festivals to the *Didymeia* was a situationally specific act and so does not indicate a structural association between the cultic festivities of Apollo Didymeus, the goddess Roma, and the emperor(s). We do not know about any independent celebration of *Romaia* or *Kaisareia* in Miletos during the Julio-Claudian period.

Distinct from these appended imperial festivals was the *Nea Sebasta*.[337] This festival is only known from Miletos. In the Julio-Claudian period, the expression *Neos Sebastos* may

[334] See also the fragment *I.Didyma* 377, ll.2-3: - - - ων καὶ Ῥω|[μαίων]. Another fragmentary inscription may have recorded the *Romaia* too: Ῥωμα[ι - - -] (*Milet* VI.3 1510, l.3).
[335] A statue base of a Samian athlete records his victories in the boys' *stadion* and *diaulos* contests at the *Romaia* in Miletos. It probably dates to the late second century BC (*SEG* 4.434; Robert 1925: 232-233).
[336] νικήσαντα τὰ Διδύμηα | τρίς (*I.Didyma* 107, ll.5-6; cf. *Didyma* III.5 128; ca. AD 40); ἀγωνοθέ|της Διδυμέων (*I.Didyma* 262, ll.8-9; ca. AD 25?); [ἀ|γ]ωνοθέτης · Διδυμίων · καὶ · Κ|[αι]σαρίων (*I.Didyma* 253, ll.7-9; first century AD).
[337] For other evidence of this festival: ἀγων[ο]|θέτης Νέων Σεβασ[τ]ῶν (*I.Didyma* 255, ll.4-5, mid-first century AD); Νέα Σεβαστά | τραγῳδούς (*I.Didyma* 183, ll.9-10; Strasser 2001: no.190; mid-second century AD); restored: [ἐπιδεδω]|κυῖα ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑδροφορίας ε[ἰς τὰ Νέα?] | Σεβαστὰ ἀναφαίρετα, ἀμετ[άθετα δη]|νάρια ν. δ´ ν. (*I.Didyma* 331, ll.5-8, mid- to late first century AD).

have been used quite literally as 'new Augustus', or more generally as 'new emperor'; in both cases it was associated with the appointment of a new ruler.[338] The establishment of the *Nea Sebasta* was probably, at least initially, intended to celebrate an accession. Possible candidates are the emperors Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius. Since father Minnion was *stephanephoros* in AD 18/19 (Table 4; *Milet* I.3 127, ll.42-43) and Menophilos obtained Roman citizenship from Claudius, a festival in response to the accession of Claudius seems most plausible. It was likely, then, from the start of the reign of Claudius that Miletos organised for the first time an imperial festival independent from the traditional *Didymeia*. In the mid-first century AD, a *Sebasta Didymeia* is recorded (*I.Iasos* 110, ll.12-13: τὰ ἐν Μι|λήτῳ Σεβαστά Διδύμεια),[339] but thereafter an explicit connection between the *Didymeia* and imperial celebrations only reappears by the reign of Commodus.[340] Thus, the establishment and organisation of the *Nea Sebasta* may formally have superseded irregular imperial celebrations appended or linked to the *Didymeia*.

The decision to establish a festival specifically in honour of Claudius' accession was especially timely given the recently cancelled project of the *koinon*-cult of Gaius (see previous section). Even though the inscription does not specify a foundational role for Minnion and Claudius Menophilos in the *Nea Sebasta*, their family history and activities are suggestive of active involvement in the first stages of the festival. Stemma 5 demonstrates that they are descendants of a family prominent among the Milesian aristocracy from at least the late first century BC. Their shared office-taking as *prophetai* for a second time, Claudius Menophilos' Roman citizenship as well as his honorary title of *euergetes* suggest that the consolidation of the family's prominence in Miletos dated to the mid-first century AD.[341] This consolidation is

[338] On behalf of the Boeotian *koinon*, Epaminondas volunteered in AD 37 as the first ambassador to Caligula, who is referred to as νέος Σεβαστός (*IG* VII 2711, ll.64-68. 75-77, 95-97, 106-111; 2712, ll.38-40; Kantiréa 2007: appendix Ib, no.3-4). One of the purposes of the embassy was likely to congratulate Caligula on his recent accession. Annually issued coins of Alexandria, which mention the year from the moment Nero became emperor, record him on the reverse as ΝΕΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ along with an image of him seated on a throne (*RPC* I 5203, 5223, 5233, 5242, 5253, AD 56-60). In Tentyra/Dendera (Egypt), *neos Sebastos* is used for Tiberius and might be understood rather as 'new Augustus' (*CIG* III 4716; 4716b; *SEG* 34.1611).

[339] For the dating of this inscription, see page 115.

[340] *Didymeia*, *Megala Didymeia* or *Didymeia Kommodeia*, either celebrated in the city of Miletos or in the Didymeion: *I.Didyma* 161-183; I.*Didyma* 84, ll.4-5, 13-14; 156, ll.9-10; 192, ll.6-7; 193, ll.11-12; 194, ll.4-5; 195, ll.3-5; 278, ll.4-5; 286, ll.7-8; 293, ll.3-4; 305, ll.4-5; 332, ll.7-8; 333, ll.15-16; 372, ll.6-8; 375, ll.16-17; 402, ll.4-7; *Milet* I.7 263, ll.5-7; 265, ll.13-15; *Milet* VI.3 1140, ll.14-15; 1143, ll.2-4; 1145, ll.2-3; 1151, ll.3-4; 1152; 1157; 1162, ll.1-3; SEG 27.731, ll.7-8; *I.Ephesos* IV 1130, l.6; 1132, ll.4-5, 19-20; I.Ephesos V 1605, l.4; 1611, l.10; *SEG* 53.1355c, l.18; *I.Smyrna* 659, ll.17-18. All date to the second and third century AD.

[341] Claudia Laodameia, granddaughter of Claudius Menophilos and Gerellane [...] Bassa, claims descent from *euergetai*, *philopatres* and even *soteres*, who borrowed to the *demos* and gave money generously (*I.Didyma*

apparent in Menophilos' marriage with Gerellane Bassa, a member of an Italian family resident on Samos.[342] It coincides with the father and son's involvement in veneration of emperors both in Miletos and the *koinon* of the Ionians. Private sponsoring of the establishment and upkeep of the *Nea Sebasta* would not be out of keeping with these activities.[343] An instance of such sponsoring for the festival probably at a later date is documented in the *hydrophoros*-inscription of Iulia E[...]la, daughter of Gaius and Claudia Paula, who held *ius italicus* (*I.Didyma* 331). In it, we are told that the *hydrophoros* "had given 4000 denarii, not to be diminished or altered, towards the *Nea Sebasta* on account of the *hydrophoria* on the condition that each year the interest derived from them was to be spent...on the *panegyris* of the *Anoigmoi* to be held."[344] Founders of the *Nea Sebasta* or not, the involvement of Minnion and Claudius Menophilos in imperial cults went far beyond the holding of the Milesian chief-priesthood. It demonstrates their consolidation of power and social status in Miletos.[345]

Another Milesian citizen awarded Roman citizenship by emperor Claudius was Claudius Chionis, whose *archiereia* appears in the following commemoration of his tenure as *prophetes* (Demougin 1992: no.604; Frija 2012: no.167):

334; cf. *I.Didyma* 193). Whether she refers to Claudius Menophilos is unclear because we cannot exclude forefathers along the maternal line. Laodameia's mother is called Iulia Bassa, allowing for a possible connection with C. Iulius Epikrates and his family (Ehrhardt & Günther 2008: 113 n.61).

[342] She was also *demiourgos* on Samos in AD 25/26: ἐπὶ δημιουργοῦ Γεριλλανῆς Βάσσης (*IG* XII.6 598, ll.5-6; Herrmann 1960: 156 n.308). Her name is followed by Gaius Gerilanus Euporos, Gaius' son (l.6). Some of the freedmen of the *gens Gerillana/Gerellana* may have stayed on Samos: Gerellane Diogenis (*IG* XII.6.2 725, second century AD); Gerellanus Pankarpos (*IG* XII.6.2 727, ca. AD 150-200); Gerellane Monime and her mother Gerellane Apate (*IG* XII.6.2 829, second or third century AD). People named Lucius Gerellanus, Iulia Gerellane, and Lucius Gerellanus Metrodoros are attested in Miletos (*Milet* VI.2 773; *Milet* VI.3 1173). Beyond Samos and Miletos, the *gens Gerellana* is commonly attested from the late second century BC on Delos and later in Ephesos (Hatzfeld 1912: 37-38; Ferrary *et al*. 2002: 197; Kirbihler 2016: 303 (no.94)) but does not appear among the *gentilicia* on other islands of the Cyclades (Zoumbaki 2014: 321 n.25). Their connection with the members of the *gens Gerellana* prominent in Brindisium during the imperial period is uncertain (Espluga 1995).

[343] In Aizanoi, a group of citizens who had recently been promoted to Tiberii Claudii privately financed the upkeep of a cult and festival in honour of emperor Claudius and his household, see Wörrle 2014: 471-486; in general, see Price 1984a: 62. In Athens, (Tiberius Claudius) Novius acted as the first *agonothetes* of new games established in AD 41 in celebration of the accession of emperor Claudius (*IG* II^2 3270, 4174; Schmalz 2009: 290-292; nos.145, 249).

[344] [ἐπιδεδω]|κυῖα ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑδροφορίας ε[ἰς τὰ Νέα?] | Σεβαστὰ ἀναφαίρετα, ἀμετ[άθετα δη]|νάρια *v.* ,δ *v.*, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἕκαστον ἐνι[αυτὸν ὁ ἀπ᾽]| αὐτῶν τόκος ἀναλωθήσετα[ι - - - - - - -] |τα εἰς τὴν ἀγομένην τῶν Ἀνυγμ[ων πανή]|γυριν· (*I.Didyma* 331, ll.5-11); for 'Anugmoi' as'Anoigmoi', see Robert 1960: 467-469; Fontenrose 1988: 75-76. The *hydrophoros* was only six years old, so it was her parents who used her *hydrophoria* to act as benefactors. For this custom to purchase priesthoods for children on the condition that the money is used for specific benefactions, see Schwarz 2001: 314-316, 437-438.

[345] The descendants of Claudius Menophilos and Gerellane [...] Bassa remained prominently active in Miletos as *hydrophoroi*, *prophetai*, and *agonothetai* (Stemma 5; *I.Didyma* 193; 334). There is, though, no evidence for their involvement in imperial cults.

[Κ]λαύδι[ος] Χίονις Κλαυδίου
Φιλοστράτου υἱὸς, τῷ αὐτῷ
ἔτει προφήτης ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀ[ρ]-
χιπρύτανις, προφητῶν καὶ
ἀρχιπρυτανίδων ἔκγονο[ς,]
ὑποστάς, ἡνίκα μήτε τ[ὴν]
ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβεῖν ὑπέμε[ι]-
νέν τις μήτε τὴν προφ[ῆ]-
τείαν, ἀμφοτέρας μόνος·
ἔπαρχος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, χειλία[ρ]-
χος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, πρ[ό]-
ξενος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκο[υ]-
μένης ἱερονεικῶν, συνέ-
γδημος ἀναγραφεὶς ἐν [αἰ]-
ραρίωι [Μ]εσσάλλα τοῦ γε[νο]-
μένου τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνθυπ[ά]-
του κ[αὶ] λαβὼν [μ]όνος ὁμοῦ π[ίσ]-
τιν ἐπιστο[λῶ]ν, ἀποκρ[ιμ]άτω[ν,]
διαταγμάτ[ω]ν, κλήρου· [τ]ετε-
λεκὼς δὲ κα[ὶ χο]ρηγίας καὶ γυμν[α]-
σιαρχίας πά[σ]ας, ἀρχιερεὺς τῶ[ν]
[Σεβ]ασ[τ]ῶν, πεπρεσβευκὼς ὑ-
π[ὲρ τῆς π]ατρίδος πολλά[κις]
[πρὸς] τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας· ταμι-
[ευ]όν[των Ἱ]εροκλέους κ[αὶ]
[……τῶν Ἀ]ναξικρά[τους]

Claudius Chionis, son of Claudius Philostratos, *prophetes* and *archiprytanis* together in the same year; grandson of *prophetai* and *archiprytaneis*; who alone undertook them both at a time when noone else submitted to assume either the magistracy or the office of *prophetes*; *praefectus* in Rome, *tribunus militum* in Alexandria, representative of the worldwide *hieroneikai*, *comes* of Messalla, former governor of Asia, registered in the Aerarium and alone entrusted jointly with letters, responses to legates, edicts and allotment of judges;[346] who has fulfilled all *choregiai* and gymnasiarchies; chief-priest of the *Sebastoi*; who has been ambassador on behalf of the *patris* to the emperors many times; when the *tamiai* were Hierokles and [...], sons of Anaxikra[tes].

(*I.Didyma* 272; own translation)

[346] For this understanding of κλήρου: Robert 1959: 665.

Chionis' membership of the *cohors amicorum* of L. Vipstanus Poplicola Messalla provides AD 58/59 as the *terminus post quem* for the inscription.[347] Given the specifications of Chionis' responsibilities and his honorific registration in the Aerarium under the ex-governor,[348] a date shortly thereafter seems a reasonable assumption. Thus, in the early sixties AD, we find for the first time the extended titulature of the Milesian chief-priest: ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν. The office is mentioned at the penultimate position of Chionis' list of achievements, preceded by Chionis' activities in imperial service as a man of the equestrian order. His office-taking in imperial administration, close relationship to a governor of Asia as well as the record of multiple embassies to emperors mirrors the intermediary role between imperial power and Miletos played by C. Iulius Epikrates and Cn. Vergilius Capito. For his imperial office-taking, Chionis had left Miletos for Rome and Alexandria possibly in the forties AD (Demougin 1992: 502).[349] Between his return to Miletos and the publication of this *prophetes*-inscription, he took on all *choregiai* and gymnasiarchies as well as the chief-priesthood and was now commemorated for his double office of *prophetes* and *archiprytanis*. Like Claudius Menophilos, Chionis as a descendant from a Milesian family prominent at least since the late first century BC reached higher status under Claudius (Stemma 6). He entered the equestrian order and both he and his father Philostratos obtained Roman citizenship. It was particularly through his responsibilities in imperial service and connections with central figures of imperial power that he surpassed many of the other members of the Milesian ruling class.

A second ἀρχιερεύς τῶν Σεβαστῶν appears in another *prophetes*-inscription (Frija 2012: no.169):

1 προφήτης Λεύκιο[ς Βι]τέλλιος Λευκίου
υὸς Παλατείνᾳ Βάσ[σο]ς ἀρχιερεύς τῶν Σε-
βαστῶν, γυμνασίᾳ[ρ]χος τῶν γυμνασίῳ[ν]

[347] The identification of Messalla with this governor of Asia was first proposed by Christian Habicht (1960: 160-161). For the date of his proconsulship, see Vogel-Weidemann 1982a: no.58; Syme 1983: 203. Alternatively, we may identify the proconsul with his brother, Messalla Vipstanus Gallus, proconsul of Asia in the following year, AD 59/60: Vogel-Weidemann 1982a: no.59; Syme 1983: 203. Recently, Nawotka (2014a: 107 n.76) suggested a date in the first half of the third century AD based on an identification with Valerius Messalla (governor of Asia, AD 236-238). But his claim that an *archiereus* of the *Sebastoi* "can easiest be dated to the late 2nd-early 3rd c. AD" is unfounded. His assertion that the first Milesian *archiprytanis* is known from the reign of Nero is reliant on his very own dating of Chionis' *prophetes*-inscription and, thus, on circular argumentation. Moreover, he does not consider the prosopography of Chionis and his family which supports a date in the mid-first century AD (Stemma 6; cf. Demougin 1992: 502-503).

[348] On the honorific quality of this registration, Millar 1964: 37-39.

[349] Messalla was *consul ordinarius* in AD 48. His selection of Chionis to his *cohors amicorum* suggests a longer relationship between the two, possibly originating in Rome (Demougin 1992: 501). Chionis may have been in Alexandria when Cn. Vergilius Capito was *praefectus Aegypti*.

πάντων, προστάτη[ς] τῶν πατέρων, ἀγων̣[ο]-
θέτης Νέων Σεβασ[τ]ῶ̣ν · πατρὸς Λευκίου
Β̣[ι]τ̣ελλ̣ίου Λευκίου [ὑ]οῦ Παλατείνᾳ Κρίσπου
π̣ρ̣οφήτου, γυμνασ̣[ι]ά̣ρχου τῶν γυμνα-
σίων πάντων, ἀγο[ρ]α̣νόμου, στρατηγή-
σ̣αντος τῆς πόλεως δὶς, χρήματα χ[αρι]-
σ̣άμενου εἰς τὰ σιτω̣νι̣κά, πρεσβεύ[σαν]-
τος - - -

Prophetes Lucius Vitellius Bassos, Lucius' son, of the *tribus* Palatina, chief-priest of the *Sebastoi*, gymnasiarch of all gymnasia, *prostates* of the fathers, *agonothetes* of the *Nea Sebasta*; his father Lucius Vitellius Crispus, Lucius' son, of the *tribus* Palatina, *prophetes*, gymnasiarch of all gymnasia, *agoranomos*, *strategos* of the *polis* twice, who gave money towards the wheat-fund, who was ambassador...

(*I.Didyma* 255; own translation)

This inscription presents the first Milesian *archiereus* with a non-imperial *gentilicium*. Both inscriptions of the name *Vitellius* appear to have been intentionally damaged, suggesting a date for its publication before AD 69.[350] The *Vitellii* were likely active in Miletos and the region since the early decades of the first century AD.[351] As Milesian citizens, both father and son held numerous magistracies, but it was only the son Bassos who engaged in cult activities for emperors as *archiereus* and *agonothetes*. These men exemplify the increased involvement of residents of Italian descent in Milesian governance and religious organisation. When Crispus was *prophetes*, probably about the mid-first century AD, the *hydrophoros* in office was Popillia Dynamis and one of the *tamiai* carried the name Gaius [Iul?]ius Philodespotos (*I.Didyma* 237 I; Moretti 1959: 204). In the course of the Julio-Claudian period, we find more and more civic

[350] On the assumption that the damaging of their names would most plausibly have taken place shortly after Aulus Vitellius' short reign, Albert Rehm suggested to date the inscription before AD 69. Bassos' *archiereia* of the *Sebastoi* and the *agonothesia* of the *Nea Sebasta* ascertain that the inscription dates to the reign of Claudius or later. The *prophetes*-inscription of father Crispus has been preserved above the commemoration of Tiberius Claudius Damas' first and second tenure as *prophetes*, the second of which dates to the reign of Nero (*I.Didyma* 237; Moretti 1959: 204; for Damas: see pages 193-194). A date for our inscription in the fifties and sixties AD seems a reasonable estimation.

[351] A *topos*-inscription may originally have recorded L. Vitellius Bassos as legal advisor: τόπος | [Λ. Βιτε]λλίου Βάσσου νομικοῦ (*Milet* VI.2 887). The *gens Vitellia* is infrequently attested in the Aegean region: they do not appear on Delos nor on other islands of the Cyclades (Ferrary *et al.* 2002; Zoumbaki 2014: 321 n.25). A Lucius Vitellius, the only Vitellius attested in Ephesos, appears as a contributor to the fishery customs house in the years AD 54-59 (*I.Ephesos* Ia 20, l.55; Kirbihler 2016: 344 (no.244)). No certainty can be given as to any relationship with the celebrated Lucius Vitellius, father of the later emperor, three times consul and honoured with a state funeral upon his death in AD 51 (Suetonius, *Vitellius* 2-3).

magistracies and religious offices filled by Milesians holding Roman citizenship, inherited or recently obtained through grants of the emperors.

The majority of the Julio-Claudian evidence recording *archiereis* in Miletos dates to the reign of Gaius and later (Table 6). This chronological concentration coincides with the period witnessing the cancelled *koinon*-project under Gaius, the revival of the Milesian mint and of investments in urban development, and the central role played by the *eques Romanus* Cn. Vergilius Capito. The financial revenues for building projects consisted largely of money stemming from the imperial treasury, the *koinon*-treasury and Cn. Vergilius Capito (see previous section). The only other known Milesian benefactor of this period was Tiberius Claudius Sophanes Candidus, a close relative of one of the *archiereis*, Claudius Chionis (*Milet* I.9 330; *Milet* VI.1 330; Stemma 6).[352] To the same period dates the installation of the *Nea Sebasta* in response to Claudius' accession. It is probably not a coincidence that three Milesian *equites* pursuing a political career in the imperial administration – Claudius Chionis, Cn. Vergilius Capito, and Lucius Malius Reginus – were active in the mid-first century AD (Demougin 1992: nos. 604, 608, 679).[353] The concentration of Julio-Claudian evidence of chief-priests in the reigns of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero is, therefore, best considered as another manifestation of this general conjuncture in Milesian history rather than as a sign of changes specific to imperial cults in Miletos or of the mere accident of documentary survival.

The chief-priesthood formed a distinct office in the Milesian range of magistracies and priesthoods marking a division of access to imperial power within the Milesian ruling class. All Milesian *archiereis* or their sons obtained Roman citizenship, most notably during the reign of emperor Claudius (Table 6). Most of them had close connections to an emperor (Nikophon's son), to a governor of Asia and the imperial administration (Claudius Chionis), or to the leading families of Ionia and Asia (Minnion and Claudius Menophilos; Tiberius Iulius Menogenes), and all of them, additionally, held one or more magistracies and liturgies. Like C. Iulius Epikrates, they appear singularly to have been members of the top ranks of Milesian society well-connected with agents of imperial power and the leading families of Asia. This impression gets support from another document, probably dating not long after the Julio-Claudian period,

[352] This person is also known as *stephanephoros* (*I.Didyma* 324) and possibly from a dedication to Artemis Pythie (*I.Didyma* 116; cf. his name restored in *I.Didyma* 97).

