

**Patterns of Patronage: The Politics and Ideology of Public Building  
in the Eastern Roman Empire  
(31 BCE - 600 CE)**

by

**Angela V. Kalinowski**

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of Classics  
University of Toronto

©Copyright, by Angela V. Kalinowski, 1996



**National Library  
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada**

*Your file Votre référence*

*Our file Notre référence*

**The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

0-612-35439-3

**Canada**

## **ABSTRACT**

**Patterns of Patronage: The Politics and Ideology of Public Building in the Eastern Roman Empire (31 BCE-600 CE)  
Doctor of Philosophy, 1996**

**Angela V. Kalinowski  
Department of Classics, University of Toronto**

This thesis examines the private patronage of public building in selected cities of the Eastern Roman Empire, ca. 31 BCE to 600. It argues that the complex ideological and political meaning of public building can be understood through the extension of a model of patron/client relations in Roman society which defines patronage as a reciprocal, non-commercial exchange of goods or services between people of different social status.

Part One of the study demonstrates the usefulness of the model for examining the patterns of building patronage in early imperial Ephesos. The first chapter locates the ideological and political functions of the patronage of public building within the context of Roman patronage as a whole. Chapter Two uses epigraphic evidence to show that it was the local élite who dominated public building at Ephesos and describes the types of structures they built. Chapter Three analyses the placement, form and content of building-related inscriptions from Ephesos in order to reveal the political and ideological meanings and motivations behind the private finance of public building. Chapter Four presents a case study in the social and political uses of building, focusing on a series of buildings and inscriptions related to the activities of Marcus Claudius Publius Veditius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, a prominent citizen of mid-second century Ephesos.

In Part Two, the model is extended to building patronage in Late Antique Asia Minor. Chapter Five uses the inscriptions of Aphrodisias and Ephesos to show that there were two major shifts in the patterns of patronage ca. 284-600. In the first phase of development, the patronage of public building was dominated by provincial governors. In the second, responsibility for the finance of civic structures returned to the local élite. Chapter Six then analyses the language and content of building inscriptions in order to

show that, despite these shifts in personnel, the ideological and political meaning of building remained remarkably constant from the first through sixth centuries CE.

*In Memoriam*

**Alfons Kalinowski**  
**1918 - 1995**

## **Acknowledgments**

My thanks go to the institutions and organisations which made this work financially possible, especially the University of Toronto and the Crake Foundation at Mount Allison University. There are many individuals from whose scholarship and criticism I have benefited at various stages of this work: Timothy Barnes, my supervisor who balanced praise with criticism; Jonathan Edmondson, who happily undertook the role of second reader from the inception of the project; Ted Champlin, who kindly agreed to act as external examiner; and the other members of my committee whose comments and criticisms have been incorporated herein.

Many friends also deserve mention here for reasons which they know: Tara Abraham, Karen Bamford, Willi and Brenda Braun and family, Ivan Cohen, Robert Cupido, Edsel, Joann Freed, Al and Ginny Furtwangler, Suzan Kalinowski, Muna Salloum, Susan Stevens, Hans vanderLeest, the entire Toxic Wastrels softball team, and of course, Mom.

Extra-extra-special thanks are due to David McGee who had the very very troublesome task of putting up with me during the whole project.

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	p. ii
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	p. v
<b>List of Tables</b>	p. viii
<b>List of Figures</b>	p. ix
<b>List of Abbreviations</b>	p. x
<b>Introduction</b>	p. 1
<b>PART I: The Patronage of Public Building at Early Imperial Ephesos</b>	
<b>Chapter One: The Patronage of Public Building: Politics or Ideology?</b>	p. 5
1.1.1 Patronage as Politics	p. 6
1.1.2 Patronage as Ideology	p. 14
1.1.3 Patronage as Ideology and Politics: The Roman View	p. 20
1.1.4 Conclusion	p. 33
<b>Chapter Two: Patrons of Public Building in Early Imperial Ephesos</b>	p. 36
1.2.1 Ephesos: Antiquity and After	p. 37
1.2.2 Who Built at Ephesos?	p. 45
1.2.3 Imperial Patrons and Their Projects	p. 51
1.2.4 Asiarchs and <i>Archiereis</i>	p. 56
1.2.5 Local Magistrates	p. 59
1.2.6 Local Citizens and Other Individuals	p. 61
1.2.7 Cities and Associations	p. 64
1.2.8 Conclusion	p. 67
<b>Chapter Three: Patronage, Inscriptions and Communication</b>	p. 70
1.3.1 Reading Inscriptions	p. 71
1.3.2 The Formulaic Language of Building Inscriptions	p. 79
1.3.3 Statue Base Inscriptions	p. 92
1.3.4 Conclusion	p. 99
<b>Chapter Four: Politics and Building in 2nd Century Ephesos: The Case of Publius Vadius Antoninus</b>	p. 102
1.4.1 Popularity, Envy and the Politics of Building	p. 103
1.4.2 Courting Popularity	p. 110
1.4.3 The Benefits of Building	p. 116
1.4.4 Courting Imperial Favour	p. 119
1.4.5 Triumph	p. 124
1.4.6 Conclusion	p. 126

## **Part II: The Patronage of Public Building at Late Antique Aphrodisias**

<b>Introduction to Part II: Patronage of Public Building in Late Antiquity</b>	p. 133
2.1.1 Late Antique Aphrodisias	p. 135
2.1.2 The Advantages of Aphrodisias	p. 144
<b>Chapter Five: The Personnel of Patronage in Late Antique Aphrodisias</b>	p. 147
2.5.1 New Élites, ca. 284-450	p. 147
2.5.2 Patterns in the Patronage of Public Building, ca. 284-450	p. 156
2.5.3 New Élites and Building Patrons, ca. 450-600	p. 161
2.5.4 Patronage of Public Building, ca. 450-600	p. 165
2.5.5 Conclusion	p. 170
<b>Chapter Six: Ideology and Politics in Late Antique Building Inscriptions</b>	p. 173
2.6.1 Form and Formula in Late Antique Inscriptions, ca. 284-450	p. 174
2.6.2 Formula in Late Antique Inscriptions, ca. 450-600	p. 184
2.6.3 The Ideology of Building Patronage in Late Antiquity	p. 192
2.6.4 The Politics of Building Patronage in Late Antiquity	p. 198
2.6.5 Conclusion	p. 209
<b>Appendix 1 - Catalogue of Building-Associated Inscriptions of Early Imperial Ephesos</b>	p. 213
<b>Appendix 2 - Catalogue of Building-Associated Inscriptions of Late Antique Ephesos</b>	p. 229
<b>Appendix 3 - Catalogue of Building-Associated Inscriptions of Late Antique Aphrodisias</b>	p. 232
<b>Bibliography</b>	p. 237



## List of Tables

<b>Table 2.1 - Building Patrons of Early Imperial Ephesos, Distribution by Rank and Office</b>	p. 43
<b>Table 5.1 - Building Inscriptions of Late Antique Aphrodisias and Ephesos, Distribution by Rank and Office</b>	p. 157
<b>Table 6.1 - Building Inscriptions of Late Antique Aphrodisias and Ephesos, ca. 284-450, Classified By Formula</b>	p. 176
<b>Table 6.2 - Building Inscriptions of Late Antique Aphrodisias and Ephesos, ca. 450-600, Classified By Formula</b>	p. 185

## List of Figures

- |          |   |        |
|----------|---|--------|
| Figure 1 | Ephesos, north sector. Source: <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos II</i> , 1979 plan 1.   | p. 128 |
| Figure 2 | Ephesos, showing location of the stoa of Servilius. Source: G. Rogers, <i>The Sacred Identity of Ephesos</i> , 1991, 196.   | p. 129 |
| Figure 3 | Reconstruction of the “Hallenstrasse” and the stoa of Servilius. Source: D. Kribbe, <i>JOAI</i> 56 (1985) 74.   | p. 130 |
| Figure 4 | Plan and reconstruction of the Harbour bath-gymnasium with <i>Kaisersaal</i> and bath-gymnasium of Vedius Antoninus, including <i>Kaisersaal</i> . Source: F. Yegül, <i>Art Bulletin</i> 64 (1982) 10.  | p. 131 |
| Figure 5 | Plan of bouleuterion and schematic showing relative locations of inscriptions from the stage front. Sources: R. Heberdey, <i>JOAI</i> 15 (1912) 168; E.L. Hicks, <i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum: Priene, Iasos and Ephesos</i> pt. 3, 1890, 151. | p. 132 |
| Figure 6 | Aphrodisias. Source: C. Roueché, <i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity</i> , 1989, 328.  | p. 146 |

## List of Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJPh.</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>ALA</i>	C. Roueché, <i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity</i> (1989)
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (1972- )
<i>Anz.Wien</i>	<i>Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique in Revue des Études grecques</i>
<i>CIG</i>	A. Boeckh, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1825-77)
<i>CIL</i>	Th. Mommsen <i>et al.</i> , <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1863- )
<i>CJ</i>	P. Krueger (ed.), <i>Codex Justinianus</i> (1895)
<i>CTh</i>	Th. Mommsen (ed.), <i>Codex Theodosianus</i> (1905)
Daremberg-Saglio	Ch. V. Daremberg, ed., Edm. Saglio, <i>Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines</i> (1877-1919)
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
<i>ERW</i>	Fergus Millar, <i>The Emperor in the Roman World</i> (1977)
<i>FiE</i>	<i>Forschungen in Ephesos I-XI/1</i> (1906-89)
<i>FIRA</i>	S. Riccobono, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani</i> (1940-43)
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HSCPh</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
Hicks	E.L. Hicks, <i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> (1890)
<i>IE</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos, IA-VII,2</i> (1979-84)
<i>IGC</i>	H. Grégoire, <i>Receuil des Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure</i> (1922)
<i>IGR</i>	R. Cagnat <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> (1906-27)
<i>JOAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LRE</i>	A.H. M. Jones, <i>The Later Roman Empire</i> (1964)

<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> (1928- )
<i>OGI</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> 2vols. (1903-5), reprinted 1970.
<i>PIR</i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i>
<i>PLRE</i>	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, <i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> (1971- )
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , (1894- )
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SIG</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge des inscriptions grecques</i> , 3rd edition (1915-24)
Wood	J.T. Wood, <i>Discoveries at Ephesus</i> (1877)
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

## **Introduction**

The ruins of Roman cities throughout the Mediterranean annually attract tens of thousands of visitors who marvel at the architectural and artistic sophistication of the ancients and wonder at the wealth of a society that could build so many magnificent structures. Rarely does the tourist consider the social mechanisms which created these monuments, or realize that most of the physical infrastructure of the Roman city resulted from the gifts of individuals. What compelled these ancient benefactors to spend their private fortunes on lavish buildings intended for the use of the public? What messages did these buildings send to their fellow citizens? What was the meaning of the inscriptions with which they marked their gifts?

That tourists should fail to ask these questions is not surprising. It is more remarkable that historians of antiquity also neglect them, leaving the material remains of Roman civilization to those interested in art, architecture or archaeology, and inscriptions to the epigraphist. Indeed, building and honorific statue base inscriptions are generally seen as little more than dull repositories of facts for dating or for prosopography, and perhaps with some reason, since they often appear to contain little more than names, offices and repetitive phrases of dedication or commemoration. This study argues that there is much more to inscriptions than this. When approached with the appropriate interpretive tools, they can yield much evidence about complex social patterns and behaviours.

The underlying premise of this study is that much of the complex social meaning of building inscriptions can be recovered by extending to their analysis concepts associated with personal patronage in Greco-Roman society. A widely held definition describes patronage in terms of a reciprocal, non-commercial exchange of goods or services

between people of different social status.<sup>1</sup> Public building in much of the Roman Empire certainly fits such a description. It was the wealthy and powerful of Greco-Roman society who financed the construction of public buildings for the benefit of communities inhabited by a vast underclass of plebeians. There was no hope that these massive outlays of cash would be repaid in kind or in value. But they did earn a return in terms of gratitude, loyalty and remembrance, a return symbolized in the erection of honorific statues on inscribed bases.

It would appear, therefore, that a case *can* be made for extending the concepts of patronage to the donation of public buildings. On the other hand, it could be objected that any such extension would be historically inaccurate, since building does not fit the “personal” definition of patronage as the Romans would have understood it, and that they did not discuss building in terms of patron/client relationships. To these objections at least two replies can be made.

First, Richard Saller has shown that a technical, legalistic definition of patronage did not exist for the Romans, arguing that they *did* understand certain social relationships like *amicitia* (friendship) in terms of patronage, even though the language of patron and client was never used. Other scholars have made it clear that the Romans felt free to extend the usage of the terms and concepts associated with personal patronage to analogous situations, as for example in the case of relationships between high-ranking Romans and *foreign communities* which came to be known as *patrocinium*, with the Roman standing as *patromus* to the community as *cliens*.

A second reply to concerns about the imposition of the concepts of personal patronage on issues of public building is that we have no choice. By themselves, neither buildings nor inscriptions say much. This is because the context which gave them their

---

<sup>1</sup> This view is adopted by R. Saller, *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), and by the contributors to A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1989).

original meaning has been obscured by the passage of time. Thus, some initially hypothetical model or provisional framework *must* be used to sort out the relevant issues and identify the important questions. I argue that concepts of personal patronage provide the best tools for studying public building.

Part One of this study is therefore concerned with demonstrating the usefulness and validity of the patronage model in the case of early imperial Ephesos. Chapter One lays out the conceptual groundwork, locating the patronage of public works in the context of patronage as a whole. This raises fundamental questions about the who and the why of public building. Chapter Two uses epigraphic evidence to confirm basic hypotheses concerning the rank and social status of Ephesian building patrons. Chapter Three examines the placement, form and content of inscriptions in order to reveal the political and ideological meanings and motivations behind public building. Chapter Four presents a microstudy of the social and political functions of building, analyzing a series of buildings and inscriptions related to the activities of the prominent Ephesian citizen Marcus Cludius Publius Veditus Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus.<sup>a</sup>

In Part Two, attention shifts to Late Antiquity and to Aphrodisias. In Chapter Five the focus will again be on the personnel of patronage. The inscriptions will show that patronage of public building by civic élites continued, but that there were two major shifts with respect to *which* members of the local élite were responsible for the completion of public works. Chapter Six then examines the language and content of the available inscriptions in order to determine whether the ideological and political meaning of building changed over time as the patrons did.

As these chapters will show, public building was an essential part of the ideology of the élite patrons in the Eastern Roman Empire, and a crucial element in their self-representation. Public building was also an essential element in local politics, of great importance to members of the local élite seeking to advance their careers or defend their interests. Finally, this study of the inscriptions will show that, despite significant changes in

Late Antiquity, the political, ideological and social functions of public building remained remarkably constant over six centuries.



## Chapter One

### The Patronage of Public Building: Politics or Ideology?

By themselves, buildings and the inscriptions written on them are relatively mute pieces of historical evidence. Recovering their meaning requires the use of an interpretive framework that is capable of restoring their context. The premise of this study is that such a framework can be found in the concepts associated with Roman patronage. Accordingly, the main goal of this chapter is to isolate the concepts in question. It begins with a discussion of the views of several modern historians who have emphasized the binding nature of the personal bonds engendered by reciprocal gift-giving and have thus interpreted patronage as a crucial means to an end in politics. It then turns to the work of Paul Veyne who has argued that civic or communal patronage was not about politics at all, but arose out of the “class psychology” of local notables and represented nothing so much as a self-referential display of their own grandeur.

This difference of opinion poses some problems for any extension of the concepts of patronage in general to the patronage of public building in particular. Should buildings, and the inscriptions associated with them be interpreted as instruments of politics? Or should they be interpreted as physical embodiments of class values? To help resolve these issues, the chapter turns to the writings of ancient authors. Here we will find the discussion of politics and morals inextricably combined, providing confirmation for the position that *both* the political and the ideological interpretations of patronage are equally valid. Such a conclusion suggests that it is neither necessary nor advisable to reject one interpretation or the other, but rather that it is important to recognize that buildings carried multiple meanings to multiple audiences in the ancient city. Thus, for example, many Romans saw buildings as crucial elements in generating *gloria* in this life while preserving *memoria* in the next.

Two caveats are in order. First, the argument of this chapter is that the concepts of patronage can be applied to public buildings because buildings can be seen to fill the same political and ideological functions as the apparently “non-material” gifts considered in most patronage studies. The chapter therefore deals only with those issues that can be seen to have a bearing on the patronage of public buildings. It is not intended as an exhaustive account of Roman patronage. Secondly, the chapter does not argue that the model of patronage of public buildings put forward is “true” in and of itself. Rather, the goal is to advance premises that will require empirical verification in the chapters that follow.

### 1.1.1 Patronage as Politics

As several scholars have pointed out, patronage in Roman society was never the subject of a legal and therefore distinct definition.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Richard Saller has argued that there was no “technical” sense in which Romans understood this vital institution.<sup>2</sup> Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has written that:

Patronage was not a sharply defined relationship with a predictable set of services exchanged between men of a given social distance. Rather we are dealing with a varied, ill-defined and unpredictable set of exchanges, unified by reference to values deeply embedded in Roman ideology.<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, it may be of some use to begin with the ideas of anthropologist Marcel Mauss whose famous “*Essai sur le Don*” introduces several themes which can be used to organize the manner in which historians have discussed patron-client relationships in Greco-Roman society.

---

<sup>1</sup> Reference was made in the Twelve Tables to the punishment of patrons who defrauded clients, *Patronus, si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto*, as cited by Servius, *Aen.* 6.109. See also N. Rouland, *Pouvoir politique et dépendance personnelle dans l'antiquité romaine, Genèse et rôle des rapports de Clientèle*, (Brussels: Collection Latomus. no.166, 1979), 157-64.

<sup>2</sup> R. Saller, “Patronage and Friendship in Early Imperial Rome: Drawing the Distinction”, in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 50-52.

<sup>3</sup> A. Wallace-Hadrill, “Introduction”, in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 9-10.

Mauss' study concerned the social and economic functions of the exchange of "gifts" among various peoples of the Pacific Rim. One of his major arguments was that gift-giving was *systemic* in these societies, by which he meant that gift-giving not only permeated all aspects of culture, but also represented a sort of moral duty that was imposed by culture on individuals. Mauss identified numerous occasions on which giving and receiving gifts was obligatory: between individuals and families at marriages, births and circumcisions, for example, or between members of different tribes at great inter-tribal meetings or festivals.<sup>4</sup> On these occasions, Mauss argued, gift-exchange possessed much more than a material or economic value in terms of the movement of goods and services. Gifts had a spiritual significance as well.<sup>5</sup> Some of the people he studied interpreted their relationship to their gods in terms of gift-exchange. Other believed that each gift was endowed with the spirit of the giver, and that one must return spirit by repaying the original gift, or else suffer some harm.

These sentiments made *reciprocity* a key characteristic of gift-exchange. Non-commercial, reciprocal gift-giving became an essential element in the formation of friendly ties between individuals, and thus an essential factor in the binding together of society. As Mauss quoted anthropologist Radcliffe-Brown on gift-giving among the Andaman Islanders:

In spite of the considerable volume of these exchanges, since the local group and the family, in other cases know how to be self-sufficient in tools, etc. . . . these presents do not serve the same purpose as commercial exchange in more developed societies. The goal is above all a moral one, the object being to foster friendly feelings between the two persons in question, and if the exercise failed to do so, everything failed.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> On this point generally see M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, translated by W. D. Halls, with a Foreword by Mary Douglas, (London: Routledge, 1990), 13. Regarding the obligations among the Tlingit and Haida, see pages 39-42.

<sup>5</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, 19.

Gift-giving was in this sense *politically* important. Without friendly feelings “everything failed” in society. However, Mauss also recognized that the exchange of gifts could have a strong agonistic, and therefore potentially destructive aspect. Among the Tlingit, Haida and Kwakiutl, for example, a potlatch given by a chief started an enduring competition for honour among the other chiefs present. Each was obliged to make a return for the initial potlatch, often with interest, or else lose face. Inability to reciprocate a potlatch with a better one resulted in the chief’s complete loss of personal and socio-political status, and could lead to enslavement for debt.<sup>7</sup>

Among modern historians, there is no shortage of those who have given a Maussian emphasis to the systemic and pervasive nature of patronage in Roman society. Thus, over a century ago Fustel de Coulanges argued that *clientèle* reigned in Roman society.<sup>8</sup> Matthias Gelzer followed Fustel de Coulanges, writing in 1912 that *patrocinium* permeated all aspects of public life in Republican Rome: applying to relations between masters and freedmen; between pleaders in court to their clients; to relations between distinguished Romans and individuals of lower social standing; and to relations between distinguished Romans and provinces, *municipia*, colonies, and individuals in such communities.<sup>9</sup> In the 1950s, Ernst Badian wrote a monograph on the centrality of Roman patronage of client communities to Republican expansion.<sup>10</sup> More recently, Richard Saller has shown that where it was once assumed that the significance of personal patronage ended with the beginning of the principate,<sup>11</sup> neither increased bureaucratization nor the concentration of power in the hands of the emperor eliminated the importance of

---

<sup>7</sup> On the potlatch see Mauss, *The Gift*, 33–43.

<sup>8</sup> Fustel de Coulanges, *Les origines du système féodal*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1890), 85 ff.

<sup>9</sup> M. Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility*, (Originally published as *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik* and *Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit*), translated by R. Seager (London: Basil Blackwell, 1969), 62–63.

<sup>10</sup> E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

<sup>11</sup> For proponents of the decline of personal patronage in the Empire, see for example: L. Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique du monde romain: le Patronat sur les collectives des origines au bas-empire*, (Paris: Éditions Clermont 1957); and J. Gagé, *Les classes sociales dans l'Empire romain*, (Paris: Payot, 1964).

patronage for social and political advancement at Rome during the early empire.<sup>12</sup> Finally, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has argued that patronage was not only “central to the Roman cultural experience”, and a “vital part of the conscious Roman ideology”, but remained a constant in social ideology into the late antique period.<sup>13</sup>

If there has been substantial agreement on the pervasiveness of patronage, there has also been agreement on the essential features of the patronage relationship, with most modern historians accepting the three-part definition advanced by anthropologist Jeremy Boissevain and adapted by Saller:<sup>14</sup>

First it [patronage] involves the reciprocal exchange of goods and services. Secondly, to distinguish it from a commercial transaction in the marketplace, the relationship must be a personal one of some duration. Thirdly, it must be asymmetrical, in the sense that the two parties are of unequal status and offer different kinds of goods and services in exchange—a quality which sets patronage off from friendship between equals.<sup>15</sup>

The Maussian echoes are clear.

The issue of asymmetry requires the least discussion. Virtually all historians agree that most patrons were members of the higher ranks of Roman society, often senators, whose clients were persons of lower rank. Saller has gone farther to show that relations *within* the ranks of the senatorial aristocracy are appropriately considered in terms of patronage, citing cases where services were rendered by those with greater *auctoritas*, *dignitas* and *vires* to those of lesser status, but of the same rank.<sup>16</sup> The asymmetry in the

---

<sup>12</sup> R. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Patronage and bureaucratization have been viewed as being on opposite ends of a continuum. Simply stated, bureaucratisation and centralisation would eliminate the occurrence of patronage in society. A. Blok, “Variations in Patronage”, *Sociologische Gids* 16 (1969), 365-78. Although this is impossible to quantify, it is clear from literary sources that the increase in bureaucracy at Rome, even in the Late Antique period, did not eliminate patronage or make it less important.

<sup>13</sup> A. Wallace Hadrill, “Patronage in Roman Society: from Republic to Empire”, in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 63-87, especially 65.

<sup>14</sup> Wallace Hadrill, “Introduction”, 3-4.

<sup>15</sup> Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 1; Jeremy Boissevain, “Patronage in Sicily”, *Man* 1 (1966), 18-34, especially 18.

<sup>16</sup> Saller’s *Personal Patronage* was criticised on just this issue. See the reviews by A.N. Sherwin-White in *Classical Review* 33 (n.s. 1983), 271-3; and J.H. D’Arms in *Classical Philology* 81 (1986), 95-98. For

goods exchanged follows naturally from the inequality in rank or status. Gifts given by a patron were items that the client did not have the resources to obtain for himself, and which he could therefore not reciprocate with gifts of similar kind or equal value.

The non-commercial nature of patronage is somewhat more difficult to grasp, but can begin to be seen in the kinds of services rendered when a patron defended a client in court, pleaded the case of a foreign community before the Senate, wrote a *commendatio* for a protégé, granted an estate to a poet, provided, like Pliny the Younger, dowries for women or cash for young men seeking equestrian census. Such services were rendered without any expectation of cash repayment, and often without expectation of any repayment at all, and therefore bore little relationship to the kind of rapidly completed transactions for goods or services that took place between strangers in the marketplace, particularly since neither the *kind* of return, nor the *time* of return was specified. The relationship was thus not contractual, in the sense that the eventual outcome of the exchange was stipulated in advance. The relationship was therefore enduring because, in effect, there was no way to end it.

The relationship was also personal, in that a gift put the client under a moral obligation to make a return to his patron. Thus, scholars long before Boissevain and Saller identified reciprocity as a key to understanding patronage, strange as it may be to speak of reciprocity in a system where neither the time nor nature of the return was specified. But even if no material goods or services were ever returned, the client nonetheless was believed to be under a twofold obligation. First, the client was expected to repay the original benefit with loyalty. For example, since no client could be expected to fully repay the benefaction of an emperor with goods or services of equal value, the emperor's gift was expected to be construed as an act of goodwill, inspiring loyalty to the regime.<sup>17</sup>

---

Saller's rebuttal see. "Patronage and Friendship in Early Imperial Rome: Drawing the Distinction". in A. Wallace Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 52, 57ff.

<sup>17</sup> Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 69-78.

Second, the client was expected to make some public expression of gratitude for the gift he had received. This could take the simple form of attending the morning salutation at the patron's home. But more interesting for our purposes, the acknowledgment of a benefaction often took the form of an honorific inscription placed in the public square. In this connection, Saller has described the way in which favours granted by a Roman proconsul or other official to provincials were repaid by honours inscribed on stone.<sup>18</sup> Inscriptions of this type littered the Roman Empire.

If the giving of gifts inevitably resulted in material loss because they could not be repaid with goods or services of equal value, why would a person seek to become a patron? Status was certainly one motive, since the Romans believed that prestige ultimately derived from the ability to provide others with what they wanted—whether this was money, access to others, or protection from enemies. Indeed, because patrons who gave gifts naturally acquired more clients, their status came to be measured in proportion to the number and rank of clients they had. In this sense, there was an immediate return for an act of patronage, regardless of client response, because the patron's act of giving the gift automatically enhanced his status. This kind of ranking, according to who took gifts from whom, was taken so seriously that members of the imperial aristocracy might even refuse favours from those whom they considered equals, since this would represent a public acknowledgment of their own inferiority.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, however, a provincial might seek a governor's intervention in a lawsuit, deliberately placing himself in a subordinate position with respect to the governor in order to raise his status in his own community, either by acquiring access to resources which the governor controlled, or else by appearing to become the local conduit to those resources for others. In a similar way, clients who erected honorary inscriptions not only gained the favour of their élite patrons, but enhanced their reputations among their own subordinates by advertising the powerful

---

<sup>18</sup> Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 165.

<sup>19</sup> Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 126-128. Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2.69.

connection that they had made. Thus, acts of patronage could have the “double audience” noted by Wallace-Hadrill when he remarked that a person was judged from below on the basis of what those above thought of him, and judged from above according to the views of those below.<sup>20</sup>

If enhancing status was one of the goals of the patron, increasing personal power was another. For as Gelzer noted long ago, acts of *patrocinium* and the acquisition of numerous *clientes* from all ranks of society generated increased political clout for individuals seeking high political office.<sup>21</sup> Cicero, for example, earned the love and trust of the masses, and therefore influence in the Senate, the law courts and the assembly as a result of the patronage he bestowed by employing his oratory on behalf of friends and communities.<sup>22</sup> Pompey’s role as patron gave him power directly in the form of an army raised from his hereditary *clientes* in Picenum.<sup>23</sup> Emperors, it has been argued, took on the role of the “patron of all patrons”, earning the loyalty of senators with direct gifts, effectively tying the empire together through bonds of reciprocal obligation and loyalty which were created by allowing senators to act as conduits to imperial favours.<sup>24</sup>

Because of the relationship between patronage and power, patronage has been discussed almost entirely in terms of politics by the authors mentioned so far. Gelzer stressed the ways in which *patrocinium* influenced the course of politics and the distribution of power in Republican Rome.<sup>25</sup> Ernst Badian, emphasizing that recognition as the patron of a foreign community was a powerful resource in any noble’s quest for power and glory, analysed Republican foreign policy in terms of patronage relationships between foreign *clientes* and the *nobiles* of Rome.<sup>26</sup> John Rich has endorsed Badian’s main point,

---

<sup>20</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, “Patronage in Roman Society”, 83.

<sup>21</sup> Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 101-110.

<sup>22</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2.51.

<sup>23</sup> Appian, *BC*, 1.80; Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 6.6.

<sup>24</sup> Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 69-78; and Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, (London: Duckworth, 1977), 133-9, 275-355.

<sup>25</sup> Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 70, 86, 87, 100, 108, 123, 139.

<sup>26</sup> Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, chapters 7-11.



arguing that patronage relationships played a crucial role in Roman imperialism and expansion.<sup>27</sup> David Braund has written that, “under the Republic personal patronage constituted much of the framework of empire: it was, to a great extent, through the medium and process of personal patronage that the empire functioned.”<sup>28</sup> We may sum up with Wallace-Hadrill’s comment that, despite the absence of any formal legal definition, most Romans would have “found it hard to envisage the state running at all, let alone smoothly, without the operation of patronage, on which courts, elections, and much of the senate’s running of the empire depended.”<sup>29</sup>

Historians focusing on the “political” implications of patronage have generally agreed that the enduring relationships fostered by gifts gave social cohesion to the Roman world. Wallace-Hadrill, for example, has articulated a centre-periphery model which places the patron astride the lines of communication leading to sources of power at Rome. Noting that all foreign clients or communities needed access to the decision-making centre in Rome at one time or another, and that access was virtually impossible without the personal intervention of a member of the ruling élite, he sees the granting of access as the means of establishing reciprocal bonds between the Roman élite and foreign clients, integrating those on the geographical and socio-political periphery to the centre.<sup>30</sup>

But while noting the integrative aspects of patronage, historians have not ignored the agonistic, competitive and potentially destructive side of Roman patronage. Badian writes at length on the destructive potential of the acquisition of foreign *clientelae* by the Republican élite.<sup>31</sup> A more subtle case of alienation as opposed to integration can be seen

---

<sup>27</sup> John Rich, “Patronage and Interstate Relations in the Roman Republic”, in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 117-135.

<sup>28</sup> D. Braund, “Function and Dysfunction: Personal Patronage in Roman Imperialism”, in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 137-152, especially 151.

<sup>29</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, “Introduction”, 5-6.

<sup>30</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, “Patronage in Roman Society”, 74-6; Braund, “Function and Dysfunction”, 137-141.

<sup>31</sup> “*Dignitas*, leading to concrete advantages and even *potentia*, and on the other hand *invidia*—these are the two poles of the noble’s foreign *clientelae*”, Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, 167.

in the case of Cicero, who considered himself a good patron of Salamis, but nevertheless agreed to the request of a client of Brutus, to whom Cicero himself had strong political ties, to force the people of Salamis to repay a debt at outrageous interest.<sup>32</sup> L. Harmand commented on the potential destructiveness of *patrocinium vicorum* in the Late Antique period, when large land-holders protected their client communities from the tax collectors and in doing so subverted the state.<sup>33</sup>

### 1.1.2 Patronage as Ideology

The preceding discussion already provides enough material to lay the foundation for an understanding of public building in terms of patronage. However, at this point it will be better to draw attention to three outstanding problems. One is the evident Romano-centrism of the authors mentioned, whose concern has been primarily with the impact of patronage relations on politics at Rome. Developments in the eastern half of the empire, therefore, have received little attention. A second problem has to do with the emphasis on the “personal” nature of patronage as a one-to-one exchange between individuals. This has led to relatively little attention being paid to the issue of gifts from one to the many, or of the patronage of communities considered in the abstract. Indeed, even after admitting to an over-emphasis on personal patronage and that the patronage of communities falls “outside the standard modern definition of patronage in that one of the partners to the relationships was a community not an individual”, Wallace-Hadrill has taken pains to argue that Romans treated communities *as if* they were persons and that what really counted in the patronage of communities were informal *personal* links between members of the local and Roman élites.<sup>34</sup> Thus, little attention has been paid to the patronage of communities through public buildings, which simultaneously represented gifts from one to

---

<sup>32</sup> Cicero, *ad Atticum* 5.21.

<sup>33</sup> Harmand, *Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques*, 432, 448-461.

<sup>34</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, “Patronage in Roman Society”, 75.

the many, and gifts to the community as an abstract entity. Saller, for example, includes building patronage in his discussion of provincial governors. However, he gives the entire subject only two sentences.<sup>35</sup> A third problem follows immediately from the second. These historians have looked at the aspects of status, power and obligation associated with personal “political” patronage, but they have not looked at the personal or ideological factors associated with the patronage of public building.

There is, however, one author who has addressed the issues associated with patronage of communities in the Greek East, and has written about building. This is Paul Veyne, who published his monumental and thought provoking *Le Pain et le Cirque: Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique* in 1976.<sup>36</sup> Veyne's subject was *évergétisme*. This word was introduced into the French language by André Boulanger in the early part of this century to facilitate discussion of various acts of benefaction recorded on honorific decrees of the Hellenistic and Roman periods by the phrase *euergetein ten polin*.<sup>37</sup> The related terms, *euergetes* and *euergesia* are simply transliterations from the Greek denoting benefactor and benefaction, respectively. Veyne uses these terms to refer only to those voluntary expenditures on games, performances, festivals, banquets, distributions and public buildings, made by “local notables” for the benefit of their communities. Thus, for Veyne euergetism refers only to the financing of *voluptates* and *opera publica* and excludes *patrocinium causae* or other “non-material” benefactions.<sup>38</sup>

Veyne's goal was to explain why such acts of “private liberality for public benefit” were so important in the Greco-Roman world. Arguing that emperor, Roman senator and municipal magistrate in the Greek East all had very different reasons for giving bread and

---

<sup>35</sup> Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 155-156.

<sup>36</sup> Paul Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque: sociologie historique d'une pluralisme politique*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1976), now available in English in an (unfortunately) abridged edition as Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, translated by B. Pearce, with an introduction by Oswyn Murray, (London: Penguin, 1990).

<sup>37</sup> André Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie en IIe siècle de notre ère*, (Paris: de Boccard, 1923), 25.

<sup>38</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 20.

circuses, Veyne discussed the nature and motives of each separately.<sup>39</sup> Only his discussion of municipal magistrates in the Greek East will receive attention here.

One of the main features of Veyne's analysis was to make euergetism in Greek cities the exclusive preserve of local "notables" who were civic magistrates or members of council. This he did on traditional grounds, arguing that only the notables had the riches necessary to make collective gifts to a city; the poor could not be *euergetai*. Veyne also associated euergetism closely with cities in which the notables had inevitably assumed the exclusive right of governance, for only they were wealthy enough to have the leisure to devote themselves to public service. Initially, the ordinary plebeian citizens permitted this to take place in exchange for benefits, according to Veyne, but eventually they came to accept that it was right for the notables to manage civic affairs. As the local élite dominated civic government, political privilege became a part of the "class interest" of the notables and was something which they would go to great lengths to maintain, particularly by spending their private fortunes on euergetic acts.<sup>40</sup>

However, in contrast to the authors discussed above, Veyne rejected the notion that euergetic giving, practised out of "class interest", was political in the sense of either buying off the masses, or redistributing wealth to ease social tensions. The notables did not perform euergetic acts to protect their political power, their property, or the relations of production, for this was the job of the emperor and his armies.<sup>41</sup> But if not motivated by politics, whence did the notables' impulse towards euergetism spring?

Veyne's answer was that euergetism originated in a "tendency possessed by individuals or groups to actualize their potentialities, together with a tendency to express their superiorities."<sup>42</sup> This Veyne connected with Aristotle's comments on the ethical

---

<sup>39</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 110.

<sup>40</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 112.

<sup>41</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 317.

<sup>42</sup> Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 70. This is Pearce's translation of Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 185: "Le mécénat . . . est plutôt l'effet d'une tendance qu'ont les individus ou les groupes à actualiser leurs possibilités, et aussi une tendance à exprimer leurs supériorités ...".

virtue of “magnificence”—the willingness to pay for public goods—which could only be possessed by the rich because only the rich had the resources for the necessary expenditures. Euergetism, therefore, was a form of pride that resulted in the performance of benefits.<sup>43</sup> But it had a class character at the outset, a class character which was reinforced by political control as the notables became sole masters of the city and then turned their political superiority into a social doctrine. Euergetism thus became an integral element in the self-representation of the notable, part of who he was, something built in as a function of a “class psychology.”<sup>44</sup>

Veyne carried his analysis further, noting three important elements in this class ethos. One of these was civic pride or patriotism, which grew out of the fact that, acting as magistrates and councillors, the notables felt personally responsible for the city and therefore acutely conscious of its standing. If the city lacked something in the way of a building or a festival, that absence reflected on them. Patriotism therefore drove notables to provide their city with the required amenities and luxuries.<sup>45</sup> Closely connected with civic pride was φιλοτιμία, a term which frequently appears on the inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman as a positive attribute of benefactors who displayed their “love of honour” or generosity by presenting gifts to their cities. The word φιλοτιμία also carried connotations of ambitious striving. Indeed, *euergetai* competed with one another in the performance of *euergesiai*, measuring their “size” as individuals according to the size of their gifts. Hence the minute attention to detail on honorific inscriptions on which every drachma spent, every banquet provided on behalf of the city is recorded with care. The third element which motivated the notables was the desire to be remembered, since in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods, many *euergetai* sought to perpetuate their memory

---

<sup>43</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 32-35.

<sup>44</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 112. “Devenus maîtres exclusifs des cités, les notables, comme tous les privilégiés, se font un devoir et une doctrine de leurs distances sociales; ils éprouvent un vif patriotisme pour la ville qui est leur chose, ils exaltent les devoirs qu’ils ont envers leurs collègues, se contraignent mutuellement à accomplir leurs devoirs de l’état. . .”

<sup>45</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 238-9.

after death by bequeathing money to supply their cities with education, or oil for the gymnasia, or by creating foundations to hold banquets, sacrifices, and festivals in their honour.<sup>46</sup> The idea was to make the *euergetes* immortal in the sense that his or her name would be kept alive through perpetual honours. This has been interpreted by some as an extension of the Greek practice of performing rituals at the tombs of dead relatives, but it was on a much greater scale, since the goal of such foundations was to keep the memories of dead benefactors alive through the pleasures experienced by the entire body of living citizens, and not just by members of the family.<sup>47</sup> According to Veyne, however, banquets and festivals were not laid on by the wealthy in order to keep the people happy. On the contrary, they were a means by which the individual notable could express his virtues and his moral superiority to the mass of citizens.

The various elements of Veyne's approach can all be seen in his account of public building as an *euergetic* act:

Orner la cité est le devoir des notables et leur droit exclusif; . . . La grandeur des notables s'exprime par des édifices publics : les constructions répondent à un besoin de symboliser sa propre grandeur : elles ne s'adressent pas à des interlocuteurs plébéiens. Elles trahissent une psychologie de classe, elles ne servent pas des intérêts de classe...<sup>48</sup>

Buildings were an excellent way of beautifying one's city, and thus demonstrating one's patriotism. They were an excellent way of demonstrating one's magnificence and love of honour through a willingness to pay for public benefits. They satisfied the need of a family of notables to set a mark on the face of the city. Above all, they were an excellent means of perpetuating one's memory as an honorable and patriotic citizen for, barring disaster, a building such as a bath would be there tomorrow and the next day, providing pleasant services to all. Thus, among the various acts an *euergetes* could undertake, the

---

<sup>46</sup> B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, 2 bd. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914) reprinted Leipzig: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1964.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 104-110.

<sup>48</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 288-9.

construction of a public building was a particularly attractive one. Those who could afford it, could thereby leave behind them a visible and permanent mark of their generosity and grandeur.

Veyne went on to suggest that the engraving of a decree of honour by the city was dearest to the notable's heart, since it was actually the inscription that connected his name to the gift of a building and thus recorded his honour for posterity.<sup>49</sup> Without an inscription the patron's name would eventually be lost. But it is important to stress that Veyne's interpretation of inscriptions was the same as his interpretation of buildings. Neither buildings nor inscriptions had anything to do with politics: neither were addressed to a plebeian audience. Instead, the purpose of inscriptions, like buildings, was really to display the grandeur of the notables, affirm their identity as magnanimous individuals, and affirm their membership in a superior order of society. That is to say, the notables themselves were the real audience of buildings and inscriptions, the message sent by the granting of honorific decrees and statues being an expression of their own grandeur as a group.<sup>50</sup> Such granting of honours reinforced and perpetuated the notables' code of values, Veyne argued further, for in acclaiming a *euergetes*, the city encouraged others to follow his example.<sup>51</sup> In Veyne's words, "Évergésies et honneurs deviennent la matière d'une idéologie, d'une croyance qui mène à des conduites"<sup>52</sup>.

We are now in a position to understand better Veyne's argument concerning the relations of euergetism and politics, which is not that euergetism had nothing at all to do with politics. As we have seen, Veyne's euergetism *was* bound up with a certain political order wherein the mass of citizens had ceded control of civic government to the notables. Rather, he rejects the notion that politics is the highest realm of human activity, and in addition, rejects the Marxist interpretation of politics as a matter of maintaining ownership

---

<sup>49</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 267.

<sup>50</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 269.

<sup>51</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 265.

<sup>52</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 265.

of the means of production. As a result, Veyne discards many arguments that were either implicit or explicit in the literature reviewed above. He rejects the notion that euergetism, or patronage, should be studied only in order to explain developments at the political level. He rejects the notion that euergetism is to be explained in Marxist terms as a means of defending material interests. For him, issues of identity and superiority were far more important. Thus, euergetism was not a means to an end in politics: politics was a means of affirming identity. Euergetic giving was not a means of defending property: rather, maintaining property was necessary to continue euergetic giving, and so to continue demonstrating one's moral superiority.

Veyne's position represents a valid criticism of the "political" approach to patronage in at least one important respect. By making the gift part of a quest for political power, the giving of gifts becomes inherently rational. Rational acts do not require much investigation, with the result that even though the existence of ideological factors is acknowledged in studies of political patronage, the nature of the ideology is rarely examined. But the questions raised by Veyne's opposition to the political interpretation of building are various. Veyne believed that his interpretation of euergetic acts as arising from the ethos of notables invalidated the "political" model. So were buildings a means to an end in politics? Or a means of displaying grandeur? Should they be interpreted as the most political of gifts? Or the least, since they were only meant to underline the cultural values of the notables?

A brief review of classical authors suggests that there is no need to reject one approach for the other.

### **1.1.3 Patronage as Ideology and Politics: The Roman View**

One does not need to search far among ancient authors to find evidence for the belief that patronage was of central and systemic importance in Roman society. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whose *Roman Antiquities* contains the only surviving general account of



the patron-client relationship at Rome, wrote that Roman domination of the world was not a trick of fortune, but rather was a product of the excellent institutions established by Romulus, of which patronage was one of the most important.<sup>53</sup> Cicero argued in *De Officiis* that mutual human helpfulness was the key to sustaining civilization and that,

*. . . ut placet Stoicis, quae in terris gignantur, ad usum hominum omnia creari, homines autem hominum causa esse generatos, ut ipsi inter se aliis alii prodesse possent, in hoc naturam debemus ducem sequi, communes utilitates in medium afferre mutatione officiorum, dando accipiendo, tum artibus, tum facultatibus devincere hominum inter homines societatem.*<sup>54</sup>

...as the Stoics hold, everything that the earth produces is created for man's use; and as men are born for the sake of men, that they may be able mutually to help one another; in this direction we ought to follow nature as our guide, to contribute to the general good by an interchange of acts of kindness, by giving and receiving, and thus by our skill, our industry, and our talents to cement human society more closely together, man to man.

This same emphasis on the binding centrality of reciprocal giving is found in Seneca, whose *De Beneficiis* was intended as a "discussion of benefits and the rules for a practice that constitutes the chief bond of human society"<sup>55</sup>

We also find confirmation of the idea of the asymmetry inherent in the patron-client exchange. For example, in Dionysius we read that the beauty of Romulus' original design of the Roman state was that, by assigning different duties to the each class, it both acknowledged the natural inequality of classes while binding them together in relations of mutual assistance.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant.Rom.* 1.4.2.

<sup>54</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.7, 22 (The translations in this chapter are based on the Loeb editions of the texts).

<sup>55</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.4.2: *De beneficiis dicendum est et ordinanda res, quae maxime humanam societatem alligat.*

<sup>56</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, VII (1328b-1329a), where the functions of government are not assigned equally to all sectors of the state. People involved in commerce and manual labour are excluded from office because they do not have the leisure to develop virtue and participate in political life. People who had sufficient resources to grant them the leisure to exercise virtue were to be the office holders, the priests and magistrates. Similarly, Cicero in *De re publica*, 2.16, distinguishes between those who have enough wealth to be free from manual labour and so exercise political office, from those whose labouring makes them unfit and unprepared for political power.

ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπικλήσει τε εὐπρεπεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐκόσμησε πατρωνεῖαν ὀνομάσας τὴν πενήτων καὶ ταπεινῶν προστασίαν, καὶ τὰ ἔργα χρηστὰ προσέθηκεν ἑκατέροις<sup>57</sup> καὶ φιλανθρώπους καὶ πολιτικὰς ἀπεργαζόμενος αὐτῶν τὰς συζυγίας...

Romulus adorned the relationship with a comely name, calling the protection of the poor and lowly “patronage” and he assigned to each party useful tasks, making the bond between them benevolent and one befitting citizens.

The well-born, virtuous and wealthy would be the magistrates, priests, judges and managers of state affairs. The undistinguished and poor plebeians would be the agricultural labourers, herdsmen and artisans (2.9,1). Each plebeian would choose a patron to look after his interests, legal and contractual, “omitting nothing that fathers do for sons...” (2.10,1). The plebeian would help his patron financially if the need arose, by raising money for a daughter’s dowry, ransoming family members captured in battle, or by paying costs incurred by the patron in lawsuits or in standing for office (2.10,2). The bond between *patronus* and *cliens* was so strong that it was illegal for a patron to prosecute, or to give evidence against his client, and vice versa, the penalty being dedication to subterranean Zeus (2.10,3).<sup>58</sup>

The asymmetry inherent in patronage is also found in both Cicero and Seneca. People of lower class and rank rarely appear as benefactors in their works. Their advice is directed to the well-born gentleman on the implicit assumption that only members of the higher ranks had the resources to give gifts. Both Cicero and Seneca also provide a great deal of evidence to support Veyne’s contention that patronage was chiefly an ideological discourse concerned with issues of moral duty, display and identity, and not so much with material things.

Cicero, for example, insists that the motive for generosity ought to be love, that its goal should be to earn goodwill, and that goodwill ought to be earned, wherever possible, through gifts of service rather than of money. The element of moral duty in giving and

<sup>57</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.9,3.

<sup>58</sup> Recent commentators suggest correctly that Dionysius’ assertion of laws governing patronage has no documentary basis. See Andrew Drummond, “Early Roman *clientes*,” in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 89-115, especially 90-91.

repaying gifts is evident when he writes that: “if there shall be obligations already incurred, so that kindness is not to begin with us, but to be requited, still greater diligence, it seems, is called for; for no duty is more imperative than that of proving one’s gratitude.”<sup>59</sup> In this view, doing the kindness or performing a benefaction is optional, but repaying one is not.<sup>60</sup> Cicero also recognizes the importance of display, linking his discussion of giving and getting with a lengthy section on the means of earning a good name through public acts. He provides additional warrant for Veyne’s suggestion that politics was primarily a field for the display of virtues when he writes that those with the ability should not hesitate to “enter the race for public office, and take a hand in directing the government; for in no other way can a government be administered or *greatness of spirit be manifest*” (My italics).<sup>61</sup>

Seneca emphasizes the non-material benefits of patronage even more strongly than Cicero, writing that “a benefit cannot possibly be touched by the hand; its province is the mind ... and so it is neither gold nor silver or any of the gifts which are held to be most valuable that constitutes a benefit, but merely the goodwill of him who bestows it.”<sup>62</sup> According to Seneca, the granting of a gift was something desirable in itself and it was even “a virtue to give benefits that have no surety of being returned.”<sup>63</sup> There was, in fact, no need to look for a return, because: “The accounting of benefits is simple—so much is paid out; if anything comes back, it is profit, if nothing comes back, there is no loss.”<sup>64</sup> Even if a gift was repaid with ingratitude: “the best part of it is unharmed—the fact that

---

<sup>59</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.15.47: *Sin erunt merita, ut non ineunda, sed referenda sit gratia, maior quaedam cura adhibenda est; nullum enim officium referenda gratia magis necessarium est.*

<sup>60</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.15.48.

<sup>61</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.21.72: *Sed iis, qui habent a natura adiumenta rerum gerendarum, abiecta omni cunctatione adipiscendi magistratus et gerenda res publica est; nec enim aliter aut regi civitas aut declarari animi magnitudo potest.*

<sup>62</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.5.2: *Non potest beneficium manu tangi; res animo geritur. Multum interest inter materiam beneficii et beneficium; itaque nec aurum nec argentum nec quicquam eorum, quae pro maxime accipiuntur, beneficium est, sed ipsa tribuentis voluntas.*

<sup>63</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.1.12: *Nunc est virtus dare beneficia non utique reditura...*

<sup>64</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.2.3: *Beneficiorum simplex ratio est: tantum erogatur; si reddet aliquid, lucrum est, si non reddet, non damnum est.*

you gave it.”<sup>65</sup> Nor did Seneca ignore the notables’ need for display. Since modesty forbade the patron from announcing gifts himself, it was the task of the recipient to spread the news. Indeed, one of the chief duties of the recipient was to make the gift of the patron known as widely as possible: “Let us show how grateful we are for the blessing that has come to us by pouring forth our feelings, and let us bear witness to them, not merely in the hearing of the giver, but everywhere.”<sup>66</sup>

But if comments like these support Veyne’s interpretation of patronage as an ideology of moral duty and class identity, they also suggest that the Roman ideal was very different from the Roman reality, and that material and political interests *were* involved in the gift-exchange. After all, neither Cicero nor Seneca would have written books to correct the behaviour of gentlemen if gentlemen had not been behaving badly, engaging in patronage relationships for wrong reasons, such as material benefit. Cicero wrote that although benefactions ought to be bestowed on those who needed them most, the majority of people followed the opposite course, putting themselves “most eagerly at the service of the one from whom they hope to receive the greatest favours, even though he has no need of their help.”<sup>67</sup> Who is there, he complains, “that does not in performing a service see the favour of a rich and influential man above the case of a poor, though most worthy, person. For, as a rule, our will is more inclined to the one from whom we expect a prompter and speedier return.” In the same way, Seneca began his book by stressing how disgraceful it was that human beings did not know how to give or receive and thus that “among all our many and very great vices, none is so common as ingratitude.”<sup>68</sup>

Furthermore, despite the emphasis on moral duty and virtues, we also find reference to the political implications of benefactions and particularly those given from one

---

<sup>65</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.10,4: *Salvum est tibi ex illo, quod est optimum: dedisti.*

<sup>66</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 2.22,1: *Quam grate ad nos pervenisse indicemus effusis adfectibus, quos non ipso tantum audiente sed ubique testemur.*

<sup>67</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.15,49: *... quod contra fit a plerisque; a quo enim plurimum sperant, etiamsi ille iis non eget, tamen ei potissimum inserviunt.*

<sup>68</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.1,2.

to the many. Seneca, it should be noted, was overwhelmingly in favour of gifts that created a personal, one-to-one bond between the giver and the recipient. However, he still gave the hypothetical example of a Gaul who felt no personal obligation to the emperor for a reduction in taxes because it had been given to all Gauls at the same time. The Gaul argues that although he had benefited from the grant, in making it the patron had not been thinking of him personally. Thus, he does not feel personally indebted but indebted only in so far as he was a Gaul.<sup>69</sup> Thus, in Seneca's view benefactions to a group also generated obligations that were to be repaid, as in this case, with political loyalty.

Cicero was more forthright in acknowledging the impact on political careers that the giving of group benefits like games, banquets and doles could have:<sup>70</sup>

*Quamquam intellego in nostra civitate inveterasse iam bonis temporibus, ut splendor aedilitatem ab optimis viris postuletur. Itaque et P. Crassus cum cognomine dives, tum copiis functus est aedilicio maximo munere, et paulo post L. Crassus cum omnium hominum moderatissimo Q. Mucio magnificentissima aedilitate functus est.... Vitanda tamen suspicio est avaritiae. Mamercus, homini divitissimo, praetermissio aedilitatis consulatus repulsam attulit. Quare et si postulatur a populo, bonis viris si non desiderantibus, at tamen approbantibus faciendum est.*<sup>71</sup>

And yet I realize that in our country, even in the good old times, it had become settled custom to expect magnificent entertainments from the very best men in the year of their aedileship. So both Publius Crassus who was not merely surnamed "The Rich" but was rich in fact, gave splendid games in his aedileship; and a little later Lucius Crassus with Quintus Mucius the most unpretentious man in the world as his colleague gave most magnificent entertainments in his aedileship. . . Still we should avoid any suspicion of penuriousness. Mamercus was a very wealthy man, and his refusal of the aedileship was the cause of his defeat for the consulship. If, therefore such entertainment is demanded by the people, men of right judgment must at least consent to furnish it, even if they do not like the idea.

The sense of obligation generated in the masses in receiving games was manifested in their election to civic office of benefactors. Expenditure on public benefactions was a means of

<sup>69</sup> Seneca. *De Beneficiis*, 6.19, 2-5.

<sup>70</sup> However, Cicero does point out that men of true talent like himself had risen to the highest offices without massive outlay of cash in aedilician games: . . . *nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus nostro quiddem anno . . . sane exiguus sumptus aedilitatis est* (2.17,3).

<sup>71</sup> Cicero. *De Officiis*, 2.16,57-2.17,58.

increasing clientèle and figured among the *officia* that the ambitious had to perform if they were to succeed.

Cicero also connected patronage precisely to the defence of material interests. Indeed, benefactions won the hearts of men and attached them to one's service.<sup>72</sup> But lavish expenditure on benefactions also led to robbery of the kind that Cicero identifies when condemning the conveyance of other people's property by Sulla and Caesar to their friends. This example leads him to warn that generosity frequently engenders the plundering and misappropriation of property in order to supply a passion for making large gifts.<sup>73</sup>

Cicero thus shows that public benefaction *was* a matter of politics, that it could lead to the confiscation of property, and was engaged in as a means of safe-guarding material and political interests. Notably, the defense of property was not to be mounted against the lower classes. In this sense, Veyne was correct. But a point which Veyne consistently overlooks is that the "enemy" of the notables were other members of the order of notables. That is, he overlooks the possibility of political competition between notables themselves. Seneca hints at the well-springs of the competitiveness inherent in the Roman patron-client relationship when writing that:

*docendi ...et magnum ipsis certamen proponere, eos, quibus obligati sunt, re animoque non tantum aequare sed vincere, quia, qui referre gratiam debet, numquam consequitur, nisi praecessit.*<sup>74</sup>

we need to be taught.... to set before us the high aim of striving, not merely to equal but to surpass in deed and spirit those who have placed us under obligation, for he who has a debt of gratitude to pay never catches up with the favour unless he outstrips it.

Dionysius also hinted at how this striving could take a competitive turn for the worse:

---

<sup>72</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2.6,21 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.14,44: *Inest autem in tali liberalitate cupiditas plerumque rapiendi et auferendi per iniuriam, ut ad largiendum suppetant copiae.*

<sup>74</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.4,3.

καὶ μέγας ἔπαινος ἦν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἰκῶν ὡς πλείστους πελάτας ἔχειν τὰς τε προγονικὰς φυλάττουσι διαδοχὰς τῶν πατρωνειῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς ἄλλας ἐπικτωμένοις....<sup>75</sup>

and it was a matter of great praise for those from distinguished households that they have the greatest number of clients, both preserving the ones made by their ancestors and winning others through their own virtue.

We are to understand that patron competed with patron in the acquisition of clients and that competition was inherently problematic, since it could disrupt harmony and social cohesion within the ranks of the élite. So it proved to be the case, in Dionysius' view, when Gaius Gracchus disrupted old patron-client bonds by making himself the new patron of the plebs, competing with the other notables for clients.<sup>76</sup> Cicero takes up the ensuing story of the destructive effects of competitive giving in the civil wars of Sulla, Pompey and Julius Caesar.

The point to be taken from this is not that Veyne's view is wrong and that the political interpretation of patronage is correct. Rather, the destructive political effects of patronage and consequent need to engage in it as a means of defence can be seen to have grown out of the values inherent in upper class ideology. As Cicero put it, seizure of property arose out of excessive love of generosity. This indicates the impossibility of separating the ideology from the politics of patronage. They appear to have been simultaneous realms of meaning, a simultaneity that can also be seen in public building.

For example, Cicero acknowledged that it was necessary to give collective benefits in order to advance in politics, but chastised the lavish who "squander their money on public banquets, doles of meat among the people, gladiatorial shows, magnificent games, and wild beast fights—vanities of which but a brief recollection will remain, or none at

<sup>75</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.10.4.

<sup>76</sup> Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 8.1, confirms this picture by presenting the relationship between Gaius and the people as based on an exchange of favours: "Ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ δήμου μεγαλύνοντος αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἐτοιμῶς ἔχοντος ἐνδείκνυσθαι πρὸς εὐνοίαν, ἔφη ποτὲ δημηγορῶν αὐτὸς αἰτήσιν χάριν, ἦν λαβῶν μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἔξειν, εἰ δὲ ἀποτύχοι, μηδὲν ἐκείνοις μεμψιμοιρήσειν. In their desire to do a favour, χάρις, for their patron they elected Gaius' candidate for the consulship, Gaius Fannius, and Gaius himself for a second tribunate.

all.”<sup>77</sup> He quoted Aristotle to the same effect, that the gratification of the populace was momentary and that the memory of their enjoyment died as soon as the moment of gratification is past.<sup>78</sup> It was therefore better to give public works:

*Atque etiam illae impensae meliores, muri, navalia, portus, aquarum ductus omniaque, quae ad usum rei publicae pertinent. Quamquam quod praesens tamquam in manum datur, iucundius est; tamen haec in posterum gratiora.*<sup>79</sup>

Again the expenditure of money is better justified when it is made for walls, docks, harbours, aqueducts and all works which are of service to the community. There is to be sure, more of present satisfaction in what is handed out, like cash down; nevertheless public improvements win us greater gratitude with posterity.

The politics of building are thus confused with issues of glory and memory. Seneca did not discuss building *per se*, but wrote that in giving gifts “we shall seek especially for things that will last, in order that our gift may be as imperishable as possible ... even the ungrateful have their memory aroused when they encounter the gift itself, when it is actually before their eyes and does not let them forget it. And let us all the more give gifts that endure because we ought never to remind anyone of them; let the object itself revive that memory that is fading.”<sup>80</sup> However, it is in Pliny, who provides a catalogue of the extent of a notable’s benefactions which is unmatched by any other non-epigraphic source, that we see how public gifts and physical gifts like buildings could deeply involve both politics and ideology.

Although Pliny was a senator at Rome, he did not undertake his activities as a public benefactor there. By his time, the use of space at Rome had long been controlled by

---

<sup>77</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2.16.55: *...qui epulis et viscerationibus et gladiatorum muneribus, ludorum venationumque apparatu pecunias profundunt in eas res, quarum memoriam aut brevem aut nullam omnino sint relicturi...*

<sup>78</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2.16.57.

<sup>79</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2.17.60:

<sup>80</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.12.1: *Si arbitrium dandi penes nos est, praecipue mansura quaeremus, ut quam minime mortale munus sit. Pauci enim sunt tam grati, ut, quid acceperint, etiam si non vident cogitent. Ingratos quoque memoria cum ipso munere incurrit, ubi ante oculos est et oblivisci sui non sinit, sed auctorem suum ingerit et inculcat.*



the emperor and was reserved as a showpiece for the emperor's patronage alone.<sup>81</sup> Senators were therefore restricted to displaying their generosity in the towns and cities of Italy and the provinces. Pliny focused his benefactions on two Italian communities: Comum, his birthplace; and Tifernum Tiberinum, where he was formally adopted as patron after he inherited the estates of his uncle near the town.<sup>82</sup> Pliny's benefactions to Comum were many.<sup>83</sup> He gave the town 2,000,000 sesterces outright (*Ep.* 5.7). He promised to pay one third of the cost of establishing a school (*Ep.* 4.13.3ff). He founded an alimentary institution and provided for an annual public banquet (*Ep.* 1.8.10, 7.18.2, *CIL* 5.5262). He paid for the construction of a library, as well as a bath complex, and provided extra money to be invested for its upkeep (*Ep.* 1.8.2, and *CIL* V 5262). At Tifernum Tiberinum he paid for the construction of a temple and provided it with imperial statues (*Ep.* 4.1; 3.4; 10.8).

Altogether, Pliny spent at least 5 million sesterces on public benefactions in these two towns. In doing so he appears to have been keeping up a family tradition. In a speech presented at the opening of the library at Comum, for example, Pliny refers to *munificentia parentum nostrum* (*Ep.* 1.8.5). Another letter indicates clearly that his wife Calpurnia's grandfather, Calpurnius Fabatus built a colonnade (*Ep.* 5.11). Moreover, a fragmentary inscription may indicate that Pliny's father built a temple to *Aeternitas Romae et Augusti*.<sup>84</sup> Thus, Pliny's family as a whole spent enormous sums on these two towns. What was the reward for this kind of activity?

---

<sup>81</sup> For example, on the domination of the Forum Romanum by Octavian's buildings see, P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 79-84; and W. Eck, "Senatorial Self Representation in the Age of Augustus", in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds.), *Augustus Caesar, Seven Aspects*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 90-129.

<sup>82</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 4.1.4, the language employed in this letter of his relationship to Tifernum, *me patronum cooptavit*, is precisely the legal language employed on the *tabulae patronatus* of other towns. See J. Nichols, "Pliny and the Patronage of Communities", *Hermes* 108 (1980), 368; and John Nicols, "Tabulae Patronatus: A Study of the Agreement between Patron and the Client-Community", *ANRW* 2.13.550.

<sup>83</sup> On the scale of Pliny's wealth and the extent of his benefactions, see R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 17-32.

<sup>84</sup> *CIL* V fasc.1=*CIL Suppl. It.* 745, R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 60. See note 4 on the possible identification of L. Caecilius C. f. Secundus as Pliny's father.

In a letter to Calpurnius Fabatus, Pliny described how he and Calpurnia went to Tifernum Tiberinum to perform a *necessarium officium* there.<sup>85</sup> A temple which Pliny had constructed was to be dedicated and a banquet held (*Ep.* 4. 1). Describing the general reaction of the townspeople, Pliny writes:

*Adventus meos celebrat, profectionibus angitur, honoribus gaudet.*

They celebrate my arrivals, they are troubled by my departures, and they rejoice in my titles.

A delegation of townspeople, perhaps the citizenry *en masse*, meeting him outside the city, provided him with an honorary escort. At his departure, they led him to the edge of the city's territory.<sup>86</sup> *Honoribus gaudet* may be connected with Pliny's formal co-optation as patron of the community, where the *tabula patronatus* would list the titles and offices (*honores*) of the patron.<sup>87</sup> Alternatively, *honores* may refer to the titles and offices that were preserved on honorific inscriptions erected by the town in the form of decrees inscribed on stele erected in public places, or on the pedestals of statues. For Pliny, as much as for any other patron, it was essential to be acknowledged, appreciated and honoured in return for benefactions. The image of the patron, his status and *gloria* were constructed in this way.

In another letter to Calpurnius Fabatus, Pliny discusses a particularly important aspect of giving the gift of buildings. Fabatus had just built and dedicated a colonnade at Comum in the name of himself and his dead son, which involved both a public ceremony in which the building was officially "opened" to the public, and the inscription of the names of the dedicators.<sup>88</sup> The day after the ceremony for the colonnade, Fabatus drew further

<sup>85</sup> Pliny uses the language of personal patronage here; on *officium*, see R. Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 15-7.

<sup>86</sup> For other examples of processions of people hailing notables on their entry into towns see Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10.19; an inscription from Marathon describes the entry of Herodes Atticus, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1926, 522 and W. Amelung, *Herodes Atticus*, 2 bd., (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Georg Olms, 1983); and Dittenberger, *SIG*, no. 798, lines 15 to end.

<sup>87</sup> On the status of the patron see Nicols, "Tabulae Patronatus", *ANRW* 2.13, 543-5.

<sup>88</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 5.11.1: *Recepi litteras tuas ex quibus cognovi speciosissimam te porticum sub tuo filiiue tui nomine dedicasse...* On *dedicatio* as a ceremony, as well as the inscription of the names of the dedicators,

attention to his magnanimity by promising to decorate its doors.<sup>89</sup> Pliny wrote to congratulate him:

*Gaudeo primum tua gloria, cuius ad me pars aliqua pro necessitudine nostra redundat; deinde quod memoriam soceri mei pulcherrimis operibus video proferri; postremo quod patria nostra florescit, quam mihi a quocumque excoli iucundum, a te vero laetissimum est.*<sup>90</sup>

I rejoice, first of all, in your *gloria*, a part of which reflects on me due to our relationship; next I rejoice in seeing the *memoria* of my father-in-law preserved in a most beautiful building, and finally because our fatherland flourishes, a fact which gives me pleasure when any one improves it but especially when you do.

Three reasons for benefaction are revealed. For the living the building brings *gloria*, or reputation, which was created through public acknowledgment of the gift. For the dead, the benefaction keeps alive fragile *memoria*. Finally, the building beautifies the *patria*, which is the sphere of operation of the local notables.

All of this was good. However, Pliny's letters also indicated the difficulties that could arise in a culture that required members of the élite to act as benefactors in order to earn both glory and popularity. In *Ep.* 1.8, for example, Pliny writes to Pompeius Saturninus concerning the publication of a speech he had delivered to the council of Comum at the opening of the library:

*Quamquam huius cunctationis meae causae non tam in scriptis quam in ipso materiae genere consistunt: est enim paulo quasi gloriosius et elatius. Onerabit hoc modestiam nostram, etiamsi stilus ipse pressus demissusque fuerit, propterea quod cogimur de magnificentia parentum nostrum tum de nostra disputare. Anceps hic et lubricus locus est, etiam cum illi necessitas lenocinatur.*<sup>91</sup>

Although my reasons for this hesitation rest not so much in the style as in the very nature of the material. It is rather boastful and exalted. This will trouble

see Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, (Paris. 1892), pt.1 t.2 41-5; and G. Wissowa, *RE* iv, 2, 2356-2359.