[353] Three *equites* from a single *polis* happens to be one of the largest numbers of known politically active *equites* in the *poleis* of Julio-Claudian Asia; that is, at a time when most such *equites* were concentrated in Ephesos and the Roman colony of Alexandria Troas; see Demougin 1999: esp. 583-584, 603-605.

which records a father and son as Milesian *archiereis*; unfortunately, their names have not been preserved (*I.Didyma* 296; Frija 2012: no.170).[354] While the father only held Milesian offices (*prophetes*, gymnasiarch of three gymnasia, *paidonomos*) and made several public benefactions, the son distinguished himself by his right to wear the *tunica laticlavia* of the *Populus Romanus* as the fifth person from Asia to enter the Roman Senate, and the first and only one from Miletos and the rest of Ionia to do so.[355]

A comparison between the Milesian documentary record of *prophetai* and *hydrophoroi* and the persons who were *archiereis* in Miletos supports the notion that the chief-priests belonged to a distinctively well-connected and powerful segment of the upper classes.[356] The commemorations of tenures of *prophetai* and *hydrophoroi* in the previous year form the core of the epigraphic evidence from Didyma (Fontenrose 1988: 45-55, 125-129; Günther 2003: 447; Busine 2006: 282-284).[357] Tables 7 and 8 list the *prophetai* and *hydrophoroi* who certainly or possibly were active during the Julio-Claudian period. Most persons recorded in these documents did not have Roman citizenship.[358] Besides the tenures of *prophetai* and *hydrophoroi*, the documents reveal that many of these, predominantly, men had taken on various Milesian magistracies and priesthoods (especially *stephanephoros*, gymnasiarch, *paidonomos*, *kotarches*, *strategos* of the *polis*, and *agonothetes*). The absence of the *archiereia* in these listed careers shows that these men had not been in office as *archiereus*.

[354] Luigi Moretti (1959: 204) suggested to identify the father and son with Lucius Vitellius Crispus and Lucius Vitellius Bassos, but there is no evidentiary support for this. Christian Habicht (1960: 161) believed that the son entered the Senate under Augustus. Helmut Halfmann (1979: no.12, 108-109) doubted such an early date and argued that entry into the Senate cannot have happened later than the reign of Vespasian. Elsewhere, Halfmann (1979: 78) suggests a Neronian date. Bernard Rémy (1989: 52) noted a date under Vespasian.

[355] αὐτὸς δὲ πλατύ[ση]|μος δῆμου Ῥωμαίων, πέμπ[τος] | μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ὅλης ἐκ το[ῦ αἰ]|ῶνος εἰς σύγκλητον εἰσελθ[ών,] | ἀπὸ δὲ Μειλήτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλη[ς Ἰ]|ωνίας μό[νος καὶ πρ]ῶτος (*I.Didyma* 296, ll.7-12).

[356] For the need to take such a methodological step, see the recent article by Brent Shaw, in which he demonstrates that the evidence for Roman *equites* in prosopographical catalogues is heavily biased towards politically active *equites*: "The prior step, surely, must be to ask what the relationship is between the whole of the epigraphical and literary archive and all persons who were *equites*" (Shaw 2020: 170).

[357] As no lists of *stephanephoroi* have survived dating to after AD 32, we lack the absolute chronology that those lists offer for much of the preceding centuries. Secure and precise dates of the commemorations of *prophetai* and *hydrophoroi* can, therefore, often not be deduced, yet they do provide a general impression of the kinds of people taking on these priestly offices in Julio-Claudian Didyma.

[358] Greeks with imperial *gentilicia* (3): Iulia [Hege]mone, Claudius Damas, and [...] Thaliarchos; persons with non-imperial *gentilicia* (3): Marcus Antonius Apollodoros, Lucius Iunius Rufus, Lucius Iunius Pudens. Lucius Malius Reginus, grandfather of Malia Rufina, a *tribunus militum*, was *stephanephoros*, *paidonomos* and gymnasiarch of all gymnasia probably in the mid-first century AD (*I.Didyma* 343). Unlike his son Lucius Malius Saturninus in the late first century AD, he is not on record as *prophetes* (*I.Didyma* 223B; cf. *I.Didyma* 50/1A, l.54; 2A, l.61; 3St, ll.14-12). Even if we add the persons recorded in the documents of *archiereis* discussed earlier, such as the *hydrophoroi* Popillia Dynamis and the daughter of Claudius Menophilos, and the *prophetai* Claudius Menophilos, Claudius Chionis, and Lucius Vitellius Bassos, Greeks without Roman citizenship remain in the majority.

The Milesian *archiereia*, therefore, appears to have been controlled by persons with Roman citizenship who were more closely connected to imperial power than other significant individuals in the Milesian elite.

Also the preserved fragments of a Milesian subscription list support the impression given by the comparison with documents of *prophetai* and *hydrophoroi* that most *archiereis* were among the most powerful and wealthy citizens of Milesian society.[359] The list recording contributors and their monetary contributions was engraved on the inner sides of the *antae* of the propylon which served as entrance to the *bouleuterion*'s courtyard (*Milet* I.2 4; cf. *Milet* VI.2 958). The fragmented state of the wall-blocks is such that sometimes only a few letters of names or an isolated amount of *denarii* have been preserved. Nonetheless, altogether the names and amounts give an impression of a social hierarchy of Miletos according to financial contributions to a collective cause. The contributions were ordered from the highest to lowest amount and demonstrate that the list was inscribed in full at a specific moment in time. The appearance of a man named Tiberius Claudius secures a date after AD 41 (*Milet* I.2 4f, l.7). Given that other imperial *gentilicia* – Tiberius Iulius and possibly Gaius Iulius – are heading the list, a date not too far into the reign of Claudius would seem reasonable.[360] The list can be usefully compared with the equally fragmentary yet more complete Tiberian subscription-list from Ephesos (see chapter 4).[361] As has been suggested for the Ephesian subscription and the restored statue base of C. Iulius Epikrates, a connection with the aftermath of an earthquake would be a possible motive for the collective subscription. As such, it may have served the same purpose as the benefactions of Cn. Vergilius Capito and imperial relief at the time when Miletos was struck by the earthquake of AD 47 (see previous section).[362]

Table 9 lists the preserved names of contributors and known contributions. The highest amount on record is 1500 denarii.[363] The minimum total of the contribution amounts to 8403 denarii. Given how much of the list has been lost, a total amount of the subscription may have

[359] This is not an absolute rule. Poseidonios, who was three times *prophetes*, had also been *archiereus* of Ionia (Table 7), whereas men like the *eques* Lucius Malius Rufinus and his son Lucius Malius Saturninus are not known to have been *archiereis* (*I.Didyma* 50/1A, l.54, 2A, l.61, 3St, ll.14-12; 223B; 343).

[360] These names were inscribed at the very top of an *anta*, next to its capital; for the positioning of the various fragments, see *Milet* I.2, abb.100.

[361] Peter Herrmann suggested this comparison (*Milet* VI.1, p.156). Like its Ephesian counterpart, the collective subscription has been associated with the veneration of emperors based on the erroneous assumption that the area of the *bouleuterion* included a designated space for emperor worship (*Milet* I.2, p.105; refuted in *Milet* VI.1, p.156; *Milet* VI.2, p.136; see chapter 3).

[362] Significantly, Capito is not listed in the subscription, whereas one of his freedmen is.

[363] Compare the highest amount (2500 denarii) in the Ephesian subscription, see chapter 4.

been comparable to the 30.000 to 40.000 denarii estimated for the Ephesian subscription. No persons can be identified but Cn. Vergilius Philippos surely was a freedman of (the family of) Cn. Vergilius Capito (*Milet* I.2 4c, l.9). Apart from him, evidence for Roman citizens is limited to a Quintus Ami[...] and the mention of a son of Aulus (*Milet* I.2 4a, ll.3, 6).[364] The latter two appear at the top of the list alongside one or two Tiberii Iulii and Gaii.[365] Enfranchised Greeks and Italian settlers were amongst the most generous contributors, but the most striking aspect of the list is the relative dominance of Milesians without Roman citizenship. While the number of names is much smaller than in the Ephesian subscription (Kirbihler 2016: 438-447; see chapter 4), the contrast with Ephesos' high number of freedmen of Italian families and its relative absence of imperial *gentilicia* is obvious. Julio-Claudian Miletos had relatively few inhabitants with Roman citizenship and descendants or freedmen of Italian families. The Milesian *archiereis* therefore belonged to a distinct social group heading Milesian social hierarchies in terms of wealth and imperial connections.

The social profile of Milesian *archiereis* relates to a general tendency for the Milesian community to become dependent on a small social segment for the continuity and maintenance of its religious institutions. The final entries in the lists of *stephanephoroi* dating to the early decades of the first century AD demonstrate that many *stephanephoroi* were members of a small group of families. At the same time, Italian settlers, their descendants, or their freedmen started to appear as eponymous magistrates especially in the twenties AD (Table 4).[366] Similar observations revealing a decreasing diversity of people in office can be

[364] The *stephanephoros* in AD 2/3 was called Aulus Popillius Rufus (*Milet* I.3 127, ll.23-24; Table 4). Accepting the estimated date early in the reign of Claudius, the chronology would allow for the possibility that this contributor was indeed the son of Rufus.

[365] The second mention of both Gaius and Tiberius Iulius could be a patronymic rather than the name of a second individual. The original editor identified the Gaii with C. Iulius Apollonios and C. Iulius Epikrates. For chronological reasons, this identification is unlikely given the mention of Tiberius Claudius.

[366] Aulus Popilius Rufus, son of Marcus, Marcus Cornelius Capito, son of Marcus, of the tribe Collina, and Gaius Seius Athiktos (*Milet* I.3 127, ll.23-24; 128, ll.5, 7-8). Aulii/Marci Popillii and their freedmen are known as priests and benefactors on Naxos, Chios, and Thasos during the first century BC (Naxos: *IG* XII.5 55; Chios: Forrest 1966: no.3, l.17; Thasos: *IG* Suppl. 387). Cornelii are attested on Delos (Hatzfeld 1912: 29; Ferrary *et al*. 2002: 193) and in Ephesos (Kirbihler 2016: 295 (no.64)). In Kyzikos, Lucius Cornelius and Marcus Cornelius were the sons of Lucius Cornelius, son of Spurius (*CIG* III 372). The mention of the *tribus* Collina for Marcus Cornelius Capito gives no secure proof of origins in Rome or freedman status (Ferraro & Gorla 2010: 344-345; Taylor 2013: 148). The third *stephanephoros* Gaius Seius Athiktos was certainly a freedman. *LGPN*, s.v. Ἄθικτος lists numerous men, including freedmen, attested in the bay of Naples. It was not a regular Greek name. He was probably manumitted by one of the Gaii Seii, active on Delos in the second and first centuries BC (Hatzfeld 1912: 75-76; Ferrary *et al*. 2002: 213-214; cf. Deniaux 2002). The gravestone of a relative, C. Seius Attikos, also called Moschas, commemorates him as *optio* of the sixth legion (legio VI Ferrara) and Milesian citizen (*IGR* IV 825; *CIG* 3932; cf. Robert 1936: 202-205; 1957: 14; 1958: 56-57). Cf. *I.Didyma* 376, l.5: [ἀ]νεψιοῦ Σηΐου.

made for other priesthoods in Julio-Claudian Miletos. Several times the same person held a priestly office twice, or even three times.[367] In addition, people took on the responsibility of multiple offices in the same year.[368] The frequent occurrence of double offices and persons holding the same office multiple times reveals that the running of the Milesian state and its central cults was largely in the hands of a limited section of Milesian society.

Furthermore, a number of *prophetes*-inscriptions dating to the mid-first century AD indicate that this limitation on the availability of able and financially capable Milesians gave rise to difficulties in finding willing candidates to accept the office of *prophetes* (*I.Didyma*, p.161-162; Fontenrose 1988: 46-47). Each of the five Milesian *demoi* could nominate candidates for the office of *prophetes*, after which the *prophetes* was selected by lot. On one occasion, though a total of five men had been nominated, Lucius Iunius Rufus was eventually the only one to attend the sortition and accept the office.[369] Additionally, Iunius Pudens was the first and only one to be nominated by two *demoi* on the same day and entered the lottery with two pebbles.[370]. The *prophetes*-inscriptions of Claudius Chionis and Claudius Damas provide explicit evidence for the scarcity of candidates. Chionis took on both the *archiprytaneia* and the office of *prophetes* on his own at a time when no one else submitted to assume either one of them (*I.Didyma* 272, ll.6-9). Claudius Damas recorded that he took on his first tenure as *prophetes* as a gift on account of the *strategia* and carried out all responsibilities like the *prophetai* before him.[371] Damas took the office not through the customary process of sortition, but as a voluntary benefaction. When he was 81 years old, he assumed the *propheteia* for a second time, because the year before him had been without

[367] Tiberius Iulius Menophilos had been *archiereus* twice. Claudius Menophilos together with his father took on the office of *prophetes*; for both it was their second time (see above; Stemma 5). Other Milesian citizens had been *prophetes* twice or even three times (Table 7).

[368] Apart from Nikophon's simultaneous *stephanephoria* and *archiereia* and Claudius Menophilos' office-taking as *prophetes* and *archiprytanis* (see above), Claudius Damas was simultaneously *prophetes* and *strategos*; Posidionos *prophetes* and *kotarches* (Table 7). Documents of the second century AD suggest that *prophetai* simultaneously in office as *kotarches* (priest of the Kabeiroi) had become a common sight. The phrase προφήτης ἅμα καὶ κωτάρχης is attested in *I.Didyma* 152, ll.2-3; 249, l.1; 270, ll.1-2; 279, ll.1-2.

[369] [μόνος] | καὶ πρῶτος ἀπ[ὸ παντός?] | αἰῶνος πέμπ[τος μὲν?] | κληρωθείς, μό[νος δὲ?] | παραγενόμενο[ς κατὰ?] | τὸν κλῆρον (*I.Didyma* 214b, ll.3-8). Also Epikrates, son of Hekataios, specifically emphasizes that he was allotted the office of *prophetes* as one of five candidates: προφήτης Ἐπικρά|τῆς Ἑκαταίου πέμπτος | κληρωθεὶς καὶ λαχὼν | αὐτοέτης (*I.Didyma* 258, ll.11-14). Nawotka (2014b: 140) takes 'fifth' as the number of rounds of casting lots instead of the number of candidates.

[370] πρῶ|τος καὶ μόνος | μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ | ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ δύο δή|μων προφήτης | ἀποδειχθεὶς καὶ | κληρωθεὶς δυσὶ | ψήφοις (*I.Didyma* 215A, ll.3-10).

[371] προφήτης | Κλαύδιος Δαμᾶς | ὑπὲρ στρατηγίας | λαβὼν τὴν προφητ[εί]|αν δωρεὰν καὶ πάντα πο[ι]|ήσας ὅσα καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτο[ῦ] (*I.Didyma* 237 II, ll.1-6).

prophetes and during his tenure he renewed the ancestral customs (Chaniotis 2003b: 181; 2004: 294).[372] In later periods, numerous *prophetai* assumed office voluntarily (αὐτεπάγγελτος) or 'unallotted' (ἀκλήρωτος, i.e. they were the only candidate; Fontenrose 1988: 48; Chaniotis 2003b: 181; 2004: 294; Nawotka 2014b: 140-141; cf. Kleijwegt 1994).[373] It seems that the customary selection procedure of the most prestigious priestly office in Milesian territory was regularly undermined by the unavailability of candidates. Though not limited to the mid-first century AD, it is in this period that we find the first indications for such difficulties.[374] It demonstrates that the Milesian community had become reliant on a restricted group of upper-class Milesians for the continuity and maintenance of Miletos' religious institutions.

The observation of Milesian dependency can, however, not be taken as evidence that imperial cults primarily or only appealed to the members of the ruling classes serving as its chief-priests. The abovementioned renewal of ancient customs instigated by Tiberius Claudius Damas is also attested in a decree of the *demos* upon motion of the *epistatai* (*Milet* I.3 134; Chaniotis 2003b: 179-184; 2004: 292-296; Nawotka 2014a: 98-100; 2014b: 110-113). The superscript of the decree informs us that the decree was written by Damas as *archiprytanis*.[375] Several Neronian coin issues record the name of Tiberius Claudius Damas providing an approximate date for the decree (*RPC* I 2012-2017). The decisions stipulated in the decree were motivated by reference to the traditional veneration of the state divinities, Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Delphinios, as well as the continuity of the *polis*. To these divinities were added the *Sebastoi* (*Milet* I.3 134, ll.4-10, 33-35). It would appear that, by this time, the

[372] προφήτης Κλαύδιος | Δαμᾶς ὑπέσχετο δευ|τέραν προφητείαν ἐτῶν | ὧν ὀγδοήκοντα ἑνὸς καὶ ἀνενεώσατο τὰ πάτρια ἔθη (*I.Didyma* 268, ll.1-5); πρ(οφήτης) τὸ β΄· ὁ αὐτὸς Κλαύδι[ος] | ἀνενεώσατο τὰ πάτρι[α] | τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτο[ῦ] | ἀπροφητεύτου γενομ[έ]|νου (*I.Didyma* 237 II, ll.7-11).

[373] ἀκλήρωτος: *I.Didyma* 236B III; 243, l.1 (restored); 286, ll.1-5; 288, ll.2-3; esp. *I.Didyma* 279, ll.4-7: λαβὼν παρὰ | τῆς πατρίδος τὴν προφητεί|αν ἀκληρωτεὶ ἐτῶν ὧν εἴκοσι τρι|ῶν; αὐτεπάγγελτος: *I.Didyma* 241, ll.2-3; 243, l.2; 244, l.2; 252, l.1; 270, l.4; 278, l.3; 292, l.6 (restored).

[374] During one of Posidionos' tenures as *prophetes*, the *stephanephoros* was Apollo Didymeus (*I.Didyma* 281, ll.27-28). In absence of a candidate for the *stephanephoria*, the sacred treasury financed the office. In earlier periods, such financialisation by state or sacred treasuries commonly took place in times of war or general financial difficulties, see chapter 3.

[375] Ψήφισμα τὸ γραφὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιπρυ|τάνιδος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Δαμὰ (*Milet* I.3 134, ll.1-2). Damas was officially not the one moving or proposing the decree (Nawotka 2014b: 110-113), but the superscript reveals his close involvement in the details of the decree. There is no reason for reading ὑπὸ as an alternative to ἐπὶ and interpret it as a dating formula (*contra* Nawotka 2014a: 100; 2014b: 113). The common meaning of ὑπὸ signaling agency fits well with other information about Damas renewing ancestral customs as revealed in his *prophetai*-inscriptions. Moreover, the postscript of the decree already contains the common dating formula, which mentions the eponymous magistrate introduced with ἐπὶ (*Milet* I.3 134, l.41).

Sebastoi had been integrated into the ancestral rituals of the *polis*, even though the stipulations were reserved for the *prophetai* and *stephanephoroi* without any mention of an *archiereus*. Moreover, the majority of the *demos* having voted in favour of the decree chose or accepted to be styled *philokaisar* (*Milet* I.3 134, l. 3).

In the course of the Julio-Claudian period, especially from the reign of Gaius on, the Milesian community had largely become dependent for the continuation and maintenance of its state cults, including its imperial cults, on a small section of its ruling class. The entanglement of Milesian residents holding Roman citizenship, their integration into the networks of imperial power, and the concentration of power and wealth in Miletos is recognisable in the specific social profile of those acting as *archiereis* in Miletos. As was the case for C. Iulius Epikrates, their role as chief-priest – as intermediary between the Milesian community and the divine manifestation of imperial power – must be understood as part of this entanglement in local and imperial networks of power. As indicated by the inscriptions of *prophetai* and *hydrophoroi* (Tables 7-8), the profile of Milesian chief-priests is different from other priestly officials. Their predominance seems to reflect a social development within Miletos characterised by the emergence of a small super-elite in the city.[376] These families could meet the burdens of Miletos' costly priesthoods for there was frequently a shortage of persuadable candidates. When issues arose, its members could present themselves as benefactors and saviours. Thus, the continuity of Milesian cults and its collective rituals was simultaneously secured and jeopardised by socio-economic divisions. The well-networked Milesians with their access to imperial power, thanks in part to their communicative ties with the emperor – in its divine or earthly form – were able to secure or offer benefactions for the Milesian community. As such, imperial cults in Miletos were instruments and symptoms of socio-economic differentiation within the Milesian elite and the community at large. The resulting socio-economic inequalities made the running of Milesian society and its cult institutions dependent on a few of its wealthiest citizens, while at the same time contributing to their instability. In this way, imperial cults and their chief-priests gave the promise of divine

[376] This observation for Milesian *archiereis* in the Julio-Claudian period contrasts with Gabrielle Frija's general impression about *archiereis* in Asia: (1) that such a close correlation between chief-priesthoods and relations with imperial power can only be observed for the reign of Augustus; (2) that chief-priesthoods were just one among many magistracies and priesthoods; (3) and that chief-priests did not originate from a distinct social group (Frija 2012: 215-218).

and material benefactions in part to resolve the problems caused by the socio-economic inequalities of which they were the prime beneficiaries.

Under Augustus, the process of integration of Miletos into the hegemonic networks of the Roman Empire was primarily the prerogative of the family of C. Iulius Epikrates. In the following decades, especially through the inclusion of the Italian settler and *eques Romanus* Cn. Vergilius Capito by way of intermarriage, this family maintained and solidified its close connections with the imperial household and administration as well as its associated intermediary role in relations of Miletos with divine and human agents of imperial power. Capito's networks were likely influential in bringing emperor Gaius to make the controversial decision of associating the *koinon*-cult in his own honour with the unfinished yet magnificent temple of Apollo Didymeus and so in turning the incompleteness of this temple into Miletos' advantage vis-à-vis rivalling city-states. Though the project got cancelled after the assassination of Gaius, Miletos would continue to reap the fruits of the power networks and wealth of Capito, its own saviour. Capito became Miletos' prime benefactor in the following decades but never acted as chief-priest of Miletos. After Epikrates, this office was no longer monopolised by a single person yet still in the hands of a select group of Milesian families. In the footsteps of Capito, some of this group entered the equestrian or even senatorial order, others were well-integrated into the leading strata of Ionia and Asia, and all families held Roman citizenship, sooner or later. Testimonies of self-representative career lists, honours and benefactions give the familiar picture of the community's appreciation of this elite group for taking on the core yet costly priestly offices of Miletos, financially supporting the community when in need, and using their social networks and wealth to the community's benefit. The institution of the imperial cults in Miletos would thus seem to support the *communis opinio* which views the accommodation of these cults into Greek *poleis* as mediated by their elites and collectively welcomed by their citizens to represent to themselves the imperial power (Price 1984a; Frija 2012).