<sup>89</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 5.11.1: *sequenti die in portarum ornatum pecuniam promississe.... Promississe* is also a technical term here: *promitto* (ἐπαγγέλλομαι) denotes a promise to act as a benefactor made formally and publicly and one that was legally binding. See *Digest* 50,12 for regulations on the legally binding nature of *pollicitationes*.

<sup>90</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 5.11.2.

<sup>91</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 1.8.5.

my modesty even if the style itself is concise and reserved, because I am compelled to discuss the generosity of my relatives and my own. This is a hazardous and difficult position though somewhat justified by being inevitable.

The speeches pronounced by benefactors at dedication ceremonies were inevitably full of self-praise. And self-praise led to envy:

*Etenim si alienae quoque laudes parum aequis auribus accipi solent, quam difficile est obtinere, ne molesta videatur oratio de se aut de suis disserentis! Nam cum ipsi honestati tum aliquanto magis gloriae eius praedicationisque invidemus, atque ea demum recte facta minus detorquemus et carpimus, quae in obscuritate et silentio reponuntur.*<sup>92</sup>

Even disinterested praise is very rarely well received, and it is all the harder to avoid a bad reception when a speaker refers to himself and his family. We feel resentment against merit unadorned, and still more when pride publishes it abroad; in fact it is only when deeds are consigned to obscurity and silence that they escape criticism and misconstruction.

Pliny is reluctant to have his deeds consigned to obscurity, but he is also reluctant to incur the envy that the acquisition of *gloria* inevitably brought in its train. People interpret generosity accompanied by words, Pliny continues, especially public words, as an attempt to court popular opinion and thus as a political act.<sup>93</sup> On this score, Pliny's hint that the emperor Nerva was notified of benefactions made by prominent individuals is rather interesting.<sup>94</sup> It could be interpreted to mean that benefactions could advance a person's career by bringing them to the notice of the emperor.<sup>95</sup> It could also mean that the

---

<sup>92</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 1.8.6.

<sup>93</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 1.8.16-17.

<sup>94</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 10.8.1-2: *Cum divus pater tuus, domine, et oratione pulcherrima et honestissimo exemplo, omnes cives ad munificentiam esset cohortatus, petii ab eo, ut statuas principum, quas in longinquis agris per plures successiones traditas mihi quales acceperam custodiebam, permetteret in municipium transferre adiecta sua statua. Quod quidem ille mihi cum plenissimo testimonio indulserat.* This letter is also interesting because it describes the procedure followed by a benefactor through which he notified all the parties who had an interest in his benefaction.

<sup>95</sup> A few examples of imperial letters in support of patrons will suffice. The Demosthenes inscription from Oenoanda commences with the text of a letter from Hadrian confirming the foundation of the festival by Demosthenes. See M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988), 4. The tomb of Opramoas of Rhodiapolis preserves several imperial letters praising his vast benefactions, for example, *IGR* 3, 739, 47= *TAM* 2.3 905 (XII D). For transcription and commentary of the entire corpus see R. Heberdey, *Opramoas. Inschriften vom Heroon zu Rhodiapolis*, (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1897).

emperor was interested in keeping track of those who gave gifts and thus developed the kind of local followings that could lead to disorder, or even to a challenge for the throne.

#### 1.1.4 Conclusion

We are now in a position to offer a provisional application of the ideas associated with patronage in Roman society in general to the patronage of public building in particular.

Certainly, the patronage of public building was systemic and persisted, for as Ward-Perkins has noted: “most of the public buildings in Italy of the period before 300 were erected, and when necessary, repaired with privately-donated money.”<sup>96</sup> The giving of such gifts was certainly also asymmetric. Only the rich could afford to provide costly buildings to a public that could not possibly repay the donor with gifts of equal value. The exchange was undoubtedly non-commercial in this sense. Neither the time nor kind of the repayment was specified in advance.

But as our discussion of reciprocity suggests, patrons did receive *some* recompense for the gift of building. First, there was an immediate benefit in the form of increased status, for in giving a building the patron demonstrated his virtuous patriotism, honour, and sense of civic duty. Second, the patron acquired the goodwill of the people. Certainly, many had good reason to be grateful: thanks to patrons roads were paved, aqueducts, baths and colonnades were constructed. The city as a whole could take pride in resembling more closely the classical ideal of the city.<sup>97</sup> More importantly, the individual

---

<sup>96</sup> B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300-850*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 3. This has been confirmed more recently by Edmond Frézouls, “Évergétisme et Construction Publique en Italie du Nord (Xe et Xie régions Augustéennes), in *La Città nell' Italia Settentrionale in Éta Romana*, (Rome: Collection de L'École Française de Rome), 130, 1990, 179-209, especially 187.

<sup>97</sup> See E.J. Owens, *The City in the Greek and Roman World*, (London and New York, Routledge, 1991), 1-10, on the Greek and Roman ideas about the nature of the city. For a typology of buildings in the Roman city, see William MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, Volume 2: An Urban Appraisal*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 111-132.

inhabitants of the city could enjoy the use of these structures every day. As William MacDonald has remarked incisively:

Architects and builders responded successfully to functional needs. At the same time they created a popular architecture, one of availability and assembly, much of it the everyday property of all.<sup>98</sup>

This “popular” architecture was especially important to the lower socio-economic strata who lived in cramped, pest-infested quarters and could only appreciate amenities like the fresh and abundant water for drinking that gushed from public fountains, or the open rest spaces of colonnades and baths.<sup>99</sup> The functionality of typical city buildings was complemented by the beauty of their decoration and art work. The splendid decorative elements which were so much part of Roman architecture were sites of mass public enjoyment. Elaborate columnar displays, decorated ressaunts, exedrae and aediculae encrusted with coloured marbles and filled with sculpture made the city an open public gallery.

We know that there was also to be a return to the patron by way of a physical public acknowledgment of gratitude, which took the form of honorific inscriptions on stelai and statue bases. Our model suggests that these inscriptions, in combination with those inscribed on the structure itself, had an important role in politics. First, they linked the patron to the gift by name, indicating the person to whom the recipient owed the debt of obligation and loyalty that all gifts in Roman society were expected to engender. Second, they earned the loyalty of numerous people at once. Third, they earned the

---

<sup>98</sup> William MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, Volume 2*, 255-6.

<sup>99</sup> It is hard not to quote the words of MacDonald on the sense of civic participation evoked by Roman architecture and planning: “In architecture, as in so much else, the Romans overcame; their buildings quickly arose in different places that knew Rome’s power and its agents. Because of that power and of Rome’s often rapacious and ruthless ways, it is surprising that its architecture was so rarely one of oppression, that it was so open and sometimes, in important ways, sensitive to human needs. The repeated provision of places for pausing and resting, shaded perhaps, where one might feel comfortable in the sense of the Spanish *quernica*, hardly suggests tyranny. In minor arcades and small exedras, on the benches of markets, fountains, and tombs, in corners and recesses outdoors and in, one might simply by sitting or standing claim for a few moments participatory ownership of a bit of public space.” MacDonald, *Architecture of the Roman Empire, Volume 2*, 269.

gratitude and loyalty of members of the lower classes. Fourth, such acts of generosity could earn the attention of the emperor, securing access to imperial patronage for the local notable at the expense of his fellow members of the civic élite. Fifth, therefore, buildings could result in competition between local notables in their pursuit of power.

Our discussion, however, indicates that an ideological motivation for the gift of public buildings existed in addition to a strictly political motivation. Buildings were not given for strictly cynical reasons, or only to raise the notable's status in other people's eyes, but as a personal expression of his virtue, honour and identity. To the extent that these matters were bound up with class, gifts of buildings can be seen as expressions of class values, and as exhortations to other notables to live up to the moral duties of their position. That the gift of buildings was not strictly political can perhaps be seen most clearly in the use of buildings and their inscriptions to the secure of memory of the patron's *gloria* in the future, when all possible political advantage had vanished.

Does this general framework of ideas apply to patronage of public building in the Greek East? The model certainly points to inscriptions as the crucial pieces of evidence, and it is to the conclusions that can be drawn from that evidence that we must now turn.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Patrons of Public Building in Early Imperial Ephesos**

The previous chapter set out a model which pointed to inscriptions as crucial links in the patronage system, and thus potentially as crucial evidence in understanding the patronage of public buildings in the eastern half of the Roman empire. This chapter represents a first pass at the evidence of inscriptions available for Ephesos, the chief city of the Roman province of Asia. Its goal is to answer two basic questions: who were the individuals who acted as patrons of public building in the early imperial period; and what kind of projects did they undertake?

As we shall see, the epigraphic record at Ephesos shows that relatively few projects were carried out by emperors or imperial officials. Instead, the citizens of Ephesos themselves paid for the majority of the city's public buildings. Most of the patrons were individuals of the local office-holding aristocracy, the notables, although collective bodies like the city and workers' guilds also contributed. Furthermore, it was generally the case that individuals holding the more prestigious offices also undertook the more expensive projects, although no absolute correlation exists between the office held and the wide variety of building projects completed. In the end, a basic pattern emerges of works undertaken by members of the civic élite in response to the changing needs of their city, which in turn suggests that projects were deliberately chosen to appeal to a civic audience in light of current needs, and not chosen solely for symbolic or ideological reasons or because the duties of certain offices demanded buildings of a certain type.

This chapter concerns basic features of the patronage of public building at Ephesos. However, it also gives an introductory sense of the scope of building-related patronage, and lays a strong foundation for the chapters to follow in Part I. It also sets out a pattern that will be particularly important for comparative purposes when considering the patronage of public building in Late Antiquity in Part II.



### 1.2.1 Ephesos: Antiquity and After

Ephesos was considered by contemporaries to be the most prosperous city in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> Thus, it makes an excellent subject for an investigation of the patronage of public building because the prosperity of this populous and cosmopolitan city resulted in a massive physical infrastructure which was largely created by local benefactions.

The foundation of the city's economic strength was its geographic location beside an excellent harbour near the mouth of the Kaystros river, with easy access to a well-watered plain. The people of Ephesos' vast *chora* were able to exploit the many natural resources of the region, producing wine,<sup>2</sup> woollens,<sup>3</sup> and perfume,<sup>4</sup> and exploiting the rich veins of marble for building materials and statuary. An inscription commemorating the construction of a fishing customs house indicates that fishing and the preparation of fish products were also important industries.<sup>5</sup> The harbour made Ephesos a natural centre of trade and commerce,<sup>6</sup> placing the city's merchants astride the flow of goods from inland Asia Minor and the East through Ephesos to points west.<sup>7</sup> The city was also the centre of banking for the province of Asia, the treasury of Artemis serving as a major source of loans.<sup>8</sup> The money which came into the goddess' treasury from temple lands was loaned to individuals, often priests of the cult. If the borrowers were unable to repay their loans then the treasury might be threatened with bankruptcy which would have disastrous

---

<sup>1</sup> Philostratos. *V. Apoll.*, 8.7.28.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo. *Geography*, 14.1.15.

<sup>3</sup> For the inscriptions of the guilds of wool-workers (συνεργασία τῶν λαναρίων), see *IE* 727; *Hermes* vii (1873), 31, no.2, reprinted in *OGI* 510, note 9; and John Turtle Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesos, Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Artemis*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877), App. 7, no.4. On the cloak dealers (ἐριοπωλῶν) and linen workers (λεντιοφαντῶν), see *IE* 454; *JOAI* 56 (1985) 76, and *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1111.

<sup>4</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 15. 689A.

<sup>5</sup> *IE* 20.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, 14.1.24, on Ephesos as the most famous trade centre north of the Taurus range.

<sup>7</sup> On the new portorium law at Ephesos, see H. Engelmann and D. Knibbe, "Das Zollgesetz der Provinz Asia: Eine Neue Inschrift aus Ephesos," *EA* 14 (1989), 1-195. For corrections to the text see, W. Eck, "Cn. Calpurnius Piso, *cos. ord. 7 v. Chr.* und die *Lex Portorii Provinciae Asiae*", *EA* 15 (1990), 139-146.

<sup>8</sup> R. Bogaert, *Banques et Banquiers dans les Cités Grecques*, (Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1968), 245-254.

consequences for the province. This was apparently the case when the proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus issued an edict forbidding the sale of priesthoods.<sup>9</sup>

The economic importance of Ephesos was such that it was a free city under the Attalids. It retained this privileged status after Asia became a Roman province.<sup>10</sup> The city's subsequent support of Mithridates V, which entailed the mass murder of Roman citizens, led to harsh treatment by Sulla. The city's free status was revoked. Its citizens became liable to taxes and were forced to pay a huge indemnity. As with the province of Asia as a whole, Ephesos was ruthlessly exploited by various factions during the turbulent years of the late Republic. But Octavian restored the freedom of Ephesos in 31 BCE and it soon took its place as a major centre in the Roman system of provincial administration. During the Republic, the city had already enjoyed the economic advantages of being an assize centre, host to the governor's court and to all the other Roman officials who necessarily passed through it.<sup>11</sup> In the imperial period, governors and officials traveling from Italy to Asia Minor, were required to make Ephesos their first landfall.<sup>12</sup> By the second century, the city was the official residence of the proconsul of Asia, and the proconsulship of this province became the pinnacle of a senatorial career.<sup>13</sup>

Ephesos' role as a centre of the cult of Artemis created wealth and prestige for the city. The celebrations in honour of Artemis attracted pilgrims from all over the Roman

---

<sup>9</sup> *IE* 17-19, ca. 44 CE. See also D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 545-6.

<sup>10</sup> On the relations of the Romans to the cities of Asia Minor in general see, R. M. Kallett-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Imperium in the East from 148-62 BC*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

<sup>11</sup> G.P. Burton, "Proconsuls, Assizes, and the Administration of Justice", *JRS* 65 (1975), 92-106.

<sup>12</sup> *Digest*, 1.16.4.5; *IE* 217; Pliny, *Ep.* 10.15. Traveling to Bithynia, Pliny landed at Ephesos, and continued his voyage north by carriage and coastal boat, because the prevailing Etesian winds prevented a sea voyage.

<sup>13</sup> Magie, *Roman Rule*, 583. The building on the west slope of Panayirdag has been called the residence of the proconsul, but the identification is not secure. See Guy M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 101 and note 164. Rogers makes reference to F. Millar's "Introduction", in Sarah Macready and F. H. Thompson (eds.), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*, (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1987) xi; and to W. Alzinger, "Ephesos", *RE Suppl. Bd.* 12 (1970), 1639-40.

world who wished to see the epiphany of the goddess, as well as her marvellous temple.<sup>14</sup> This ancient tourist industry created economic spin-offs since ancient pilgrims, like their modern counterparts, required food, lodging and souvenirs. Little silver images of the goddess' shrine were apparently among the most popular items. Indeed, the Apostle Paul's preaching against the worship of idols at Ephesus provoked riots among the silversmiths of the city who feared for their livelihood.<sup>15</sup>

The establishment of Ephesos as an imperial cult site distinguished it from a thousand other eastern cities.<sup>16</sup> This was the result of a request from the *koina* of Asia and Bithynia in 29 BCE, who asked permission of Octavian to establish a cult in his honour at Pergamum and Nicomedia. Octavian responded by ordering Ephesos and Nicaea, the chief cities of Asia and Bithynia respectively, to dedicate sanctuaries to Divus Julius and Dea Roma. Roman citizens were to worship these divinities, while the local inhabitants were to pay cult to Octavian.<sup>17</sup>

That Ephesos was chosen as the cult centre underlines its importance in Asian affairs at this time, a role which expanded during the principate of Augustus. A bilingual inscription dated to 6/5 BCE indicates the presence of an Augusteum in the Artemision precinct.<sup>18</sup> There is also some evidence that a temple of Augustus stood in the upper agora, converted to this purpose from an earlier temple.<sup>19</sup> The deity originally worshipped here may have been the Egyptian Isis. The connection of this temple with Marcus

---

<sup>14</sup> For a vivid description of the temple and sanctuary, see Bluma L. Trell, "The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos", in P. Clayton and M. Price (eds.) in *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 79-82.

<sup>15</sup> *Acts* 19, 24-41.

<sup>16</sup> On the imperial cult in Asia Minor, see Simon Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); on the imperial cult at Ephesos in particular see. H. Engelmann, "Zum Kaiserkult in Ephesos", *ZPE* 97 (1993), 279-289.

<sup>17</sup> Dio Cassius, 51.20,6-7, and Tacitus, *Annals* 4.37, agree that the initiative was taken by the provinces.

<sup>18</sup> *IE* 1522: *Imp. Caesar divi f. Aug. cos. XII. tr. pot. XVIII pontifex maximus ex reditu Dianae fanum et Augusteum muro muniendum curavit C. Asinio [[Gallo pro. cos.]] curatore Sex. Lartidio leg.*

<sup>19</sup> Price, *Rituals and Power*, 254. Price's plan of the upper agora labels this structure as a temple of Augustus. See also *IE* 902, referring to dedication of statuary and possibly a sanctuary in honour of Augustus, and D. Knibbe, "Neus Inschriften aus Ephesos IV", *JOAI* 50 (1972-75), 1-26 no. 6.

Antonius and Cleopatra is clarified by fragments of a statue of the former found in excavations.<sup>20</sup> That Octavian desired to erase from Ephesos the memory of Antony and Cleopatra's sojourn there in the winter of 32 BCE is clear enough.<sup>21</sup>

After Augustus, emperors continued to favour the city for the erection of temples of the imperial cult. By the third century, Ephesos had the distinguished title of “thrice *neocoros*”, that is, “thrice temple warden”. A temple and precinct of the Augusti, commonly known as the temple of Domitian, has been excavated on the east side of the upper agora.<sup>22</sup> In the substructure of the temple were found fragments of a colossal statue of Domitian. The construction of this temple marks the first grant of the title of *neocoros* to Ephesos.<sup>23</sup> The second grant of the title was given to the city by Hadrian between 131 and 133.<sup>24</sup> It received a third grant under Elagabalus, and not under Caracalla as is commonly believed.<sup>25</sup> When the memory of Elagabalus was damned, the city reverted to twice *neocoros*.<sup>26</sup> It became thrice *neocoros* under Valerian and Gallienus.<sup>27</sup>

The citizens of Ephesos benefited greatly from the privilege of being an imperial cult site. The meetings of the *koinon* of Asia were eventually held at Ephesos alone, although previously they had been held in other Asian cities. In addition, chief priests of the cult were required to hold games, festivals and sacrifices for the *koinon* at Ephesos in honour of the imperial gods, while the construction of new temples enhanced the

<sup>20</sup> W. Alzinger, *RE* 12 (1970), 1601.

<sup>21</sup> Plutarch, *Ant. Rom.* 56.1.

<sup>22</sup> J. Keil, *JOAI* 27 (1931-2), 54 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Neocoros* meaning temple warden originally was applied to officials and came to be applied to cities in connection with the imperial cult. See J. Keil, "XVI Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos" *JOAI*, 27 (1931-2), 5-72, especially 54ff; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 572, and note 18; Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 13; Price, *Rituals and Power*, 64-65 and note 47. Recently Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neocoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian imperial Family*, (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1993), 44 ff., has argued for a date between 88-91.

<sup>24</sup> Magie, *Roman Rule*, 619 and note 30, reviews the evidence of coins and inscriptions for the date of the second neocory.

<sup>25</sup> *SEG* 4, 523, contains an inscription of Gordian which refers to Ephesos as *neocoros* of Artemis and twice *neocoros* of the Augusti.

<sup>26</sup> Under Alexander Severus, the city bore its earlier title, twice *neocoros*. Pick, "Die tempeltragenden Gottheiten und die Darstellung der Neokorie auf Münzen", *JOAI* 7 (1904), 1- 41 especially 29ff.

<sup>27</sup> Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1497-8 and note 21.

architectural splendour of the city. Finally, status as *neocoros* provided Ephesos with connections to emperors from which individual members of the local aristocracy, through priesthoods, as well as the whole city, might benefit.

To sum up, Ephesos in antiquity was in a central position with respect to the economy, administration and cult practice of Asia. The city both needed a variety of buildings for business, administration, religion and leisure, and it had the resources necessary for construction on a scale worthy of its reputation.<sup>28</sup> Ephesos presents an image of a bustling, early imperial city, in which public buildings, patrons, and the inscriptions associated with benefactions were plentiful. These features make Ephesos an ideal subject for a case study of the patterns of building patronage in the early imperial period.

The city's post-antique history, which began with the abandonment of the south-eastern part of the city, in the early seventh century, has only increased the value of the site.<sup>29</sup> At that time the inhabited part of the city shrank to an area of about a square kilometre in the vicinity of the harbour, where the monumental structures of the Roman and Late Antique periods were encroached upon by shacks. A fortification wall encompassing the theatre protected this remnant of the city. The seventh century also marked the fortification of the nearby hill of Panayirdag, which would eventually dominate the lower city and come to be called Ayasoluk. After the Turkish conquest of the fourteenth century the ancient city by the sea was permanently abandoned. The habitation and commercial area, which until this time had maintained a precarious existence, moved to the ancient harbour of Panormus four kilometres to the south, after which the once splendid harbour of Ephesos became a malarial swamp. By the time John Turtle Wood

---

<sup>28</sup> Pausanias, 10.4, 1. Much of a city's reputation was based on its physical appearance, hence Pausanias's criticisms of the city of Panopeus in Phocis are largely aimed at its barbaric lack of amenities, such as civic buildings, agora, and theatre.

<sup>29</sup> This discussion of Ephesos after antiquity relies heavily on C. Foss' excellent *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 104-5.

began excavating at Ephesos in the 1860s, Ayasoluk itself boasted no more than 20 inhabitants.<sup>30</sup>

The progressive abandonment of Ephesos means that the material remains of the city were left relatively undisturbed with the result that, in addition to the archaeological remains, the site has preserved an astonishingly rich epigraphic record.<sup>31</sup> Over five thousand inscriptions dating from the 6th century BCE to the 10th century CE have been discovered. Although this corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions may represent as little as 5% of what once existed, there are several reasons to believe that what survives accurately reflects the pattern of patronage at Ephesos in the early Imperial period.<sup>32</sup> To begin with, the largest proportion of surviving inscriptions date from the late first through early third century CE, a period which has been widely recognized as the apogee of the epigraphic habit. Second, though the site was partially robbed for the Turkish settlement at Ayasoluk, the Turkish buildings actually preserved numerous Roman inscriptions. Third, the main public areas of the ancient city, including the theatre, agora, baths, temples and major thoroughfares, have been excavated. These were the areas where a great many public inscriptions would have been erected.

It can be argued, therefore, that Ephesos provides not only one of the largest samples of building inscriptions for a major city in the ancient world, but also one of the most reliable sources of evidence concerning the patterns of patronage in the east under the early emperors.

---

<sup>30</sup> For a brief but entertaining survey of early excavations at Ephesos, see John Turtle Wood, *Modern Discoveries on the Ancient Site of Ephesos*. By-Paths of Bible Knowledge 14, (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1890), 20.

<sup>31</sup> Wood published the numerous inscriptions he found in *Discoveries at Ephesos, Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Artemis* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877). The Austrian Archaeological Institute published inscriptions as they were discovered in the journal of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* and they continue to be published here. The publication of a repertorium of the inscriptions from Ephesos up to 1980 as part of the *Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (series volumes 11-17.2) has greatly assisted in making the collection accessible.

<sup>32</sup> R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), appendix 13, 360-1.

**Table 2.1-Building Patrons of Early Imperial Ephesos,  
Distribution by Rank and Office**

Category of Patron	Number of Inscriptions	Number of Individuals
Emperors <sup>i</sup>	8	6
Governors of Asia <sup>ii</sup>	1	1
Consulars <sup>iii</sup>	2	1
Asiarchs and <i>Archiereis</i> of Asia <sup>iv</sup>	33	11
Local Magistrates <sup>v</sup>	20	14
Priests and Priestesses <sup>vi</sup>	13	9
No office recorded <sup>vii</sup>	12	8
Military Personnel <sup>viii</sup>	2	2
Local Associations <sup>ix</sup>	2	n/a
City of Ephesos <sup>x</sup>	21	n/a
Sacred Revenues <sup>xi</sup>	1	n/a
<i>Incerta</i> <sup>xii</sup>	38	n/a
<b>Total</b>	<b>152</b>	

<sup>i</sup> *IE* 236B (Domitian), 274 (Hadrian), 401 (Augustus), 402 (Augustus and Tiberius), 459 (Augustus using Artemision funds), 1522 (Augustus using Artemision funds), 1523-4 (Augustus; *JOAI* 55 (1984) p. 121 inv. 4237 = *SEG* 34 (1984), 1122 (Nero).

<sup>ii</sup> *IE* 695, Gaius Laecinius Bassus proconsul, εὐεργέτης of the city, προνοήσαντα δὲ κατασκευασθῆναι καὶ τὸ ὑδρευδοχίον καὶ τὴν εἰσαγωγήν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸ ὕδατων.

<sup>iii</sup> *IE* 5101, 5113 Tiberius Julius Aquila Polemaeanus consul.

<sup>iv</sup> *IE* 430 Gaius Claudius Verulanus and Scaptia Thermilla; *IE* 435 Tiberius Flavius Menander; *IE* 431, 488, 460, 2064, 728, 676a Publius Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiana; *IE* 424, 424a Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Julia Lydia Laterana; 425, 4105, 638 Tiberius Claudius Aristion; 425a Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Aurelius Athenagoras; *IE* 422a Tiberius Claudius Aristion; *IE* 444, 445, 2076-2082, 3086, 3063, *JOAI* 56 (1985) p. 71-77 nos. 1 and 2 = *SEG* 35 (1985) nos. 1109 and 1110 Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus; *IE* 2037, 2061, 498 Titus Flavius Montanus; *IE* 428 Tiberius Claudius Piso Diophantos; *IE* 470 Titus Flavius? and Flavia; *IE* 3003 ? and Claudia Metrodora; *IE* 1530 Claudius Diogenes; *IE* 3071?

<sup>v</sup> *IE* 421 Marcus Julius ? *grammateus*?; *IE* 429 Publius Quintilius Valens Varius; *IE* 442 Aphrodisios, *grammateus*, gymnasiarch; *IE* 446 Marcus Tigellius Lupus, *grammateus*; *IE* 455 restored to Publius Quintilius Valens Varius; *IE* 435 Titus Flavius Lucius Hierax, *prytanis*; *IE* 471 Tiberius Claudius Nusios, (*prytanis*); *IE* 488 Aelia Severa Bassa, *prytanis*, gymnasiarch; *IE* 500, 590, 712b Publius Quintilius Valens Varius, *grammateus* of the boule; *IE* 661, Dionysius, *prytanis*, paraphylax, neiopoios; *IE* 672, 3080 Titus Flavius Damianus, *grammateus*, panegyriarch; *IE* 969 ?; *IE* 1024 Dionysodoros, *prytanis*; *IE* 2033 Hieron Aristogeiton, *prytanis*; *IE* 3013 Aurelius Metrodorus, *agoranomos*; *IE* 3065 Hesychios, *elaiothesia*; *IE* 3066 Gaius Licinius Maximus Julianus, *prytanis*, priest of Rome and Publius Servilius Isauricus; *IE* 47 Marcus Aurelius Menemachus, *prytanis*.

<sup>vi</sup> *IE* 434 Phillip, *neiopoios*; *IE* 492, Helvidia Paula, priestess of Artemis; *IE* 492a Helvidia Paula?; *IE* 958 Titus Flavius Lucius, *neiopoios*, *chrysochoros*; *IE* 987, Vipsania Olympia, priestess of Artemis; *IE* 988, Vipsania Olympia, priestess of Artemis; *IE* 1139 Tryphosa, priestess; *IE* 1210 Publius Rutilius Bassus, priest of Demeter; *IE* 1247, Nonius Hydrius Melitius, ?; *IE* 986, Quintilia Varilla, priestess of Artemis;

---

JOAI 55 (1984) p. 121-2 inv 4228 = SEG 34 (1984) 1121 Apollonius, priest of Artemis; IE 2041, 2042, 3009 Julia Pantime Potentilla, priestess of Artemis (see IE 983 for her status as such).

<sup>vii</sup> IE 403. ? *ex sua pecunia*; IE 404, 405, 406, 3092 Gaius Sextilius Pollio and family; IE 690, Gaius Julius Pontianus; IE 411, 2113, 4123 Gaius Stertinus Orpex and Stertina Marina; IE 443, Lucius Mondicius; IE 475. ?Celsus; IE 501a Pacuvius Hesperus; IE 3006, Mazaeus and Mithridates, *liberti Augusti*; IE 3005, Ischyrios the Alexandrian, victor in the games.

<sup>viii</sup> IE 1545 Tiberius Claudius Secundus, *tribunician viator, accensus velatus, lictor curiatus*; IE 463 Apelles, *tribunus militum* of *legio IV ferrata*.

<sup>ix</sup> IE 20 fishermen and fishmongers: JOAI 55 (1984) p.114-5 inv 4180 = SEG 34 (1984) 1092 tribe of the Teians.

<sup>x</sup> IE 410 ?. 414 (aqueduct), 415 (waterworks), 416 (waterworks), 419 (aqueduct), 419a (aqueduct), 422 (propylon), 422b ?. 449 (decree concerning renovations to old buildings), 464 ?, 496 ?, 533 (column capital, colonnade?), IE 1384 (decree of boule concerning assorted buiding works), 2034 (theatre repairs), 2035 (theatre repairs), 2038 (theatre repairs), 2039 (theatre repairs), 2040 (theatre repairs), 3001 (east hall of Agora), 3008 (paving of embolos).

<sup>xi</sup> IE 412 renovations to the Augusteum paid for from sacred revenues: Marcus Ulpius Traianus proconsul διατάξαντος, Pomponius Bassus ἐπιμεληθέντος, Lucius Herrenius Peregrinus γραμματεύοντος.

<sup>xii</sup> These are certainly building inscriptions but their fragmentary state does not permit one to judge with any certainty the status of the patron: IE 295, 335, 336, 408, 413, 423, 427, 432, 437, 448, 450, 461, 462, 465, 564a, 466, 467, 469, 472, 473, 474, 476, 477, 480, 482, 483, 493, 499, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 588, 630, 1529, 3002. SEG 34 (1984) 1123.



### 1.2.2. Who Built at Ephesos?

The building-related inscriptions of Ephesos are generally preserved on stelai, statue bases, or portions of the buildings themselves. Typically, they refer to the structures built and attribute payment or responsibility to named individuals. Those inscriptions which were originally intended to be part of the buildings themselves usually refer to the patron by office, which may be either the office held at the time of the gift, or the highest office the patron ever held. Inscriptions found on statue bases generally give a more complete career pattern, listing all the offices the individual held. These two sources provide the basis for the classification found in Table 2.1. It catalogs inscriptions related to early imperial building at Ephesos according to the highest office held by the patrons as attested by either building inscriptions or statue bases.

The individuals and groups represented in the table fall into two broad categories: imperial patrons and local patrons. The former category includes emperors, individuals who were proconsuls of Asia at the time of their involvement in building, as well as consulars who were not citizens of Ephesos. The imperial category also includes individuals who are designated “no office recorded”, but who can be identified as Roman citizens, often with connections to the imperial house. The category of local patron includes those individuals who were citizens of Ephesos: asiarchs and *archiereis* of Asia, local magistrates, priests, priestesses and army officers. Local bodies are also included in this group, since the city (ἡ πόλις) itself was responsible for some building, as were more restricted associations like the tribes and *sunergasiai*, or workers’ associations. The local category also includes inscriptions which are certainly associated with building, but so fragmentary as to no longer preserve either the name and/or office of any patron.

The distribution of inscriptions between the categories of imperial patrons and local patrons shows that far more building was carried out by local citizens when compared with imperial patrons. There are 102 inscriptions recording patronage by local individuals and groups, while only eleven refer to patronage by imperial authorities. The

pattern is confirmed in the numbers of individuals represented: forty-two to eight, respectively.<sup>33</sup>

The overall proportions are not surprising, for although emperors did build in the provinces, they focused much of their attention on the city of Rome as the showcase of the empire. More remarkable is the fact that only one proconsul of Asia is recorded as having had primary responsibility for a construction at Ephesos, although proconsuls are frequently named in other capacities on building inscriptions.<sup>34</sup> A distinction must be made, however, between projects that governors undertook using their own money, and those which they paid for with either imperial or civic funds. With their own money, governors usually built in their home province.<sup>35</sup> Using imperial or civic funds, they built in the province of their administration.<sup>36</sup> However, as the table makes clear, imperial patrons provided only a small number of the structures built at Ephesos. The two inscriptions registered in Table 2.1 under the classification of consulars both concern the construction of the library of Celsus by the ὑπάτος Tiberius Julius Aquila Polemaeanus.<sup>37</sup>

By contrast, the financial and administrative autonomy of the city, along with the liveliness of civic politics, seems to have encouraged members of the local élite to

---

<sup>33</sup> This number excludes the inscriptions which were put up by local collectives like the city, *sunergasiai* and tribes.

<sup>34</sup> Governors of Asia are named as the eponymous imperial magistrates in building inscriptions.

<sup>35</sup> Magie, *Roman Rule*, 582, notes that Servenius Cornutus and Julius Quadratus acted as benefactors of their hometowns Acmonia and Pergamum while they were governors of the province. Magie includes Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus as citizen-benefactor of Ephesos, however there is no clear evidence that Ephesos was his hometown. On the contrary, the case for Sardis is stronger. See H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem ostlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts nach Chr.*, Hypomnemata Heft 58, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), no. 37, 133.

<sup>36</sup> Magie, *Roman Rule*, 578, on Marcus Ulpius Traianus governor of Asia in 79 and builder in the province.

<sup>37</sup> There are several inscriptions connected with the library of Celsus, *IE* 5101-5114. *IE* 5101 is the architrave inscription which one may see today restored to its original position. *IE* 5113 is an inscribed foundation document. *IE* 5114 is an unfortunately fragmentary letter of Hadrian to the *boule* of Ephesos concerning the foundation. The remainder of the inscriptions are from statue bases representing the personified virtues of Celsus or his relatives.

participate in the competition for offices and honours by providing the city with a variety of buildings.<sup>38</sup>

Thirty three inscriptions record building activity by *archiereis* of Asia and asiarchs, though eleven of these originate from the same structure and commemorate the patronage of a single individual. In total, eleven individuals are represented. The asiarchs and *archiereis*, because of their connections to the provincial cult and the *koinon*, were in effect members of both the local élite at Ephesos, as well as members of the provincial élite.<sup>39</sup> The epigraphic record often shows *archiereis* and asiarchs holding local magistracies in addition to their provincial office.<sup>40</sup> There is evidence to suggest that the high priesthood of the imperial cult was restricted to the richest and most powerful

---

<sup>38</sup> The orations of Dio Chrysostom demonstrate the liveliness and contentiousness of civic politics at Prusa. See C.P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1978), 95-103.

<sup>39</sup> Scholars who are interested in the province of Asia, its provincial council and civic life inevitably run into the debate on whether the title asiarch ἀσιάρχης is equivalent to the title high priest of Asia ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας. Most scholars in the past century considered the two titles equivalents, referring to chief priests of the imperial cult in the province of Asia. See W. Ramsay, "The Province of Asia". *Classical Review*, 3 no.4 (1889), 174-9; E. Beurlier, *Essai sur le culte rendu aux empereurs romains*, (Paris: Librairie des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1890), 121-139; Th. Mommsen, "Volksbeschluss der Ephesier zu Ehren der Kaiser Antoninus Pius", *JOAI* 3 (1900), 1-8; G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) 117; J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1965); M. Rossner, "Asiarchen und Archiereis", *Studii Clasice*, 16 (1974) 101-42; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, (London: Duckworth, 1977), 387; R. Merkelbach, "Der Rangstreit der Städte Asiens und die Rede des Aelius Aristides", *ZPE* 32 (1978), 287-96; and most recently Maria Domitilla Campanile, *I sacerdoti del koinon d'Asia, I sec. a.C-III sec. d.C.*, (Pisa: Giardini, 1994), 18-25. Recent challengers to this interpretation include: R.A. Kearsley, "Asiarchs, Archiereis, and the Archiereiai of Asia", *GRBS* 27 (1986), 183-192, and Kearsley, "Asiarchs, Archiereis and Archiereiai of Asia: New Evidence from Amorium in Phrygia", *EA* 16 (1990), 69-80; and most recently and in detail by S. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* (1993).

<sup>40</sup> Titus Flavius Menander held office as asiarch and *grammateus*, *IE* 435. Publius Vedius Antoninus served as *prytanis*, *grammateus*, asiarch, panegyriarch etc., *IE* 728. Tiberius Claudius Aristion is referred to in a large number of Ephesian inscriptions in various capacities, but see *IE* 425 and 638, where he is *prytanis*, *grammateus* of the *demos*, asiarch and *archiereus*. Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus was asiarch, *prytanis*, *grammateus*, *IE* 3063. He was also *advocatus fisci* under Alexander Severus, though none of the Ephesian inscriptions mention this. Titus Flavius Montanus was *praefectus fabri*, *archiereus* of Asia, *sebastophantes*, agonothete, *IE* 2061. *IE* 3071 records an individual whose name has disappeared from the inscription but who was *grammateus*, *boularch*, gymnasiarch, first *strategos*, and held the ἀρχιερωσύνη. Some asiarchs are recorded without local magistracies, but this may be due to poor preservation of the particular inscription. The inscriptions cited here are not all related to building.

families in the city. Priests of the imperial cult were often also chosen to be ambassadors to the emperor.<sup>41</sup>

Twenty one inscriptions in Table 2.1 represent fifteen civic magistrates who are recorded as patrons of public building.<sup>42</sup> Some of the magistrates are recorded as having held only one or two offices, while others hold several.<sup>43</sup> Although a strict *cursus honorum* like that at Rome did not exist in most of the Greek cities of the Roman period, magistracies were ranked according to the prestige they gave to their holder. Those magistracies that involved presiding over meetings, for example, were more prestigious than those which required the holder to manage some aspect of the material life of the city.<sup>44</sup> Here we find a correlation between the type of magistracy held and the incidence of building, with the more prestigious magistrates completing most of the projects.

Eight of the fifteen magistrate-patrons are recorded as holding or having held the office of *prytanis*. Traditionally, the *prytanis* was the eponymous magistrate at Ephesos, while a board of *prytaneis* held chairship of the *ecclesia*, presiding over the meetings and preparing the agenda.<sup>45</sup>

Six of the fifteen are recorded as holding or as having held the position of *grammateus* of the *boule*, *demos* or *gerousia*. The *grammateus* became the most important magistrate, responsible for recording and filing the minutes of meetings, and publishing the contents of imperial decrees. At Ephesos, it was the *grammateus* who distributed funds to the people according to various legacies; and it was the *grammateus*

---

<sup>41</sup> Price, *Rituals and Power*, 243, with examples. Several Vedii Antonini from Ephesos were asiarchs as well as ambassadors, including M. Claudius Publius Veditus Antoninus Sabinus and his son Marcus Claudius Publius Veditus Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus. See *IE* 728.

<sup>42</sup> See Table 2.1, note v, for the offices held by each magistrate.

<sup>43</sup> The difference usually reflects the type of inscription involved. Building inscriptions rarely name more than two offices held by a magistrate. Statue base inscriptions more often record the entire careers of the individuals honoured.

<sup>44</sup> The gymnasiarchy is an exception to the rule. Although it concerned the material life of the city, it also had the potential to give its holder enormous prestige because of the great outlay of cash it involved.

<sup>45</sup> See A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), 165-167, 177; and Magie, *Roman Rule*, 642-44.

as well who dispersed the mob whipped up by Demetrios the silversmith in *Acts*.<sup>46</sup> If the office of *prytanis* had more prestige, the office of *grammateus* had greater political power, for it was the *grammateus*, alone or with other principal magistrates, who moved decrees and took the lead in council.<sup>47</sup>

Four of the fifteen magistrate-patrons are recorded as having held the gymnasiarchy. The gymnasiarchy was sought after and prestigious because it provided the patron with the opportunity of spending a great deal of money for the benefit a broad cross section of the population. Gymnasiarchs were charged with the heating of the baths, the provision of oil for bathers, as well as the maintenance of the physical structure of the gymnasium. They often used their own funds to fulfill these tasks.

The following local magistracies are recorded only once or twice in this group of patrons: *strategos*;<sup>48</sup> panegyriarch;<sup>49</sup> *agoranomos*;<sup>50</sup> *neopoios*;<sup>51</sup> *nyktophylax*;<sup>52</sup> *paraphylax*.<sup>53</sup> Finally, one patron in this group is a liturgist who instead of taking on the provision of oil, or *elaiothesia*, promised to provide marble facing for the stoa of the money changers.<sup>54</sup>

Other citizens who acted as patrons of public building at Ephesos were the priests and priestesses of local cults. They are commemorated on nine inscriptions. It is notable

---

<sup>46</sup> Magie, *Roman Rule*, 645.

<sup>47</sup> Jones, *Greek City*, 238-240.

<sup>48</sup> In some cities *stratego*i were chief magistrates, but this is surely not the case with Ephesos, where the office is mentioned infrequently. Magie, *Roman Rule*, 644.

<sup>49</sup> The panegyriarch was a superintendent of a festival. The office entailed considerable expense. The two panegyriarchs in this category, P. Quintilius Valens Varius, and T. Flavius Damianus, each built more than one structure.

<sup>50</sup> *Agoranomoi* were charged with the supervision of business in the agora. They had responsibility for weights and measures, as well as physical maintenance of the area. An important duty was to see that fair prices were charged for staples like grain and oil.

<sup>51</sup> The *neopoioi* were temple wardens and were charged with the supervision of the temple fabric.

<sup>52</sup> The *nyktophylax* was commander of the night watch or police.

<sup>53</sup> Hicks writes that the precise function of the *paraphylax* is unknown. E.L. Hicks, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, part III: Priene, Iasos and Ephesos*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890, reprinted by Cisalpino Giuliardica: Milano, 1978), 87.

<sup>54</sup> *IE* 3065.

that four of the nine individuals recorded in the category are priestesses. Women in this position often acted as patrons of buildings independently of their male relatives.<sup>55</sup>

Two officers of the Roman army are also commemorated as builders at Ephesos. Tiberius Claudius Secundus was a tribunician *viator*, *accensus velatus* and *lictor curiatus*.<sup>56</sup> A man known only as Apelles was *tribunus militum* of *legio VI ferrata*.<sup>57</sup> The former is referred to in his inscription as *philephesios*, indicating that he was an Ephesian citizen. Apelles too, given his Greek name, was likely also an Ephesian.

In addition to private local benefactors, the city of Ephesos as a corporate body was responsible for financing a significant amount of building. Twenty-one inscriptions commemorate works that were financed from various civic funds, including rent from properties and estates, endowments, fines, and entrance fees paid by magistrates or priests.<sup>58</sup> Much of this money was disbursed for the maintenance of city's infrastructure. A series of texts inscribed on a column from the east hall of the agora, dated to the first half of the second century, appear to preserve decisions by the *boule* concerning civic expenditures on building.<sup>59</sup> The texts are highly abbreviated so that the process by which the decisions were made is unclear. The best preserved inscription records where the *boule* met, what was built, and where the money came from:

ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Κλ. Ἀντιπάτρου Ἰουλιανοῦ, μη[νός]  
 Ταργηλιῶνος ια', βουλὴ ἤχθη ἐν τῷ συνλογεῖῳ  
 ἐστάθη, εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ πρὸς τῷ [ ]  
 παρὰ τὸ Ἑφαιστεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ ἐν τῷ . υ. [ ]  
 ἕως τοῦ μέλλοντος κατασκευάσασθαι προπύλου  
 χορηγῆσαι τοὺς ἀργυροταμίας τῶν καιρίων τῆς  
 πόλεως προσόδων

<sup>55</sup> Guy Rogers, "Constructions of Women at Ephesos", *ZPE* 90 (1992), 215-223.

<sup>56</sup> *IE* 1545.

<sup>57</sup> *IE* 463.

<sup>58</sup> On civic finance in general see Jones, *Greek City*, 244 ff. On the liturgical nature of civic finance and its effects see R. Duncan-Jones, "The Social Cost of Urbanisation", *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 159-170.

<sup>59</sup> *IE* 1384 (B); D. Knibbe and H. Engelmann, "Aus ephesischen Skizzenbüchern", *JOAI* 52 (1978-80), 19-61, especially 21 no. 8.

In the prytany of Claudius Antipater Julianus, on the 11th of Targelion, the *boule* was gathered in the meeting place and it decided that, for the building of the wall near the [...] beside the Hephaestion from the wall in the [...] until such time as the gate is about to be built, the treasurers defray the cost from the current revenues of the city.

Although there is some evidence that civic building had to be approved by the emperor, this inscription indicates that the city did have some control over its expenditures on infrastructure.<sup>60</sup>

Two other collective bodies also financed public works at Ephesos. One was a group of some eighty individuals who identified themselves as fishers and fishmongers and financed the construction of a fish customs house.<sup>61</sup> The tribe of the Teians is also commemorated for financing a project.<sup>62</sup> Apart from these two groups, however, it may be said that all the patrons of public building recorded in the inscriptions of Ephesos were either already well-established notables, or prospective ones just embarking on their civic careers.

### 1.2.3 Imperial Patrons and Their Projects

The inscriptions catalogued in Table 2.1 reflect a pattern in *what* was built as well as *who* built it. Imperial patrons participated in the fewest projects, but when they did build, they focused on the most expensive structures—often those related to the well-being of the city as a whole. Among local patrons, those that held the higher offices generally also built the larger and more impressive structures. Except in the case of priests and priestesses, however, it is difficult to find any correlation between the specific office held by a patron and the type of project undertaken.

---

<sup>60</sup> *Digest* 50.10.3.1, (Macer, *de officio praesidis*, 2), where new public works must be approved by the emperor. For evidence that governors intervened in civic finance, see Pliny *Ep.* 10, *passim*.

<sup>61</sup> *IE* 20.

<sup>62</sup> D. Knibbe, B. Iplikçioğlu, "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos IX" *JOAI* 55 (1984), 87-150, especially 114-5, inv. 4180; *SEG* 34 (1984), 1092.

Among the works of emperors at Ephesos, Augustus “led” (*adduxit*) the *Aqua Julia* to the city.<sup>63</sup> Tiberius and Augustus together took credit for the construction of the *Aqua Throessetica*.<sup>64</sup> The repair of an aqueduct in the Kaystros valley was financed by Nero.<sup>65</sup> A fragmentary inscription commemorates road building by Domitian.<sup>66</sup> A statue base erected in honour of Hadrian, commemorates his shoring up of the banks of the Kaystros river.<sup>67</sup> The emperor Augustus also saw to the repair of walls of the precinct of Artemis and the *Augusteum ex reditu Dianae*.<sup>68</sup> Similarly, a street was paved [*iudicio Ca[esaris] / Augusti ex rediti[bus] / agrorum sacrorum / quos is Dianae de[dit]*, (*according to the decision of Caesar Augustus from the revenues of the sacred fields which he gave to Diana*).<sup>69</sup> Interestingly, the last two projects do not seem to have involved the commitment of new revenues, but rather the channeling of funds from elsewhere. Indeed, the inscriptions are not always clear as to the exact nature of the emperor’s contribution. An emperor could finance structures by seeing to the transfer of funds, by providing credit, through the contribution of building materials, or by remitting imperial taxes for a period of time.<sup>70</sup>

As noted above, governors do not appear to have been directly responsible for financing much building in Ephesos, but they are named in a number of inscriptions as supervisors or planners of the construction. Such was the case with C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus, proconsul of Asia in 80/81.<sup>71</sup> A statue base was erected to him in connection with the construction of the *Hydrekdochion* in the upper agora.<sup>72</sup> The

---

<sup>63</sup> *IE* 401.

<sup>64</sup> *IE* 402.

<sup>65</sup> *JOAI* 55 (1984), 121, inv. 4237; *SEG* 34 (1984), 1122.

<sup>66</sup> *IE* 263b.

<sup>67</sup> *IE* 274.

<sup>68</sup> *IE* 1522-25.

<sup>69</sup> *IE* 459. G. Alföldy, "Epigraphische Notizen in Kleinasien I. Ein beneficium des Augustus in Ephesos", *ZPE* 87 (1991), 157-162.

<sup>70</sup> S. Mitchell, "Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces", *HSCP* 91 (1987), 333-365.

<sup>71</sup> *IE* 695; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C104 and L 33: W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970), 129.

<sup>72</sup> *IE* 695.



inscription states that he "took forethought" for the construction: *προνοήσαντα δὲ κατασκευασθῆναι καὶ τὸ ὑδρεγδοχῆον καὶ τὴν εἰσαγωγὴν [τῶν εἰς αὐτὸ ὑδάτων].* (*he planned both that the Hydrekdochion be built, and that waters be led into it*). It does not indicate that he contributed to the building from his own funds. Presumably, the money came from civic revenues.

Two other inscriptions outline more clearly the possible role of governors in civic building in the early imperial period. They concern the channeling of the Marnas and Klaseas streams in order to supply water to a monumental fountain on the upper agora. One records (after the dedication to the emperor and city):

[ να] Μάρναντα καὶ Κλασέαν ἢ νεωκόρος [Ἐφε-]  
[σίων πόλις] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατασκεύασεν Ποπλίου [Καλουι-]  
[σίου Ῥούσωνος] τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου εἰσαγαγόντος καὶ [καθιερώσαντος] <sup>73</sup>

... the *neocoros* [city of Ephesos] from its own funds built [.....] the Marnas and Klaseas, Publius [Calvisius Ruso] the proconsul having led in and [dedicated them].

That the city paid for the work is clear enough from the preservation of the word *νεωκόρος*, but the genitive absolute clause refers to the proconsul Publius Calvisius Ruso (92/3 CE) as the one who "led in" the aqueduct and dedicated it (if the restoration is correct). This may mean that he suggested the construction to the city, and/or that he played some active role in its planning. Another fragmentary inscription, discovered by John Turtle Wood near the Marnas aqueduct provides more detail. The stone is broken at the top and is therefore missing the portion where the reference to the city would be. The right side of the stone is broken off as well, but has been convincingly restored:

- - - - -  
[ . ]ελλοι[ τὴν εἰσα-  
γωγὴν ἐπὶ Καλουισί-]  
ου Ῥούσωνος τοῦ ἀνθυπά-]  
του καὶ φροντίσαν-]  
τος τῆς κατασ[τασέως αὐ-]  
τῶν καὶ καθ[ιερώσαν-]

<sup>73</sup> *IE* 415; see also 416, 416, 419, 419a.

τος, ἐργεπιστάτων-]  
των τῆς συναγωγῆς]  
τῶν νεοποιῶν]<sup>74</sup>

-----

[. ]? the leading in,  
in when Calvisius  
Ruso was proconsul having planned their  
establishment and having dedicated them,  
and when the neopoioi were overseers of the collecting.

The restored aorist participle φροντίσαντος indicates that Calvisius Ruso (proconsul of Asia 92/3) was responsible for planning the construction of the aqueduct.<sup>75</sup> One can see Calvisius Ruso's concern paralleled by that of Pliny, who as praetorian commissioner in Bithynia was concerned with the water supply of cities. In *Ep.* 10.37, Pliny relates to Trajan the tale of Nicomedia's lack of water and describes how he himself examined the site of one of the failed aqueducts and suggested better methods of construction. Good governors, like a good emperors, saw to the material needs of their cities, even if they did not pay for the work. Pliny wrote to Trajan to say that the finished work would combine utility with beauty and be worthy of Trajan's reign.<sup>76</sup> In the same way, the action of Calvisius Ruso was intended to reflect well on the reign of Domitian.

Twin inscriptions dated to the early third century (200-210 CE) appear to show a governor taking a more interventionist role in finance. They are inscribed on the *parodoi* of the theatre and record that the city was responsible for the repair of awnings in the structure:

---

<sup>74</sup> IE 419a.

<sup>75</sup> The restoration of the participle φροντίσαντος is based on a more complete inscription, IE 419: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων / ὕδωρ [[Δομιτιανόν]] εἰσή- / γαγεν ἐπὶ Καλουεισίου / Ρούσωνος ἀνθυπάτου τοῦ / φροντίσαντος τῆς [εἰ]σα-/ γωγῆς καὶ καθερώσαντος / [[   ]] / [[   ]].

<sup>76</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 10.37: *Ipse perveni ad fontem purissimum, ex quo videtur aqua debere perduci, sicut initio temptatum erat, arcuato opere, ne tantum ad plana civitatis et humilia pervenit. Manent adhuc paucissimi arcus: possunt et erigi quidam lapide quadrato, qui ex superiore opere detractus est; aliqua pars, ut mihi videtur, testaceo opere agenda erit, id enim et facilius et vilius. Sed in primis necessarium est mitti a te aquilegem vel architectum, ne rursus eveniat quod accidit. Ego illud unum adfirmo, et utilitatem operis et pulchritudinem saeculo tuo esse dignissimam.*

....καὶ νεωκορὸς  
 τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ φιλοσέβα-  
 (6) [σ]τος Ἐφεσίων πόλις τὸν πέτα-  
 [σ]ον τοῦ θεάτρου διαφθορηθέν-  
 (8) [τ]α ὄλον ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ ἀπ[ρ-]  
 [τ]ισεν ἔκ τε ἄλλων πόρων  
 καὶ ὧν εὔρεν ὁ λαμ-]  
 (10) πρότατος ἀνθύπατος  
 Τινείος Σακέρδως  
 Εὐτυχεῖτε <sup>77</sup>

The city of Ephesos, *neocoros* of Artemis and emperor-loving, repaired and completed from the other resources which the most illustrious proconsul Tineius Sacerdos found the awning of the theatre which had been entirely destroyed. Good luck!

The city does not appear to have paid for this work. Rather, the governor Q. Tineius Sacerdos "found" the money for the repairs from other revenues. Had the money been raised from private subscriptions or imperial funds, the inscription would have recorded this. It is possible that Sacerdos was permitted to use public funds collected as imperial taxes from other cities of Asia for his renovation of the theatre.<sup>78</sup>

For governors, the importance of participating in public building lay not so much in being financiers, but rather, in being seen to participate in projects which were for the benefit of the city. Provincials often made their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with individual governors known to the emperor, through embassies. Participation in civic building, thereby earning the gratitude of the citizens, could thus be important in advancing a governor's career. On occasion, under insecure emperors like Nero, good government could have disastrous effect. Tacitus reports that Barea Soranus was not only prosecuted for his sense of justice which led him to protect the Pergamenes from robbery

---

<sup>77</sup> *IE* 2040.

<sup>78</sup> There is evidence for the channeling of funds from one city to repairs in another in the late antique period. See *CTh.* 15.1, 18.

by an imperial freedman, but that the *industria* he demonstrated in clearing the harbour at Ephesos also led to his downfall.<sup>79</sup>

In connection with the projects of consulars, the library of Celsus should be mentioned.<sup>80</sup> This structure was put up as a funerary monument for Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, a native of Sardis who had a very distinguished career in the imperial service, serving as proconsul of Asia in 105/6.<sup>81</sup> The building was erected by his son, Tiberius Julius Aquila Polemaeanus, *consul suffectus* of 110.<sup>82</sup> The library added to the beauty of the city and contributed to its reputation as a centre of learning, but was not used by all classes of the population, and is therefore is not to be classified as a project intended for the general good. Moreover, Aquila built the library as a private individual, not in his official capacity as *consul suffectus*.

#### 1.2.4 Asiarchs and *Archiereis*

Turning now to local notables who acted as patrons, we noted above that asiarchs and *archiereis* were members of both local and provincial élites, and that they were among the wealthiest and most ambitious members of Ephesian society. This is borne out in the pattern of their building patronage. Several members of this group are recorded as having built more than one structure. Tiberius Claudius Aristion,<sup>83</sup> active in the time of Trajan, three times asiarch and three times high priest of the province, together with his wife Julia Lydia Laterane is recorded as having been involved in the construction of the nymphaeum Traiani, the Street fountain, and a water conduit to the shrine of Aesculapius. A

---

<sup>79</sup> Tacitus, *Ann* 16.23: *At Barea Soranum iam sibi Ostorius Sabinus eques romanus poposcerat reum ex proconsolatu Asiae, in quo offensiones principis auxit iustitia atque industria, et quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat vimque civitatis Pergamenae prohibentis Acratum, Caesaris libertum, statuas et picturas evehere inultam omiserat. sed crimini dabatur amicitia Plauti et ambitio conciliandae provinciae ad spes novas.*

<sup>80</sup> *FiE* V, 1, *Die Bibliothek*, (Vienna, 1953), 81 ff. The body of Celsus was interred in a vault below the floor of the building, and found by the excavators.

<sup>81</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 260; W. Eck, *Senatoren*, 164; Halfmann, *Senatoren*, 111-2, no. 16.

<sup>82</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 168; Groag, *RE* 10 (1918), 168-170, no. 83; Halfmann, *Senatoren*, 133, no. 37.

<sup>83</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 788.

fragmentary inscription may mention Aristion as involved in the paving of the embolos. It is also very likely that he was involved in the construction of the Marble Hall of the harbour gymnasium. After the death of Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus, Aristion was charged with supervision of the construction of the library of Celsus.<sup>84</sup>

Several of the works built by Aristion were connected with the water supply of the city, which was also the object of imperial patronage. But Aristion did not build aqueducts as emperors did. Rather, like the governor G. Laecanius Bassus, he concerns himself with the distribution of the water supply, constructing fountains for public access. It is evident that Aristion sought the praise of the people of the city for these most useful works. But it also appears that Aristion also desired to improve his standing with the emperor by completing projects related to the emperor's own. That Aristion simultaneously desired to improve his standing in the city through his relationship with the imperial house is apparent in his construction of the Marble Hall of the harbour gymnasium, which may have been used for imperial cult practices.<sup>85</sup>

The asiarch Marcus Claudius Publius Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus with his wife Flavia Papiana is known to have built two structures at Ephesos in the mid-second century. They built the massive bath-gymnasium complex, which was also the site of imperial cult practice.<sup>86</sup> The construction of the bouleterion, the seat of civic politics, is also attributed to the pair.<sup>87</sup> Letters from Antoninus Pius praising the generosity of Vedius line the front of the stage of this building, and attest imperial support for this asiarch (see Chapter Four).<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> *Nymphaeum Traiani*, *IE* 424; street fountain, *IE* 424a; marble hall of harbour gymnasium, *IE* 427; water conduit to shrine of Aesculapius, *IE* 4105; paving of embolos, *IE* 422a; library of Celsus, *IE* 5101.

<sup>85</sup> F. Yegül, "A Study of Architectural Iconography: the Kaisersaal and the Imperial Cult," *Art Bulletin*, 64 (1982), 7.

<sup>86</sup> F. Yegül, "A Study of Architectural Iconography: the Kaisersaal", 8-10.

<sup>87</sup> Bath-gymnasium of Vedius, *IE* 431, 438; bouleterion, *IE* 460; for other buildings, *IE* 728, 2064 (restored).

<sup>88</sup> *IE* 1491-3.

During his short asiarchate in the early third century, Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus built a stoa or colonnade on the street between the theatre and Vedius' gymnasium.<sup>89</sup> Eleven columns refer to his construction of booths or stalls for various trades and guilds in this colonnade.<sup>90</sup> Likewise, an architrave fragment from the south gate of the harbour appears to commemorate the building of this structure from money left to the city in his will.<sup>91</sup>

There are several asiarchs and chief priests of Asia whom the epigraphic record preserves as builders of only one structure. T. Flavius Montanus appears in two building inscriptions and one statue base inscription dated to 102-112 CE. All were found in the theatre and most likely relate to building therein.<sup>92</sup> Ti. Cl. Piso Diophantes consecrated the Temple of Hadrian.<sup>93</sup> In 130/131, C. Claudius Verulanus Marcellus, with his wife Scaptia Phirmilla and son Claudius Verenicianus, paneled the walls of the so-called Verulanus Hall in the harbour gymnasium with Paonazetto marble.<sup>94</sup> Ti. Flavius Menander built the Hydreion.<sup>95</sup> These inscriptions also indicate that asiarchs and *archiereis* of Asia exercised their patronage in structures that were for public utility, health, entertainment and cultic practice.

---

<sup>89</sup> *IE* 3063 indicates that he was asiarch for 4 days. The other asiarch inscriptions I deal with here do not specify the length of tenure of the office. On the association of imperial cult with games, see Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 114 ff.

<sup>90</sup> *IE* 444, 445, 2076-2082; D. Knibbe, "Der Asiarch M. Fulvius Publicianus Nikephorus, die ephesischen Handwerkerkunft und die Stoa der Servilius" *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71 nos. 1-2 = *SEG* 35 (1985), 1109-10.

<sup>91</sup> *IE* 3086.

<sup>92</sup> Inscriptions referring to building in the theatre, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 323, *IE* 2037, 2061, 498. He is also mentioned in other capacities in *IE* 528c, 2062, 2063.

<sup>93</sup> *IE* 428.

<sup>94</sup> *IE* 430.

<sup>95</sup> *IE* 435. Ti. Flavius Menander is the name of a father and a son (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 320). But it is impossible to infer whether the inscription refers to the father or the son. That this family was of high standing in early third century Asia is clear from the fact that a Ti. Flavius Menander is referred to along with his brother (or son) Ti. Flavius Lucius Hierax on coinage from Hypaipa, see *IE* vol. 2 158. A Ti. Flavius Lucius Hierax, *prytanis*, is also recorded on inscribed moulding from the Hydreion as having contributing to the building.

### 1.2.5 Local Magistrates

Although it was expected that holders of office would contribute financially to the public welfare, few magistracies charged their holders with the building or upkeep of specific structures.

There were, of course, the kind of regularities that one would expect. For example, the epigraphic record shows that gymnasiarchs also carried out building works in the bath-gymnasia complexes of Ephesos. Gymnasiarchs Publius Quintilius Valens Varius and Aelia Severa Bassa, for example, are both recorded as contributing to the building or refurbishing of baths in the second and third centuries respectively, when they held office.<sup>96</sup> Likewise, priests and priestesses are frequently commemorated as building structures appropriate to their office. Seven of the nine individual priests or priestesses commemorated as patrons of public building contributed to temple construction.<sup>97</sup>

But there was no necessary correspondence between office and gift. For example, those holding priesthoods did not patronize temples alone. Thus the legacy of a third century priestess of Artemis named Julia Pantime Potentilla was used for building a shrine of Nemesis, the awnings and the antescanion of the theatre, and paving the area in front of the library of Celsus.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, magistrates with unrelated offices often contributed to bath-gymnasia complexes. C. Licinius Maximus Julianus provided money for the repair of a gymnasium in the time of his prytany in 105 CE.<sup>99</sup> Later in the century, the panegyriarch of the Great Ephesia Ti. Flavius Damianus promised to build and decorate a structure in the baths of Varius.<sup>100</sup> Dionysius, son of Nicephorus, not only provided oil to all the

---

<sup>96</sup> *IE* 488. The building inscription referring to Aelia Severa Bassa was found in the caldarium of the baths east of the basilica. *IE* 455 and 500, referring to the building of P. Quintilius Valens Varius, were both found in the baths of Varius.

<sup>97</sup> *IE* 434, 958, 1139, 1210, 1246, 1247. *JOAI* 55 (1984), 120, *SEG* 34 (1984), 1121. On the building projects of women, often priestesses at Ephesos see Guy Rogers, "Constructions of Women at Ephesos", *ZPE* 90 (1992), 215-223.

<sup>98</sup> *IE* 2041, 2042, 3009.

<sup>99</sup> *IE* 3066. He also provided money for a practical purpose, namely the clearing of the harbour.

<sup>100</sup> *PIR* <sup>2</sup> F 253; *IE* 672, 3080.

gymnasia and baths in Ephesos during his time as *prytanis* (ca. 140-150 CE), but also promised to provide marble columns in the Sebastos gymnasium, and two seating ranges in the stadium.<sup>101</sup>

Many of the local magistrates who acted as patrons of public building appear interested in building or renovating structures used for public entertainment, like the baths, theatre or stadium. These were the most frequented structures in the city, visited by the broadest cross section of the population, providing perfect venues for the public display of generosity. But magistrates also contributed practical works. The same C. Licinius Maximus Julianus who repaired the gymnasium also contributed to the clearing of the harbour, something that was unrelated to his tenure as *prytanis*, but a work required by the city at the time.<sup>102</sup> Aurelius Metrodorus is commemorated on the south gate of the agora as having paved a street in the Koressos neighborhood while he held office as *agoranomos* (3rd century).<sup>103</sup> On a fragmentary inscription, Marcus Julius built *ergasteria*.<sup>104</sup> In a work that might be called more political than practical or religious, P. Quintilius Valens Varius built the Temple of Hadrian.<sup>105</sup>

In the end only three general patterns emerge concerning building by magistrates. One is that the magistrates who were recorded as building more than one structure also held the most important or prestigious offices: the office of *prytanis*, the office of *grammateus*, the gymnasiarchy. Second, with the exception of gymnasiarchs and priests, the buildings to which the magistrates contributed were often unrelated to their office. Third, many magistrates contributed to buildings that were sites of public entertainment,

---

<sup>101</sup> IE 661. The Sebastos gymnasium may be identified with the Vedius gymnasium. See J. Keil, *Ephesos, eine Führer durch die Ruinenstätte und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, 1964).

<sup>102</sup> IE 3066.

<sup>103</sup> IE 3013. On the Koressos neighborhood at Ephesos see L. Robert, "Korésos d' Éphèse", *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960), 139-142.

<sup>104</sup> IE 421.

<sup>105</sup> IE 429.



although they were not unaware of the more workaday needs of their city at particular times.

### 1.2.6 Local Citizens and Other Individuals

A wide variety of projects were undertaken by patrons who are not recorded as holding any office or magistracy and cannot be further identified. This group includes citizens, foreigners, soldiers and imperial freedmen.

A building inscription commemorates the benefaction of a certain Ischyriion and his friend Isidorus, who built an entrance to the agora, put up marble paneling in a stoa, and set up statues.<sup>106</sup> Ischyriion identifies himself as an Alexandrian and one of the ἱερονεικῶν καὶ ἀτελῶν καὶ ἀνεισφόρων, a victor in the games, free from taxes and tributes. Presumably this means he was free from taxes and obligations at Ephesos where he seems to have taken up residence, perhaps at the request of the Ephesians.

Three rich freedmen, resident at Ephesos, who had powerful Roman patrons, also appear. Two *liberti Augusti*, Mazaesus and Mithridates, built the monumental south gate of the agora, which they dedicated to their patrons Augustus, Livia, Julia and Agrippa.<sup>107</sup> This monumental entranceway was a demonstration of the wealth that these imperial freedmen had accumulated in the service of their patrons, a testament to their loyalty, and a reminder of the power of Rome. The bilingual inscription gives primacy of place to Latin, the language of Roman control. The Greek text is a highly abbreviated version of the Latin and is inscribed in a recessed part of the attic. The third freedman was C. Stertinius Orpex, *scriba librarius* of the consular C. Stertinius Maximus.<sup>108</sup> Orpex and his daughter Stertina Marina, a priestess of Artemis, seem to have built a structure in the Artemision (the inscription is fragmentary), financed building and decorative work in the

---

<sup>106</sup> IE 3005.