Such a generalised view misses social dynamics of power in specific city-states, which are relevant for understanding imperial cults, as a result of its decontextualised approach to the documentary material. The closer analysis of Milesian social structures and relations carried out in this chapter has demonstrated that the integration of Miletos into imperial structures of power involved most of all a tiny segment of the Milesian ruling class. All recorded chief-

priests stemmed from this social segment characterised by their Roman citizenship, close connections with agents of imperial and regional power, and their associated acquisition of wealth. Miletos' integration disproprotionately benefitted a specific social group and so entailed the production of socio-economic inequalities within the community and its ruling class. This concentration of power and wealth backed by imperial networks reduced the number of families capable of taking on costly priesthoods. Integration into imperial structures contributed to the formation of Milesian dependency on a well-networked distinctive class for the continuity and maintenance of its religious institutions and related practices. Assuming priestly office in Julio-Claudian Miletos, thus, increasingly came to be a euergetic act of a tiny segment of Milesian society, the need for which was created by the same socio-economic inequalities that produced these *euergetai*.

The development of imperial cults in Miletos and the social profile of their chief-priests was symptomatic of this formation of socio-economic inequalities and relations of dependency. At the same time, imperial cults in celebrating the benefits and benefactions of imperial power personified by (an) emperor(s) provided the ideological legitimation for these inequalities and relations of dependency. Tied to the cults of the Milesian state divinities, Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Delphinios, they presented the imperial order as an intrinsic part of the Milesian community – concealing the inequality and dependency this order produced. As such, in addition to being symptoms of structures of inequality, imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Miletos actively assisted in upholding these inequalities and relations of dependency.

CONCLUSION

IMPERIAL CULTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The main chapters of this thesis comprise a detailed analysis of archaeological and epigraphic evidence for imperial cults in Ephesos and Miletos during the Julio-Claudian period. In the introduction, I proposed that this attention to historical particularities is necessary to better understand and explain the developmental trajectories of imperial cults and social change in general. This concluding chapter summarizes and compares these developmental trajectories in Julio-Claudian Ephesos and Miletos with attention to the interconnection of imperial cults with social and urban space, socio-economic structures, and politico-geographical networks of power. I conclude by remarking on methodological and theoretical issues in studying social change that have formed a thread throughout this thesis.

A central point in common narratives about Roman imperial cults in Asia Minor is that they were accommodated within Greek communities and integrated into communal rituals and institutions (Price 1984a; Chaniotis 2003a; Kantiréa 2007; Camia 2011; Frija 2012). In abstract, this is only stating the obvious, since it is impossible for any imperial cult to exist and its rituals to be practiced in a given social space without being accommodated or integrated in one way or another. In this thesis, I have paid specific attention to the social spaces in which imperial cults were incorporated. It has been suggested that imperial cults were located in urban spaces such as bath-gymnasia and porticoes (Yegül 1982; Price 1984a: 136-146). The so-called Upper Agora in Ephesos and the courtyard of the *bouleuterion* in Miletos have served as instances of how the accommodation of imperial cults could entail the transformation of civic space (Price 1984a: 138-140). I have demonstrated that there is no convincing evidence to substantiate the presence of imperial cult institutions in those spaces. Instead, throughout the Julio-Claudian period, imperial cults in both Ephesos and Miletos were located in their main extra-urban sanctuaries, the Artemision and the Didymeion. In addition, divine emperors were integrated into intra-urban religious spaces and their associated rituals, such as the Milesian Delphinion and the Ephesian *prytaneion*. Imperial cults came to be part of two distinct yet connected politico-religious spaces. On the one hand, in

the intra-urban spaces, the eponymous *polis*-magistrates – the Milesian *stephanephoros* and the Ephesian *prytanis* – were responsible for the enactment of state rituals which now included the veneration of the imperial household. On the other hand, imperial cult institutions, including designated cult personnel and buildings, were present in the extra-urban sanctuaries devoted to the main *polis*-divinities of Ephesos and Miletos. Institutionalised imperial cults were positioned at the sacred heart of the *polis* and its central extra-urban sanctuary.

Imperial cults became part of *polis*-specific politico-religious constellations. The evidence of the Didymeion and the Delphinion demonstrates that many more gods and goddesses had a place of worship in these sanctuaries. They also likely housed the state archives and have yielded numerous state documents engraved on stone as well as numerous statues of athletic victors, benefactors, and other people who had benefitted the *polis*-community. Even though the divine emperors did not become *synnaoi theoi* in either Ephesos or Miletos, they stood out from these constellations through their particularly strong relationship to the state divinities and their rituals. Festivals in honour of Roma and the Roman emperors could, for instance, be appended to the *Didymeia* or the *Epheseia* and, in Miletos, oaths were sworn to both Apollo Didymeus and Augustus (*Milet* VI.3 1044).[377] The primary divine manifestation of the ruling power was closely linked to the state divinities of Miletos and Ephesos consolidating and expressing the relationship between imperial power and the city-states of Ephesos and Miletos. It supports Price's view that the integration of imperial cults in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire gave shape to a power relationship between imperial rulers and Greek communities (Price 1984a).

Yet, in both Ephesos and Miletos, a division between public and sacred space existed, as signified by the separation of public and sacred treasuries and lands as well as by the rights of inviolability in extra-urban sanctuaries. Imperial cults were, in part, integrated into spaces characterised by distinct legal and economic regulations. Up to the senatorial settlement of AD 22, *asylia* of sanctuaries played a central role in the competition between the various

[377] Such oaths have a long history in Milesian rituals of state with an inter-state dimension. Around 262-260 BC, all Milesian citizens as well as the recently inaugurated *ephebes* were to swear an oath of loyalty and friendship to king Ptolemaios II (*Milet* I.3 139, ll.42-51; cf. *Milet* VI.1 139). The *isopoliteia*-agreement with Herakleia under Latmos (185/184 BC) had Milesian ambassadors solemnify the agreement with an oath to Apollo Didymeus, Hestia Boulaia, Zeus, Athens, and the other gods (*Milet* I.3 150, ll.109-115). Appended festivals were also no novelty: in 167/166 BC, a day in celebration of king Eumenes II was added to the Panionia (*Milet* I.9 306, ll.51-54; *Milet* VI.1 306); cf. Buraselis 2012.

poleis of Asia. Control over the recognition and extent of the borders of *asylia*-territory was taken over by those in power at Rome and several documents attest to *polis*-embassies to Rome securing the *asylia* of their respective sanctuaries. With the decision of AD 22, the main subject of rivalry between Asian *poleis* shifted from the rights of these sanctuaries to the privilege of hosting a *koinon*-cult. If many sanctuaries had held rights of inviolability, only Pergamon (from 29 BC), Smyrna (from AD 26), and Miletos (in AD 40/41) had been granted this privilege in the Julio-Claudian period. The restructuring of *polis*-rivalry left most Asian *poleis* in limbo with respect to their competitive position – between a dying old (rights of asylum) and an unborn new (*koinon*-cult). In these mid-first century AD conditions, we find the first attestations of festivals called *koinon Asias*/*koina Asias*, which offered an alternative outlet for *polis*-rivalry which was, however, lacking the degree of prestige associated with imperially granted *koinon*-cults.

The incorporation of imperial cults into sanctuaries formed a central element in specific historical episodes in both Miletos and Ephesos. In AD 40, Gaius chose Miletos for its *koinon*-cult. This cult was to be established in the Didymeion and associated with the revived construction works on the temple of Apollo Didymeus. As a result, member-states of the *koinon* were effectively paying for the building development of this Milesian temple giving reason for political controversy over this imperial decision. The edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus demonstrates that, a few years later, the implications of integrating imperial cults into the Ephesian Artemision proved even more disruptive. Alongside regularly appointed chief-priesthoods, life-long priesthoods of various members of the imperial household or deceased emperors were installed in the Artemision. These priesthoods were sold by *polis*-magistrates at a maximum price, in return for which their buyers received excessive priestly perquisites. On several occasions, the treasury of Artemis Ephesia had contributed to the maintenance of the Sebasteion, but now this financial connection between the sacred treasury and imperial cults was being misused for personal gain whilst reducing the treasury's level of income and increasing its expenditure. Through this corrupt scheme, the growth of imperial priesthoods in the Artemision was tied to personal self-aggrandisement whilst harming the financial solvency of the Artemision. In both episodes, transgressions of institutional divisions – between financial responsibilities of the *koinon* and civic institutions in Miletos; between sacred and public finances in Ephesos – were at the core of political

controversy and crisis in financial management and formed decisive conjunctures in the developments of imperial cults in Asia.

The examination of the social profile of those involved shows that the social structures of Julio-Claudian Ephesos and Miletos were very different. In Miletos, Cn. Vergilius Capito, an Italian settler and chief-priest of Asia multiple times, played an influential role in securing the grant of the *koinon*-cult of Gaius for the Milesian *polis*. He had married into the family of C. Iulius Epikrates, who had been the main protagonist in the development of the cult of Augustus in Miletos as well as the *koinon* of Ionia. Through family relations with the Iulii, he held a pivotal role in Milesian-Roman connections. He used these connections to secure imperial privileges and benefactions for Miletos, which was especially beneficial to the community at a time of economic difficulties in the twenties and tens BC. Decades later, Capito played an intermediary role reminiscent of that of Epikrates, was close to imperial circles during the reign of Claudius as a politically active *eques Romanus*, and became the primary Milesian benefactor of his time. Contemporary Milesian chief-priests also answered to this social profile: well-integrated into imperial and regional networks of power and capital and in possession of Roman citizenship; a position which allowed them to act as benefactors to the Milesian community. The profile of Epikrates, Capito, and other Milesian chief-priests testifies to a formative process of a small super-elite in control of most ties binding Miletos to imperial power. This social formation resulted in growing socio-economic inequalities, leaving the community heavily reliant on this specific social group for its inter-state relations as well as the continuity and maintenance of its state cults and rituals.

In Julio-Claudian Ephesos, another type of social division was central in the development of its imperial cults. As Ephesian citizens held regularly appointed chief-priesthoods of ruling emperors, Italian settler-families and freedmen bought the life-long priesthoods or were honoured with life-long tenure in return for their financial investments. The latter also got involved in the Ephesian *gerousia* and its financial activities and contributions of Italian settlers and freedmen to a collective subscription in the twenties AD were highest in both frequency and amount. The corruption in relation to the sale of imperial priesthoods in the Artemision took place in the general context of financial expansion by this group of Italian residents. As most members of this group lacked Ephesian citizenship and hence institutionalised political power, buying these priesthoods was a way to increase their social status and power in Ephesos. The joint endeavours of Ephesian magistrates and Italian buyers

of priesthoods constituted a convergence of an Ephesian aristocracy holding political power and a wealthy group of Italian residents. The disruptive consequences of these actions for the Artemision and the community stimulated the proconsul of Asia to intervene and impose austerity measures and strict budgetary rules on the public and sacred treasury. In addition to cuts on perquisites for imperial priesthoods, *hymnoidoi* singing in praise of the imperial household were replaced by unpaid *ephebes*. These gubernatorial measures were likely extrapolated to other Asian communities and resulted in the general disappearance of *hymnoidoi* from *polis* rituals and the decline of imperial priesthoods devoted to members of the imperial household throughout the province of Asia after the reign of Claudius.

The divergent social structures and developments of imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Miletos and Ephesos relate to the distinct positions of the two *poleis* within dominant networks of power. These differences affected the way imperial power was manifested in those communities. The Milesian community activated its outward-looking networks to improve its position, while Ephesos was suffused with Italian settlers as well as agents of imperial power who were integrated into Ephesian institutions. Back in the early first century BC, the primary harbour at the mouth of the Maiandros was Priene. As Italian settlers arrived in increasing numbers along the west coast of Asia and key communication and trade arteries like the Maiandros, remarkably few of them found their way to Miletos. The delta progradation of the Maiandros left Priene landlocked by the end of this century. Miletos became the main harbour at the river mouth. This change constituted a crucial competitive advantage for Miletos. Further, C. Iulius Epikrates, in part thanks to his friendly relations with Augustus and other Roman *hegemones*, secured tax-free trade between Miletos and its island territories, the appropriation of lands recently created by the Maiandros to Milesian territory, and a Milesian hold over the chief-priesthood of the Ionian *koinon*. As the leading families of Miletos disproportionately reaped the fruits of this improved position, other Milesian citizens migrated to Athens in such great numbers as to form one of the largest diaspora-communities in that city. The networks of Miletos were mobilised, individually and collectively, to improve the situations of its citizens. However, the personal relationship between Epikrates and Roman networks of power established a pattern in which Miletos was heavily reliant on a very small group of leading citizens acting as ‘brokers of beneficence’. In the mid-first century AD, Capito married into Epikrates’ family and several other Milesian ‘mediators’ descended from aristocratic families, who had arisen in the late first century BC. The specific mode of

integration of Miletos into imperial networks of power increased the influence of this small group. Imperial power was largely mediated by some of Miletos' own citizens, including by means of the chief-priesthoods they held.

The situation in Ephesos was very different. In the first century BC, it became the seat of the proconsul of Asia and numerous Italian settlers arrived in the provincial capital. Under Augustus, building projects were financed by the emperor himself, by imperial freedmen, and by Italian settlers. Many of these buildings carried bilingual dedications, in which the Latin text was more prominently on display. Augustus returned lands and revenues to the Artemision, which allowed the financing of infrastructural projects including the repair of a wall of the Sebasteion. Imperial power implanted itself and was made visible through architectural, linguistic, and sculptural elements of the built environment. Italian migrants were influential in Ephesos. In the production of Ephesos as an imperial city, the connections between the Ephesian community and imperial power were dense and multiple. More decisive of the particularity of the development of imperial cults in Ephesos was the inequality of access to Ephesian citizenship and local political power. Competition for community recognition was manifested in the multiplication of imperial priesthoods in the Artemision which contributed to the financial crisis of the forties AD.

In the evidence for these institutional histories of imperial cults, groups of wealthy and powerful residents appear centre-stage. Given the continuing political power of the *demos* in these *poleis* (Salmeri 2011; Brélaz 2016), we should also consider the agency of the larger political community. At regular occasions in both Miletos and Ephesos, their *demoi* dedicated statues of members of the imperial household, took on titles like *philokaisar* and *philosebastos*, voted to bestow the same and similar titles on individual citizens, and elected chief-priests. Even in a situation in which the *demos* was often sidelined, it had an important role to play. Ephesian magistrates and wealthy Roman residents engaged in corrupt practices involving the trade of imperial priesthoods in the Artemision. But it was precisely the democratic control over citizenship grants and the selection of priests which required the sale of imperial priesthoods to non-citizen residents to be realised beyond that control. In the directives of Persicus' edict, the proconsul of Asia appears to reinstate the lost democratic control, not least by ensuring that candidates worthy of the priestly crown would be selected and that the appearance of the *domus divina* would not be used for financial gain. The Ephesian *demos* here appears as a more reliable actor in securing the divine dignity of the

imperial household and its priests than those Ephesian residents selling and buying imperial priesthoods.

Much of this thesis has concentrated on institutional aspects of imperial cults in Julio-Claudian Ephesos and Miletos and their entwinement with socio-economic relationships and networks of power. The available evidence makes it hard to write a spatially and historically detailed account of other dimensions of imperial cults – their symbolism, meaning, and ritual practices. But we cannot possibly ignore these dimensions since they must have played a formative role in the development of imperial cults and the social totalities in which imperial cults were embedded. A recent overview of approaches to ideology has listed several ideological strategies including unification, universalisation, naturalisation, legitimation of power, orientation to action, and rationalisation (Eagleton 2007: 45-58). Similar concepts have been used to describe the institutional developments of imperial cults.[378] In connecting imperial cults to the specific societies of which they were a part, I have demonstrated that ideological conceptions can provide only one side of the narrative of imperial cults; that is, they are not completely false, deceptive, or illusionary, but often involve distortions or partial truths about the social realities to which they relate (Eagleton 2007; Žižek 2012: 8).

The close association between imperial cults and state cults, like those of Artemis Ephesia and Apollo Didymeus, contributed to the unifying formation of a collective *polis*- or *koinon*-identity, into which the relationship to imperial power was incorporated. Considering ideology, Terry Eagleton (2007: 222) notes, however, that "if its impulse is to identify and homogenize, it is nevertheless scarred and disarticulated by its *relational* character; by the conflicting interests among which it must ceaselessly negotiate" (original italics). Such conflicting interests were in full force in the case of the imperial priesthoods of the Artemision; between those magistrates and priests personally benefitting from corruption and the *polis*-community, the treasury of the Artemision, as well as the imperial administration. Equally, I have argued for the existence of political disharmony within the Asian *koinon* in the lead-up to the instalment of the *koinon*-cult of Gaius, which, for that very reason, was realised upon imperial command. The social and political reality of imperial cults, then, could disrupt any tidiness in the unifying integration of communities into the

[378] E.g. Homogenisation: Frija 2016; specifically for the Augustan period: Holler 2016; unification: Kirbihler 2016: 399; naturalisation: Gordon 2011.

benevolent ideological structure of the Empire. Ideological claims of eternal, universal, and benevolent imperial rule were in tension with conflicting relations within societies.

Not all discrepancies between the ideological message of imperial cults and social realities were obvious. Privileges and benefactions bestowed on the Milesian community by emperors materialised the benevolence of imperial power.[379] The Milesians who secured such benefits acted as benefactors and saviours. The divine honours for emperors and citizen-benefactors like C. Iulius Epikrates and Cn. Vergilius Capito had a foundation in material reality and in the collective consciousness of the population (see page 141). It would thus be erroneous to consider imperial cults merely as ideological deceptions or falsities. Yet, these benefactions, to a large extent, had their roots in socio-economic inequalities and resulting relations of dependency creating a situation in which the Milesian state and community was hardly able to maintain its own state cults and rituals without financial support. In an ironic and ideological twist, this situation was not documented in laments or complaints but in self-representational or honorific documents praising benefactors for their acts of 'salvation'. The structure of inequality was a social reality unspoken in religious and honorific celebrations of Roman emperors and Milesian heroes and benefactors alike. In their neglect of the socio-economic developments contributing to Miletos' reliance on benefactions, such cultic celebrations and honours helped in the legitimation of imperial power and of the mediators of that power.

Developments of imperial cults in the Julio-Claudian period have been described in terms of standardisation, homogenisation, institutionalisation, and routinisation of charisma (Habicht 1973: 90; Price 1984a: 57-59; Frija 2012: 75-76; 2016: 161-164; Holler 2016; Kirbihler 2016: 399), giving the impression of a rather mechanic or 'natural' development from a diversified, chaotic, and ad hoc character of imperial cults to monolithic, stable, and permanent cultic institutions. Such views are, for instance, based on priestly titulature and, especially, the change from chief-priests and priests of individual members of the imperial household to chief-priests of collective *Sebastoi* during the reigns of Claudius and Nero. They receive support from the first attestations of chief-priests of the *Sebastoi* in Milesian documents dating to the final decades of the Julio-Claudian period. The specific directives in the edict of Persicus concerning perquisites of imperial priests and the replacement of

[379] Under Augustus: financing of the *stephanephoria*, tax-privileges, and land grants; under Gaius: a revived mint and construction works on the Didymeion; under Claudius: earthquake relief.