<sup>107</sup> IE 3006.

<sup>108</sup> IE 4123.

stadium, and also left a testamentary donation for yearly cash distributions to various bodies in the city, including the *gerousia* and the *boule*.<sup>109</sup>

Other notable patrons who were foreigners include the extremely rich C. Sextilius Pollio, his wife Ofillia Bassa, and his adopted son C. Ofillius Proculus.<sup>110</sup> They built the basilica on the upper agora and an aqueduct, both of which were dedicated to Artemis, Augustus and Tiberius, and the city.<sup>111</sup> They were apparently Roman citizens resident in Ephesos and involved in business in the province. The notably bilingual epigraphic record<sup>112</sup> may attest their connection to the imperial family. Sextilius Pollio and his son both appear as *epimeletes* (superintendents of building) on the inscription commemorating the Augustan construction of the Aqua Throessetica.<sup>113</sup> It is likely that this indicates a personal relationship between Pollio and Augustus. But several inscriptions make it clear that Sextilius Pollio was somehow also integrated into the body of Ephesian citizens. His name appears on a recently discovered inscription along with the names of Ephesian citizens contributing money for an unknown project.<sup>114</sup> At his death, his son built a monument to him on the west side of the upper agora where family had built the basilica. A bilingual inscription from the façade of the monument records that a site for the monument was provided by the city, *dato a civit[ate loco]*.<sup>115</sup> A statue base erected by the *boule* and the *demos* and discovered near the monument also attests the city's appreciation

---

<sup>109</sup> *IE* 411, 2113 are building inscriptions; *IE* 4123 is his funerary monument, which carries a fairly long inscription outlining his benefactions. *IE* 720, is an honorific base erected by the *boule* and the *demos* in his honour.

<sup>110</sup> Whether he was related to the famous P. Vedius Pollio is also a question which cannot be answered. See D. Knibbe and M. Buyukkolanci, "Zur Bauinschrift der Basilika auf dem sog. Staatsmarkt von Ephesos". *JOAI* 59 (1989), 43-45.

<sup>111</sup> *IE* 404, 3092.

<sup>112</sup> A recent study of the basilica inscription discusses the symbolic meaning of the bilinguality and the letter heights of the Latin (0.19-0.2m) and Greek (0.11-0.12m) texts. It comes to the conclusion that "Das Ganze war ebenso eine Demonstration des römischen Machtwillens wie des römisch-italianischen Patriotismus des Sextilius Pollio". So Knibbe and Buyukkolanci, "Zur Bauinschrift der Basilika", 44.

<sup>113</sup> *IE* 402.

<sup>114</sup> D. Knibbe, H. Engelmann, and B. Iplikcioglu, "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XI", *JOAI* 59 (1989), 61-238, in particular 59, nr. 37.

<sup>115</sup> *IE* 405. See also 406. On the architecture, see A. Bammer, "Das Denkmal des C. Sextilius Pollio in Ephesos". *JOAI* 51 (1976-77), 82-92.

of Sextilius Pollio.<sup>116</sup> Although Sextilius Pollio does not seem to have held any office in civic or imperial administration, his relationship with Augustus may have made him a rather influential resident of the city. The construction of the aqueduct, for example, was in the nature of imperial constructions of the same date. But that the city of Ephesos treated him as an honoured and important resident is clear from the fact that it granted a site for his memorial on the upper agora.

The two officers of the Roman army recorded as building in the city were probably citizens of Ephesos. Tiberius Claudius Secundus tribunician *viator*, *accensus velatus* and *lictor curiatus* is honoured on a statue base for the construction of a building and an adjoining colonnade (ca 100 CE).<sup>117</sup> Apelles, *tribunus militum* of *legio VI ferrata*, in a fragmentary inscription is recorded as building something near a palaestra.<sup>118</sup> It seems clear that these were both youngish men at the beginning of their public careers, and so they built public structures to mark their entrance into public life beyond the sphere of local politics. The former inscription can be broadly dated ca. 100, a time when easterners were just beginning to enter the senate in greater numbers.

One last inscription commemorates building by a child. It is dedicated to C. Julius Pontianus and reads:

Οὗτος ἰδίῳ ἀναλώματι  
διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα  
τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν κα-  
τεσκεύασεν καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον  
ἐκόσμησεν . . . .<sup>119</sup>

At his own expense through the agency  
of his father he furnished statues of the gods  
and the altar and decorated the museion. . . .

---

<sup>116</sup> *IE* 717a.

<sup>117</sup> *IE* 1545. See also *IE* 1544, where he is honoured by the *gerousia* in a bilingual inscription; and 646, which a Latin inscription from an honorific statue erected by the the dealers in the slave market.

<sup>118</sup> *IE* 463.

<sup>119</sup> *IE* 690.

Gaius Julius Celer Photinus, the father of Pontianus, held office in the imperial administration as *adiutor* of Tiberius Claudius Classicus, procurator of Alexandria, while his mother Hordeonia Paulina was a priestess.

No absolutely clear pattern emerges from this group. However, it is notable that in the case of four patrons, Mazaeus, Mithridates, C. Stertinius Orpex, and C. Sextilius Pollio, close connections to the imperial house or to high ranking imperial officials can be adduced.

### 1.2.7 Cities and Associations

The city of Ephesos as a corporate body was responsible for financing a significant amount of building and concentrated mostly on functional constructions for the public good.

Five of the inscriptions in this group commemorate waterworks related to the construction of aqueducts or the construction of branches thereof to various nymphaea in the city. Two of these inscriptions were found near the fountain on the south side of the upper agora.<sup>120</sup> One was found near the nymphaeum beside the monument of Sextilius Pollio<sup>121</sup> Another was found re-used in the nymphaeum Traiani on the street of the Kuretes (or embolos).<sup>122</sup> The last was discovered by Wood near an aqueduct. All of these works were undertaken by the city in the proconsulate of P. Calvisius Ruso Frontinus (92/3) and apparently in consultation with him.<sup>123</sup> These works may have been undertaken by imperial patrons and corporate bodies like cities because of their great cost.

Another series of five inscriptions commemorate further work by the city in the theatre. They date from various periods and indicate the long involvement of the city in

---

<sup>120</sup> *IE* 414, 416.

<sup>121</sup> *IE* 419.

<sup>122</sup> *IE* 415. Before the nymphaeum Traiani was built it is likely that another nymphaeum existed at or near this spot.

<sup>123</sup> Eck, *Senatoren*, 143.

the maintenance of this structure. Two inscriptions of the Domitianic period commemorate, respectively, the building and decoration of the *scaenae frons*, and the building of the north analemma.<sup>124</sup> Two fragments of an architrave inscription dated to 120 CE commemorate construction related to the *logeion*.<sup>125</sup> Two nearly identical inscriptions from the north and south analemmata of the theatre, dated to the mid-second century, commemorate extensive repairs to the awnings, proscaenium and floors.<sup>126</sup> A final inscription, found in two symmetrically placed copies and dated to the first decade of the third century, records that the city restored the awnings of the theatre from "other revenues which were found by the proconsul Q. Tineius Sacerdos."<sup>127</sup>

The theatre of Ephesos, which was the largest in Asia Minor, was in continuous use for public meetings, entertainments and processions.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, the theatre was a showcase for the city as whole, and a focus of civic pride. Governors and foreigners whom it was necessary to impress were received here. The theatre epitomized the collective efforts of the Ephesians. For the safety of the users, the maintenance of this building could not be left entirely to the whims of private patrons. Instead, supervision by a stable body was necessary.

Other constructions undertaken by the city include work on the "Sockel building" in the period of Nero;<sup>129</sup> the paving of the embolos and renovation of old buildings under Domitian;<sup>130</sup> assorted works, colonnades and epistyla in the temple of Artemis, and near the Hephaistion in 104;<sup>131</sup> and a propylon dedicated to Hadrian in 114/5.<sup>132</sup> There are also

---

<sup>124</sup> *IE* 2034, 2035.

<sup>125</sup> *IE* 2038.

<sup>126</sup> *IE* 2039

<sup>127</sup> *IE* 2040. See 21-22 above for discussion of Sacerdos' role in the constructions in the theatre and for discussion of the sources for financing this work.

<sup>128</sup> Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 103. The procession of the statues passed through the theatre on its way to the Temple of Artemis.

<sup>129</sup> *IE* 410.

<sup>130</sup> *IE* 3008, 449.

<sup>131</sup> *IE* 1384; *JOAI* 52 (1980), 21, nr. 8.

<sup>132</sup> *IE* 422.

four fragmentary building inscriptions which preserve the name of the city or demos in the nominative case (the case usually used to indicate the builder), but not the type of structure.<sup>133</sup>

The constructions undertaken and financed by the city of Ephesos indicate that it was financially secure at least from the mid-first century through the early third, with the greatest concentration of construction occurring in the reign of Domitian. Two other inscriptions demonstrate that other associations contributed buildings to the city.

One stele found in the area of the harbour lists the names of individuals who contributed to the construction of a customs house for fishery dues during the principate of Nero.<sup>134</sup> It was thus a public building, but it also has clear and specific associations with the body that built it, οἱ ἀλιεῖς καὶ ὄψαριοπῶλαι—the fishermen and the fishmongers of Ephesos. The inscription notes that they received the site for the building by a vote of the city (*polis*) and built the customs house from their own resources, each man and his family contributing to the work according to their means. Fifty-five complete names along with their contributions follow. About thirty-nine names are in a fragmentary state. The contributions include building materials such as columns, plinths, roof tiles, straw mats for binding courses of bricks together, and areas of pavement, as well as gifts of money ranging from five to fifty denarii. The majority of the contributors gave money. The scale of individual contributions may not be great, but the number of contributors listed demonstrates the interest of ordinary Ephesians in the co-operative building of a functional public structure. This inscription is also of interest because it provides a rare glimpse into the public building of activities of individuals outside of the order of the notables.

Another recently published inscription shows construction activities undertaken by the tribes of the city.<sup>135</sup> It commemorates the pavement of an area near a library (probably

---

<sup>133</sup> *IE* 422b, 464, 496, 533.

<sup>134</sup> *IE* 20.

<sup>135</sup> *JOAI* 55 (1984), 114-115, inv. 4180; *SEG* 34 (1984), 1092. On the importance of the tribal organization, see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 65-66.

the library of Celsus). The efforts of the tribes in building works that might be more commonly undertaken by the city is notable.<sup>136</sup>

### 1.2.8 Conclusion

The characteristics of the inscriptions presented above confirm at least one basic feature of the model established in Chapter One, namely that patronage of public building at Ephesos was asymmetrical in nature. Most projects were undertaken by the wealthy and powerful notables of Ephesian society. They were given as gifts and not as part of any commercial transaction in which the recipients were expected to return goods or services of equal value.

The inscriptions show that emperors did relatively little in the way of building at Ephesos in the early imperial period, although they were involved in some of the most expensive projects. More interesting is the fact that provincial governors rarely appear as patrons who contributed to building projects from their own funds. Rather, they usually were honoured for assisting in the management of building projects, or in securing imperial approval and funds where necessary. Most of the public works built at Ephesos, however, were financed by individuals who belonged to the order of notables and held local office. Nevertheless, ordinary individuals also seem to have participated in building on occasion through collective body like the a tribe, an association like the fishmongers, or the city itself.

As to the types of buildings constructed, only very general patterns are discernible. Imperial patrons seem to have focused on projects for the public good, like water works and aqueducts. Local magistrates and the *archiereis* concentrated on public pleasures and entertainments like bath-gymnasia, stadia, and theatres, although some did cater to

---

<sup>136</sup> Fikret Yegül. *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: The Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1992), 32. Yegül takes an almost exactly parallel example from late antiquity, quoting Libanius who says that each of the 18 tribes at Antioch had their own bathing establishment and that each tribe competed with the others to make their baths the most beautiful.

practical needs by paving streets and building stoai. The projects undertaken by the city were usually functional, as in the case of repairs to the theatre or the maintenance of the water supply through the construction of fountains. The fact that no stronger correlation exists between office and specific building type is very interesting, since it seems to confirm that specific works were chosen in response to the actual material needs of the city. This raises the further possibility that projects were targeted by patrons for certain audiences in certain contexts. The possible ideological and political meanings of the choice of project is addressed in the next two chapters.

One final question should be addressed here. Can conclusions derived from the building inscriptions of Ephesos be applied to other cities in the Empire? A study of the building inscriptions from cities in North Africa by Richard Duncan-Jones suggests that caution is necessary, since different cities with different administrative structures may display substantially different patterns of patronage. At Thugga in North Africa the population was split between the native *civitas* and the *pagus* of Roman citizens. Regular political institutions, like the series of magistracies, did not develop until the city became a *municipium* under Septimius Severus. There, the majority of public buildings were built by private donors. At Thamugadi, on the other hand, which was founded as a Roman military colony ca. 100, and had regular political institutions from the beginning, the city paid for most buildings with public funds.<sup>137</sup> These examples warn that local administrative structures influenced the pattern of patronage, and suggest that the conclusions derived from the epigraphical record at Ephesos might only be applied to another city if it had significant similarities in administration; if, for example, the city displayed the tripartite

---

<sup>137</sup> R. Duncan-Jones, "Who Paid for Public Buildings in Roman cities?", in F. Grew and B. Hobley (eds.), *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*, CBA Report, No.59, (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1985), 28-33. This essay was reworked and reprinted under the same title in *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). See also J.B. Rives, *Religion and Authority in Ancient Carthage: from Augustus to Constantine*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).



division of magistrates, *boule* and *demos*, and if it had a similar relationship to Rome as a free city and provincial capital.

### Chapter Three Patronage, Inscriptions and Communication

Residents of mid-second century Ephesos encountered literally hundreds of texts written on stone, bronze and marble as they moved around their city. Passing along the colonnaded embolos on their way to the theatre from the upper agora, they would see dozens of statues set atop plinths that detailed the generous acts of men and women.<sup>1</sup> Farther along the street their eyes might rise to the inscribed architrave preserving the dedication of the fountain of Trajan by Tiberius Claudius Aristion.<sup>2</sup> If they decided to stop at the library at the bottom of the embolos where it met the Marble Way, they would find in the entrance court a broad stone plinth and an elegantly inscribed architrave informing the visitor to the library of Celsus that it was the construction of Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus, Celsus' devoted son.<sup>3</sup> For whom were these inscriptions intended? What did they mean to their viewers?

Answering these two questions requires that we first deal with the preliminary issue of literacy at Ephesos, since the messages contained in inscriptions could mean different things to different audiences, but nothing at all to those who could not read them. This chapter argues that the building-related inscriptions of Ephesos could be “read” in one way or another by much of the population of the city and that there were multiple audiences for the texts inscribed on the city. This is suggested by the effort taken to make inscriptions legible. The inscriptions of this period were also easy to read by virtue of being highly formulaic in nature. Readability combined with legibility suggests that the content of inscriptions represented a *shared* discourse between the patrons and clients in

---

<sup>1</sup> Statues erected to benefactors on the embolos include Claudia Caninia Severa, *IE* 635c; and Alexandros, *IE* 1320.

<sup>2</sup> *IE* 424.

<sup>3</sup> Architrave, *IE* 5101; plinth, *IE* 5113.

the ancient city. As we shall see, this was a discourse about the ideological values of civic pride, glory, memory, reciprocity, but also about social harmony and political power.

### 1.3.1 Reading Inscriptions

What I refer to here as the “building inscriptions” of Ephesos were texts written on the buildings themselves or else on nearby objects. Most were inscribed on architraves,<sup>4</sup> archivolts or keystones of arched entrances or passageways.<sup>5</sup> A lesser number took the form of free-standing blocks, stelai, or statue bases, located in or near the building they commemorated.<sup>6</sup> Others could be found on columns, pilasters,<sup>7</sup> wall blocks,<sup>8</sup> marble wall paneling or plaques.<sup>9</sup>

These inscriptions were designed to engage the notice of passersby and to be legible, though in some cases this required the viewer to stand in particular places.<sup>10</sup> An inscription on an architrave, for example, would not appear in frontal perspective to the pedestrian walking down the street.<sup>11</sup> The person would have to stop to face the building,

---

<sup>4</sup> Architrave: *IE* 335, 336, 403, 404, 408, 410, 411, 414, 422A, 422B, 423, 424, 424A, 425A, 427, 429, 431, 434, 435, 436, 442, 455, 460.1, 460.2, 464, 467, 469, 471, 476, 477, 492, 492A, 496, 499, 499A, 500, 531, 592, 590, 2034, 2035, 2038, 2039, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3086, 3092, 5101. *IE* 3006 is from the attic above the entablature of the east agora gate.

<sup>5</sup> Archivolts and keystones: *IE* 437, 472, 473, 483, 2033, 2037, 2113.

<sup>6</sup> The following are apparently free-standing blocks or stelai: *IE* 20, 263B, 402, 419, 416, 446, 463, 1139, 3008, 4105, 5113. Also *JOAI* 55 (1984), 114-5, inv. 4180, and inv. 1122. The following are non-honorific bases recording the erection of buildings: *IE* 401, 459, 1210.

<sup>7</sup> Inscribed columns: *IE* 444, 445, 448, 532, 2076-2082, *IE* 3005, *JOAI* 52 (1980), 21, no. 8, *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71-72, no. 1-2. Column or pilaster capitals: *IE* 533, 3009.

<sup>8</sup> Wall blocks: *IE* 450 (door jamb), 470, 958, 1246, 1522-25, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 3008, 3013, 4105, *JOAI* 55 (1984), inv. 4180, 4228.

<sup>9</sup> Marble wall paneling or slabs: *IE* 47, 406, 405, 413, 415, 430, 438, 443, 462, 466, 482, 488, 491, 498, 528, 1024, 1247.

<sup>10</sup> Contrast the inscription from the parodos wall of the theatre at Ephesos documenting the foundation of Gaius Vibius Salutaris. The height at which it was placed, its length, and the size of letters would have made it impossible to read. See G. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos*, (Routledge: London and New York, 1991), 20-21. Contrast also inscriptions deliberately placed to be illegible and in the case of the unpopular legislation of Gaius, see Suetonius, *Life of Gaius* 41.1.

<sup>11</sup> Giancarlo Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter, An Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, edited with an introduction by E. Badian, translated by A. M. Dabrowski (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), 54-55, rightly notes that one must examine the standpoint from which the reader had to view the text in order to read it.

or cross the street in order to take in the façade.<sup>12</sup> The viewer's eye would then be drawn up the columns of the façade to rest on the entablature, where the text was carved in large letters, usually over 7 cm. in height. Viewing inscriptions on freestanding stelai, wall blocks or columns was easier. Stelai were often positioned near or flanking entrances to structures and so could be approached quite closely. On columns, the inscription would be placed at the eye level of the viewer.<sup>13</sup> The height of letters for both could be made smaller, often less than 3 cm.<sup>14</sup> Letters of all sizes were made more legible either by the insertion of cast bronze into their chiseled grooves or, more commonly, by filling the grooves with red paint.<sup>15</sup>

All this suggests that building inscriptions were meant to be read—but read by whom? William Harris, for example, writing in *Ancient Literacy*, dismisses the straightforward argument that the large number of inscriptions written on the ancient city reflects that the fact that a large percentage of the urban populace were literate.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Of course, some architrave inscriptions were more easily readable than others. One approached the Library of Celsus at Ephesus through a court yard, so that it was possible to get a view of the architrave inscription without pausing. But reading this particular architrave inscription held other problems for the viewer, namely that the inscription followed the recesses in the façade of the structure. The builder cleverly dealt with this by placing similar texts on free standing blocks on either side of the entrances to the Library proper. The long architrave inscription from the bath-gymnasium of Vedius was part of the palaestra, and could therefore be viewed from many angles.

<sup>13</sup> The inscriptions that are found on columns are usually short enough to be taken in at a glance by the viewer. See for example the numerous inscribed columns commemorating the building of M. Claudius Publicianus Nicephorus, *IE* 444, 445, 2076-82, *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71, no. 1 and 2, and *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1109-1110.

<sup>14</sup> The following figures for letter heights are taken from a sample of 11 building inscriptions at Ephesos. Letter height of architraves: *IE* 2034, 8.0cm; *IE* 2035, 12.0-13.0 cm; *IE* 590, 5.5-7.0 cm; *IE* 2037, 5.5-13.0 cm; *IE* 3003, 8.0-11.0 cm; *IE* 3092, 6.0-11.5 cm; *IE* 404, 11.0- 20.0 cm. Letter height of stele inscriptions: *IE* 3005, 3.5-4.0 cm; *IE* 20, 1.5-3.0 cm; *IE* 416, 2.0-2.2 cm; *IE* 1139, 2.5-2.7 cm.

<sup>15</sup> *IE* 3006. The inscription of Mazaesus and Mithridates on the east agora gate had (possibly gilded) bronze letters in antiquity. On bronze letters on Roman inscriptions in general see L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, (London: B.T. Batsford, 1991), 15-16. Pliny the Elder, remarks that *minium* (cinnabar) was used in books and on walls, marble and tomb monuments to make lettering more visible, *Natural History*, 33.122.

<sup>16</sup> W. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1989), 265-276, addresses the issue of whether or not abundant epigraphic evidence attests greater literacy in an area. He concludes that literacy levels even in places where abundant inscriptions survive, like Italy, only reflect a literacy level of 15%. E.A Meyer, in "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire", *JRS* 80 (1990), 74-96, argues that inscriptions attest rather, the degree of Romanisation in a population. On ancient literacy in general see *Literacy in the Roman World*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series

Adopting a 1958 UNESCO definition of literacy as an individual's ability to read and write with understanding a statement on his everyday life,<sup>17</sup> Harris has suggested that, with very few exceptions, no more than 10% of any ancient population was literate.<sup>18</sup> The reason for this, he argues, is that few ancient states had ideologies which aimed at the literacy of their entire citizen body. Public authorities and individuals were not interested in mass education. The institutional framework for mass schooling was therefore rarely established. Since there was no interest in promoting literacy, there was no impetus towards the development of technologies which would permit mass dissemination of writing. Moreover, Harris argues, there was little need for a literate work force given that most people laboured in agriculture or craft production.<sup>19</sup>

Here we do not need to be concerned with Harris' conclusions about the ability of the ancients to write. At issue, rather, is their levels of ability to *read* particular kinds of texts. Nor do we need to be concerned with the reading ability of the rural populace, since we are dealing with a civic audience. With respect to the population of Ephesos, however, it is possible to take exception to Harris' low estimate of the number of people who could read. The members of the élite who erected buildings and inscriptions were, of course, likely fully literate and fully capable of reading and writing complex texts. Further, it can be argued that in addition to the élite there was a large class of *semi-literate* citizens of Ephesos who could read the public inscriptions in their city, and that even illiterate citizens could "read" the meaning of inscriptions to a degree.

Harris defined the semi-literate as "persons who can write slowly or not at all, and who can read without being able to read complex or very lengthy texts". But he did not

---

Number 3, (Ann Arbor, MI., 1991); R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and A.K. Bowman and G. Woolf eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 3, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 5-10% literacy in classical Attica, 114; overall literacy in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, 5-10%, 272. Some Hellenistic cities such as Teos were exceptional, their literacy rates reaching upwards of 20%, 130-133, 141.

<sup>19</sup> Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 14-20, 326-28.

give this "amorphous group" much attention, partly because he rejected the idea that public inscriptions were meant to be read by the public, and partly because he rejected the idea that the semi-literate could have comprised a significant proportion of the population in the Greco-Roman cities.<sup>20</sup> By contrast, Mireille Corbier has connected the abundance of epigraphic material with a "semi-literate" population in her study of public writing at Rome:

*L'écriture publique - par opposition à l'écriture littéraire - témoigne à mes yeux, à Rome, pour une catégorie qui ne se confond ni avec l'alphabétisation restreinte, ni avec l'alphabétisation de masse, et je serais tentée d'appeler une alphabétisation pauvre, largement répandue.*<sup>21</sup>

Corbier has suggested, furthermore, that the semi-literates were able to read the content of inscriptions because the inscriptions were written in basic language:

*L'existence d'une sorte de basic latin, adapté par un basic writing aux besoins d'un basic reading qui aurait permis au plus grand nombre de lire, de reconnaître ou de se faire lire un nombre relativement restreint de mots et d'abréviations courantes au sens fortement codé, intégrés dans une syntaxe volontairement simplifiée, sans relatives ni subordonnées, juxtaposant autour d'une verbe au présent ou au parfait (lui-même parfois omis) une suite de datifs, de nominatifs, en apposition et d'ablatifs absolus"*<sup>22</sup>

An analysis of "basic Greek" in the language of epigraphic texts from Ephesos will be made below. Here, we need to argue that the notion of widespread though limited literacy is one that is appropriate for the city.

Certainly the position of Ephesos as the financial and commercial center of Asia Minor required that a significant proportion of the population outside the ranks of the élite be literate or semi-literate, since the élite invested in usury but did not involve themselves in the day-to-day handling of money transactions. Rather, studies on the social status of

<sup>20</sup> "We shall certainly have to be on guard for the possibility that the difference in reading and writing levels was actually very great among the Greeks and Romans. There is, however, no especial reason to think that those who could truly read and *not* truly write were numerous," Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 5.

<sup>21</sup> Mireille Corbier, "L'Écriture dans l'Espace Public Romain", *L'Urbs: Espace Urbaine et Histoire*, (Rome: Collection de L'École Française de Rome 98, 1987), 29-60 especially 59.

<sup>22</sup> Corbier, "L'Écriture", 59-60.

bankers (*coactores*, *coactores argentarii*, *nummularii*, *argentarii*, *trapezitai*) in the western Empire have shown that a significant proportion of freedmen and freeborn persons of low status were employed in this activity.<sup>23</sup> Similarly with trade and commerce. Members of the senatorial and local élites owned ships and invested in commercial enterprises, but they did so through middlemen of lower social status. Merchants and *naukleroi* who handled and shipped products were rarely members of the élite, and rarely achieved ranks of prestige. But it was they who conducted the day to day business operations.<sup>24</sup> The important point, however, is that both banking and trading operations required careful record-keeping and therefore some degree of literacy on the part of a non-élite group.

With respect to banking, a variety of archaeological evidence supports this conclusion. A relief from the National Museum of Belgrade shows two bankers engaged in the practices of their trade. One man sits at a table counting money; beside him lies a codex where, the viewer imagines, he has just written his figures. To his side is an assistant reading from a scroll.<sup>25</sup> Another relief from Buzenol in Belgium depicts a seated man writing in a book. On the table in front of him is a heap of coins which he has apparently just counted.<sup>26</sup> A degree of literacy required in normal banking procedures is also suggested by the use of small inscribed ivory or bone rods called *tesserae nummulariae* to guarantee the authenticity and quality of the contents of bags of money. These are inscribed with the name of a *nummularius*, his *patromus*, as well as an

---

<sup>23</sup> J. Andréau, *La Vie Financière dans le Monde Romain*, (Rome: L'École Française de Rome, 1987), 367-405. But it seems clear from the evidence of the *tesserae nummulariae* that the bankers, the fellows who would sit out in the markets and ports to change and lend money, were financed by the men of élite rank.

<sup>24</sup> H.W. Pleket, "Urban Élites and Business in the Greek Part of the Roman Empire", in Garnsey, K. Hopkins and C.R. Whittaker (eds.), *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1983), 137, 140-141.

<sup>25</sup> Andréau, *La Vie Financière*, fig. 16.

<sup>26</sup> Andréau, *La Vie Financière*, fig. 17.

abbreviation of the word *spectavit* and the consular date.<sup>27</sup> Of the seventy *tesserae nummulariae* discovered in excavations, one is from Ephesos and reads:

*Calyx / Autroni / sp(ectavit) k(alendis) Apr(ilibus), /L(ucio) Pas(sieno) Cal(visio) cos(ulibus)*<sup>28</sup>

The simple and abbreviated syntax of the *tesserae* is paralleled in epigraphic and numismatic texts.

The semi-literacy of those involved in trade and commerce may be similarly inferred from the archaeological evidence. For example, stamps on handles, bodies or spikes of amphorae, usually consisted of simple symbols, or a letter or two, but often included the names of individuals and places.<sup>29</sup> These have been variously interpreted as potters' marks, the names of the owners/operators of the *figilinae* where they were produced, or the names of the estates where the amphorae were made and filled with the product to be transported.<sup>30</sup> Marks indicating the contents of the vessel and its place of origin had to be read by traders, merchants, shippers and handlers, as well as consumers to make sure that the correct products were bought, shipped and sold to the right people.<sup>31</sup> The extensive use of painted *tituli picti* on amphorae can be seen as a further indicator of basic literacy in trade and commerce.<sup>32</sup> The *tituli picti* on Spanish Dressel 20 amphorae, for example, tell of a complicated network of readers and writers: merchants, shippers,

<sup>27</sup> Andréau, *La Vie Financière*, 486ff.

<sup>28</sup> *IE 562, AE (1967)*, 486. Dated to 1 April 4 BCE. On theories of the function of *tesserae nummulariae*, see Andréau, *Banques et Banquiers*, 486-506.

<sup>29</sup> For an introduction to Roman amphora studies and brief typology, see D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide*, (London and New York: Longman, 1986). On stamps and *tituli picti*, see pages 9-14. For stamps on Greek amphorae of the hellenistic period and earlier see, Virginia R. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade, Excavations of the Athenian Agora*, Picture Book no. 6, revised edition, (Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies in Athens, 1979), figs. 21, 25, 39, 40, 54, 55, 58, and 59, with accompanying text. For examples of Roman period amphora stamps see M.H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 46-278.

<sup>30</sup> Peacock and Williams, *Amphorae*, 9-11.

<sup>31</sup> However, some amphorae were not stamped; did these represent to merchants the equivalent of "no-name" products, generic balsamic vinegar, but not the fine product of Modena?

<sup>32</sup> Peacock and Williams suggest that *tituli picti* "must have been present on a majority of amphorae, but are unfortunately they are only preserved when the soil conditions are favorable." Peacock and Williams, *Amphorae*, 13.



and individuals involved in the collection of *portoria*.<sup>33</sup> Usually four, and sometimes five elements written in different hands comprise the *titulus*. These include an indication of weight of the vessel, both empty and filled; the name of the *navicularius*; the names of officers controlling the export; the date by consular year; the estate and town where the product originated; and possibly information related to the loading of the amphora onto a ship, or its storage in *horrea*.<sup>34</sup>

The use of *tituli picti* confirms the existence of a complex system of written control over the shipping of amphorae, in which people involved at various stages had to be able to read to some degree. Take for example the unloading of a shipment of amphorae filled with oil or wine at the port of Ephesos. Collectors of *portoria* read *tituli* or stamps to discover the contents of vessels. The vessel itself would either be marked with another *titulus*, or tagged to indicate that the tax on it had been paid. Alternatively the merchant might be given a written statement to this effect.<sup>35</sup> Wholesalers or their agents and shop owners would come down to the docks and check stamped handles or *tituli* to see if an expected shipment of oil from the estates of so-and-so in Baetica had arrived. Proprietors of wine-shops, and stewards of wealthy houses interested in purchasing particular vintages, could identify the product desired by reading or recognizing a stamp or *titulus* on the vessel.

Thus, this evidence suggests that a basic literacy was possibly widespread among the populace of a banking and trading centre like Ephesos, meaning that a large number of people would have been able to read public inscriptions. But it is possible to take a

---

<sup>33</sup> On customs collection in Asia Minor see H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, "Das Zollgesetz der Provinz Asia. Eine neue Inschrift aus Ephesos", *EA*, 14 (1989), 1-197.

<sup>34</sup> Peacock and Williams, *Amphorae*, 13-14. See also H. Dressel, "Di un grande deposito di anfore rinvenuto nel nuovo quartiere del Castro Pretorio," *Bulletino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 7 (1879), 36-112, 143-195; and E. Rodriguez-Almeida, "Novedades de epigrafia anforaria del Monte Testaccio," in *Recherches sur les amphores Romaines*, (Rome: Collection de L'École Française de Rome 10, 1972), 107-242.

<sup>35</sup> This is clear from the Ephesian customs inscription where there is an attempt to protect merchants from paying duty twice. Some documents or marks on the goods, like the *tituli* present on Spanish amphorae, were clearly necessary.

further step and argue that even those who were completely illiterate could still learn the contents of inscriptions. Illiterate citizens, for example, might learn the content of public inscriptions by hearing them read aloud. Indeed, a wall painting from the house of Julia Felix at Pompeii might represent just this activity. It shows a scene in the forum where one man reads an inscription as others stand by. Scholars have proposed that this represents a citizen reading a notice out loud to his illiterate fellow citizens.<sup>36</sup> More importantly, we know that public ceremonies connected with the self-display of the élite were numerous in the ancient city. Coming of age ceremonies, marriages, entry to office were all occasions to which citizens of varying rank, even plebeians, were invited.<sup>37</sup> Thus, Pliny provided a public banquet to celebrate the dedication of a temple at Tifernum Tiberinum. Speeches were part of the ceremonies. By attending such functions even the illiterate could learn the contents of the inscriptions as they were read out. Even if reading the inscription aloud was not part of the ceremony, the illiterate citizen would still learn the name of the patron and the public work he had given.

By attending several such events the illiterate would learn to “read” the meaning of other inscriptions around the city, where the physical form and placement of the inscription gave excellent clues as to its contents.<sup>38</sup> An inscribed architrave, for example, undoubtedly named the patron who built the structure. An inscribed plinth supporting a statue honoured the benefactor. Indeed, in the face-to-face society of most cities in the ancient world, the person represented by the statue would likely be recognized by many citizens. The illiterate would learn that certain public spaces were home to particular kinds

---

<sup>36</sup> Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 34-35; and N. Horsfall, "Statistics or States of Mind?", in *Literacy in the Roman World*, JRA Supplementary Series 3, (Ann Arbor MI., 1991), 59-76, especially 70.

<sup>37</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 10.116-117: *Qui virilem togam sumunt vel nuptias faciunt vel ineunt magistratum vel opus publicum dedicant, solent totam bulen atque etiam e plebe non exiguum numerum vocare binosque denarios vel singulos dare.* On dedication of buildings specifically, see "Dedicatio" Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaires des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, (Paris: 1892) pt. 1, tm. 2, p 41-45 and G. Wissowa *RE* 4 (1901) 2356-9.

<sup>38</sup> See James L. Franklin Jr., " Literacy and Parietal Inscriptions at Pompeii", in *Literacy in the Roman World*, JRA Supplementary Series 3,(Ann Arbor MI, 1991), 77-98, especially 86.

of inscriptions. Texts on the walls of the prytany at Ephesos, for example, were lists of names of the *kuretes*.<sup>39</sup> Statue bases inscriptions in the agora commemorated either prominent Ephesians or imperial agents stationed in the province.<sup>40</sup> By placement alone even the person who could not read could gain a basic knowledge of what an inscription contained.

It seems possible to argue *contra* Harris, therefore, that a large proportion of the populace of Ephesos could “read” the public inscriptions of their city in one way or another. If so, one can infer that inscriptions were erected with the knowledge that they *could* be read by the public, and thus that they were *meant* to be read. The further implication is that they were expected to be *understood* by the public, or rather, that they were aimed at the understanding of the public, and that their meaning was part of a *shared discourse*.

The élite, therefore, were not the only audience for inscriptions, as Veyne would have it. We now turn to an examination of the messages communicated by the building and base inscriptions.

### 1.3.2 The Formulaic Language of Building Inscriptions

To interpret the meaning of building inscriptions in early imperial Ephesos we need to begin by acknowledging their highly formulaic nature. They show a remarkable uniformity of phraseology and language which is not be explained away by conservatism on the part of patrons, nor by a lack of creativity on the part of the *officinae* of epigraphers, but rather, by the desire of the patron to send a particular message to a cross-section of the population.

---

<sup>39</sup> Columns of the façade of the prytaneion were inscribed with the names of the *kuretes*, *IE* 1001; and *FiE* 10. 1/1 (1981), 13-69, 75-6.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, *IE* 3022-3085. For an interpretation of the placement of honorific statues in selected western fora. see G. Zimmer, “Statuenaufstellung auf Forumsanlagen des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.”, in H-J. Schalles, H. von Hesberg, and P. Zanker (eds.), *Die Römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr. Der Funktionswandel des öffentlichen Raumes*, (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1992), 301-314.

Two formulae can be identified in the building inscriptions of Ephesos. These will be referred to as “commemorative” and “dedicatory/commemorative.” As the labels suggest, the main difference between the two is the addition of a dedicatory element in the latter to the commemorative formula found in the former. Several factors appear to have played a role in determining the choice of one formula over the other. First, although circumscribed by tradition, we know that the individual commissioning an inscription could influence its wording.<sup>41</sup> Second, the longer dedicatory/commemorative formula cost more to cut, meaning the patron had to be willing to spend the extra money. Third, and likely more important, was the surface area available, since dedicatory/commemorative inscriptions were longer than the commemorative type and therefore required more space. As the more visually impressive of the two, the dedicatory/commemorative formula might well be chosen if the space was available, as on architraves. If only a small surface area was available, then the shorter commemorative formula would be used.

Thirty-six complete or near complete examples of the commemorative type occur in the corpus of building inscriptions from Ephesos,<sup>42</sup> although it should be noted that eleven of this number originate from the same structure and commemorate the building activity of one patron.<sup>43</sup> The remainder commemorate the building projects of a variety of

---

<sup>41</sup> Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter*, 46. In the case of funerary inscriptions Susini suggests that the customer supplied the personal data that was to be inscribed, while it was up to “the workshop to cast these data in the language proper to inscriptions, to add certain formulae, and (inevitably according to the fashion of place and time) choose either the nominative or the genitive or the dative for the name that came after the *adprecatio* to the *Dei Manes*.” Aulus Gellius in *Noctes Atticae*, 10.1, provides an example of Pompey agonizing over the wording of the inscription to be placed on his temple to Venus Victrix. Should he record his three consulships as COS TERTIUM or COS TERTIO? He consulted Cicero, who suggested the problem might be avoided by COS TERT. This example demonstrates that the *officina* did not have complete control over the wording of inscriptions, and that the individual commissioning it did, in fact, have some say in the way that it was recorded. It would be fair to say that the more literate the commissioner, the more concerned he or she might be with the wording.

<sup>42</sup> *IE* 263B, 401, 402, 419, 434, 442, 444, 445, 446, 448, 464, 488, 498, 501, 533, 1247, 1522, 2113, 2033, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 3009, 3013, 3086, *JOAI* 55 (1984), 121, *JOAI* 55 (1984), 114–115, *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71–77 nos. 1 and 2, *SEG* 34 (1984), 1121 and 1122, *SEG* 34 (1984), 1092, *SEG* 35 (1985), nos. 1109 and 1110.

<sup>43</sup> These are carved on columns from the stoa of Servilius built by Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus: *IE* 444, 445, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71–77 nos. 1 and 2, *SEG* 35 (1985), nos. 1109 and 1110.

patrons, including the emperor and the city itself. They were carved on wall blocks, architraves, archivolt, column drums and freestanding stelai.

A typical example of the commemorative type of inscriptions can be seen in the following:

Ἱέρων Ἱέρωνος τοῦ Ἱέρωνος Ἀριστογίτων ἀγνός  
φιλοσέβαστος πρυτανεύσας τὴν ψαλίδα κατασκευ-  
ασας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκε τῷ δήμῳ<sup>44</sup>

Hieron Aristogeiton, son of Hieron, grandson of Hieron,  
pure, emperor-loving, having built the entrance way  
from his own money during his prytany, dedicated it to the *demos*.

The structure of the typical commemorative inscription thus begins with the name of the patron in the nominative case, often including a patronymic and statement of office(s), usually only one or two, and/or epithets. Next, is a more or less elaborate description in the accusative case of the structure built. This is followed by the source of the money used. Most commonly the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων appears. In one case παρ' ἑαυτοῦ is used instead.<sup>45</sup> If the money for the project originates from a legacy the phrase ἐκ προσόδων κληρονομίας (or a slight variation) appears, followed by the genitive of person.<sup>46</sup> Fourth, is a main verb indicating building or renovation, usually in the aorist tense. Verbs used include ἀνέθηκε, κατασκεύασεν, ἐπεσκεύασεν, ἀποκατέστησεν, ἐχαρίσατο in order of frequency.

This example concludes with a *dative of advantage*, specifying for whom the structure was built. Hieron is noted as building for the *demos*. In another example, each of the columns in the colonnade of Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus is inscribed with the name in the dative case of the *sunergasia* which his construction project benefited.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *IE* 2033, inscribed on three keystones of marble in the theatre.

<sup>45</sup> *IE* 448.

<sup>46</sup> *IE* 2041–42, 3009, from the legacy of Julia Pantime Potentilla; 3086 from the legacy of Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus.

<sup>47</sup> *IE* 2078. The inscriptions from the colonnade of Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus all follow this same basic pattern: Μ. Φουλ. Ποπλικιανός Νεικήφορος ἀσιάρχης ἐχαρίσατο συνεργασία βαλανέων πρεβάτων τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διάστυλον α'.

But the inclusion of the dative of advantage is actually rather rare in inscriptions of the commemorative type. It does not appear in the following example from a column drum:

-----  
 γερ[.....] φι-  
 λοσεβ. τὰ μαγει-  
 ρεῖα καὶ τὰς κα-  
 τ' αὐτῶν ἐποίκη-  
 σεις ἐκ θεμελί-  
 ων σὺν καὶ τῇ  
 στρώσει ἐ-  
 δάφους κατα-  
 σκευάσας παρ' ἐ-  
 αὐτοῦ ἀνέθηκεν.<sup>48</sup>

-----  
 ger[? name?]emperor-loving,  
 having built from his  
 own money the kitchens  
 and appurtenances  
 from their foundations,  
 with the paving of the floor,  
 dedicated them.

It has been suggested, however, that this inscription was from the Artemision complex at Ephesos and marked the construction of banqueting facilities associated with the worship of the goddess. If so, the placement of the inscription rather than the text would have indicated for whose benefit the structures were built.<sup>49</sup>

While the name of the patron, a description of the structure, and a verb of building *always* appear in commemorative inscriptions, other elements vary. Some commemorative inscriptions leave out the source of funds, as in the following:

Φίλιππος δις Μαζαῖς νεοποιὸς τὸ ἐπιστύλιον / τῷ Βαχχείῳ ἀνέθηκεν.<sup>50</sup>  
 Philip Mazaios, twice *neopoios*, set up the epistyle for the Baccheion.

<sup>48</sup> *IE* 448..

<sup>49</sup> See comments for *IE* 448; Knibbe and Engelmann, *JOAI* 52 (1978-80), nr. 44. On μαγειρεῖον and other examples of inscriptions with this word having cultic associations, see L. Robert, "Pierres errantes: inscription de Selles-sur-Cher", *Opera Minora Selecta* II (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1969), 1346-1351, especially 1347.

<sup>50</sup> *IE* 434

It may be understood that Philip paid for the epistyle from his own money in order to commemorate his second term as *neopoios*.

A regular dating formulae by eponymous magistrates is another feature that may or may not appear in commemorative inscriptions. The examples given above omitted this feature, although it might be said that the naming of the office of the patron helped to locate a benefaction in time. Other commemorative inscriptions do include a dating formula, as in this example erected by the city for one of its own projects:

ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη μη-  
[τρό]πολις τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις  
[νε]οκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν  
[τὸ]ν πέτασον τοῦ θεάτρου  
[καὶ] τὸ προσκήνιον καὶ τὸ πόδωμα  
[καὶ] τοὺς σειφάρους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν  
[ξ]υλικὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν θεατρι-  
κῶν καὶ τὰς λειπούσας θύρας καὶ τὰ  
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ λευκόλιθα, ἃ μὲν ἐπεσκεύ-  
ασεν, ἃ δὲ καὶ κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ τῶν ιδί-  
ων, γραμματεύοντος Ποπλίου Οὐηδίου  
Ἄντωνεῖνου ἀσιάρχου, ἐργεπιστατοῦν-  
των Πο. Αἰλίου Μηνοδότου Βερενεικιανοῦ  
καὶ Γαίου Ἀττάλου τοῦ Ἀττάλου φιλοσεβάστων.<sup>51</sup>

The first and greatest metropolis of Asia,  
twice *neocoros* of emperors, built  
and furnished from its own resources  
the awnings of the theatre and the  
proscenion, and the sheets and awning apparatus,  
the remaining wooden theatrical equipment  
and the remaining doors as well as the white  
stone in the theatre,  
when Publius Vedius Antoninus, asiarch, was  
*grammateus*, and Publius Aelius Menodotus Berenikianos  
and Gaius Attalus, son of Attalus emperor-lovers,  
were supervisors of building.

This form of regular dating by eponymous magistrate can be found in a few other examples.

---

<sup>51</sup> IE 2039

In another variation, twelve of the inscriptions classified as commemorative begin with an invocation to good fortune (ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ):<sup>52</sup>

[ἀ]γαθῇ τύχῃ  
 Αὐρ. Μητρόδωρος Β΄  
 φιλοσέβαστος [ἤ]γορα-  
 νόμησεν ἀγνώως καὶ  
 εὐσταθῶς κα[ὶ] ἐν τῇ  
 ἀρχῇ ἐφιλοτ[ει]μήσετο  
 ἐκ μέρους στρ[ῶ]σιν  
 πλατίας ἐν τῷ Κορησῶ  
 εὐτυχῶς<sup>53</sup>

To Good Fortune!  
 Aurelius Metrodorus,  
 emperor-loving,  
 acted as *agoronomos*  
 purely and steadfastly,  
 and while in office  
 he contributed generously from the “allotment”  
 for the paving of the area in the Koressos  
 Good luck!

Six of the ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ inscriptions are from the colonnade built by Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nikephorus.<sup>54</sup> But other inscriptions on columns from the same colonnade begin with the name of the patron and not with ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, indicating the degree of choice available to patrons in the use of the commemorative style.<sup>55</sup>

Finally, some commemorative inscriptions are bilingual. This is true of all but one of five inscriptions that commemorate the works of emperors at Ephesos:<sup>56</sup>

*Imp. Caesar Divi f. Aug. cos. XII. tr. pot. XVIII pontifex  
 maximus ex reditu Dianae fanum et Augusteum muro*

<sup>52</sup> *IE* 442, 444-5, 488, 204-2, 2076-77, 2079, 3009, 3013; *JOAI* 56(1985), 71-77, no.1; *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1109.

<sup>53</sup> *IE* 3013

<sup>54</sup> The invocation to good fortune is fairly common on inscriptions from the third century and continues to appear on late imperial inscriptions, see L. Robert, “Sur des inscriptions d’Éphèse”, *Revue de Philologie*, ser. 3, 51 (1977) 7-14, especially 11-13.

<sup>55</sup> *IE* 2078, 2080, *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71-77, no. 2, *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1110. *IE* 2081 and 2082 are missing their first lines, so that it is impossible to tell whether or not they include the invocation to ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

<sup>56</sup> Bilingual inscriptions: *IE* 402, 1522. *IE* 401 is fragmentary but was certainly bilingual as it follows the same pattern as 402.



*munierum curavit C. Asinio [[Gallo. pro. cos.]] curatore  
Sex. Lartidio leg.*

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς ὕπατος τὸ ιβ΄,  
δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιη΄  
[ἐκ] τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς θεοῦ προσόδων τὸν. *vac*  
νεῶ καὶ τὸ Σεβαστήιον τιχισθῆναι προενοήθη  
[[ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γαίου Ἀσινίου Γάλλου]] ἐπιμελήσασθαι  
Σέξτου Λαρτιδίου πρεσβευτοῦ<sup>57</sup>

Imperator Caesar, son of a god, Augustus, consul for the twelfth time  
with tribunician power for the eighteenth time, pontifex  
maximus, from the sacred revenues of the goddess planned that the Temple  
and Augusteum be fortified, when Gaius Asinius [Gallus  
was proconsul] under the management of Sextus Lartidius, legatus.

Latin and bilingual inscriptions are not abundant at Ephesos or in the Greek East in general and usually record the building activities of emperors in the first century CE. Other individuals employed Latin in their inscriptions, but these were notably either friends and retainers of the emperor like the freedmen of Augustus, Mazaeus and Mithridates, or Latin speakers resident in the East like Gaius Sextilius Pollio.<sup>58</sup>

In general, the inscriptions of the commemorative type follow an established pattern: naming the patron, the type of project undertaken, and using a limited number of verbs to describe the activity. They use simple syntax, generally avoiding subordinate clauses by using participial phrases and genitive absolutes. The vocabulary of these inscriptions is common. Citizens of Ephesos would hear and use these words in their everyday life. Rare and literary words are avoided.<sup>59</sup> A glance at such an inscription held no surprises, even for the semi-literate viewer. The name of the patron in the nominative case, his patronymic, and office(s) usually appear as the first element in the inscription. If the viewer took the time to read the first few words, all the important facts would be known—the name of the individual and the fact he or she paid for a building.

<sup>57</sup> *IE 1522*, found *in situ*, carved on a block of the enclosure wall of the Artemision.

<sup>58</sup> Mazaeus and Mithridates, *IE 3006*; Gaius Sextilius Pollio's basilica: *IE 404*; his aqueduct: *IE 3092*.

<sup>59</sup> The Late Antique building and honorific inscriptions are different in this respect. They are often epigrammatic and full of literary vocabulary. See Chapter Six.

The commemorative style thus did the basic job of a building inscription. In this life, it linked the patron by name to the project he carried out. For the next, it preserved the memory of the patron by virtue of the fact that his name was written in stone. But much of the meaning of commemorative inscriptions was implicit rather than explicit. The patron's civic pride and honour are only implied in the inscription's announcement of the gift. The status of the patron is similarly only to be inferred from the naming of the office he held, although it is interesting that even commemorative inscriptions put up by the city include this form of implied status measurement, identifying Ephesos as metropolis and twice *neocoros*. Nevertheless, the meaning is clear enough.

It is somewhat more difficult to say what meaning a patron's fellow notables read into such inscriptions. They were, after all, likely already aware of the degree of wealth and power possessed by the individual named. On the other hand, an inscription of this type did signify membership in the rather special subset of those wealthy enough to give expensive gifts of building to their city, thus placing the building patron above many of the other notables in the social order. Such an indication of superiority was perhaps supplemented in those cases where the patron refers to himself as a *philosebastos* or "emperor-loving". Assuming the term can be interpreted as more than a simple affirmation of loyalty, it would suggest that the person was a member of the even smaller group of local notables who could claim the emperor as their patron.

That the language of the commemorative inscriptions was deliberately simple, suggests that they were intended to be read by less literate citizens of lower status. What did they mean to such persons? Again the message was implied rather than stated, and thus intended to be interpreted according to the "rules" or concepts of personal patronage with which all the members of this society were familiar. The mere fact of the inscription identified the person named as having wealth and power. This message was reinforced by mention of the office(s) held and by the scale of the project completed. Such a person was thereby identified as a potentially useful personal patron. The rules of patronage also

placed the recipient of a gift under an obligation to make a return, if nothing more, of gratitude and loyalty. It seems likely that the ordinary citizens of Ephesos experienced precisely this mix of meanings. On reading a commemorative inscription, and seeing the building with which it was associated, their recognition of the material advantage of association with this patron would be combined with feelings of loyalty.

Turning now to the dedicatory/commemorative inscriptions at Ephesos, fifty one examples survive.<sup>60</sup> Thirty-one were inscribed on the architraves of buildings, the most monumental placement for a building inscription.<sup>61</sup> Eleven were found inscribed on wall blocks or wall paneling.<sup>62</sup> Of these, some are inscribed in large letters on fasciae forming wall friezes, which was another impressive position for an inscription.<sup>63</sup> Five inscriptions were inscribed on freestanding stelai.<sup>64</sup> This variety was linked in part to the type of structure that the patron built. A building with a porticoed façade permitted the placement of an inscription on the entablature. The pavement of a street did not provide equal opportunity and was more likely to have been commemorated on a block or stele standing nearby.

The formula of dedicatory/commemorative inscriptions varied much less than the commemorative type. The following example may therefore be taken as typical:

1 [Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσῖα καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραιανῶι Ἀδριανῶι Σεβαστῶι] καὶ τῶι νεοκόρῳ Ἐφεσίων δήμῳ Πόπλιος Κυιντίλλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Γαλερία  
 2 [Οὐάλης Οὐάριος ----- σὺν -----τῇ γυναικῇ καὶ Οὐ[α]ρίλλη θυγατρὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐκ θεμελίων σὺν παντὶ τῶι κόσμῳ καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ἄγαλμα ἐκ] τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν, ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Σερβαίου Ἰννόκεντος, γραμματεύοντος τοῦ δήμου τὸ β´

<sup>60</sup> *IE* 20, 335, 336, 404, 408, 410, 411, 413, 414, 415, 416, 419a, 421, 422, 422b, 423, 424, 424a, 425a, 429, 430, 431, 432, 435, 436, 438, 443, 455, 460, 463, 467, 469, 470, 471, 482, 492, 496, 499, 500, 590, 1123, 1139, 1210, 2034, 2035, 2037, 3001, 3003, 3005, 3008, 3092.

<sup>61</sup> Dedicatory/commemorative inscriptions on architrave, frieze, archivolt: *IE* 335, 402, 408, 410, 414, 421, 422, 422b, 423, 424, 424a, 425a, 429, 431, 435, 436, 455, 460, 467, 469, 471, 496, 499, 500, 590, 1123, 2035, 2037, 3001, 3003, 3092.

<sup>62</sup> Wall blocks: *IE* 415, 430, 438, 443, 463, 470, 482, 492, 2035, 3003, 3008.

<sup>63</sup> Wall frieze or architraves: *IE* 469, 421.

<sup>64</sup> Stelai: *IE* 20, 416, 1139, 1210, 3005.

3 Ποπλίου Ουηδίο[υ Ἀνητωνεῖνου ἀσιάρχου, ὑποσχομένου δὲ ἐπὶ Τι. Κλαυδίου Λουκκείανου γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου.<sup>65</sup>

To Ephesian Artemis, to Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus and to the twice *neocoros demos* of the Ephesians, Publius Quintilius Valens Varius of the Galerian tribe, son of Publius, with his wife . ? . and his daughter Varilla, from their own funds built this temple from the foundations with all the decoration and the statue in it, when Servius Innocens was proconsul and when Publius Vedius Antoninus, asiarch, was *grammateus* for the second time, having promised it when Tiberius Claudius Luceianus was *grammateus* of the *demos*.

This type of inscription begins with a tripartite dedication to Artemis, to the emperor, and to the city (*polis*, *demos* or metropolis) of the Ephesians in the *dative* case. The titles of the emperor and the city may be more or less elaborated and other members of the imperial family named. Next comes the name of the patron, the patronymic, and the office(s) held by the patron in the *nominative* case. Other members of the patron's family could also be named. Third is a description of the type of structure built, in the *accusative* case. This too could be more or less elaborate. The phrase ἐκ θεμελίων is common. Fourth we have a statement of the origin of the funds, often ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. Fifth is a verb of building or renovating. The verbs most commonly used are: ἀνεθήκεν, κατεσκεύασεν, ἐπεσκεύασεν, ἀποκατέστησεν in the *aoist*. Last comes a dating formula, usually including ἐπὶ and the name of an eponymous local magistrate, usually the *grammateus*, less often the *prytanis*, and/or imperial governor, in the genitive case. Only 10 inscriptions of dedicatory/commemorative type at Ephesos preserve the dating formula.<sup>66</sup> Of the remainder, two are complete and do not preserve any dating formula,<sup>67</sup> while the rest are fragmentary where we would expect the dating formula to be.

<sup>65</sup> IE 429

<sup>66</sup> IE 415 and the very similar IE 416, in which Calvisius Ruso proconsul is described as τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου εἰσαγρόντος καὶ καθιερώσαντος the Marnas and Klaseas springs, a project which the city paid for from its own resources; IE 419, Calvisius Ruso proconsul is taking thought for the leading in [of the springs] and the dedication; IE 422, where Ti. Claudius Luceianus is *grammateus* of the *demos*; IE 423, Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas proconsul, T. Flavius *grammateus*; IE 429, Servaeus Innocens proconsul, Publius Vedius Antoninus asiarch, acting as *grammateus* of the *demos* for the second time; Ti. Claudius Luceianus *grammateus*; IE 430, Afranius Flavianus proconsul, Claudius Pisoninus *grammateus*; IE 435, Ti. Flavius Lucius Hierax *prytanis*, Lucius Aufidius Euphemus *grammateus*; IE 438, L. Antoninus Albus proconsul; IE 590, [Claudius *grammateus*?]; IE 3008 Marcus Atilius Postumus Bradua proconsul dedicated

As the example given above shows, dedicatory/commemorative inscriptions were much more formal, rhetorical and impressive than the commemorative type, which may explain the fact that patrons seem to have preferred them whenever space permitted. For all their formality, however, they were very readable. The vocabulary was basic, the syntax simple. The dedicatory part of the inscription was a straightforward series of datives for indirect objects. The name of Artemis, patron goddess of the city, would be familiar to residents. The name of the emperor would be visually recognizable from coins and aurally familiar from oaths of loyalty. The name of the dear city and homeland Ephesos would also be recognized. The name of the patron, as a prominent citizen, would be well known. The reference to the structure built was usually self-evident. The eponymous magistrates would be similarly well-known. In short, there was nothing so obscure in the dedicatory/commemorative inscription that a citizen of moderate literacy could not puzzle out.

It should also be apparent that this type of inscription was much richer in symbolic content than the strictly commemorative type, offering much more detail about the context of the gift. This makes the meaning much more difficult to assess, but we know that one of the goals of the patron was to preserve his memory after his death and that the inscription was therefore intended, in part, as a self-portrait. Interpreted in this light, the patron demonstrated his piety by dedicating the work to Artemis. He demonstrated his loyalty

---

it. Marcus Tigellius Lupus *grammateus* having taken part in government, completed it; *IE* 443, dated by the gymnasiarchy of Hieron, since the construction is one related to the gymnasium.

<sup>67</sup> *IE* 424, a nearly complete architrave and frieze inscription records the building of the nymphaeum Traiani by Ti. Claudius Aristion and his wife Julia Lydia Laterane. It is remarkable that they do not use the traditional dating formulae on this very public monument, and that the titles of Laterane are recorded at some length: she is daughter of Asia, chief priestess, and *prytanis*. Aristion himself is recorded as thrice asiarch (the highest number of asiarchates held by one person). It is tempting to see this as connected to great ambition on the part of Aristion and his wife, and with the former's trial which Pliny records. *IE* 1139, notably a free-standing marble block, did not commemorate a very important structure in the city, a sluice gate (ἀφερτρία) and five statues with altars. It was erected by Tryphosa, a priestess, in fulfillment of a vow made by her father. This brings up a couple of points, notably that less important structures are commemorated by free-standing inscriptions, and that less important people dedicate and commemorate their minor projects in this way.

through the dedication to the emperor and the city. His status was to be measured by the office he held and the scale of the gift he gave. The patron also sought to demonstrate his *philotimia* or generosity, a message reinforced by the fact that he paid for the gift with his own funds, something that also signaled the depth of his civic pride. By using the dedicatory/commemorative format, however, the patron was also able to locate himself in the social order. The list of names contained in the dedicatory part of the inscription reflected the hierarchy of the cosmos.<sup>68</sup> First was Artemis the divine protectress of the city. Next was the emperor, a semi-divine being who mediated between the worlds of mortals and immortals, whose government of the world preserved peace and prosperity. The city was similarly enduring and glorious.<sup>69</sup> Then came the patron himself, placed just below gods, emperor and city, but above the other citizenry.

And yet this apparent self-aggrandizement was both circumscribed and modest. The patron did not place himself *above* the city. Nor did he mention all his offices and thus the true extent of his glory.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, the emphasis in this type of the inscription was on tradition. Consecration of buildings to the gods had a long history.<sup>71</sup> Naming the emperor in the dedication became traditional in the imperial period.<sup>72</sup> Using an epigraphic pattern which had been employed by thousands of individuals over the years, the patron identified himself as acting in the tradition of previous citizens whose loyalty had also been

---

<sup>68</sup> This type of inscription is list-like in its simplicity, and it is hierarchical like a list as well. See Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 130 ff. on the hierarchical nature of some lists, such as the dining-list at St. John's College, Cambridge.

<sup>69</sup> Notably, when the *polis* acts as patron of a building it omits this part from the dedication IE 415, 416, 422, 2034, 2035, 3008; possibly IE 422 B, 410.

<sup>70</sup> By contrast, the statue base inscriptions commissioned by the *boule* and the *demos* lists the offices and titles of the honorand at length. See IE 3063, 3080.

<sup>71</sup> See "Dedicatio" in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, pt.1 t. 2, 41-45.

<sup>72</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 10.70, where with Trajan's permission a public bath at Prusa will be built on land belonging to the *res privata* and thus dedicated to him: *Ego, si permiseris, cogito in area vacua balineum collocare, eum autem locum, in quo aedificia fuerunt, exedra et porticibus amplecti atque tibi consecrare, cuius beneficio elegans opus dignumque nomine tuo fiet.* According to *Ep.* 10.75, Julius Largus of Pontus bequeathed most of his estate to the cities of Heraclea and Tium, either for putting up buildings to be consecrated to Trajan, or establishing quinquennial contests called the Traiana: *Rogavit enim testimento, ut hereditatem suam adirem cerneremque, . . . ita ut esset arbitrii mei utrum opera facienda, quae honori tuo consecrarentur, putarem an instituendos quinquennales agonas, qui Traiani adpellarentur.*

so strong that they willingly gave public works to their city. In this way the patron avoided identifying himself as an individual whose grandeur was immense, but rather presented the picture of a person acting out of a sense of duty and loyalty which was defined by tradition and not by ego. Such a message was only reinforced by the mention of the patron's family, the suggestion being that the patron was acting as a member of a group which had given to the city, and which would continue to do so.

Personal expression of identity aside, it would appear that political messages were also sent by the dedicatory/commemorative inscriptions. Ranked just below the city in the cosmic order, they certainly signaled a patron's superiority to his fellow notables as a member of the select group able to give buildings. Indeed, this pre-eminence can be read symbolically in those inscriptions that contain eponymous dating formulae. Eponymous magistrates were the élite of city and Empire, the social and political peers of the builder. They were honoured with a place in the inscription. But they are named last, notably after the patron. Thus, the instant of the patron's rising above his peers is recorded in stone.

With respect to the ordinary citizens, dedicatory/commemorative inscriptions again did the same work as the commemorative type, identifying the patron as a wealthy and powerful individual. But the message of obligation was stronger. The dedicatory part of the inscription named goddess, the emperor and the city. The citizen owed loyalty to all of these. The patron was identified immediately thereafter, the subtext being that the citizen owed similar loyalty to the patron for his benefactions. This type of inscription can also be interpreted as an affirmation of the political order. From the eternal gods, the emperor and the city, all good things sprang. From patrons too, good things sprang eternally, such as the structure dedicated by the inscription. As good things flowed from the hierarchy, the message could only be that the hierarchy was good.

### 1.3.3 Statue Base Inscriptions

In the patronage system of classical times the giver of a gift initiated an exchange which the recipients were obliged to reciprocate with a public expression of gratitude. These expressions of gratitude were written onto the landscape of Greek and Roman cities in the form of honorific decrees carved in stone and statues with inscribed bases.<sup>73</sup> These were usually paid for by the city, though particularly generous benefactors would pay out of their own pockets for statues, or even refuse a statue, resting content with an inscribed decree alone.<sup>74</sup> At Ephesos, numerous statues and bases have been found in public places, the agora, the theatre, baths and colonnaded streets. The more frequented the location of the statue, the greater the honour to its recipient.<sup>75</sup>

Statues and bases could be erected to honour people of different status and for a wide variety of services. The following example honoured the emperor Antoninus Pius, possibly as a result of the assistance the emperor gave to Ephesos after a severe earthquake:<sup>76</sup>

[Αὐτ]οκράτορα Καίσαρ[α]  
 [Τίτ]ιον Αἴλιον Ἀδριαν[ὸν]  
 Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστ[ὸν]  
 Εὐσεβ[ῆ]  
 [τῆς πρῶ]της καὶ μεγίσ[της]  
 [μητρ]οπόλεω[ς] τῆς Ἀσί[ας]  
 [καὶ δις νεωκόρο]υ τῶ[ν]

<sup>73</sup> Dio Chrysostom delivers a long oration to the Rhodians on the matter of the erection of statues to benefactors. The Rhodians had been re-using statues dedicated to previous benefactors, simply re-inscribing bases and re-dedicating them to more recent benefactors. Significantly, Dio warns the Rhodians that if they persist in this behaviour people will learn of their ingratitude and the city will become destitute of benefactors. For benefactors desire to be honoured in this way: ἡ γὰρ στήλη καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἐστάναι μέγα δοκεῖ τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδράσι, καὶ μισθὸς οὗτος ἄξιος τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος ἀνηρῆσθαι τὸ ὄνομα μηδ' εἰς ἴσον καταστῆναι τοῖς μὴ γενομένοις, ἀλλὰ ἴχνος τι λιπέσθαι καὶ σημεῖον, ὡς ἂν ποιῶσι τις, τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 31.20.

<sup>74</sup> On the cost of a statue in the African provinces, see R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 78-9, in Italy, 126-127. Examples of refusal of statues: from a decree of Pagae, A. Wilhelm, "Inscription aus Pagae", *JOAI*, 10 (1907) 17-32.

<sup>75</sup> Bases record that they were erected in the most popular places in cities: *CIL* V, 532, line 60 records the erection of an honorific statue in Tergeste in *celeberrima fori nostri part[e]*; likewise *CIL* V 31883/4 for a statue also erected *celeberrimo urbis loco*. For an honorific decree inscribed on bronze erected in the most frequented spot in Rome see Pliny's indignant letter concerning honours granted by the senate to Claudius' freedman Pallas, Pliny, *Ep.* 8.6, 13-14.

<sup>76</sup> Magie, *Roman Rule In Asia Minor*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 628 ff.



Σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων πό-  
 λεως ἢ βουλῆ(ι) καὶ ὁ δῆμος  
 τὸν ἴδιον κ[τίστην, ψη-]  
 φισαμέν[ου καὶ ἐπιμεληθέν-]  
 τος [-----]<sup>77</sup>

Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius  
 Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus  
 Pius;  
 the *boule* and the *demos* of the  
 Ephesians, the first and greatest  
 metropolis of Asia and  
 twice *neocoros* of the Augusti  
 honour him as their own founder,  
 . . . ? . . . ]having decided and super-  
 vised . . .

If the restoration is correct, the emperor here is honoured as *ktistes*, or founder, a term widely used on honorific bases and a standard epithet given to a person who was responsible for building. But as Louis Robert pointed out, it may also refer to the patron's performance of more general benefactions, such as obtaining privileges for the community.<sup>78</sup>

Other members of the imperial family were also honoured by the erection of statues and bases at Ephesos. Sabina, the wife of Hadrian was honoured by the city and the *boule*.<sup>79</sup> Imperial agents were also honoured. A base found in the agora honours procurator Ti. Claudius Balbillus "for his unceasing piety toward the goddess, and *euergesia* toward the city."<sup>80</sup> His *euergesiai* may be associated with administrative functions. Other wealthy citizens were honoured for providing benefits above and beyond the call of duty in fulfilling their magistracies and liturgies. A base erected by the *boule* and the *demos* honoured Ti. Claudius Aelius Crispus, who had been asiarch of the temples in

<sup>77</sup> IE 282 D.

<sup>78</sup> L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 116; and *Bulletin Épigraphique*, (1956), 317.

<sup>79</sup> IE 279-280.

<sup>80</sup> IE 3041: ...διὰ τὴν ἀδιάλειπτον [αὐτοῦ εἰς τε τὴν] θεὸν εὐσέβειαν [καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν] εὐεργεσίαν.

Ephesos, *agonothete* of the Great Ephesia, *grammateus* of the *demos* and the *boule*, and had performed all the liturgies in his city.<sup>81</sup>

It was not only the city, however, that put up statues with inscribed bases. A base from the agora, for example, records in Latin that the emperor Claudius was honoured by the *conventus c(ivium) R(omanorum) qui in Asia negotiantur*.<sup>82</sup> A prominent citizen of second century Ephesos, the sophist T. Flavius Damianus, erected several statues to Roman officials, including proconsuls, procurators and quaestors.<sup>83</sup> Publius Vedius Achilleus, a freedman of Publius Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiana honoured his mistress as benefactress.<sup>84</sup> Publius Vedius Antoninus honoured Lucius Verus and Faustina, the daughter of Antoninus Pius by erecting statues of them.<sup>85</sup>

Twenty four statue bases in the corpus of Ephesian inscriptions honour patrons of building works.<sup>86</sup> Most were commissioned by the *boule* and the *demos*. Three were commissioned by other groups.<sup>87</sup> In the case of three others it is unclear who ordered the erection of the statues and bases.<sup>88</sup> The text of all 24 inscriptions used one or the other of two related formulae. In the first formula, the name of the patron stands first in the

---

<sup>81</sup> It was his wife, however, who paid for the erection of the statue. *IE* 637, l. 14 ff: ...τὴν τεμῆ[ν] / ἀναστησάσης Αὐφιδίας Κυ[ι]ν- / τιλίας ἱερῆς καὶ ἀρχιερείας ν[α]- / ὦν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς γυναι- / κὸς αὐτοῦ.

<sup>82</sup> *IE* 3019.

<sup>83</sup> *IE* 3029, a statue base found in the agora for the proconsul M. Nonius Macrinus; *IE* 3051, to the procurator L. Didius Macrinus; *IE* 811, to Iunius Maximus quaestor.

<sup>84</sup> *IE* 729.

<sup>85</sup> *IE* 1505, and 285A.

<sup>86</sup> *IE* 274, 425, 428, 638, 661, 672, 676a, 690, 695, 712B, 728, 987, 986, 988, 1545, 2061, 2064, 2951F, 3063, 3065, 3066, 3071, 3080.

<sup>87</sup> As *IE* 672 indicates, the statue of T. Flavius Damianus was erected by the people in the agora: ἀναστησάντων τὴν τεμῆν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. On *IE* 3080 ἡ πλατεῖα honours the same man. According to *IE* 3063, M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus is honoured by εἰματιοπῶλαι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πραγματευόμενοι.

<sup>88</sup> *IE* 638 preserves the name of the person who looked after the erection of the statue, the *epimeletes*; *IE* 2064 is missing its first line where one might find the name of the person or group giving the honour, but it does preserve the names of those who *paid* for the statue, M. Fulvius Dama and his son Diophantos; *IE* 3071 preserves the names of the people who looked after the erection of the statue: προνοησαμένων τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Αὐρ. Εὐφήμου καὶ Αὐρ. Εὐγενίου.

inscription.<sup>89</sup> In the second type, the name of the patron is preceded by that of the individual or the body responsible for the erection of the honour.<sup>90</sup>

An example of the first type reads:

Τιβ. Κλαύδιον  
 - Σεκοῦνδον  
 βιάτορα τριβουνί-  
 κιον, - ἄκκῆνσον οὐ-  
 ηλάτον, - λείκτορα  
 κουριάτον, φιλεφέσιον]  
 [καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις  
 ἔργοις - κοσμήσαντα  
 τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν  
 [καὶ τὸν] οἶκον καὶ τὴν  
 ἀγούσαν ἀπ' οἴκου στο-  
 ἄν ἰδρύσαντα καὶ σκου-  
 τλώσαντα. . .]ως - τοῦ  
 [  
 ]  
 [Τιβ. Κλαύδιος] Ἑρμίας  
 [τὴν τειμήν] - τὸ  
 ψήφισμα ποιησάντων  
 [τῶν Ἐφεσίων] - ἐκ τῶν  
 [ιδίων ἀνέ]στησεν. (IE 1545)

Tiberius Claudius  
 Secundus  
 tribunician *viator*  
*accensus velatus, lictor*  
*curiatus*, lover of Ephesos,  
 having decorated  
 the city of the Ephesians  
 with many other distinguished  
 works, also having established this  
 building and the stoa leading  
 from it and the fac-  
 [ing.           ] of the  
 [  
 ]  
 [Tiberius Claudius] Hermias  
 erected this honour from his money  
 (according to) the vote of the  
 Ephesians.

<sup>89</sup> IE 274, 2951F, 425, 638, 672, 695, 1545, 2064, 3063, 3071, 3080.

<sup>90</sup> IE 428, 661, 690, 712B, 728, 986, 987, 988, 2061, 3065, 3066.

The text begins with the name of the patron, followed by a list of his offices and/or standard epithets (e.g. φιλεφέσιος). Next comes a description of the benefaction, which could be expressed as a series of participial phrases in the accusative describing at length the various benefactions, among them building.<sup>91</sup> More standard was the phrase πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἔργοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν πατρίδα, or a variation, as in this case, καὶ, ἄλλοις ἔργοις ἐπισήμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν.<sup>92</sup> The final part of the inscription generally records who supervised or paid for the erection of the statue in the nominative, as in the example above, or much more commonly, in a genitive absolute phrase like ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς τειμῆς followed by the name(s) of local magistrates.<sup>93</sup>

Honorific statue bases using the second formula began by naming who erected the honour:

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος  
 ἐτείμησεν  
 Ἡσυχὸν Ἡσύχου τοῦ  
 Ἀθηναίου Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρέως υἱὸν  
 ὑποσχόμενον ἀντὶ  
 ἐλαιο[θεσί]ας λευκᾶναι  
 τὰ λευκ[ώματ]α τῆς τραπε-  
 ζειτικῆς στυλοῦ καὶ σκου-  
 τλώσα[ι τοὺς] τοίχους  
 σκού[τλη] ῥαντῆ καὶ  
 κανκέλλους καὶ συμψέλια  
 ποιῆσαι εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Παυλεί-  
 νου ἐξέδραν ἃ καὶ ποιήσας  
 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀποκατέστησεν  
 γραμματεύοντος Τιβ. Κλαυδίου  
 Ἑρμίας<sup>94</sup>

The *boule* and the *demos*  
 honoured  
 Hesychus, son of Hesychus  
 an Athenian, son of Alexander,

<sup>91</sup> *IE* 274, 672, 695, 3080.

<sup>92</sup> *IE* 3063, 2951F, 2064, 425, 638, *JOAI* 53 (1981-2), no. 76.

<sup>93</sup> *IE* 3080, 638, 425, 695.

<sup>94</sup> *IE* 3065.

who, instead of undertaking  
 the oil liturgy promised to  
 whiten the white boards in the  
 stoa of the moneychangers and  
 to panel the walls with  
 variegated (marble?) paneling  
 and to make lattice-work and  
 benches in the exedra of?  
 Paulinus. When he accomplished these  
 things from his own funds,  
 he put up (the statue)  
 when Ti. Claudius Hermias was  
*grammateus*

In this case the *boule* and the *demos* are named in the nominative case, followed by the verb ἐτείμησεν in the aorist.<sup>95</sup> Occasionally, the *boule* and the *demos* are described more fully.<sup>96</sup> Next follow the name, patronymic, offices and benefactions of the patron, including building, which are described at greater or lesser length, and usually in a series of accusative participial phrases. Only two statue bases using this formula begin with the names of magistrates or individuals other than the city. This particular example notably honours an Athenian resident of Ephesos. Another rather unusual base records building undertaken by parents in the name of their son who is still a child (*IE* 690).

Statue base inscriptions were more complex syntactically than building inscriptions because they elaborated at greater length the patron's offices and gifts. They would therefore have been much harder to read in their entirety by semi-literate citizens, despite the fact that formulaic language, repeated from statue to statue, would have helped reduce the difficulty. For this reason, care seems to have been taken to design statue base inscriptions in such a way that most basic information was readily accessible. In the first type of formula, the patron's name was not only placed at the beginning of the first line, but inscribed in letters that were larger than the remaining text. A passerby casting a casual glance at the base would immediately see the patron's name and realize that he was

<sup>95</sup> *IE* 690, 712B, 987, 988, 2061, 3065, 3066.

<sup>96</sup> *IE* 428, 661, 728, 986: τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν.

being honoured for some gift or other. Indeed, he might actually be able to recognize the patron in question from the statue above the base. Even those inscriptions which began with mention of the city, also gave visual emphasis to the patron's name. Whereas the *boule* and the *demos* were named in the first line, ἐτείμησεν alone stands on the second line, centred rather than aligned to be flush left. On the next line follows the name of the patron. Thus, the eyes of the reader are thereby led to the name of the patron.<sup>97</sup> Letter sizes added further visual clues. The words *boule* and *demos* and the name of the patron are in larger letters, while the intervening script is smaller.<sup>98</sup>

According to Seneca, the giver of a gift was to be modest while it was the duty of the recipient to praise the benefactor to the skies. We see this pattern reflected in the inscriptions. The building patron was constrained to be modest in those inscriptions he himself erected, usually naming only one office and one particular gift. On a statue base, many or all of the patron's previous offices were noted. Many or all of his previous benefactions were listed. A statue and inscribed base represented the real prize for the patron because the text represented a true measure of the patron's glorious generosity, honour and patriotism. Here was the complete portrait which the patron wanted to preserve for posterity—a portrait of his spirit to accompany the statue standing above. Indeed, at least in some instances, it might be said that this method of preserving one's memory worked rather well. The careers and gifts of numerous Ephesian citizens are still known to us today as a result of statue bases erected to honour their building projects.

The statue bases have, in part, a hortatory message addressed to the notables. Inscribed on them was a series of public services and public benefactions, which were the proper activities of the notable. The message could only be that those seeking similar

---

<sup>97</sup> This pattern of arrangement of the text on the stone also occurs on *IE* 988, 977, 3066, 2061, 661, 728; and probably on the fragmentary inscription *IE* 712B.

<sup>98</sup> For another example of this arrangement, see *IE* 661, and the illustration in D. Knibbe, "Epigraphische Nachlese im Bereich ephesischen Agora" *JOAI* 47 (1964), 1-43, especially 28, nr. 15.

honour would have to perform similar tasks. That is, the portrait presented was that of an ideal to be imitated by anyone who claimed to count themselves among the élite.

Another function of base inscriptions is neither hortatory nor concerned with memory. Where building inscriptions tied a name to a work, statues and bases tied a name to a face which might well be recognized by ordinary citizens during the course of the patron's actual lifetime. That is to say, part of the meaning of the statue and base would appear to have been intended for the patron's lower status contemporaries—especially since the statue made the patron recognizable to the populace whether they could read or not. The general populace, however, was unlikely to read the message as encouragement towards the emulation of the ideal, since they simply did not have the resources to pay for public works. Rather, one message would have been about the loyalty and gratitude towards the patron in this life. On another level, it is likely that statues and bases were read by ordinary citizens as affirmations of the social order in general. Here was a great person who had beautified the city, contributing out of his own pocket to the material well-being of his fellow citizens. Here was his statue, placed in a thicket of statues of other great benefactors who had given so generously over the years. The message was that the patron was acting out of a tradition of honourable benefactions which could not but be approved.

#### **1.3.4 Conclusion**

The building-related inscriptions of ancient Ephesos were put up in public and placed in prominent positions. They were deliberately made more legible through the use of large letter sizes, uniform letter styles, red paint and sometimes bronze. The language used was generally uncomplicated and the formulaic nature of the texts made them easier to read by the semi-literate. They were put up in the city to the accompaniment of public ceremonies and banquets that made their meaning clear even to those who could not read at all. All of this would confirm the argument that building-related inscriptions were meant to be read,

and read by all segments of the populace. The fact that inscriptions were meant to be read, suggests that they were expected to be understood. But almost nothing of what was to be understood is explicit in the texts. Instead, they were to be interpreted according to a shared set of understandings that all citizens possessed—an understanding of the rules and ethics and obligations of the patronage system in Greco-Roman society.

The élite were only one audience for the inscriptions associated with building, not the *only* audience as Paul Veyne would have it. But Veyne was right in other respects. Building-related inscriptions represent self-portraits, intended by patrons to preserve their memory for posterity. They reveal the values for which patrons wanted to be remembered, including patriotism, and *philotimia*. These were the values praised by Cicero and Seneca, and exemplified by Pliny the Younger. Just as these authors sought to present an ideal to be emulated, so the patrons who gave buildings and put up inscriptions sought to show how they had met the qualifications of the ideal citizen and how individuals seeking similar glory would have to perform similar benefactions. It seems true to say that the main audience for such exhortations were the civic notables who had the wherewithal to pay for public works. But it does not follow that because ordinary citizens did not have the means to give buildings, they could not understand the *meaning* of such gifts, or that because they could not live up to an ideal, they could not comprehend it.

Explicit political messages are difficult to find in the building-related inscriptions of this period. Even the implicit messages are rather general. This is perhaps as one would expect, since patrons were enjoined by the rules of benefaction to be modest about their gifts, and effusive praise is reserved for statue bases inscriptions erected by the city or individual *clientes* or groups of *clientes*. fellow members of the élite. But two political messages were directed to the general populace. The rules of patronage specified that an obligation of gratitude and loyalty was owed to the individual benefactor by those who received his gifts. The following created by such gifts led to political power, as we shall see in the next chapter. Beyond individual careers, there was also an affirmation of the



political order. For just as loyalty was owed to an individual for the gift, loyalty was owed to the social order of the city from which material benefits like public buildings sprang.

## Chapter Four

### Politics and Building in 2nd Century Ephesos: The Case of Publius Veditus Antoninus

In the previous chapter it was suggested that the political messages contained in the language of inscriptions was implicit rather than explicit. This chapter uses a collection of inscriptions concerning the benefactions of Marcus Claudius Publius Veditus Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus,<sup>1</sup> not only to put some flesh on the bones of the framework set out so far, but to show that public building was used as a tool of politics.

In doing so we take more explicit exception to the arguments of Paul Veyne concerning euergetism in the Greek city, particularly his claim that:<sup>2</sup>

*La grandeur des notables s'exprime par des édifices publics: les constructions répondent à un besoin de symboliser sa propre grandeur; elles ne s'adressent pas à des interlocuteurs plébéiens. Elles trahissent une psychologie de classe, elles ne servent pas des intérêts de classe: elles ne peuvent servir à rendre les notables populaires auprès du peuple (ce dernier préférerait des liesses) et elles ruinent la famille du mécène.*<sup>3</sup>

Veyne here makes four claims. The first is that euergetism was strictly a matter of expressing the grandeur of the notables. The second is that plebeians were not the audience of euergetic acts. The third is that euergetic acts were not undertaken to serve class interests. The last is that they were not intended to make the notables popular with the people. To this list we may add the claim made elsewhere by Veyne that "*des marques d'honneur théoriquement civiques* (ie. honorific statues), *faites pour récompenser des individus, ont permis d'introduire subrepticement une distinction de prestige qui mettait*

---

<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions referring to Marcus Claudius Publius Veditus Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus are *IE* 285a, 438, 460, 676a, 727, 728, 729, 732, 1489, 1491-1493, 1501, 2064, 2065, 2067, 3035, 3075, 3077, 3081, 3274?, 4110. For the family of the Vedii Antonini see J. Keil, "Vedii Antonini", *RE* 8 A, 1 (1955), 563-570; H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts nach Chr.*, Hypomnemata 58, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1979), nr. 84; and most recently, E. Fontani, "I Vedii di Efeso nel II Secolo D.C.", *ZPE* 110 (1996), 227-236.

<sup>2</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1976), 185-373.

<sup>3</sup> Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 288-9.

*à part l'ordre des notables à l'intérieur du corps des citoyens.*<sup>4</sup> The suggestion in this statement is that euergetic acts served to *separate* the notables from the people rather than to bind them together, that is, that the notables were playing only to a crowd of their socio-economic peers.

As we shall see in the case of public building at Ephesos and elsewhere, particularly in the case of Vedius Antoninus, these claims appear to be mistaken on several counts. Buildings not only became serious matters of local politics, but can be seen to have been deliberately employed to curry popularity with the people, and even targeted to gain the support of particular groups in the city. In the cases to be noted below, buildings certainly generated opposition from rival civic factions making them political issues whether the patron intended them to be or not. Moreover, as in the case of Vedius Antoninus, they could serve as the cause of imperial intervention in civic affairs.

#### 1.4.1 Popularity, Envy and the Politics of Building

Our starting point is the text of an imperial letter concerning Vedius Antoninus inscribed on the proscaenium of the bouleuterion at Ephesos and dated to 145 CE:<sup>5</sup>

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ  
 2 [υἱὸς, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱῶνός,  
 [θεοῦ Νέρουα ἔκγονος Τίτος] Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός  
 4 [Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρ-  
 [χι]κῆς ἐξουσίας] τὸ η´, αὐτοκράτωρ τῶ β´, ὑπατος τῶ δ´, πα-

<sup>4</sup> Veyne. *Le Pain et le Cirque*, 270.

<sup>5</sup> The scholarship calls this building either the odeon or the bouleuterion, and is divided on its function. It is clear however, due to the location of the building next to the prytaneion and on the upper agora, the administrative heart of Ephesos that its primary function was as a bouleuterion. J.T. Wood who first uncovered the structure, called it the Odeon. The Austrian team that commenced thorough excavations of the north side of the agora in 1955, realised upon discovery of the prytaneion that the building was part of an administrative area, W. Alzinger, "Das Regierungsviertel", *JOAI* 50 (1972-5), 229-300, especially 254; E. Fossel, "Zum sogenannten Odeion in Ephesos" in E. Braun ed., *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, (Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, 1967), 72-81, who concludes from the placement and architectural features of the building that it was a bouleuterion. More recent confirmation from J. Ch. Balty, *Curia Ordinis. Recherches d'architecture et d'urbanisme antique sur les curies provinciales du monde romaine*. (Bruxelles: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1991), 511-514. For a contrary view see R. Meinel, *Das Odeion. Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebäuden*, (Frankfurt and Berne, 1980), 117-133, 315-319.

6 τῆρ πατρίδος Ἐφεσίων τοῖς [ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆ] βουλῆ καὶ  
 [τῶι δήμωι χλαίρειν . τῆ]ν φιλοτιμίαν ἦν φιλοτιμεῖται]  
 8 [πρὸς ὑμῶς Οὐδῆδιο[ς] Ἀντωνεῖνος ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτως] ἐκ  
 τῶν ὑμετέρων γραμμῶν ὡς ἐκ τῶν [ἐκείνου. Βουλόμε-  
 10 νος γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθείας [εἰς τὸν κόσμον τῶν  
 ἔργων ὧν ὑμεῖν ἐπηγγείλατο ἐδήλωσεν ὅσα κ]αὶ ἡλίκα οἰ-  
 12 κδομήματα προστίθῃσιν τῆ πόλει. Ἄλλ' ὑμεῖς οὐκ] ὀρ-  
 θῶς ἀποδέχεσθε αὐτόν. Κἀγὼ καὶ συνεχώρησα αὐτῶ [...]  
 14 ἄς ἠτήσατο] καὶ ἀπεδεξάμην ὅτι [οὐ] τὸν πολλῶν τῶν πο-  
 λειτευομένων τρόπον, οἱ τοῦ [παρ]αχρημ[α] ? εὐδοκίμειν χά-  
 16 [ρ]ην εἰς θέας κ]αὶ διανομὰς καὶ τῶν ἀγῶνων θέματα ? δαπαν] ᾧ[σιν ?]  
 [τῆ]ν φιλοτιμίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' οὐ πρὸς τὸ [μέλλον ἐλπίζει ? σεμνο-  
 18 [τέραν ποιή]σειν τὴν πόλιν προήρη]ται. Τὰ γράμματα ἔπεμψεν  
 [Κλ. Ἰου]λιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος. Εὐτυχεῖτε.<sup>6</sup>

Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, son of the deified Hadrianus, grandson of the deified Traianus Parthicus, great grandson of the deified Nerva, *pontifex maximus*, holding tribunician power for the eighth time, twice hailed *imperator*, four times consul, father of his country, to the chief magistrates, council and people of Ephesos greeting. The generosity which Vedius Antoninus lavishes on you I have learned not so much from your letters as from his. Wishing to obtain assistance from me for the embellishment of public works that he had offered you, he informed me how many and how big buildings he is contributing to the city. But you do not appreciate him properly. Now I have granted him all that he asked, appreciating that he prefers to make the city more majestic not in the customary manner of public figures who for the sake of immediate popularity expend their generosity on spectacles and distributions and the prizes of games, but in a manner that looks to the future. This letter was transmitted by his Excellency, the proconsul Claudius Julianus. Farewell.

This inscription was among the first retrieved from Ephesos by John Turtle Wood, but despite the fact that it has been known for almost 130 years, there are few detailed analyses of the text.<sup>7</sup> E. L. Hicks, an early editor of the inscription, commented that Vedius Antoninus' munificence "apparently was not welcomed by the Ephesians with the gratitude it deserved; he was obstructed in his work", explaining this simply by saying that "in those days, as now, any alterations in public buildings were liable to be received with

<sup>6</sup> IE 1491.

<sup>7</sup> John T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877), Appendix 5. Inscriptions from the Odeum, no. 3. Also John T. Wood, *Modern Discoveries on the Ancient Site of Ephesus*, *By-Paths of Bible Knowledge* xiv, (Oxford, 1890), 29-30.

much criticism and some strong opposition."<sup>8</sup> More recent scholars have focused on the rather rude tone taken by the emperor toward the Ephesians, suggesting only that Antoninus Pius was springing to the aid of his "very good friend" Vedius Antoninus because of his mistreatment at the hands of the Ephesians, without asking what the reasons for this mistreatment might have been.<sup>9</sup>

In order to answer this question, we need to begin with those bare essentials of the situation that the inscription makes clear. First, Vedius Antoninus was engaged in a public building project at Ephesos, which means that he had already consulted with the *boule* concerning the work and was granted or permitted to choose a site for the structure.<sup>10</sup> Second, he had written to the emperor requesting his support in the decoration of the building. Third, there was opposition to this project, with the result that Vedius Antoninus was not treated properly by the Ephesians. Fourth, opposition took the form, at least in part, of the *boule* not troubling to inform the emperor that the project of Vedius Antoninus was underway.<sup>11</sup>

The request for financial assistance to the emperor would seem to suggest that Vedius Antoninus did not intend to complete the project entirely out of his own funds. It may be that he was acting as the leader of a consortium of financiers, or that he intended to act as lone financier, but was counting on some subscriptions from others, or on a

---

<sup>8</sup> E.L. Hicks, *The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum Part III: Priene, Iasos and Ephesos*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), reprinted by Cisalpino Giuliardica of Milano, 1978, 155 and 156.

<sup>9</sup> G. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 47; Fikret Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, (New York and Cambridge, MA: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1992), 44.

<sup>10</sup> Pliny *Ep.* 10.8.2 was honoured by the council of Tifernum which, rather than assigning him a site for the temple he proposed to build for the town, permitted him to choose it himself: *ego statim decurionibus scripseram, ut adsignarent solum in quo templum pecunia mea exstruerem; illi in honorem operis ipsius electionem loci mihi obtulerant.*

<sup>11</sup> That *boulai* informed emperors of benefactions granted to them by notables is clear from other letters which have survived. A letter of Antoninus Pius inscribed on the tomb of Opramoas acknowledges the emperor's receipt of letters praising Opramoas for his benefaction and is striking in its resemblance to the Vedius letter, *IGR III*, 739 sec. 47.

contribution of civic money for completing the building.<sup>12</sup> In either case, opposition may have put Vedius in a potentially difficult position. A legal opinion from the *Digest* binds patrons of building to complete promised works once construction has started.<sup>13</sup> A letter from Trajan to Pliny confirms this.<sup>14</sup> If opposition meant that his fellow financiers deserted him, or subscriptions failed to materialize, Vedius might have been in the embarrassing position of being unable to finish the work but legally compelled to do so—hardly a testament to his magnificence or glory.

Why would his fellow notables attempt to expose Vedius to such a disaster if, as Veyne would have it, he was merely seeking to beautify his city as an expression of the values they shared? Several sources suggest that despite shared values, or perhaps even because of them, building projects actually led to conflict between the notables rather than to reinforcement of class solidarity. For example, a legal text from the *Digest* specifically connects the energetic activity of building with the arousal of envy, *invidia* :

*Qui liberalitate, non necessitate debiti, redditus suos interim ad opera finienda concessit, munificentiae suae fructum de inscriptione nominis sui operibus, si qua fecerit, capere per invidiam non prohibetur.*<sup>15</sup>

Someone who contributed his income for the time being toward the completion of public works from liberality and not because of the constraint of a debt is not to be prevented by envy from enjoying the fruit of his munificence in the form of the inscription of his name on the buildings.

---

<sup>12</sup> Dio of Prusa. *Or.* 40. 6: 48.11. on subscriptions for building the portico; Pliny, *Ep.* 10.39 on subscriptions promised at the theatre of Nicaea. At Ephesos a project undertaken by a consortium of builders is the fish customs house. *IE* 20 which lists over eighty contributors.

<sup>13</sup> *Digest* 50. 12.1. 2 (Ulpian, *de officio curatoris rei publicae*) *Item si sine causa promiserit, coeperit tamen facere, obligatus est qui coepit. Coepisse sic accipimus, si fundamenta iecit vel locum purgavit.*

<sup>14</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 10.40.1, where Trajan reminds Pliny he must ensure that individuals who have promised to contribute to the building of a theatre at Nicaea fulfill their promises: *Quid oporteat fieri circa theatrum, quod inchoatum apud Nicaeenses est, in re praesenti optime deliberabis et constitues...Tunc autem a privatis exige opera, cum theatrum, propter quod illa promissa sunt, factum erit.*

<sup>15</sup> *Digest*, 50.10.2 (Ulpian, *Opiniones* 3).

That is, building could arouse envy to such an extent that some could seek to prevent the benefactor from inscribing his name on the structure and thus gain the credit for the gift. Two examples from Asia Minor show *invidia* (φθόρος) at work.

The first example is drawn from the *Orations* of Dio Chrysostom, a citizen of Prusa descended from a family of notables who had a reputation both for holding civic office and for euergetic acts.<sup>16</sup> Dio himself, however, had suffered *relegatio* early in the reign of Domitian.<sup>17</sup> He benefited from the general amnesty granted by Nerva and was finally restored to his native city by official letter under Trajan.<sup>18</sup> Shortly after he returned, Dio proposed to build a portico in the centre of town, offering to pay for much of the construction himself and act as *curator* or ἐπιμελητής of the construction. Subscriptions were also to be solicited from other citizens and there would be contribution from newly increased civic revenues, which Dio had acquired on a recent embassy to the emperor, and possibly even from the emperor himself.<sup>19</sup>

Dio consulted the provincial governor who approved the programme and announced it to the assembly of the people, where it was discussed and received an overwhelmingly positive response.<sup>20</sup> The work then began with Dio as curator supervising the measurement of the site and visiting the mountains to choose the marble. Suddenly, however, the project was brought to a halt by a stream of complaints. Dio, they said, was destroying the landmarks of the city, including old monuments and sacred buildings. Dio replied that he was only removing "disgraceful and ridiculous ruins, much more lowly than the sheds under which flocks take shelter, but which no shepherd could enter nor any of

---

<sup>16</sup> On Dio's life in general, see C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, (Cambridge MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1978). On the benefactions of his ancestors and the honours with which they were rewarded, see *Or.* 44, dated by Jones to about 101.

<sup>17</sup> Dio, *Or.* 13. The dates of Dio's exile are not firm but this much may be said, that he was exiled sometime after 83 and returned permanently in 101; see Jones, *Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, 45-55 and 135-140.

<sup>18</sup> Dio, *Or.* 40.5.

<sup>19</sup> Dio's money, *Or.* 47.12; Curator: Pliny *Ep.* 10.81.1; Subscribers: *Or.* 40.6, 48.11; Public moneys: *Or.* 48.9; on possible imperial contribution, Jones, *Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, 111.

<sup>20</sup> Dio, *Or.* 40.5-6; 45.15.

the nobler breeds of dogs."<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, even though the city had already approved the site and the project, the controversy resulted in the withdrawal of the subscriptions promised by other wealthy citizens and work stopped. Dio was no doubt embarrassed that his plans to beautify the city had been thwarted, but he was now in a difficult position because he had promised a building, started work, and was therefore legally bound to complete it.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, riots apparently broke out over the stalled project.<sup>23</sup> The building was eventually completed. But when Dio sought to transfer responsibility for it from himself to the city, opposition arose once again, at the instigation of the philosopher Flavius Archippus. The transfer of the building was held up on the grounds that Dio had not rendered the final accounts for the project, and he was accused of not rendering the accounts because of the evidence of peculation they would have shown. Moreover, Dio was charged with having buried his wife and son in the library of the structure where imperial statues were also erected.<sup>24</sup> This was treason. Dio may have been lucky that the case was heard in the court of Pliny the Younger. Pliny evenhandedly gave Dio's accusers two opportunities to make their case. On both occasions they failed, claiming they needed more time. The charge of treason was referred by Pliny to Trajan, who promptly dismissed it.<sup>25</sup>

The point here is that Dio's buildings clearly became an issue in the fighting between civic factions. His own account is that he was just trying to beautify his city, but it seems clear that he was seeking to make himself popular by undertaking building projects after his long exile. Dio's opponents seem to have been upset at his rather

---

<sup>21</sup> Dio. *Or.* 40.4-9.

<sup>22</sup> On legally binding nature of *pollicitationes*, see notes 13 and 14 above; on Dio's own sense of embarrassment if he would not be able to fulfill his promise *Or.* 40.3.

<sup>23</sup> Dio. *Or.* 48.

<sup>24</sup> On the charges against Dio, see Pliny, *Ep.* 10.81-2. On Flavius Archippus, a philosopher with a rather chequered career who had been accused of forgery and condemned to the mines, see Pliny *Ep.* 10.58,1-2. His sentence may or may not have been reversed by Domitian, who also favoured him with an estate (*Ep.* 10.58,3-6). In any case, he returned to Prusa where he was much honoured by the people (10.60).

<sup>25</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 10.81,82.



glorious return, bearing imperial letters, and at his attempts to curry popular favour and thus disrupt the existing balance of influence. In *Oration* 40.1, the recently returned exile writes, ...ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπόπτευον-τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς εἰρήσεται-βαρύνεσθαί τινας ὡς ξένον καὶ περιττόν... (And I was suspicious, for the truth will be told, that some were annoyed at me as being a stranger and a busy body). In any event, these individuals seem to have felt so threatened by Dio's project that they went out of their way first to stop it, and then to use it against his reputation.

A second example of *invidia* aroused by building concerns Tiberius Claudius Aristion, a prominent citizen of Ephesos who held several local magistracies and served as asiarch three times.<sup>26</sup> During a career which spanned the reigns of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan, Aristion undertook a number of euergetic building projects in Ephesos. He built the nymphaeum Traiani, and other waterworks.<sup>27</sup> He appears to have paid for the pavement of a main street in Ephesos called the embolos.<sup>28</sup> He was involved in the construction of the Marble hall of the harbour gymnasium.<sup>29</sup> He also supervised the completion of the famous library of Celsus.<sup>30</sup>

Pliny writes of the dangers that arose for Tiberius Claudius Aristion as a result of his euergetic activities. The Ephesian was accused of treason and brought before Trajan's court at Centum Cellae, where Pliny was part of the emperor's *consilium*. As Pliny reports:

*Dixit causam Claudius Aristion princeps Ephesiorum, homo munificus et innoxie popularis; inde invidia et a dissimillimis delator immissus, itaque absolutus vindicatusque est.*<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> *PIR* C<sup>1</sup> 644; *IE* 425 and 638 are statue bases honouring Aristion and recording at least part of his career.

<sup>27</sup> *IE* 424, 424a, 4105.

<sup>28</sup> *IE* 422a.

<sup>29</sup> *IE* 427.

<sup>30</sup> *IE* 5101.

<sup>31</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 6.31.

*Claudius Aristion pleaded his case; he was the leading citizen of the Ephesians, generous and one who sought popularity in a harmless way; for this reason he had aroused the envy of people of a vastly different character who had suborned an informer against him. He accordingly was cleared of the charge and acquitted.*

Pliny links Aristion's popularity to his munificence, while *inde* links his popularity to the *invidia* of his accusers.<sup>32</sup> Pliny thought Aristion's pursuit of popularity was harmless. But it did not seem so to his fellow notables, who were willing to suborn informers in order to have him charged with a crime for which he could have been executed.

These two examples suggest a few important points. First, although some modern historians believe that the Greek city in the Roman imperial period was politically eviscerated, this is true only of foreign policy.<sup>33</sup> At the local level, factions among the notables and rivalry for political influence over the council and assembly continued unabated. Second, building was part of politics, whether the patron intended it or not, because it was seen as a means of gaining popularity.

Was Publius Vedius Antoninus attempting to use his building to curry popularity and increase his political power in Ephesos? There is archaeological and epigraphic evidence to suggest that he was.

#### 1.4.2 Courting Popularity

The letter of Antoninus Pius chastising the Ephesians for their treatment of Vedius Antoninus does not specify which building the emperor was asked to help decorate. The few datable pieces of the epigraphic record which name Vedius Antoninus, however,

---

<sup>32</sup> Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 104, also suggests Aristion was prosecuted for popularity.

<sup>33</sup> A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940): p. 182 "Of the two main subjects which had occupied politicians in the past, foreign policy had ceased to exist ever since the Roman empire had destroyed its last effective rivals, and the class war had been settled once and for all by the strong hand of Rome...Local politics had become a rather futile make-believe in which no important question could ever be raised, and it is little wonder that the upper classes tended to lose interest in them. It had been worth their while to spend money in order to secure their own dominance, but now that their position was assured by an outside power, the heavy demand on their purses made by the political game was an irritating nuisance."

strongly suggest that it was the bath-gymnasium complex located in the north sector of the city. The letter from Antoninus Pius is dated to the proconsulate of Claudius Julianus in 145.<sup>34</sup> The bathhouse was dedicated by Vedius Antoninus and his wife Flavia Papiana in the proconsulate of Antonius Albus in 146-8.<sup>35</sup> This allows one to three years between the letter and the dedication which would have allowed for the completion of the structure.

Baths were a good choice of building for a benefactor interested in increasing his personal standing. First of all, construction of baths allowed a patron to demonstrate his great wealth and in the Graeco-Roman city, the display of wealth created both social and political influence. From this simple fact stemmed imperial building programmes at Rome and the programmes of local notables in the provinces. The bath-gymnasium of Vedius was of middling size among the great bath-gymnasia complexes at Ephesos, but nonetheless impressive (Figure 1, 3). Measuring approximately 130m x 80m they were smaller than the massive harbour baths, larger than the East baths, and of approximately the same size as the theatre baths (Figure 1, 9 and 12).

Evidence for the cost of buildings in antiquity in general, and Asia Minor in particular is not abundant.<sup>36</sup> Information collected by Richard Duncan-Jones from Italy and North Africa suggests that the average cost of a bath building there was 300,000-350,000 sesterces.<sup>37</sup> Yegül speculates that Pliny may have spent 300,000 on the

---

<sup>34</sup> Claudius Julianus, Halfmann, *Senatoren*, nr. 57; Bengt E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum*, vol. 1 (Göteborg: Radius, 1984), Asia no. 127, p. 227

<sup>35</sup> *IE* 431, and *IE* addenda in Nollé-Merkelbach; *IE* 438 for building inscriptions from the gymnasium. On the date of the proconsulate of Antonius Albus, see G. Bowersock, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1968, 289ff. who argues that Albus was proconsul of Asia in 160/1. Werner Eck unequivocally demonstrated the date of 146-8 for Albus' proconsulate in "Die Laufbahn des L. Antoninus Albus, Suffektkonsul unter Hadrian", *Epigraphische Studien* 9 (1972), 12-16, and it has been widely accepted, as Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum*, 1, Asia no. 128, p. 227. F. Yegül, however, in *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, accepts 160/1. For a review of the literature on this issue see H. Engelmann, "Aelius Aristides und eine Ephesische Prägung", *ZPE* 89 (1991), 273-4.

<sup>36</sup> *IE* 728. Unfortunately, Pliny does not mention how much the baths at Prusa (*Ep.* 10,23), or at Claudiopolis (*Ep.* 10,39), will cost the cities.

<sup>37</sup> R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), for tables listing costs in Italy and North Africa. The figures which follow are taken from his tables.

construction of his baths at Comum,<sup>38</sup> but this seems too little since Pliny gave 300,000 for their decoration alone.<sup>39</sup> The Forum baths at Ostia were on a different scale. Promised by Hadrian and constructed by Antoninus Pius, they cost 2 million sesterces.<sup>40</sup> But these were notably *smaller* than the bath-gymnasium of Vedius, and very richly appointed.<sup>41</sup> As one modern commentator writes:

The scale, elegance and sophistication of the baths [of Vedius] are equal to those of the finest of the later thermal establishments at Rome, or indeed anywhere else in the world. The dressing rooms were furnished with hooks for clothing and lockers beneath the seats.<sup>42</sup>

They were not mere shower stalls. But if the baths of Vedius Antoninus equaled or surpassed those of the emperor Antoninus at Ostia, the suggestion is that they must also have cost something in the neighborhood of 2 million sesterces. Here was a demonstration of huge wealth.

The bath-gymnasium was a good choice of construction for Vedius for other important reasons. Not simply places for washing, baths became the focus of social life in the second century.<sup>43</sup> It was at the baths that people, especially of the lower classes (*humiliores*) who did not have private bathing establishments attached to their houses, could enjoy all the amenities of social life.<sup>44</sup> Certainly recent research on baths has shown

---

<sup>38</sup> F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 44.

<sup>39</sup> *CIL* 5. 5262.

<sup>40</sup> *CIL* 14.98. cf. 481. *ILS* 334. R. Duncan-Jones says that this inscription belongs to the baths of Neptune. F. Yegül, 432. note 107 says that the baths referred to are the forum baths. Also see Yegül for the plans of the forum baths and the baths of Neptune, 70.

<sup>41</sup> Bath-gymnasium of Vedius 10,400 m<sup>2</sup> compared to the 5720m<sup>2</sup> of the forum baths at Ostia. Figures from J. DeLaine, "New Models, Old Modes: Continuity and Change in the Design of Public Baths", in H-J. Schalles, H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (eds.), *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Der Funktionswandel des öffentlichen Raumes*, (Köln: Rheinland Verlag, 1992), 257-276.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Grant, *Age of the Antonines*, (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 133.

<sup>43</sup> See J. DeLaine, "New Models, Old Modes", where she argues that the design of baths in the second century shows a vast increase in their potential to provide the bather with *voluptates*, far beyond simply getting clean.

<sup>44</sup> On the fundamental nature of bathing establishments to Greco-Roman cultural life, see Jerome Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, trans. E.O. Lorimer (Harmondsworth, New York, Markham: Penguin Books, 1941), 277-286. It is still a classic though dated. For more scholarly approaches, see Janet Delaine's review article and bibliography "Recent Research on Roman Baths", *JRA* 1 (1988), 11-29.

that they provided an astonishing variety of services. Beauty treatments such as depilation were available.<sup>45</sup> There is evidence that doctors and dentists plied their trade in bathing establishments. Food and drink were almost certainly available.<sup>46</sup> Entertainments of various sorts were abundant. The centrally located baths of Varius at Ephesos appear to have housed a brothel.<sup>47</sup> Libraries also existed in some of the more lavish bath complexes.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, sculpture and works of art graced the porticoes and exedrae.<sup>49</sup> In short, all of the good things in life were available on a daily basis at the baths—things which the ordinary citizen could not have hoped to enjoy otherwise. In choosing to build such a structure, Vedius Antoninus was providing a building that was central to the social life, physical well-being, and enduring pleasure of the people of Ephesos, especially the non-élite groups.

The location of the bath-gymnasium of Vedius is worthy of some reflection. It was adjacent to the north wall of the city, on the main street known as the “Hallenstrasse” which led from the theatre out through the nearby Koressos gate (Figure 1, 5). Immediately south of the baths, however, was the stadium (Figure 1, 4). Although the baths were some distance from the centre of town, they were nonetheless in a high traffic area. People entering or exiting the city would pass by this monumental structure and stop to use its facilities.<sup>50</sup> No doubt the bath-gymnasium of Vedius also attracted spectators going to and from the competitions in the stadium. One can imagine the athletes warming

---

especially 27-29; Inge Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*. (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990); F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 30-43.

<sup>45</sup> Seneca, *Ep. Morales*, 56.

<sup>46</sup> Th. Shiøler and O. Wikander, "A Roman Water-mill in the Baths of Caracalla", *Opuscula Romana* 14 (1983), 47-64. The water may have been used to grind corn for making bread to be sold at the baths.

<sup>47</sup> *IE* 455; F. Miltner, "XXI Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos", *JOAI* 43 (1956), 1-64, especially 20 and note 14; *SEG* 16 (1959), 719.

<sup>48</sup> On libraries in the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian at Rome, see *HA Probus* 2.

<sup>49</sup> For example, on the sculpture and reliefs found in the baths of Vedius, see J. Keil *JOAI* 24 (1929), 20-58, with figs. 19-31; *JOAI* 25 (1929), 28-36, figs. 13-18.

<sup>50</sup> DeLaine, "Recent Research", 29. The baths of Caracalla were located on the Via Appia and had a monumental entranceway from this road, thus making them available and welcoming to travellers entering and exiting Rome.

up there before their events. One can imagine both the athletes and their fans returning to the baths when the competitions were over.

However, evidence exists to suggest that the bath-gymnasium of Vedius was intended for more specific groups of users. A series of six inscribed columns was found located opposite the seats in the latrine of the complex.<sup>51</sup> The columns are inscribed with the names in the genitive case of various *sunergasiai* or workers' associations. These included the money-changers or bankers (τραπεζειτῶν), the hemp-workers of the stoa of Servilius (κανναβαρίων Σερβειλίου στοᾶς), the linen-weavers and wool-dealers (λινοπλόκων, ἔριοπωλῶν), the association of the ἄστιοπωλῶν, the linen-sellers (λεντιυφάντων), and perhaps, the basket weavers or sellers (συνεργασίας καννί[ι]των). One of the columns from the latrine is inscribed with the name of a neighborhood (πλατείας βρανχιανῆς).<sup>52</sup> Dieter Knibbe has argued that these columns were not *spolia*, but part of the original latrine.<sup>53</sup> Names written in the genitive on architectural features such as columns or seats generally are interpreted as marking the place of the person or group named. On this interpretation the columns are "reserved seating" in the latrine for the above-named *sunergasiai*. There is evidence from other baths in the Roman world that they often served as social clubs for particular associations.<sup>54</sup>

If the columns do mark reserved seating then it seems likely that the *sunergasiai* named would have had their businesses in the vicinity of the bath-gymnasium of Vedius. Knibbe proposes that these guilds were located in the stoa named in the case of the hemp-workers. This is the stoa of Servilius, located near the baths of Vedius on the

---

<sup>51</sup> J. Keil, *JOAI* 24, (1928), 29-33.

<sup>52</sup> *IE* 454; SEG 35 (1985), 1111; R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé, *Addenda und Corrigenda zu den Inscriften von Ephesos I-VII.1* (IK 11.1-17.1), (Bonn: Rudolph Habelt Verlag, 1981), nr. 454c.

<sup>53</sup> D. Knibbe, "Der Asiarch M. Fulvius Publicianus Nikephorus, die ephesischen Handwerkerkulte und die Stoa der Servilius", *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71-77.

<sup>54</sup> Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 32, provides the example of the North (Cluny) baths of Paris, where the consoles supporting the vaulting of the frigidarium were decorated with reliefs of boats. These have been interpreted as the kind of boats which would have been used in the river Seine by the patrons of the baths. The inscribed columns of the latrine of the baths of Vedius may provide the best evidence yet for baths catering at least partly to special interest groups.

“Hallenstrasse”, the street between the theatre and the bath-gymnasium of Vedius (Figure 2).<sup>55</sup> Continuing excavations in the vicinity indicates that the area around the baths of Vedius and the stoa of Servilius was the quarter of the city where those engaged in commerce and manufacture worked, and possibly lived.

For example, a series of eleven inscribed columns commemorates the renovation of the stoa of Servilius by Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus (Figure 3). Most of the columns were found in the vicinity of the theatre, the stoa of Servilius, and bath-gymnasium of Vedius. Two were found in the harbour area. The content and phraseology of their inscriptions, however, demonstrate that they should be taken as a group. A few examples will suffice:

Ἄγαθη Τύχη Μ. Ποπλικιανὸς Νικεφόρος ἀσιάρχης ἐχαρίσατο συνεργασία οἰνηρῶ ἱερῶ γεύματι διάστυλα δύο γραμματεύοντος Αὐρ. Ἀλεξάνδρου<sup>56</sup>

To Good Fortune! M. Publicianus Nikephorus, asiarch, favoured the association of the sacred wine tasters? with two booths, when Aurelius Alexander was *grammateus*.

Μ. Φουλ. Ποπλικιανὸς Νεικήφορος ἀσιάρχης ἐχαρίσατο συνεργασία βαλανέων πρεβάτων τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διάστυλον α<sup>57</sup>

M. Ful. Publicianus Nikephorus, asiarch, favoured the association of the private baths (attendants?) of Ephesos with one booth.

ἀγαθῆι τύχη Μάρκος Φούλβιος Πουπλικιανὸς Νεικηφόρος φιλοσέβαστος ἀσιάρχης καὶ πρύτανις ἐχαρίσατο κανναβαρίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σερβειλίου στοᾶ διάστυλα δύο.<sup>58</sup>

To Good Fortune! Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nikephorus, emperor lover, asiarch and *prytanis*, favoured the hemp workers of the Stoa of Servilius with two booths.

<sup>55</sup> D. Knibbe, “Der Asiarch M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus”, *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71-77. This Servilius is probably Servilius Isauricus, consul with Julius Caesar in 48 BCE and proconsul of Asia in 46-44 BCE. Hero cult continued to be performed for him into the second century, see J. and L. Robert, “Hierocésarée” *Hellenica* 6 (1948), 27-55, especially 38-42

<sup>56</sup> *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71-77 nr.1, *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1109.

<sup>57</sup> *IE* 2078.

<sup>58</sup> *IE* 445.

The inscriptions thus indicate that Nicephorus favoured the named *sunergasiai* by building διάστυλα or booths between the columns for them.<sup>59</sup> These booths were either meeting places for the *sunergasiai* or places of business. Like those in the latrine of Vedius' bath-gymnasium, these columns originally marked the places of the *sunergasiai* in the Stoa of Servilius.<sup>60</sup> Interestingly, the “hemp workers of the Servilian stoa” (κωνναβαρίοι Σερβειλίου στοᾶς) are named in both sets of columns. The columns commemorating Nicephorus' benefaction to the *sunergasiai* have been dated to the early third century, some fifty years after the dedication of the bath-gymnasium of Vedius. Nevertheless, they confirm the mercantile and manufacturing character of the neighborhood.

On this evidence it is possible to suggest that Vedius Antoninus was trying to do more than curry a sort of general favour among the populace by providing a bath-gymnasium complex. He appears to have targeted his benefaction at a particular neighborhood. In particular, remembering that Ephesos was then both the financial capital of Asia Minor and renowned for its manufacturing, Vedius appears to have been specifically trying to gain the support of members of the powerful mercantile and manufacturing classes in Ephesos that operated in the stoa of Servilius and probably lived near the gymnasium and the Koressos gate.

### 1.4.3 The Benefits of Building

What benefit might Vedius Antoninus have gained from the support of the *sunergasiai*?

It has been suggested that the Vedii Antonini of the second century CE were descended from a family of Italian merchants of the last century of the Republic.<sup>61</sup> The

---

<sup>59</sup> In addition to the *sunergasia* named in the inscriptions quoted in the text are the *sunergasiai* of πυρηνάδων, ταυρινάδων, εἰσικτῆ ἱεροῦ γεύματος, ἀσκομίθων.

<sup>60</sup> Several of the column inscriptions that commemorate the building of concession stands for various guilds by M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus come from the stoai, including the stoa of Servilius, (also referred to in IE 454, the columns reserving places in the latrines of the baths of Vedius) lining the street between the theatre and stadium: *IE* 445, 2076, 2077, *SEG* 35 (1985), nr. 1109, 1110, *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71-77 nr. 1, 2. Other were found in the theatre: *IE* 2080, 2082.

<sup>61</sup> J. Keil, *RE* (1955) 8a 563.



evidence of the latrine column inscriptions may strengthen this link.<sup>62</sup> Whatever the actual case, it is possible that Vedius Antoninus had a financial interest in being the benefactor of *sunergasiai*, perhaps having loaned or invested money in their various businesses. We do know that the moneyed classes of the Graeco-Roman world did invest in such things and made more money this way.

There may also have been a direct political benefit. The Orations of Dio Chrysostom indicates that the *demos* at Prusa was not entirely powerless in the early second century. Matters were brought before the Assembly for approval, even if only by acclamation. He himself addressed this body on many occasions.<sup>63</sup> A similar situation was undoubtedly operative in the much larger Ephesos, where the *sunergasiai* would have had an active interest in civic affairs. The members of the *sunergasiai* might have supported a benefactor in the Assembly by shouting down his rivals, or by acclaiming his projects.

The epigraphic record indicates that Vedius Antoninus was certainly honoured by such groups, since several statue bases erected in his honour by various *sunergasiai* have been found. A base found in the vicinity of the bouleuterion was put up by the association of the wool workers (συνεργασία τῶν λαναρίων).<sup>64</sup> An inscription from the agora was erected by the temple builders (ναουργοί τέκτονες). Here Vedius Antoninus is honoured as founder (κτίστης) and the very own benefactor of the association (ἴδιος εὐεργέτης).<sup>65</sup> An inscribed block found in the rubble in the orchestra of the theatre was put up by the “teachers near the mouseion” (οἱ περὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον παιδευταί).<sup>66</sup> Finally, an inscription found reused in the late antique Scholastikia baths was put up by a group that calls itself

---

<sup>62</sup> R. Syme, “Who was Vedius Pollio?”, *JRS* 51 (1961), 28 suggests alternatively that the Vedii Antonini of second century Ephesos may be connected with Vedius Pollio, the administrator of Asia just after Actium, and disgraced friend of Augustus.

<sup>63</sup> Dio, *Or.* 44 delivered to the Assembly after return from an embassy to Trajan; at the beginning of this speech he refers to his pleasure in seeing and hearing the citizens of Prusa and modestly refuses the honours they offer him. The speeches about the portico *Or.* 40 and 47 are also clearly addressed to the assembly.

<sup>64</sup> *IE* 727.

<sup>65</sup> *IE* 3075.

<sup>66</sup> *IE* 2065.

“the workers in taste” (οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ γεῦμα πραγματευόμενοι). Two columns from M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus’ renovation of the Stoa of Servilius name associations related to this one—συνεργασία οἰνηροῦ ἱεροῦ γεύματος, and συνεργασία ἱεροῦ γεύματος.<sup>67</sup>

It seems that these “workers in sacred taste” also frequented the bath-gymnasium of Vedius. The text in which they honour Vedius mentions all of his titles, including a gymnasiarchy he held when Lucius Verus stopped at Ephesos with his army enroute to the Persian wars. The responsibility of gymnasiarchs was to provide oil to the bathers and heat the baths, but on special occasions they might undertake to pay the entrance fee for all patrons. It would appear that during the visits of Lucius Verus, Vedius Antoninus as gymnasiarch of his own bath-gymnasium complex provided free entry and free oil and so doubly benefited the patrons of the establishment. This is the benefaction that resulted in his being honoured by the οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ γεῦμα πραγματευόμενοι. The inscription includes the phrase “he beautified the city with many and great works” (πολλοῖς καὶ μεγαλοῖς ἔργοις κεκοσμηκότα τὴν πόλιν), a phrase generally associated with building benefactions. In this case, given what is known about who erected this statue and base and why, it might have more specific associations with Vedius’ bath-gymnasium complex.

The relationships between the Vedii Antonini and the *sunergasiai* of the neighbourhood continued. Thus a statue base granted by the *boule* and the *demos* to Publius Vedius Antoninus Papianus, honours the son of Vedius Antoninus as “benefactor and founder from his ancestors and parents” (τὸν ἐκ προγόνων καὶ γένους εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην).<sup>68</sup> The group that paid for the erection of the statue is also identified as “the

<sup>67</sup> *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71-77 nr. 1; *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1109; *IE* 2076.

<sup>68</sup> The idea that euergetic behaviour is passed on through the generations occurs regularly in inscriptions. See for example W. Dittenberger, *SIG* 708, line 4, in praise of Aristagoras πατρός γεγωνῶς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ προγόνων εὐεργετῶν.

people of Koressos from the gate to the stadium” (τὴν τειμὴν Κορρησσειτῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης ἕως τοῦ σταδίου).<sup>69</sup>

A fragmentary honorific inscription found in the agora will serve as a final example of the popularity the family of the Vedii Antonini achieved through their patronage. The text is lacunose where the name of the dedicatee would have appeared, though his numerous offices and benefactions are mentioned, including a festival during which beasts from Libya were slain. Whether or not the patron was one of the Vedii is less important than the fact that the statue was erected by a group calling themselves οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ φιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι “the friends of Vedii and the lovers of arms in/of the place”.<sup>70</sup> The “*philovedioi*”, or “friends of the Vedii” are apparently a faction associated with the family. The precise nature of their association is unknown, though it may be connected with factional support of gladiators and other “teams”. But it is clear that the Vedii stand as patrons to the *philovedioi*. In addition, the *philovedioi* identify themselves with a particular area of the city (οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ). That they did so strengthens the argument that individuals like Vedius Antoninus may have acted as patrons selectively, attempting to earn the loyalty of certain groups or certain districts of the city.

#### 1.4.4 Courting Imperial Favour

That Vedius Antoninus was cultivating the clientele of particular groups in Ephesos through his bath project must have been annoying to his enemies, and no doubt all the more galling for the fact that it demonstrated their own lack of forethought, generosity or ability with respect to the manufacturing district and its residents. But the bath-gymnasium built by Vedius Antoninus did more than bind the interests of *local* groups to his own. It

---

<sup>69</sup> IE 730: a statue base built into the late Roman baths of Scholastikia but probably originally located on the street between the Theatre and the stadium.

<sup>70</sup> M. Gallina, Appendice II in Daria de Bernardi Ferrero, *Teatri Classici in Asia Minore IV*, (Rome: L’ “Erma” di Bretschneider, 1974), 225; see also L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l’ Orient Grec*, no. 200, ll. 7-16; *FiE* III, 70.

also established a link between himself and the emperor Antoninus Pius which, given the enduring nature of patron-client relations, now became a permanent factor to be reckoned with in civic politics.

There can be little doubt that this bond existed. The letter of Pius to the Ephesians states that the emperor had granted Vedius “all he asked” and agreed to participate in the decoration of the building. Why did the emperor agree? On the one hand, Vedius offered the emperor an opportunity to contribute to the beautification of Ephesos, adding to the glory of his reign while securing the affections of the citizens of one of the most important cities in the Empire. Secondly, it appears that Vedius was offering Antoninus Pius the opportunity to contribute to a building which celebrated, at least in part, his own worship. The evidence for this is archaeological. About the end of the first century, bath-gymnasia in Asia Minor began to incorporate so-called *Kaisersäle*, associated with imperial cult practice. These typically consisted of a richly decorated hall opening off the palaestra, articulated by apses and pedimented aediculae.<sup>71</sup> Excavators found just such a hall in Vedius’ bath gymnasium (Figure 4).<sup>72</sup> In front of the central apse of the hall, they discovered an altar of a type used in imperial cult practice. In the apse itself they found a statue identified as Vedius Antoninus, which they believed was originally accompanied by statues of the Emperor Pius and of Artemis.<sup>73</sup>

Vedius Antoninus was neither the first nor the last Ephesian to construct a room for imperial cult practice in a bath building, although in every case builders of *Kaisersäle* were prominent citizens and identified at some point in their careers as *asiarchs*—that is priests or officials connected with the celebration of the imperial cult. The first *Kaisersaal*

---

<sup>71</sup> F. Yegül, “A Study in Architectural Iconography: *Kaisersaal* and the Imperial Cult”, *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), 7, describes the general features of the *Kaisersaal*.

<sup>72</sup> “Es ist kaum ein Zweifel möglich: die Opfer, die auf diesem Altar dargebracht wurden, galten der Gottheit, deren Bild in der Mittelnische stand und diese Gottheit wird keine andere gewesen sein als der römische Kaiser, usw. zunächst Kaiser A. Pius, dem das Gebäude nach Angabe der Bauinschrift geweiht war”. Keil, *JOAI* 24 (1928), 36.

<sup>73</sup> J. Keil, *JOAI*, 25 (1929), 29ff.. For a photo of a portrait head of Publius Vedius Antoninus, see *Abb.* 15.

known at Ephesos dates to the late first century and was located in the harbour baths. This was the so-called Marble Hall built by Tiberius Claudius Aristion, the *homo munificus et innoxie popularis* of Pliny who had been asiarch three times.<sup>74</sup> The East baths of Ephesos also had a *Kaisersaal* to which Titus Flavius Damianus may have contributed.<sup>75</sup> A statue of Damianus dressed as an imperial priest was discovered here.<sup>76</sup> In addition to holding the priesthood, Damianus held local offices, was a famous sophist, and was the son-in law of Vedius Antoninus.<sup>77</sup> Vedius Antoninus was himself an asiarch and the son of an asiarch.<sup>78</sup> His wife Flavia Papiana is identified as daughter of chief priests and herself chief priestess of Asia.<sup>79</sup> It has not been possible to determine, however, whether Vedius held his priesthood before, or after and as the result of his construction of the bath-gymnasium with *Kaisersaal*.

Antoninus Pius would certainly have been informed of the fact that cult was to be performed on his behalf at the baths, either before or at the time that he was being asked to contribute to the decoration of the building, and this shows Vedius' cleverness. The *Kaisersaal* helped secure the emperor's participation in the project. But it also put the enemies of Vedius in the position of opposing a project which the emperor himself had backed. Worse still, it put them in the much more delicate, if not dangerous, position of opposing a building in which the worship of the emperor was to be practiced.

In any event, by securing the participation of the emperor, Vedius obtained numerous benefits. He obtained financial help in completing the project. He could be seen

---

<sup>74</sup> Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 27; Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neocoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*, (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1993), 121-137.

<sup>75</sup> Yegül, *Kaisersaal*, 11.

<sup>76</sup> Yegül, *Kaisersaal*, 11, with note 18 and plates 10, 11. Also see Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 423 and note 14.

<sup>77</sup> Local offices: *grammateus*, *panegyriarch*; *IE* 672, 3080; as a sophist, Philostratus *Vitae Sophistarum* 2. 23; marriage to Vedia Phaedrina, daughter of Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiana, see *IE* VII, 1.

<sup>78</sup> *IE* 728.

<sup>79</sup> *IE* 729, a base in honour of Flavia Papiana, calls her ἀρχιερείαν τῆς Ἀσιας καὶ ἀρχιερείων θυγατέρα.

to have secured imperial favour for the groups whose loyalty the project was intended to secure. He made opposition to his plans that much more difficult.

He secured his own link to the power of the emperor, which was no small thing, and immediately took the form of imperial intervention in local affairs on Vedius' behalf.

Certainly other fragmentary inscriptions from the proscaenium of the bouleuterion confirm that Antoninus Pius' positive regard of Vedius Antoninus continued for several years.<sup>80</sup> In a fragmentary letter dated to 149/50, probably addressed to the Hellenes of Asia, the emperor sings the praises of Vedius Antoninus and appears to refer to their continued collaboration in building works.<sup>81</sup> But finally, it is possible to argue that Vedius also secured the advancement of both his own career as well as the status and power of his family.

Of course, the ancestors of our Vedius Antoninus were men of some distinction.<sup>82</sup> His grandfather P. Vedius Antoninus held a series of magistracies at Ephesos as well as military offices in the imperial service. He was *prytanis* (between 96-98 CE),<sup>83</sup> held two terms as *grammateus*, served as asiarch, and served as *praefectus cohortis* and *tribunus militum leg. I Italicae*.<sup>84</sup> Vedius Antoninus' father, M. Claudius Publius Vedius Antoninus Sabinus, held more local offices than his adoptive father before him, holding the offices of gymnasiarch, *grammateus* and *prytanis*. As panegyriarch he supervised and perhaps financed the celebration of the Great Ephesia and Pasitheon festivals. He is recorded both

<sup>80</sup> See *IE* 1492, dated to 150, and *IE* 1493, dated to 149/50.

<sup>81</sup> *IE* 1493 is quite fragmentary. The right side of the inscription is missing. The relevant part is lines 9-16:

...φιλον γὰρ ἴσως π[ *vacat*  
 ἄνδράσιν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν ο [ *vacat*  
 [καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν [ταῖς προεχούσαις *vacat*  
 π[ροσ]ῆ[κο]ν ἢ[ν καὶ] εἰκὸς ἠσθῆναι τῇ τε ο [ *vacat*  
 π[ρ]..... ]ς Ἐφεσίοις μεγαλοψυχία [καὶ τῇ Ποπλίου Οὐτη-]  
 [δίου Ἀ]ντωνεῖνου εὐεργεσί[α *vacat* καὶ ἐγὼ]  
 [συν]έπραξα ἀντὶ καὶ συνέλαβον ὡς ἀΐξοντι ? τὸ κάλλος  
*vacat* τῆς [πόλεως] καὶ κόσμου τῆς Ἀσίας?]

<sup>82</sup> It seems likely that the Vedii Antonini made some of their money in trade and commerce at Ephesos.

<sup>83</sup> *IE* 1016.

<sup>84</sup> For imperial offices, see *IE* 726, 726 a.

as asiarch of Asia, and as *archiereus* of Asia. His status was such that he was sent as ambassador to the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, and to the Roman Senate.<sup>85</sup>

The epigraphic record shows that Vedius Antoninus himself surpassed the accomplishments of his father and grandfather. At Ephesos he was *prytanis*, *grammateus*, gymnasiarch, panegyriarch, alytarch and asiarch. Like his father, he was sent as ambassador to the Roman Senate and to certain emperors—certainly Antoninus Pius and probably also Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.<sup>86</sup> He was certainly still active early in the joint reign of Marcus and Lucius. Vedius also held imperial offices as *tribunus militum leg. IV Scythicae*, and *vigintivir*. Most significant is his last appointment, quaestor designate of Cyprus, which gave him entrance into the Senate of Rome.<sup>87</sup>

Vedius Antoninus was the first man in his family to rise this high. But thereafter senatorial rank became part of the family tradition. His son, M. Claudius Publius Vedius Papianus Antoninus held local office and entered the Senate.<sup>88</sup> The son died childless and left a legacy to the city.<sup>89</sup> Vedius Antoninus' daughter, Vedia Phaedrina married the wealthy and renowned sophist Titus Flavius Damianus. Three male children from this marriage pursued senatorial careers and two of the female children married consuls.<sup>90</sup>

It is difficult not to think that Vedius Antoninus' success in public life was linked at least in part to his role as a patron of public building. Indeed, the emperor put forward Vedius Antoninus as the model patron, the kind of man who did not seek to curry

---

<sup>85</sup> *IE* 728, remembers him as ambassador to the Senate and to (unnamed) emperors. G. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 47, correctly supposes that the emperors are Trajan and Hadrian.

<sup>86</sup> Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 47.

<sup>87</sup> *IE* 4110.

<sup>88</sup> Despite the one element of his name (Papianus) which seems to have connections with Flavia Papiana, this son was apparently born of Valeria Lepida, for she is attested epigraphically as his mother in *IE* 3076. Where Publius Vedius Papianus Antoninus and Flavia Papiana are named on the same inscription, she is referred to not as his mother, but rather as the wife of Vedius Antoninus, *IE* 3077. Her family was also very distinguished, so perhaps it served him well, as her step-son, to adopt part of her name.

<sup>89</sup> *IE* 731; 3077; 3076; D. Knibbe, B. Iplikçioğlu, "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos VIII", *JOAI* 53 (1981/2), 87-150, nr. 123; *SEG* 33 (1983), 939.

<sup>90</sup> *IE* 3081.

“immediate popularity” with games, or distributions, but popularity secured “in a manner that looks to the future”—including his own.

#### 1.4.5 Triumph

Despite being chastised by Antoninus Pius, and despite the emperor’s backing, the enemies of Vedius Antoninus seem to have persisted in their opposition to his bath-gymnasium project. But Vedius ultimately triumphed.

Both the resistance and the triumph are revealed in a short letter, dated to 150, in which Antoninus Pius coldly confirms that he had *finally* received from the Ephesians acknowledgment of the benefactions which Vedius Antoninus had shown them:

(After the greeting)

εἰδóτι μοι δηλοῦτε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν]  
 12 ἦν Οὐρή[δ]ιος Ἀντ[ω]ν[ε]ῖνος φιλοτιμεῖ-  
 ται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅ[ς] γε καὶ τὰς πάρ' ἐμοῦ  
 14 χάριτας εἰς τὸν [κόσ]μον αὐτῆς] τῆς πό-  
 λεως [κα]τέθετο

You make known to me who already knows of it the generosity  
 which Vedius Antoninus has vouchsafed you,  
 he who has contributed also the gifts which he received from me  
 toward the decoration of the city...<sup>91</sup>

The emperor’s initial letter had been written in 145 CE. Thus it appears that for five years Vedius’ rivals persisted in refusing to forward to the emperor the customary acknowledgment of their benefactor. As this letter shows, they were finally forced to give in. No doubt they also had to perform the customary gesture of erecting a statue of Vedius to honour his gift.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> *IE* 1492.

<sup>92</sup> The only surviving base erected by the *boule* and *demos* to Vedius Antoninus is dated to 164-66 and was paid for by οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ γεῦμα πραγματευόμενοι, *IE* 728.