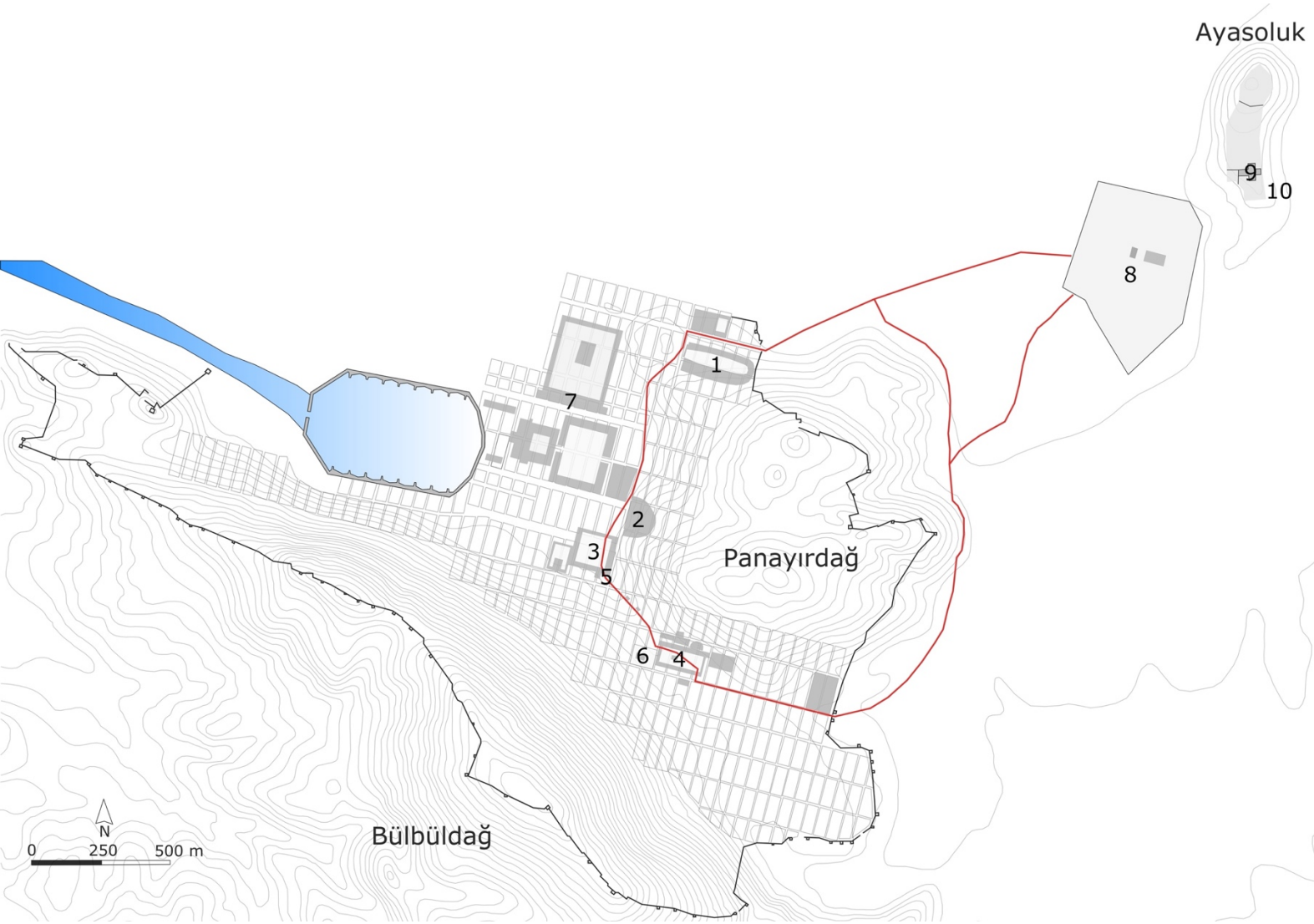
hymnoidoi singing in praise of the imperial household by *ephebes* provide, however, more specific information about the possible reasons for such changes. I have argued that they testify to austerity measures serving to relieve public treasuries from excessive expenditure on cult personnel of imperial cults not just in Ephesos, but, potentially, in all *poleis* of Asia. The proconsular imposition of such budgetary and organisational regulations across the province demonstrates that changes in the institutional organisation of imperial cults were deemed necessary as a consequence of financial problems. The scaling down of imperial cults in Asian *poleis* goes a long way to explain the demise of priesthoods of individual members of the imperial household and the creation of a more structured priestly organisation devoted to all *Sebastoi*. Far removed from abstract notions of change, these transformations were rooted in the Ephesian crisis involving imperial priesthoods and *hymnoidoi* in the Artemision and the proconsular attempt to resolve that crisis. The financial dimension of this crisis was accompanied by ideological considerations: the harm effected on the appearance of the imperial household and the potentially undignified singing of *ephebes*. The restoration and securing of financial stability of public and sacred treasuries should not be counter-productive vis-à-vis the ideological dimension of imperial cults.

In the historiography of social change in the Roman world, abstractions of historical processes – Romanisation, globalisation – as well as of historical actors – local elites, Greek subjects – have been a common theme. Remarkably similar to ideologies, they suffer from lack of historical precision. In the developments of imperial cults, Roman citizenship, Roman networks of power, and Roman agents like emperors, proconsuls, Italian settlers, and their freedmen played an important role, but they did so in interaction with particular Ephesian and Milesian institutions and actors. A concept such as globalisation can only superficially describe social change if it does not engage with specific aspects of the increasing connectivity of particular communities and peoples. Abstractions of local elites, Greek subjects, or Greek communities flatten out differences within and between communities, social inequalities and the diversity of historical actors who were constantly crossing the boundaries between the local, regional, and imperial. Paying attention to particular local histories as part of larger societal constellations provides explanations of historical processes and social change grounded in specific historical and social conditions. Since history must be the result,

ultimately, of the actions of people, even if they cannot control the circumstances of their actions,[380] this provides a more realistic understanding of imperial and local histories.

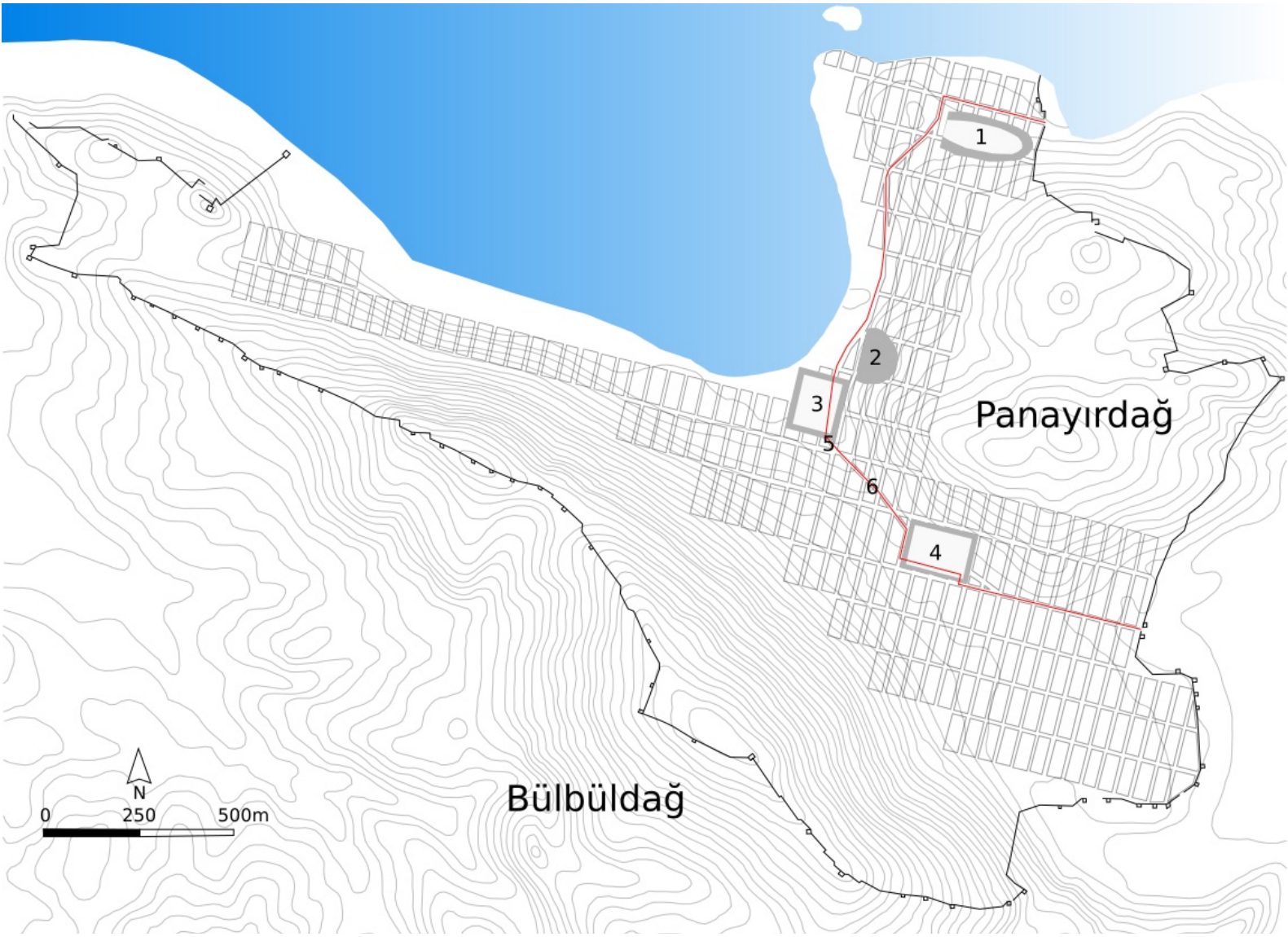
[380] Marx 1978: 595.

PLANS



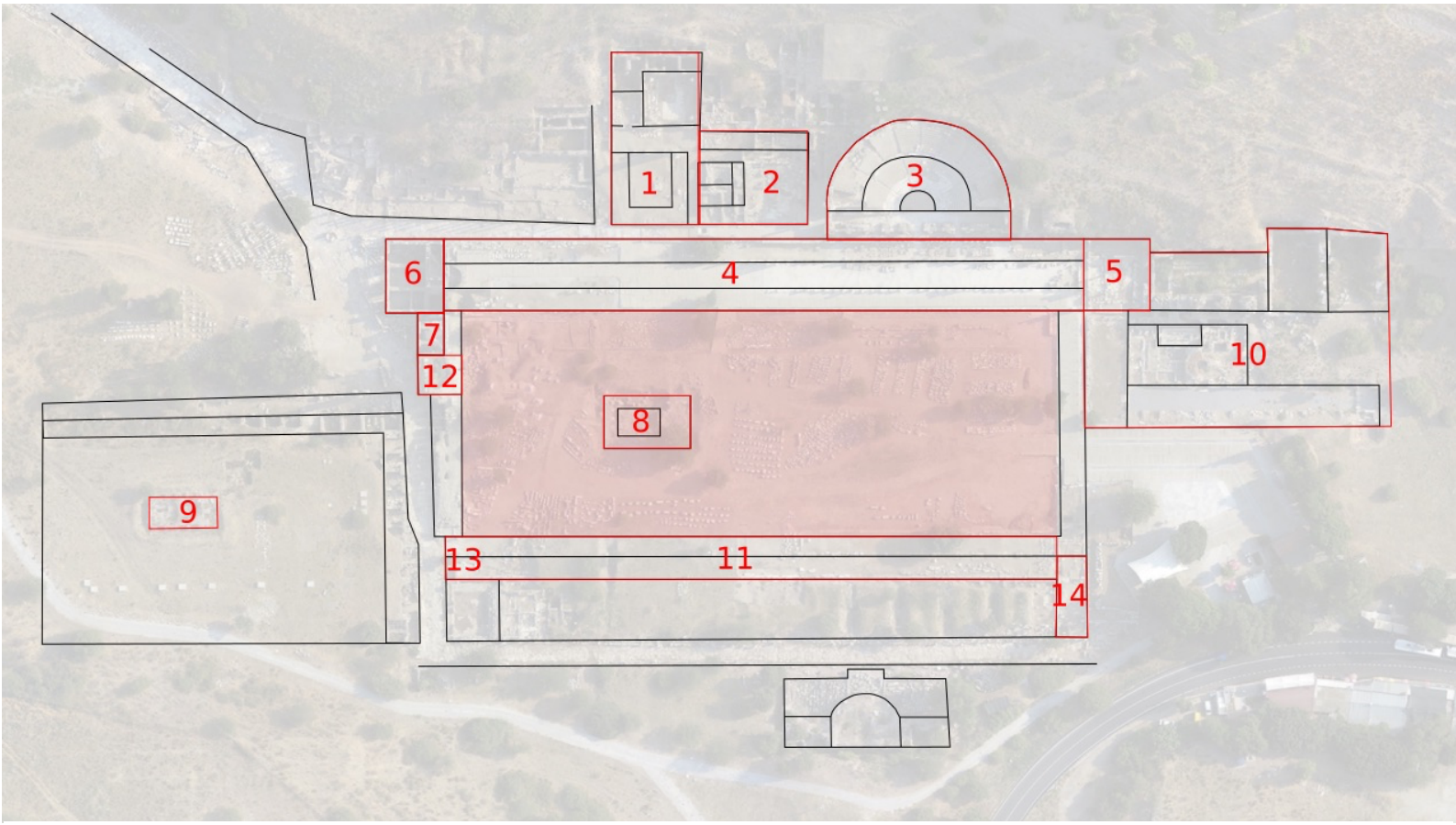
Plan 1. Overview of Buildings and Spaces in Roman Ephesos (mentioned in text)
Based on Groh 2006: fig.14 with adaptations; with kind permission of Dr. Stefan Groh

1. Stadium
2. Theatre
3. Tetragonos Agora
4. Upper Agora
5. Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates/Triodos
6. Temple of the Sebastoi
7. Church of Mary
8. Artemision
9. Church of John
10. Byzantine aqueduct



Plan 2. Ephesos in the Augustan period
Based on Groh 2006: fig.4 with adaptations; with kind permission of Dr. Stefan Groh

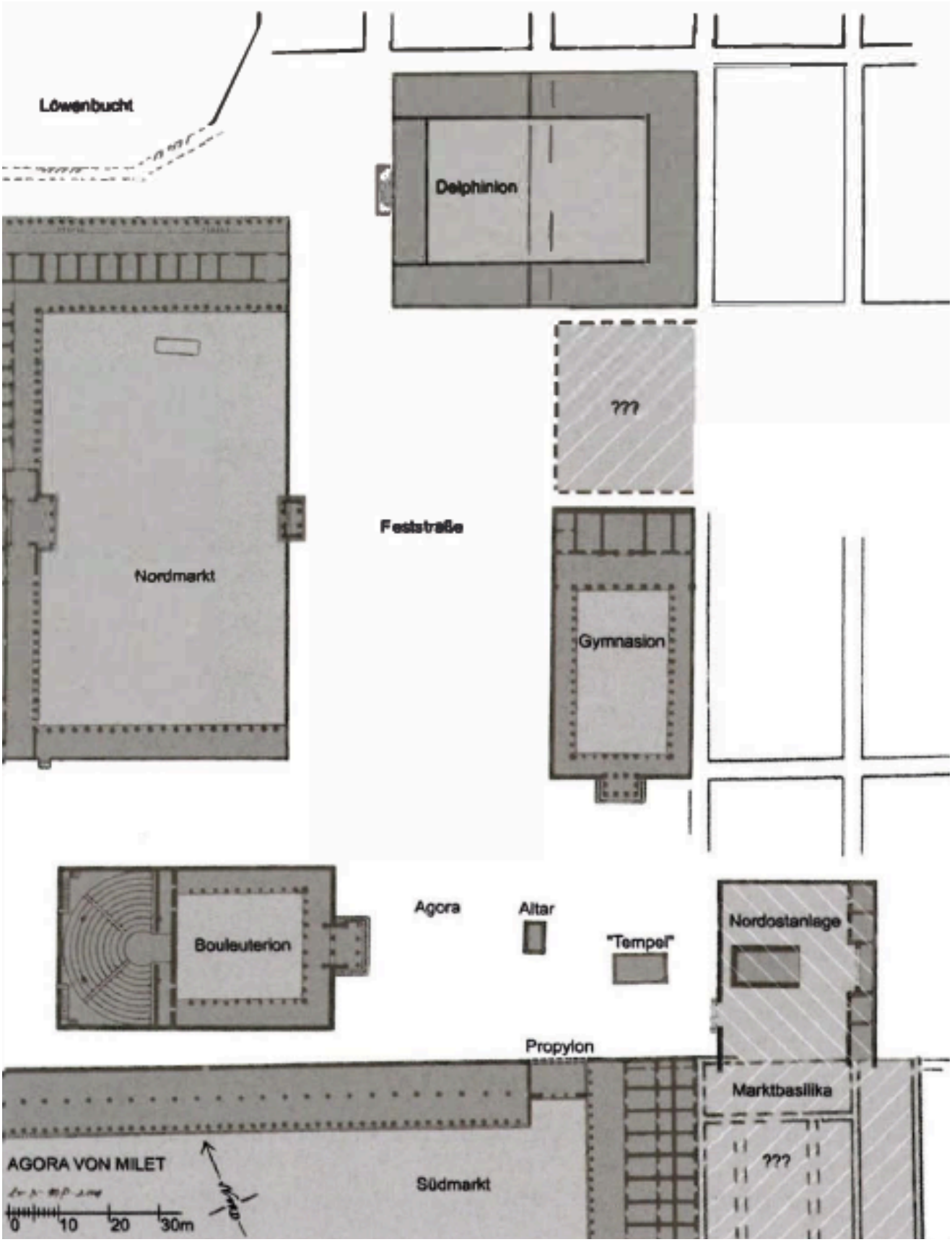
1. Stadium
2. Theatre
3. Tetragonos Agora
4. Upper Agora
5. Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates/Triodos
6. Embolos



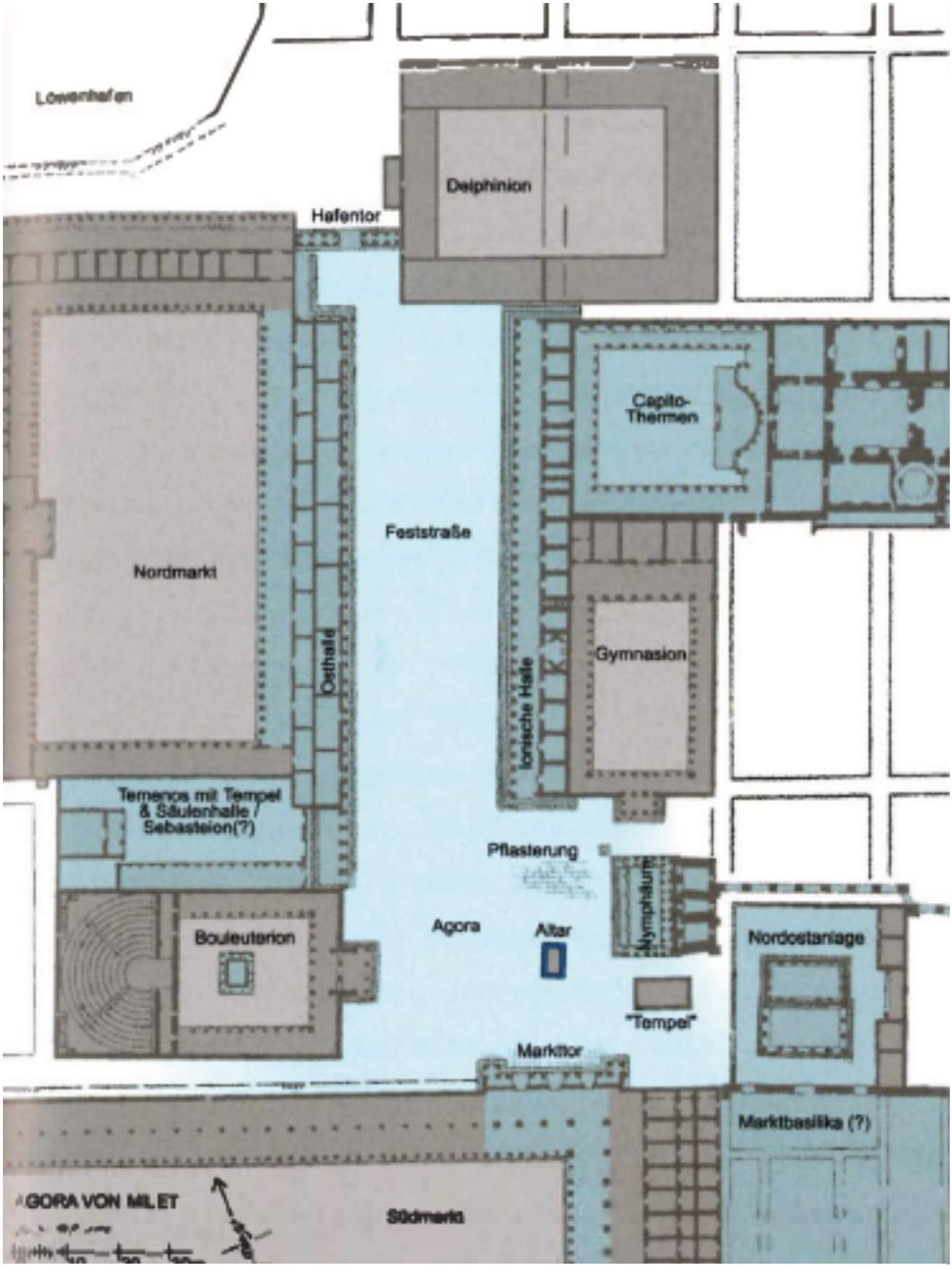
Plan 3. Area of the Upper Agora in Ephesos

1. Prytaneion
2. Podium structure
3. Bouleuterion
4, Basilike Stoa
5. Eastern hall
6. Western hall
7. Pollio-monument
8. Temple on the upper agora
9. Temple of the Sebastoi
10. Bath-complex (ἄνω γυμνασίον?)
11. Southern portico
12. Domitianic fountain
13. South-west gate
14. South-east gate

Aerial photograph taken from (accessed 28-11-2019):
https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/oeai/research/publication-projects-in-preparation/ephesos-upper-agora/

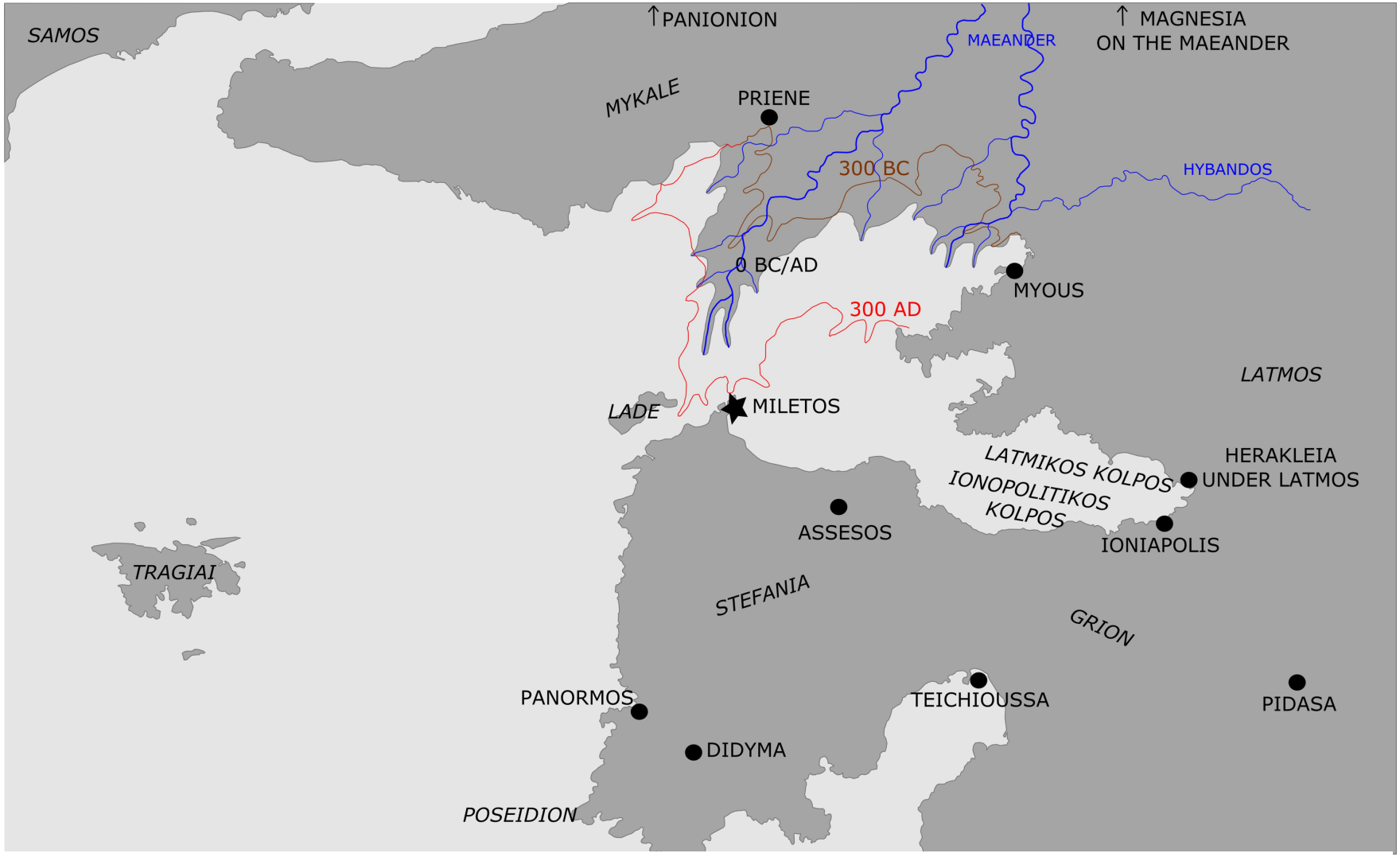


Plan 4. Agora of Miletos in the Hellenistic Period
After Cain & Pfanner 2009: abb.4.

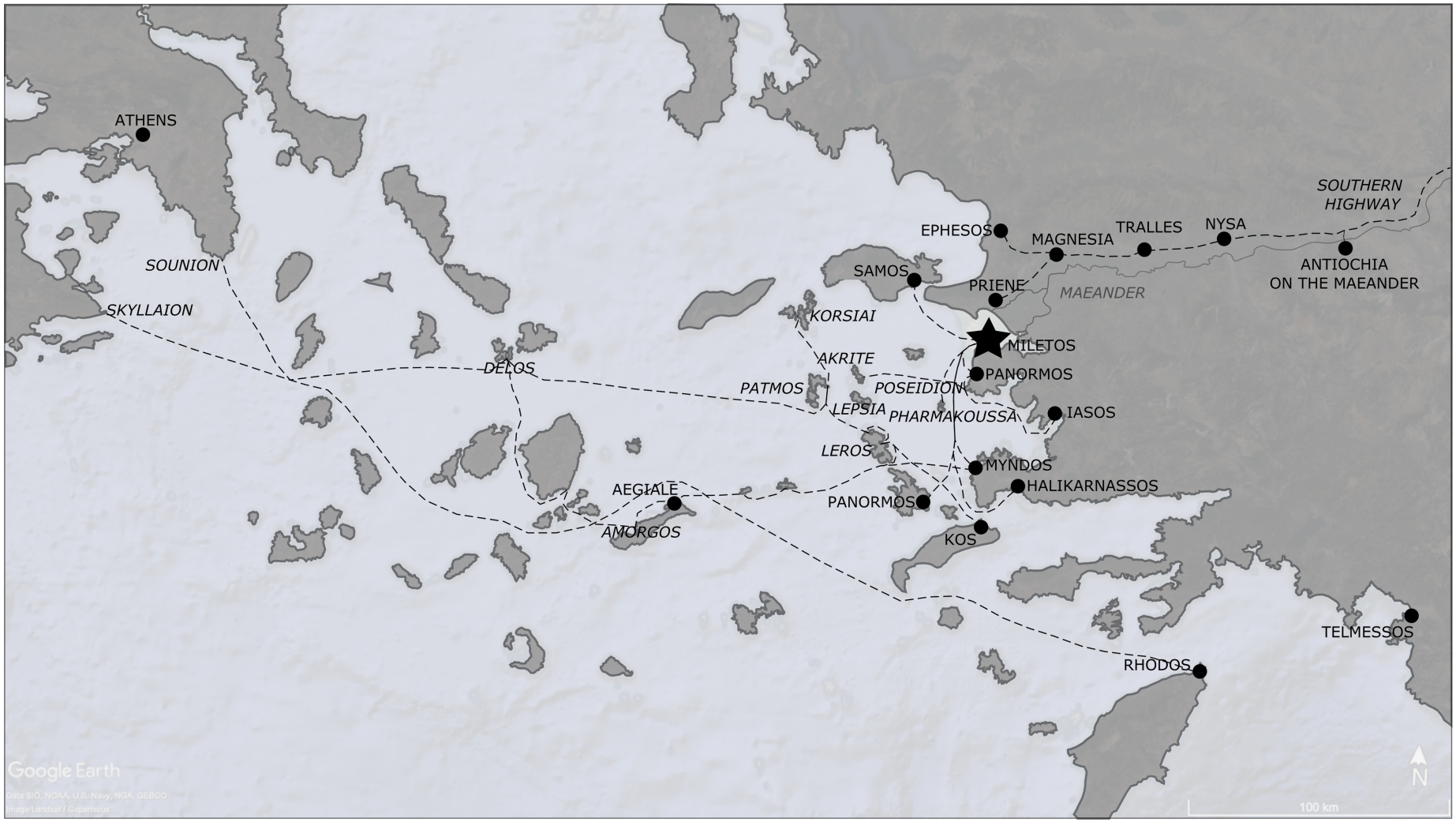


Plan 5. Agora of Miletos around AD 100
After Cain & Pfanner 2009: abb.6.

MAPS



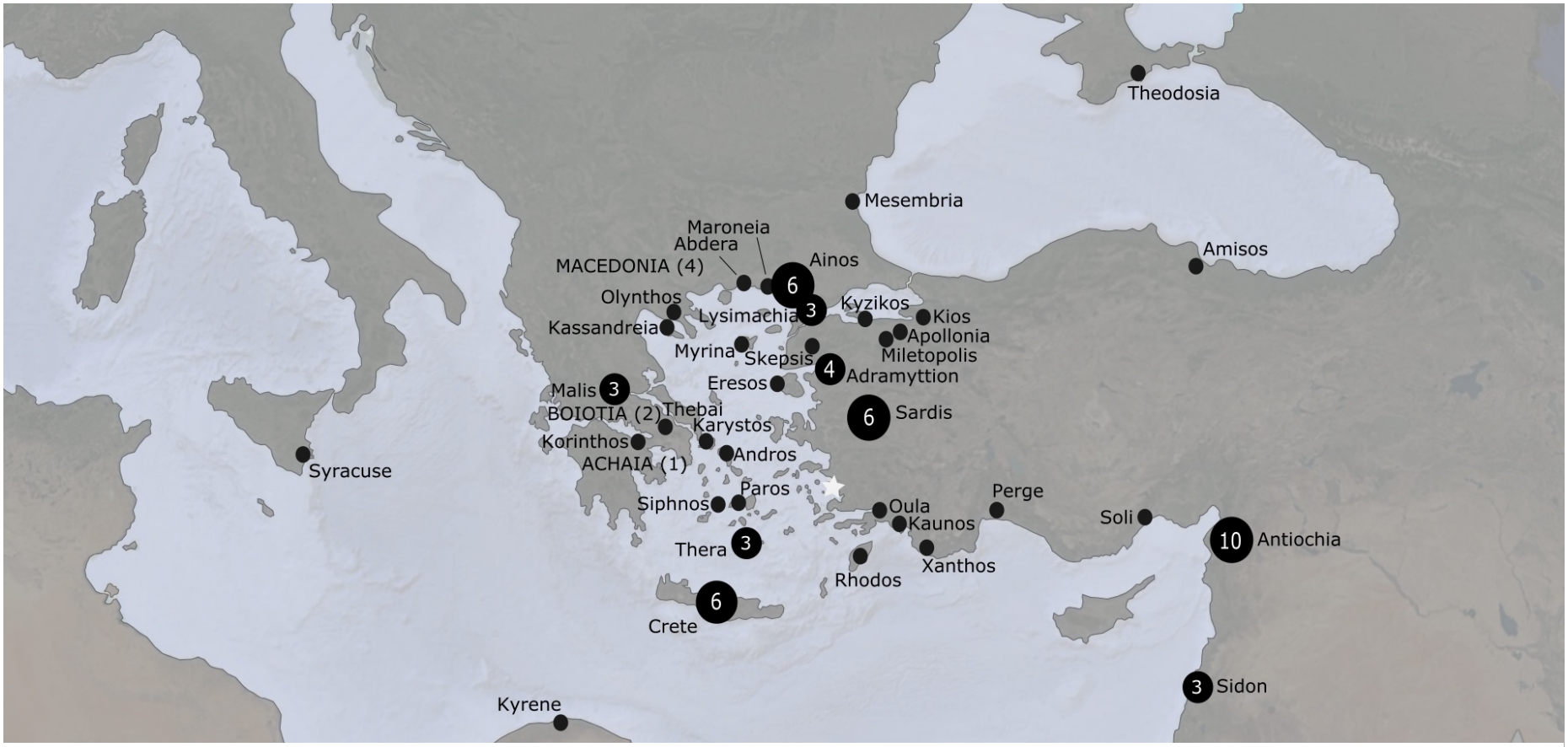
Map 1. Milesian Territory and the Maeander Delta
Author's creation based on Google Earth. Information about coastline changes from Müllenhoff 2005: abb.56. With kind permission of Dr. Marc Müllenhoff.



Map 2. Sea Routes in the Southern Aegean and the 'Southern Highway'

Author's creation based on Google Earth.

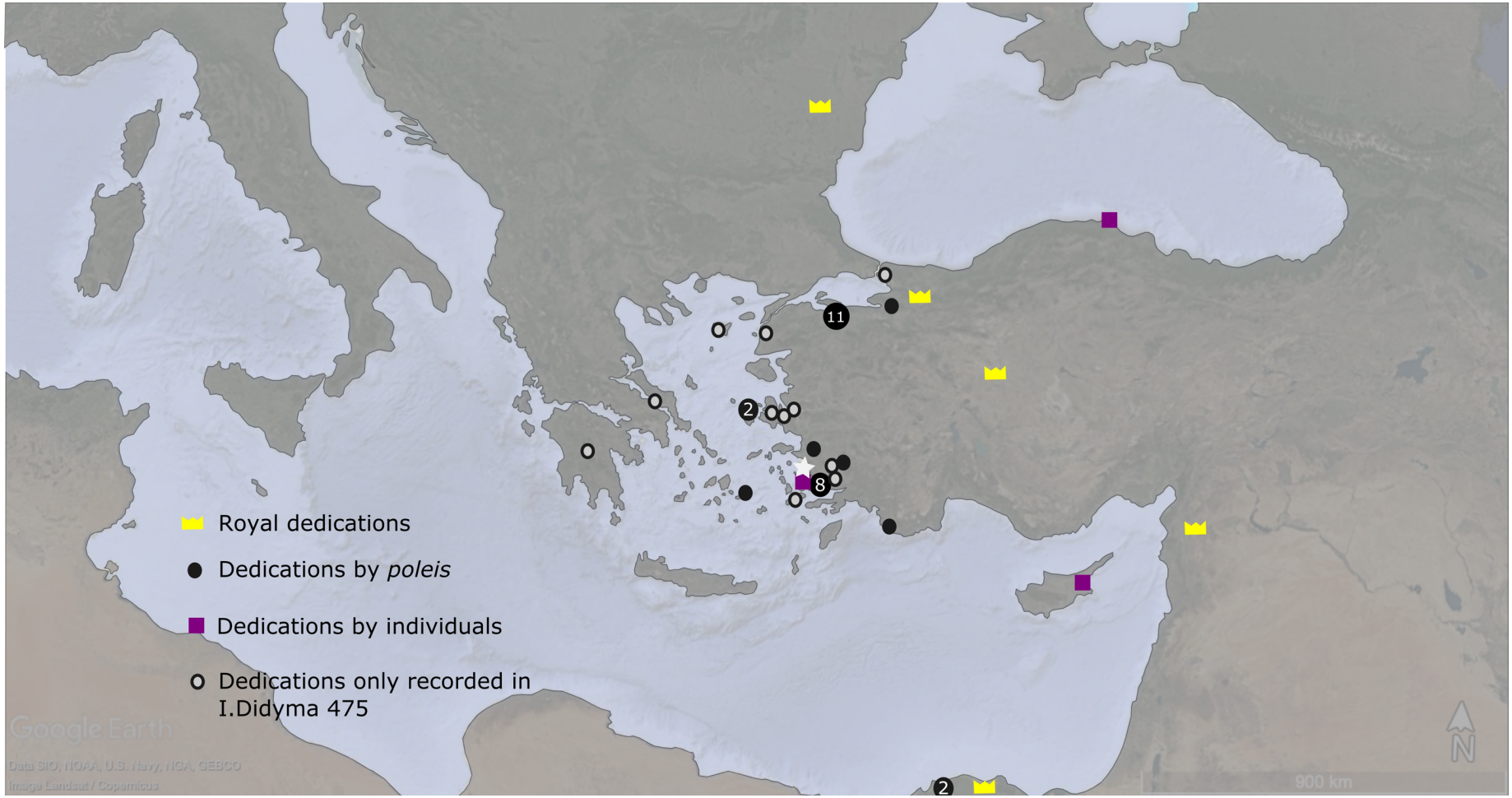
Sea routes in the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*: Rhodos – Skyllaion (§273); Kos – Delos (§280); Myndos – Atikke (?) (§281); Kos – Leros – Parthenion – Amazonion (Patmos) – Korsiai (§283); Delos – Patmos (§283-284); Panormos (on Kalymna?) – Poseidion (§287); Iasos – Poseidion (§289); Poseidion – Akrite (§290); Poseidion – Panormos (§292); Panormos – Miletos (§293); Myndos – Miletos (§294); Pharmakoussa – Miletos (§295); Miletos – Samos (§296). See also: Miletos – Halikarnassos (*PSI* VI 616, ll.11-13); Miletos – Myndos (Cic. *II Verr.* 1.86).



Map 3. Origins of People granted Milesian Citizenship (third-first centuries BC)

The map does not include people originating from neighbouring city-states on the west coast of Asia (Alinda, Bargylia, Chios, Ephesos, Euromos, Halikarnassos, Herakleia by Latmos, Iasos, Kalymna, Kolophon, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, Magnesia-beneath-the-Sipylos, Mylasa, Myndos, Myous, Oroanna, Pidasa, Priene, Samos, Seleukia/Tralles, Smyrna, Stratonikeia).

Abdera: *Milet* VI.3 1058; Achaia: *Milet* I.3 42; Adramyttion: *Milet* I.3 49, 65a; *Milet* VI.3 1056; Ainos: *Milet* I.3 53-54; Amisos: *Milet* I.3 76; Andros: *Milet* I.3 45 II; Antiochia: *Milet* I.3 41 III, 45 I, 79, 89, 91; *Milet* VI.3 1060, 1064; Apollonia: *Milet* I.3 56, 66 I, 74; Boiotia: *Milet* I.3 45 I; *Milet* VI.3 1058; Crete (Biannos): *Milet* VI.3 1057; Crete (Eleutherna): *Milet* I.3 53; Crete (Knossos): *Milet* I.3 44; Crete (Malla): *Milet* VI.3 1057; Crete (Oroanna): *Milet* I.3 79; Crete (Polyrrenia): *Milet* I.3 53; Crete (Rhaukos): *Milet* VI.3 1057; Eresos: *Milet* VI.3 1060; Karystos: *Milet* I.3 45 II, 66 I; Kaunos: *Milet* VI.3 1056; Kios: *Milet* VI.3 1059; Korinthos: *Milet* I.3 78; Kyrene: *Milet* I.3 57; Kyzikos: *Milet* I.3 71; Lysimacheia: *Milet* I.3 47, 64; *Milet* VI.3 1057; Macedonia: *Milet* I.3 43, 63, 67 I; Malis: Günther 2009: no.1; Maroneia: *Milet* I.3 82; Mesembria: *Milet* I.3 48, 70; Miletopolis: *Milet* I.3 67 I, 71 (?); Myrina: *Milet* I.3 58; Olynthos: *Milet* I.3 41 III, 43; Oula: *Milet* I.3 68; Paros: *Milet* VI.3 1058; Perge: *Milet* I.3 70; *Milet* VI.3 1058; Rhodos: *Milet* I.3 41 III, 60; Sardis: *Milet* I.3 45 I, 66 II, 75, 82, 84; *Milet* VI.3 1056; Sidon: *Milet* I.3 67 I, 79; *Milet* VI.3 1060; Siphnos: *Milet* VI.3 1058; Skepsis: *Milet* I.3 87; Soli: *Milet* I.3 41 I; Syracuse: *Milet* I.3 79; Thebai: Günther 2009: no.1; Thera: *Milet* I.3 72; Theodoseia: *Milet* I.3 75; Xanthos: *Milet* I.3 46.



Map 4. Dedications offered to Apollo Didymeus (fourth-first centuries BC)

All references to *I.Didyma*. Royal dedications: King Prusias of Bithynia (463, ll.13-15, 22-29; 469, ll.6-7; 473, l.4); Queen Kamasarye of the Bosporan Kingdom (463, ll.29-31); King Pairisades of the Bosporan Kingdom (34, ll.28-29; 464, ll.6-8); King Antiochos of Syria (475, ll.30-31); King Ptolemaios the Elder of Egypt (475, ll.33-34); Brogitaros, tetrarch of the Trokmoi (475, ll.35-37); Abadogione, sister of Brogitaros (475, ll.37-39); Queen Kleopatra of Egypt (477, l.4). Dedications by *poleis*: Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (455, l.3); Patara (449, l.5); Iasos (427, l.7; 428, ll.5-6; 431, l.8; 432, l.6; 433, l.9; 444, l.3; 449, l.6; 464, ll.11-13; 475, l.19); Kyzikos (432, l.6; 433, l.7; 444, l.2; 452, l.3; 453, l.5; 463, ll.17-18; 464, ll.10-11; 468, ll.8-9; 471, ll.7-9; 475, ll.17-18; 478; l.2); Naukratis (452, ll.9-10; 457, l.10); Kios (427, ll.6-7); Amorgos (446, l.8); Chios (?) (464, ll.8-9; 475, l.11); Alabanda (464, ll.9-10). Dedications only recorded in I.Didyma 475: Kos (ll.7-8); Erythrai (ll.8-9); Mylasa (ll.10-11); Ilion (l.12); Myrina (l.13); Chalkis (ll.14-15); Megalopolis (ll.15-16); Alinda (ll.16-17); Smyrna (l.20); Chalkedon (ll.21-22); Klazomenai (ll.42-43). Dedications by individuals: from Halikarnassos (437, l.9); Iasos (433, l.12); Salamis (446, ll.9-10); Sinope (447, l.7).

Map 5. Long-Distance Sea Routes in the Eastern Mediterranean
Routes modelled with ORBIS: https://orbis.stanford.edu/.
For all, they were both the fastest and cheapest routes: Apollonia Pontike – Alexandria; Amisos – Antiochia; Apollonia Pontike – Rome; Antiochia – Rome; Alexandria – Rome.

TABLES

Table 1. Ephesian residents donating the highest amounts of money in the Tiberian subscription (*I.Ephesos* V 1687/1; *SEG* 39.1176a; Kirbihler 2016: 438-439).			
Contributor	*Citizenship*	*Amount (denarii)*	*Other Persons*
[…]	Roman citizen?	2500	With Menikion, his wife Fabricia, his sons and his step-mother, Clodia, priestess
Vedia Secunda	Roman citizen	2500	
Gaius Sextilius Pollio	Roman citizen	2500	
Herakleides Passalas, son of Apollonios	Greek citizen	2000	
Gaius Sextilius Proculus	Roman citizen	2000	In name of himself
	Roman citizen	1000	In name of his wife
	Roman citizen	500	In name of his son, Pollio
Lucius and Publius Pactumeius	Roman citizen Roman citizen	1500	
Aristeas, son of Hermolaos, grandson of Attalos	Greek citizen	1500	With his mother Stratonike
Quintus Horte(n)sius Ampudianus Rufus	Roman citizen	1500	With his three sons and his wife Horte(n)sia Procula
Menokritos, son of Aratos	Greek citizen	[1]500	With his wife Paula

Table 2. Statue bases of members of the imperial family, proconsuls, and prominent Ephesian residents set up by the *boule* and/or *demos* in the Julio-Claudian period				
Collective body bestowing honours	*Honorand*	*Act (verb)*	*Date*	*Reference*
	Imperial Dynasty			
Demos	Germanicus Iulius Caesar	-	AD 4-14	*I.Ephesos* II 255A
Demos	Tiberius	-	AD 14-37	*I.Ephesos* II 254
Demos	Drusus Caesar	ἐτείμησεν	AD 14-23	*I.Ephesos* II 258
Boule + ***Demos***	Agrippina/Messalina	καθιέρωσαν	AD 41-54	*I.Ephesos* II 261
	Proconsuls and Notables			
Demos	Numerius Gerillanus Flamma	-	1st c. BC	*I.Ephesos* V 1546
Demos	C. Cassius Artemidoros, son of Artemidoros	-	1st c. BC	Knibbe & İplikçioğlu 1984: 128-129
Demos	P. Curtius Propinquus	-	1st c. BC?	*I.Ephesos* VII.2 4111
Demos	Marcus Antonius Pythodoros	ἐτείμησεν	Late 1st c. BC	*I.Ephesos* III 615
Boule + Demos	Caelia, wife of Q. Mucius Scaevola	[ἐτείμησαν]	Late 1st c. BC/ 2nd c. AD[381]	*I.Ephesos* III 630A
Demos	[M]arus? Gerillanus Collinus	-	1st c. BC?	*I.Ephesos* III 682A
Boule + Demos	Glaukon [son of Mandrylos]	-	Early 1st c. AD	*SEG* 48.1375
Boule + Demos	οἱ ν[εωποήσανται]	[ἐτείμησ]αν	Early 1st c. AD	*I.Ephesos* V 1578A
Boule + Demos	Plautia, [daughter?] of Plautius Silvanus, proconsul of Asia	-	AD 4/5 or 5/6[382]	*I.Ephesos* III 707

[381] The persons honoured in the inscription lived in the first century BC, but the lettering of the inscription indicates a date during the second century AD. We may be dealing with an imperial restoration of a republican original (Eilers & Milner 1995: 80-81).