The true extent of Vedius Antoninus' triumph can best be seen in the bouleuterion, or Council Chambers, of Ephesos.<sup>93</sup> We know, from a dedicatory architrave inscription naming them, that Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiana constructed this building, although the text is too fragmentary to provide a precise dating. Nevertheless it is clear that this building must have been constructed after the conflict between Vedius and his rivals had been settled to Vedius' advantage, and thus after 150 CE, because the structure was built on public land and therefore required the approval of the *boule*. It does not seem likely that Vedius' enemies would have approved his construction of the centre of civic business prior to 150. After that date it seems necessary to conclude that the faction of the Vedii Antonini had grown stronger as a result of the popularity of the bath-gymnasium complex, in combination with the support of the emperor.

But not only did Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiana pay for the bouleuterion. On the architrave of the proscaenium, that is right on the stage front, they had the dedicatory text which included their names inscribed. On the revetments of the proscaenium they had inscribed the letters chastising the Ephesians which Antoninus Pius had written on behalf of Vedius Antoninus (Figure 5).<sup>94</sup> Thus, inscriptions which documented the jealous opposition to and eventual triumph of Vedius Antoninus were displayed in full view of the members of the *boule*, including those who had challenged Vedius. Perhaps to signify the source of this triumph, but certainly to display their connection to the imperial family, Vedius and his wife erected statues and bases to members of the imperial family in the bouleuterion. These included statues of Lucius

---

<sup>93</sup> John. T. Wood, *Modern Discoveries*, 29 ff and R. Heberdey, "IX Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesos 1907-1911", *JOAI*, 15 (1912), 115-182, especially 164-174, on the excavations in the bouleuterion.

<sup>94</sup> These were discovered by Wood during his excavations in the bouleuterion in March 1864: "By the end of March, nearly the whole of the fragments of the inscriptions from the proscenium of the Odeum had been found, and these, on being put together in their relative positions, were seen to consist of five inscriptions, four of which were letters addressed by the Emperor Antoninus Pius to the people of Ephesus. Two of them bear the date of the 8th tribunitian power of that Emperor, A.D. 145-6; another was written in the 13th tribunitian power, A.D. 150-1." *Discoveries*, xx.

Verus and Faustina, the daughter of Antoninus Pius and wife of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>95</sup> There may have been others.<sup>96</sup>

The opponents of Vedius Antoninus must have felt humiliated at having to conduct public business in such a place. For Vedius had in effect made the bouleuterion a museum dedicated to the commemoration of his influence.

#### 1.4.6 Conclusion

We started this chapter by noting several of the arguments made by Paul Veyne concerning euergetism, including the claims that benefactions were not matters of politics, not aimed at a plebeian audience, not intended to gain popularity for the patron, and not intended to bind segments of the upper and lower classes but to separate them. We can return to these claims in conclusion.

Certainly, public buildings *were* matters of politics, as is shown in the case of Dio Chrysostom, Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Publius Vedius Antoninus. They became matters of politics *because* they were attempts to court popularity. Such is Pliny's judgement of Aristion, whose attempt to court popularity Pliny judged to be "harmless". Aristion's fellow notables did not see it this way, however, nor did the enemies of Vedius Antoninus when he seems to have deliberately set out to cultivate the favour of specific groups within the citizenry of Ephesos. We do not know why he targeted these groups, but they reflect a deliberate attempt on the part of a notable to bind segments of the lower orders to his interests. We do know that Vedius' enemies opposed his project, and that their very opposition made his benefaction a political matter since the selection of sites and the erection of honours required approval from the *boule* that had to be fought for.

---

<sup>95</sup> *IE* 1505; *IE* 285A; Faustina was an important part of Hadrian's dynastic arrangements. She was engaged to Lucius Verus at the end of Hadrian's reign, but in the end was married to Marcus in 145.

<sup>96</sup> The bouleuterion at Nysa also had statues of Antoninus Pius' family erected on the logeion, see J.-Ch. Balty. *Curia Ordinis. Recherches d'architecture et d'urbanisme antique sur les curies provinciales du monde romaine*, (Bruxelles: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1991), 449 and notes 105, 109.

In the end, the problem with Veyne's interpretation is that in his effort to secure recognition of the ideological and sociological functions of euergetism, he over-argued the case against the political factors associated with euergetism and overstressed the Marxist interpretation of politics in terms of class interest. By focusing on class solidarity he was led to overlook the agonistic aspects of euergetism, and particularly the fact that the real threat to be faced by a patron was not a rebellious proletariat, but the potentially lethal opposition of other members of his own class. Similarly, Veyne appears to have also overlooked the possibility that the acts of euergetism could have multiple audiences in the Roman Empire. Certainly buildings and inscriptions sent ideological messages concerning upper class ideals to and from members of the local élite. But the people were another audience from whom the patron sought and expected support. And perhaps more importantly, yet another audience was the emperor, whose support not only added to the patron's political power at the local level, but was the key to the further advancement of his.

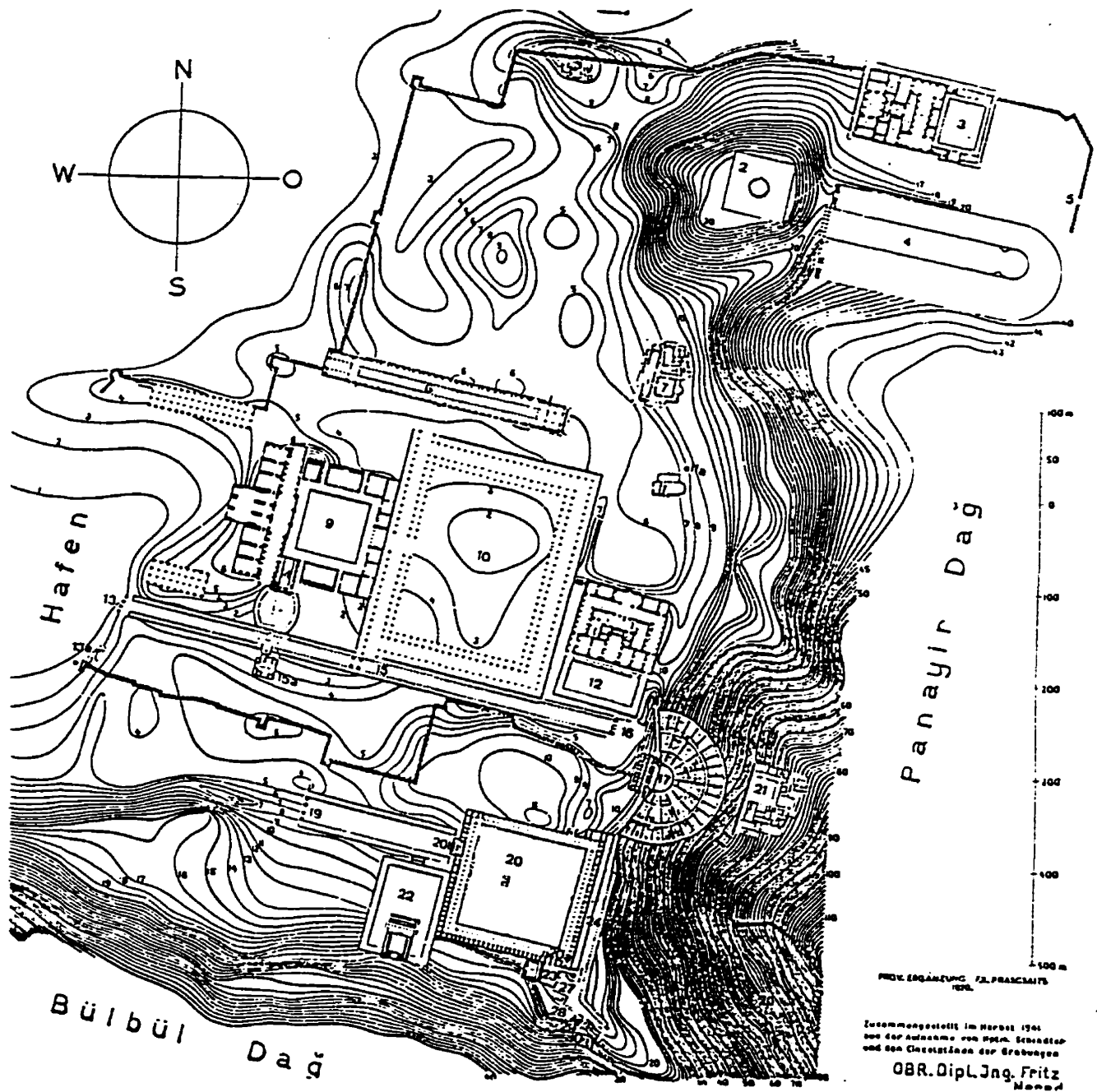


Figure 1. Ephesos, north sector. Source: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos II*, 1979, plan 1.

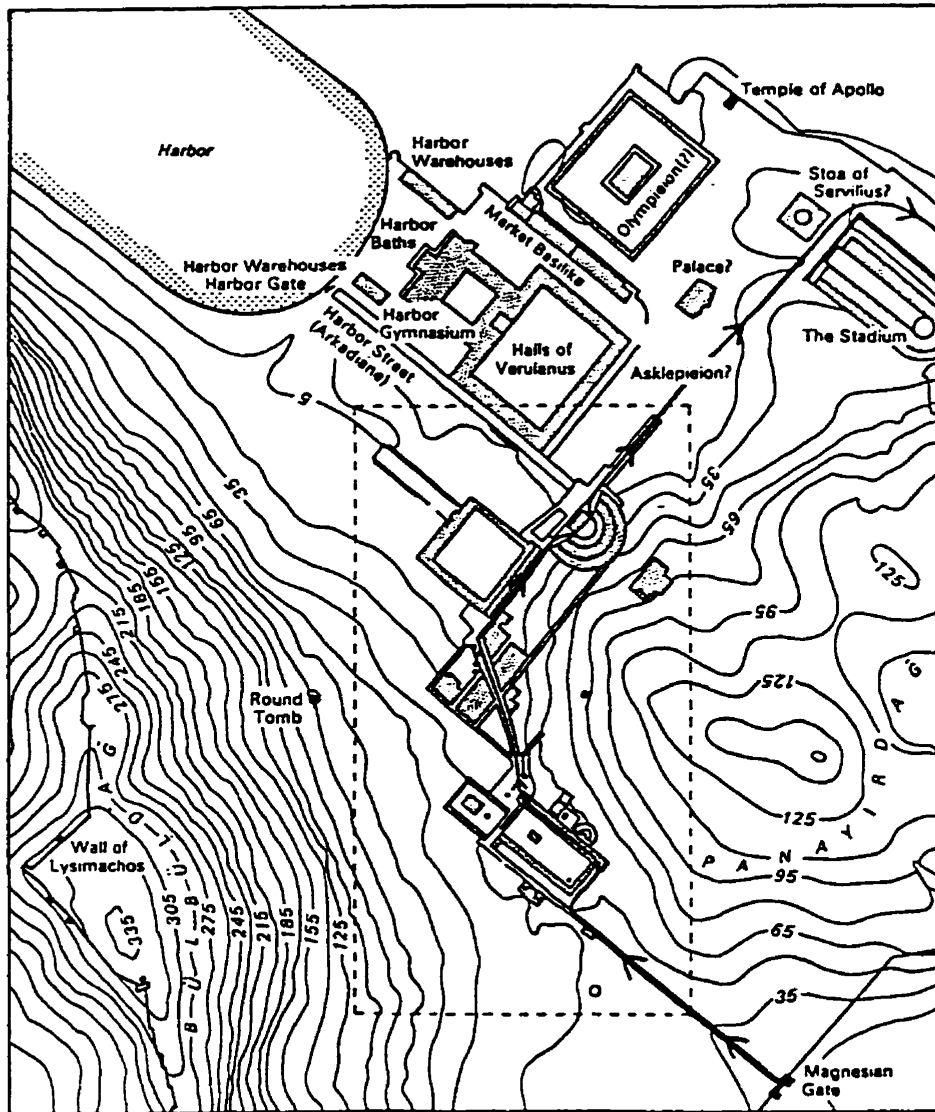
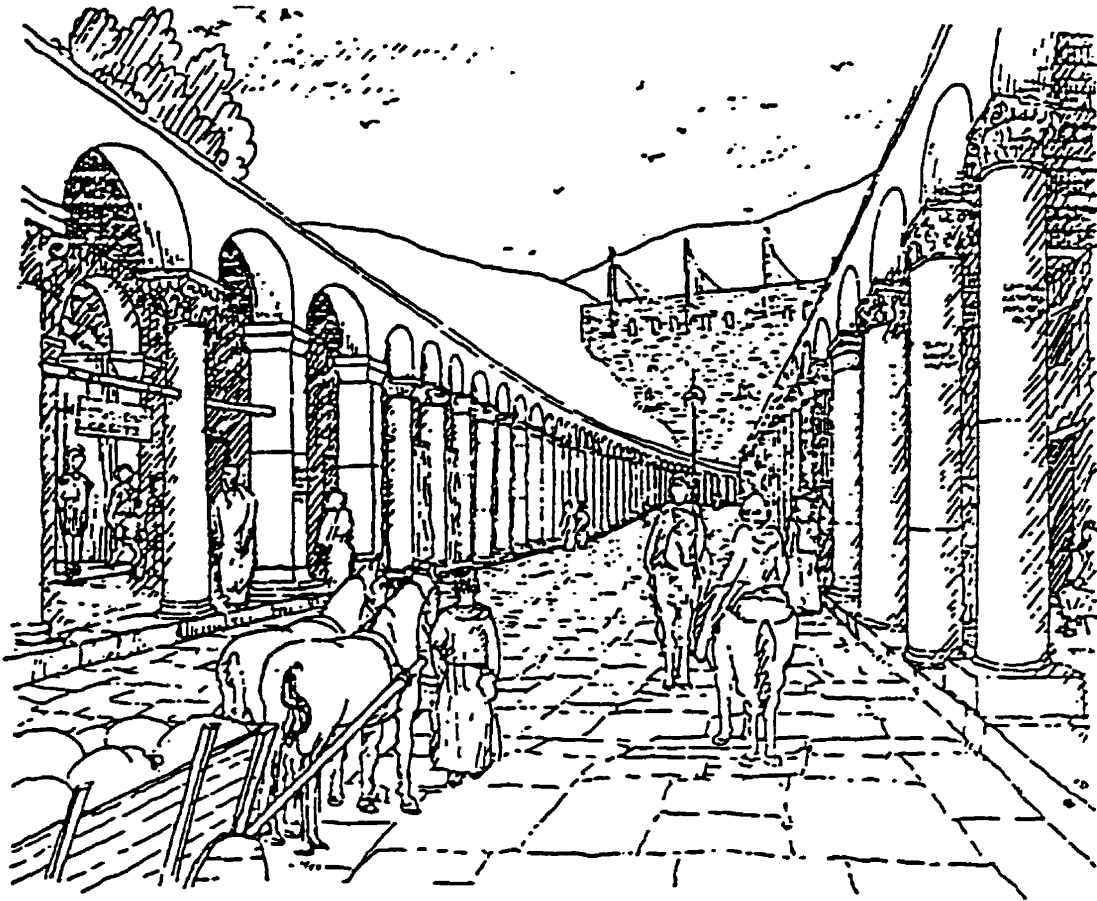
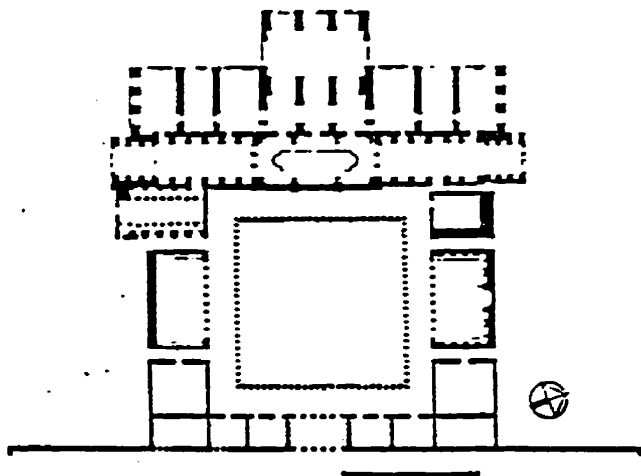


Figure 2. Ephesos, showing the location of the stoa of Servilius. Source: G. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos*, 1991, 196.

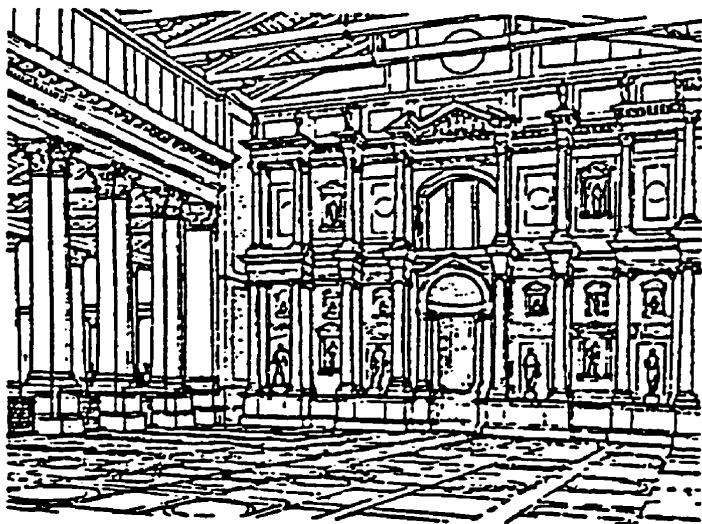


3: Schaubild der Hallenstraße zwischen Theater und Stadion nach Süden  
(frdl. zur Verfügung gestellt von P. Schneider)

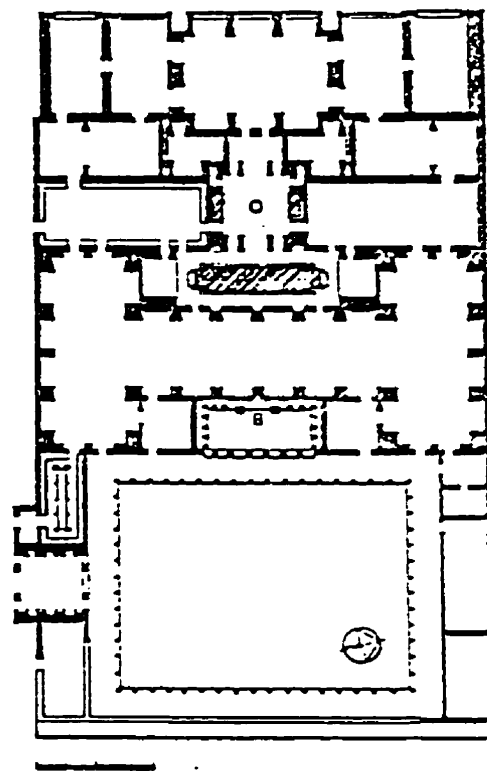
Figure 3. Reconstruction of the “Hallenstrasse” and the stoa of Servilius. Source: D. Knibbe. *JOAI* 56 (1985), 4.



5 The Harbor Bath-Gymnasium, Ephesus. Plan (redrawn by the author from Keil, *JOAI, Beiblatt*, xxviii, 1933, fig. 9)

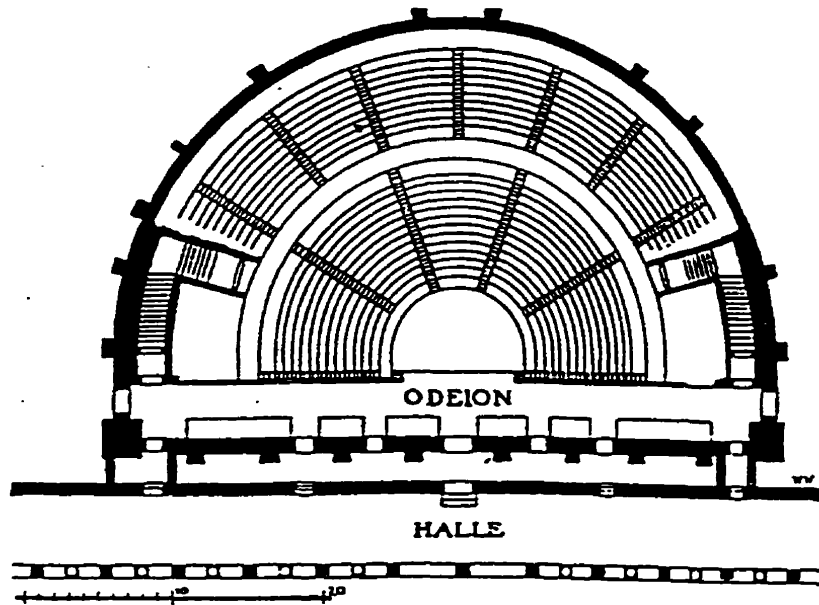


6 The Marble Hall ("Kaisersaal"), Harbor Bath-Gymnasium, Ephesus. Restored perspective study (from Boethius and Ward-Perkins, fig. 152)



7 The Vedius Bath-Gymnasium Complex, Ephesus. Plan (redrawn by the author from Miltner, fig. 50)

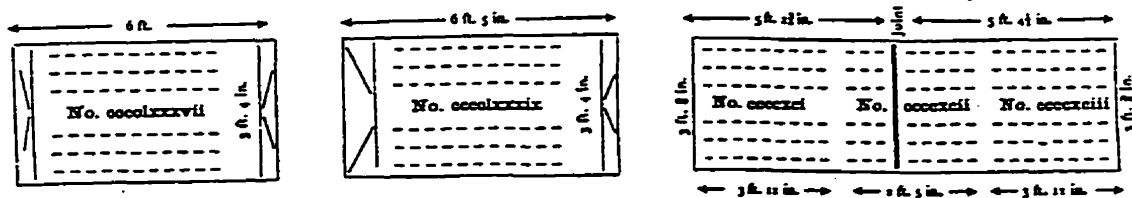
Figure 4. Plan of the Harbour bath-gymnasium with reconstruction of Kaisersaal and plan of bath-gymnasium of Vedius Antoninus, including Kaisersaal. Source: F. Yegül, *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), 10.



133 : Grundriß des Odeion.

Source: R. Heberdey, *JOAI* 15 (1912), 168.

DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE ORIGINAL SIZE OF THE SLABS, AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.



Source: E.L. Hicks, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part 3, (1890), 151.

Figure 5. Plan of the bouleuterion at Ephesos and schematic showing the relative placement of the inscriptions concerning Vedius Antoninus.



## Introduction to Part II Patronage of Public Building in Late Antiquity

Did the patronage of public building continue in Late Antiquity? Did it retain both its political and ideological components? Did it keep exactly the same form and function? Or did building patronage change its nature in Late Antiquity as the historical context itself changed? These are the questions addressed in Part Two of this work.

In order to answer them, one difficulty with the evidence must be dealt with. This is the dramatic reduction in the number of building-related inscriptions available for study after 250 and throughout the Late Antique period. This empire-wide phenomenon has been referred to as “the decline in the epigraphic habit”, and has been related, in part, to a general decline in prosperity from the mid third century.<sup>1</sup>

The total number of inscriptions of all types preserved at Ephesos from all periods exceeds 5,000, of which 153 are related to building in the early imperial period.<sup>2</sup> But only 21 inscriptions from Late Antique Ephesos concern building, and only ten have been dated later than 450 CE (See Appendix 2). These numbers make it impossible to take the logical step, which would be to keep Ephesos as the focus of our enquiry into the nature of building patronage in Late Antiquity. Instead, the city of Aphrodisias has been chosen as the main subject of study here (See Appendix 3). Admittedly, the “decline in the epigraphic habit” is also evident at Aphrodisias, where approximately 1500 inscriptions from the period from 20 BCE - 250 CE have been preserved, but only 230 of all types from 250-550 CE.<sup>3</sup> Those inscriptions relating to secular building number 63,<sup>4</sup> not

---

<sup>1</sup> On the decline of the epigraphic habit as a result of economic decline, see R. Macmullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 4.

<sup>2</sup> This number includes 11 inscribed columns from the same structure commemorating the construction or repair of the a colonnade by Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus.

<sup>3</sup> C. Roueché. *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1989). "Introduction", p. xx.

<sup>4</sup> Twenty of these inscriptions originate from the colonnade of the *clarissimus* Albinus. A further nine of the Aphrodisian inscriptions are certainly related to building but are too fragmentary to permit classification by rank and/or office of patron.

including 20 associated with ecclesiastical structures.<sup>5</sup> Sixty-three is also a small sample, and certainly too small to provide valid *statistical* conclusions about the patronage of public building that could be presumed to hold true for the eastern half of the Roman Empire as a whole. The number could be added to by including all the building-related inscriptions available for the cities and towns of Asia Minor. However, I have chosen not to do this for several reasons.

First, such a tabulation would be of little use for comparison with early imperial Ephesos, since the results would be skewed by inclusion of evidence from ordinary towns (and perhaps even villages) as well as provincial capitals. Second, adding to the numbers for statistical purposes would simply be a matter of avoiding the real difficulty, which is that, in relative terms, there are only a handful of Late Antique inscriptions available for most sites, and that historians must find a way interpreting them in a meaningful way. Third, and partly for the reasons stated above, one of the goals of this study has been to develop conceptual tools associated with patronage which can allow inscriptions to be read intensively. A statistical study would force us to consider only the most superficial characteristics of the available texts. Finally, much of the interpretation of inscriptions requires an understanding of the specific historical and civic context in which they were created. Statistical results from across Asia Minor would tend to obliterate this context.

Having made these points, it is necessary to stress that the building-related inscriptions available from Aphrodisias do represent the largest corpus available for any Late Antique city in Asia Minor. They do demonstrate striking and significant patterns, and there is reason to believe that these patterns are meaningful, as a brief discussion of the site and its history will demonstrate.

---

<sup>5</sup> *ALA* 113-116, 92-98, 100-107, all record the patronage of ecclesiastical building.

### 2.1.1 Late Antique Aphrodisias

In comparison to Ephesos, Aphrodisias was a relatively isolated inland city, located 20 miles south of the Meander river. But its comparative isolation did not prevent the city from growing and flourishing, since it was connected by road to Antioch-on-the-Meander, and thus, had access to the main east-west trade route which followed the Meander valley to the Aegean sea. Another major road linked Aphrodisias to Antalya in the south and points east. More important, the city was located at the edge of a well-watered plain that was fertile enough to support a large population, and had done so from Late Neolithic times.<sup>6</sup> The nearby Sabalkos mountains provided springs of fresh water and also a raw material that was especially important to the city's economy—extremely high quality white marble. The supply spawned exports both in marble and in the work of a famous sculptural school whose products have been found in Asia Minor, Greece and Italy.<sup>7</sup>

Like Ephesos, Aphrodisias was blessed with a sanctuary that became world renowned in Roman times. Originally associated with the cult of a fertility goddess who only later was identified with Aphrodite, this sanctuary of great antiquity had attracted pilgrims from early times.<sup>8</sup> Erim has suggested that it was because of this sanctuary that the city was originally established and began to grow. Roman leaders especially favoured it. In the first century BCE, early in his career in response to an oracle, perhaps in

---

<sup>6</sup> Martha Sharp Joukowsky, "Prehistoric Aphrodisias", in J. de la Genière and K.T. Erim (eds.), *Aphrodisias de Carie*, Colloque de l'Université de Lille III (Paris: Éditions de Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987), 31-36; and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, *Prehistoric Aphrodisias. An Account of the Excavations and Artifact Studies*, (Louvain: Publications de l'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1987), outlines that the habitation of the site may extend as far back as the Late Neolithic, the attraction of the site being the "well-watered and ample feeding plain".

<sup>7</sup> Maria Squarciapino, *La Scuola di Afrodizia*, (Rome: Governatorato di Roma, 1943), was the first to suggest that Aphrodisias housed a flourishing and original sculptural school. This has been abundantly confirmed through continuing excavation at the site, and it is clear that the production of sculpture continued through the fifth century, see K.T. Erim and C.M. Roueché, "Sculptors from Aphrodisias: Some New Inscriptions", *PBSR* 50 (1982), 102-115 and articles of Erim, Moltesen, Rockwell, Smith and Squarciapino in C. Roueché and K.T. Erim (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers* 1 and 2, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 1 and 2 (Ann Arbor MI, 1990-91).

<sup>8</sup> Kenan. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias, City of Venus Aphrodite*, (New York and Oxford: Facts on File Publications, 1986), 27.

connection with his campaign against Mithridates, Sulla presented the goddess with a double-headed axe and gold crown.<sup>9</sup> Fifty years later, the temple was granted asylum rights as a result of the efforts of Octavian who claimed descent from the goddess. It was from him too that the city received other benefits, including free status and its corollary, immunity from Roman taxes. The city was also exempt from the extraordinary exactions of governors, imperial officials and soldiers. The Archive Wall of the theatre records the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* granting these rights to the city and it preserves their re-affirmation by later emperors.<sup>10</sup>

Freedom from taxation in combination with a long peace encouraged the growth and prosperity of the city. However, Aphrodisias never became an administrative or judicial centre in the early imperial period and the paucity of epigraphic honours indicates that visits of Roman officials such as the proconsul were rare.<sup>11</sup> This changed after 250, when Aphrodisias became part of the new province of Caria and Phrygia and very likely its capital.<sup>12</sup> The city certainly became the capital of the smaller province of Caria, created between 301 and 305 as part of Diocletian's programme for the re-organization of provincial administration.<sup>13</sup>

As provincial capital and a seat of imperial administration, the city benefited materially and economically from the presence of governors and their entourage. Late third and fourth century inscriptions indicate a high level of activity by governors. They also show that Aphrodisias became the meeting place of the provincial assembly of Caria,

---

<sup>9</sup> Appian, *BC* 1.11. 97.

<sup>10</sup> J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982): *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* doc. 8; imperial letters confirming Aphrodisias' status come from the reigns of Hadrian through Decius, documents 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25.

<sup>11</sup> Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, 109-110.

<sup>12</sup> C. Roueché, "Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias in the third century", *JRS* 71 (1981), 103-20, and also C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 1-4.

<sup>13</sup> Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 15, 21.

which improved the standing of the city and brought further economic benefits.<sup>14</sup> The city also had a role in ecclesiastical administration as the seat of the metropolitan of Caria.

In general, Aphrodisias seems to have flourished between the reigns of Diocletian and Justinian. In the sixth century, however, the city began to decline, perhaps as a result of a shift in the interest of the imperial government to the maritime cities, and away from inland centres like Aphrodisias.<sup>15</sup> In the 540s the city was devastated by plague. But the crushing blow was an earthquake which shook all of Asia Minor in the reign of Heraclius (610-41). The archaeological record at Aphrodisias, which by then had come to be called Stauropolis (and would later be called Caria), shows that the city never recovered from this disaster. Rather than repair the fourth century walls, a new fortification was built which encompassed only the acropolis and theatre areas. This points to a dramatic shrinkage in population, although parts of the city outside the *kastron* continued to be occupied. Aphrodisias continued its attenuated existence through the seventh century and beyond. It was sacked by the Turks several times in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and finally abandoned in the thirteenth. All that remained in the ruins of the former capital from the fifteenth to twentieth centuries was the village of Geyre, whose inhabitants continued to take advantage of the fertility of the area.<sup>16</sup>

For our purposes, it is important that extensive archaeological and epigraphic exploration of Aphrodisias has been carried out. As published in such journals as *Anatolian Studies*, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, the *American Journal of Archaeology*, they provide a detailed account of the development of Aphrodisias' physical infrastructure from

---

<sup>14</sup> *ALA* 16. An early 4th century inscriptions erected by the Carians in honour of the provincial governor, Helladius. Other inscriptions also mention the Carians honouring governors, for example *ALA* 63.

<sup>15</sup> Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 123-4.

<sup>16</sup> K. Erim, *Aphrodisias, City of Venus*, 35.

the late third through sixth centuries and confirm the picture of a city that was flourishing in Late Antiquity.<sup>17</sup>

Like many other cities, Aphrodisias built walls in the fourth century. The west gate was built under the auspices of the governor Flavius Quintilius Eros Monaxios in the late 350s (Figure 6, 19).<sup>18</sup> The rest of the wall and the northwest gate were dedicated in the third quarter of the fourth century under the *praeses Cariae* Flavius Constantius (Figure 6, 20).<sup>19</sup> These well-built structures contain much reused material, likely debris resulting from the collapse of buildings during the earthquake of 358, recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>20</sup>

Not only did structures collapse during the earthquake, but the water table shifted, resulting in the flooding of low-lying areas which persists to this day. Most effected was the area encompassing the agora, also known as the “portico of Tiberius” (Figure 6, 8), the agora gate (Figure 6, 9), the Sebasteion (Figure 6, 10), and the nearby streets. Excavations near the west colonnade of the agora revealed elaborate terracotta piping sloping east to west at the level of the stylobate, and also showed that the elevation of the entire area had been raised.<sup>21</sup>

Two inscriptions dated tentatively to the late fourth century by Roueché may attest to renovation of the north colonnade of the agora after the earthquake. They appear to commemorate the donation of columns by a *clarissimus praeses* Flavius Pelagius Ioannes, and by Menander *politeuomenos*.<sup>22</sup> Further evidence of rebuilding in this area after the earthquake was found in the structure of the large first century basilica which stands

---

<sup>17</sup> For a bibliography of work at Aphrodisias up to 1986, see de la Genière and Erim (eds.), *Aphrodisias de Carie* (1987). For a bibliography after 1986, see individual articles in *Aphrodisias Papers* 1 and 2 and interim reports in *AS* and *AJA*.

<sup>18</sup> *ALA* 19.

<sup>19</sup> *ALA* 22.

<sup>20</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 17.7.1.

<sup>21</sup> K.T. Erim, “Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey: Aphrodisias”, *AS* 35 (1985), 231-5, and “Recent Archaeological Research”, *AS* 36 (1986), 176-81.

<sup>22</sup> *ALA* 29 and 30.

perpendicular to the south colonnade of the agora (Figure 6, 6). A mosaic pavement with *tabula ansata* in the basilica attests the efforts of the governor, Flavius Constantius in the rebuilding of the structure.<sup>23</sup>

Renovations to the colonnades of the agora continued throughout Late Antiquity, affirming the centrality of the structure in public life, perhaps due to its close connection with the theatre.<sup>24</sup> Epigraphic evidence shows that the south colonnade was partly rebuilt by Philip *admirandissimus*, son of Herodian, a citizen of Aphrodisias, in the fifth century.<sup>25</sup> At about the same time, the agora gate was converted into a nymphaeum (Figure 6, 9).<sup>26</sup> Epigrams to Flavius Ampelius, *pater civitatis* and to Dulcitus *praeses Cariae* inscribed on the structure reinforce the impression of continuous renovations to the structures associated with the agora.<sup>27</sup> A series of acclamations inscribed on the west colonnade of the agora confirm its renovation by the *clarissimus* Albinus in the sixth century.<sup>28</sup>

Archaeological excavations in 1987 and 1988 revealed that the central open area of the agora was equipped at some point in its history with a large shallow pool (140 x 40m x 0.85m), and it has been suggested that the portico may have functioned as a gymnasium, palaestra or *xystos*.<sup>29</sup> This would bring it into very close functional relationship with the baths of Hadrian (Figure 6, 7) opening immediately off its west

---

<sup>23</sup> Erim, "Recent Archeological Research", *AS* 39 (1989), 175-177, and "Recent Work at Aphrodisias 1986-88" in C. Roueché and K.T. Erim (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 1, (Ann Arbor MI, 1990), 9-36, especially 27 and figure 28. He is the Flavius Constantius of *ALA* 22.

<sup>24</sup> The south colonnade was connected by a barrel vaulted corridor to the neighbouring theatre in the fourth or fifth century, see Erim, "Recent Work", *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 18.

<sup>25</sup> Erim, "Recent Archeological Research", *AS* 22 (1972), 35-40; *ALA* 66, Roueché suggests that he may have been a minor imperial official, or an eminent private citizen.

<sup>26</sup> Erim, "Recent Archeological Research", *AS* 32 (1982), 9-13.

<sup>27</sup> *ALA* 38-40.

<sup>28</sup> Erim, "Recent Archeological Research", *AS* 24 (1974), 29-32; Roueché, "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: new evidence from Aphrodisias", *JRS* 74 (1984), 181-99; *ALA* 82, 83.

<sup>29</sup> Erim, "Recent Archeological Research", *AS* 39 (1989), 175-77; Erim, "Recent Work", *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 20 and figures 16-17.

colonnade. These baths show extensive renovation throughout the Late Antique period.<sup>30</sup> The name of Helladius, governor of Caria, is preserved as restorer of the baths in the fourth century.<sup>31</sup> The west colonnade of the east court of the baths was restored by Pytheas, *magnificentissimus et vir illustris*, in the late fifth or early sixth centuries.<sup>32</sup> Another prominent Aphrodisian, Dionysius the doctor, participated in the restoration of the colonnade at this time.<sup>33</sup> Building in the sixth century by “fathers of the city” (πάτρες τῆς πόλεως) is preserved in a series of fragmentary acclamations,<sup>34</sup> and in a series of epigrams honouring Rhodopaeus *magnificentissimus* as “the originator of the generous gift of the Summer Olympian baths”.<sup>35</sup> That these baths continued to play a central role in Aphrodisian life throughout Late Antiquity is further shown by an inscribed statue base of the late fifth or early sixth century which records the donation by Hermias, probably a private citizen, of three thousand gold pieces for their upkeep.<sup>36</sup> Gameboards inscribed with the names of donors have been found in number here.<sup>37</sup>

As the place of public meetings as well as entertainment, the theatre was one of the most frequented structures in Late Antique Aphrodisias (Figure 6, 2). Archaeological and epigraphic evidence shows that it was originally constructed at the very end of the Hellenistic period by Julius Zoilos, a freedman of Octavian, and that the building was modified in the first century and again, in the third century to make it suitable for *venationes*.<sup>38</sup> The level of the orchestra was lowered, while *conistra* and *via venatorum*

---

<sup>30</sup> A series of five fragmentary inscriptions which can only be dated generally to the Late Antique period, also attest the extensive renovations to this building, *ALA* 48-52.

<sup>31</sup> *ALA* 17-18.

<sup>32</sup> *ALA* 58.

<sup>33</sup> *ALA* 67.

<sup>34</sup> *ALA* 61 and 101.

<sup>35</sup> *ALA* 86 and 87.

<sup>36</sup> *ALA* 74.

<sup>37</sup> *ALA* 68-71.

<sup>38</sup> N. de Chaisemartin, D. Theodorescu, “Recherches préliminaires sur la *frons scaenae* du théâtre”, in R.R.R. Smith and K.T. Erim (eds.) *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 2 (Ann Arbor MI., 1991), 29-66 especially 38-39; and J. Reynolds, “Epigraphic evidence for the construction of the theatre: 1st c. B.C. to mid 3rd c. A.D.”, in *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 15-28.



were constructed. A podium for a seat of honour was also built in the central *cuneus* of the *cavea*, which may have been related to the elevation of Aphrodisias to metropolitan status in the third century.<sup>39</sup> One may surmise that there must have been repairs to the theatre after the earthquake of 358, but there is little epigraphic evidence for such renovations.<sup>40</sup> A very fragmentary inscription cut on the cornice rim below the stage preserves the name of Androcles, as well as the word *euergesia*. Roueché tentatively proposes a fourth century date.<sup>41</sup> However, inscriptions marking place and factional inscriptions carved on the seats of the theatre date to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, and attest the continued usage of the building.<sup>42</sup> The latest ancient phase of the theatre preserves balancing "chapels" in the northernmost and southernmost rooms of the stage building. The frescoed walls of these rooms, representing the archangels Michael and Gabriel, have been dated to the first half of the sixth century.<sup>43</sup> Thus the theatre continued to have a rich architectural and decorative history until a very severe earthquake in the reign of Heraclius put it out of use.

The theatre baths (Figure 6, 4) lying south east of the theatre and immediately south of the tetrastoon (Figure 6, 3) were also renovated in Late Antiquity. The archaeological and epigraphic record indicates a flurry of activity in the theatre baths in the mid to late fifth century. A very fragmentary inscription may record renovations to this building undertaken by Flavius Ampelius, *pater civitatis*.<sup>44</sup> Another inscription records that Asclepiodotus, a prominent citizen of Aphrodisias, built a *tholos* here<sup>45</sup> which may be

---

<sup>39</sup> C. Roueché. "Inscriptions and the later history of the theatre", in *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 99-108, especially 100-101.

<sup>40</sup> Roueché. "Inscriptions and the later history of the theatre", 99-108.

<sup>41</sup> *ALA* 34.

<sup>42</sup> C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993), 120; C. Roueché. "Inscriptions and the later history of the theatre", 102-106.

<sup>43</sup> Erim. "Recent Archaeological Research", *AS* 22 (1972), 35-40; Robin Cormack, "The wall painting of St. Michael in the theatre", in *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, (1991) 109-122 especially 120f.

<sup>44</sup> *ALA* 44.

<sup>45</sup> Erim. *Turk. Ark. Derg.*, 21.1 (1974), 40; 22.2 (1975), 75-6; *ALA* 53.

identified with the circular *aula termale*.<sup>46</sup> Marble revetment panels from the baths preserve the name of Pytheas, *magnificentissimus et vir illustris*, no doubt also commemorating his building work here.<sup>47</sup>

Another important building in Aphrodisias was the tetrastoon, an open market area immediately east of the theatre, whose four colonnades surrounded a small circular fountain. The early history of this area has not been investigated, but the Tetrastoon as it survives today was built in the second half of the fourth century by the governor Antonius Tatianus.<sup>48</sup> It has been suggested that this new market area was built as a result of the earthquake of 358.

A major street apparently joined the theatre-tetrastoon area to the northern parts of the city. Excavation has shown that the level of this street was raised after the earthquake of the fourth century.<sup>49</sup> Architectural fragments show that there was a considerable amount of building along it. The east colonnade of the street produced fine examples of Late Roman or Early Byzantine figured pilaster capitals.<sup>50</sup> Near the agora gate, three large columns were found which dated to the fifth or sixth century.<sup>51</sup>

This street also passed by the Sebasteion, which had been the centre of the imperial cult in earlier times and housed an abundance of splendid sculpture reflecting Julio-Claudian and imperial themes.<sup>52</sup> The fourth century earthquake necessitated the installation of drainage channels under the pavement to prevent floods. The need for repairs also seems to have served as an opportune moment to shift the function of the Sebasteion away from the worship of pagan emperors to more practical purposes. The porticoes were

---

<sup>46</sup> Erim, *Aphrodisias, City of Venus*, 93.

<sup>47</sup> *ALA* 57.

<sup>48</sup> Erim, *Aphrodisias, City of Venus*, 88 ff; Erim, "Recent Archaeological Research", *AS* 24 (1974), 360-364 records excavations in this area; *AS* 28 (1978) 10-13, especially 12 records the discovery of the statue base which provided this information. Also *ALA* 20.

<sup>49</sup> Erim, "Recent Work", *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 11 and 13.

<sup>50</sup> Erim, "Recent Archaeological Research", *AS* 36 (1986), 176-181.

<sup>51</sup> Erim, "Recent Work", *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 11.

<sup>52</sup> The investigations of the reliefs from the sebasteion have been published by R.R.R. Smith in *JRS* 1987, 1988 and in *Aphrodisias Papers* 2.

partitioned into rooms which have been tentatively identified as shops. Thus the complex appears to have been converted into a market area.<sup>53</sup>

The original construction of the odeon at Aphrodisias has been dated to the second century, but it also underwent renovation in Late Antiquity (Figure 6, 14).<sup>54</sup> The lowest row of seats was removed to make a channel that drained water from the orchestra.<sup>55</sup> An inscription on the rim of the stage says that Ampelius, a *pater civitatis* of the latter part of the fifth century, restored the work of the palaestra, perhaps a reference to the use of the structure for competitions in oratory.<sup>56</sup> A statue base found here may attest late fifth century renovations by Pytheas.<sup>57</sup> Factional inscriptions on the seats demonstrate that there was activity here beyond the fifth century.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps in the fifth and certainly in the sixth century the back chambers of the odeon were used for workshops and for oil and wine pressing.<sup>59</sup>

To the west of the odeon a sumptuous residence with triconch hall was investigated (Figure 6, 15). It is thought to have been the residence of a high ranking official, possibly a governor, or perhaps of the metropolitan of Caria, since a seal of the latter was found there.<sup>60</sup> The house was an adaptation of an earlier residence, as was evidenced by plastered over frescoes of the Graces and a winged Nike. The area was still a prime location even in Late Antiquity.

<sup>53</sup> Erim, "Recent Archaeological Research", *AS* 32 (1982), 9-13.

<sup>54</sup> J.Ch. Balty, *Curia Ordinis. Recherches d'architecture et d'urbanisme antiques sur les curies provinciales du monde romain* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1991), 515-519, especially 517 and note 437.

<sup>55</sup> Erim, *Aphrodisias, City of Venus*, 63.

<sup>56</sup> *ALA* 43.

<sup>57</sup> *ALA* 56.

<sup>58</sup> Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 119.

<sup>59</sup> Erim, *Aphrodisias, City of Venus*, 64-65 for general information on the sculptors workshop and wine pressing area. For more specific work on the archaeology and dating of the sculptor's workshop see Erim, "Recent Archaeological Research", *AS* 19 (1969), 14-16 and P. Rockwell, "Unfinished statuary associated with a sculptor's studio", in *Aphrodisias Papers* 2 (1991), 127-143, especially 127-129 and 140-41.

<sup>60</sup> Erim, *Aphrodisias City of Venus*, 72ff.

The residential quarter of Aphrodisias was in the northeast and east central parts of the city. A series of houses has been excavated in this area. The "Atrium house" northeast of the Sebasteion was probably built in the 1st century CE. It may have been occupied by a priest of the imperial cult, given that a statue of a man dressed as a imperial priest was discovered there. In the mid-fourth century, the atrium of the house was converted into a nymphaeum.<sup>61</sup> Byzantine townhouses were built to the east of the Tetracylon.<sup>62</sup> Exploration of these structures revealed mosaics dated to around the mid fifth century.<sup>63</sup> Another townhouse further to the east reveals fourth and fifth century occupation.<sup>64</sup>

### 2.1.2 The Advantages of Aphrodisias

This brief account shows why Aphrodisias makes a good site for examining the patronage of public building in Late Antiquity. First, like Ephesos, Aphrodisias was a provincial capital. Second, although the city was christianized, symbolised by the conversion into a basilica of the temple of Aphrodite, continued repairs to the theatre, baths, colonnades and fountains, show that there was a persistence of the ideal of the classical city there. Next, the amount of building and renovation, and especially the shifting of older pagan structures like the Sebasteion to commercial use, suggests that the city was prosperous enough to create a demand for more commercial space. This is important because it indicates that evidence for building patterns has not been distorted by any precipitous economic decline. That is, lack of funds did not prevent Aphrodisians from building what they wanted. Indeed, the civic coffers appeared to be full in the time of Justinian.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Erim, "Recent Work". *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 13-14.

<sup>62</sup> Erim, "Recent Archaeological Research", *AS* 20 (1970), 20-24.

<sup>63</sup> Erim, "Recent Archaeological Research", *AS* 35 (1985), 175-81.

<sup>64</sup> Erim, "Recent Archaeological Research", *AS* (1985), 175-81.

<sup>65</sup> *Just. Nov.* 160, testifies to the substantial endowments of Aphrodisias. Roueché suggests that the date of this Novel is early in the 530s, p. 123.

We may now turn directly to the inscriptions of Aphrodisias, following roughly the same order of investigation used in Part I. Chapter Five examines two shifts in the patronage of public building at Aphrodisias. Circa 284 to 450, building work was dominated by the provincial governors. Circa 450 to 600, there was a return to building by local citizens and by the local official known as the *pater civitatis*. Chapter Six examines the language and meaning of the inscriptions in Late Antiquity and shows that, despite changes in the personnel of patronage, the ideological and political foundations of building patronage remained in place.

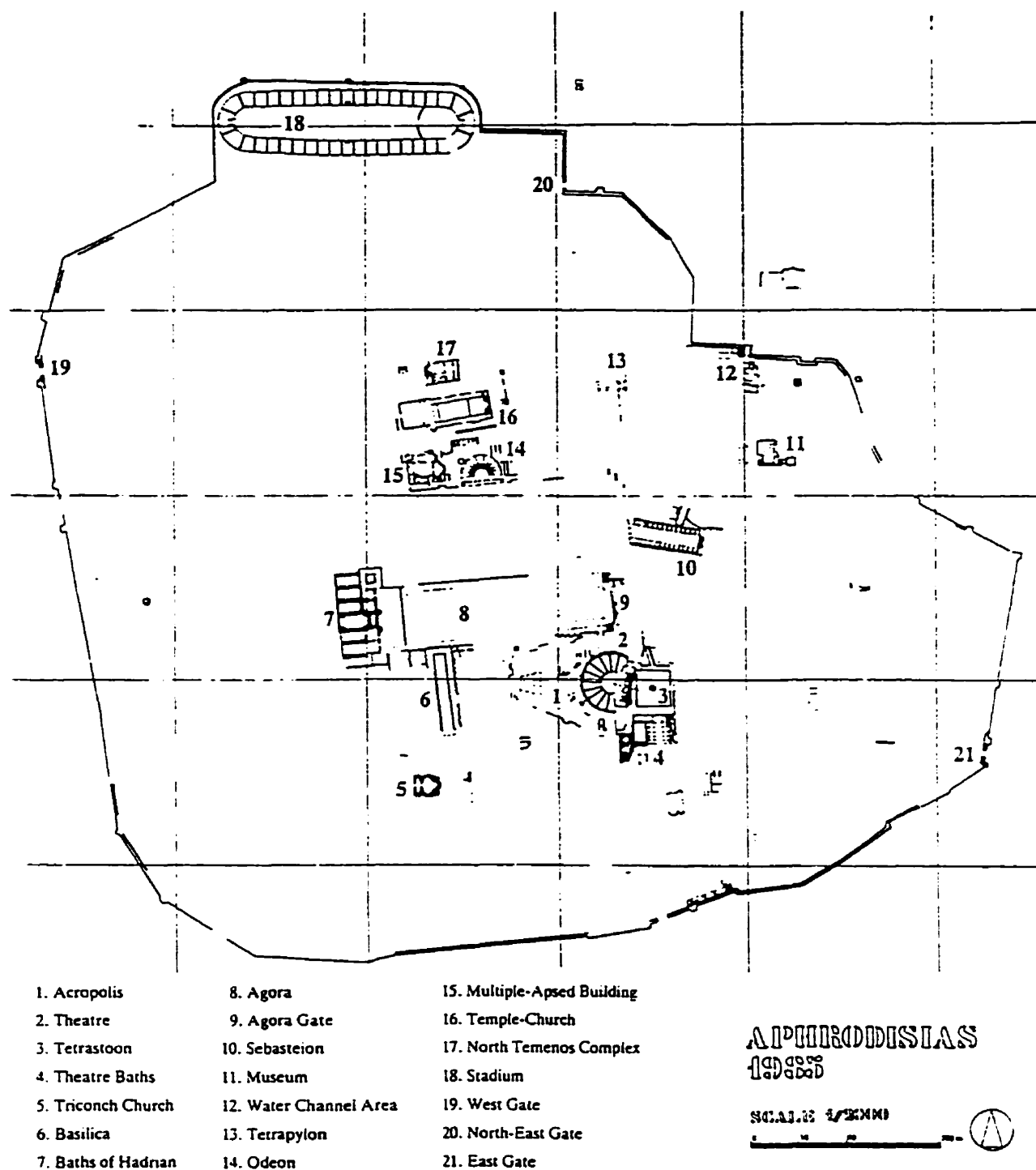


Figure 6. Plan of Aphrodisias. Source: C. M. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 1989, 328.

## Chapter Five

### The Personnel of Patronage in Late Antique Aphrodisias

In the early imperial period, the patronage of public building was dominated by local notables, magistrates, and members of the *boule*, who financed public works with private funds.<sup>1</sup> As is well known, however, in Late Antiquity the power of the traditional civic magistrates was curtailed and the participation of local élites in civic government declined as a result of radical transformations in imperial administration. Who then became the patrons of public building?

This chapter distinguishes two phases of development. In the first, ca. 284 to 450 CE, the traditional civic élite was disempowered and a new civic leadership emerged which did not engage in public building. Instead, governors dominated local financial administration and public building. In the second phase, ca. 450-600 CE, the power of the governors was curbed and control of civic finances was returned to the city. Local citizens resumed the building and repair of public works with private funds, and many projects were carried out under the aegis of a new civic official known as the *pater civitatis*.

#### 2.5.1 New Élites, ca. 284-450.

As a result of the studies of A.H.M. Jones and Wolfgang Liebeschuetz, among others, the political and administrative changes experienced by cities in Late Antiquity are well known.<sup>2</sup> These changes originated in the political instability of the third century, when internal and external warfare seriously affected the ability of the central government to

---

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter the terms councillors, *curiales* or *bouleutai* will be used interchangeably in reference to members of the *boule*.

<sup>2</sup> The best survey of Late Antique administrative history is still A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964); also useful is J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch, City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); for a general synthesis, see J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, "The end of the ancient city", in J. Rich (ed.), *The City in Late Antiquity*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

collect taxes. Diocletian's restoration of order was accompanied by the tightening of the grip of the imperial government on its subjects. Provinces were divided into smaller units and civil and military bureaucracies grew.<sup>3</sup> More funds were required to pay for the enlarged machinery of government. This resulted in imperial intervention in the civic finances on a scale that went far beyond the activities of Pliny in the cities of Pontus and Bithynia of the second century.<sup>4</sup>

One of the most important administrative changes concerned the responsibility of cities for the collection of taxes. In the first and second centuries, cities had acted as general collection agents for the imperial government. In the late third and early fourth centuries, city councils and individual councillors were, in addition, made personally responsible for any shortfalls in revenue.<sup>5</sup> At the same time that these notables became potentially liable for heavy payments, civic lands and taxes were confiscated by the imperial government. The confiscated properties came to be managed by *actores* of the *res privata*.<sup>6</sup> The chronology of the confiscations is not clear. A.H.M. Jones suggests that Constantine initiated the confiscations,<sup>7</sup> while A. Chastagnol makes Constantius II responsible.<sup>8</sup> Julian, the emperor most interested in reviving cities, for ideological if not practical reasons, restored civic properties.<sup>9</sup> But the respite was short, as Valentinian and

---

<sup>3</sup> On the Diocletianic division of the provinces, see T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1982), 201-225.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 47. is the first governor who was permitted by the Apameans to examine their accounts. Pliny also examined the accounts of Prusa, *Ep.* 10.17a, 17b; Nicomedia, *Ep.* 10.37, 38, 39; Byzantium, *Ep.* 10.43; Amastris, *Ep.* 10.98, 99.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *LRE*, 729, on the financial responsibility of the council.

<sup>6</sup> Jones, *LRE*, 732ff. *FIRA* I<sup>2</sup>, 108.

<sup>7</sup> Jones, *LRE*, 732. On the confiscation of temple lands by Constantine see, Libanius, *Or.* xxx,6,37; lxii,8.

<sup>8</sup> A. Chastagnol, "La Legislation sur les biens des villes au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Atti del V Convegno dell'Accademia romanistica costantiniana*, (Perugia, 1968), 77-104. The law in question is *CTh*.iv.13,5 (358), which restores one quarter of civic taxes to cities of Africa: *Divalibus iussis addimus [imi]tatem et vectigalium quartum provincialibus et urbibus Africa]nis hac ratione concedimus, ut ex his moenia publica res[tau]rentur vel sarcientibus tecta substantia ministretur.*

<sup>9</sup> *CTh*.x.3,1 and *CJ* xi.70,1 (362): *Possessiones publicas civitatibus iubemus restitui ita, ut iustis aestimationibus locentur, quo cunctarum possit civitatum reparatio procurari.* See also Ammianus . Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*. 25.4,15 and Libanius *Or.* 13.45.



Valens ordered the re-confiscation of civic properties and of temple lands as well.<sup>10</sup> It soon became apparent, however, that the cities could not maintain themselves without having some funds at their disposal. Several laws from the last quarter of the fourth century restore to cities a fixed portion of rents from their former estates, usually a third, for the repair of walls and buildings.<sup>11</sup> In 400, civic buildings and properties were restored on perpetual lease for the payment of a rent to the imperial government.<sup>12</sup> By 431, one third of the income resulting from civic taxes was to be managed directly by civic officials, not governors.<sup>13</sup> A novel of Theodosius II issued from Aphrodisias in 443 reaffirms the rights of cities to their properties.<sup>14</sup>

The problems created by the original confiscation of civic lands were several. Local magistrates had previously been in control of leasing civic property. They were thus able to ensure their own access to the agricultural estates of the city, and use the income from these lands for civic purposes. The intervention of the imperial government deprived the notables of their access to these estates, thwarting their desire to perform euergetic acts and seriously interfering with their ability to perform even the customary *leitourgiai*.<sup>15</sup> Since civic resources had dried up and notables found it increasingly hard to undertake liturgies voluntarily, the imperial government responded by making them compulsory. Making liturgies compulsory robbed their performance of the honour and glory which had previously been associated with them.

---

<sup>10</sup> *CTh.v.13.3* (364): *Universa, quae ex patrimonio nostro per arbitrium divinae memoriae Iuliani in possessionem sunt translata templorum sollicitudine sinceritatis tuae cum omni iure ad rem privatam nostram redire mandamus*. See also *CTh.x.1.8* (364), for a similar enactment.

<sup>11</sup> *FIRA* 1.108, restores a variable portion of rents to cities, as determined by the *actores* of the *res privata*. *CTh.iv.12.7* (374), restores a third part of the rents from civic lands: *ex redditibus rei publicae omniumque titularum ad singulas quasque pertinentium civitates duae partes totius pensionis ad largitiones nostras perveniant, tertius probabilibus civitatum deputetur expensis*. See also *CTh.xv.1.18* (374); *CTh.v.14.35* (395), *CTh.xv.1.32* (395); *CTh.xv.1.33* (395); *CTh.xv.1.26* (390).

<sup>12</sup> *CTh.x.3.5* (400); *CTh.xv.1.41* (401).

<sup>13</sup> *CJ.iv.61.13* (431).

<sup>14</sup> Theodosius II *Novel*, 23 (443); see also Marcian, *Novel*, 3 (451).

<sup>15</sup> That civic lands were apportioned to decurions for this purpose is clear from Julian's *Misopogon* (370D-371A), where he criticizes the Antiochenes for apportioning 3000 *iuga* or lots of land which he had granted to the city to people who had no need of them; Jones, *LRE*, 734.

There is evidence to suggest that civic magistrates and local notables were also losing the private sources of income which they had previously used to fulfill their civic duties, and to perform *euergesiai*. For example, an edict of Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius, to the praetorian prefect Cynegius (386), expresses concern that the councillors were being deprived of their private resources and it forbids *bouleutai* from alienating property, whether landed estates or slaves, unless they could prove that necessity compelled them to do so. The same edict indicates that some notables had been under pressure to sell their lands to powerful individuals.<sup>16</sup> These included *principales* (πρωτεύοντες / πρῶτοι),<sup>17</sup> and persons in the imperial service.<sup>18</sup> Libanius also complained about the problem, noting that city councillors were losing their houses and estates to individuals who came "from who knows where" to snap up all the property.<sup>19</sup>

The financial plight of the *curiales* was made worse by a decline in their status. Earlier, the reputation of a notable was maintained through election to civic magistracies

---

<sup>16</sup> *CTh*.xii.3.1 (381), *Si decurionum vel rustica praedia vel urbana vel quilibet mancipia venditur necessitate coactus addicit, interpellet iudicem competentem omnesque causas singillatim quibus strangulatur exponat, ut mereatur valituram in perpetuum comparatori probata adsertione sententiam. Ita enim fiet, ut nec immoderatus venditor nec emptor inveniatur iniustus. Denique nihil erit postmodum, quo venditor vel circumventum se insidiis vel obpressum potentia comparatoris queri debeat, quandoquidem sub fide actorum et de necessitate distrahentis et voluntate patuerit comparantis. Quod si quis contra vetitum occultis molitionibus per subpositas fraude personas cuiuslibet loci, quem tamen decurio distrahat, comparatur exstiterit, sciat se pretio quod dederit et loco, quem comparaverit, esse privandum.*

<sup>17</sup> A ruling of Honorius and Arcadius *CTh*. xii.3.2 (423) indicates that chief decurions are permitted to buy the landed estates of other decurions: *Quoniam de constitutione inclytae recordationis avi nostri de alienandis praediis curialium promulgata dubitatum est, utrum soli principales sine decreti interpositione collegiarum possessiones emere vetentur an omnibus comparandorum huiuscemodi fundorum copia (?) sine praedicta observatione negata sit, generali sanctione decernimus, ut, si curialis praedium urbanum aut rusticum vendat cuiuscumque condicionis emptori, apud rectorem provinciae idoneas causas alienationis alleget.. etc....*

<sup>18</sup> Valentinian *Novel* 32 (451) confirms the right of individuals in the imperial service to buy property but adds "*Neminem volo potestatis iussu et inpressione compelli*". The text implies that administrative officials had forced individuals into the sale of their estates.

<sup>19</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 2.35: καὶ μὴν αἷς μὲν τῶν βουλῶν ἢ γῆ πονηρὰ, τῷ μεγέθει τῶν φορτίων ἀπολώλασιν οὐδενὸς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐρῶντος γῆς ἄνουμένου, παρ' οἷς δὲ βελτίων, ἀντὶ τῶν κεκληρονομηκότων ἔχουσι τοὺς πρίασθαι δυναμένους δεσπότηας. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν πολιτευόμενοι ταπεινοὶ καὶ ὀλίγοι καὶ οὐ πένητες μόνον ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πτωχοὶ, οἱ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποθεν εἰσπεσόντες θέντες τιμῆν, τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές εἰρήσεται, τρυφῶσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων, οἱ μὲν οἰκίας, οἱ δὲ ἀγροὺς οἱ δὲ ἀμφοτέρω κεκτημένοι. See also *Or.* xlvi.37 on collusion between chief decurions and outsiders for the estates of *curiales*.

and the performance of office with euergetic splendour, but in the fourth century the traditional magistracies all but disappeared. As noted, the duties of the magistrates were replaced by *munera/leitourgiai* which were onerous, thankless tasks, bringing no honour in their train.<sup>20</sup> Libanius tells us that half of the members of the council of Antioch performed *munera personalia* while the other half undertook *munera patrimonalia*. A further indication of their declining status was that, although individual *curiales* were *honestiores*, and as such, immune from corporal punishment, they were nevertheless increasingly disciplined by floggings and similar mistreatment at the hands of provincial governors.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, if a riot occurred, city councillors could suffer execution or imprisonment.<sup>22</sup>

Here were the conditions that resulted in the “flight of the curiales” of the fourth century, as local notables sought to escape the onerous and honourless duties of city councillors. Many of the wealthiest men in the cities instead sought positions in the imperial service which, under Diocletian and Constantine, offered an increasing number of lucrative posts and, especially, exemptions from the liturgies associated with bouletic duties.<sup>23</sup> Others absconded to professions, like law or rhetoric, which were also immune.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> On the disappearance of the traditional magistracies by the end of the third century, see Jones, *LRE*, 725. The African provinces however, are an exception. The Album of Timgad demonstrates that in mid-fourth century Africa the traditional magistracies such as *curator*, *duumvir* and *flamen*, survived. See A. Chastagnol, *L'Album municipal de Timgad*, (Bonn: Habelt, 1978), and C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire: La permanence d'une civilisation municipale*, (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1979), 152-7, for survival of *duumviri* and aediles in the late Roman period.

<sup>21</sup> On the freedom flogging of decurions *CTh*.xii.1,39 (349); xii.1,47 (359); ix.35,2 (376); xii.1,80 (380); xii.1,85 (381); xii.1,117 (387); ix.35,6 (399); On flogging as punishment for certain crimes *CTh*. xii.1,75 (371), 127 (392), 190 (436); Libanius, *Or.* 45.24; 47.8; 28.16; 27.13,42; 28.4f; 54.51; *Ep.* 994.

<sup>22</sup> Diocletian's execution of leading councillors after the citizens of Antioch had put down a mutiny of rebellious troops. Libanius, *Or.* 19.45. On fear of execution of the council after the Riot of the Statues (387), see Libanius, *Or.* 23, 25; 19.44-46. On Gallus' unsuccessful attempt to establish price controls at Antioch resulted in the imprisonment of the *boule* under threat of execution, see Ammianus Marcellinus, 14.7.2.

<sup>23</sup> For summary see Jones, *LRE*, 740 ff and Fergus Millar, “Empire and City, From Augustus to Julian: Obligations, Excuses and Status”, *JRS* 73 (1983), 76-96.

<sup>24</sup> Libanius *Or.* 48.22, on young men going to study law abroad to evade their duties to the *curia*.

Still others were promoted or bought their way into the Senate of Constantinople.<sup>25</sup> The army provided another means of escape from curial service, as did the Church.<sup>26</sup>

The imperial government did express concern for the shrinking number of *bouleutai*, issuing repeated edicts which were aimed at blocking escape from the civic duties.<sup>27</sup> Such legislation seems to have been largely ineffective. Libanius often complains that fewer and fewer individuals were both willing and financially able to join the *boule* and undertake its variety of thankless tasks.<sup>28</sup> In *Oration 2* he hearkens back to the good old days when councils numbered 600. Now the numbers might reach sixty. In some places, only six.<sup>29</sup>

As the status and power of the traditional *bouleutai* declined, a new élite appeared whose activities can be seen in legal, literary and epigraphic sources. Informal ranking of city councillors had always taken place,<sup>30</sup> but by the fourth century a group of influential and powerful council members known as *principales*, or *πρωτεύοντες*, had emerged as a legally constituted group which was superior to the rest of the *bouleutai*.<sup>31</sup> According to an edict of 371, *principales* were elected by the *boule* after fulfilling all bouletic *munera* (*leitourgiai*). Election as a *principalis* gave the individual the rank of *ex comitibus*, and

---

<sup>25</sup> Libanius, *Ep.* 731, where Libanius attempts to persuade Hyperechius not to buy his way into the Senate, rather but to stay home and serve on the *boule* thereby gaining δόξα and δύναμις.

<sup>26</sup> On exemptions from curial service of military men: *CTh.vii.21,1* and *CTh.vi.24,5-6* and Libanius, *Or.* 18.146-7. On immunities of clergy, see Eusebius, *HE* 10,7 (in 313); and T.G. Elliott, "The Tax Exemptions Granted to Clerics by Constantine and Constantius II", *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 326-36.

<sup>27</sup> Jones, *LRE*, 742: Book 12 *Codex Theodosianus*.

<sup>28</sup> On the burdens of decurions Libanius, *Or.* 25.43; *Digest*, 50.4,1 (Hermogenianus, *libro primo epitomarum*).

<sup>29</sup> Libanius *Or.* 2.33, see also *Or.* 48.3. And for similar sentiment using different numbers, 12 councillors instead of 1200, Libanius, *Or.* 49.8.