[382] On the date of the proconsulship of M. Plautius Silvanus: Wörrle 2014: 442-444. The proconsul has been identified as the Augustan proconsul Marcus Plautius Silvanus. If correct, Plautia can be identified with Plautia Urgulanilla, who became the first wife of the later emperor Claudius in AD 9 (Suetonius *Claudius* 27). Possibly, however, the proconsul was a later relative (adoptive son?) called Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (Knibbe 1964/1965: no.10, 21-22). He was proconsul of Asia in AD 53/54 or 55/56 (Vogel-Weidemann 1982a: no.55, 405-418; Syme 1983: 196, 203). An inscription from Tralleis records his proconsulship and his full name on a statue

Demos + Boule	Gnaeus Domitius Corbula, quaestor, praetor (AD 21)?	ἐτείμησε	Early 1st c. AD	*I.Ephesos* VI 2059/2060
Boule + Demos	[Gaius Sallus]tius Crispus Passienus, proconsul of Asia	ἐτείμησαν	AD 42/43	*I.Ephesos* III 716
Boule + Demos	[Gaius Sexti]llius [Pollio]	ἐτείμη[σαν]	Mid-1st c. AD	*I.Ephesos* III 717A
Demos	Marcus Vinicius, proconsul of Asia	ἐτείμησεν	AD 39/40	*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3024
Boule + Demos	C. Stertinius Orpex	[ἐτείμησαν]	AD 54-68?	*I.Ephesos* III 720
Boule + Demos	Vipsania Olympia + Vipsania Polla, priestesses of Artemis	ἐτείμησαν	AD 50-80	*I.Ephesos* III 987-988

base of emperor Nero (*I.Tralleis* 39, l.6). A marble stele found close to Marmara Gölü, between Sardis and Thyateira, only records the name of a proconsul as Silvanus (*IGR* IV 1744 = 1362).

Table 3. The family of C. Iulius Epikrates						
Person	*Office/Title*	*Monument*	*Inscription*	*Date*	*Findspot*	*Reference*
Epikrates I, son of Apollonios I, Aischylos' son by adoption	*Stephanephoros*	Stele	List of *stephanephoroi*	83/82 BC	Delphinion	*Milet* I.3 125, ll.9-10
Epikrates I or Epikrates II	*Stephanephoros*	Tympanon of prophets' residence	Eponymous office as date	83/82 or 40/39 BC	Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 202 II (restored)
	Prophetes	Abakoi of capitals, prophets' residence	Commemoration of office as *prophetes*	1st c. BC	Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 205, l.1
[K]lei - - -	*Prophetes*	Abakoi of capitals, prophets' residence	Commemoration of office as *prophetes*	1st c. BC	Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 205, l.2
Apollonios II, son of Epikrates I C. Iulius Apollonios	*Stephanephoros*	Stele	List of *stephanephoroi*	58/57 BC	Delphinion	*Milet* I.3 125, l.43
	Heros	Wall fragment	Dedication by the *demos* (name in dative)	Augustan	Near bouleuterion	*Milet* I.2 15; *Milet* VI.1, p.159 Herrmann 1994: 229-234
	-	Corner of architrave	Name in genitive	Augustan?	Unknown	*Milet* VI.3 1409; Herrmann 1994: 234-236
Epikrates II, son of Apollonios II	*Stephanephoros*	Stele	List of *stephanephoroi*	40/39 BC	Delphinion	*Milet* I.3 126, l.20
	Archiereus	Wall fragment	Decree of the *synhedroi*	6/5 BC	Near bouleuterion	*Milet* I.2 7, *Milet* VI.1, p.156; Herrmann 1994: 219-224

C. Iulius Epikrates	First to be (?) *archiereus*	Statue base	Honours by the *demos*	Augustan	Cistern in Eski Balat (secondary context; now disappeared)	*Milet* VI.3 1130; Günther 1989: esp. 177
	Archiereus *Philopatris*	Statue base?	Dedication to the gods on behalf of the well-being of Epikrates	Augustan	Aegiale on Amorgos	*IGR* IV 998 = *IG* XII.7 418
	Philopatris?	Block	Decree of the *koinon* of the Ionians	Augustan	Wall of a house (secondary context)	*Milet* VI.3 1045
	Archiereus for life *Philopatris* *Heros*?	Wall fragment of monument	Dedication by the *demos* (name in dative)	Augustan?	Near bouleuterion	*Milet* I.2 6; *Milet* VI.1, p.156; Herrmann 1994: 231-232
	Heros *Philopatris* Friend of Augustus *Archiereus* of Asia *Archiereus* of the Ionians for life *Agonothetes* for life Gymnasiarch of all gymnasia *Euergetes* of the *polis*	Statue base	Re-erected in a gymnasium by C. Iulius Diadoumenos	Mid-1st c. AD	Near bay of the theatre	*Milet* VI.3 1131 Herrmann 1994: 206-219
Apollonios III, son of Apollonios II,	*Stephanephoros*	Stele	List of *stephanephoroi*	39/38 BC	Delphinion	*Milet* I.3 126.21-25

also known as Stratonikos						Robert 1960: 453-456
	P*rophetes*	?		Augustan?	Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 95
	P*rophetes* Gymnasiarch of the *pateres* for four months *Strategos* of the *polis* *Prostates* of the elders	Block	Commemoration of office as *prophetes*	Augustan?	Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 250
Iulia, daughter of C. Iulius Epikrates *heros*		Statue base	Dedication of statue to Hera, by *boule* and *demos* of Samos	First half of first c. AD?	Heraion on Samos	*IG* XII.6/1 318 II

Table 4. List of *Stephanephoroi* in Miletos (89 BC – AD 32)						
ID	*Name*	*Descent*	*Demos Tribus*	*Additional information*	*Date*	*Milet I.3*
A	Ἀπόλλων	Διός			89/88 BC	125.2
	Ἀρτεμίδωρος	Ἀθηναγόρου			88/87 BC	125.3
A	Ἀπόλλων	Διός			87/86 BC	125.4
R	Βασιλεὺς Μιθραδάτης				86/85 BC	125.5
	Ἀπολλώνιος	Καλλικράτου, φύσει δὲ Πολίτου		Prophetes ca. 59-51 BC?	85/84 BC	125.6-7
A	Ἀπόλλων	Διός			84/83 BC	125.8
1	Ἐπικράτης	Ἀπολλωνίου, κατὰ πόησιν δὲ Αἰσχύλου		Prophetes?	83/82 BC	125.9-10
A	Ἀπόλλων	Διός			82/81 BC	125.11
2	Πάμφιλος	Εὐκράτους			81/80 BC	125.12
2	Ἀντίγονος	Μηνοδώρου		Prophetes in 70 BC	80/79 BC	125.13
	Ἀντίοχος	Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Εὐμένους			79/78 BC	125.14-15
	Παυσανίας	Μητροδώρου			78/77 BC	125.16
	Μένιππος	Μενάνδρου			77/76 BC	125.17
	Καλλικράτης	Εὐμάχου, φύσει δὲ Μεγαλοκλείους			76/75 BC	125.18-19
2	Εὐκράτης	Εὐκράτου τοῦ Παμφίλου (κατὰ ποίησιν δὲ Κορώνου)	Argaseis	Prophetes in 63 BC	75/74 BC	125.20-21
	Φιλοποίμην	Ἀνδρονίκου	Lerioi		74/73 BC	125.22
	Δημήτριος	Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἡρώδου			73/72 BC	125.23-24
	Καλλικράτης	Ἀπολλωνίου			72/71 BC	125.25
4	Λυσίμαχος	Ἀριστέου		Prophetes in 59 BC	71/70 BC	125.26
	Μενεκλῆς	Ἱεροκλέους	Plataieis	Prophetes in 61 BC	70/69 BC	125.27

	Δόκιμος	Ἀντιφῶντος			69/68 BC	125.28
	Ἑστιαῖος	Πολυμήστορος, φύσει δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου			68/67 BC	125.29-30
2	Φιλόδημος	Παμφίλου, καθ᾽ υἱοθεσίαν δὲ Χαριδήμου	Teichiesseis		67/66 BC	125.31-32
	Διαγόρας	Πρωτάρχου			66/65 BC	125.33
	Διόφαντος	Ἀρτεμιδώρου, κατὰ πόησιν δὲ Θαρσαγόρου			65/64 BC	125.34-35
2	Μηνόδωρος	Εὐκράτους	Argaseis	Prophetes in 53 BC	64/63 BC	125.36
	Βασιλείδης	Βασιλείδου τοῦ Ἱεροκλέους	Argaseis		63/62 BC	125.37
2	Πάνθος	Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Μηνοδώρου			62/61 BC	125.38
	Διονύσιος	Μενάνδρου, κατὰ πόησιν δὲ Μενίσκου			61/60 BC	125.39-40
2	Ἀμφίθεμις	Εὐκράτους		Prophetes in ca. 50 BC	60/59 BC	125.41
1	Σῖμος	Ἐπικράτους			59/58 BC	125.42
1	Ἀπολλώνιος	Ἐπικράτους			58/57 BC	125.43
	Μένιππος	Κλέωνος			57/56 BC	125.44
2	Μηνόδωρος	Παμφίλου			56/55 BC	125.45
	Ἀντιφῶν	Δοκίμου τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος			55/54 BC	125.46
	Μολπαγόρας	Δοκίμου τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος			54/53 BC	125.47
	Μενίσκος	Σωσαμενοῦ			53/52 BC	126.2
	Φανίας	Μέλανος, φύσει δὲ Ἑρμίου		Prophetes in 44 BC	52/51 BC	126.3-4
3	Μέλας	Μενεκράτους		Prophetes in 43 BC	51/50 BC	126.5
	Ἀπολλώνιος	Ἀντιγένους			50/49 BC	126.6
	Ἀρτέμων	Ἀφροδισίου			49/48 BC	126.7
6?	Ἑκατόμνως	Νικομήδους		Prophetes in 26/25 BC	48/47 BC	126.8

	Μενέστρατος	Δημητρίου			47/46 BC	126.9
5	Μιννίων	Μιννίωνος, φύσει δὲ Ἀριστέου	Argaseis	Prophetes in 36/35 BC	46/45 BC	126.10-11
	Θεμίσων	Δημητρίου			45/44 BC	126.12
	Ἀπολλώνιος	Εἰρηναίου, φύσει δὲ Ἡρακλέωνος			44/43 BC	126.13-14
	Ἀντίοχος	Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Εὐμένους			43/42 BC	126.15-17
	Σωσιμένης	Αἰσχίνου			42/41 BC	126.18
	Ἀντίοχος	Αἰσχίνου			41/40 BC	126.19
1	Ἐπικράτης	Ἀπολλωνίου		Prophetes?	40/39 BC	126.20
1	Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ χρηματίζων Στρατόνικος	Ἀπολλωνίου	Argaseis	ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ πόλις ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο (ll.23-25) Prophetes	39/38 BC	126.21-25
3	Ἡγήμανδρος	Μέλανος, φύσει δὲ Νικομάχου		Prophetes in 34/33 BC	38/37 BC	126.26-27
	Χάρατος	Φιλίσκου			37/36 BC	126.28
3	Ἀρτέμων	Εἰρηνίου			36/35 BC	126.29
	Μυωνίδης	Μυωνίδου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου			35/34 BC	126.30-31
1	Ἐπικράτης	Σίμου			34/33 BC	126.32
	Ξενάρης	Ἀριστογίτου			33/32 BC	126.33
	Πραξίας	Πραξίου			32/31 BC	126.34
4	Ἀριστέας	Λυσιμάχου		Prophetes in 19/18 BC	31/30 BC	126.35
4	Σώπολις	Λυσιμάχου, κατὰ ποίησιν δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου			30/29 BC	126.36-37
5	Ἀριστέας	Μιννίωνος	Lerioi (?)	Prophetes in 18/17 BC (?)	29/28 BC	126.38
	Διονύσιος	Ἑκαταίου			28/27 BC	126.39

4	Λυσίμαχος	Λυσιμάχου			27/26 BC	126.40
2	Σώπολις	Ἀντιγόνου		Prophetes in 16/15 BC	26/25 BC	126.41
3	Ἡγήμανδρος	Ἡγημάνδρου			25/24 BC	126.42
6?	Φιλόστρατος	Φιλοστράτου			24/23 BC	126.43
2	Εὐκράτης	Ἀμφιθέμιος			23/22 BC	126.44
	Ἡρακλέων	Μηνοδότου			22/21 BC	126.45
3	Διογένης	Διογένους τοῦ Θεογένους		Prophetes in AD 1/2	21/20 BC	126.46-47
3	Στράτων	Διογένους	Lerioi	Prophetes	20/19 BC	126.48
2	Ἡγήμανδρος	Ἀμφιθέμιος			19/18 BC	126.49
	Ἀπατούριος	Ἀπατουρίου			18/17 BC	126.50
R	Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ	Θεοῦ υἱός			17/16 BC	127.2
	Ἡρακλείδης	Εὐάνθου			16/15 BC	127.3
A	Ἀπόλλων	Διός			15/14 BC	127.4
2	Εὐκράτης	Μηνοδώρου		Prophetes in 7/6 BC	14/13 BC	127.5
5	Χάρμης	Θρασωνίδου			13/12 BC	127.6
A	Ἀπόλλων	Διός			12/11 BC	127.7
	Δημήτριος	Ἀντιόχου			11/10 BC	127.8
A	Ἀπόλλων	Διός			10/9 BC	127.9
6	Φιλόστρατος	Θρασυμάχου		Prophetes in ca. 3/2 BC (?)	9/8 BC	127.10-11
5	Μηνόφιλος	Θρασωνίδου			8/7 BC	127.12
R	Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ	Θεοῦ υἱός τὸ δεύτερον			7/6 BC	127.13
	Δημήτριος	Δημητρίου τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Εὐκράτους			6/5 BC	127.14
	Ἐπικράτης	Εὐδήμου			5/4 BC	127.15
4	Λυσίμαχος	Σωπόλι<δ>ος			4/3 BC	127.16
5	Μιννίων	Ἀριστέου	Plataieis	Prophetes in ca. AD 7/8	3/2 BC	127.17

	Φωντίδης	Φωντίδου, φύσει δὲ Διονυσίου			2/1 BC	127.18-19
3	Διογένης	Διογένους τοῦ Διογένους			1 BC/AD 1	127.20-21
R	Γάϊος Καῖσαρ				AD 1/2	127.22
RC	Αὖλος Ποπίλλιος Ῥοῦφος	Μάρκου υἱός			AD 2/3	127.23-24
4	Ἀρτέμων	Λυσιμάχου			AD 3/4	127.25
4	Λυσίμαχος	Ἀριστέου			AD 4/5	127.26
3	Διογένης	Στράτωνος			AD 5/6	127.27
4	Λυσίμαχος	Λυσιμάχου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου τοῦ Ἀριστέου			AD 6/7	127.28-29
2	Μηνόδωρος	Εὐκράτους			AD 7/8	127.30
R	Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ				AD 8/9	127.31
2	Ἀμφίθεμις	Εὐκράτους		Prophetes in ca. AD 19/20	AD 9/10	127.32
5	Θρασωνίδης	Μηνοφίλου, κατὰ ποίησιν δὲ Μιννίωνος			AD 10/11	127.33
	Νικοφῶν	Τρύφωνος		ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς	AD 11/12	127.34
3	Ἀρτέμων	Στράτωνος		Prophetes	AD 12/13	127.35
	Ἑστιαῖος	Ληρίνου τοῦ Χαιρητάδου, φύσει δ᾽ Ἑστιαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναγόρου			AD 13/14	127.36
	Θέων	Θέωνος		Prophetes in ca. AD 25 (?)	AD 14/15	127.37
	Ἱεροκλῆς	Παμμένους			AD 15/16	127.38
	Ἑκατόμνως ὁ καλούμενος Μένιππος	Μενίππου			AD 16/17	127.39-40
5	Ἀρτέμων	Θρασωνίδου			AD 17/18	127.41
5	Μιννίων	Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Θρασωνίδου, κατὰ ποίησιν δὲ Μιννίωνος		Prophetes (2x)	AD 18/19	127.42-43

5	Θρασωνίδης	Χάρμου			AD 19/20	127.44
	Νέων	Μέλανος			AD 20/21	127.45
6	Νικομήδης	Σωφάνους			AD 21/22	128.2
5	Θρασωνίδης	Θρασωνίδου			AD 22/23	128.3
	Μέλας	Ἀπολλωνίου			AD 23/24	128.4
RC	Γάϊος Σήϊος Ἄθικτος				AD 24/25	128.5
6	Φιλόστρατος	Χιόνιδος		His father was prophetes in AD 17/18	AD 25/26	128.6
RC	Μᾶρκος Κορνήλιος Καπίτων	Μάρκου υἱὸς	Collina		AD 26/27	128.7-8
6	Ἀριστέας	Σωφάνους, κατὰ ποίησιν δὲ Λυκίνου			AD 27/28	128.9-10
	Ἰδριεὺς	Ἑρμίου, φύσει δὲ Μελανθίου			AD 28/29	128.11-12
5	Ἀριστέας ὁ καὶ Ἀντιγένης	Μιννίωνος			AD 29/30	128.13-14
6	Σωφάνης	Σωφάνους, φύσει δὲ Λυκίνου			AD 30/31	128.15-16
RC	Ἰουλία Γλυκωνὶς	[Γαΐ]ου Ἰουλίου - - -			AD 31/32	128.17-18

Table 5. The Career of Cn. Vergilius Capito					
Offices	*Particularities*	*Monument/document*	*Location*	*Date*	*Reference*
Chief-priest of Asia (3x)	First chief-priest of the temple of Gaius Caesar in Miletos	Statue base of emperor Gaius	Didyma	AD 40/41	*I.Didyma* 148, ll.4-6 *Didyma* III.5 135
Procurator of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Prefect of Asia (sic) and Aegyptus	*Euergetes* of the Milesian *demos*	Statue base of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, set up by the *demos* of Miletos	Didyma	After AD 47	*I.Didyma* 149
Tribunus militum *Prefect* in Rome Procurator of Asia of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Prefect of Egypt	*Euergetes* and *soter* of the Milesian *demos*	Statue base of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, set up by the *demos* of Miletos	Didyma	After AD 47	*SEG* 57.1109bis Ricl & Akat 2007
Prefect of Egypt Procurator of Asia		Dedication of the baths to Claudius or Nero	Ionic stoa	Reign of Claudius or Nero	*Milet* I.9 328 *Milet* VI.1, p.211
Prefect of Egypt Procurator of Asia		Dedication of the first *diazoma* to Nero, Apollo Didymeus, and the *demos*	Bouleuterion	Reign of Nero	*Milet* VI.2 928 [*Milet* I.2 5] *SEG* 36.1057
Procurator		Dedication to Claudius	Amyzon	ca. AD 41-47	Robert & Robert 1983: no.69
Procurator of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus		Statue base of Cn. Vergilius Capito, set up by the *demos* of Kos	Kos	ca. AD 41-47	*SEG* 45.1067 Eck 1995: 251-254

Prefect of Egypt		Petition to Cn. Vergilius Capito	Oxyrhynchus	ca. AD 47-52	*P.Oxy* 3271
		Building inscription	Aqfahas, Oxyrhynchite nome	January 25, AD 47 – January 24, AD 48	*CIL* III 6024 = *ILS* 2282
		Copy of a document of Ulpius Serenianus (AD 160)	Koptos	February 26, AD 48	*SB* 9016/I, ll.5-9
		Edict	Hibis (El Hibe)	December 7, AD 48	*OGIS* 665; Evelyn-White & Oliver 1938/II, no.1
		Military diploma	?	AD 48	*P.Lugd.Bat.* 25.22
		Petition to a strategos	?	AD 48-51	*P.Mich* 231
		Petition to the prefect	Oxyrhynchus	AD 49/50	*P.Oxy* 38
Hegemon		Release from military service	Oxyrhynchus	April 24, AD 52	*P.Oxy* 39
-	A festive day in honour of Vergilius Capito	Sacrificial calendar		Late 2nd c. AD	*Milet* VI.2 944l
-	A festival called *Kapitoneia*	*Prophetes*-inscription of Ulpius Athenagoras		Late 2nd/early 3rd c. AD	*I.Didyma* 278

Table 6. Chief-priests in Julio-Claudian Miletos								
Name	*Descent*	*Imperial priest*	*Other offices/distinctions*	*Monument*	*Inscription*	*Date*	*Findspot*	*References*
Νικοφῶν	Τρύφωνος	ἀρχιερεύς	*Stephanephoros Olympionikes*	Stele	List of *stephanephoroi*	AD 11/12	Delphinion	*Milet* I.3 127.34 *I.Didyma* 108 *Didyma* III.5 136 *AP* VI.256 Frija 2012: no.163
Τιβερίος Ἰουλίος Μηνογένης	Δημητρίου	ἀρχιερέως τὸ δεύτερον	*Stephanephoros* in Sardis *Neokoros* of the temple in Miletos	Statue base	Honorific statue of emperor Gaius	AD 40/41	Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 148, ll.6-8/*Didyma* III.5 135 *I.Manisa* 438 Frija 2012: no.164
Μιννίων	Μηνοφίλου	ἀρχιερατ[ευσάντων]	*Prophetes (2x)* *Stephanephoros* *Agonothetes* of the *Didymeia, Kaisareia* and *Romaia* *Agonothetes* of *Nea Sebasta* *Agonothetes* of the *koinon* of Ionians *Basileus* Gymnasiarch	Marble slab	*Hydrophoros*-inscription	Mid-1st c. AD	Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 339 *Milet* I.3 127.42-43 Frija 2012: no.165
Κλαύδιος Μηνόφιλος	Μιννίωνος	ἀρχιερατ[ευσάντων]	Same as his father	Marble slab	*Hydrophoros*-inscription	Mid-1st c. AD	Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 339 Frija 2012: no.166 Cf. *I.Didyma* 50/3St, l.22
Κλαύδιος Χίονις	Κλαυδίου Φιλοστράτου	ἀρχιερεὺς τῶ[ν Σεβ]ασ[τ]ῶν	*Prophetes* *Archiprytanis*	Marble slab	*Prophetes*-inscription	Mid-1st c. AD	Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 272 Frija 2012: no.167

			Praefectus in Rome *Tribunus militum* in Alexandria Patron of the *hieroneikai* *Ab epistulis, a responsionibus ad legationes* *Choregos* Gymnasiarch Ambassador					
Λευκίος Βιτέλλιος Βάσσος	Λευκίου Βιτελλίου Κρίσπου	ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν	*Prophetes* Gymnasiarch of all gymnasia *Prostates* of the *pateres* *Agonothetes* of *Nea Sebasta*	Marble slab?	*Prophetes*-inscription	Mid-1st c. AD?	Near Didymeion	*I.Didyma* 255 *Milet* VI.2 887 Frija 2012: no.169

Table 7. *Prophetai* in Julio-Claudian Miletos					
Prophetes	*Family*	*Offices/Particularities*	*Comments*	*Date*	*Reference*
Theon (2x *prophetes*) Demos: Lerioi	Theon (father)	*Stephanephoros* Gymnasiarch of three gymnasia *Paidonomos* *Choregos* *Misthotes* of all *choregiai* *Kotarches* *Boegos* to Zeus Hyetios *Agonothetes* of *Didymeia*	The *prophetes* has been identified with the *stephanephoros* of AD 14/15. Homonyms are, however, difficult to identify with certainty.	First half of 1st c. AD	*I.Didyma* 262-263 *I.Didyma* 214A III *Milet* I.3 127, l.37
L[ucius Iu]nius Rufus Tribus: [Ve]lina or [Col]lina	Lucius Iunius (father)	*Grammateus* *Strategos* of the *polis*	Rehm restored the name as M[arcus Anto]nius Rufus; a name unattested in Miletos. The first letter is damaged, so that the name L[ucius Iu]nius Rufus, a familiar name in Miletos, seems more plausible to me.	1st c. AD	*I.Didyma* 214B *I.Didyma* 139 *Milet* I.7 204, ll.2-3
Lucius Iunius Pudens	Publius Iunius (father)		He may be a relative of Lucius Iunius Rufus.	1st c. AD	*I.Didyma* 215A *I.Didyma* 235A III *I.Didyma* 265
Amphithemis	Eukrates (father)	*Stephanephoros* (AD 9/10) *Philokaisar*	cf. Stemma 2	AD 10s/20s	*I.Didyma* 236C I *I.Didyma* 205, l.10 *Milet* I.3 127, l.32
Posidonios (3x *prophetes*)	Diodotos (father) Tryphera (mother)	*Kotarches* (when *prophetes*) *Stephanephoros*	One time when he was *prophetes*, the	1st c. AD (after AD 32)	*I.Didyma* 236C II *I.Didyma* 281

		Gymnasiarch of the *pateres* Gymnasiarch of the *neoi* *Archiereus* of Ionia *Strategos* of the *polis*	*stephanephoros* was Apollo Didymeus, which does not appear in the lists of *stephanephoroi*. Hence, a date after AD 32.		*I.Didyma* 282 Robert 1960: 456-459 Fontenrose 1988: B5 (p.241-242)
Claudius Damas (2x *prophetes*)		*Strategos* (when *prophetes*) *Archiprytanis* Organised *kosmoi* in the sanctuary for 12 days	Damas was *prophetes* for a second time when he was 81 years old.	Reign of Claudius/Nero	*I.Didyma* 237 II *I.Didyma* 268 *Milet* I.3 134 *RPC* II 2712-2717
Hermokles	Epikrates (father)	*Asionikes* (3x)	Athletic victor at a festival of the *koinon* of Asia	1st c. AD?	*I.Didyma* 238 I
Artemon	Straton (father)	*Stephanephoros* (AD 12/13)	cf. Stemma 3	AD 10s/20s	*I.Didyma* 251 *Milet* I.3 127, l.35
Asklepiades Demos: Lerioi	Dionysios (father) Descendant of *litourgoi* and *nauarchai*	Gymnasiarch of the *pateres* Gymnasiarch of the *neoi* Gymnasiarch of the *poleites* *Paidonomos* *Strategos* of the *polis* *Agonothetes* of *Didymeia* and *Kaisareia* Fulfilled all liturgies		1st c. AD	*I.Didyma* 253
Diodotos Phyle: Theseis Demos: Plataieis	Agathias (father)	*Kotarches* Gymnasiarch of all gymnasia *Agonothetes*		1st c. AD	*I.Didyma* 256
Dionysios Phyle: Akamantis Demos: Teichiesseis	Antiochos (father)			1st c. AD	*I.Didyma* 257

Ep[ikra]tes	Hekataios (father)	Gymnasiarch of the *neoi*, *poleites*, and *gerousia*, each for four months *Paidonomos* *Tamias* *Strategos* of the *polis* (2x) Organised games at the *Anthesteria* for two days	*Hydrophoros* was Polla, daughter of Maker. *Tamiai* were Eutyches, Eperastos' son and Pamphilos, Antiochos' son.	1st c. AD	*I.Didyma* 236A *I.Didyma* 258
Eudemos Patria: Philostidai Demos: Argaseis	L[eo]n? (father) Marcus Antonius Apollonios (adoptive father) Hedea, daughter of Euandrides (mother)	Documentary details of the benefactions of his ancestors since 3rd c. BC.	Marcus Antonius Apollonios was the son of Marcus Antonius Polites Tryblichos, *prophetes* in 17/16 BC.	Late 1st c. BC/early 1st c. AD?	*I.Didyma* 259
[…] Thaliarchos	Thaliarchos (father) *Olympionikes*	*Stephanephoros* Gymnasiarch of all gymnasia *Kotarches* *Tamias* *Philopatris*	There is space for a *tria nomina* suggesting that the son Thaliarchos obtained Roman citizenship. The father won victories in the boys' and men's contests at Olympia in 40 and 32 BC. He was a citizen of Elis who moved to Miletos.	Early 1st c. AD	*I.Didyma* 261 *I.Olympia* 213 Robert 1960: 454-456 Habicht 1960: 162 Gauthier 2000: 107-109

Table 8. *Hydrophoroi* in Julio-Claudian Miletos				
Hydrophoros	*Family*	*Offices and officials*	*Date*	*References*
Eukleia aka Tatia Demos: Argaseis Patria: Aphyloi (?)	Drakon aka Artemas (father) Iulia [Hege]mone? (mother)	She was also *hydrophoros* of Dionysos Elige(u)s. Her father had been gymnasiarch of the *poleites*, *agonothetes*, *agoranomos*, and *panegyriarch*.	Early 1st c. AD?	*I.Didyma* 320
Herophila	Dorimachos, son of Iason (father) Soteira, daughter of Eperastos (mother)	*Stephanephoros* was Ti. Claudius Sophanes Candidus. *Prophetes* was Damas, son of Artemon.	Mid-1st c. AD	*I.Didyma* 324
[…] Demos: Lerioi	A[rchi]ppos, son of Hekatomnos, Hephaistion's son (father) Satyra, daughter of Aristoboulos, Aristoboulos' son (mother)	Her father had been *prophetes* and had fulfilled other liturgies. Her mother had also been *hydrophoros* and *phylarch*. Both were honoured with golden images.	1st c. AD?	*I.Didyma* 325
Hie[ro…**]**	Hegesitheos, son of Philippos, Hegesitheos' son (father) Daughter of Philippos and Hegesithea (mother)	She was honoured by the *demos* with two images. *Prophetes* was Straton, son of Diogenes. *Stephanephoros* was Aristogonos.	Mid-1st c. AD (after AD 32)	*I.Didyma* 328
[Kl]eo?	Metageitnios (father)	*Prophetes* was Minnion. Albert Rehm suggested it was Minnion, son of Menophilos; when Idrieus, son of Melanthios, was *stephanephoros* (AD 28/29).	AD 28/29? (ca. mid-1st c. AD)	*I.Didyma* 341

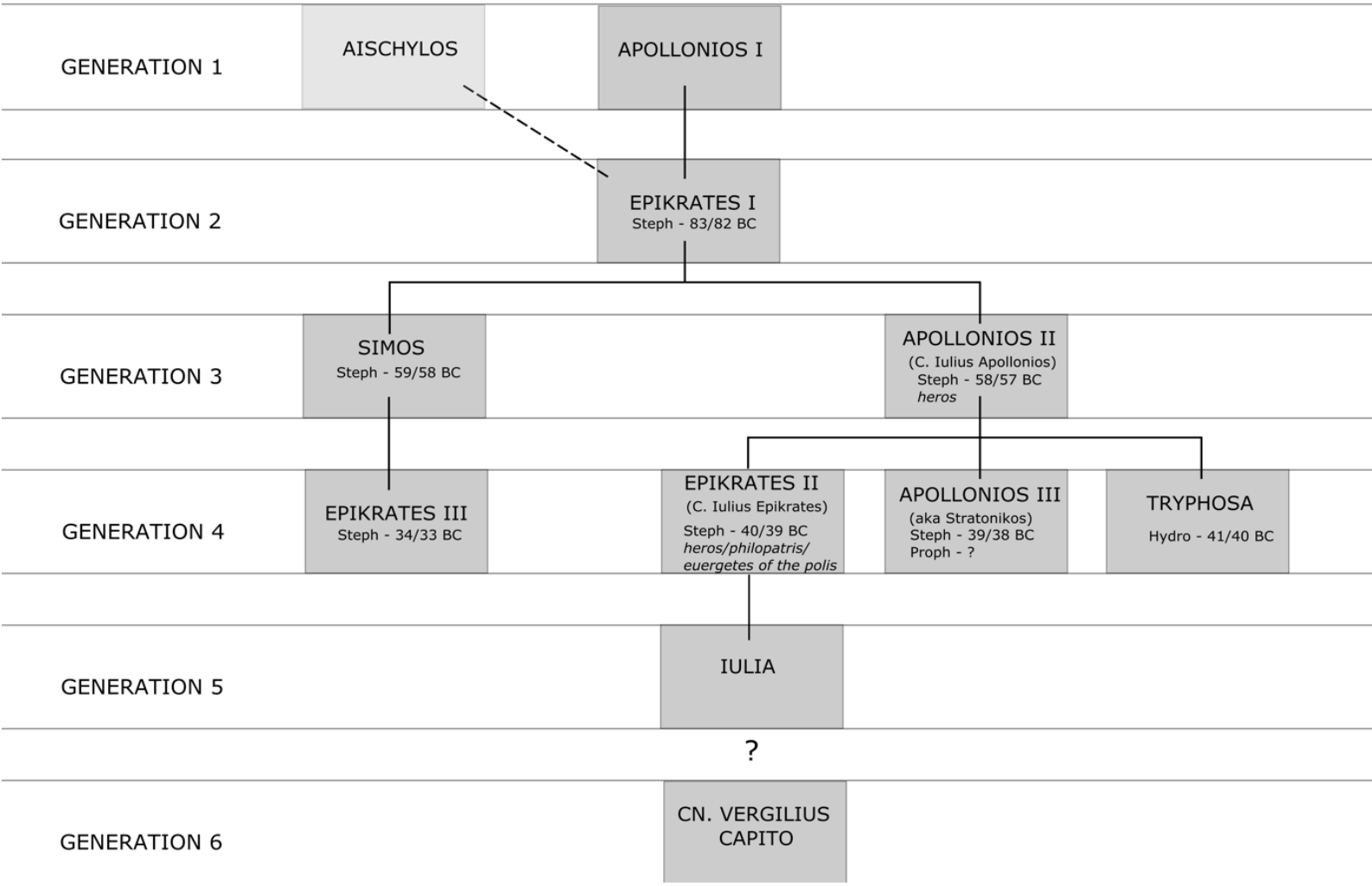
Table 9. List of contributors in *Milet* I.2 4				
Name	*Particularity*	*Social identities*	*Contribution*	*Reference*
Γά[ϊος …]		Enfranchised Greek/Roman citizen?		*Milet* I.2 4a, l.1
Γά[ϊου?…]		Enfranchised Greek/Roman citizen?		l.2
Κο. Ἀμι…		Roman citizen/Freedman?		l.3
Τι. Ἰούλ[ιος …]		Enfranchised Greek		l.4
Τι. Ἰούλ[ιος? …]		Enfranchised Greek		l.5
Αὔλου Π…	Genitive	Roman citizen		l.6
Μεν…				l.7
Ἀρισ…				l.8
Ἡλει…				l.9
Μ….				l.10
-			..7	4b. column I, l.12
-			172	l.14
Φίλιππος καὶ Διονύσιος οἱ ΓΛ…				4b, column II, l.10
Ἰάσων Ἰάσονος				l.11
Αὐτομένης Ἱεροκλέους				l.12
Δημήτριος Δημητρίου, Δαμᾶς	Two names, second without patronymic			l.13
Δαμᾶς Εὐαγγέλου			140?	l.14
…ος				4c, l.1
Ἑρμογένης Μεν[ίσκου]				l.2
Καλλικράτης Μέλα[νος ὑπὲρ?]				l.3
Ξενίου τοῦ Ἑστιαίου	Genitive			l.4
Πυθονίκη Μιννίωνος Μυ…		Female		l.5
κληρονομίας	Accusative			l.6
Φίλων Διδύμων				l.7

Διονύσιος Ἀσκληπιάδο[υ]				l.8
Γν. Οὐεργίλιος Φίλιππο[ς]		Freedman		l.9
Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀπολλωνίου				l.10
Ἰατροκλῆς Ἱεροκλέους				l.11
				p.122, column I, l.1
…λάου				l.2
[Μη]τροδώρου				l.3
			60	l.4
			60	l.5
				p.122, column II, l.1
				l.2
Ἀντίοχο[ς Δα]μᾶ Ἀντ[ινό]η Γν.		Gnaeus as father?		ll.3-5
			60	4d, column I, l.1
			59	l.2
			54	l.3
			51	l.4
E.I				4d, column II, l.1
Αἰσχ…				l.2
Εὔμο[λπος]?				l.3
Τα[τιὰς]?		Female?		l.4
			1500	4e, l.1
			1000	l.2
			707	l.3
				l.4
			500	l.5
				4f, l.1

				l.2
Νικὼ Ελ…		Female		l.3
Τατιὰς Νι…		Female		l.4
Θαλίαρχος				l.5
Εὔδημος Ἐπ…				l.6
Τιβέριος Κλαύ[διος]		Enfranchised Greek		l.7
			285	4g, l.1
			271	l.2
			255	l.3
[Μετα]γειτνίου			240	l.4
…λης			225	l.5
…λου			210	l.6
			200	l.7
…αδου			200	l.8
[…ο]υς			200	l.9
Ἀντιόχου			200	l.10
			190	l.11
			180	l.12
				l.13
				l.14
			150	4h, l.1
			150	l.2
			150	l.3
			150	l.4
…δος			1..	l.5
			147	l.6
			14.	l.7
				4i, column I, l.1
				l.2

…ου			50	l.3
[…ου]ς			50	l.4
			49	l.5
			49	l.6
				4h, column II, l.1
				l.2
			50	l.3
			50	l.4
			47	l.5
			45	l.6
…δότου				*Milet* VI.2 958, l.1
				l.2
		Minimum Total	**8403**	

STEMMATA



Stemma 1. Family of (C. Iulius) Epikrates

Sources: Epikrates I (*Milet* I.3 125, ll.9-10); Simos (*Milet* I.3 125, l.42; *SEG* 53.1270 II); Apollonios II (*Milet* I.2 15; *Milet* I.3 125, l.43; *Milet* VI.3 1409); Epikrates II (*Milet* I.3 126, l.20; *Milet* I.2 6-7; *Milet* VI.3 1045, 1130-1131; *IG* XII.7 418); Apollonios III (*Milet* I.3 126, l.21-25; *I.Didyma* 95, 250); Tryphosa (*I.Didyma* 395, l.5); Epikrates III (*Milet* I.3 126, l.32; *I.Didyma* 397, ll.2-3; 398, ll.4-5); Iulia (*IG* XII.6.1 318 II; *Milet* VI.3 1131, ll.1-2); Cn. Vergilius Capito (*Milet* VI.3 1131, ll.1-3). Cf. *I.Didyma* 202 II; 205, ll.1-2.

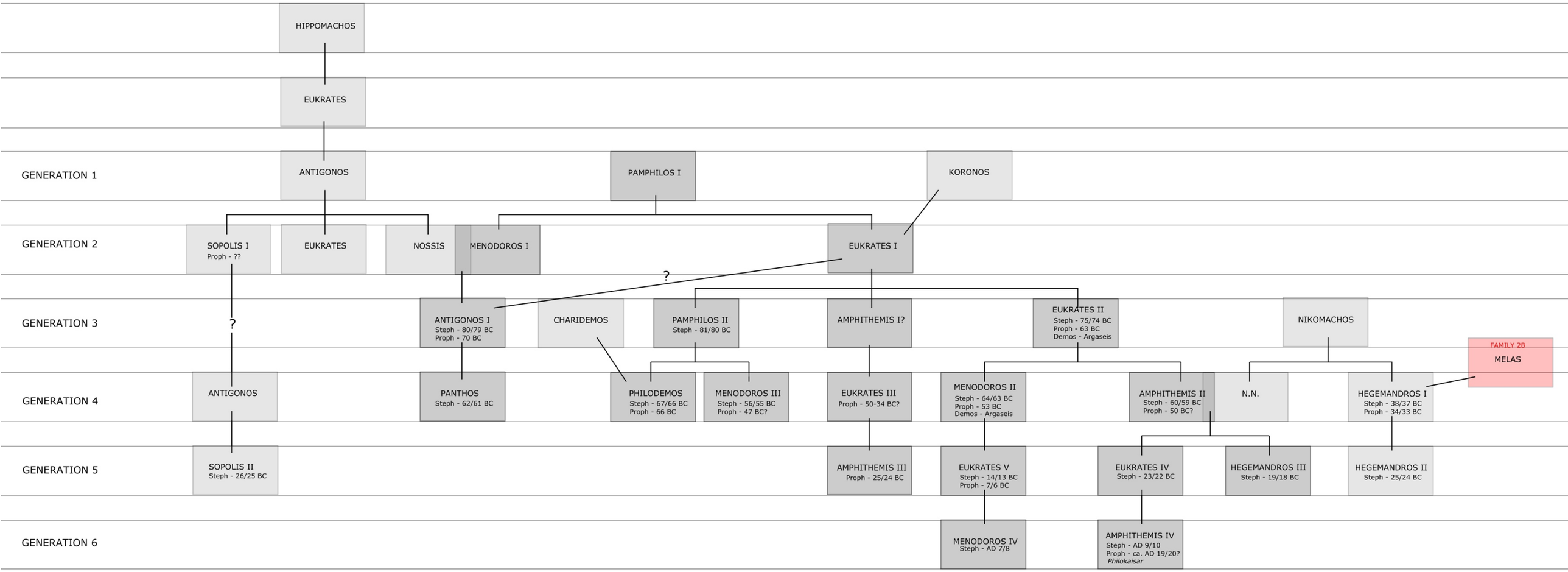
Other stemmata: Herrmann 1994: 209 n.23; Günther 2006: 179; Günther 2012a.

* Simos was *stephanephoros* in the year before Apollonios II. Brothers succeeded each other as *stephanephoroi* more frequently. They may have been brothers.

**Linda-Marie Günther (2012a) identified Tryphosa as the daughter of Apollonios III. The date of her *hydrophoria* fits, however, well with the years in office of Epikrates II and Apollonios III. *Stephanephoroi* could have been in office during their twenties, while *hydrophoroi* were likely unmarried girls of about ten to fifteen years old (Günther 2012a: 152). Tryphosa as a younger sister of Epikrates II and Apollonios III seems plausible to me.

***The precise relationship of Iulia to Cn. Vergilius Capito is uncertain. The crucial part of the text on the statue base of Epikrates II is illegible. Based on restorations, it has been suggested that Iulia was Capito's aunt, his mother's sister, or that she was a distant aunt. We cannot exclude the possibility of a relationship with Cn. Vergilius Capito through adoption (Herrmann 1994: 209).

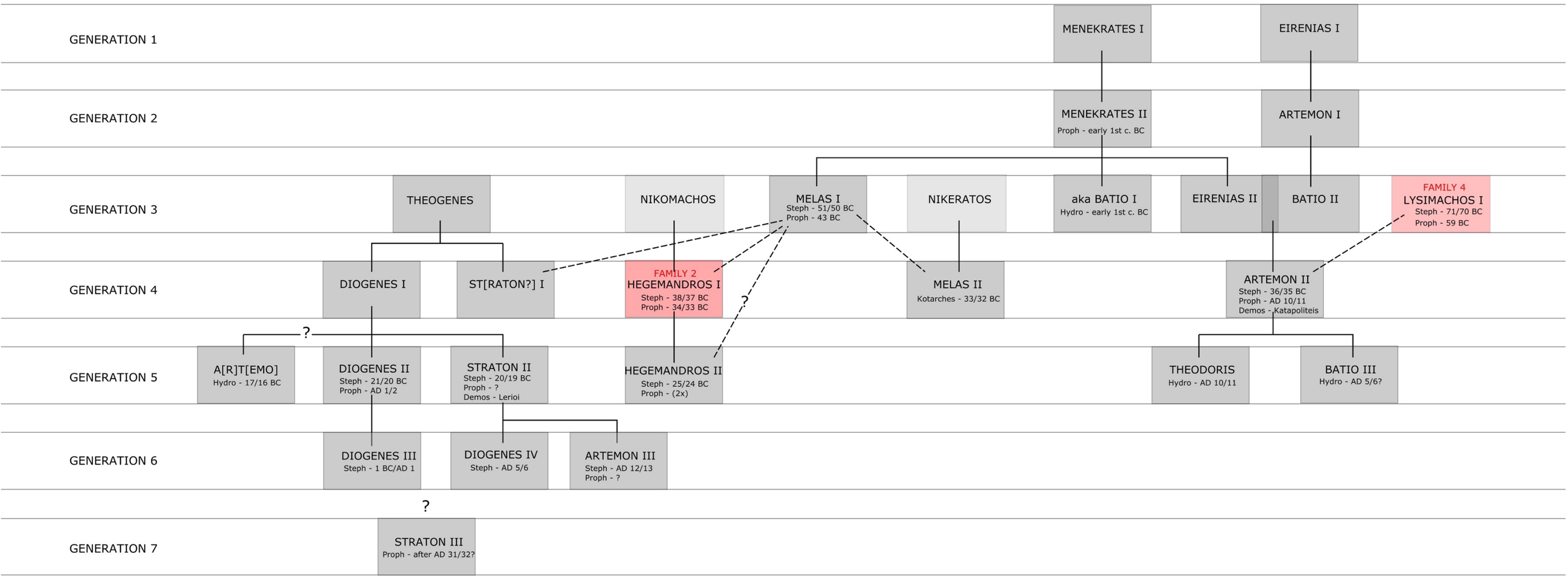
****It has been suggested that Apollonios, son of Epikrates, and Epikrates, son of Pylon, whose statues were made by the sculptor Demetrios, son of Glaukon, should be identified with Apollonios I and his father (*Milet* I.9 331-332).



Stemma 2. Family of Eukrates/Amphithemis

Sources: Pamphilos II (*Milet* I.3 125, l.12); Eukrates II (*Milet* I.3 125, ll.20-21; *I.Didyma* 205, l.3; 230 I; 367); Amphithemis II (*Milet* I.3 125, l.41; *I.Didyma* 205, l.4; 231 I, l.5; 232a I; 340, l.8-10); Eukrates III (*I.Didyma* 205, l.5); Hegemandros I (I.Didyma 205, l.6; 342; 397-398); Hegemandros II (Milet I.3 126, l.42); Hegemandros III (Milet I.3 126, l.49; I.Didyma 390b II, l.7-8); Amphithemis III (I.Didyma 218 Ib; 391b I; 391b III); Amphithemis IV (Milet I.3 127, l.32; I.Didyma 205, l.10; 236c I); Philodemos (*Milet* I.3 125, ll.31-32; *I.Didyma* 220; 229 II); Antigonos II (*I.Didyma* 204, ll.2-3; 216, ll.14-17); Menodoros II (*Milet* I.3 125, l.36; *I.Didyma* 104b I; 227a II; 230 I; 367, ll.5-6; 390a II); Menodoros III (*Milet* I.3 125, l.45; *I.Didyma* 391a I, l.5-7); Menodoros IV (*Milet* I.3 127, l.30); Sopolis I (*I.Didyma* 105-106); Panthos (*Milet* I.3 125, l.38; *I.Didyma* 215b II); Sopolis II (*Milet* I.3 126, l.41; *I.Didyma* 218 V; 391b II); Eukrates IV (*Milet* I.3 126, l.44); Eukrates V (*Milet* I.3 127, l.5; *I.Didyma* 346); Antigonos I (*Milet* I.7 271, ll.9-10; *I.Didyma* 532a-b); son of Sopolis (I?) (*I.Didyma* 218 II, l.2).
Other stemmata: *I.Didyma*, p.159, 167; Rehm 1939: 45; Günther 2003: 448; Günther 2019: 185.

*Menodoros I was probably a brother of Eukrates I, because of the common occurrence of the name Menodoros in the family line of Eukrates I.
**It has been suggested that Nikomachos was a member of the Eukrates-family, but I have not found any evidence for that suggestion.
***Amphithemis III is missing in Linda-Marie Günther's *stemma* (2019). Due to the dates of office-holding, I think he is best considered as son of Eukrates III, and Amphithemis IV as son of Eukrates IV.



Stemma 3. Family of Melas

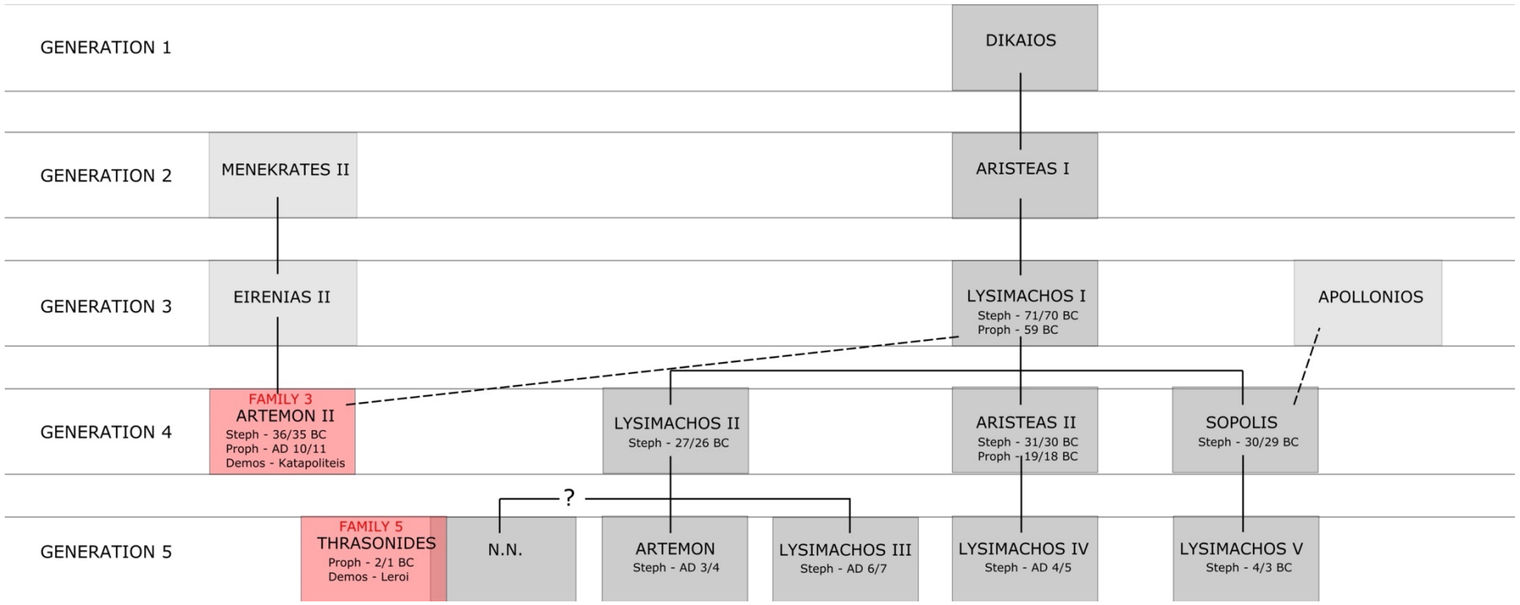
Sources: Menekrates II (*I.Didyma* 392, ll.1-2); Batio I (*I.Didyma* 392, l.3); Melas I (*Milet* I.3 126, l.5; *I.Didyma* 213b; 233 I-II); Hegemandros I (*Milet* I.3 126, l.26-27); Artemon II (*Milet* I.3 126, l.29; *I.Didyma* 235a I); Melas II (*Milet* VI.2 794, ll.2-5); Hegemandros II (*Milet* I.3 126, l.42; *I.Didyma* 218 I; 391b I, ll.7-10; 391b III, ll.6-8; *I.Didyma* 408, ll.3-4); Diogenes II (*Milet* I.3 126, ll.46-47); Straton II (*Milet* I.3 126, l.48; *I.Didyma* 283); Diogenes III (*Milet* I.3 127, ll.20-21); Diogenes IV (*Milet* I.3 127, l.27); Artemon III (*Milet* I.3 127, l.35; *I.Didyma* 251); Straton III (*I.Didyma* 328).

Other stemmata: *I.Didyma*, p.158-159; Günther 2003: 448; Günther 2019: 188.

*An *hydrophoros*-engraving records a *prophetes* who was a son of Melas, and son of Hegemandros by birth (I.Didyma 308 II). This could have been Hegemandros II. In that case, both Hegemandros I and his son, Hegemandros II, were adopted by Melas I (Günther 2019: 187).

**An *hydrophoros* had a father called Diogenes and an uncle, whose name started with the letters ST and who was a son of Melas (*I.Didyma* 234b II; 378). The combination of Diogenes-Straton is repeatedly recorded in the list of *stephanephoroi* and elsewhere. As Diogenes I was a son of Theogenes, Straton I can only have been his brother if Melas was not his natural father. This might mean that Melas I did not have sons of his own (*contra* Günther 2019: 187-188). The later introduction of the name Artemon (III) into the Diogenes/Straton-family makes it likely that the *hydrophoros* was indeed called Artemo. Whether she was Diogenes' daughter by birth or by adoption is unclear.

***Batio, Artemon's daughter, and her relatives recorded on a mid-second century BC tombstone were certainly ancestors of the family line Artemon-Eirenias (*Milet* VI.2 736; Herrmann 1987: 179-182).



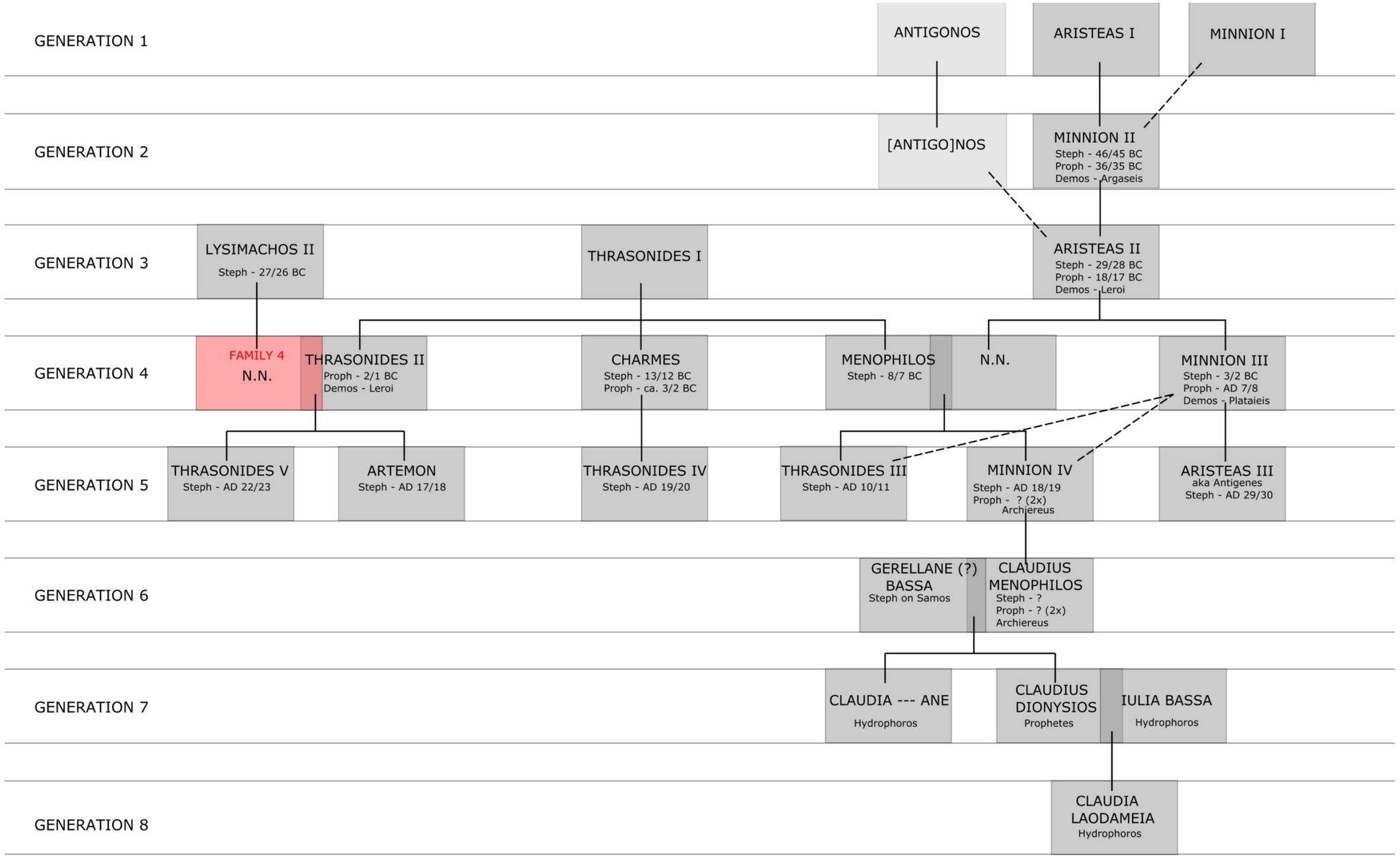
Stemma 4. Family of Lysimachos

Sources: Lysimachos I (*Milet* I.3 125, l.26; *I.Didyma* 204, l.1; 216, l.13; 235a I; 340, l.7); Artemon II (*Milet* I.3 126, l.29; *I.Didyma* 235a I); Lysimachos II (*Milet* I.3 126, l.40); Aristeas II (*Milet* I.3 126, l.35; *Milet* VI.2 794, ll.6-8; *I.Didyma* 227b II; 390b II); Sopolis (*Milet* I.3 126, ll.36-37); Artemon (*Milet* I.3 127, l.25); Lysimachos III (*Milet* I.3 127, ll.28-29); Lysimachos IV (*Milet* I.3 127, l.26); Lysimachos V (*Milet* I.3 127, l.16). Other stemmata: *Milet* I.3, p.249; *Milet* I.7, p.342; Günther 2019: 188, 190; cf. Ehrhardt & Günther 2010: 403.

*Lysimachos I adopted Artemon II, not his father Eirenias II (*contra Milet* I.3, p.274 n.3; Günther 2019: 187-188): προφήτης | Ἀρτέμων Εἰρηνίου τοῦ | Μενεκράτους, κατὰ ποίη|σιν δὲ Λυσιμάχου τοῦ Ἀ|ριστέου (*I.Didyma* 235a I, ll.1-5).

**I have included Sopolis and Lysimachos V because Sopolis' *stephanephoria* is contemporary with those of Lysimachos II and Aristeas II. Brothers frequently took on *stephanephoriai* in successive years.

***The marriage between Thrasonides and a daughter of Lysimachos II is a suggestion of Linda-Marie Günther (2019: 189). A son of Thrasonides called Artemon may have been named after his mother's brother (Stemma 5). The marriage is not certain: Artemon/Artemo is also a common name in Stemma 3.



Stemma 5. Family of Thrasonides/Minnion

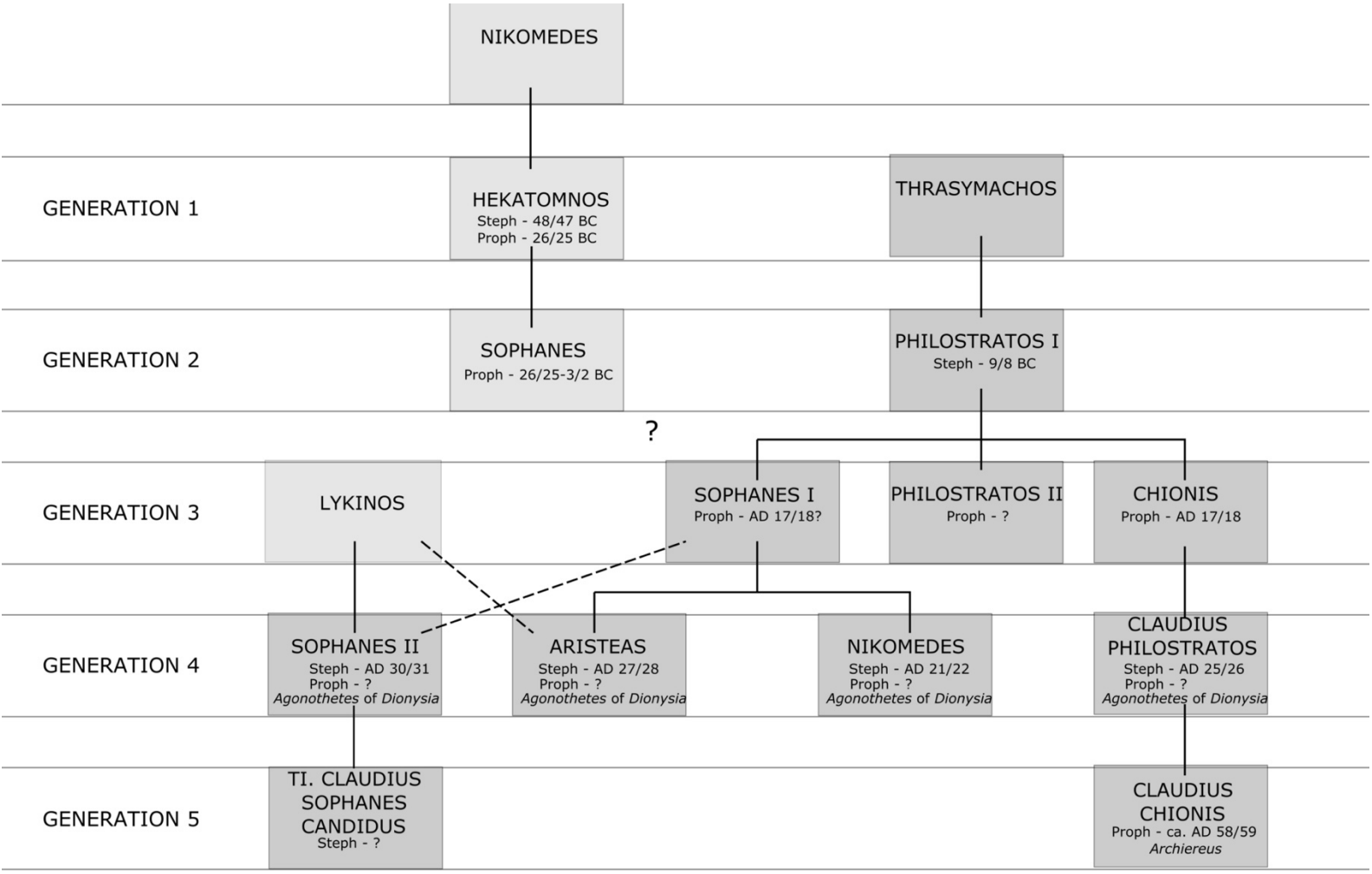
Sources: Minnion II (*Milet* I.3 126, ll.10-11; *I.Didyma* 232 II, ll.2-3; 308 I); Aristeas II (*Milet* I.3 126, l.38; *I.Didyma* 232 III); Thrasonides II (*I.Didyma* 345, ll.7-8); Charmes (*Milet* I.3 127, l.6); Menophilos (*Milet* I.3 127, l.12); Minnion III (*Milet* I.3 127, l.17; *I.Didyma* 229 I; 374, ll.7-8); Thrasonides III (*Milet* I.3 127, l.33); Artemon (*Milet* I.3 127, l.41; *I.Didyma* 410, ll.8-11); Minnion IV (*Milet* I.3 127, ll.42-43; *I.Didyma* 341, l.2); Thrasonides IV (*Milet* I.3 127, l.44); Thrasonides V (*Milet* I.3 128, l.3); Aristeas III (*Milet* I.3 128, ll.13-14); Claudia ---ane (*I.Didyma* 339); Claudia Laodameia (*I.Didyma* 334)

Other stemmata: *I.Didyma*, p.171, 217, 220 n.2; Piérart 1983: 13; Ehrhardt & Günther 2010: 406; Günther 2019: 190.

*In the fragmentary I.Didyma 374, the daughters seem to be children of the *prophetes*, not of the *stephanephoros*, Minnion III.

**The Thrasonides-Charmes branch of the stemma was granted Roman citizenship and appears as Claudii by the early second century AD (Ehrhardt & Günther 2010: 406).

***In the second or first century BC, a man called Aristeas, Aristeas' son, was buried in a *heroon* in the city and honoured with golden statues (*Milet* VI.2 735). He could have been a member of the Minnion-Aristeas branch of this stemma, or the Lysimachos-Aristeas branch of Stemma 4.



Stemma 6. Family of Chionis/Sophanes

Sources: Philostratos I (*Milet* I.3 127, ll.10-11); Sophanes I (*I.Didyma* 284, l.2); Philostratos II (*I.Didyma* 221 I); Chionis (*I.Didyma* 284, l.3; *I.Didyma* 410, ll.5-6); Nikomedes (*Milet* I.3 128, l.2; *I.Didyma* 284, ll.6-7); (Claudius) Philostratos (*Milet* I.3 128, l.6; *I.Didyma* 284, l.8); Aristeas (*Milet* I.3 128, ll.9-10; *I.Didyma* 284, l.7); Sophanes II (*Milet* I.3 128, ll.-15-16; *I.Didyma* 284, ll.7-8); Claudius Chionis (*I.Didyma* 272); Tiberius Claudius Sophanes Candidus (*I.Didyma* 116; 324, ll.1-4; *Milet* I.9 330; *Milet* VI.1, p.211).

Other stemmata: *I.Didyma*, p.195-196.

*Philostrastos, Philostratos' son, *stephanephoros* in 24/23 BC may have been a member of this family, but it is not clear how he was related (*Milet* I.3 126, l.43). It is possible that this Philostratos rather than the *stephanephoros* in 9/8 BC was the father of Sophanes, Chionis, and Philostratos II.

**Albert Rehm did not think Sophanes I and Chionis were natural brothers (*I.Didyma*, p.195-196). It is possible that Sophanes I was adopted. Given the name of his son, Nikomedes, he may have been a descendant of the family line Nikomedes-Hekatomnos-Sophane. The latter two appear as *prophetai* on the front columns of the prophets' residence (*I.Didyma* 205, ll.7-8; cf. *I.Didyma* 391b II, ll.5-7). Hekatomnos had also been *stephanephoros* (*Milet* I.3 126, l.8; *I.Didyma* 391a I, ll.7-8).

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