<sup>30</sup> Ramsay Macmullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 205-208, has usefully collected references to the various "leaders" who emerged in the cities of the early empire and possessed extralegal or unofficial power. These are to be contrasted with the people designated as *principales* after the period of Diocletian who, in Macmullen's words become "enveloped by government," that is they gain legal status and duties.

<sup>31</sup> The *principales* first appear in literature and epigraphy in the 3rd century. Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 21.3 mentions *primores civitatum*, see T.D. Barnes, "More Missing Names", *Phoenix* 27 (1973), 135-155. On epigraphic evidence from the Album of Canusium for the *principales* in the third century see, P. Garnsey, "Aspects of the Decline of the Urban Aristocracy in the Empire", *ANRW* 2.1, 229-52; see also Jones, *LRE*, 731.

granted him freedom from any further compulsory *munera*, as well as immunity from corporal punishment, in most cases.<sup>32</sup> The status of such individuals can be measured in part by the fact that it was the *principales* who were sent as civic representatives to the provincial and diocesan council. They were also often chosen as ambassadors to the praetorian prefects, and to the emperor himself.<sup>33</sup> *Principales*, however, continued to carry out local administrative functions, acting as the executive committee of the council. They supervised the distribution of extraordinary *munera* among the other citizens.<sup>34</sup> Libanius' *Oration* 49.8 demonstrates that it was the *principales* who controlled the leasing of civic lands (at least at those times when this was possible). They could thus lease prime land to themselves and their friends, leaving the lesser *bouleutai* to impoverishment. On the other hand, *principales* were not free from undertaking the burden of tax collection nor were they free from temptation. Legislation of 387 announces harsh penalties for *principales* who embezzle public funds or exact excessive taxes in order to fill their own pockets.<sup>35</sup>

Libanius also indicates that the *principales* were to be the watch-dogs of the public good and imperial law. Indeed, he says they were supposed to enforce the inscription of new members onto the roll of the *boule*. Apparently, they did not do a very good job. Libanius writes that the *principales* were the ruin rather than the salvation of the *boule*. They continually complained that there were not enough councillors, but watched dumbly as people liable to service sent their sons away to law school, or betook themselves to

---

<sup>32</sup> *CTh*.xii.1.75 (371), confirms that the curial duties must be fulfilled in order: *Qui ad sacerdotium provinciae et principalis honorem gradatim et per ordine muneribus expeditis, non gratia emendicatisque suffragiis, et labore pervenerint, probatis actibus, si consona est civium fama et publice ab universo ordine conprobantur habeantur immunes, otio fruituri quod continui laboris testimonio promerentur liberumque sit corpus eorum ab his iniuriis, quas honoratos non decet sustinere. Honorem etiam eis ex comitibus addi censemus, quem ii consequi solent, qui fidem diligentiamque suam in administrandis rebus publicis adprobarint ...* See also *CTh*.xii.1.127 (392).

<sup>33</sup> P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle*, (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1955), 85.

<sup>34</sup> *CTh*.xi.16.4 (328).

<sup>35</sup> Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 172. *CTh*.xii.1.117 (387), announces the punishment of lashing with a lead-tipped whip for decurions or chief decurions guilty of embezzlement, or exacting excessive taxes.

imperial service.<sup>36</sup> Worse still, they actually assisted people in escaping their civic duties, although it was their responsibility to prosecute absconders before the governor.<sup>37</sup>

Libanius further asserts that the *principales* accepted bribes from those intent on escape from curial service.<sup>38</sup>

Another group which emerged as part of the new civic élite in the fourth century was the *honorati*. These were wealthy landowners, immune from curial service, either because they were senators, or had served as officials in the imperial government, or had been granted codicils of honorary imperial rank. They had no regular administrative duties, although they were required to attend provincial and diocesan council.<sup>39</sup> Their status was equal to if not greater than that of provincial governors to whom they had unlimited access. *Honorati* advised governors in their exercise of judicial powers, no doubt persuading them to use their authority for the benefit of themselves and their friends.<sup>40</sup> Certainly, Libanius complains in *Orations* 51 and 52 that their formal audiences, as well as their social visits, gave them too much intimacy and influence with governors residing at Antioch.<sup>41</sup> On the civic level, the *honorati*, acting in collusion with the *principales* acquired the property of the lesser notables.<sup>42</sup> Libanius often expresses his irritation with the *honorati*, not only because they assisted in the destruction of the *boulai*, but also because they had usurped the role of individual *bouleutai* as patrons over the mass of citizens.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 48 dated by Liebeschuetz to between the summers of 384-385. *Or.* 49 is dated after the death of Cynegius (388). Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 184-186, 271-275.

<sup>37</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 48.11-13 on the council not pursuing absconders; *Or.* 48.22 on standing by while the sons of decurions sail off to law school; *Or.* 49.4, on dumbly allowing recruits to escape; *Or.* 49.8-9, on councillors complaining about their small numbers, but acting for their own humiliation; *Or.* 49.13 that the councillors act in collusion with the absconders by not presenting cases against them strongly enough.

<sup>38</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 49, 26.

<sup>39</sup> Jones, *LRE*, 766.

<sup>40</sup> Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 190.

<sup>41</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 51.5 and 10; *Or.* 52.4ff, attacking the private audiences of governors; Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 188 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 47.37.

<sup>43</sup> Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 187.

Although governors were not technically part of the civic administrative apparatus, they nevertheless came to have great authority in cities, particularly in provincial capitals, in the fourth and fifth centuries. Once again, we are well informed about gubernatorial and praetorian intervention in civic matters at Antioch through the writings of Libanius. Governors intervened when the *boule* failed to fulfill its duties and when individual councillors failed to perform liturgies up to standard. For example, after the failure of the council to control prices and properly ration corn which Julian had given to the city in 362/3, the governor Alexander exercised close supervision of the shop-keepers by compelling them to keep accounts and by appointing auditors to check their books.<sup>44</sup> Governors disciplined shop-keepers for a variety of offences, including over-charging for fixed price goods.<sup>45</sup> They supervised weights and measures, a task formerly entrusted to the *agronomoi*.<sup>46</sup> They also saw to the importation and distribution of corn, a task of the former *sitonomos*.<sup>47</sup> Some governors compelled *bouleutai* to comply with extraordinary demands, forcing them to undertake the expense of providing wild beast shows, despite the fact that a law had been passed preventing compulsion in the matter of games.<sup>48</sup> A beating and jail might be the penalty for non-compliance.<sup>49</sup> In *Oration* 33, Libanius is particularly critical of the governor Tisamenus, complaining that he investigated ridiculously small shortages in the civic coffers which had been ignored by previous governors who had understood the inability of the *bouleutai* to meet payments.<sup>50</sup> Tisamenus is also shown interfering with the shopkeepers and tradespeople of the city,

---

<sup>44</sup> Libanius, *Ep.* 1406.

<sup>45</sup> Libanius on the governor Eustathius, *Or.* 54.42; on Eutropius, *Or.* 4.27, 35; on Florentius, *Or.* 46.7 ff; on beating a trader who exceeded a fixed price, *Or.* 1.207, 226. Compare Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 1.25, where a regular civic magistrate disciplines a fish-monger for over-charging by crushing his wares underfoot.

<sup>46</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 27.11; 46.10, on gubernatorial supervision of weights and measures.

<sup>47</sup> On gubernatorial importation of corn distribution and its supervision, Libanius, *Or.* 27.6ff; 1.205.

<sup>48</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 33.15-16 and *Or.* 33.21f. on the games of the Syriarch financed by a Beroean.

<sup>49</sup> Libanius on the overcrowding of jails during the administration of Tisamenus, *Or.* 33.41ff and *Or.* 45.

<sup>50</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 33.13.

ordering them to have their shop-fronts painted at their own expense,<sup>51</sup> and to provide oil for more lamps to be lit at night.<sup>52</sup>

### 2.5.2 Patterns in the Patronage of Public Building, ca. 284-450

As the traditional magistracies declined in number and status, one would expect to find a decline in the number of civic magistrates acting as the patrons of public building. This trend is certainly represented in the inscriptions of the period 284-450 (Table 5.1). Where previously the vast majority of projects had been initiated by the members of the civic élite, Aphrodisias does not preserve a single inscription relating to building by traditional civic magistrates in this period, and it preserves only one inscription refers to the activities of a *bouleutes*.<sup>53</sup> This short text comes from one column in the south colonnade of the agora which is inscribed Μενάνδρου πο, where πο is an abbreviation for πολιτευόμενος, indicating that Menander served on the *boule*.<sup>54</sup> The same overall pattern is confirmed at Ephesos, where out of a total of 22 building-related inscriptions, only one fragmentary text commemorates building undertaken in a stoa by an *alytarch* during the late fourth century (see Appendix 2).<sup>55</sup>

Contribution to building by private citizens was similarly limited. At Aphrodisias, Scholasticus contributed to the erection of a colonnade.<sup>56</sup> At Ephesos, Scholastikia provided the city with a substantial benefaction by refurbishing the decrepit baths of

---

<sup>51</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 33.33.

<sup>52</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 33.35-36

<sup>53</sup> A dramatic decline in civic magistrates commemorated as patrons of secular public building is noted for Italy as well in B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300-850*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 19.

<sup>54</sup> *ALA* 30 from the south colonnade of the Agora. Robert, "Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias", *L'Antiquité Classique*. 35 (1966), 377-432, especially 382.

<sup>55</sup> *IE* 447; F. Miltner, "XXII Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos", *JOAI* 44 (1959), 243-314, especially 283; C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 24; on alytarchs see *CTh*.xv.9,2 and *CJ*.i.36,1.

<sup>56</sup> *ALA* 79, a Latin acclamatory inscription on a column capital.



**Table 5.1 - Building Inscriptions of Late Antique Aphrodisias and Ephesos, Distribution by Rank and Office**

	CE 284-450		CE 450-600	
	Aphrodisias	Ephesos	Aphrodisias	Ephesos
Emperors				
Governors	9	9	3	5
Local Magistrates	1	1		
Local Citizens	1	1	2	1
<i>Honorati</i>			26	
<i>Principales</i>			2	
<i>Patres Civitatum</i>			9	1
<i>Incerta</i>	8	1	1	3
<b>Total</b>	19	12	43	10
<b>Grand Total</b>	31		53	

Varius.<sup>57</sup> What is more interesting is that although *principales* and *honorati* are mentioned in the law codes and literary sources as part of the new civic élite, neither group appears as patrons of public building in our sample of the epigraphic record. Instead, it is the governors who are most often commemorated as patrons of public building. At Aphrodisias, nine out of nineteen inscriptions commemorate governors as builders. At Ephesos the number is nine out of twelve. By contrast, it is worth recalling that only three out of 153 inscriptions recorded the works of governors or consulars at Ephesos in the early imperial period.<sup>58</sup>

Governors of Caria (*praesides/ἡγεμόνες*) resident at Aphrodisias appear to have been particularly concerned with civic security and amenities. Flavius Constantius built part of the city wall and also rebuilt or redecorated a stoa.<sup>59</sup> Flavius Quintilius Eros Monaxios was honoured for building the west gate of the city wall and perhaps part of the wall itself.<sup>60</sup> Helladius restored the baths of Hadrian.<sup>61</sup> Antonius Tatianos constructed the tetrastoon in the mid-fourth century.<sup>62</sup> A column from the colonnade which runs parallel to and north of the agora is inscribed with the name of Flavius Pelagius Ioannes, a late fourth century *praeses Cariae*.<sup>63</sup> He also seems to have contributed to the construction of the south colonnade of the agora.<sup>64</sup>

At Ephesos too, there is abundant evidence for the construction and renovation of civic amenities by governors through the fourth century and into the fifth century. Under

---

<sup>57</sup> F. Miltner. "XXI. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos", *JOAI* 43 (1956), 1-63, especially 22; Foss, *Ephesus*, 70.

<sup>58</sup> *IE* 695, 5101, 5113.

<sup>59</sup> *ALA* 22 for wall; K.T. Erim, "Recent Work at Aphrodisias", in C. Roueché and K.T. Erim, (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary series* 1 (Ann Arbor MI, 1990), 9-36, especially 27 on commemoration of Flavius Constantius as building or paving the Basilica.

<sup>60</sup> *ALA* 19, where the word *πυλῶνα* is a very plausible restoration.

<sup>61</sup> *ALA* 17 and 18, Helladius restores part or all of the Hadrianic Baths.

<sup>62</sup> *ALA* 20, Antonius Tatianos builds the Tetrastoon.

<sup>63</sup> *ALA* 29.

<sup>64</sup> Despite the fact that the lettering of each inscription is quite different, their phrasing and placement in this colonnade indicate that they should be taken together, so Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 53.

Diocletian, Julius Antonius *perfectissimus rationalis* restored a fountain.<sup>65</sup> Renovations were carried out in the theatre under the proconsul Messalinus.<sup>66</sup> The Sebasteion gymnasium was repaired by the proconsul L. Artorius Peius Maximus.<sup>67</sup> The proconsul L. Caelius Montius built the atrium in the baths of Constantius.<sup>68</sup> Early in the fifth century, the façade of the library of Celsus was converted into a nymphaeum by the proconsul Stephanos.<sup>69</sup> Around the same time, an acclamation on mosaic records the restoration of the East Baths by the proconsul Asclepius.<sup>70</sup> Other cities in the East demonstrate a similar pattern.<sup>71</sup> In the West, inscriptions from the provinces of Campania and Samnium show the same domination of building by governors, accompanied by an end to building funded by civic magistrates, private individuals, or the cities themselves.<sup>72</sup>

The Theodosian code also demonstrates how active governors were in public building. It warns governors not to commence new public works in municipalities until those which have already been started have been completed, or until buildings collapsing from age have been restored.<sup>73</sup> The repetition of this principle over many years indicates that governors were undertaking a significant amount of new building in cities by their own authority. A particularly informative law of 398 addressed to the praetorian prefect, provides precise detail on the level of gubernatorial intervention possible in civic works:

---

<sup>65</sup> Foss, *Ephesus*, 24; F. Miltner, "XXIV. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos", *JOAI* 45 (1960), 1-76, especially 25-26.

<sup>66</sup> *IE* 2043; R. Heberdey, O. Benndorf, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos" *JOAI* 1 (1898), 53-82, especially 77; Robert, "Épigrammes relatives à des gouverneurs" *Hellenica* IV (Paris, 1948), 35-126, especially 87; Foss, *Ephesus*, 61.

<sup>67</sup> *IE* 621; *JOAI* 44, (1959), 349.

<sup>68</sup> *IE* 1314, 1315.

<sup>69</sup> *IE* 5115.

<sup>70</sup> *IE* 1313.

<sup>71</sup> On epigrams honouring Late Antique governors for building walls and civic amenities, see Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 60 ff. A few examples are: at Smyrna the governor Anatolius builds or refurbishes the city wall; Anatolius a fourth century governor of Achaëa renovates Sparta after an earthquake in 375; a fragmentary epigram from Samos records the construction of an aqueduct.

<sup>72</sup> Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, 19-27.

<sup>73</sup> *CTh*.xv.1,2 (326;[362]): *Provinciarum iudices commoneri praecipimus, ut nihil se novi operis ordinare ante debere cognoscant, quam ea compleverint, quae a decessoribus inchoata sunt, exceptis dumtaxat templorum aedificationibus*; see also xv.1,14 (365); xv.1,15 (365); xv.1,16 (365); xv.1,21(380); xv.1,28 (390); xv.1.29 (393); xv.1,31 (394); *CJ*.viii.11,22 (472).

*Nemo iudicum in id temeritatis erumpat, ut inconsulta pietate nostra novi aliquid operis existimet inchoandum vel ex diversis operibus aeramen aut marmora vel quamlibet speciem, quae fuisse in usus vel ornatu probabitur civitatis, eripere vel alio transferre sine iussu tuae sublimitatis audeat. Etenim si quis contra fecerit tribus libris auri multabitur. Similis etiam condemnatio ordines civitatum manebit, nisi ornamentum genitalis patriae decreti huius auctoritate defenderint.*<sup>74</sup>

No governor should burst forth into such rashness, that he should think to begin some new work without consulting Our Piety, or that he should dare to tear or to transfer elsewhere bronze or marble or any other material which can be proved to have been in use or an ornament to a city from various buildings without the order of Your Sublimity. If any person should violate this order, he will be fined three pounds of gold. A like punishment will hold for the councils of cities unless they defend the ornaments of the ancestral fatherland by the authority of this decree.

Councils were urged to defend their monuments against despoliation by governors seeking building materials. Literary sources for the fourth century further confirm the potentially annoying involvement of governors in several aspects of civic building. In this vein, Libanius complains that the governor Tisamenus vigorously investigated insignificant debts to the city to secure more money for his own building program.<sup>75</sup>

Libanius also informs us about the building programs of higher ranking officials. For example, Modestus, the *comes Orientis*, asked councillors and *honorati* of Antioch to transport columns from Seleucia to Antioch for use in his construction of a portico.<sup>76</sup> By contrast, building by emperors appears to have been very limited: not a single example is recorded at Aphrodisias. This may be explained by the fact that, although the city became the capital of Caria under Diocletian, it was never an imperial residence, nor was it visited regularly by emperors. A single imperial visit to Aphrodisias is recorded, that of Theodosius II in 443. This may have been the occasion for the conversion of the temple of

<sup>74</sup> *CTh*.xv.1.37 (398).

<sup>75</sup> Libanius, *Or.* 33.14: ὁ τοίνυν καὶ στατήρα καὶ ἡμισυ καὶ τρίτον εἰς μέσον ἔλκων οὗτος ἦν, ἃ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐτῶν ἐκάθευδε, καὶ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν ὅπως εἰς τὴν ποίησιν αὐτῶ τῶν οἰκημάτων εἶη χρήματα, ὧν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδεπώποτε εἶδεν ἀχρηστότερον.

<sup>76</sup> Libanius, *Ep.* 196.3: κιονίας ἐκ Σελευκείας τοῖς μὲν ἐπέταξας κομίζειν, τοὺς δὲ ἤτησας χάριν. ὁ δὲ οὕτω διελεγμένος κύριον πεποίηκε τὸν αἰτηθέντα ἀμφοῖν. ἡ βουλή μὲν ὑπηρετεῖ σιγῇ, τῶν δὲ ἐν ἀρχαῖς γεγενημένων οἱ μὲν ταῦτὸν ἐκείνοις ποιοῦσι καὶ κομίζουσιν, εἰσι δὲ οἷς δοκεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα δεινόν, οἷς ἀξία ἐστὶ, δύναμις δὲ οὐκ ἔστι.

Aphrodite into a Christian Basilica.<sup>77</sup> Ephesos, on the other hand, does preserve some record of imperial contribution to building during this period. The restoration of a nymphaeum on the upper agora was ordered by Constantius and Constans, although the work was carried out under the auspices of the proconsul Caelius Montius.<sup>78</sup> Also, the monumental street called the Arcadiane may have been refurbished with the financial assistance of the emperor Arcadius.

### 2.5.3 New Élites and Building Patrons, ca. 450-600

In 550 CE an investigation took place in the Cilician city of Mopsuestia. Its purpose was to determine whether the name of the heretical Theodore of Mopsuestia had ever appeared in the diptychs of the church. The investigation was managed by a mixed lay and clerical team. John, metropolitan of the Cilicias, represented the church. Marthanius, the *comes domesticorum* and *vir magnificus*, acted as the imperial representative. Paulus the *defensor civitatis* was the local legal authority. These three called seventeen clerical witnesses who gave their ages and length of service to the church. All seventeen swore that the name of Theodore had never appeared in the diptychs. Sixteen lay witnesses followed. They were grouped into two general categories, *possessores*/λαμπρότατοι κτήτορες, and *habitatores*/οικήτορες.<sup>79</sup> Of the three *possessores*, two were *clarissimi comites*, and the third was a *clarissimus palatinus*: these were clearly *honorati* of

---

<sup>77</sup> R. Cormack, "The Temple as Cathedral", *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, JRA Supplementary Series 1. (Ann Arbor: 1990), 75-88, especially 84 where it is suggested that the conversion may have had imperial assistance; *Chronica Minora* 2.81 for the fact that he undertook an expedition to Asia, *voti causa*, leaving Constantinople after 9 March and returning 27 August. He issued a *Novel* from Aphrodisias on 22 May (Nov.23).

<sup>78</sup> *IE* 1317, Robert, *Hellenica* 4, 111.

<sup>79</sup> Gilbert Dagron, "Two Documents Concerning Mid-Sixth Century Mopsuestia", in A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis (ed.), *Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 19-30 especially 25, has remarked that "this document seems to indicate, more clearly than the legislation of this period, some kind of equivalence between the senatorial rank (at its lowest degree), and a qualification one might hesitate to define strictly as 'owner of land'. Κτήτορες /οικήτορες would thus correspond to the antithesis senator/non-senator. A transition has taken place from the traditional conception of an order, to that of a class defined in fiscal terms, and finally, to that of a local aristocracy."

senatorial rank. Of the *habitatores*, one was a *principalis*, two were *laudabiles praefectiani*, two were *tabularii*, one was a *lecticarius*, another was an architect, while two more were *agentes in rebus*, one of whom was also a *pater civitatis*. Three of the witnesses did not describe themselves by office, providing only a cognomen. It is clear that the *habitatores* were leading citizens, both “professionals” and people employed in the lower ranks of the imperial service.

Between the investigators and the witnesses, those attending the trial represent a microcosm of the civic society of the mid-sixth century. Particularly interesting is the absence of any direct mention of *boule* or *bouleutai*, which may indicate the disappearance of this body in Late Antiquity. (The evidence from Aphrodisias presented below, however, seems to refute this.) Mark Whittow, in a recent article reviewing the hagiographical evidence for the composition of the ruling class in the fifth and sixth century cities of the eastern Roman Empire, argued that the *boule* was waning in this period.<sup>80</sup> The author of the *Life and Miracles of St. Thekla*, writing in 460s-470s, identified the key figures of the city of Seleucia in Rough Cilicia as the bishop, clergy, imperial officials and individuals from important families. In late sixth and early seventh century hagiographies, such as the *Life of St. Symeon the Fool of Emesa*, the *Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon*, and the *Miracles of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica*, the leading citizens are likewise identified as bishop, clergy, laymen (who are no doubt major landowners), and imperial officials.<sup>81</sup> *Boulai* and *bouleutai* are rarely mentioned. The parallels with Mopsuestia document are notable. Other literary sources from this period state categorically that the *curiae* no longer existed in the sixth century. John Lydus notes in *de Magistratibus* that the wearing of togas disappeared when *boulai* were abolished under Anastasius.<sup>82</sup> Following a similar

---

<sup>80</sup> M. Whittow, "Ruling the Late Roman and Early Byzantine City", *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 3-29. The following is abstracted from 20-29.

<sup>81</sup> Whittow, "Ruling the Late City", 23 ff.

<sup>82</sup> John Lydus, *de Magistratibus*, I. 28, as A.C. Bandy, (ed.), *Ioannes Lydus on Powers*, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), 1983, 44.

line, Evagrius, writing in the early 590s, notes that Anastasius' creation of the office of *vindex* to take over responsibility for tax collection from *boulai* caused a great waste of tax revenues, the ruin of the glory of cities, and the decline of the curial order.<sup>83</sup>

Other evidence makes the situation concerning city councils and magistracies unclear.<sup>84</sup> References to *curiales* in Justinian's reign are not uncommon in the Justinianic code, although Dietrich Claude has dismissed these references as the product of an archaizing tendency.<sup>85</sup> Discussing near contemporary events in Tarsus in the *Anecdota*, Procopius mentions the death of a certain Damianus, a member of the *boule* of that city.<sup>86</sup> Finally, a *principalis* does appear as a witness before the investigation at Mopsuestia, and this had been the title for the leading men of the *boule*. There is, therefore, some evidence to show that *boulai* continued to exist in the mid-sixth century, at least in certain places. However, the main point can be granted, namely that the trend of the previous period was continuing: *boulai*, as well as civic magistracies associated with them were continuing to decline in importance.

A second interesting feature of the Mopsuestia document is the absence of the governor of Cilicia Prima. This points to a similar decline in the influence of this imperial official. Several factors contributed to this: the emergence of episcopal courts where bishops were permitted to judge both criminal and civil cases, thus usurping a part of what had been gubernatorial jurisdiction.<sup>87</sup> The governor's legal role was reduced further by the

---

<sup>83</sup> Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, (London, 1898), iii, 42. On *vindices*, their creation, role and effects on cities, see A. Chauvot, "Curiales et Paysans en Orient à la fin de Ve et au début de VIe siècle: Note sur l'institution du *Vindex*", in E. Frézouls (ed.), *Sociétés Urbaines, Sociétés Rurales dans L'Asie Mineure et la Syrie*, (Strasbourg: AECR, 1987), 271-81.

<sup>84</sup> Jones, *LRE*, 759 ff.; D. Claude, *Die Byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert*, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1969), 107-123, reviews the literary sources on *curiae* and *curiales*.

<sup>85</sup> Claude, *Byzantinische Stadt*, 107. On the re-use of old titles for magistrates and on the use of the historical and mythological past in Justinianic legislation, see T. Honoré, *Tribonian*, (London: Duckworth, 1978), and M. Maas, "Roman History and Christian Ideology in Justinianic Reform Legislation", *DOP* 40 (1986), 17-31.

<sup>86</sup> Procopius, *Anecdota*, 29.28-38 calls him Δαμιανόν ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς.

<sup>87</sup> On *episcopalis audientia* see *Sirm.* 1 (333); *CJ.i.4,7* (398); *CTh.i.7,2* (408); T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 51.

emergence of the ἔκδικος πόλεως/*defensor civitatis* in the fourth century.<sup>88</sup> Under Justinian, *defensores* were permitted to judge civil cases of up to three hundred solidi.<sup>89</sup> Also the Diocletianic separation of civil and military authority continued to affect the role of governors in some areas of the empire. In the two Cilicias, the governor's authority had been superseded by that of the *comes* Marthanius. In the late 530s Justinian attempted to reverse the trend and bolster the status of governors in certain provinces by granting them both civil and military authority. The governors of Cilicias were not among these.<sup>90</sup>

Finally, the Mopsuestia document refers to the πατήρ τῆς πόλεως or *pater civitatis*. This office also limited the role of the governor in cities.<sup>91</sup> Charlotte Roueché was the first to collect evidence for the appearance of the *patres civitatum*.<sup>92</sup> The Justinianic code, inscriptions and papyri confirm that the *patres* had control of civic finance, and thus became central figures in the Late Antique city.<sup>93</sup> *Patres civitatum*, however, do not appear to have been a universal phenomenon. In some towns and cities governors retained their role and influence.<sup>94</sup> The earliest and most telling piece of evidence for the *pater* as an official in charge of civic finance is a law issued by the emperor Zeno in 485/6. It forbade a variety of imperial agents, including provincial governors, to interfere in the financing of public works by *patres* in cities.<sup>95</sup> In 535,

<sup>88</sup> Jones. *LRE*. 144-145, on the functions and appointment of *defensores civitatum* in the fourth century.

<sup>89</sup> Justinian. *Nov.xv* (535).

<sup>90</sup> Jones. *LRE*. 280-3 for the series of Justinianic legislation which combined civil and military command in order to strengthen provincial government.

<sup>91</sup> Justinian *Nov.lxxxv* (539), where the *pater* and the *defensor* are the two chief magistrates of the city.

<sup>92</sup> C. Roueché, "A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title πατήρ τῆς πόλεως", *GRBS* 20 (1979), 173-185.

<sup>93</sup> New evidence for the *pater civitatis* is found in G. Dagon, and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilization de Byzance, Collège de France Monographies 4, (Paris: de Boccard, 1987), 215-220 and appendix. Pieter J. Sijpesteijn, "The Title πατήρ (τῆς) πόλεως and the Papyri", *Tyche* 2 (1987), 171-174, collects papyrological evidence to prove that the titles *curator civitatis* and *pater civitatis* are not the same as Jones had surmised in *The Greek City*, 209. It is interesting to note in addition that two of the papyri refer to women possessing the title of πατήρ τῆς πόλεως (*P.Oxy.* xxxvi.2780, CPR x.127).

<sup>94</sup> C. Roueché, "A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title πατήρ τῆς πόλεως", 183.

<sup>95</sup> *CJ*.viii.12,1 (485/6?), *Iubemus provinciarum quidem rectores et singulae dioceseos viros spectabiles iudices, id est praefectum Augustalem et comitem Orientis et utrosque proconsules et vicarios una cum suis apparitoribus pro tenore generalium magnificae tuae sedis dispositionum discutiendis publicis*



Justinian reversed Zeno's policy, instructing governors to keep civic buildings in repair and to maintain the corn supply from civic funds. Ten years later, however, Justinian reverted to Zeno's system.<sup>96</sup>

The Mopsuestia document and the other sources discussed above reflect some changes in the composition of the civic élite during the period 450-600: first, a decline in governor's authority to intervene in civic finance is evident; and second the creation of new civic official the *pater civitatis*. Some stable features are also underlined, namely the continued importance of the *honorati*, and of other "leading citizens."

#### 2.5.4 - Patronage of Public Building, 450-600

The changing membership of the civic élite, ca. 450-600, is reflected in the personnel of building patronage outlined in Table 5.1.

Given the decline of the traditional *boule*, it is not surprising to find that of the 53 inscriptions available none provide evidence for the activities of traditional civic magistrates at either Aphrodisias or Ephesos. At Aphrodisias, however, there is one citizen-*euergetes* of the late fifth or early sixth century who may have been a *principalis*. This is Asclepiodotus who was honoured on two inscriptions for his construction of the *tholos* or vaulted chamber in the theatre baths as well as for many other splendid things he built for his city.<sup>97</sup> He is named without elaboration as a citizen of Aphrodisias, but literary evidence indicates that he was active in civic politics and had strong imperial connections. In fact, this Asclepiodotus has been identified as the prominent citizen of Aphrodisias mentioned by Zacharias Rhetor in his *Life of Severus*. According to

---

*operibus vel aquae ductibus, qui ex civilibus reditibus vel a quolibet spontanea munificentia facti sunt vel fuerint, modis omnibus abstinere, nec aliquid quolibet modo quolibet tempore in discutiendo civiles reditus vel facta opera vel quae fieri adsolent, unam siliquam sibi ex singulis erogandis solidis vindicando aut quodcumque lucrum captando, cum huiusmodi rebus habere commune, utpote patribus civitatum et curae eorum deputatis.*

<sup>96</sup> Justinian reverses the law of Zeno, *Nov.xvii,4* (535-6). In 545 he goes back to the law of Zeno, *Nov.cxxviii,16*.

<sup>97</sup> *ALA* 53, *ALA* 54 and *ALA* 89.

Zacharias, Asclepiodotus was loaded with honours and dignities by the emperor (probably Zeno), and he is referred to as holding the first place, τὰ πρωτεῖα, in the βουλή at Aphrodisias.<sup>98</sup> This reference, incidentally, provides further evidence for the continued, though doubtless attenuated, existence of the *boule* at a rather late date.

Given the absence of private beneficence recorded in the period 284–450, a more surprising feature of Table 5.1 is the number of inscriptions from Aphrodisias which record building by private citizens during the period ca. 450–600. A fragmentary monumental architrave commemorates the construction of a portico in the east court of the Hadrianic baths by Dionysius who is described by his patronymic and identified as a doctor.<sup>99</sup> A base from the same baths indicates that a certain Hermias contributed “three thousand of gold” to their upkeep.<sup>100</sup> At Ephesos, an inscribed base apparently commemorates fifth century repair work in the baths of Scholastikia by Johannes and Paulus.<sup>101</sup>

The same trend can be seen in the case of the *honorati* of Aphrodisias. They were not recorded as being responsible for any building in the period 284–450. After the mid-fifth century their substantial benefactions are evident in twenty six inscriptions. A certain Pytheas, a man of highest senatorial grade, *illustris*, and a native of the city, built several works according to an inscribed statue base found in the odeon.<sup>102</sup> He also seems, like the citizens noted above, to have been a supporter of public pleasures. Inscribed fragments of a monumental architrave from the east court of the Hadrianic baths suggest that he built in this area.<sup>103</sup> A fragment of wall revetment from the theatre baths appears to commemorate

---

<sup>98</sup> *PLRE* II Asclepiodotus 2; Zacharias Rhetor, *Vita Severi*, 17 ed. and trans. M.-A. Kuegener, in *Patrologia Orientalis* II (1907); Roueché, “A New Inscription from Aphrodisias”, 88–93.

<sup>99</sup> *ALA* 67.

<sup>100</sup> *ALA* 74.

<sup>101</sup> The text of this inscription is unpublished, but references to its content are found in *JOAI* 43 (1956), 25. and Foss. *Ephesus*, 27.

<sup>102</sup> *ALA* 56.

<sup>103</sup> *ALA* 58.

Pytheas' patronage here as well.<sup>104</sup> The euergetic activity of another *honoratus* is evidenced by twenty columns from the west portico of the agora. These date to the mid-sixth century and are inscribed with acclamations in honour of the *clarissimus* Albinus.<sup>105</sup> At the west end of the portico is a columnar base once topped by a statue of Albinus, which relates that the city honoured him for the many public works he provided.<sup>106</sup>

One of the most significant changes seen in the inscriptions of Aphrodisias is the decline in gubernatorial patronage of public building.<sup>107</sup> In the fourth and early fifth century, the activities of governors were represented very clearly in the epigraphic record. After 450 we find only three inscriptions recording their participation in building projects. Fragments of a monumental architrave inscription found in an unexcavated area southwest of the acropolis attest the building of a structure by a *praeses* named Ioannes, probably of the mid-fifth century.<sup>108</sup> Two inscriptions from the east agora gate record its conversion into a nymphaeum by Dulcitus, a mid-fifth century *praeses*.<sup>109</sup>

Ephesos also presents a decline in building by governors. The proconsul Eutropius is commemorated for paving the embolos in the late fifth century, while the arch at the end of the embolos was built by Flavius Constantius in the fifth or the sixth century.<sup>110</sup> Ambrosius, a sixth century proconsul, restored the theatre.<sup>111</sup> Elsewhere in the East, however, literary sources may present a more vigorous picture of civic building by governors. Thus, Choricus of Gaza relates that a *consularis* of Palestina named Stephanus was active in building projects both at Caesarea, the metropolis of the province, and at his

---

<sup>104</sup> *ALA* 57.

<sup>105</sup> *ALA* 83.i-xx.

<sup>106</sup> *ALA* 82.

<sup>107</sup> At Aphrodisias in the period between 284–450, the nine inscriptions commemorate building by governors, while in the period ca. 450–600, only three are attested. At Ephesos five inscriptions of 450–600 compare to nine in the period 284–450.

<sup>108</sup> *ALA* 45.

<sup>109</sup> Erim, "Recent Archaeological Research", *AS* 31 (1981), 180-1.

<sup>110</sup> *JOAI* 50 (1972-5), 383; Foss, *Ephesus*, 77.

<sup>111</sup> Eutropius *IE* 1304; Ambrosius *IE* 2045, 2046.

hometown of Gaza.<sup>112</sup> At Caesarea he restored an aqueduct.<sup>113</sup> At Gaza he completed work on the "summer" theater and the winter baths. Stephanus also undertook the building of ὁ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμος χῶρος.<sup>114</sup> We see here a clear example of a governor's ability to determine and manage civic building projects in some places, even at this late date.

Nevertheless, the epigraphic record reflects the emergence of the *pater civitatis* as the leading patron of public building in the late fifth and sixth centuries. At Aphrodisias, nine inscriptions commemorate the works of the πατήρ τῆς πόλεως. Two commemorate the donation of game boards in the Hadrianic baths in the late fifth or early sixth century (ἐπὶ Φλ(αίου) Φωτίου σχο(λαστικοῦ) κ(αὶ) πατρὸς).<sup>115</sup> Rhodopaeus, a sixth century πατήρ τῆς πόλεως is honoured on three statue bases found in the Hadrianic baths. Two commemorate him as a restorer of the baths, while the third honours him for the many other gifts he gave his *patria*.<sup>116</sup> A fragmentary building inscription from the Hadrianic baths commemorates the works of another *pater*.<sup>117</sup> Several inscriptions of the mid-fifth century refer to the buildings of Flavius Ampelius. One found *in situ* refers to his repair of the north east gate of the city.<sup>118</sup> Another found on the rim of the stage in the odeon records his work in the palaestra.<sup>119</sup> More interesting is an inscription which may show Ampelius's role as *pater* overlapping that of the governor. It was found in association with two inscriptions honouring the governor Dulcitus. All three were similar in style and cut on the projecting bastions of the facade of the east agora gate and commemorated its

---

<sup>112</sup> *PLRE* 3, 1184/5 Stephanus 7; *Justinian Novel* 103 (536), upgrading the governor of Palestina Prima to proconsular status, is addressed to this Stephanus.

<sup>113</sup> Choricus, *Laudatio Aratii et Stephani*, 44-49.

<sup>114</sup> Choricus, *Laudatio Aratii et Stephani*, 54-55.

<sup>115</sup> *ALA* 68, 69.

<sup>116</sup> *ALA* 85, honours Rhodopaeus for the many gifts he gave to his *patria*; 86 and 87 both mention baths.

<sup>117</sup> *ALA* 61.

<sup>118</sup> *ALA* 42.

<sup>119</sup> *ALA* 43 and Roueché, 79, on the palaestra. In late usage, palaestra can refer to a training place or school. The odeon at Aphrodisias may have had educational functions.

remodeling into a fountain.<sup>120</sup> There is evidence that the collaboration of *pater* Ampelius and governor Dulcitus extended to other projects. One of a series of fragmentary revetment panels from the south *aula termale* of theatre baths preserves the letters ...|ΑΜΠΕ|... which Roueché has tentatively interpreted as part of Ampelius' name.<sup>121</sup> Dulcitus also appears to have a hand in the building at the theatre baths according to an epigram inscribed on a base which was built into the seventh century defense wall in the theatre. The relevant lines of the inscription are:

νῦν δὲ σε μαρμάρειον / στήσεν προπάροιθε λοετροῦ  
 μάρτυς σῶν καμάτων / ἢ λίθος ὄφρα μένοι<sup>122</sup>

now he has set you in marble in front of the baths so that  
 the stone may remain as a witness to your labours.

The "labours" referred to are likely the baths, since Dulcitus' statue was erected in front of the structure.<sup>123</sup> If these inscriptions evidence for the collaboration of the *pater civitatis* and the governor, and are dated accurately, they reflect a situation where the relationship to civic finance of each was in the process of being worked out.

Elsewhere in the early sixth century, the cooperation in building projects of a variety of notables, including *patres civitatum*, governors, and bishops is attested. The construction of a city wall at Gaza was organized by the bishop of the city Marcianus,<sup>124</sup> approved by the governor Stephanus, and undertaken with the assistance of the magistrates, οἱ ἐν τέλει. A series of inscriptions from Caesarea in Palestine show the

<sup>120</sup> *ALA*, 67-73, no. 38 (Ampelius), 39 and 40 (Dulcitus), plates 10 and 11, for the inscriptions singly. Unfortunately there is no published photograph which shows the entire "gate" clearly with the inscriptions in relation to one another.

<sup>121</sup> *ALA* 44 and 76.

<sup>122</sup> *ALA* 41.

<sup>123</sup> For example, Albinus the builder of the west colonnade of the Agora was honoured with a statue in that structure. *ALA* 82, and 125-126.

<sup>124</sup> Choricus, *Laudatio Marciani* II, 16: Τεῖχος ἡμῖν πρότερον ἦν οὕτως ὄνομα μόνον...διανείμας τοίνυν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν οἰκητόρων, ἵνα συντέμω καὶ λογῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ζηλώσω σπουδὴν, δευτέραν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν τοῦ χώματος ἐξεῦρες διωρυχὴν, ὡς ἀντὶ τείχους ἐτέρου γεγενῆσθαι τὸν λόφον. and later δύο μάλιστα τρόποι φρουροῦσι τὰς πόλεις, εὐμενεῖά τε θεοῦ καὶ περιβολὸς ἀρραγῆς ὧν τὸ μὲν παρὰ σοῦ γέγονε, τὸ δὲ διὰ σοῦ. οἱ ἐν τέλει are entrusted with the ἐπιμελεία, that is the *cura*, of the project.

cooperation of governors and *patres civitatum*.<sup>125</sup> These reflect Justinian's legislation of 535/6, which attempted to reinforce the powers of governors and gave them some jurisdiction with respect to building in cities.<sup>126</sup>

### 2.5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented basic information on the patronage of public building in Late Antique Aphrodisias. Using epigraphic evidence it has demonstrated that there were two major shifts in the personnel of patronage. Whereas prominent citizens and civic magistrates had been the leading patrons in the early imperial period, governors took the leading role in public works during the period 284–450, when governors were granted greater discretionary powers over civic finance. Over time, however, the dominance of the governors in both finance and building does not seem to have been successful in maintaining the physical infrastructure of the city. Revenues and properties were slowly returned to the cities starting late in the 4th century. This does not appear to have been enough to rectify the problems of either finance or infrastructure in places like Aphrodisias and Ephesos. Rather, continuing difficulties seem to have resulted in the emergence of the *pater civitatis* as a civic official responsible both for finance and public works. These officials became the single most frequent patrons of public building in the period 450–600.

Two puzzles arise out of the recognition of these phases. In the early imperial period, leading citizens strove to adorn their city by erecting building using their own funds. In the period 284–450, patronage by leading local citizens virtually ceased. While in the period 450–600 the tradition resumed. Why did it stop and why did it start again?

---

<sup>125</sup> For examples of epigraphic commemoration of collaboration in building projects of *patres civitatum* and governors of various rank, see B. Lifschitz, "Inscriptions Grecques de Cesarée en Palestine", *Revue Biblique* 68 (1961), 122–123; L. di Segni, "The Involvement of Local, Municipal and Provincial Authorities in Urban Building in Late Antique Palestine", in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, JRA Supplementary Series Number 14 (Ann Arbor, MI: 1995), 325; Roueché, "A New Inscription From Aphrodisias" 178–179.

<sup>126</sup> See note 97 above.

It is tempting to explain the cessation of building by local citizens as a result of the imperial confiscation of civic lands, combined with a serious decline in the wealth of ordinary members of the *boule*. Unfortunately, such an explanation would not seem to apply to the *principales* or the *honorati*, who had emerged as the new leaders of the civic élite. Both seem to have had more than ample sources of private wealth, as well as access to the formerly civic estates. Similarly, it might be suggested that, since the *principales* and *honorati* both sought to earn their respective ranks as a means of avoiding civic responsibilities for *munera*, it would make little sense for them to give public works to those cities. But the same motivation would presumably apply in the fifth and sixth century, when *honorati* financed public building in increasing numbers.

A more satisfactory explanation would take into account the arguments made in Part I, where it was suggested that patrons engaged in acts of beneficence to attract the attention of the emperor, and thus bolster their careers. From this point of view, it could be suggested that there was little point in civic building for the *honorati*, since they had already achieved imperial rank. As for the *principales*, it is possible to suggest that civic building would have had a negative effect on their careers, because it would have been seen by governors as competition for influence with people. In any event, it would appear that neither *honorati* nor *principales* found much reason to curry favour with *the public* through provision of material benefits in the form of buildings before 450. Interestingly, by this date much of the control over civic affairs and civic finance had been returned to the city, when there was something to be gained by earning the loyalty of the ordinary citizen through public works.

All this is admittedly speculative, but three definite points can be made. First, patronage of public building *did* continue in Late Antiquity. Second, it continued to be practised by those who held the most important positions in the city. Third, patronage of public building was independent of the social and political structures of civic government. That is to say, its existence did not depend entirely on the early imperial form of

governance, which gave the local élite control of the cities through a monopoly of civic magistracies. The practice continued when those magistracies either ceased to exist or ceased to have any real political import. It continued when the administration of cities like Aphrodisias came to be dominated by the *pater civitatis*.



## **Chapter Six**

### **Ideology and Politics in Late Antique Building Inscriptions**

We have now established that the patronage of public building continued in the Late Antique period, but that there was a double shift in personnel. In the first phase, governors dominated building in cities like Aphrodisias and Ephesos. In the second, responsibility shifted back to the local notables and officials. The question to be addressed now is whether or not building patronage had the same significance in both periods. Did governors and local notables continue to build structures for the same ideological and political reasons as before, or for new ones?

To answer this question, this chapter follows the same path of inquiry that was used in Part I. It begins with an examination of the physical form and the linguistic formulae of building-related inscriptions from Late Antique Aphrodisias, and then proceeds to an analysis of their ideological and political content. The investigation shows not only that late building texts were physically more difficult to read, but that there was also an increasing variation in the traditional formulae of early imperial times, and an introduction of new formulae. One new form was the epigram, which exhibited a complexity of language and literary style that made interpretation very difficult for semi-literate readers. This suggests that the values to be communicated by inscriptions were no longer part of a shared public discourse, but rather were intended for a smaller and more élite audience. And yet a second, new form of building-related inscription was almost exactly the opposite. This was the acclamation, a short, easily read text that recorded public events for a public audience.

As will be argued in the conclusion, the emergence these new forms reflects continuity in the Early Imperial and Late Antique patronage of public building, rather than change. For they show that public building continued to have both ideological and political functions: building and inscribing continued to be a means of displaying virtue and status

in this life, for remembrance after death; and it remained an important tool in the advancement of a patron's political interests.

### 2.6.1 Form and Formula in Late Antique Inscriptions, ca. 284-450

In Late Antiquity, the inscribed texts associated with building continued to take the same physical forms as those of the first, second, and third centuries. The majority were carved onto the buildings themselves, on architraves, wall panels or blocks, or onto nearby stelae. The remainder were statue base inscriptions, carved on plinths which supported honorific statues.<sup>1</sup> In both kinds of inscriptions, red paint could be used to emphasize the letters against the white of the marble.<sup>2</sup> The size of letters varied according to the distance of the inscription from the viewer.<sup>3</sup>

These facts would seem to suggest that building-related inscriptions were placed in public because they were meant to be read, just as they had been in the early imperial period. There are, however, several grounds for arguing that the intended audience for these inscriptions was not nearly so wide as it had been. First, Late Antique inscriptions dispensed with the uniformity of letter styles which had characterized the texts of the early imperial period. Indeed, even modern epigraphers complain about the difficulty of dating late texts because letter styles vary so radically on inscriptions of the same date from the same city.<sup>4</sup> The variation in letter style would have made these inscriptions even harder to read by the semi-literate. Secondly, whereas the repetitive formulae of early imperial texts allowed semi-literate and illiterate readers to pick up visual clues about the content of an inscription, Late Antique texts were characterized by the use of a wide variety of linguistic

---

<sup>1</sup> Architraves, marble wall blocks or panels, and less frequently, inscribed columns, or mosaic inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Red paint traces: *ALA* 39, 40, 41, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Letter size on inscribed architraves or lintels or wall fasciae: *ALA* 18, 0.05-0.06m; *ALA* 19, 0.075m; *ALA* 22, 0.07-0.08m; *ALA* 42, 0.07; *ALA* 44, 0.165m; *ALA* 66, 0.07m.

Letter size on statue bases: *ALA* 32, 0.035m-0.045m; *ALA* 37, av. 0.03m; *ALA* 41, 0.02-0.03m; *ALA* 53, 0.03-0.04m; *ALA* 56, 0.04m; *ALA* 85, 0.025m; *ALA* 86, 0.02-0.04m; *ALA* 87, 0.025-0.0375m.

<sup>4</sup> C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1989), xxii-xxiii.

patterns which would have made reading more difficult. Third, a new style of building-related inscription was introduced which made comprehension more problematic for the average citizen. This was the epigram, characterized by complex grammatical structures, and a high literary style.

Greater variety in the language of inscriptions begins to appear in the period 284-450. For example, of the eighteen building inscriptions that survive at Aphrodisias in these years, only four represent traditional or modified versions of traditional formulae (See Table 6.1). Three are epigrammatic. Three more are brief texts inscribed on columns. Eight cannot be classified due to their fragmentary nature. Of the five building inscriptions extant at Ephesos for this period, only one follows a traditional formula, while three are epigrams and one is fragmentary.

The most traditional inscription from Aphrodisias is a wall panel dated to the first half of the fourth century. It recalls the commemorative formula of the early imperial period:

[.] θε[.]ω ἐπηκόω Φλ(άβιος)  
 Εὐσέβιος ἀπὸ πριμι-  
 πιλαρίων ἐκ τῶν  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ δομάτων  
 τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τρίτον  
 διάστυλον ἐποίησεν<sup>5</sup>

To god who listens, Flavius  
 Eusebius *e primipilaribus*  
 From the gifts of god  
 made the first and third  
 intercolumnation.<sup>6</sup>

The inscription names the builder in the nominative, gives his office or rank, notes the origin of the money spent, includes a verb of building, and identifies the

<sup>5</sup> *ALA* 10, also J. M. Reynolds and R.F. Tannenbaum, *Jews and God-fearers at Aphrodisias*. (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1987), Appendix, doc. 9 (1987).

<sup>6</sup> Translations of the inscriptions from Aphrodisias are based on Roueché's. Translations of the documents from Ephesos are my own.

**Table 6.1 - Building Inscriptions of Late Antique Aphrodisias and Ephesos, ca. 284-450, Classified By Formula**

	<b>Aphrodisias</b>		<b>Ephesos</b>	
	<b>Building Inscriptions</b>	<b>Statue Bases</b>	<b>Building Inscriptions</b>	<b>Statue Bases</b>
Traditional	2		1	1
Modified Traditional	2	1		4
Epigram	3	1	3	2
Column	3			
Fragmentary			1	
<i>Incerta</i>	8			
<b>Total</b>	18	2	5	7
<b>Grand Total</b>	32			

structure built.<sup>7</sup> Even here, however, the opening line of the inscription is unusual in containing an invocation in the dative case (θεῶ ἐπηκόω). A dating formula, which had been a more regular feature in early imperial inscriptions, is absent.

An inscription on the lintel of the west gate of Aphrodisias shows a modification of the traditional dedicatory/commemorative formula:

Ἄγαθῇ Τύχῃ  
 Ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ [τύχης καὶ νίκης  
 καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν δεσπότην ἡμῶν  
 Φλ(αβίου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Κωνσταντίου εὐσεβοῦς ἀηττήτου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ  
 [Φλ(αβίου) Κλ(αυδίου) ? Ἰουλιάνου ἐπιφανεστάτου καὶ γενναιοτάτου]  
 Καίσαρος  
 Φλ(αβίος) Κвинт(ίλιος) Ἔρος Μονάξιος ὁ διασημότατος ἡγεμῶν  
 καὶ ἀπὸ Κρητάρχων τὸν π. . . . . ἐκ θεμελίων τῆ λαμπρᾶ  
 καὶ συγγενεῖ Κρητῶν [? μητροπόλει τῶν Ἀφροδεισιέων]  
 κατεσκεύασεν. . . . . ] .

To Good Fortune!

On behalf of the health, safety, fortune, victory  
 and eternal endurance of our lords,

Flavius Julius Constantius pious, unconquered Augustus  
 and [Flavius Claudius Julian]us, most renowned and noble  
 Caesar,

Flavius Quintilius Eros Monaxios, *perfectissimus praeses*  
 and former Cretarch, built the [gate] from its foundations for the  
 splendid [metropolis of the Aphrodisians] related to the Cretans.....

The old commemorative part of the pattern is found part way down the text and includes the name and rank of the patron, identifies the structure built (probably τὸν πυλῶνα ἐκ θεμελίων), and also contains a verb of building which was in common use (κατεσκεύασεν). However, the dedicatory part of the inscription is unusual. The dedicatory/commemorative formula of the early imperial period began with a tripartite

<sup>7</sup> On the dedication to the god who listens as pagan terminology, and on ἐποίησεν as an unusual verb of building, see Roueché *ALA* 25. The verb ἐποίησι is used by Late Antique sculptors on bases dedicating their works, see K.T. Erim and C.M. Roueché, "Sculptors from Aphrodisias: some new inscriptions", *PBSR* 50 (1982), 102-115, especially 108. A mosaic inscription published in K.T. Erim, "Recent Work at Aphrodisias, 1986-88", *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, (Ann Arbor MI, 1990), 27, uses similarly simple language and the verb ἐποίησεν to commemorate the "making" of a mosaic in the west aisle of the basilica by the proconsul Flavius Constantius. This verb becomes part of standard formula on dedications of mosaics, especially in ecclesiastical structures in the Late Antique period.

<sup>8</sup> *ALA* 19.

dedication to the gods, the emperor, and the city. This inscription begins with an invocation of good fortune, a feature which had previously occurred only on statue bases.<sup>9</sup> The dedicatory vow made on behalf of the rulers alone, using *ὑπέρ* with the genitive, is another feature that was not found on earlier inscriptions. Reference to the source of the funds is also missing; the lack of this feature will become the norm in building-related inscriptions of the Late Antique period.

The above examples reflect modifications of early imperial formulae. The appearance of epigrams marks the emergence of a new style in building-related inscriptions, since prose texts had been the norm in earlier times, and the use of epigrams was generally restricted to funerary monuments. Two “proto-epigrammatic” building inscriptions at Aphrodisias have been dated to the first half of the fourth century.<sup>10</sup> They were carved on a cornice and lintel block to commemorate the work that the governor Helladius carried out in the Hadrianic Baths. They read:

Θῆκε κάμῃ ἐνθάδε Ἑλλάδιος ὁ  
ἀνανεωτῆς τῆς λαμπρᾶς μητροπόλεως <sup>11</sup>

He also set me up here, Helladius  
the renewer of the splendid metropolis.

Κάμῃ Ἑλλάδιος ὁ ἄγνος [. . .] <sup>12</sup>  
Me also Helladius the pure [. . .]

The terms *ἀγνός*, *ἀνανεωτής* and *θῆκε* (the latter usually with the prefix *ἀνά-*) are common to inscriptions of both the early and late imperial periods.<sup>13</sup> The patron is named, but his office is not recorded. There is no reference to the source of the funds used, nor to the type of the project, which is rather to be inferred from the placement of the

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter Three, 92-99 on the language patterns of earlier statue base inscriptions.

<sup>10</sup> Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 31-33 on the epigram honouring Helladius.

<sup>11</sup> *ALA* 17.

<sup>12</sup> *ALA* 18.

<sup>13</sup> On *ἀνανεωτής* in the late antique period, see L. Robert, “Épithètes et Acclamations à Corinthe”, *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960), 24. On *ἀγνός* used to honour late antique governors, see L. Robert, “Épigrammes relatives à des gouverneurs”, *Hellenica* 4, 38-40. See also *IE* 2033, where the term is used of a prytanis of the early imperial period. On *ἀνέθηκε* see Chapter Three, 81, 88.

inscriptions. Most remarkable is the use of the literary device of having personified (κάμῆ) buildings speak directly to the passerby. Again, this is an adaptation from funerary monuments.

Two examples from late fourth or early fifth century Ephesos show the fuller development in the use of epigrams as building inscriptions. They commemorate the reinforcement of the outer wall of the theatre by the proconsul Messalinus. One reads:

Τέρπεο καὶ σκηνῆς πολυγ /ηθέος ἔκτοθι μίμων  
 Μεσσαλινοῦ κλεινοῖς ἔρ /γμασιν ἠδόμενος  
 οἷς θεάτρου κύκλου περιώσιον / ἔξεσάωσεν  
 πανδαμάτωρ δὲ χρόνος / εἶξεν ἀρηγοσύνη.  
 Εὐτυχῶς.<sup>14</sup>

Enjoy also the laughter-filled stage, remembering  
 Messalinus, and taking pleasure in the famous enclosure walls  
 by which he preserved the immense circle of the theatre.  
 Time the all-subduing yields to succour.  
 Good Luck!

The second continues:

Τὴν βριαρτὴν ἀψίδα, τὸ καρτερόν ἔρμα θεάτρου  
 δέρκεο καὶ θαύμαζε τὸν ἄξιον οἰκιστῆρα  
 τηλεφανοῦς Ἐφέσου, προφερέστερον Ἀνδρόκλειο  
 Μεσσαλῖνον, μεγάλης Ἀσίας μέγαν ἰθυντῆρα.<sup>15</sup>

See the strong circle and the stalwart enclosure of the theatre  
 and marvel also at the goodly orchestra  
 of Ephesos seen from afar, Messalinus more excellent than  
 Androcles, great judge of great Asia (built it).

The work completed is identified. The patron is named, but there is no direct mention of his office, although this can be inferred from the phrase “great judge of great Asia” (μεγάλης Ἀσίας μέγαν ἰθυντῆρα) used in the second epigram.<sup>16</sup> Nor is there any dedication to city, emperor, or gods. On the other hand, mythological allusions (to

<sup>14</sup> *IE* 2043; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4, 87; Clive Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 61.

<sup>15</sup> *IE* 2044; Robert, *Hellenica* 4, 87; Foss, *Ephesus*, 61.

<sup>16</sup> L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4, 35-47, on epigrams praising governors for their judicial activity.

Androcles) and compound words of some complexity are employed, while the varied phraseology used in each epigram to commemorate the same project illustrates the emancipation of the poet from the constraints of convention. Instead of repeating the ponderous public rhetoric of earlier building inscriptions, literary play is paramount, as in the following example from Ephesos, which records the conversion of the library of Celsus into a nymphaeum:

δέρκε[ο πῶς] κόσμησε τόσοις χρυσαυγέσιν ἔργοις  
καὶ Στέφανος Πτελέην καὶ Πτελέη Στέφανον.<sup>17</sup>

See how Stephanus adorned Ptelea with  
gold-gleaming works, and Ptelea (adorned) Stephanus.

The honorific epigrams of Late Antiquity did employ stock themes, like the justice of the governor, or the pleasure that waterworks give to nymphs, but each epigrammatist attempted to render them in a new way, using rare words and expressions.<sup>18</sup>

Not all building inscriptions were complicated or hard to read. Among the inscriptions of Aphrodisias are three columns inscribed simply with the genitive of person, indicating dedication, rather than place.<sup>19</sup> A typical example can be seen in:

Φλ(αβίου) Πελαγίου  
Ἰωάννου  
τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου)  
ἡγεμόνος<sup>20</sup>

Of Flavius Pelagius  
Ioannes  
*clarissimus praeses*

Only the name and rank of the patron is provided. The nature of the benefaction is to be inferred from the placement of the text.

Only two statue base inscriptions related to building survive from Aphrodisias for this period. Seven survive from Ephesos. As a group, they further demonstrate the variety

<sup>17</sup> *IE* 5115; Robert, *Hellenica* 4, 93; Foss, *Ephesus* 27, 65.

<sup>18</sup> Robert, *Hellenica* 4, 35-114.

<sup>19</sup> *ALA* 29, 30.

<sup>20</sup> *ALA* 29.



of language patterns employed in building-related texts. A base erected to L. Artorius Peius Maximus, an Ephesian who had been proconsul of the province of Asia, closely follows the formula of the early imperial period:

Λ. Ἀρτώριον Πεῖον  
 Μάξιμον  
 τὸν λαμπρότ(ατον) ἀνθύπ(ατον)  
 πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις  
 ἔργοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν  
 πατρίδα ἀνανεωσάμε-  
 νον τε καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον  
 τὸ Σεβαστὸν ἢ κρατ(ίστη) καὶ φιλο-  
 σεββ. Ἐφεσίων βουλὴ καὶ ὁ  
 λαμπρότ(ατος) δῆμος τὸν ἐ-  
 αυτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος  
 εὐεργέτην <sup>21</sup>

L. Artorius Peius  
 Maximus  
*clarissimus* proconsul  
 who embellished the fatherland with  
 many and great works  
 and also renovated the Sebaston  
 gymnasium, the most powerful and  
 emperor-loving *boule* and *demos* of the Ephesians  
 honoured (him) as the benefactor of themselves and of the fatherland.

The patron is named in the accusative at the head of the text. His office is given, followed by a list of various benefactions, using the familiar phrase, πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἔργοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν πατρίδα. The *boule* and the *demos* take their traditional place at the end of the inscription. However, the freedom to modify traditional patterns can be seen in a series of bases from Ephesos, dated to the middle of the fourth century, one of which reads:

τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν  
 Κώσταντι  
 μεγίστῳ νεικητῇ  
 καὶ τροπεούχῳ  
 διηνεκεῖ Σεβαστῷ  
 Λ. Καίλιος Μόντιος  
 ὁ λαμ. ἀνθύπατος

<sup>21</sup> *IE* 621; *JOAI* 44 (1959), 349-50. This example has been dated to the period of the tetrarchy. Thus, its preservation of a traditional pattern is not surprising.

δικαστῆς θεῶν  
 διαγνώσεων  
 ἀνανεωθέντος  
 τοῦ μέρους τοῦ  
 Νυμφείου  
 ἀνέστησεν καὶ  
 καθιέρωσεν  
 εὐτυχῶς.<sup>22</sup>

To our lord  
 Constans,  
 greatest warrior and  
 always victorious Augustus;  
 L. Caelius Montius  
*clarissimus* proconsul  
 judge of godlike discernment  
 having renovated part of the nymphaeum  
 erected (this statue) and dedicated it.  
 Good Luck!

The new element here is that the statue base begins with a dedication to the emperor, although its purpose was to commemorate the participation of the governor Montius in renovations to the nymphaeum. Montius' name appears only part way down the text, where previously it would have either come first, or immediately after the name of the city. In this inscription, all references to the city have been eliminated.

Three statue bases from Ephesos are epigrammatic and do away with traditional formula altogether. A statue base still *in situ* commemorates the generosity of Scholastikia, who renovated the baths of Varius in the fourth century:

τύπον γυναικὸς εὐσεβοῦς λίαν  
 σοφῆς Σχολαστικίας μοι τοῦτο(ν)  
 ὦ ξένη βλέπεις ἢ καὶ κλιθέν-  
 τος ἐνθαδί τινος μέρους χρυ-  
 σοῦ παρέσχε πλήθος ἐς καινουρ-  
 γίαν.<sup>23</sup>

O stranger, you look upon this statue of a pious woman,  
 exceedingly wise Scholastikia, who gave to me much gold for  
 renewal, when a part of me was collapsing.

<sup>22</sup> IE 1316.

<sup>23</sup> IE 453; *JOAI* 43 (1956/58), 26, Abb. 16 for photo; Foss, *Ephesus* 24.

The syntax here is complicated. The reader must wait until the final word of the epigram to construe μοί as the indirect object of παρέσχε. Again, we see the device of the statue addressing the individual passerby (ὦ ξένη βλέπεις). Using first and second person, the conversation urged by this text is private, in strong contrast to the statue base inscriptions of earlier times when simple syntax and the use of the third person invited a public discourse.

To conclude, the Late Antique inscriptions examined above demonstrate a trend towards a more exclusive, and exclusionary discourse which was very different from the rhetoric of the early imperial period. The trend towards exclusion is evident in a number of ways. The physical layout of inscriptions made them much harder, if not impossible, for the illiterate or semi-literate to read, thereby reducing the potential audience. The use of a variety of formulae contributed to this diminution of the audience by reducing the opportunity for semi-literate readers to interpret texts on the basis of the visual regularities of the type which were observed in the early imperial period. The trend toward exclusivity is evident in the variety of forms and the freedom of expression which marked a break with the formal public rhetoric of the past and its emphasis on long-standing traditions that embraced the entire community. At the same time, the emphasis on literary merit signified membership in a cultural élite that could appreciate witty by-play and learned allusions.

All of these tendencies are evident in the use of an epigram, like Scholastikia's, quoted above. The formal building inscriptions of the early imperial period were records of public events at which the entire city was present, and where words appropriate to a formal public ceremony were read out. Scholastikia's epigram is not addressed to the city at all. Its audience is the individual. It does not refer to the regular public events or to the ceremonies of the past. Rather, it refers to a *private* moment experienced by the "stranger" in a chance encounter at some point in the future. And not just any stranger, but one both literate and sensitive enough to appreciate the pious sentiments expressed.

### 2.6.2 Formula in Late Antique Inscriptions, ca. 450-600

The shift away from tradition and towards a greater variety continued in the period ca. 450- 600 CE. Thus only one of the thirty-four building inscriptions preserved at Aphrodisias from this period recalls the formulae of earlier times, and only two represent modified versions of traditional language (See Table 6.2). Five of the building inscriptions are epigrammatic. A further 21 are acclamations (20 of these are related to a single project). Similarly, only one of the six building inscriptions which survive at Ephesos is a modified version of a traditional form. One is an epigram. Another is too fragmentary for classification. Three are acclamations. Thus only four of the 53 inscription from both cities recall the language of earlier times.

The Aphrodisian inscription containing a traditional pattern was found on the south portico of the agora and has been dated to the second half of the fifth century:

Φίλιππος Ἡροδιαν(οῦ) ὁ θαυμ(ασιώτατος)  
 εὐχαριστῶν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πατρίδι τὰ β'  
 διάχορα ἐσκέπεσεν<sup>24</sup>

Philip *admirandissimus* son of Herodian  
 returning thanks to his own fatherland,  
 roofed the two sections.

Recorded here are the name, rank of the patron as well as the structure built, expressed in the commemorative formula similar to that of the early imperial period (see page 81).

An inscription on the lintel of the northeast city gate at Aphrodisias reflects a

---

<sup>24</sup> *ALA* 66.

**Table 6.2 - Building Inscriptions of Late Antique Aphrodisias and Ephesos, ca. 450-600, Classified By Formula**

	<b>Aphrodisias</b>		<b>Ephesos</b>	
	<b>Building Inscriptions</b>	<b>Statue Bases</b>	<b>Building Inscriptions</b>	<b>Statue Bases</b>
Traditional	1	1		
Modified Traditional	2	2	1	
Epigram	5	6	1	3
Column				
Acclamations	21	1	3	
Fragmentary	4		1	
<i>Incerta</i>	1			
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>53</b>			

modification of the old dedicatory/commemorative type:

Ἐπὶ εὐτυχίᾳ τῆς λαμπρᾶς [Σ]ταυροπολιτῶν μητροπό(λεως) καὶ  
 τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τῆς πύλης ἀναινεώθη  
 ἐπὶ Φλ(αβίου) Ἀμπελίου τοῦ ἐλλογιμ(ωτάτου σχο(λαστικοῦ)  
 κ(αὶ) πατρός Ἰνδ(ικτίονι) ἡ<sup>25</sup>

For the good fortune of the splendid metropolis of the Stauropolitans  
 this work of the gate was also renovated  
 under Flavius Ampelius most learned *scholasticus*  
 and *pater*, in the eighth indiction.

The patron is named, the work is identified, and a date provided. The second ἐπὶ phrase is traditional, marking eponymity and in this case the *pater*'s responsibility for the financial management of the project. But earlier traditional dedicatory/commemorative inscriptions began with a dedication to the god, the emperor and the city in the dative case. Here, reference to god and emperor is absent. Instead the inscription begins with an invocation to the good fortune of the city in an ἐπί and genitive clause, of a sort that only began to appear in the fourth century.<sup>26</sup>

Of the three epigrammatic building inscriptions at Ephesos, one from the east agora gate is notable for its use of traditional epithets:

Τὸν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ κτίστην καὶ φιλότιμον καὶ Μαιουμάρχην  
 Δουλκίτιον, ξεῖνε, μέλπε τὸν ἡγεμόνα  
 ὅστις κάμει καμοῦσαν ἀμετρήτοις ἐνιαυτοῖς  
 ἤγειρεν κρατερὴν ἐπορεξάμενος.<sup>27</sup>

Sing, stranger of Dulicitius, the governor,  
 agonothete and founder and lover of honour and Maioumarch  
 who, stretching out his strong hand, raised me too,  
 who had suffered unnumbered years.

The titles *agonothetes*, *ktistes*, *philotimos* had a history stretching back to Hellenistic times. Once more the manner in which the “stranger” (ξεῖνε) is addressed by the building is worthy of note.

<sup>25</sup> *ALA* 42.

<sup>26</sup> An inscription from the stage of the Odeon presents the same formula, probably indicating the activity of the same *pater*, *ALA* 43.

<sup>27</sup> *ALA* 40.

The ten statue bases preserved at Aphrodisias from the years 450-600 CE also illustrate the trend away from traditional formulae. Only three contain traditional or modified traditional forms. Six more are epigrams. Three of the ten bases honour a *pater civitatis* named Rhodopaeus, and demonstrate the freedom of choice that could be exercised in the composition of inscriptions. Only one is epigrammatic:

Ἄγαθῆ τύχῃ  
 Πολλὰ μὲν, Ῥοδοπαῖε, / τεῆ δωρήσαιο πάτρῃ /  
 πολλὰ τὰ μήτε λέγειν / εὐκόλα μήτ' ἀριθμεῖν /  
 ἢ δὲ πόλις σε, πάτερ / μεγάλαις δωρήσατο τιμαῖς /  
 ἰδρύσασα τεὴν εἰκόνα / μαμαρέην /  
 ὄππας μήτ' ὁ χρόνος / τὴν σὴν, πολυφίλτατε, / μορφήν  
 μηδὲν ἀμαυρώσῃ λήθη / ἐπισκιάσας  
 Εὐτυχῶς<sup>28</sup>

To Good fortune!

You have made many presents to your fatherland, Rhodopaeus,  
 so many that it is not easy to say or count; the city has presented you with great  
 honours, father, having set up your image in marble  
 so that time may not obscure your image - you who are loved by many-  
 overshadowing it with forgetfulness.

Good luck!

The content is general, simply stating that Rhodopaeus gave many things to the city and the city in gratitude repays him. Everything about office and date is omitted. The text also addresses Rhodopaeus directly in the vocative case, a feature rarely used in the inscriptions of the early imperial period. The inscription is actually most effective when read aloud, with the *πολλὰ* of the first and third verses taken up by *πόλις*; *πάτρῃ* of the second line taken up by *πάτερ* in the fifth; *δωρήσαιο* taken up by *δωρήσατο*; *μαμαρέην* by *μορφήν*.

The second statue base honouring Rhodopaeus is written in prose:

[Τὸν ἀ]ληθάργητον εὐ-  
 [ερ]γέτην τὸν λου-  
 [τ]ροῖς καὶ σιταρχίαις  
 λοιμὸν καὶ λιμὸν ἀπε-  
 λάσαντα Ῥοδοπαῖον

<sup>28</sup> *ALA* 85.

[τ]ὸν φιλόπατριν ποθοῦ-  
 [σ]α πόλ<ε>ις δευτέρῃ  
 [τ]ῆδ' εἰκόνι μαρμάραι  
 κοσμήσασα ἀξίαις<sup>29</sup>  
 [ῆ]μειψατο τιμαῖς

The never-to-be -forgotten benefactor  
 who, with baths and with command  
 of the corn-supply, drove away  
 plague and famine, Rhodopaeus  
 lover of his country, the city  
 loving him has adorned him  
 with this second marble image  
 repaying him with worthy honours.

This text does mention the specific benefactions of Rhodopaeus, who is finally named part way down the text. The language used is partly epigram and partly prose.

The third inscription reads:

Ἄγαθῆ [τύ]χη  
 Τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέ-  
 στατον Ῥοδοπαῖον  
 [τὸν] φιλόπατριν καὶ  
 [ἀ]ρωγὸν τοῦ δήμου,  
 [τὸν ἀ]ρχηγὸν τῆς  
 φιλοτιμίας τοῦ  
 θερινοῦ Ὀλυμπί-  
 ου λουτροῦ  
 καὶ σιτοδότην ὁ-  
 μοῦ δὲ καὶ κτίστην,  
 τὸν ἀνα]νεωτὴν  
 τῶν λη[θ]αργηθισῶν  
 τερψαίων, [τὸν δι-]  
 ἀ πάντα ἡμῶν ἰδία]  
 τε καὶ κοινῆ ἀλη-]  
 θάργητο[ν εὐερ-]  
 γέτην ἀ[νδριάν-]  
 τι κοσμή[σασα]  
 τὸ τρίτον ἢ πόλις]<sup>30</sup>

To Good fortune.  
 The *magnificentissimus*  
 Rhodopaeus  
 the lover of his country  
 and defender of the people,  
 the originator of

<sup>29</sup> ALA 86.

<sup>30</sup> ALA 87.



the generous gift  
 of the summer Olympian bath  
 and giver of corn  
 as well as founder  
 renewer of pleasures  
 that had been forgotten,  
 the never to be forgotten  
 benefactor to us  
 in everything privately and publicly-  
 the city (has honoured him)  
 adorning him with a statue  
 for the third time.

This prose inscription honours Rhodopaeus for the same benefactions as the previous one, but employs traditional language and structures. Rhodopaeus is named in the accusative at the beginning and his rank of *magnificentissimus* is announced. Traditional epithets are used to describe him: φιλόπατρις, κτίστης, ἀνανεώτης, εὐεργέτης. The city is also named at the end. We do not know whether the same individual composed all three inscriptions, but none of the three follow the same form, which reflects a conscious striving for fresh expression and a freedom in the choice of formulae.

A new form of building inscription that appeared at Aphrodisias in the years 450-600 was the acclamation, which was a recording in stone of approvals shouted at public gatherings. Such shouts of approval had a long history in the Greco-Roman world. But they made their first appearance as inscriptions only in the fourth century.<sup>31</sup> It is not until after 450 that we find building-related acclamations at Aphrodisias, where a total of 21 survive.<sup>32</sup> Three from Ephesos are also extant.

One is a marble slab from the theatre which acclaims Ambrosius as renovator and may be dated to the sixth century:

---

<sup>31</sup> O. Seeck, "Libanius gegen Lucianus" *Rheinische Museum* 73 (1920), 84-101 where he argues that acclamations remained the principal prerogative of the people; C. Roueché, "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias", *JRS* 74 (1984), 181-199, especially 181-187; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch, City and Imperial Administration in the Fourth Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 209-219; and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960), 21-27, 548.

<sup>32</sup> On acclamations, inscribed or painted, which are not strictly associated with building activities, see Roueché, "Acclamations", 196.

αὔξει Ἀμβρο[όσι(ο)ς]  
 ὁ λαμ[πρότατος] ἀνθ[ύπατος]  
 ὁ ἀνανεω[τῆς]  
 τοῦ ἔργ[ου τούτου]<sup>33</sup>

Up with Ambrosius!  
*clarissimus* proconsul  
 the renovator of this work.

Another is a mosaic inscription from the east baths at Ephesos recording the work of the governor Asclepius:

αὔξει Ἀσκλή-  
 πιδ ὁ μεγαλοπρε-  
 πέστατος ἀν-  
 θύπατος<sup>34</sup>

Up with Asclepius!  
 the *magnificentissimus* proconsul

Acclamatory inscriptions were thus short and simple, and often followed consistent rhythmical and syllabic patterns.<sup>35</sup>

At Aphrodisias 20 of the 21 surviving acclamations occur on the colonnade of Albinus, dated to the sixth century. Each text was inscribed on a single column. Roueché has argued that they were meant to be read in the following order:

- i. Εἰς τὸν (cross) κόσμον / ὅλον εἰς ὁ θεός.  
 God is one for the whole world!
- ii. Πολλὰ τὰ / ἔτη τῶν / Βασιλέων.  
 Many years for the emperors!
- iii. Πολλὰ τὰ / ἔτη τῶν / ἐπάρχων.  
 Many years for the prefects!
- iv. Πολλὰ τὰ / ἔτη τῆς / συνκλήτου.  
 Many years for the Senate!
- v. Πολλὰ τὰ / ἔτη τῆς / μητροπό(λεως)  
 Many years for the metropolis!
- vi. ΠΕΡΔΕ Ἀλβῖνε / αὔξει ὁ κτίστης / τῆς στοᾶς  
 PERDE Albinus-up with the builder of the whole stoa!
- vii. Φιλόπατρι / κύρι v. διαμίνης / ἡμῖν.

<sup>33</sup> *IE* 2045; Foss, *Ephesus*, 27; Robert, *Hellenica* 4, 62 and *Hellenica* 11/12, 25. Other acclamations from Ephesos with αὔξει, See *IE* 587, 1313, 1321, 3090. On αὔξει in general, See Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12, 23ff.

<sup>34</sup> *IE* 1313; and W. Jobst, *FiE* VIII/2, 33.

<sup>35</sup> P. Maas, "Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner", *BZ* 21 (1928), 28-51.

- Lord, lover of your country, remain with us forever!
- viii. Τὰ σὰ [κτίσματα / αἰωνία ὑπόμνησις / Ἄλβινε φιλοκτίστα.  
Your buildings are an eternal reminder, Albinus, you who love to build!
- ix. [..]ITIZIS / [.....] Σ / [.....]HMO / { .II[...]]ION / Ἀλβίνε λαμπρ(ότατε)  
....] *Albinus clarissimus!*
- x. ΠΕΡΔΕ / Ἄλβινε ΗΔΕ τί ἐχαρίσω  
PERDE Albinus, Behold what you have given!
- xi. Ὅλη ἡ πόλις τοῦ- / το λέγει· τοὺς ἐχθρούς / σου τῷ ποταμῷ. / ὁ μέγας  
θεὸς τοῦτο / παράσχη.  
The whole city says this: “Your enemies to the river! May great god  
provide this!”
- xii. (column lost)
- xiii. Αὔξι Ἄλβίνος / ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) τῇ συν- / κλήτῳ.  
Up with Albinus *clarissimus*, to the Senate!
- xiv. [?... / ὁ φθόνος τύχην / οὐ νικᾷ.  
....]Envy does not vanquish fortune!
- xv. Αὔξι Ἄλβίνος / ὁ κτίστης καὶ τούτου / τοῦ ἔργου.  
Up with Albinus the builder of this work also!
- xvi. Χρήματα παρίδες / καὶ δόξαν ἐκτήσω / [Ἄλβι]νε λαμπρ(ότατε).  
You have disregarded wealth and obtained glory, Albinus *clarissimus!*
- xvii. Ἐκ προγόνων / φιλόπατρι Ἄλβινε / λαμπρ(ότατε) ἄφθονά σοι / γένοιτο.  
*Albinus clarissimus*, like your ancestors a lover of your country, may you  
receive plenty!
- xviii. [Κτίσμα] πόλι παρέχων / [? καὶ ἐν τριούτῳ εὐφημίτε.  
Providing [ /a building] he is acclaimed.
- xix. Τοῖς κτίμασίν σου / τὴν πόλιν ἐφεδρύνας / Ἄλβινε φιλόπατρι.  
With your buildings you have made the city brilliant, Albinus, lover of your  
country.
- xx. Ἡ πόλις ὅλη ὁμοφώνως / εὐφημῆσα λέγει - ὁ σοῦ / ληθαργῶν, Ἄλβινε  
λαμπρ(ότατε) θεὸν οὐκ οἶδεν.  
The whole city, having acclaimed (you) with one voice, says “He who  
forgets you Albinus *clarissimus*, does not know god!

These remarkable inscriptions reflect the theme of the order of the cosmos found in early imperial texts, but in a brand new format.<sup>36</sup> The traditional dedicatory/commemorative texts commenced with a dedication to the gods, the emperor and the city. The acclamations of Albinus follow a parallel order. First comes a Christian proclamation that one God exists for the whole universe. Next is a wish for the longevity of the imperial house, followed by similar wishes of long life for the prefects, the Senate, and the

<sup>36</sup> See Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* 211, on a series of acclamations from Edessa in 449 to welcome a governor. These begin in a similar fashion, with dedications to one God, emperors, prefects.

metropolis. Finally, a shout goes up for Albinus, the founder of the stoa. Albinus is thus located in a world where God rules the heavens, the emperor is God's regent on earth, the prefects and the Senate do the emperor's will, while the city remains the focus of civic loyalty.

The building-related inscriptions of the period 450-600 thus present a double trend. On the one hand, the increasing use of epigrams and the increasing variety of formats points to an increasingly private and exclusionary discourse. On the other, the appearance of acclamations, which were written in simple language and recorded public opinion expressed at public events, represents a return to inscriptions that were intended to communicate their meaning to the citizenry as a whole.

### 2.6.3 - The Ideology of Building Patronage in Late Antiquity

We have now seen that the form and language of building-related inscriptions changed in Late Antiquity, as did the persons responsible for erecting public structures. Yet the act of taking credit for the provision of a public work by inscribing continued. Did this act continue to have the same ideological meaning it had in the early imperial period, or did its meaning also change? And if so, how? Looking more closely at the content of our inscriptions we find evidence for a shift in ideological interpretation, but we find stronger evidence for the continuity of the meaning of public building in the Late Antique period.

Certainly the fundamental issue of preserving one's memory remained crucial to the building patrons of Late Antiquity. Thus at the beginning of our period, Libanius wrote to the *comes orientis* Modestus concerning his construction of a portico in Antioch.<sup>37</sup>

Εἶη σε τὴν στοᾶν ταυτηνὴ τὴν εὐρείαν τε καὶ μακρὰν καὶ ὑψηλὴν καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ φίλην ἐπιτελέσαι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ σταίη γε παγίως, ἕως ἀνθρώπων γένος, σώζουσα τῷ γε ἐγείραντι τοῦνομα. (*Ep.* 196.1)

<sup>37</sup> The construction of the portico by Modestus is also referred to in Libanius, *Or. x.*; *Ep.* 242, 617.

May you bring to the desired completion, this wide, great, lofty portico, dear to Dionysus and may it stand firm while ever mankind exists, preserving the name of its builder.

Thus, buildings and their inscriptions make memory endure.

Two centuries later, Procopius began his *Buildings* with a discussion of the dual importance of preserving memory through written records. First, written texts transmitted to future generations the memory of those who had gone before, providing a means of resisting the efforts of time to bury events in oblivion. Second, it was necessary to praise great individuals of the past in order to incite the people of the future to similar virtue (I.2). These were the functions of history, according to Procopius. But he connected these issues directly to patronage, observing that history showed how those who had received benefits proved themselves grateful to their benefactors by repaying them with thank-offerings and so preserving their patrons' virtue forever. Further, in preserving the memory of benefactors it incited men of later times to strive after virtue by emulation of those whom they had seen honoured. This is, of course, was just the service that Procopius intended to render Justinian by writing about the emperor's buildings: he would be repaying the benefactions received, memorializing the greatness of the emperor, and inciting others to emulate Justinian's wise beneficence:

Τανῦν δὲ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τούτου δὴ τοῦ Βασιλέως ἡμῖν ἰτέον, ὡς μὴ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει ἐς τὸν ὀπισθεν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτὰς θεωμένοις ξυμβαίη ὅτι δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἔργα τυγχάνει ὄντα. πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη τῶν προγεγενημένων οὐκ ἐμπεδωθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄπιστα γέγονεν. (I. i, 17-18).

And now it is necessary for us to proceed, as I said, concerning the buildings of this King so that it may not come to pass in the future that those who see them refuse, by reason of their great number and magnitude, to believe that they are in truth the works of one man. For already many works of men which are not vouched for by a written record have aroused incredulity because of their surpassing merit.

Not every builder had a Procopius to preserve his name in the texts of histories. Most benefactors had to make do by having themselves memorialized in building inscriptions—trusting to stone rather than papyrus.

Building-related inscriptions from Late Antique Aphrodisias and Ephesos directly refer to the memory function of public building. For example, an early inscription from Ephesos urges the spectators at the theatre to remember Messalinus, who renovated the structure. It concludes with the phrase, “time the all-subduing yields to succour”, which refers both to Messalinus’ succour of the theatre, as well as to the preservation of Messalinus’ memory through the inscription commemorating his building works.<sup>38</sup> Another interesting inscription from Aphrodisias marks the re-erection of a statue to Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus, a praetorian prefect whose memory had been condemned in 392.<sup>39</sup>

5 Ἄλλὰ με πανδαμάτωρ χρόνος] / ὄλλυεν, εἰ μὴ ἐμὸς παῖς /  
 ἐξ ἐμέθεν τρίτατος καὶ / ὁμώνυμος ἔργα θ’ ὁμοιο[ς] /  
 ἐκ δαπέδων ἀνελών / στήλης ἐπίθηκεν ὀρᾶσθ[αι] /  
 πᾶσιν ἀρίζηλον ναέταις / ξίνοισει θ’ ὁμοίως

...But all conquering time would have destroyed me if my child, of the third generation, who has the same name and similar achievements, had not lifted me from the ground and set me on a monument, to be seen and admired by all, local inhabitants and strangers alike.

Time the all-conquering was thwarted and Tatianus’ immortality restored with the re-erection of the statue. Simply stated, to be seen, ὀρᾶσθαι, was to be remembered.

Another inscription from late fifth century Aphrodisias connects building and the preservation of a good reputation. It commemorates the participation of the governor Dulcitus in the conversion of the east agora gate into a nymphaeum:

Καὶ τότε [.....-] ἔμενος Κ[.....]Α ἔγειρε  
 Δουκλίτιος? κτίστης τῆς Ἀφ[ρ]οδισιάδος  
 οὐδὲν [.....] πλούτου δόξης χάριν ἐσθλῆς  
 ἦδε γὰρ[.....]ΙΟΝ μ[ν]ηῆμα βροτοῖσιν πέλει <sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *IE*, 2043; Robert, *Hellenica* 4, 87; Foss, *Ephesus*, 61.

<sup>39</sup> *ALA* 37; *PLRE* I Tatianus 5. His name is erased from statues which he had erected to the imperial family at Aphrodisias, *ALA* 25-27.

<sup>40</sup> *ALA* 39.

Dulcitius, [? founder] of Aphrodisias, raised up this work also [.....]; he [was unsparing of] wealth for the sake of good reputation, which is[? a permanent/the only] memorial for mortals.

Dulcitius, having demonstrated his magnanimity in building, was worthy of remembrance, and received it as his reward. Similarly, a sixth century acclamation from the colonnade of Albinus refers to the preservation of memory:

Τὰ σὰ κτίσματα  
αἰώνια ν. ὑπόμνη-  
σις  
Ἄλβινε φιλοκτίστα <sup>41</sup>

Your buildings are an eternal reminder  
Albinus, you who love to build.

The same sentiment is in evident in the inscriptions of Rhodopaeus cited above. He is the “never-to-be-forgotten benefactor” (ἀληθάργητος εὐεργέτης) and a statue of his likeness is erected to “prevent time from obscuring his image”.<sup>42</sup>

These examples show that in Late Antique Ephesos and Aphrodisias there was a considerable emphasis on the memory function of buildings. It can be argued further that the increasing use of epigrammatic forms reflects an increasing concern with the preservation of memory, for epigrams were previously associated with funerary monuments. It is clear that the patron of public buildings wanted to be remembered—but for what did he want to be remembered? Ostensibly, for building or repairing a public structure. But what virtues were supposed to be expressed by this type of benefaction?

The question is interesting because much of the meaning of public building in the early imperial period was intimately connected with the fact that the patron had paid for the work in question out of his own pocket. Thus, early inscriptions frequently stated that patrons paid for a project ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, “from their own resources”. In the Late Antique period, however, this phrase disappears. Indeed, very few inscriptions from

<sup>41</sup> *ALA* 83.viii.

<sup>42</sup> *ALA* 86 ll. 9 ff.: (ἡ πόλις), / ἰδρύσασα τετὴν εἰκόνα μαρμαρέην / ὅπως μήτ' ὁ χρόνος / τὴν σὴν, πολυφίλτατε, / μορφήν μηδὲν ἀμαυρώσῃ λήθη / ἐπισκιάσας.

Ephesos and Aphrodisias clearly state the source of the funds used. In most cases, the fact that patrons used their own money is only an inference from vague terminology. At Ephesos, Scholastikia participated in the restoration of the Varius baths by “offering much gold”.<sup>43</sup> Likewise the Aphrodisian Hermeas is recorded as the donor of “3000 of gold”. We are left to guess whether the gold was his own.<sup>44</sup>

The lack of any clear expression on the issue of money points to a growing dissociation between paying for a building and taking credit for its construction. This may be explained by the fact that governors dominated the patronage of public building in the years ca. 284–450, and that they did not use their own funds for building in the cities under their jurisdiction. Nevertheless, they received the credit for the construction, according to a tradition established in the early imperial period which saw governors honoured for “taking forethought” for a building, that is receiving credit for having initiated, managed, or secured imperial approval for a construction—but not for using their own funds.<sup>45</sup> This became the norm after ca. 284, when governors dominated public building. The ensuing 150 years of gubernatorial dominance of patronage then seems to have resulted in a permanent dissociation of private payment and public credit for a building. Thus, it could be argued, when local citizens later resumed euergetic construction, they adopted an epigraphic convention, not mentioning the source of the funds. At the same time, it should be noted that the adoption of the epigrammatic style also encouraged a shift away from mention of anything so pedestrian as money.

Whatever the explanation, the dissociation of financial responsibility from taking credit for a building is important because the some of the virtues of early imperial patrons were based on the fact that they spent their own money when they undertook euergetic acts. Since most Late Antique governors did not pay for building out of private funds,

---

<sup>43</sup> *IE* 453.

<sup>44</sup> *ALA* 74.

<sup>45</sup> See Chapter Two, 46, 52-56.



their benefactions could not be interpreted in the old Aristotelian sense as displaying their generosity or magnificence. Similarly, their acts of patronage could not be characterized as indicating civic pride, since they were often not citizens of the communities which they governed. However, governors did want to be remembered for their elevated status and rank. Thus, their office and rank were often mentioned on building-related inscriptions. On another level, constructing buildings indicated the governor's membership in the political and cultural élite of Late Roman society—an élite which could command the resources necessary for building, even if it did not own them, and which understood and fostered the ideal of the classical city.

Many of these observations can be applied to the *pater civitatis* who became an important figure in civic building at Aphrodisias and at Ephesos in the period 450-600. The *pater*'s status was high, at the top of the civic hierarchy. Moreover, the building activities of the *pater civitatis* also signified membership in the cultural élite who understood the classical ideal of the city.<sup>46</sup> But like the governor, the *pater* could not be remembered for the old virtues of magnificence and generosity, since he used civic funds rather than private resources to construct buildings. By contrast, the building activities of the *pater civitatis* were often commemorated in terms of civic pride. This virtue was also frequently recorded on the inscriptions of local citizens and *honorati* at Aphrodisias in the period 450-600.

An inscription honouring Philippos, for example, indicates his love for his home city:

Φίλιππος . . . εὐχαριστῶν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πατρίδι τὰ β' διάχορα ἐσκέπασεν.<sup>47</sup>  
Philippos . . . giving thanks to his fatherland roofed over two section.

---

<sup>46</sup> Notably, several *patres civitatum* at Aphrodisias, Ephesos and elsewhere are described as *scholastici*, which indicates a person who has passed through all the stages of education to practise law. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 76.

<sup>47</sup> *ALA* 66.

Later, Asclepiodotus, one of Aphrodisias' greatest benefactors of the early sixth century, was honoured by the city with two epigrams. One of these clearly indicated that the person who gave benefits to his city especially earned memorialization after death:

[Λ]άμπει κ(αί) φθιμένοις ἀρετῆς φάος, οἱ περὶ πάτρη[ς]  
πολλὰ πονησάμενοι ξυνὸν ἔθεντ' ὄφελος. . .<sup>48</sup>

The light of virtue shines even for dead men, who undertaking many labours for their country established general benefits.

The use of the epithet φιλοπάτρις, "lover of the city or fatherland" indicates most clearly that civic pride is still in this period connected with benefaction. Albinus, for example, is acclaimed with this epithet on three of the columns from his colonnade, and the same term appears on statue bases erected in honour of Rhodopaeus.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the local citizens and *honorati* through their benefactions manifested some of the old virtues or ideals associated with patronage in the early period, among them civic pride. The virtues of magnificence and generosity or *philotimia* were also theirs for they most likely paid for their constructions with private funds.

#### 2.6.4 The Politics of Building Patronage in Late Antiquity

In Part I of this work, the politics of public building was defined in terms of several possible scenarios: a patron could be seen engaging in public works as a means of defending his position against the lower classes; he could be seen as defending himself against the threat posed by fellow notables; or he could be seen advancing his career through an imperial connection which led to greater local influence at the same time. Patrons could be engaged in any one of these scenarios or, like Publius Veditus Antoninus of second century Ephesos, in all of them at once. Whatever the scenario, the politics of

---

<sup>48</sup> *ALA* 53.

<sup>49</sup> *ALA* 83. viii; 83. xviii; 83.xix; *ALA* 86, 87.

building was predicated on the cultural reality that the receipt of a gift obligated the recipient to repay it with some public gesture of gratitude and loyalty.

That the moral obligation to repay a benefaction endured in Late Antiquity is evident in the continued practice of erecting honorific statues with inscribed bases to patrons. In fact, a number of the building-related inscriptions of Late Antique Aphrodisias explicitly refer to the perceived centrality of exchange in the patron-client relationship, employing the middle form of the verb ἀμείβω, "making a return for" or "repaying with". A fourth century example is seen in a base honouring the governor Helladius. It states that the Carians erected a statue to Helladius to repay him for his exercise of virtue: Τῆς μεγάλης ἀρετῆς .... ἀμειβόμενοι.<sup>50</sup> Two centuries later, Albinus was honoured for his colonnade in the same language:

Ἄγαθῆ τύχη  
Ἄλβινον φι / λόπατριν ἀμει / βομένη πόλις / ἔργοις αἰνυμένη σ / τῆσε  
χρυσὸν ἀπει / ρέσιον.. . .<sup>51</sup>

To good fortune! The city repaying his (good) works, set up (this statue of) Albinus, enjoying untold gold.....

Another example has Rhodopaeus being repaid:

...Ῥοδοπαῖον / τὸν φιλόπατριν ποθοῦ- / σα πόλεις δευτέρῃ / τῆδ' εἰκόνι  
μαρμάραι / κοσμήσασα ἀξίαις / ἡμείψατο τιμαῖς.<sup>52</sup>

...Rhodopaeus lover of his country; the city loving him, has adorned him with this second marble image repaying him with worthy honours.

Finally, an inscription from the sixth century has the τάξις honouring Eugenios in return for general benefactions and gifts, εὐεργεσίαι:<sup>53</sup>

Ἄντ' εὐεργεσίης καὶ ὧν δωρήσατο πάτρηι  
Εὐγένιον τάξις στήσεν ἀμβομένη<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The building inscriptions, *ALA* 17 and 18. The base inscription, *ALA* 16.

<sup>51</sup> *ALA* 82.

<sup>52</sup> *ALA* 86.

<sup>53</sup> See Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 142, on the meaning of τάξις. It may mean *ordo* or city council, as Robert suggested in *Hellenica* 4, 133.

<sup>54</sup> *ALA* 88.

In return for his benefactions, and for the gifts he has made to his country, the *ordo* set up (a statue of) Eugenius, in repayment.

Such explicit references to repayment did not occur in the inscriptions of the early imperial period. It is, therefore, notable that those who commissioned inscriptions in the Late Antique period felt it necessary to refer to the reciprocal aspect of the patronage relationship in such a way.

A statue was one thing, but recipients were also expected to repay a benefactor with loyalty or support. What role did the need to earn such loyalties through building play in Late Antique politics? This question is easiest to answer in the case of governors of the late fourth and early fifth centuries. It was their responsibility to maintain the physical infrastructure of cities under their jurisdiction. Failure to meet this responsibility could result in civic unrest, or, less drastically, in the decrying of the governor by the populace in the theatre. Either would be reported to the emperor, jeopardizing the governor's career. Therefore, it was important for a governor to engage in public building as a means of earning popularity and ensuring civic harmony. Indeed, a ruling in the Theodosian code suggests that governors were excessive in their attempts to court popularity through building:

*1. Illud etiam repetita sanctione decernimus, ut nemini iudicum liceat novis molitionibus industriae captare famam. Quod si quis in administratione positus sine iussu nostro aedificii alicuius iacere fundamenta temptaverit, is proprio sumptu et iam privatus perficere cogetur quod ei non licuerat inchoare, nec provincia permittetur abscedere prius, quam ad perfectum manum coeptum perduxerit et, si quid de quibuslibet publicis titulis in ea ipsa fabrica praecepto eius inpensum fuerit, reformarit.<sup>55</sup>*

We also decree by a renewed sanction that no judge shall be permitted to court a reputation for industry by undertaking new constructions. But if any person placed in an administrative position should attempt to lay the foundation of any building without Our order, he shall be compelled, even after becoming a private person, to complete at his own expense what he was not authorized to commence. He shall not be permitted to depart from the province until he has brought to completion

---

<sup>55</sup> *CTh.* xv.1,31 (394).

what he began, and if anything was paid in connection with this structure from any public account by his order, he shall restore it.

That governors were overly enthusiastic in their building programmes is indicated by the fact that penalties were imposed to curtail their eagerness. Particularly, interesting is the phrase *Illud etiam repetita sanctione decernimus, ut nemini iudicum liceat novis molitionibus industriae captare famam*, which makes it clear that more than fiscal irresponsibility was at issue. Indeed, the preface to the ruling demonstrates that excessive *fama industriae* on the part governors' was considered as a threat to the state:

*Si quis iudices perfecto operi suum potius nomen quam nostrae perennitatis scribserint, maiestatis teneantur obnoxii.*

If any of the judges should inscribe his own name rather than the name of our eternity on a public work which has been completed, they shall be held guilty of treason.

It was treason for a governor to inscribe his name on a structure built with public money, because the act bolstered his popularity at the expense of the emperor's. Excessive popularity meant that loyalty was deflected from the emperor, a fact which could endanger the stability of the state.

A revised version of the law quoted above grants governors the right to include their names on buildings, if the name of the emperor was also present:

*Si qui iudices profecto publicis pecuniis operi suum nomen sine nostri numinis mentione scripserint, maiestatis teneantur obnoxii.*<sup>56</sup>

If any of the judges should inscribe his own name without mention of our Divinity on a building which has been completed from public funds, they shall be held guilty of treason.

This indicates imperial recognition of the governors' need to take some credit for the works they carried out in order to function effectively.

A series of building related inscriptions shows that some governors were acutely aware that they must balance personal popularity with the need to maintain their loyalty to

---

<sup>56</sup> *CJ* viii.11.10.

the emperor. In the following example from Aphrodisias, Antonius Tatianus sought to achieve this balance by erecting an honorific statue to the emperor Julian which marked Tatianus' own construction of the tetrastoon.

Ἄγαθῆι Τύχῃ  
 (Φλ(άβιον) Κλ(αύδιον) Θεοδόσιον  
 v. τὸν αἰώνιον  
 καὶ εὐσεβέστατον  
 v. Αὐγουστον  
 Ἄντωνιος Τατιανὸς  
 ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) ἡγεμῶν  
 πᾶν τὸ ὄρώμενον  
 ἔργον τοῦ τετραστώου  
 ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ τὸν  
 περικειμένον σύμπαν-  
 τα κόσμον τῇ μητροπόλει  
 v. κατασκευάσας<sup>57</sup>

To Good Fortune!  
 Antonius Tatianus  
*clarissimus praeses*,  
 having built all the work of the tetrastoon  
 that can be seen from the foundations,  
 and all the surrounding decoration,  
 for the metropolis,  
 (set up this statue)  
 of Flavius Claudius Julianus  
 the eternal  
 and most pious  
 Augustus.

In this way, Tatianus acquired a reputation for industry by demonstrating his effective government to the people of the city, while at the same time, demonstrating his loyalty to the regime. Tatianus was effective enough in achieving the necessary balance that he was able to maintain his position as governor of Caria through the reigns of Julian, Jovian and Valens. Indeed, soon after the advancement of Valens to the purple, Tatianus erected a statue to him, lest his loyalty be questioned.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *ALA* 20, where the name Theodosius was written into the rasura where Julian's had been erased.

<sup>58</sup> *ALA* 21, a simple honorific base which did not commemorate any building, but probably stood in the tetrastoon near the base in honour of Julian.

A very interesting series of inscriptions concern the building projects of the governor L. Caelius Montius. At Ephesos he was responsible for erecting certainly two and probably three statues of the emperor Constantius, each in connection with public works which he himself had undertaken. One inscription commemorates the renovation of the nymphaeum in the upper agora:

Τῷ δεσπότη ἡμῶν  
 Κώσταντι  
 μεγίστῳ νεικητῇ  
 καὶ τροπεύχῳ  
 διηνεκεῖ Σεβαστῷ  
 Λ. Καίλιος Μόντιος  
 ὁ λαμ. ἀνθύπατος  
 δικαστῆς θείων  
 διαγνώσεων  
 ἀνανεωθέντος  
 τοῦ μέρους τοῦ  
 Νυμφείου  
 ἀνέστασεν καὶ  
 καθιέρωσεν<sup>59</sup>  
 εὐτυχῶς.

To our lord  
 Constans  
 greatest victor  
 triumphator  
 and eternal Augustus,  
 L. Caelius Montius  
*clarissimus* proconsul  
 judge of the sacred trials,  
 part of the nymphaeum  
 having been renovated  
 set up and dedicated  
 (this statue) to him.  
 Good luck!

This statue base is directly related to the building inscription from the nymphaeum which indicates that the structure was renovated by order of the emperors Constantius and Constans.<sup>60</sup> Two other bases which supported statues of Constantius commemorated

<sup>59</sup> *IE* 1316.

<sup>60</sup> *IE* 1317: [Οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίος καὶ Κωνσταντὸς ἀνείκητοι Αυγγ. ἀνανεωθῆναι ἐκέλευσαν / ἀνθυπατεύοντος Καιλίου Μοντίου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) πρεσβ(εύοντος) Καιλ(ίου), Ἰανουαριανοῦ τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου). *JOAI* 1 (1898), 75; Foss, *Ephesus*, 27.

Caelius Montius' building of an atrium in the Baths of Constantius.<sup>61</sup> They contained inscriptions that were similar to the following one from Assos, which records the erection by Caelius Montius of a statue dedicated to Constantius as κτίστης:

[Τὸν κτίστην τῆς  
πόλεως  
[Φ]λ. Ιούλ. Κωνστάντιον,  
μέγιστον νεικητῆν  
καὶ τροπαιοφόρον αἰεὶ  
Αὔγουστον  
Καίλιος Μόντιος ὁ λαμ(πρότατος)  
ἀνθύ(πατος) τῆς Ἀσίας.  
Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλή) δ(ήμου) <sup>62</sup>

The founder of the city  
Flavius Julius Constantius  
great victor and bringer of triumph, always  
Augustus  
Caelius Montius *clarissimus*  
proconsul of Asia (set up him up)  
by vote of the *boule* and the *demos*.

In each of these cases Montius had primary responsibility for the building, even though each project had to be approved and in this sense was “ordered” by the emperor. Montius was in a position to take the credit for these constructions, but was highly concerned to display his loyalty, and so stressed the emperor’s role in the projects.

A further political reading would take into account the fact that Constantius was permitting the now-confiscated funds of the cities to be channeled back to them for necessary buildings, using Montius as his agent. Montius repaid Constantius for this honour by erecting statues and bases to him. But in so doing Montius also advertised himself as a broker of imperial favours, something that would have increased his own influence in the cities under his jurisdiction. An honorific epigram from Tralles reinforces the point :

Καὶ τόδε ἀρετῆς / πανεπίφρονος ἔξοχον ἔργον, /

<sup>61</sup> *IE* 1314, 1315.

<sup>62</sup> Robert *Hellenica* 4, 112; Sterett, *Papers of the American school at Athens* 1, (1885), 59; *ILS* (1906), 8808.



Μόντιε κυδήεις, ἀνθυπάτων / ὕπατε,  
 ὄς δολιχοῖς (ἔρ)γ(οι)σιν / κατ' οὔδεος ὕδατος ὀλκὸν /  
 κείμενον ὀρθώσας ἄστν / τόδ' ἠγλάισας,  
 καὶ ποτα[μὸν] / σταδίοισι τριηκοσίοισιν / ὀδεύσας,  
 οὔρεα τετρήνας, / ἐς πόλιν ἠνύσαο ·  
 Τοῦνεκα / Τραλλιανῶν ἐπὶ ἔργῳ / στῆσε σε βουλή,  
 σωτῆρα / κτίστην Μόντιον ἀζομένη.<sup>63</sup>

Glorious Montius, highest of proconsuls, you  
 brought to the city,  
 this excellent, all prudent work of virtue;  
 on long arches down to the ground you  
 raised up the prostrate stream of water  
 adorning the city, leading the river  
 three hundred stades and piercing mountains;  
 for this the *boule* of the people of Tralles set you up,  
 in awe of you, Montius, saviour and founder.

The *boule* of Tralles thanks *Montius* as their saviour and founder and *not* the emperor, despite the fact that a major project like an aqueduct required imperial approval and funding. We see here the end result of a complex of chain patron-client relations. Tralles was a “thirsty” city, requiring an aqueduct. This fact was brought to the attention of the governor by the notables of the city, or perhaps the conscientious Montius noticed the problem himself. He as governor sought imperial approval and the disbursement of funds for the project. When the project was completed, the city acknowledged its debt to Montius and solicited his goodwill in the future by honouring him with a statue and inscribed base. Montius, for his part, chose to honour the emperor with a statue and base which detailed the project, thus acknowledging his own debt to the ruler, while holding out to the city the promise of more imperial favours in the future.

Thus, for governors, building-related inscriptions had a multiple-audience which included the emperor and the residents of the cities under their jurisdiction. It is much more difficult to discuss the politics of building from the point of view of the *pater civitatis* because we know so little about the activities of this late antique official. For

---

<sup>63</sup> Robert, *Hellenica* 4, 112-113; M. Pappaconstantinou, "Inscription inédite relative à l'aqueduc de Tralles". *Revue des Études Anciennes* 11 (1909), 296-300.

example, we can only speculate as to whether the *pater civitatis* gained additional power from his involvement in building projects since he was the official in charge of issuing potentially lucrative building contracts to interested companies or trades people. This might have earned the *pater* the loyalty of certain plebeian elements in the city, which could have been exploited in local factional politics. As it stands, however, the only epigraphic evidence from Aphrodisias which indicates the interest of *patres civitatum* in courting popularity among the lower classes is a series of game boards found in the Hadrianic baths. The inscriptions on two of the boards read:

Ἐπὶ Φλαβίου Φωτίου σχολαστικοῦ<sup>64</sup>  
Under Flavius Photius, *scholasticus*.

Ἐπὶ Φλαβίου Φωτίου σχολαστικοῦ καὶ πατρός<sup>65</sup>  
Under Flavius Photius, *scholasticus* and *pater*.

The texts are not very informative, but we know from the continuous renovations that these baths were much frequented in late antiquity and were therefore an ideal choice for benefaction. Beyond this it is difficult to say much, but it would appear that *patres civitatum* acted as brokers, acquiring benefits for their city from the emperor or from high-ranking imperial officials. A late fifth or early sixth century inscription from Aphrodisias, for example, indicates that Flavius Atheneus, *pater civitatis*, erected a statue to the *spectabilis consularis* and *magnificentissimus vicarius*, Flavius Palmatus. Palmatus is honoured as ἀναεώτης, κτίστης of the metropolis and εὐεργέτης of all Caria, epithets which suggest that Palmatus contributed imperial funds to buildings or renovations which Atheneus as *pater* may have supervised.<sup>66</sup>

Although somewhat more can be said about building politics of local benefactors who appeared in significant numbers at Aphrodisias in the period 450-600, a few difficulties remain. For example, in most cases we have only one text per patron, making it

<sup>64</sup> *ALA* 68.

<sup>65</sup> *ALA* 69.

<sup>66</sup> *ALA* 62. The elegant statue of Palmatus which accompanied this base also survives and is currently in the Aphrodisias museum.

impossible to outline a pattern of benefaction, or to trace its consequences. Thus, Philippus of the rank of *admirandissimus*, who roofed part of the south portico of the agora, states on his inscription that he was returning thanks to his *patria*.<sup>67</sup> Dionysius contributed to roofing in the Hadrianic baths,<sup>68</sup> while Hermias provided “three thousand gold” for their upkeep.<sup>69</sup> Such benefactions would undoubtedly have earned the gratitude of the multitude, and it may therefore be noteworthy that game boards dedicated by an *exceptor*, and by a *magnificentissimus* were found in the Hadrianic baths.<sup>70</sup> They could be interpreted as attempts to court popularity with the ordinary people of the city.

More reliable inferences about politics can be drawn from the remarkable acclamatory inscriptions of the Albinus colonnade which was significantly also part of the Hadrianic bath complex. As noted above, acclamations were records of apparently unanimous, univocal declarations of support by the populace.<sup>71</sup> They were also interpreted as a measure of the performance of governors and citizens, and as such were recorded and dispatched to imperial authorities.<sup>72</sup> This may have been exactly what Albinus wanted, since the thirteenth column of his series reads:

Αὔξει Ἀλβῖνος  
ὁ λαμπροτάτος τῆ συν-  
κλήτῳ

Up with Albinus *clarissimus*, to the Senate!

It thus seems that Albinus built his colonnade to gain popularity in order to secure his promotion to the Senate. Another Albinus inscriptions suggest that he needed such

---

<sup>67</sup> *ALA* 66.

<sup>68</sup> *ALA* 67.

<sup>69</sup> *ALA* 74.

<sup>70</sup> *ALA* 70: Εἰπὶ Οἱ . . . ΓΕΤΟΥ ἑξέκεπτορος / ἐγένετο αὐτῆ. *ALA* 71: [? Εἰπὶ τοῦ δεινὸς τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου . . . ]

<sup>71</sup> C. Roueché, "Acclamations", *JRS* 74 (1984), 187 ff. I stress the idea that the composition of groups who make acclamations are particular to an occasion. The members of the acclaiming group might have nothing in common after the event. Further, that the front of unanimity portrayed in acclamations may mask strife, and is momentary in any case.

<sup>72</sup> On the dispatch of acclamations to the imperial authorities, see *CTh.* i.16,6 (331), and *CJ* i.40,3. The carriers of acclamations had the right to use the public post: *CTh.* viii.5,32 (371). Also see Libanius, *Or.* 33.11-12 regarding Tisamenus' desire for acclamations.

support in order triumph over those who envied his power and opposed his ambition. One reads:

“Ὀλη ἡ πόλις τοῦ-  
το λέγει· τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
σου τῷ ποταμῷ.  
ὁ μέγας Θεὸς τοῦτο  
παράσχη.<sup>73</sup>

The whole city says this: “Your enemies to the river! May the great God provide this!”

The implication is that Albinus did have enemies, indicating the existence of local political factions.<sup>74</sup> A second but fragmentary inscription from the colonnade reads:

[? . . .  
ὁ φθόνος τύχην  
οὐ νικᾷ<sup>75</sup>

. . . Envy does not vanquish fortune!

Envy was often a by-product of success and particularly of success permanently manifested in buildings. One last example of his acclamations may be quoted:

Ἡ πόλις ὅλη ὁμοφώνως  
εὐφημῆσα λέγει· ὁ σοῦ  
ληθαργῶν, Ἀλβῖνε λανπρ(ότατε),  
θεὸν οὐκ οἶδεν.<sup>76</sup>

The whole city, having acclaimed (you) with one voice, say: “He who forgets you, Albinus *clarissimus* does not know God!”

The implication here is that those who “forget” the obligation they owe to Albinus are atheists, who should therefore suffer the wrath of God.<sup>77</sup>

One further indication of the connection between building and faction can be seen in the case of the *magnificentissimus et vir illustris* Pytheas. We have four inscriptions

<sup>73</sup> *ALA* 83. xi.

<sup>74</sup> A point also made by Roueché, “Acclamations”, 197.

<sup>75</sup> *ALA* 83. xiv.

<sup>76</sup> *ALA* 83. xx.

<sup>77</sup> Roueché, “Acclamations”, 197 ff.

referring to his building programs, one of which is an acclamation on a statue base.<sup>78</sup> The base reads:

[Αὔξι Πύθεας  
[ὁ μεγαλοπρ(επέστατος)  
[καὶ ἰλλ]οῦστριος  
[. . .

Up with Pytheas  
*magnificentissimus*  
and *illustris*

The text on a game board reads:

[Νικᾶ ἡ τύχη τῶν Πυθεανιτῶν<sup>79</sup>

The fortune of the Pytheanitae wins!

This victory slogan appears to show that Pytheas was building a faction which would have been of some use in local politics, and that his building projects were part of his program for gaining popularity. Since Pytheas was already a *magnificentissimus et vir illustris*, and thus of the highest grade of senator, his political aims cannot have been the same as those Albinus, who was aspiring to a seat in the senate. Alas, we do not know enough to be able to say what Pytheas' local political goals might have been.

### 2.6.5 Conclusion

An analysis of the building-related inscriptions of Late Antiquity reveals the emergence of two new formulae, one of which was the epigram borrowed from funerary monuments. This form was much concerned with memory, and with the conveyance of exclusive or “private” rather than public sentiments to the members of the social and cultural élite who alone could read and appreciate the high literary style. From this it might be tempting to argue that the increasing use of epigrams signifies the dominant trend in the meaning of Late Antique building and so symbolizes the “essence” of the patronage of public building

<sup>78</sup> *ALA* 55, 56, 57, 58.

<sup>79</sup> *ALA* 59 b.

in this period. Following this line of thinking, one might argue that the “private” sentiments expressed in many epigrams coincide with the advent of Christianity and thus symbolize a shift away from the public and towards the “inner”.

However, any temptation to use epigrams to define the essence of Late Antique building patronage must be resisted. For it should be remembered that there was another form of building-related inscription that emerged in this period. This was the acclamation, an easily read text, proclaimed by the public at civic events. Applying the same logic used above in which the emergence of a new form was viewed as a reflection of a general shift in *mentalité*, acclamations would indicate the opposite trend to epigrams: far from having “private” meaning, building would become more “public” than ever. Where one trend would make the act of building more ideological and less political, the other would suggest that building in Late Antiquity became less ideological and more political.

These problems can be avoided by approaching the inscriptions related to patronage of public building using a model of patronage which privileges neither the ideological over the political, nor the political over the ideological, but acknowledges the simultaneity of both realms of meaning. Viewed from the point of view of the model of patronage employed in this study, the Late Antique buildings and inscriptions reflect continuity with the past rather than any radical change.

Taking ideological matters first, we certainly see continuity in the memory function of buildings. Thus, in Late Antiquity, as in the early imperial period, patrons made use of buildings and inscribing to immortalize themselves, preserving their names forever in stone. Moreover, patrons continue to reify and amplify their status in this way, although status was no longer measured by the fact that a patron used his or her own money to pay for a benefaction. Thus, in the case of imperial and civic officials, the virtues of generosity or magnificence seem a less dominant feature of patronage in the Late Antique period. What becomes more important is the patron’s ability to *command* resources and to get things done. That is, status and honour came to those who were able to acquire for others

what they could not acquire for themselves. In this way, governors and *patres civitatum* earned their honorific statues. Finally a patron's contribution to civic infrastructure (whether he paid for it from his own funds or not) indicated his commitment to the ideal of the classical city.

Continuity in the political functions of the patronage of public building is evident as well. The essence of the patronage system was that the recipient of a gift owed the patron gratitude and loyalty, for in most cases, an equivalent return could not be made, nor was it desired. Gifts (and "gifts" of building) turned into enduring obligations. Further, the use of public buildings as a means of earning loyalty or obligation continued to be addressed to multiple audiences. Aside from the necessity of maintaining infrastructure, late antique governors, *patres civitatum* and *honorati* built to gain popularity with the general citizenry, the majority of whom were of much lower status. Law codes concerning governors, and the inscriptions of Albinus and Pytheas confirm this. The emperor was also part of the audience for public building. As was demonstrated in the case of L. Caelius Montius, building and inscribing served as excellent opportunities for demonstration of loyalty to the regime which an emperor might repay with assorted favours. At the same time, a relationship with the emperor, advertised plainly on the landscape of the city in buildings, statues and inscriptions, could be turned to the patron's advancement in local affairs as an honoured and powerful broker of imperial favours.

This thesis originated in an attempt to establish a method for interpreting the social and political meaning of two related types of artefacts which are often dealt with separately by art historians, archaeologists and historians, namely buildings and their associated inscriptions. As integral parts of the landscape, these artefacts surely spoke to the inhabitants of ancient cities. By applying the concepts of personal patronage to the patronage of public building we have recovered some of the many messages that buildings communicated to the citizens of cities. We have seen how over time building and inscribing continued to be used by the élite as a means of both expressing and acquiring

social and political status. Indeed, we have demonstrated that the tools we have adopted will be of use to archaeologists for creating context and a means of interpreting these ubiquitous objects. For the historian, we have presented a method for interpreting a large class of evidence that has for the most part in the past been used as a mine for names and dates.



**Appendix One**  
**Catalogue of Building-Associated Inscriptions of Early Imperial Ephesos**

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
<b>1. EMPERORS</b>				
Augustus from the funds of Artemis	Road pavement in the Domitian alley	Base fragment	23/22 BCE	<i>IE</i> 459; <i>JOAI</i> 45 (1960) 42f.; <i>ZPE</i> 87 (1991) 157 f.
Augustus from the funds of Artemis	Enclosure wall of Artemision and Augusteum repaired	Block, <i>in situ</i> in enclosure wall of Artemision	6/5 BCE	<i>IE</i> 1522; Wood, App. 1 no.1
Augustus	Restoring the stelae of the roads and streams of the goddess	Block, <i>in situ</i> in enclosure wall of Artemision	6/5 BCE	<i>IE</i> 1523, 1524; Wood, App. 1 no. 3
Augustus	Aqua Julia	Base fragment, agora south portico	29 BCE - 14 CE	<i>IE</i> 401; <i>FiE</i> 1 68
Augustus and Tiberius	Aqua Throessetica	Block near gymnasium of Vedius	4-14 CE	<i>IE</i> 402; <i>JOAI</i> 35 (1943) 102
Nero	Repair of an aqueduct	Block near church of John	54-68 CE	<i>JOAI</i> 55 (1984) 121
Domitian	Road building	Block near Magnesia gate	81-96 CE?	<i>IE</i> 263b; <i>AM</i> 6 (1881) 141
Hadrian	Works on harbour ? and banks of Kaystros	—	129 CE	<i>IE</i> 274; <i>BCH</i> 1 (1877) 291 nr. 78
<b>2. GOVERNORS/ CONSULARS</b>				
Caius Laecanius Bassus, governor	Hydrekdochion	Base in Domitian Alley	80/81 CE	<i>IE</i> 695; <i>BE</i> (1963) 210
Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus, consular	Library of Celsus	Architrave of library of Celsus	ca. 110 CE	<i>IE</i> 5101; <i>JOAI</i> 8 (1905) 67; <i>FiE</i> V 1 1

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus, consular	Library of Celsus	Block near the middle door of the library	ca.110 CE	<i>IE</i> 5113; <i>FiE</i> V 1 13
<b>3. ASIARCHS / ARCHIEREIS</b>				
T. Flavius Montanus, twice <i>praefectus fabrum</i> , chief priest of the temple of the <i>koinon</i> of Asia in Ephesos etc.	Vaulted stairway in theatre	<i>In situ</i> keystones in an archivolt in theatre	102-112 CE	<i>IE</i> 2037; <i>FiE</i> II 37
T. Flavius Montanus, as above	Completion of theatre and money for harbour repair	Honorific base from theatre	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 2061, 2062, 2063; <i>FiE</i> II 61; <i>AE</i> (1913) 143
T Flavius Montanus as above	Completes theatre	Wall paneling in theatre	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 498
T Flavius? and wife? asiarch?	—	Dedicatory block built into Byz. wall near harbour gymnasium	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 470
Ti Claudius Aristion, thrice asiarch, <i>neocoros</i> with wife J. Lydia Laterane high priestess, <i>prytanis</i>	Nymphaeum Traiani with decoration	Frieze and architrave of nymphaeum Traiani	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 424; <i>JOAI</i> 44 (1959) 329; <i>AE</i> (1967) 467
Ti Claudius Aristion, <i>archiereus</i> of Asia and <i>neocoros</i> with J. Lydia Laterane high priestess, daughter of Asia	Street fountain	Architrave fragment in street fountain	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 424a; <i>ZPE</i> 31 (1978) 80
Ti Claudius Aristion, thrice chief priest of Asia, <i>grammateus</i> and <i>prytanis</i>	Many and great works	Honorific statue base built into Scholastikia baths	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 425; <i>JOAI</i> 49 (1968-71) 37; <i>BE</i> (1974) 494
Ti. Claudius Aristion, thrice <i>archiereus</i> of Asia	—	Architrave block built into theatre wall	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 425a
Ti Claudius Aristion, in his prytany	Marble hall of the harbour gymnasium	Frieze fragment from marble hall	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 427

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Ti Claudius Aristion, <i>archiereus</i> of Asia and <i>neocoros</i>	Water conduit to the shrine of Asculapius	Orthostat slab built into cupola church	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 4105; <i>FiE</i> IV 1 1
Ti [Claudius Aristion]?	Paving? of the Embolos	Fragment of a small architrave from the gate building near the library of Celsus	116/117	<i>IE</i> 422a; <i>IE</i> Add. 422a; <i>SEG</i> 39 (1989) 1185
Ti Claudius Piso Diophantos, <i>archiereus</i> of the two temples in Ephesos	Building? and consecration of the temple of Hadrian	Honorific statue base built into Byz. aqueduct	Hadrianic	<i>IE</i> 428; <i>JOAI</i> 44 (1959) 266
G. Claudius Verulanus Marcellus, asiarch with Sceptia Phirmilla <i>archiereia</i> of Asia and Claudius Berenikianos	Wall paneling of the Verulanus hall in the harbour gymnasium	Marble slab in Verulanus hall	130/131 CE	<i>IE</i> 430; <i>JOAI</i> 7 (1904) 42; <i>AE</i> (1904) 14
Publius Vadius Antoninus with Flavia Papiana	Bath-gymnasium of Vadius	Wall paneling from bath-gymnasium	146-48 CE	<i>IE</i> 438; <i>JOAI</i> 25 (1929) 25-8; <i>AE</i> (1930) 80
Publius Vadius Antoninus, asiarch with Flavia Papiana chief priestess of Asia	Bath-gymnasium of Vadius	Architrave from epistyle of courtyard of bath-gymnasium	146-8 CE	<i>IE</i> 431; <i>IE</i> Add. 431; <i>JOAI</i> 24 (1928) 27; <i>AE</i> (1929) 121
Publius Vadius Antoninus with Flavia Papiana	Bouleuterion	Fragments of architrave and wall frieze from bouleuterion	Late 140s CE?	<i>IE</i> 460; <i>JOAI</i> 15 (1912) 172
M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus asiarch and <i>prytanis</i>	Two concession booths for the <i>sunergasia</i> of <i>askomisthoi</i>	Column in field near gymnasium of Vadius	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 444; <i>JOAI</i> 24 (1928) 32; <i>AE</i> (1929) 123
M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, as above	Two concession booths in the stoa of Servilius for the hemp-workers	Same column as above	Carcallan	<i>IE</i> 445

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
M. Publicianus Nicephorus, asiarch	Two concession booths for the <i>sunergasia</i> of the "sacred taste"	Column near west façade of the theatre	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 2076; <i>FiE</i> II 76 f.
M. Publicianus Nicephorus, asiarch	Concession booth?	Column near west façade of the theatre	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 2077
M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, asiarch	Concession booth for the <i>sunergasia</i> of bath attendants	Column harbour swamp	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 2078
M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, <i>philosebastos</i> for the second time	Concession booth for the <i>sunergasia</i> of <i>pyrenadoi</i>	Column in harbour swamp	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 2079
M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus	Four concession booths for the <i>sunergasia</i> of the cobblers	Column in the auditorium of the theatre	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 2080
[M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus]	Four concession booths for the <i>sunergasia</i> of makers of <i>taurinae</i>	Column in the auditorium of the theatre	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 2081
M. Fulvius Publicianus, asiarch	Two concession booths	Column in theatre	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 2082
M. Publicianus Nicephorus	Two concession booths for the <i>sunergasia</i> of the "sacred wine tasters"	Column on street between theatre and stadium	Caracallan	<i>JOAI</i> 56 (1985) 1; <i>SEG</i> 35 (1985) 1109
M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus asiarch	Three concession booths	Column on street between theatre and stadium	Caracallan	<i>JOAI</i> 56 (1985) 2; <i>SEG</i> 35 (1985) 1110
From the legacy of M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus	—	Architrave east façade of south gate of harbour	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 3086; <i>FiE</i> III 86
M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, asiarch, <i>prytanis grammateus</i> , <i>agonothete</i>	Many great works	Statue base put up by the cloak sellers in the agora	Caracallan	<i>IE</i> 3063; <i>FiE</i> III 63

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Claudius Diogenes	Aqueduct from the Marnas	Found near the Magnesian gate	—	<i>IE</i> 1530; <i>FiE</i> I 66
[ ] with Claudia Metrodora	Building	2 texts; wall architrave and paneling entrance of the east agora hall and mosque of Ayasoluk	—	<i>IE</i> 3003; <i>FiE</i> III 3
Ti. Flavius Menander, asiarch, <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i>	Hydreion	architrave in the Hydreion	Early 3rd	<i>IE</i> 435; <i>ZPE</i> 31 (1978) 96 f.
<b>4. MAGISTRATES</b>				
? <i>prytanis</i>	Pavement roofing colonnades etc.	Slab from forecourt of prytaneion	80s CE	<i>IE</i> 462; <i>RE</i> suppl. XIII 1646-8
Ti. Claudius Nusios, <i>prytanis</i> (in <i>IE</i> 1010)	Building? in theatre	Cornice molding from theatre	80s-90s	<i>IE</i> 471
Publius Quintilius Valens Varius, <i>grammateus</i> of <i>boule</i> , <i>strategos</i> , <i>gymnasiarch</i> , <i>agoronomos</i> , <i>panegyriarch</i> , <i>neiopoios</i> of Artemis	Many great works	Honorific base from street facing Varius baths	Hadrianic	<i>IE</i> 712b
Publius Quintilius Valens Varius	Baths of Varius	Architrave of baths of Varius	ca. 100 CE	<i>IE</i> 500; <i>ZPE</i> 31 (1978) 99
Publius Quintilius Valens Varius with wife and daughter Varilla	Temple of Hadrian with all decoration	Architrave from temple of Hadrian	ca. 117-119 CE, Servius Innocens procos., P. Vedius Antoninus asiarch, Ti. Cl. Luceianus <i>grammateus</i>	<i>IE</i> 429; <i>Anz. Wien</i> 94 (1957) 22; <i>JOAI</i> 44 (1959) 265 f; <i>AE</i> (1963) 184; <i>AE</i> (1967) 469
[Publius Quintilius Valens Varius with wife and daughter]	Latrine and brothel	Architrave fragments from epistyle of latrine in Varius baths	ca. 100 CE	<i>IE</i> 455; <i>JOAI</i> 43 (1956) 20; <i>JOAI</i> 51 (1976-7) 61-84

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Publius [Quintilius Valens Varius?]	---	Architrave and wall paneling fragments found in Varius baths	Late 1st-early 2nd	<i>IE</i> 590
M. Ulpus Felix, <i>nytkophylax</i> and Ulpia Julia	Temple maintenance	? from the harbour gymnasium	Early 2nd	<i>IE</i> 969
Dionysiodorus, <i>prytanis</i>	Restored the prytaneion and dedicated a <i>manteion</i> to Apollo and altars in the city etc.	Wall paneling in Hestia hall of prytaneion	Post 104	<i>IE</i> 1024; <i>FiE</i> XI 1 nr.B 24
G. Licinius Sergia Maximus Julianus, prytanis, priest of Rome and of P. Servilius Isauricus, <i>gymnasiarch</i> , <i>neiopoios</i> , ambassador to emperor	Gave money for building at the harbour	Honorific base built into south hall of agora	105 CE	<i>IE</i> 3066; <i>FiE</i> I 49; <i>FiE</i> III 66
Hesychos of Alexandria, <i>elaiothetes</i>	Whitened the <i>leukomata</i> in the stoa of the money changers, paneled the walls with veined marble, made balustrades and benches in the exedrac	Honorific base built into the south hall of the agora	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 3065; <i>FiE</i> III 65
Dionysius son of Nicephorus offices???	Two seating ranges in stadium; columns of Dokimian marble for the Sebastos gymnasium	Honorific base from the agora	140-150 CE	<i>IE</i> 661; <i>JOAI</i> 47 (1964) 28 nr. 15
M. Tigellius Lupus <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i>	Restored a building	? from Church of John	—	<i>IE</i> 446; <i>CIG</i> 2975; <i>ZPE</i> 33 (1979) 124 f.
T. Flavius Damianos, [sophist] <i>grammateus</i> , <i>panegyriarch</i> , <i>sitonia</i> , quartering of soldiers	Building in baths of Varius	Honorific base from agora	160s CE	<i>IE</i> 3080; <i>FiE</i> III 80; <i>JOAI</i> 40 (1953) 18-20

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
T Flavius Damianos, as above	Building in baths of Varius	Honorific base built into late wall near Octagon	166 CE	<i>IE</i> 672; <i>JOAI</i> 15 (1912) 164-5; <i>AE</i> (1913) 70
M. Aurelius Menemachos, <i>prytanis</i>	Renovation of the prytaneion	Slab fragments in prytaneion, theatre, library	180-192 CE	<i>IE</i> 47; <i>FiE</i> 9.1 B 54 p. 53.
Ti. Flavius Lucius Hierax, <i>prytanis</i>	Hydreion	Architectural molding	Early 3rd	<i>IE</i> 436; <i>ZPE</i> 31 (1978) 98
Aurelius Metrodorus, <i>agoronomos</i>	Pavement of a plaza in area of Koressos	Marble block from middle pillar of south agora gate	3rd	<i>IE</i> 3013; <i>FiE</i> 1 60; <i>FiE</i> III 13
Aphrodisios, <i>grammateus</i> and <i>gymnasiarch</i> of the <i>gerousia</i>	Building	Architrave found in agora	—	<i>IE</i> 442; <i>JOAI</i> 48 (1966) 13 nr. 5
Hieron Aristogeiton, <i>prytanis</i>	Vault in theatre	Keystones of vault in theatre	—	<i>IE</i> 2033; <i>FiE</i> II 133
Aelia Severa Bassa, <i>prytanis</i> , <i>gymnasiarch</i> of all gymnasia	Baths restoration?	Hall paneling in caldarium of east baths	—	<i>IE</i> 488
[M. Aurelius..], <i>grammateus</i> of <i>demos</i> , <i>gymnasiarch</i> of all gymnasia, <i>strategos</i> , <i>eirenarch</i> , <i>agonothete</i> , <i>chief priest?</i>	20, 000 denarii for harbour dredging; completion of superior works for the fatherland, paving the road from the prytaneion up to the square	Base from agora	Early-mid 3rd	<i>IE</i> 3071; <i>FiE</i> III 71

## 5. PRIESTS/PRIESTESSES

Helvidia Paula, priestess of Artemis	Building	Block or slabs built into under ground canal of theatre gymnasium	89/90 CE	<i>IE</i> 492
[Helvidia Paula], priestess of Artemis	—	Block built into underground canal of theatre gymnasium	89/90 or 115/5	<i>IE</i> 492a
Vipsania Olympia, priestess of Artemis	5000 denarii for repair of basilica	Honorific base in Byzantine baths	Early 2nd	<i>IE</i> 987; <i>JOAI</i> 45 (1960) 88 nr. 14

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Apollonius, priest of Artemis, <i>neoterios politikos</i>	Altar to Artemis	Block of an altar built into wall of Domitian alley	Early imperial	<i>JOAI</i> 55 (1984) 120; <i>SEG</i> 34 (1984) 1121
Publius Rutilius Bassus Julianus, priest of Demeter <i>karpophoros</i>	Temple of Demeter and the objects in front of it	Base in columned hall of the harbour street	120 CE Rutilius Bassus (father), <i>grammateus</i>	<i>IE</i> 1210; <i>JOAI</i> 5 (1902) 2
Julia Pantime Potentilla, priestess and <i>kosmeitera</i> of Artemis	Awnings and antiscaenon of theatre built from her legacy to the city	Block <i>in situ</i> in south analemma of theatre	3rd ?	<i>IE</i> 2041 (see also <i>IE</i> 983) <i>FiE</i> II nr. 41
Julia Pantime Potentilla [priestess and <i>kosmeitera</i> of Artemis]	Shrine of Nemesis in theatre built from her legacy to the city	Block built into late wall in theatre	3rd ? M. Auraniceus Vedius Mithridates	<i>IE</i> 2042; <i>JOAI</i> 1 (1898) 78
Julia Pantime Potentilla	Area in front of the auditorium of the library of Celsus paved from her legacy	Middle pillar of south agora gate at entrance to library	Early 3rd	<i>IE</i> 3009; <i>JOAI</i> 7 (1904) 52; <i>ZPE</i> 90 (1992) 221 f.
Glaucia, son of Menecrates, priest	Founded temple of the god Serapis built the shrine and the sacred precinct	Block built into mosque	3rd	<i>IE</i> 1246; <i>BE</i> (1955) 193; <i>SEG</i> 15 707
[T. Fl. L]ucius? <i>neiopoios</i> , <i>chrysophoros</i> , priest of Artemis with colleagues	Maintenance of the temple of Artemis	Block built into Arcadiane	—	<i>IE</i> 958; <i>JOAI</i> 36 (1946) 13-4; <i>Hell.</i> V 59; <i>FiE</i> IV 3 284
Philippos Mazaïos, <i>neiopoios</i>	Dedicates epistylon to Bacchus	Architrave found in NW corner of agora	—	<i>IE</i> 434; <i>JOAI</i> 50 (1972-5) 54 nr. 12
Tryphosa, priestess	<i>Apheterian</i> (starting gate?) with 5 statues and altars	Block found on hill of the Byzantine fortress	—	<i>IE</i> 1139; <i>JOAI</i> 18 (1915) 284
Nonius Idrios Melitios [Jarche?], priest	Renovated synhedrion of <i>latreutoi</i> or slaves of the gods	Slab unknown find spot	—	<i>IE</i> 1247; <i>BE</i> (1955) 193; <i>SEG</i> 15 1710



<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
<b>6. MILITARY</b>				
Ti. Claudius Secundus, tribunician <i>apparitor</i> , <i>accensus velatus</i> , <i>lictor curiatus</i>	Building with stoa and wall paneling	Base found in shrine of Artemis	ca. 100 CE	<i>IE</i> 1545; <i>ZPE</i> 24 (1977) 203 f.; see also <i>IE</i> 646, 367
[Vipsanius?] Apelles, <i>tribunus militum legionis VI ferratae</i>	Building near a palaestra	Block from Kuretes street	—	<i>IE</i> 463; see also <i>IE</i> 987, 24 and 988, 6
<b>7. WITHOUT OFFICE</b>				
Mazaecus and Mithridates freedmen of Augustus	South agora gate	Marble paneling from south side of south agora gate	3 CE	<i>IE</i> 3006; <i>JOAI</i> 7 (1904) 49
Lucius Mondikios	<i>Ergasteria</i>	Block built into Sockel building	—	<i>IE</i> 443; <i>Anz.Wien</i> 101 (1964) 42
G. Sextilius Pollio with Ofillia Bassa G Proculus etc.	Aqueduct of G. Sextilius Pollio	Bilingual inscription on both sides of the façade of the aqueduct	4-14 CE	<i>IE</i> 3092; <i>FIE</i> III no. 92; also <i>IE</i> 402
G. Sextilius Pollio with Ofillia Bassa and Gaius Sextilius Proculus etc.	Basilica on the north side upper agora	Bilingual inscription fragments from the basilica	ca. 5 CE	<i>IE</i> 404; <i>JOAI</i> 59 (1989) 43-45, 198 nr. 37; <i>SEG</i> 39 (1989) 1210
G. Ofillius Proculus	Monument of G. Sextilius Pollio	Bilingual inscription fragments found in area of monument	Early 1st	<i>IE</i> 405, 406; <i>JOAI</i> 51 (1976-77) 77-92; see also <i>IE</i> 407
Pac[uvius H]esperius	Black and white mosaic pavement	Agora south side west chamber	—	<i>IE</i> 501a
G. Stertinius Orpex with Stertina Marina	Tiers of seating in stadium	Building inscription near west facade of stadium	Neronic	<i>IE</i> 411; <i>JOAI</i> 15 (1912) 181

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
C. Stertinius Orpex with daughter Stertina Marina	? in the Temple of Artemis with statues decoration and pavement, tiers of seating in stadium, cash gifts	On an arch in stadium	Neronic	<i>IE</i> 2113, 4123
Ischyriion of Alexandria, victor in the Sacred games with Isidorus	Built entrance to agora marble paneling of a stoa set up statues in exedrae	Square pillar used in later pavement of agora west entrance	Domitianic	<i>IE</i> 3005; <i>JOAI</i> 7 (1904) 47
G. Julius Pontianus son of Gaius Julius Celer Photinus and Hordeonia Paulina	statues and altars of the gods decoration of the mouseion and sacrifices in the <i>boule</i>	Honorific base found in street east of agora	Trajanic?	<i>IE</i> 690; <i>JOAI</i> 40 (1953) 11; see also <i>IE</i> 852
<b>8. ASSOCIATIONS</b>				
Fishmongers and fishermen	Fishing customs house	Slab inscribed with list of contributors found in the area of the harbour	54-59 CE	<i>IE</i> 20; <i>JOAI</i> 26 (1930) 48-57
Tribe of Teians, Menecrates, Artemidorus, M. Hosius	Pavement of street in front of library of Celsus	Block reused in stairs near the Gate of Persecution	2nd	<i>JOAI</i> 55 (1984) 114-5; <i>SEG</i> 34 1092
<b>9. CITY</b>				
The city	Built ? from the foundations	Spolia built into apsidal hall of residential building	—	<i>IE</i> 491
<i>Boule</i> in consultation with the smiths	Colonnade wall near Hephaestion built from the funds of the city	Column found in east hall of the agora	104 CE	<i>IE</i> 1384; <i>JOAI</i> 52 (1980) 21 no. 8
<i>Demos</i> of the Ephesians	"Sockel Building"	Frieze found near Pollio nymphaeum	Neronic	<i>IE</i> 410; <i>IE</i> add. 410; <i>JOAI</i> 50 (1972-5) 385

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
<i>Neocoros</i> city of Ephesians	Water works on the Marnas and Klaseas	Slab found in nymphaeum of Trajan	92/93 CE procos. P. Calvisius Ruso	<i>IE</i> 415; <i>JOAI</i> 44 (1959) 343
<i>Neocoros</i> city of the Ephesians	Water works on the Marnas and Klaseas	Slab found in the fountain near the bouleterion	92/93 CE procos. P. Calvisius Ruso	<i>IE</i> 416; <i>ZPE</i> 24 (1977) 203 nr.3
The <i>demos</i> of the Ephesians	Nymphaeum near the Pollio Monument	Plaque found near the monument of Pollio	92/93 CE procos. P. Calvisius Ruso	<i>IE</i> 419; <i>JOAI</i> 45 (1960) 35
Procos. takes thought for and dedicates, the <i>neopoioi</i> supervise	Water supply	"Fragment dug up near aqueduct"	92/93 CE procos P. Calvisius Ruso	<i>IE</i> 419a
	Water works on the Marnas	Architrave from east wing of the fountain on the S side of the upper agora	—	<i>IE</i> 414; <i>JOAI</i> 15 (1912) 176
<i>Neocoros</i> city of Ephesians	Paving of the Embolos (Kuretes street)	From the middle pier of the south agora gate	Domitianic procos. M. Atilius Postumus Bradua	<i>IE</i> 3008; <i>FiE</i> III no. 8
<i>Neocoros</i> city of the Ephesians	Scaena of theatre	Architrave fragments from the stage wall of the theatre	Domitianic	<i>IE</i> 2034; <i>JOAI</i> 3 (1900) 83
<i>Neocoros</i> city of the Ephesians	North analemma of theatre	Block fragments near north analemma	Domitianic	<i>IE</i> 2035
The city	Building?	Architrave found in front of the Octagon	Domitianic	<i>IE</i> 422b
<i>Boule</i> and <i>demos</i> , M Tigellius Lupus and <i>stratego</i> i	Renovation of old building	Block built into Scholastikia baths	Domitianic	<i>IE</i> 449; <i>JOAI</i> (1972-5) 33-5 <i>ZPE</i> 33 (1979) 124 f.
<i>Neocoros</i> city of Ephesians	Propylon south east of library of Celsus	Architrave found east of nymphaeum Traiani	114/115	<i>IE</i> 422; <i>IE</i> Add. 422; <i>JOAI</i> 44 (1959) 346
[Twice <i>neocoros</i> ] city of the Ephesians	? in theatre	Architrave fragment found near logeion of theatre	120 CE, P.Rutilius Bassus, <i>grammateus</i>	<i>IE</i> 2038; <i>FiE</i> II nr. 38

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Twice <i>neocoros</i> city of the Ephesians	Building or repair in theatre awnings proscaenium floor wooden equipment doors and stone facing	2 identical texts on blocks found on north and south analemmata of theatre	Mid 2nd, P. Vedius Antoninus asiarch and <i>grammateus</i>	<i>IE</i> 2039; <i>FiE</i> II no. 39 Wood, App. 1 no. 3
Twice <i>neocoros</i> city of the Ephesians from resources found by proconsul.	Awnings of theatre renewed	2 examples on block from north and south parodoi of the theatre	200-210, procos. Q. Tineius Sacerdos	<i>IE</i> 2040, Wood, App. 1 no.6; <i>FiE</i> II no. 40
The city	? in theatre	Wall architrave from parodos of theatre	? Claudius M [..?], <i>grammateus</i>	<i>IE</i> 464
The city	—	Architrave fragment from the east hall of the agora	—	<i>IE</i> 496
The demos	—	Pilaster capital found near Church of John	—	<i>IE</i> 533
<b>10. SACRED REVENUES</b>				
Financed from sacred revenues on the orders of proconsul	Restoration of walls of the Augusteum	—	79/80 CE procos. M. Ulpus Traianus	<i>IE</i> 412; <i>AM</i> 10 (1885) 401; <i>BCH</i> 10 (1886) 95; <i>FiE</i> I no.12
<b>11. INCERTA</b>				
Jus Celsus with ? from his own money	Colonnade	Base excavated south of the upper agora	—	<i>IE</i> 475
Jus Bassus from his own money	...of a doorway	? from the street of the theatre	—	<i>IE</i> 630
—	Beside each? Paving or covering of ?	Fragments from fountain south of the upper agora	—	<i>IE</i> 480
—	Aqueduct or water channel	? excavated in Private House 1	—	<i>IE</i> 493

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
<i>?philosebastos</i>	Cook shop and appurtenances	Column drum found in Selçuk	—	<i>IE 448; JOAI 52 (1980) nr. 44</i>
—	Columns with capitals and bases	? found on harbour street (Arcadiane) near column foundations	—	<i>IE 465</i>
—	3 columns with capitals and intercolumnations and painted decoration in prytaneion	Slab found in street south of east baths	—	<i>IE 528</i>
—	Renovation to prytaneion, columns with stylobates, ambulatory, propylon with stone facing and painted decoration, doors	Archivolt from prytaneion found in the Kuretes street near Varius baths	—	<i>IE 437; JOAI 44 (1959) 295</i>
<i>?philosebastos</i>	Stoa	Slab find spot unknown	—	<i>IE 482</i>
Julius [...erianus]	3 <i>ergasteria</i>	Wall architrave built into Varius baths	96-116 CE	<i>IE 421; JOAI 50 (1972-5) 27-30; AE (1975) 786</i>
—	Restoration of an altar	Column fragment excavated from a channel in Selçuk	T. Kl. T[ ], <i>grammateus</i>	<i>IE 532</i>
? with his wife	Marble paneling	Slab from?	—	<i>IE 2??</i>
—	Stoai with all embellishment	Architrave from East hall of agora	Caracallan L Aufidius Euphemus, <i>grammateus</i>	<i>IE 3001; FiE III nr 1</i>
—	Sundial	Find spot unknown	Caracallan	<i>IE 432; JOAI 42 (1955) 56-58; SEG 15 (1958) 703</i>

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
—	Great works	Fragment of base from Private House 2	—	<i>IE</i> 2951f; <i>JOAI</i> 53 (1981-2) 76
—	Restoration of a building	Architrave into south side of the agora	—	<i>IE</i> 497
—	—	Fragment of building inscription built into Church of Mary	92/93 CE procos. P. Calvisius Ruso, <i>grammateus</i> and asiarch T Claudius Aristion etc.	<i>IE</i> 461
?demos	—	Building inscription from theatre	?M. Servilius <i>epimeletes</i> , <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i>	<i>IE</i> 465a;
—	—	Architrave block built into the great Mosque	218-22 CE T. Varius <i>grammateus</i> of <i>demos</i> , M. Statilius Stratonikos, <i>prytanis</i>	<i>IE</i> 476
—	—	Re-worked statue base from the baths of Varius	? <i>ergepistates</i> Iulonike[	<i>IE</i> 588
—	—	Fragment of building inscription unknown find spot	?Pythagoras <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i> <i>ergepistates</i>	<i>IE</i> 1529; Hicks, 529
—	—	Architectural fragment from?	Early 3rd, <i>grammateus</i> ? Paternus	<i>IE</i> 3002; <i>FiE</i> III 2

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form / Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
—	—	Fragment from orchestra of theatre	Pollio <i>prytanis</i>	<i>IE</i> 530
—	—	Archivolt fragment from Varius baths	Trajanic	<i>IE</i> 499, 499A
?Theopompus of Knidos	—	Monumental architrave from Artemesion	6 BCE, L. Caesar cos.	<i>IE</i> 408; <i>JOAI</i> 50 (1972-5) nr.3; <i>AE</i> (1975) 798
—	—	Architrave built into North side of agora	—	<i>IE</i> 467
—	—	Wall frieze block east hall of agora	138-161 Antoninus Pius	<i>IE</i> 469
?]with Claudius steersman	—	Framed slab from east hall of agora	—	<i>IE</i> 466
Nico]machos	—	Keystone of arch found near nymphaeum	—	<i>IE</i> 483
—	—	Architrave fragments from harbour gymnasium	Domitianic	<i>IE</i> 335
—	—	Wall architrave fragments from harbour gymnasium	—	<i>IE</i> 336
—	—	Monumental inscription dedicating the columned hall of agora	107/8 CE, L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas procos.	<i>IE</i> 423
—	—	Door jamb near the prytaneion	?prytany of T Flavius Basileidos Julianus	<i>IE</i> 450
—	—	Slab and molding fragments for nymphaeum near Pollio monument	93 CE	<i>IE</i> 413; <i>JOAI</i> 45 (1960) 31 f.

**Builder****Building****Form / Find spot****Date****Reference**

—

Keystone found southwest of  
stadium*? grammateus* Ti  
Claudius  
Polydeuces  
Marcellus*IE 472*



**Appendix Two**  
**Catalogue of Building-Associated Inscriptions of Late Antique Ephesos**

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form/Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
<b>1. GOVERNORS</b>				
L. Artorius Peius Maximus <i>lamprotatos</i> proconsul	Renovation of the Sebasteion gymnasium, and many other works	Statue base from Kuretes street	Late 3rd -early 4th	<i>IE</i> 621; <i>JOAI</i> 44 (1959) 349; <i>AE</i> (1939) 58
Julius Antonius <i>perfectissimus rationalis</i>	Fountain restored	Statue base set up to Diocletian	Late 3rd to early 4th	Foss 24; <i>JOAI</i> 45 (1960) 25
Messalinus proconsul	Restoration in theatre	Block built into late wall of theatre	Late 4th	<i>IE</i> 2043; <i>Hell</i> 4 87; Foss 61; <i>JOAI</i> 1 (1898) 77
Messalinus proconsul	Restoration in theatre	Block from theatre	Late 4th	<i>IE</i> 2044; <i>Hell</i> 4, 87; Foss 61
L. Caelius Montius <i>clarissimus</i> proconsul	Atrium of the baths of Constantius II	Latin base	Mid 4th	<i>IE</i> 1314; <i>JOAI</i> 1 (1898) 75; <i>Hell.</i> 4 112
L. Caelius Montius <i>clarissimus</i> proconsul	Atrium of the baths of Constantius II	Fragmentary Latin base	Mid 4th	<i>IE</i> 1315
L. Caelius Montius <i>clarissimus</i> proconsul	Renovation of a nymphaeum in upper agora	Latin base found in upper agora	Mid 4th	<i>IE</i> 1316; <i>BE</i> (1965) 343; <i>AE</i> (1968) 477
Constantius II and Constans order work, L. Caelius Montius <i>clarissimus</i> proconsul carries it out	Renovation of nymphaeum	Architrave found near odeon	Mid 4th	<i>IE</i> 1317; <i>Hell</i> 4 111; <i>AE</i> (1913) 371; <i>JOAI</i> 1 (1898) 75
Asclepius <i>megaloprepestatos</i> proconsul	Renovation of east baths	Acclamation on mosaic inscription	ca. 400	<i>IE</i> 1313; <i>Hell</i> 11/12 23; <i>FiE</i> 7.2 33 <i>Abb.</i> 51-2
Stephanos proconsul	Conversion of library of Celsus into nymphaeum	Panels on the façade of the library of Celsus	Late 4th - early 5th	<i>IE</i> 5115; Foss 27 n.13; <i>Hell</i> 4 93

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form/Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Eutropius proconsul	Paving of street south of theatre	Epigram on base	Late 5th	<i>IE</i> 1304; <i>JOAI</i> 10 (1907) 71-3; <i>IGC</i> 99; Foss 27
Flavius Constantius <i>lamprotatos</i> proconsul	Arch at end of embolos	Inscription on arch	5th-6th	Foss 77 n.60; <i>JOAI</i> 50 (1972-75) 383
Ambrosius <i>lamprotatos</i> proconsul	Renovation in theatre?	Acclamation on slab from the theatre	6th	<i>IE</i> 2045; <i>Hell</i> 4 62; Foss 67
? Ambrosius?	Renovation in theatre	Fragmentary acclamation on slab from theatre	6th	<i>IE</i> 2046
Epi <i>lamprotatos</i> proconsul	The whole ? building	Fragmentary acclamation on archivolt of the Heracles arch on Kuretes street	—	<i>IE</i> 587; <i>JOAI</i> 51 (1976/7) 123-4
<b>2. PATRES CIVITATUM</b>				
John and Leontius <i>patres</i> and <i>scholastici</i>	Paving the street to the oratory of Gabriel	Base built into wall along street to stadium	5th - 6th	<i>SEG</i> 33 (1983) 961; <i>JOAI</i> 53 (1981/2) 125 n. 124
Frontinus <i>pater</i> or proconsul ?	Large columns with statues of the evangelists	Inscribed bands on the columns	Early 6th	<i>IE</i> 1306; <i>FiE</i> 1 133-42; <i>Hell</i> 4 67; Foss 57-8 n.21
<b>3. MAGISTRATES</b>				
Alytarch	Stoa on the embolos	Architrave fragment from south stoa of the embolos	4th	<i>IE</i> 447; <i>JOAI</i> 44 (1959) 325; Foss 24
polit; magistrate??	Building work??	Fragment of a door jamb	4th or later	<i>IE</i> 494
<b>4. CITIZENS</b>				
Scholastikia	Baths of Scholastikia	Epigram on base	4th or later	<i>JOAI</i> 43 (1956) 22; Foss 70
<b>5. INCERTA</b>				
Johannes and Paulus	Restoration of baths of Scholastikia	Fragmentary base	5th	<i>JOAI</i> 43 (1956) 25; Foss 70

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form/Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Diogenes	Grain store house	Base	4th or later	<i>IE</i> 1309; <i>JOAI</i> 44 (1959) 279; Foss 27
Demeas	Destruction of Artemis statue and erection of cross	Base found near propylon	4th or later	<i>IE</i> 1351; <i>IGC</i> 104; Foss 32
—	Castle and defensive work	Inscribed on the round building	6th-7th	<i>IE</i> 458; <i>IGC</i> 105

**Appendix Three**  
**Catalogue of Building - Associated Inscriptions of Late Antique Aphrodisias**

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form/Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>References</b>
<b>1. IMPERIAL OFFICIALS</b>				
Helladius governor	Restoration of Hadrianic baths	Cornice block from Hadrianic baths	1/2 4th ?	<i>ALA</i> 17; <i>Hell</i> 4 14 n.3; <i>Hell</i> 11/12 25; <i>Hell</i> 13 157
Helladius governor	Restoration of Hadrianic baths	Lintel block from Hadrianic baths	1/2 4th?	<i>ALA</i> 18
Helladius governor	"In exchange for great virtue"	Statue base with honorific epigram	1/2 4th?	<i>ALA</i> 16; <i>MAMA</i> 8 531; <i>GRBS</i> 20 (1979) 175 n.9
? <i>comes provinciarum</i> (or vicar) and friend of emperor	Saviour, founder and <i>epanorthotes</i>	Statue base from Hadrianic baths	Early 4th	<i>ALA</i> 14
...friend of emperor (as above)	Benefactions ?	Block from theatre	Early 4th	<i>ALA</i> 15
Flavius Constantius <i>clarissimus praeses Cariae</i>	Erection of city wall and other works	Lintel block over north east gate in city wall	Late 360s?	<i>ALA</i> 22; <i>CIG</i> 2745; <i>MAMA</i> 8 427
Flavius Quintilius Eros Monaxios <i>perfectissimus praeses Cariae</i>	W. gate in city wall	Lintel block over west gate in city wall	355-360?	<i>ALA</i> 19; <i>CIG</i> 2744; <i>MAMA</i> 8 426
Antonius Tatianos <i>clarissimus praeses Cariae</i>	Tetrastoon	Columnar base built into 7th century wall in theatre	360-63	<i>ALA</i> 20
Flavius Pelagius Ioannes <i>clarissimus praeses Cariae</i>	Column of "south portico" of agora	Column from south portico of agora	Later 4th?	<i>ALA</i> 29; <i>AntClass</i> 35 (1966) 381-2
Dulcitus <i>praeses Cariae</i> , agonothete, Maioumarch etc.	Conversion of east agora gate into fountain	Epigram inscribed on façade of east agora gate	Mid 5th?	<i>ALA</i> 40
Dulcitus <i>praeses Cariae</i>	Conversion of east agora gate into fountain	Epigram inscribed on façade of east agora gate	Mid 5th?	<i>ALA</i> 39

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form/Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>References</b>
<i>Ioannes praeses Cariae?</i>	Building works?	Epigram on fragments of an architrave found in various parts of site	Mid 5th?	<i>ALA 45; MAMA 8 429, 604</i>
Flavius Epiphanius, Hermias, <i>clarissimus?</i> prefect?	Building?	Fragmentary inscribed panel found near Tetrastylon	5th/6th?	<i>ALA 72</i>
Flavius Palmatus, <i>spectabilis</i> consular, <i>magnificentissimus</i> vicar	Renewer and founder of the metropolis	Honorific base from the colonnade of the "Tetrastoon"	5th/ 6th	<i>ALA 62 see also ALA 63.</i>
? <i>exceptor</i>	Game board in baths	Inscribed game board from Hadrianic baths	5th/6th	<i>ALA 70</i>
<b>2. CIVIC OFFICIALS</b>				
Menander <i>politeumenos</i>	Column of portico	Inscribed on column of south portico of agora	?late 4th	<i>ALA 30; AntClass 35 (1966) 381-3</i>
<b>3. PATRES CIVITATUM</b>				
Ampelius <i>pater</i> and <i>scholasticus</i>	Conversion of east agora gate into fountain	Epigram inscribed on façade of east agora gate	Mid 5th?	<i>ALA 38</i>
Flavius Ampelius <i>pater</i> and <i>scholasticus</i>	Renewal of north east gate of the city wall	On lintel over north east gate	Mid 5th?	<i>ALA 42; CIG 2746; Hell 4 130 n. 5</i>
[Flavius Ampelius] <i>pater</i> and <i>scholasticus</i>	Palaestra	Along rim of stage in the odeon/ bouleuterion	Mid 5th	<i>ALA 43</i>
[Flavius] Ampe[lius] [ <i>pater</i> and <i>scholasticus</i> ]	—	Fragments of revetment from theatre baths	Mid 5th?	<i>ALA 44</i>
—	—	Series of acclamations on plaster in the Hadrianic baths	491-518	<i>ALA 61</i>

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form/Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>References</b>
Flavius Photius <i>pater</i> and <i>scholasticus</i>	Game board	Game board in the Hadrianic baths	5th/6th?	<i>ALA</i> 69; <i>GRBS</i> 20 (1979) 176 n.1
Flavius Photius <i>pater</i> and <i>scholasticus</i>	Game board	Game board in the Hadrianic baths	5th/6th?	<i>ALA</i> 68; <i>IGC</i> 264
Rhodopaeus <i>magnificentissimus pater</i>	Renewal of “Summer Olympian baths”	Base found in a field	6th	<i>ALA</i> 87; <i>CIG</i> 2804; <i>MAMA</i> 8 504
Rhodopaeus <i>philopatris pater</i>	Baths	Columnar base found in the Hadrianic baths	6th	<i>ALA</i> 86; <i>Hell</i> 4 128
Rhodopaeus, <i>pater</i>	Many gifts	Epigram on base found in the Hadrianic baths	6th	<i>ALA</i> 85; <i>Hell</i> 4 127-132
Theopompus, <i>magnificentissimus politeuome-nos?</i> , <i>pater?</i>	Building?	Acclamation on panel found on Acropolis	6th	<i>ALA</i> 89
<b>4. CITIZENS</b>				
Flavius Eusebius <i>ex primipilaribus</i>	First and third intercolumnations	Marble panel found in area of Museum	Early 4th	<i>ALA</i> 10
Scholasticus	Column donation	Column from village house near theatre	4th/5th?	<i>ALA</i> 79
Philippos son of Herodianos <i>admirandissimus</i>	Covering two sections of a portico	Architrave from south portico of agora	Late 5th?	<i>ALA</i> 66
Dionysius son of Photinus doctor	Contribution to building	Architrave of south portico of east court of Hadrianic baths	5th/6th ?	<i>ALA</i> 67; <i>IGC</i> 272
Hermias	3000 gold pieces to the baths	Epigram on base from S. portico of east court of Hadrianic baths	5th/6th?	<i>ALA</i> 74; <i>IGC</i> 277; <i>Hell</i> 4 130

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form/Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>References</b>
<b>5. HONORATI</b>				
<i>Pytheas magnificentissimus et illustris</i>	A building	Epigram on base from odeon/ bouleuterion	Late 5th	<i>ALA</i> 56
<i>Pytheas magnificentissimus et illustris</i>	Acclamation for?	Acclamation on base; stray find	Late 5th	<i>ALA</i> 55
<i>Pytheas magnificentissimus et illustris</i>	Building?	Epigram? on revetment fragment from baths south east of theatre	Late 5th	<i>ALA</i> 57
<i>Pytheas magnificentissimus et illustris</i>	Columns building	Epigram on architrave fragments from east court of Hadrianic baths	Late 5th	<i>ALA</i> 58
<i>Flavius Andronicus perfectissimus</i>	Statue	Base from odeon/ bouleuterion	1/2 4th	<i>ALA</i> 13; <i>PBSR</i> 50 (1982) 104 n.3; <i>SEG</i> 32 (1982) 1107
<i>Albinus clarissimus</i>	Stoa or portico on west side of agora	Nineteen acclamations inscribed on columns	6th	<i>ALA</i> 82 and 83; <i>JRS</i> 74 (1984) 181-99
Asclepiodotus	Number of works including a vaulted chamber	Epigram on block used as statue base found in a village house	Late 5th	<i>ALA</i> 53; <i>CIG</i> 2851; <i>Hell</i> 4 115 f.; <i>MAMA</i> 8 486
Asclepiodotus	Building "many splendid things for his motherland"	Epigram on pyramidal monument found in a village house	Late 5th	<i>ALA</i> 54; <i>MAMA</i> 8 487; <i>Hell</i> 13 170-1
? <i>magnificentissimus</i>	Game board	Stray find	5th/6th?	<i>ALA</i> 71
<b>6. INCERTA</b>				
Androcles ?	Renovation in theatre?	Cut on cornice below rim of stage	4th ?	<i>ALA</i> 34

<b>Builder</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>Form/Find spot</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>References</b>
Flavius Sep[ti]mius ?	Building?	Panel with 3 fasciae from buildings west of odeon	4th?	<i>ALA</i> 35
Ioannes and Flavius	Assorted building work	Paneling reused in Hadrianic baths	4th/5th/6th	<i>ALA</i> 48-52
Eustochius	Building or repair in north. temenos complex	Epigram? fragments of paneling from north. temenos complex	5th?	<i>ALA</i> 46-47



## Bibliography

- Abbott, F. F. and A. C. Johnson. *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926.
- Alföldy, G. *Konsulat und Senatoren Stand unter den Antoninen*. Bonn: Habelt, 1977.
- "Epigraphische Notizen aus Kleinasien I. Ein beneficium des Augustus in Ephesos." *ZPE* 87 (1991), 157-162.
- Alzinger, W. *Ephesos: Stadt der Artemis und des Johannes*. Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1958.
- "Ephesos." *RE* XII Suppl. Band (1970), 1588-1704.
- "Das Regierungsviertel." *JOAI* 50 (1972-5), 229-300.
- *Augusteische Architektur in Ephesos*. Sonderschriften herausgegeben vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut 16. Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, 1974.
- "Ephesiaca." *JOAI* 56 (1985) 59-64.
- Alzinger, W. and A. Bammer. "Das Monument des C. Memmius." In *Forschungen in Ephesos VII*. Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, 1971.
- Amelung, W. *Herodes Atticus*. 2 vols. Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Georg Olms, 1983.
- Andréau, J. *Banques et banquiers: la vie financière dans le monde romain*. Rome: L'École Française de Rome, 1987.
- Avramea, A. "Les constructions profanes de l'évêque d'après l'épigraphie et les textes d'orient." *Actes du Xe Congrès d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Rome: L'École Française de Rome, 1989, 829-35.
- Badian, E. *Foreign Clientelae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.
- Balland, A. *Fouilles de Xanthos VII. Inscriptions d'Époque Imperiale du Létoon*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1981.
- Balty, J.-Ch. *Curia Ordinis. Recherches d'architecture et d'urbanisme antique sur les curies provinciales du monde romaine*. Bruxelles: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1991.
- Bammer, A. "Die politische Symbolik des Memmius Baues." *JOAI* 50 (1972-73), 220-22.
- "Das Denkmal des C. Sextilius Pollio in Ephesos." *JOAI*, 51 (1976-77), 82-92.
- Barnes, T. D. "More Missing Names." *Phoenix* 27 (1973), 135-155.

- *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Barrett, J. "Fields of Discourse: Reconstituting a Social Archaeology." *Critique of Anthropology* 7 (1987/8), 5-16.
- Beard, M. "Ancient Literacy and the Function of the Written Word in Roman Religion." In *Literacy in the Roman World*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 3. Ann Arbor, MI: 1991, 35-58.
- Beurlier, E. *Essai sur le culte rendu aux empereurs romains*. Paris: Librairie des Écoles Françaises de Rome et d'Athènes, 1890.
- Blok, A. "Variations in Patronage." *Sociologische Gids* 16 (1969), 365-78.
- Bogaert, R. *Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques*. Leyden: Sijthoff, 1968.
- Boissevain, J. "Patronage in Sicily." *Man* 1 (1966), 18-34.
- Boulanger, A. *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie en IIe siècle de notre ère*. Paris: de Boccard, 1923.
- Bowie, E. L. "The Vedii Antonini and the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesos." *Proceedings of the XIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*. vol.2. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1978, 867-874.
- Bowersock, G. W. *Augustus and the Greek World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- "The Proconsulate of Albus." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72 (1967), 289-94.
- *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Bowman, A. K. "Literacy in the Roman Empire: Mass and Mode." In *Literacy in the Roman World*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 3. Ann Arbor, MI: 1991, 119-33.
- Bowman, A. K. and G. Woolf, (eds.) *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Braund, D. C. "Function and Dysfunction: Personal Patronage in Roman Imperialism." In *Patronage in Ancient Society*. Ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill. London and New York: Routledge, 1989, 137-52.
- Brein, F. "Zur ephesischen Topographie." *JOAI* 51 (1976-77), 65-73.
- Burton, G. P. "Proconsuls, Assizes, and the Administration of Justice." *JRS* 65 (1975), 92-106.

- "The *Curator Rei Publicae*: Towards a Reappraisal." *Chiron* 9 (1979), 465-487.
- Calder, W. M. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VIII. Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisidian-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962.
- Callender, M. H. *Roman Amphorae*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Cameron, Alan. *Porphyrius the Charioteer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.
- Cameron, A. M. *Procopius and the Sixth century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985.
- Campanile, M. D. *I sacerdoti del koinon d'Asia. I sec. a.C-III sec. d.C.*. Pisa: Giardini, 1994.
- Carcopino, J. *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*. Edited with bibliography and notes by H. T. Rowell. Trans. E.O. Lorimer. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1956.
- de Chaisemartin, N. and D. Theodorescu. "Recherches préliminaires sur le *frons scaenae* du theatre." In *Aphrodisias Papers* 2. Eds. R.R.R. Smith and K. T. Erim. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 2. Ann Arbor MI, 1991, 24-66.
- Chastagnol, A. "La Legislation sur les biens des villes au IVe siècle." In *Atti del V Convegno dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana*. Perugia, (1968), 77-104.,
- *L'album municipal de Timgad*. Bonn: Habelt, 1978.
- Chauvot, A. "Curiales et paysans en Orient à la fin du Ve du début du Vie siècle: note sur l'institution du *Vindex*." In *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie. Actes du colloque organisée à Strasbourg*. Ed. E. Frézouls. Strasbourg: AECR, 1987, 271-281.
- Claude, D. *Die Byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Beck, 1969.
- Corbier, M. "L'écriture dans l'espace public romain." *L'Urbs: espace urbaine et histoire*. Collection de l'école française de Rome 98. Rome: l'école française de Rome, 1987, 27-60.
- "City, Territory and Taxation." In *City and Country in the Ancient World*. Eds. J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- "L'écriture en quête de lecteurs." In *Literacy in the Roman World*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 3. Ann Arbor MI, 1991, 99-118.
- Cormack, R. "Byzantine Aphrodisias: Changing the Symbolic Map of a City." *Cambridge Philological Society Proceedings* 216 (1990), 26-41.

- "The Temple as Cathedral." In *Aphrodisias Papers* 1. Eds. C. Roueché and K. T. Erim. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 1. Ann Arbor MI, 1990, 75-88.
- "The Wall Painting of Saint Michael in the Theatre." In *Aphrodisias Papers* 2. Eds. R. R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 2. Ann Arbor MI, 1991, 109-122.
- Coulton, J. J. "Opramoas and the Anonymous Benefactor." *JHS* 107 (1987), 171-78.
- Cracco-Ruggini, L. "La città nel mondo antico: realtà e idea." In *Romanitas-Christianitas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Ed. G. Wirth. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1982.
- Curtius, C. "Inscriben aus Ephesos." *Hermes* 4 (1869), 174-228.
- "Inscriben aus Kleinasien." *Hermes* 7 (1873), 28-46.
- D'Arms, J. H. Review of *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* by R. Saller. *Classical Philology* 81 (1986), 95-98.
- Dagron, G. "Two Documents Concerning Mid-Sixth Century Mopsuestia." In *Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*. Ed. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980, 19-20
- Deininger, J. *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Vestigia Bd. 6. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1965.
- Delaine, J. "Recent Research on Roman Baths." *JRA* 1 (1988), 11-29.
- "New Models, Old Modes: Continuity and Change in the Design of Public Baths." In *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Der Funktionswandel des öffentlichen Raumes*. Eds. H-J. Schalles, H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker. Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1992, 257-276.
- di Segni, L. "The Involvement of Local, Municipal and Provincial Authorities in Urban Building in Late Antique Palestine." In *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*. Ed. J. H. Humphrey. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 14. Ann Arbor MI, 1995, 312-332.
- Downey, G. "Imperial Building Records in Malalas." *BZ* 38 (1938), 1-15.
- "Procopius on Antioch: A Study of the Method in the *De Aedificiis*." *Byzantion* 14 (1939), 361-378.
- "The Composition of Procopius, *De aedificiis*." *TAPA* 78 (1947), 171-183.

- Dressel, H. A. E. F. "Di un grande deposito di anfore rinvenuto nel nuovo quartiere del Castro Pretorio." *Bulletino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 7 (1879), 36-112 and 143-195.
- Drummond, A. "Early Roman *clientes*." In *Patronage in Ancient Society*. Ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill. London and New York: Routledge, 1989, 89-115.
- Duncan, J. S. *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Duncan-Jones, R. P. "Patronage and City Privileges: The Case of Giufi." *Epigraphische Studien* 9 (1972), 12-16.
- *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- "Who Paid for Public Buildings in Roman Cities?" In *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire*. Eds. F. Grew and B. Hobley. CBA Report No. 59. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1985, 28-33.
- "The Social Cost of Urbanisation." In *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Check
- Eck, W. *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*. Munich: Beck, 1970.
- "Die Laufbahn des L. Antoninus Albus, Suffektkonsul unter Hadrian." *Epigraphische Studien* 9 (1972), 12-16.
- "CIL VI 1508 (Moretti, IGUR 71) und die Gestaltung senatorischer Ehrenmonumente." *Chiron* 14 (1984), 201-211.
- "Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period." In *Augustus Caesar, Seven Aspects*. Eds. F. Millar and E. Segal. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, 90-129.
- "Cn. Calpurnius Piso *cos. ord. 7 v. Chr.* und die Lex Portoria Provinciae Asiae." *EA* 15 (1990), 139-46.
- "Ehrungen für Personen hohen soziopolitischen Ranges im öffentlichen und privaten Bereich." In *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Der Funktionswandel des öffentlichen Raumes*. Eds. H. -J Schalles, H. von Hesberg, and P. Zanker. Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1992, 360-376.
- Edmondson, J. C. "*Instrumenta Imperii*." In *Law, Politics and Society in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Eds. B. Halpern and D. W. Hobson. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 156-192.
- Eichler, F. *Forschungen in Ephesos V.1. Die Bibliothek*. Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, 1953.

- Elliott, T. G. "The Tax Exemptions Granted to Clerics by Constantine and Constantius II." *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 326-36.
- Engelmann, H. "Aelius Aristides und eine Ephesische Prägung." *ZPE* 89 (1991), 273-274.
- "Beiträge zur Ephesischen Topographie." *ZPE* 89 (1991), 275-295.
- "Zum Kaiserkult in Ephesos." *ZPE* 97 (1993), 279-289.
- "Philostrat und Ephesos." *ZPE* 108 (1995), 77-87.
- Engelmann, H. and M. Büyükkolancı. "Inschriften aus Ephesos." *ZPE* 86 (1991), 137-144.
- Engelmann, H. and D. Knibbe. "Das Zollgesetz der Provinz Asia: Eine Neue Inschrift aus Ephesos." *EA* 14 (1989), 1-197.
- Erim, K. T. "Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey." *Anatolian Studies* 14 (1964), 25-28; 16 (1966), 36-39; 18 (1968) 32-36; 19 (1969), 14-16; 20 (1970), 20-24; 21 (1971), 25-31; 22 (1972), 35-40; 23 (1973), 19-24; 24 (1974) 20-23; 28 (1978), 10-13; 29 (1979), 186-188; 30 (1980), 205-206; 31 (1981), 177-181; 32 (1982), 9-13; 33 (1983), 231-235.
- *Aphrodisias, City of Venus Aphrodite*. New York and Oxford: Facts on File Publications, 1987.
- "Recent Work at Aphrodisias, 1986-88." In *Aphrodisias Papers* 1. Eds. C. Roueché and K.T. Erim. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 1. Ann Arbor MI, 1991.
- Erim, K. T. and C. M. Roueché. "Sculptors from Aphrodisias: Some New Inscriptions." *PBSR* 50 (1982), 101-115.
- Feissel, D. "Appendice I: Nouvelles données sur l'institution du πατήρ τῆς πόλεως." In G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*. Travaux et mémoires du centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Collège de France monographies 4. Paris: de Boccard, 1987, 215-220.
- Fontani, E. "I Vedii di Efeso nel II Secolo D.C." *ZPE* 110 (1996), 227-236.
- Foss, C. *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia." *AJA* 81 (1977), 469-86.
- *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

- "The Inscriptions." In *Sardis 3: The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis*. Ed. F. K. Yegül. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Fossel, E. "Zum sogenannten Odeion in Ephesos." In E. Braun, ed. *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*. Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, 1967, 72-81.
- Franklin, J. L. "Literacy and Parietal Inscriptions at Pompeii." In *Literacy in the Roman World*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 3. Ann Arbor MI, 1991, 77-98.
- Frézouls, E. "Évergétisme et construction publique en Italie du nord (Xe et Xie régions Augustéennes)." In *La città nell' Italia settentrionale in età romana*. Collection de L'école française de Rome 130. Rome: L'école française, 1990, 179-209.
- Friesen, S. J. *Twice Neocoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*. Leiden, New York and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1993.
- Fustel de Coulanges, N. *Les origines du système féodal*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1890.
- Gabba, E. *Dionysius and the History of Archaic Rome*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Gagé, J. *Les classes sociales dans l'empire romain*. Paris: Payot, 1964.
- Gallina, M. "Appendice II." In Daria de Bernardi Ferrero, *Teatri classici in Asia Minore IV*. Rome: L' "Erma" di Bretschneider, 1974.
- Garland, R. *The Greek Way of Death*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Garnsey, P. D. A. "Aspects of the Decline of the Urban Aristocracy in the Empire." *ANRW* II.1, 229-52.
- "The Generosity of Veyne." Review of *Bread and Circuses* by Paul Veyne. Translated by Bryan Pearce. *JRS* 81 (1991), 164-168.
- Gauthier, P. *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IVe-Ier siècle avant J.-C.): contribution à l'histoire des institutions*. BCH Supplement 12. Athens: l' École française d'Athènes, 1985.
- Gellner, E. and G. Waterbury, eds. *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*. London: Duckworth, 1977.
- Gelzer, M. *The Roman Nobility*. Trans. R. Seager. London: Basil Blackwell, 1969.
- de la Genière, J. and K. T. Erim, eds. *Aphrodisias de Carie*. Colloque de l'université de Lille III, 13 Novembre 1985. Paris: Éditions de recherches sur les civilisations, 1987.

- Glucker, C. A. M. *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. BAR International Series 325. Oxford: BAR, 1987.
- Goodsell, C. T. *The Social meaning of Civic Space*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1988.
- Goody, J. *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Grace, V. R. *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade. Excavations of the Athenian Agora*. Revised edition. Picture Book no. 6. Princeton N.J.: American School of Classical Studies in Athens, 1979.
- Grant, M. *Age of the Antonines*. New York and London: Routledge, 1994.
- Griffin, M. T. *Seneca, A Philosopher in Politics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Groag, E. "Notizen zur Geschichte kleinasiatischen Familien." *JOAI* 10 (1907), 282-299.
- Haldon, J. F. "Some Considerations on Byzantine Society and Economy in the Seventh century." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985), 75-112.
- Halfmann, H. *Die Senatoren aus dem ostlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts nach Chr.* Hypomnemata Heft 58. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1979.
- Harmand, L. *Le patronat sur les collectifs publiques des origines au bas-empire*. Paris: Éditions Clermont 1957.
- Hands, A. R. *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1968.
- Hanson, A. E. "Ancient Illiteracy." In *Literacy in the Roman World*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 3. Ann Arbor MI, 1991, 159-98.
- Harris, W. V. *Ancient Literacy*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Heberdey, R. *Opramoas. Inschriften vom Heroon zu Rhodiapolis*. Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1897.
- *Forschungen in Ephesos II. Das Theater*. Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, 1912.
- "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesos, 1907-11." *JOAI* 15 (1912), 157-82.
- Heberdey, R. and O. Benndorf. "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos." *JOAI* 1 (1898), 53-82.



- Hicks, E. L. *The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part III: Priene, Iasos and Ephesos.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890. Reprinted by Cisalpino Giuliardica: Milano, 1978.
- Honoré, T. A. *Tribonian.* London: Duckworth, 1978.
- Hodder, I. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Horsfall, N. M. "Statistics or States of Mind?" In *Literacy in the Roman World.* JRA Supplementary Series 3. Ann Arbor MI. 1991, 59-76.
- Hüttl, W. *Antoninus Pius.* 2 vols. Prague: J.G. Calve'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1933.
- Janvier, Y. *La législation du Bas Empire sur les édifices publics.* Publ. ann. fac. d'Aix trav. et mém. 56. Aix en Province: La Pensée Universitaire, 1969.
- Jones, A. H. M. *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.
- *The Later Roman Empire.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964.
- Jones, A. H. M., J. R. Martindale and J. Morris. *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire.* 1971-
- Jones, C. P. *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom.* Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Joukowsky, M. S. "Prehistoric Aphrodisias." In *Aphrodisias de Carie.* Colloque de l'université de Lille III, 13 Novembre 1985. Eds. J. de la Genière and K.T. Erim. Paris: Éditions de recherches sur civilisation, 1987, 31-37.
- Joukowsky, M. S. *Prehistoric Aphrodisias, An Account of the Excavation and Artifact Studies.* 2 vols. Louvain and Providence RI. : Publications de l'art et de l'archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain and Brown University Center for Old World Archaeology, 1987.
- Kajanto, I. "Un' analisi filologico-letteraria delle iscrizioni onorarie." *Epigraphica* 33 (1971), 1-19.
- Kallett-Marx, R. M. *Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Imperium in the East from 148-62 BC.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Kazhdan, A. P. and A. Cutler. "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History." *Byzantion* 52 (1982), 429-478.
- Kearsley, R.A. "Asiarchs, *Archiereis* and the *Archiereiai* of Asia." *GRBS* 27 (1986), 183-192.

- "Asiarchs, *Archiereis* and *Archiereiai* of Asia: New Evidence from Amorium in Phrygia." *EA* 16 (1990), 69-80.
- Keil, J. "Die erste Kaiserneokorie von Ephesos." *Numismatishce Zeitschrift* 52 (1919), 115-20.
- "XIII. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos." *JOAI* 24 (1929), 5-67.
- "XIV. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos." *JOAI* 25 (1929), 5-52.
- "XVI. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos." *JOAI* 27 (1931-2), 1-71.
- *Ephesos. ein Führer durch die Ruinenstätte und ihre Geschichte.* Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, 1955.
- "Vedii Antonini." *RE* 8 A (1955) 563-570.
- Keil, J. ed., *Forschungen in Ephesos III. Die Agora, Torbusten am Hafen, der Aquädukt des C. Sextilius Pollio.* Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, 1923.
- Keil, J. and G. Maresch. "Epigraphische Nachlese zu Miltners Ausgrabungs berichten aus Ephesos." *JOAI* 45 (1960), 75-100.
- Kennedy, H. N. "From *Polis* to *Madina*: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Isalmic Syria." *Past and Present* 106 (1985), 3-27.
- Keppie, L. J. F. *Understanding Roman Inscriptions.* London: B.T. Batsford, 1991.
- Knibbe, D. "Epigraphische Nachlese im Bereiche der ephesischen Agora." *JOAI* 47 (1964), 1-43.
- "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos IV, V, VI, VII & VIII." *JOAI* 50 (1972-75), 2-80.
- "Der Asiarch M. Fulvius Publicianus Nikephorus, die ephesischen Handwerkerkunfte und die Stoa der Servilius." *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71-77.
- "Die Inschriften des Prytaneion." In *Forschungen in Ephesos IX 1. 1. Der Staatsmarkt.* Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1981.
- Knibbe, D. and W. Alzinger. "Ephesos vom Beginn der Römischen Herrschaft in Kleinasien bis zum Ende der Principatzeit." *ANRW* II. 7.2, 1980, 748-830.
- Knibbe, D. and M. Buyukkolanci. "Zur Bauinschrift der Basilika auf dem sog. Staatsmarkt von Ephesos." *JOAI* 59 (1989), 43-45.
- Knibbe, D. and H. Engelmann "Aus ephesischen Skizzenbüchern." *JOAI* 52 (1978-80), 19-61.

- "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos X." *JOAI* 55 (1984), 137-149.
- Knibbe, D., H. Engelmann, B. Iplikçioğlu. "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XI." *JOAI* 59 (1989), 61-238.
- Knibbe, D. and B. Iplikçioğlu. "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos VIII." *JOAI* 53 (1981-82), 87-150.
- Knibbe, D. and B. Iplikçioğlu. "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos IX." *JOAI* 55 (1984), 107-135.
- Knibbe, D. and R. Merkelbach. "Ephesische Bauinschriften 1. Der Strassenbrunnen." *ZPE* 31 (1978), 80.
- "Ephesische Bauinschriften 2. Die Inschrift des Hydreions." *ZPE* 31 (1978), 96-98.
- "Ephesische Bauinschriften 3. Das Variusbad." *ZPE* 31 (1978), 99.
- Kopecek, T. A. "Cappadocian Fathers and Civic Patriotism." *Church History* 43 (1974), 293-303.
- Krause, J. -U. "Das spätantike Städtepatronat." *Chiron* 17 (1987), 18-57.
- Kuper, H. "The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space." *American Anthropologist* 74 (1972), 411-425.
- La Rocca, C. "Public Buildings and Urban Change in Northern Italy." In *The City in Late Antiquity*. Ed. J. Rich. London: Routledge, 1991, 161-180.
- Larsen, M. T. "Literacy and Social Complexity." In *State and Society*. Eds. J. Gledhill, B. Bender, and M.T. Larsen. London: Unwin Hyman, 1988, 174-191.
- Laum, B. *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*. 2 bd. Berlin: Teubner, 1914. Reprinted Leipzig: Scientia Verlag, 1964.
- Laurence, R. *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Lepelley, C. *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au bas-empire: la permanence d'une civilisation municipale*. 2 vols. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1979.
- "The Survival and Fall of the Classical City in Late Roman Africa." In *The City in Late Antiquity*. Ed. J. Rich. London: Routledge, 1991, 50-76.
- Lewin, A. *Studi sulla città imperiale romana nell'oriente tardo antico*. Como: Edizioni New Press, 1991.
- Lewis, P. "Common Landscapes as Historic Documents." In *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*. Eds. S. Lubar and W. D. Kingery. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993, 115-139.

- Liebeschuetz, J. H.W.G. "The Finances of Antioch in the Fourth Century A.D." *BZ* 52 (1959), 344-56.
- *Antioch, City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- "The End of the Ancient City." In *The City in Late Antiquity*. Ed. J. Rich. London and New York: Routledge, 1992, 1-49.
- Lifschitz, B. "Inscriptions Grecques de Césarée en Palestine." *Revue Biblique* 68 (1961), 115-126.
- Lubar, S. and W. D. Kingery (eds.). *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.
- Lucas, C. "Notes on the *curatores rei publicae* of Roman Africa." *JRS* 30 (1940), 56-74.
- Maas, M. "Roman History and Christian Ideology in Justinianic Reform Legislation." *DOP* 40 (1986), 17-31.
- Maas, P. "Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner." *BZ* 21 (1928), 28-51.
- Macready, S. and F.H. Thompson (eds.). *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1987.
- MacDonald, W. L. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, Volume II: An Urban Appraisal*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Macmullen, R. "Roman Imperial Building in the Provinces." *HSCP* 64 (1959), 208-235.
- "Roman Élite Motivations: Three Questions." *Past and Present* 88 (1980), 3-16.
- "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire." *AJPh* 103 (1982), 234-246.
- *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Magie, D. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950.
- Malay, H. "Three Decrees from Kyme." *EA* 2 (1983), 1-32.
- Maquet, J. "Objects as Instruments, Objects as Signs." In *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*. Eds. S. Lubar and W. D. Kingery. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993, 30-40.
- Marotta, V. *Multa de iure Sanxit: Aspetti della Politica del Diritto di Antonino Pio*. Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza 64. Firenze: Università di Firenze, 1988.

- Mauss, M. *The Gift: the Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies.* Trans. W.D. Halls with Foreword by Mary Douglas. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Meinel, R. *Das Odeion. Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebäuden.* Europ. Hochschulschr. 28. Frankfurt, Bern and Cirencester: Lang, 1980.
- Merkelbach, R. "Der Rangstreits der Asiens und die Rede der Aelius Aristides." *ZPE* 32 (1978), 278-96.
- Merkelbach, R., Nollé, J. *Addenda und Corrigenda zu den Inscripten von Ephesos I-VII, 1 (IK 11, 1-171).* Bonn: Habelt, 1981.
- Meyer, E. A. "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire." *JRS* 103 (1990), 74-96.
- Millar, F. *The Emperor in the Roman World.* London: Duckworth, 1977.
- "Empire and City From Augustus to Julian: Obligations, Excuses and Status." *JRS* 73 (1983), 76-96.
- "Epigraphy." In *Sources for Ancient History.* Ed. M. Crawford. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 80-130.
- Miltner, F. "XXI. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos." *JOAI* 43 (1956-58), 1-63.
- "XXII. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos." *JOAI* 44 (1959), 243-314.
- "XXIII. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos." *JOAI* 44 (1959), 316-380.
- Mitchell, S. "Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces." *HSCP* 91 (1987), 333-365.
- "Festivals, Games and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor." *JRS* 80 (1990), 183-193.
- Moffatt, A. "A Record of Public Buildings and Monuments." In *Studies in John Malalas.* Eds. E. Jeffreys, B. Croke and R. Scott. Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1990, 87-109.
- Mommsen, Th. "Volksbeschluss der Ephesier zu Ehren des Kaiser Antoninus Pius." *JOAI* 3 (1900), 1-8.
- Mrozek, S. "A propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans Haute Empire." *Epigraphica* 35 (1973), 113-18.
- Mundell-Mango, M. *Artistic Patronage in the Roman Diocese of Oriens, AD 313-641.* Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, 1984.
- Natali, A. "Église et évergétisme à Antioche à la fin du ive siècle d'après Jean Chrysostome." *Studia Patristica* 17.3 (1982), 1176-84.

- Nicols, J. "Pliny and the Patronage of Communities." *Hermes* 108 (1980), 365-385.
- "Tabulae Patronatus: A Study of the Agreement Between Patron and the Client-Community." *ANRW* II.13, 543-5.
- Nielsen, I. *Thermae et Balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990.
- Nutton, V. "The Beneficial Ideology." In *Imperialism in the Ancient World*. Eds. P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Owens, E.J. *The City in the Greek and Roman World*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Pappaconstantiou, M. "Inscription inédite relative à l'aqueduc de Tralles." *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 11 (1905) 296-300.
- Patlagéan, E. *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance 4e -7e siècle*. Civilisations et société, 48. Paris: L' école des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1977.
- Peacock, D. P. S and D. F. Williams. *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide*. London and New York: Longman, 1986.
- Petit, P. *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle*. Paris: Geuthner, 1955.
- Pick, B. "Die tempeltragenden Gottheiten und die Darstellung der Neokorie Münzen." *JOAI* 7 (1904), 1-41.
- Pleket, H. W. "Urban Elites and Business in the Greek Part of the Roman Empire." In *Trade in the Ancient Economy*. Eds. P. D. A. Garnsey, K. Hopkins and C.R Whittaker. London: Chatto and Windus, 1983.
- Pottier, E. "Dedicatio." In *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. Eds. Ch. V. Daremberg and Edm. Saglio. Paris: Hachette, 1892.
- Prentice, W. K. "Officials Charged with the Conduct of Public Works in Roman and Byzantine Syria." *TAPA* 43 (1912), 113-123.
- Price, S. R. F. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Ramsay, W. M. "The province of Asia." Review of *De Communi Asiae Provinciae* (thesis) by Paul Monceaux. *Classical Review* 3 no.4 (1889), 174-79.
- Reynolds, J. M. *Aphrodisias and Rome*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982.

- "Epigraphic Evidence for the Construction of the Theatre." In *Aphrodisias Papers 2*. Eds. R.R.R. Smith and K. T. Erim. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 2. Ann Arbor MI, 1991, 15-28.
- Reynolds, J. M. and R. F. Tannenbaum. *Jews and God-fearers at Aphrodisias*. Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary volume 12. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1987.
- Rich, J. W. "Patronage and Interstate Relations in the Roman Republic." In *Patronage in Ancient Society*. Ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill. London and New York: Routledge, 1989, 117-135.
- Rives, J. B. *Religion and Authority in Ancient Carthage from Augustus to Constantine*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Robert, L. *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris, 1940.
- "Épigrammes relatives à des gouverneurs." *Hellenica* 4 (1948), 35-114.
- "Deux épigrammes d'Aphrodisias de Carie et Asklepiodotos." *Hellenica* 4 (1948), 115-126.
- "Épigrammes d'Aphrodisias." *Hellenica* 4 (1948), 127-135.
- "Épithèses et acclamations byzantines à Corinthe." *Hellenica*, 11/12 (1960), 21-52.
- "Korésos d'Éphèse." *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960), 139-142.
- "Τροφεύς et Ἀριστεύς." *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960), 569-76.
- "Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias." *Antiquité Classique* 35 (1966), 377-432.
- "Sur des inscriptions d'Éphèse. Fêtes, athlètes, empereurs, épigrammes." *Revue de Philologie* 41<sup>3</sup> (1967), 7-84. (OMS 5.347-437).
- "Les inscriptions." In *Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée*. Paris and Quebec: de Boccard and Les presses de l'université Laval, 1969, 247-389.
- "Pierres errantes: inscription de Selles-sur-Cher." *Opera Minora Selecta* II. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1969, 1346-1351
- "Sur des inscriptions d'Éphèse." *Revue de Philologie* 51<sup>3</sup> (1977), 7-14.
- Robert, J and L. "Hierocésarée." *Hellenica* 6 (1948), 27-55.

- Rockwell, P. "Unfinished Statuary Associated with a Sculptor's Studio." In *Aphrodisias Papers 2*. Eds. R. R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 2. Ann Arbor MI: 1991, 127-143.
- Rodriguez-Almeida, E. "Novedades de epigrafia anforaria del Monte Testaccio." In *Recherches sur les amphores Romaines*. Collection de L'École Française de Rome 10. Rome: L'École Française de Rome, 1972, 107-242.
- Rogers, G. M. "Demosthenes of Oenoanda and Models of Euergetism." *JRS* 81 (1991), 91-100.
- *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- "Constructions of Women at Ephesos." *ZPE* 90 (1992), 215-223.
- "The Assembly of Imperial Ephesos." *ZPE* 94 (1992), 224-228.
- Rossner, M. "Asiarchen und Archiereis Asias." *Studii Clasice* 16 (1974), 101-42.
- Roueché, C. M. "A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title πατήρ τῆς πόλεως." *GRBS* 20 (1979), 173-185.
- "Rome, Aphrodisias and Asia in the Third Century." *JRS* 71 (1981), 103-120.
- "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias." *JRS* 74 (1984), 181-99.
- *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1989.
- "Inscriptions and the Later History of the Theatre." In *Aphrodisias Papers 2*. Eds. R.R.R. Smith and K. T. Erim. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 2. Ann Arbor MI: 1991, 99-108.
- *Performers and Partisans*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993.
- Roueché, C. M. and K. T. Erim (eds.). *Aphrodisias Papers 1*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 1. Ann Arbor MI, 1990.
- Rouland, N. *Pouvoir politique et dépendance personnelle dans l'antiquité romaine, Genèse et rôle des rapports de Clientèle*. Collection Latomus no.166. Brussels, 1979.
- Russell, J. "Transformations in Early Byzantine Urban Life: The Contribution and Limitations of Archaeological Evidence." 17th International Byzantine Congress. New Rochelle: Caratzas, 1986, 137-154.

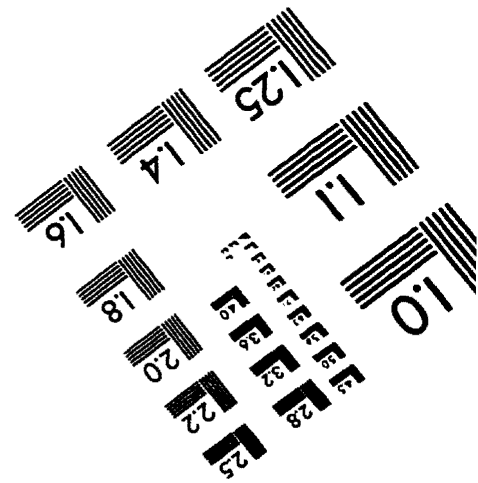
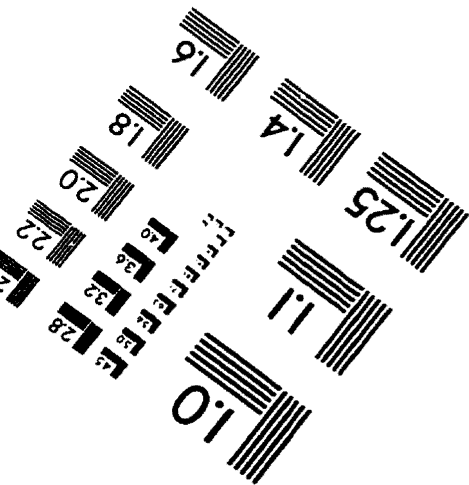
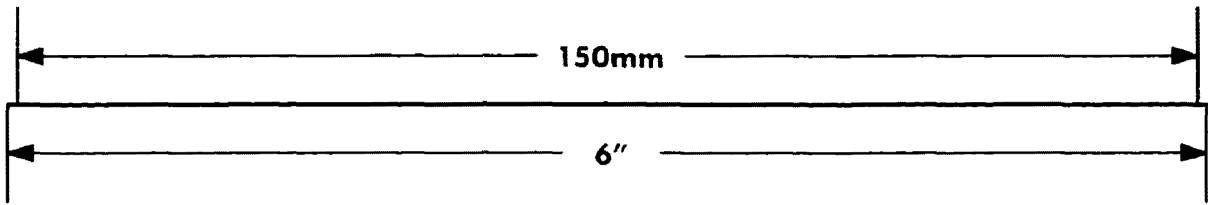
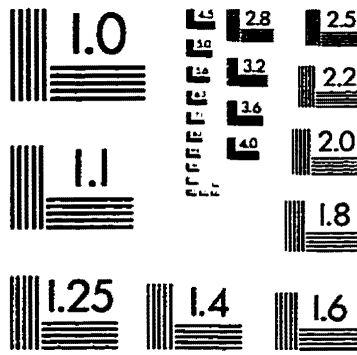
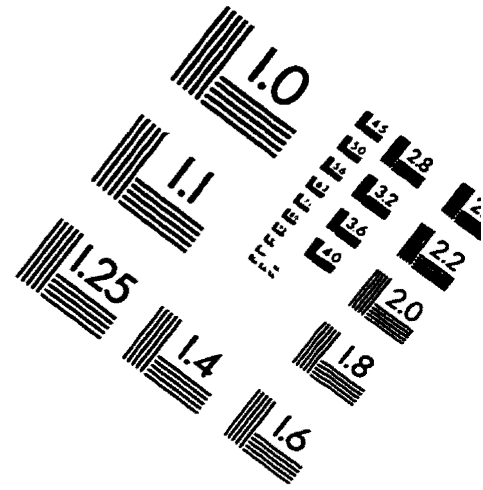
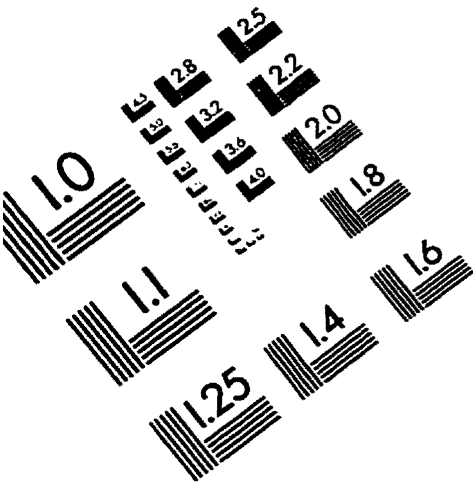


- *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium*. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987.
- Rykwert, J. *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of the Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*. Cambridge MA and London: MIT Press, 1988.
- Saller, R. P. *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- "Patronage and Friendship in Early Imperial Rome: Drawing the Distinction." In *Patronage in Ancient Society*. Ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill. London and New York: Routledge, 1989, 49-62.
- Seeck, O. "Libanius gegen Lucianus." *Rheinische Museum* 73 (1920), 84-102.
- Sherwin-White, A. N. "Patronage under the Principate." Review of *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* by R. Saller. *Classical Review* 33 n.s. (1983), 271-3.
- Shiøler, Th. and O. Wikander. "A Roman Water-mill in the Baths of Caracalla." *Opuscula Romana* 14 (1983), 47-64.
- Sijpesteijn, P. J. "The Title πατήρ (τῆς) πόλεως and the Papyri." *Tyche* 2 (1987), 171-174.
- Silverman, S. "Patronage as Myth." In *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*. Eds. E. Gellner and G. Waterbury. London: Duckworth, 1977, 7-20.
- Smith, R. R. R. "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias." *JRS* 77 (1987), 88-138.
- "Late Roman Philosopher Portraits." *JRS* 80 (1990), 127-155.
- *Aphrodisias I. The Monument of Julius Zoilos*. Mainz: Zabern, 1993.
- Smith, R. R. R. and K. T. Erim (eds.). *Aphrodisias Papers 2*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 2. Ann Arbor MI, 1991.
- Sparrow, J. H. A. *Visible Words: A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Squarciapino, M. *La Scuola di Afrodisia*. Rome: Governatorato di Roma, 1943.
- Susini, G. C. *The Roman Stonecutter, An Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*. Trans. A. M. Dabrowski. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973.
- "Officine epigrafiche: problemi di storia del lavoro e della cultura." *Actes du VIIe Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine*. Paris and Bucharest: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres' and Editura Academiei, 1979, 45-62.
- Syme, R. *Tacitus*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.

- "Who was Vedius Pollio?" *JRS* 51 (1961), 23-30.
- "People in Pliny." *JRS* 58 (1968), 135-51. Reprinted in *Roman Papers* 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, 694-723.
- "The Proconsuls of Asia under Antoninus Pius." *ZPE* 51 (1983) 271-90. Reprinted in *Roman Papers* 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, 325-346.
- "P. Calvisius Ruso, One Person or Two?" *ZPE* 56 (1984), 173-92. Reprinted in *Roman Papers* 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, 397-417.
- "Correspondents of Pliny." *Historia* 34 (1985), 324-59. Reprinted in *Roman Papers* 5. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, 440-77.
- "Antonine Government and the Governing Class." In *Roman Papers* 5. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, 668-688.
- Talbert, R. J. A. "Pliny the Younger as Governor of Bithynia-Pontus." In *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*. Ed. C. Deroux. Collection Latomus 168. Brussels: 1980, p. 412-435.
- Thomas, R. *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Thomasson, B. E. *Laterculi Praesidum*. vol. 1. Göteborg: Radius, 1984.
- Trell, B. L. "The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos." In *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World*. Eds. P. Clayton and M. Price. London and New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Vale, L. J. *Architecture, Power and National Identity*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Veyne, P. *Le pain et le cirque: sociologie historique d'une pluralisme politique*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1976.
- *Bread and Circuses*. Trans. B. Pearce with an introduction by O. Murray. London: Penguin, 1990.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. "Patronage in Roman Society: from Republic to Empire." In *Patronage in Ancient Society*. Ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill. London and New York: Routledge, 1989, 63-87.
- *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. (ed.) *Patronage in Ancient Society*. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Ward-Perkins, B. *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300-850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

- Warden, P.D. and R. S. Bagnall. "The Forty Thousand Citizens of Ephesus." *Classical Philology* 83 (1988), 220-223.
- Weingrod, A. "Patronage and Power." In *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*. Eds. E. Gellner and G. Waterbury. London: Duckworth, 1977, 41-53.
- Whittow, M. "Ruling the Late Roman and Early Byzantine City." *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 3-29.
- Wilhelm, A. "EYTYXEI EYTENI." *Wiener Studien* 24 (1902), 596-600.
- "Inscription aus Pagae." *JOAI* 10 (1907), 17-32.
- Wissowa, G. "Dedicatio." *RE* IV 2 (1901), 2356-59.
- Wood, J. T. *Discoveries at Ephesos, Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Artemis*. London: Longmans Green, 1877.
- *Modern Discoveries on the Ancient Site of Ephesos*. By-Paths of Bible Knowledge Series 14. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1890.
- Woodhead, A.G. *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*. 2nd edition. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Wörle, M. *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*. Munich: Beck, 1988.
- Yegül, F. K. "A Study of Architectural Iconography: the Kaisersaal and the Imperial Cult." *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), 7-31.
- *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge MA: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1992.
- Zanker, P. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 1988.
- Zimmer, G. "Statuenaufstellung auf Forumsanlagen des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr." In *Die Römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Der Funktionswandel des öffentlichen Raumes*. H. -J. Schalles, H. von Hesberg, P. Zanker (eds.), Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1992, 301-314.

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



**APPLIED IMAGE, Inc**  
1653 East Main Street  
Rochester, NY 14609 USA  
Phone: 716/482-0300  
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved